

# DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE



They Killed  
Naji Al Ali—  
But They Can't  
Kill the Voice  
of the Masses



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

- Conveying the political line of 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 for building relations of mutual solidarity between the Palestinian revolution and progressive organizations, parties, national liberation movements and countries around the world.

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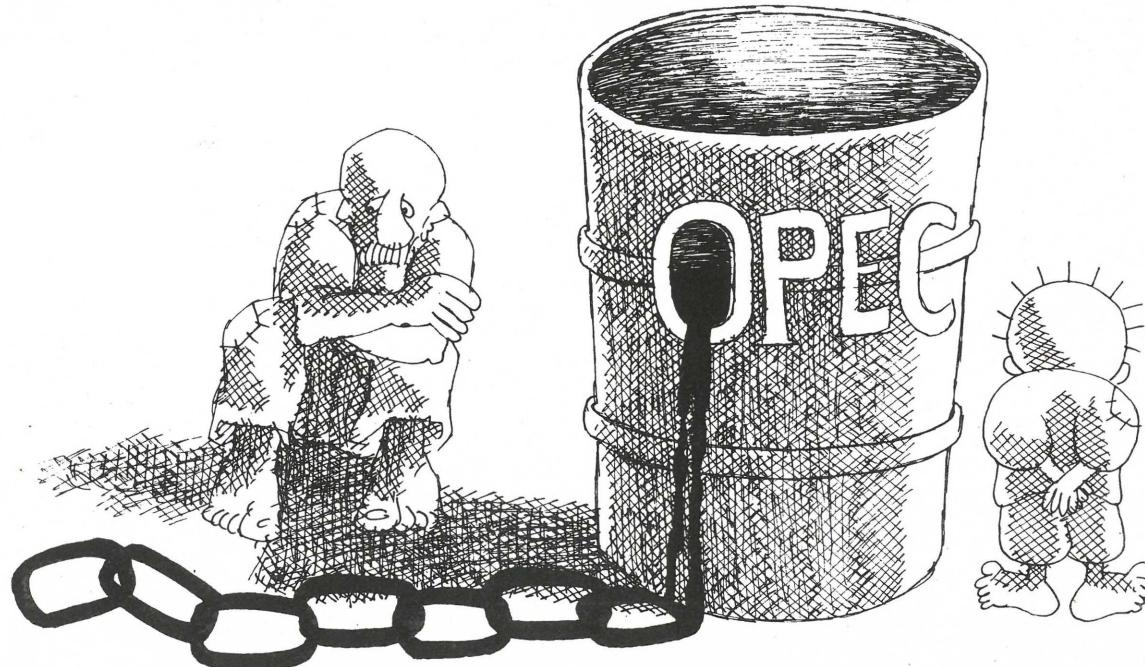
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Naji Al Ali

# Editorial

## Palestinians in Lebanon are a Main Force in the Process of Liberation and Unification

In mid-July, the Lebanese Front for Liberation and Unification was declared. It was formed in difficult and complex circumstances, the most important of which are the following:

1. Continued Israeli occupation of large areas in southern Lebanon: The Israelis are currently attempting to enlarge their occupation by expanding the so-called security zone. The new 'security' areas would be controlled by Lebanese forces other than Antoine Lahd's South Lebanese Army (SLA). Moreover, the Israeli forces continue to launch attacks on Lebanese villages and citizens inside and outside the areas they control.

2. The Lebanese fascists' calls for the partition of Lebanon: These calls have recently been advanced more vehemently as with the call of Samir Geagea, commander of the Lebanese Forces, for a «cabinet of independence.» Promoting an alternative to the existing government is obviously an attempt to divide the country. By raising such issues, the fascists aim to intensify the prevailing crisis to the point of chaos. This would give 'Israel' free reins in South Lebanon, while strengthening the fascists' hand in relation to next year's presidential elections.

3. The deepening Lebanese economic and social crisis which threatens tens of thousands of Lebanese citizens with starvation, especially in the poor areas. Today, Lebanon's inflation rate is among the highest in the world.

In its first statement, the Front for Liberation and Unification evaluated these circumstances in depth and expounded its main tasks in the current stage. The most urgent tasks were specified as continuing the liberation process, unifying Lebanon in opposition to all the calls for partition, resolving the economic crisis and overthrowing the sectarian regime.

### THE PALESTINIAN ASPECT

The Palestinian masses in Lebanon view the urgent tasks of the Front for Unification and Liberation as being in line with their interests. They view the liberation of occupied Lebanese territory as being their task as well. The Palestinian masses have always been opposed to sectarian plans and partition. They are among the first to be hit by the economic crisis. In a nutshell, the Palestinian masses approve of all the issues in the program concerning the Lebanese internal situation.

However, the Palestinian masses are worried by the section in the Front for Liberation and Unification's statement pertaining to the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. This section clearly represents the viewpoint of one particular Lebanese faction, the same faction that has waged a savage war on the Palestinian camps for the past two and a half years. A thorough study of this section of the statement reveals the following shortcomings:

1. Failure to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian masses in Lebanon. This incorrect position is especially glaring because it occurs at a time when the forces of peace, progress, liberation and socialism worldwide recognize the PLO, particularly after the unification session of the Palestinian National Council.

2. Accusing the PLO's current leadership of being deviationist and capitulationist. The Front for Liberation and Unification ignores the fact that the current PLO leadership is composed of representatives of the main organizations in the Palestinian national movement. This includes those which have close relations with many Lebanese organizations who are members in the Front for Liberation and Unification.

3. Explicit approval of the abrogation of the Cairo agreement. The abrogation of this agreement was never before a demand of the Lebanese national movement. On the contrary, it was the demand of the fascist forces. In fact, the Lebanese national movement always fought any attempt to abrogate this agreement.

4. Ignoring the numerous episodes of the Amal movement's killing, dispersing, arresting and torturing Palestinians in Lebanon. These episodes continue, especially in South Lebanon. The statement did not call for an end to these crimes, or an end to the continuing siege around the Palestinian camps. Instead, it referred only to the issue which is wrongly termed 'Palestinian armed expansion outside the camps'. This is exactly the pretext used by the Amal movement to launch its savage attacks on the Palestinian masses in the camps.

5. An unrealistic assessment of the steadfastness of Beirut during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the ensuing anti-occupation resistance. The statement minimizes the militant role of the Palestinian revolution, side by side with Lebanese nationalists, at that time. It ignores the fact that the decision for the Palestinian fighters to evacuate Beirut was not taken by the PLO alone. It was a decision of both the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement.

All in all, the Front for Liberation and Unification's statement takes only the position of the Amal movement into consideration when dealing with the question of the Palestinians in Lebanon. The Palestinian masses now have reason to be afraid that Amal will continue its aggression against their camps under the banner of the Front for Liberation and Unification.

Our masses in Lebanon are ready to march under the banner of the Front for Liberation and Unification, to struggle with it for a democratic, independent, unified Lebanon. At the same time, they seek a serious discussion with this front. Dialogue should start immediately between the Palestinian national movement, the Lebanese nationalist forces and Syria, aimed at regulating relations among these forces. Relations should be based on a common line, free of sectarianism. The experience of the last two and a half years has shown that no one force is capable of imposing its viewpoint on the others. This is particularly the case when the viewpoint concerned is based on wishful thinking that the Israelis will withdraw from South Lebanon if the Palestinian movement is eliminated in Lebanon.

# Naji Al Ali

## Palestine's Foremost Cartoonist Assassinated

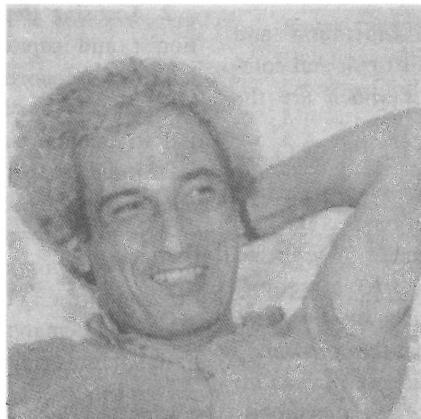
The assassination of Naji Al Ali was an attack on the Palestinian cause and on Arab progressive thought.

Shortly after 5 p.m. on Wednesday, July 23rd, Ali Naji Awad Al Adhami, known as Naji Al Ali, was shot and critically wounded outside the offices of *Al Qabas* newspaper in Ives Street, London. After five weeks of suffering, he passed away. Thus another grave loss was added to the list of great Palestinian and Arab thinkers who have been assassinated.

Naji Al Ali was simply the most outstanding and courageous cartoonist in the Palestinian and Arab press. His weapons were his pen and the caricatures which he said were put in the service of «the common man in the Arab world, who has few outlets for expressing his point of view.» Unfortunately, the assassination of Naji Al Ali at this particular time comes as no surprise. Before Naji, there was Ghassan Kanafani, Majid Abu Sharar, Hussein Mroweh, Mahdi Aamel... and the list of those martyred for their thinking goes on and on. These great people were targeted by a well-defined decision aimed at eliminating all the bright values, history, heritage and any outspoken voice in the Arab nation.

The loss of Naji Al Ali is a loss to the Palestinian national culture. It is the loss of a genius, an artist deeply dedicated to his people's cause and homeland, an artist whose life was a struggle to safeguard the revolution and expose all threats and conspiracies against it. Throughout his long and hard struggle, Naji Al Ali resisted all attempts to intimidate or lure him into altering his principles. He was distinguished for his art which he dedicated to fighting injustice, oppression and capitulation.

Naji Al Ali was the voice of the poor and oppressed. He drew their suffering and their happiness, their hopes and their tears. His simple drawings touched the hearts of the poor and filled them with a desire for life, revolution and hope. Since Naji Al Ali clearly took



sides, his enemies were many. They were the enemies of democracy and thought, of reason and logic, of change and revolution. His enemies were to be found in the Zionist and imperialist camp, and among Arabs as well. His enemies were those who feared his caricatures, for these unmasked the ugly face of the oppressor. These enemies feared Naji's ability to mobilize the poor against all oppression and manipulation, against all forms of subjugation and surrender, and ultimately against them themselves.

But Naji never feared these enemies. He kept on drawing pain, revolution and the future, disregarding the reactions of his enemies. In fact, their reactions only gave him greater incentive and strengthened his convictions. Naji was therefore pursued from one place to another. His enemies realized that his 'danger' spreads and that his calls for change and revolution were non-stop and effective. They saw how the people treasured his caricatures, how these drawings decorated the walls of houses and offices. Looking at Naji's caricatures in the morning newspaper had become a daily rituals for millions.

Naji Al Ali's assassination was the result of a conscious decision taken by the enemies of the national cause and culture. Unfortunately, one cannot say that his assassination will be the last. Those who seek to eliminate the Palestinian cause in order to achieve their own goals, are ready to use all means to eliminate progressive nationalist thought, for only such thought can expose conspiracies and mobilize the national conscience of the oppressed.

Palestinian freedom fighters are the key to the solution.





## NAJI AL ALI'S LIFE

In 1983, Naji Al Ali spoke at length about his life in an interview with the Lebanese daily *Al Safir*. Naji was born in Al Shajarah village in the Galilee, northern Palestine, in 1936. On May 6, 1948, Naji and his family left their village and headed for Lebanon, under the impact of the Zionist aggression. In Al Shajarah, there was a battle with the Zionists, in which the famous Palestinian poet, Abdel Rahim Mahmoud, was martyred.

«We waited under the fig trees of Bint Jbeil (South Lebanon) for two months,» Naji said. «We were positive that we would soon return to Palestine... Until now, I still have that feeling, after so many years and atrocities...» Later, when Zionist policy made it impossible to return to Palestine, Naji's family moved to Ain Al Hilweh camp, near Sidon.

Recalling his village, Naji said, «I was ten years old, but I remember my village very well... not only the houses and trees, but the grass and stones as well... It is located between Nazareth and Tiberius in the northern Galilee... They say it was called by that name (shajarah means tree), because Jesus used to sit under the shade of a tree in that place.»

About his life in Ain Al Hilweh, Naji recalled, «Camp life was a daily humiliation... I obtained the Lebanese high school degree... but couldn't find work... so I started working in the fields... Later I went to Tripoli and studied at a vocational school....» He graduated with a certificate as a mechanic.

In 1957, he went to Saudi Arabia and worked as a mechanic for two years. During this period, he began to draw in his spare time. In 1959, Naji returned to Ain Al Hilweh. About that period, he recalled that he was «influenced by Dr. George Habash, Abu Maher Yamani who was principal of one of the schools in the camp, and Ghassan Kanafani who was the first to publish one of my sketches in *Al Hourriyah* (at that time, the magazine of the Arab Nationalist Movement)... I was impressed by Ghassan Kanafani when I saw him give a lecture in the camp. I realized that he expressed the people's suffering. They loved him. We loved anyone who could come close to our suffering...»

About beginning to draw caricatures, Naji said, «In the camp I used to sketch on the inside and outside of the tent we lived in. Later, in the prison, I drew a lot. (Naji was imprisoned by the Lebanese military intelligence, the Deuxieme Bureau)... In 1963, I went to Kuwait and worked for the Kuwaiti magazine *Al Talia*... I was later convinced that I wanted to be a cartoonist.»

Naji's characters are well-known. In his drawings, the idea comes before the form. About his characters, Naji said, «The big-bellied guy represents the regimes. The poor man, woman and child represent the masses.» Most famous of his characters is the ragged child aptly named Hanzalah, which means bitterness. Hanzalah was Naji's trademark and represented the witness to events and history. In fact, Hanzalah can easily be identified with Naji Al Ali himself. Of Hanzalah, Naji said,

«He is my icon which safeguards my soul from committing mistakes... He is the ever alert conscience... When I draw Hanzalah, I find the cover under which I take refuge.»

Between 1968 and 1975, Naji worked for the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al Siyashah*, where Hanzalah was first introduced, facing the reader for one of the few times. Since then, Hanzalah is most often drawn with his back to the audience, watching the event depicted in the cartoon.

Naji went back to Lebanon in 1975 and worked with *Al Safir* until 1983. In 1983, he joined the staff of the Kuwaiti daily, *Al Qabas*, working there until his forced departure from the country in 1985. Naji then went to London where he continued working at *Al Qabas* until his assassination. About living in London, Naji once said with bitterness obvious in his voice: «Isn't it a heavenly damnation that I live here? - in Britain, land of Balfour!»

In 1984, Naji was elected president of the Arab Cartoonists' League. He was a founding member of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, and was elected to its general secretariat in 1980. His works have been exhibited in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Tunisia, Kuwait, UAE, Yemen, London, Paris, Chicago, among other places.

Naji Al Ali was married and had four children - Khaled, Layal, Judy and Osamah. On July 22, 1987, Naji Al Ali was shot. On August 29, 1987, Naji's heart stopped beating...

# PFLP Politbureau Statement

On September 9-11th, the PFLP's politbureau held several meetings and discussed the latest political developments relevant to the Palestinian cause and the region.

## THE PLO

The politbureau discussed the Palestinian situation and reaffirmed the significance of the restoration of the PLO's unity at the PNC's unification session... the politbureau discussed at length the violations of the adopted political and organizational resolutions by some influential figures in the PLO leadership, in particular by the chairman of the Executive Committee. These violations concern meetings with the Camp David regime (Egypt) and statements along the same lines, which only serve to weaken national resistance to the Zionist enemy.

The politbureau warns of the danger of continuing this policy and its negative impact on Palestinian national unity and the PLO's credibility and relations with its nationalist and progressive allies and the Palestinian masses. In view of this, we call upon the Palestinian masses and forces, mainly those who shouldered responsibility for restoring Palestinian national unity in Algiers, to join together to stop any violations of the PNC's resolutions and to safeguard Palestinian national unity. The politbureau confirms its commitment to the PNC resolutions and to joint work with all parties, within and outside the PLO, to consolidate Palestinian national unity in the PLO, and to decisively confront the attempt to violate the PNC resolutions and harm unity.

## OCCUPIED PALESTINE

The politbureau reviewed the situation in occupied Palestine and highly praised the masses' steadfastness and confrontation of the occupation and its oppressive policies. The politbureau also reviewed the intensification of the Zionist settlement policy, the upgraded Jordanian-Israeli coordination in accordance with the joint administration policy, and the expulsions, particularly of student activists.

Our masses... call upon all nationalist and progressive forces to intensify their solidarity campaign to foil the occupation authorities' plans and the joint administration policy. This

requires that the PLO, the leader of the masses, and all Palestinian forces raise the slogan: All efforts to support our masses' steadfastness; all efforts to confront the occupation and its policies; and all efforts to abolish the Israeli-Jordanian administration policy.

## LEBANON

The situation in Lebanon has recently worsened to a dangerous point. Hunger has struck broad sectors of the Lebanese and Palestinian people. The security situation has deteriorated drastically... The siege continues on the Palestinian camps in Beirut and the South, as do attempts to expel Palestinians with the aim of eliminating the Palestinian nationalist role and armed presence. Israeli aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian masses has increased, inflicting heavy casualties, as seen in the recent air raid on Sidon and the nearby camps. This necessitates, more than ever, the unification of the Lebanese-Palestinian nationalist ranks, and directing all efforts against the common enemy.

In view of the situation, Nabih Berri introduced his initiative for solving the nearly three-year-old war of the camps. The PLO and all Palestinian forces welcomed this initiative. They highly praised the Front for Unification and Liberation for adopting this initiative and forming a delegation, headed by Mustafa Saad, to discuss solutions. The aim is to restore the militant relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian masses and put an end to the negative situation that has predominated...

The PFLP confirms its appraisal... of the positive atmosphere that prevailed in the meetings between the Palestinian representatives and the representatives of the Front for Unification and Liberation. The PFLP considers the current conditions suitable for restoring unity between Lebanese and Palestinian nationalists. We call upon all to be patient and act responsibly to make the dialogue successful and foil all attempts to hamper the restoration of the alliance between the



Naji Al Ali

Lebanese national movement and the Palestinian revolution. The PFLP takes upon itself to expend all efforts to guarantee the success of the Sidon agreement signed on September 11th between the Palestinians and the Front for Unification and Liberation.

## NAJI AL ALI'S ASSASSINATION

The politbureau discussed at length the assassination of the militant artist Naji Al Ali. This was a grave, irreplaceable loss to the Palestinian people and to all progressive and democratic Arabs. The politbureau reviewed the communiqus issued by some Palestinian forces, which indicated that the assassination was a consequence of the martyr's political stands, and was carried out by a certain Palestinian trend. The PFLP warns of engulfing the Palestinian arena in a cycle of political violence, and condemns such destructive tendencies. Our masses' experience proves the tragic consequences of such tendencies, and requires that all display caution and prevent any such attempts. At the same time, the PFLP calls for commemorating Naji Al Ali by all means and forming a special committee for the purpose.

## CHAD

The politbureau reviewed the continuous aggression of US imperialism and its allies against Libya. This aggression aims to weaken Libya, prevent it from supporting the national liberation movements, particularly the Palestinian revolution, and striking Libya itself as a revolutionary phenomenon in the area. The US and French imperialists have resorted to Hissene Habre's regime in Chad to continue aggression against Libya. The PFLP condemns this aggression and calls on all nationalist and progressive forces to support Libya, in order to defeat the imperialist plans.

The PFLP considers the attacks on Libya an attack on the Palestinian revolution. At the same time, we warn that the imperialist forces aim to utilize border disputes to divert the nationalist and progressive regimes from the Arab nation's focal issues - the Palestinian question and confronting imperialist plans in the area.

## THE GULF

The politbureau discussed the dangerous developments in the Gulf, as seen in the US and NATO military presence which is a current and future threat to the security and sovereignty of the peoples of the area. The PFLP strongly condemns this military presence and calls for its immediate withdrawal from the Gulf and Arab Sea. The PFLP holds the reactionary regimes especially responsible for inviting the imperialist fleets to the area.

The PFLP calls for a halt to the destructive Iraq-Iran war, viewing UN resolution 598 as a correct, suitable approach for resolving the problem, and calling on both parties to abide by it.

## REGIONAL STEADFASTNESS

The politbureau affirmed the importance of cooperation between the steadfast forces and states in order to confront the increased imperialist-Zionist aggression against the region. Not only are Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by 'Israel', now there is direct occupation of Iraqi territory and aggression on Libya, plus the presence of US and NATO fleets and forces, particularly in the Gulf.

The weakness of joint work between the steadfast states and the nationalist and progressive forces weakens their capacity to confront, while making it easier for the enemy forces to continue their aggression.

## THE YEAR OF PALESTINE

This year is the 70th anniversary of the ill-reputed Balfour declaration, 40 years since the UN partition plan was adopted, 20 years since the 1967 aggression and five years since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The UN has decided to call this year the International Year of Palestine. We call on all Arab and international progressive forces to make this year one of qualitative support to the Palestinian masses' just struggle to achieve their national goals of return, self-determination and an independent state on their national soil...

September 12, 1987 - text slightly abbreviated.

# PFLP Dismisses Bassam Abu Sharif

## STATEMENT ISSUED July 30, 1987

The PFLP's Politbureau held an emergency meeting to discuss the participation of Bassam Abu Sharif in a Palestinian delegation headed by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir Arafat, which met with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak during the OAU summit in Ethiopia.

The Politbureau issued a statement reaffirming the PFLP's position on the Camp David regime of Egypt and relations with it. The statement confirmed the PFLP's position on the meeting with Mubarak as being harmful to the Palestinian people's national interests

and revolution and to the PLO. Such meetings are a violation of the resolutions of the PNC's unification session concerning relations with the Egyptian regime.

In the light of this position, the Politbureau considered that Bassam Abu Sharif had assumed an individualistic position, deeply violating the PFLP's political and organizational line. Bassam Abu Sharif was neither the official spokesman of the PFLP, nor its political representative (at the summit). The Politbureau decided that:

1. Bassam Abu Sharif's membership in the PFLP's Central Committee is abrogated.
2. Bassam Abu Sharif is dismissed

from the PFLP and all its organizational bodies and ranks.

3. Any action taken by Bassam Abu Sharif is considered an individual and isolated act representing only his own convictions.

In conclusion, the Politbureau reaffirmed the PFLP's sincere efforts to uphold its positions and consecrate its political and organizational principles. The PFLP will continue the struggle to uphold the resolutions of the legitimate institutions of the PLO and its national program, honoring the Palestinian people's struggle and martyrs, and in line with the PFLP's belief in the inevitability of victory and the liberation of Palestine.

# Soviet-Palestinian Joint Communique

On June 22nd and 23rd, 1987, a PLO Executive Committee delegation paid a working visit to Moscow in response to a prior Soviet invitation. The delegation was headed by Farouq Qaddoumi and included comrades Abu Ali Mustafa, Suleiman Najab and Yasir Abed Rabbouh. The delegation was met by Soviet Foreign Minister Edward A. Shevardnadze, member of the politbureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The delegation also met with members of the CPSU Central Committee. The discussions were characterized by mutual sincerity, reaffirming the cohesion of views between the Soviet Union and the PLO concerning present conditions in the world and Middle East. The two parties outlined the means for developing Soviet-Palestinian relations.

Reviewing the international situation, the two parties reaffirmed their support for an international order which would lead to a nuclear-free and violence-free world, a world governed by the principles of free development and independence for all nations without intervention or the imposition of one's will upon the other.

The PLO renewed its support to the broad range of Soviet peace initiatives. In the PLO's view, enacting these proposals would lead to the elimination of nuclear weapons before the end of this century; this would considerably reduce military and political tension on our planet, and allow huge sums of money and resources to be used for development purposes.

The two parties noted that regional conflicts are exploited by imperialist forces to increase tension worldwide and destroy the national achievements of liberated countries. Accordingly, they confirmed that political settlements for regional conflicts are an essential part of the struggle to consolidate international security.

The two parties exchanged views concerning the situation in the Middle East and the means to achieve a just solution to the Palestinian question - the core of the Middle East conflict -within the framework of a comprehensive settlement in the region.

The Soviets renewed their confirmed solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom and independence, led by the PLO, their sole, legitimate representative. The Soviets highly praised the results of the PNC's 18th session, which marked the Palestinians' determination to achieve their legitimate national rights. The results have created a realistic basis for consolidating the PLO's role as an effective, independent factor in Middle East issues.

The Soviet Union and the PLO declare that achieving the fundamental rights of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and independent national development remain to be the core of the Middle East conflict. Attempts to ignore this issue, and replace it with unilateral deals that neglect the interests of the Palestinian people, only complicate regional problems and sabotage the settlement process in the Middle East.

In the view of both parties, there are objective possibilities for stopping the dangerous course of events in the Middle East. The Soviet Union and the PLO call for serious international efforts to extract the Middle East from the present crisis. This requires embarking on practical moves to find a comprehensive solution to the conflict through a collective search for an honorable and just peace, based on principles of mutual security and equality in accordance with the UN Charter, its resolutions and international legitimacy.

The Soviet Union and PLO agree that a real settlement requires the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Palestinian territories, and fulfillment of the Palestinian Arab people's inalienable national rights to self-determination, the establishment of their independent state and return to their homes in accordance with UN resolutions. The main road to that is by convening an international conference, invested with full powers, under UN auspices and with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all concerned parties, including the PLO, on an equal footing.

The two parties pointed to the necessity of careful planning for this conference in order to insure its success. The formation of a preparatory committee might play a positive role. Both parties consider as totally unacceptable the ongoing attempts to distort the concept of an international conference and transform it into a cover for bilateral deals and for excluding the PLO...

The Soviets agreed with the PLO delegation's position on the unity of the Arab ranks and the formation of a unified Arab position on the issues of a settlement and an international conference on the Middle East. Such a position is a priority for advancing towards a just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Both parties confirmed that achieving this aim requires coordination between nationalist and progressive Arab forces, and the restoration of cooperation between the PLO and Syria.

The Soviet Union and the PLO strongly condemned the continuing Israeli occupation of parts of Lebanon. They confirmed the necessity of complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanese territory in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions. Both parties reaffirmed their support to Lebanon's unity and sovereignty, and the resolution of its internal problems in line with the people's interests.

The two parties expressed the need for an immediate halt to the Iran-Iraq war, and the necessity of a political settlement based on respect for the legitimate interests of both countries. The Soviet Union and the PLO oppose exploitation of the present tension in the Gulf area as a pretext for increasing foreign military presence in this important part of the world.

The Soviet Union and the PLO expressed their deep concern about the situation in the Mediterranean where conventional and nuclear weapons remain concentrated. This situation is exploited by the US, other NATO members and Israel to

blackmail countries in the area, and destabilize and/or attack regimes considered unfavorable by these forces. The Soviet Union and the PLO advocate turning the Mediterranean into a zone of cooperation and lasting peace, nuclear-free and free of foreign military bases. They noted the importance of the role the non-aligned countries could play to that end. They praised the resolutions recently adopted by the foreign ministers of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries that met in Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union and PLO consider that terrorism, and state terrorism in particular, is a great danger to peace, security and cooperation among nations. The two parties strongly condemn terrorist acts carried out by individuals, groups or states. They advocate international cooperation aimed at eliminating all terrorist phenomena by legitimate means. At the same time, they reject the Israeli and imperialist efforts to label the PLO a terrorist group and exploit this false pretext to exclude the PLO from participating in the settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Both parties support the Syrian Arab Republic's initiative calling for the convention of a UN-sponsored international conference for the purpose of defining terrorism and distinguishing this from people's national liberation struggles.

Both parties expressed their intent to continue consolidating the friendly Soviet-Palestinian relations, developing and coordinating work in the struggle to consecrate international security, reinforcing the independence and social advancement of the nations and achieving a just, lasting peace in the Middle East.

On behalf of the Palestinian people and PLO leadership, Farouq Qaddoumi expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet Union and its leadership for their genuine support which is an important factor in the Palestinian people's struggle for their legitimate national rights. The two parties agreed to continue regular dialogue in all fields of common interest. A Palestinian delegation, headed by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir Arafat, is scheduled to visit the Soviet Union.



## Relations with Egypt and Jordan

The renewed contacts with the Egyptian and Jordanian regimes by some Palestinian officials violate the decisions of the unifying PNC.

On June 29th, Hani Al Hassan, Yasir Arafat's political advisor, arrived in Cairo. He spent almost a week there, meeting with Egyptian officials. Al Hassan's visit was clearly in violation of the PNC resolutions adopted at the April unification session in Algiers. From Cairo, Al Hassan's next stop was Jordan, where he arrived on July 7th. Twenty days later, Yasir

Arafat met Egyptian President Husni Mubarak during the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Addis Ababa.

Given the Mubarak regime's angry response to the PNC resolution on relations with Egypt, and the Jordanian monarch's disappointment at the cancellation of the February 1985 Amman accord, what has changed in

such a short period?

Before answering this question, we should clarify who Hani Al Hassan represents. Certainly he is not the best person to represent the PLO in negotiations with either Jordan or Egypt. On the contrary, he is very close to representing the Jordanian and Egyptian regimes' policies, rather than those of the PLO. This is particularly the case after the PNC's last session which restored the PLO's unity on the basis of the national program.

Hani Al Hassan is not a PLO Executive Committee member and thus



Hussein and Mubarak moving in step



not empowered to undertake such contacts. Rather his mission was to prepare for Arafat's subsequent meeting with Mubarak. He was chosen for this mission because he is one of the most open advocates of relations with the reactionary regimes, and thus highly acceptable to them. One Jordanian official put it bluntly. When asked why Prime Minister Zeid Al Rifai would meet Al Hassan despite the problems between the PLO and Jordan, he said: «A distinction should be made between Al Hassan and the others in the PLO» (*Al Qabas*, July 9th).

Al Hassan is serving as the troubleshooter for the pro-Jordanian right wing in the PLO, that see their political future in cooperation with the Jordanian regime. This faction was loath to cancel the Amman accord; they would have preferred to freeze it so it could be resurrected at a later date. This same faction also resisted the PNC resolution that conditioned relations with Egypt on prior PNC resolutions that spelled out the positions and principles of Palestinian struggle. After the Egyptian regime closed the PLO offices in Cairo, in response to this resolution, Hani Al Hassan offered an apology to the regime by making his own interpretation of the resolution.

## SHIELDING THE CAMP DAVID REGIME

The Egyptian regime has long demanded that the PLO recognize UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338; that it participate in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and abandon violence as conditions for being included in an international conference. Hassan's visit to Cairo was neither preceded nor followed by a change in the Egyptian regime's position. Furthermore, the PLO's offices in Egypt were not reopened.

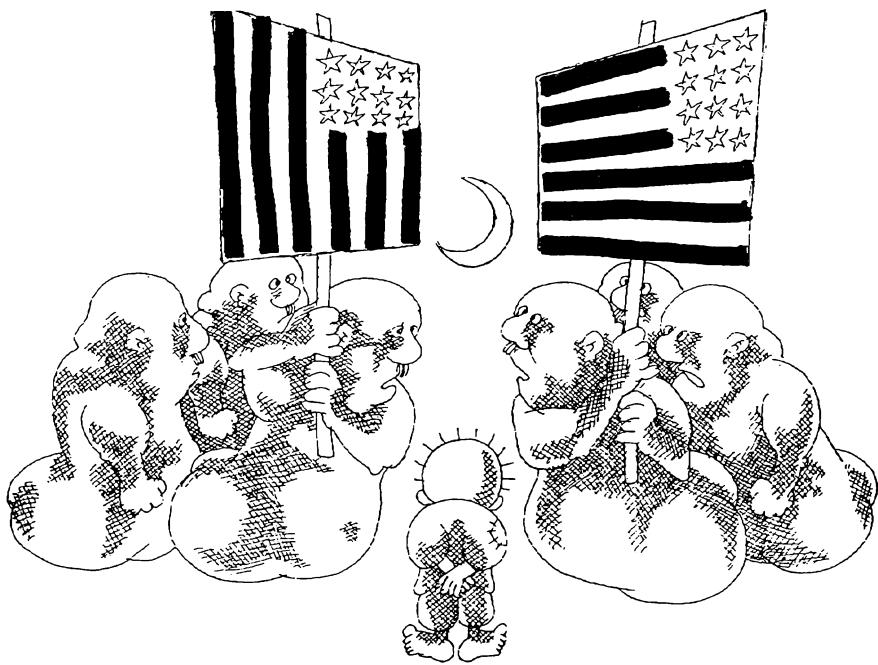
On July 9th, Mubarak met Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in Geneva. On July 11th, Mubarak told reporters that he is calling on the Palestinians «to look for a way whereby they can join the conference.» On July 20th, Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid arrived in 'Israel', the first visit by an Egyptian foreign minister since 1982. This chain of events indicates that the Egyptian regime is exploiting the resumption of relations with the PLO as a cover for its new steps to further normalize relations with the Zionist state. It proves that the

PLO's having relations with the Egyptian regime does not help in distancing this regime from the Camp David accords. On the contrary, such relations shield the regime as it continues to consolidate its relations with 'Israel'.

## MEANWHILE IN JORDAN

Jordan's conditions for restoring relations with the PLO were set by King Hussein in February 1986, when he broke off coordination with Yasir Arafat. These conditions have not changed, but have been echoed by more than one Jordanian official since then.

should be based on the PNC resolutions which confirm the PLO's sole, legitimate right to represent the Palestinian people, and their right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. Added to this is the resolution asserting the PLO's right to participate in an international conference on an equal footing with the other parties. Relations with Jordan should also be conditioned on the regime halting all plans to create an alternative Palestinian leadership in cooperation with the Zionist occupation authorities, through



Contradictions between the reactionary Arab regimes

The four conditions are: The PLO must recognize UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338; it must agree to participate in an international conference as part of a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation; it must agree to resolving the Palestinian problem in all its aspects, i.e., give up the Palestinian people's historical rights in Palestine; and it must renounce violence and 'terrorism'.

Jordanian sources have said that Hani Al Hassan will pay another visit to Amman. So far, the results of his first visit are unclear, but it is clear that the trend he represents is eagerly seeking the restoration of relations with both Jordan and Egypt. While, in principle, it is not wrong for the PLO to normalize its relations with Jordan, this

the so-called development plan or the joint administration plan.

## THE MUBARAK—ARAFAT MEETING

On July 28th, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat met Mubarak at the OAU summit in Ethiopia. Arafat called the meeting «warm, constructive and fruitful». AFP (French Press Agency) reported that Mubarak had promised Arafat to reopen the PLO offices in Cairo, and that Arafat would soon pay a visit to Egypt. In fact, Hani Al Hassan later visited Cairo. However, these seeming changes in the Egyptian position are strictly superficial. Egyptian officials continued to reiterate the regime's long-standing position on the PLO and relations with it.

There are, moreover, indications that Cairo and Amman are preparing a new agreement to replace the defunct Amman accord, as the basis for future relations between the PLO and the Jordanian regime. This is an indication of the Egyptian regime's dangerous role. It also refutes the arguments of those who advocate relations with Egypt to strengthen the PLO's hand vis-a-vis Jordan, and other illusions about the PLO benefiting from supposed contradictions between these regimes. In fact, Cairo and Amman are constantly coordinating their efforts

worsening situation in the Gulf. Added to this is Peres' failure to convince Israeli Prime Minister Shamir of the idea of an international conference as an umbrella for direct negotiations. These facts force both the Jordanian and Egyptian regime to intensify their pressure on the PLO, in an effort to keep the US 'peace' process rolling. The two regimes aim either to subjugate the PLO to their conditions, or to exclude it from any negotiations by creating an alternative Palestinian leadership.

Second: The restoration of the PLO's unity affirmed that the PLO is a power

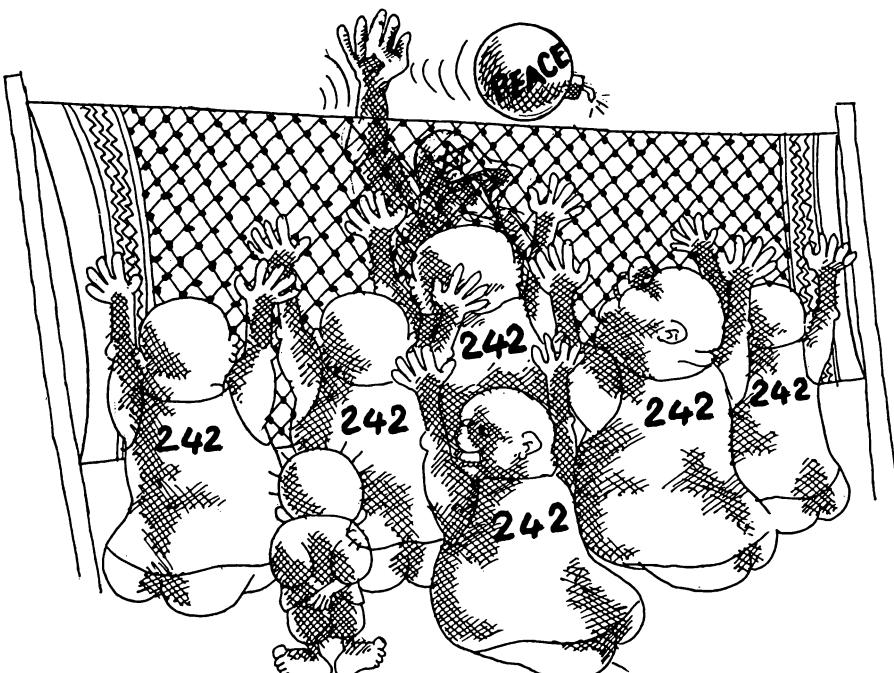
working to restore relations with Cairo and Amman to demonstrate that the PLO's present radicalization is temporary and will vanish as soon as Jordanian - Egyptian - Palestinian dialogue is restored.

## ADHERENCE TO PNC RESOLUTIONS

The restoration of the PLO's unity was an objective necessity for confronting the threats and challenges to the Palestinian cause and the PLO. These dangers had been intensified by the division plaguing the Palestinian revolution for four years, as a result of the policies of the right-wing PLO leadership. Yet despite the PLO's renewed unity and the resolutions adopted, the rightist trend is reverting to a policy similar to its previous one. In the process, it is violating the resolutions of the unification session without regard for discipline or unity. In short, the rightists' policies are an effort to evade the PNC resolutions.

Experience has proven that the PLO's advance towards achieving the Palestinian people's goals cannot be insured without confronting the right-wing trend, forcing it to relinquish all policies harmful to the revolution. There were no illusions that renewed unity would magically dispell all problems. Rather, the process of internal struggle continues even after unification. In this struggle, the democratic and nationalist Palestinian forces can rely on the objective conditions, chiefly the fact that, until now, the right-wing leadership has been refused entry into the US settlement for the region. In the space provided by this fact, the democratic and national forces can continue their struggle inside the PLO for reform and improvement of the PLO's course, working to make it the truly revolutionary leadership of the liberation struggle.

Confronting the various attempts to eliminate the PLO and the revolution necessitates adherence to the Palestinian national program. It demands an intense and consistent struggle within the PLO's framework and on the mass level, to impose adherence to collective decisions and respect for the national consensus. The PLO's Executive Committee and Central Council are therefore required to outline ways of dealing with all violations of PNC resolutions, and to impose adherence by all.



vis-a-vis the US plan for the area. Despite differences in wording, the essence of their positions on resolving the Palestinian question is the same, and it is diametrically opposed to the PLO's own program.

## WHY THE RENEWED CONTACTS?

Hassan's visits, the Arafat-Mubarak meeting and Arafat's reported upcoming visit to Cairo all indicate that something is going on, despite the outstanding differences between the parties involved. The reasons for the renewed contacts can be summarized as follows:

First: The talk about an international conference has recently lost momentum, having been overshadowed by the

factor that cannot be avoided in the Middle East equation. The Jordanian and Egyptian regimes thus find relations with the PLO to be necessary, as a means of exerting pressure aimed at influencing PLO policies.

Third: Both Mubarak and Hussein hope to capitalize on the fact that relations have not yet been normalized between the PLO and Syria. The Jordanian and Egyptian regimes will continue to use this stalemate to claim that the PLO's only option is to return to betting on US solutions. Both regimes have a role to play in achieving such a return.

Fourth: The pro-Jordanian right wing trend in the PLO was disappointed by its failure to impose its line on the PLO at the last PNC. It is thus

# Military Operations

### JUNE

The month of June marked 20 years since the 1967 war when the Zionist army seized the West Bank and Gaza Strip, completing their ruthless occupation of all of Palestine. This June, there were widespread acts of mass resistance and military operations, attesting to the Palestinian people's unfailing determination to liberate their land. Despite tight security measures imposed by the occupation authorities in anticipation of resistance on this occasion, there were 38 military operations in June. Fourteen of these were in the West Bank, seven in Jerusalem, one in the Gaza Strip and 16 in the Palestinian land occupied in 1948.

Explosive charges and molotov cocktails together accounted for two/thirds of the anti-occupation attacks in June. The increased use of molotov cocktails is particularly indicative of the conditions and development of militant struggle under occupation. Molotovs can be prepared at home with simple ingredients. They have thus become the favored weapon

of the new generation of Palestinians growing up under occupation. In addition to the cadres of various resistance organizations and their planned operations, increasing numbers of youth have joined the struggle spontaneously. In the absence of easy access to guns and hand grenades, this phenomenon first became apparent in the increased incidents of stonethrowing against the occupiers a few years ago. The next step was increased use of molotov cocktails.

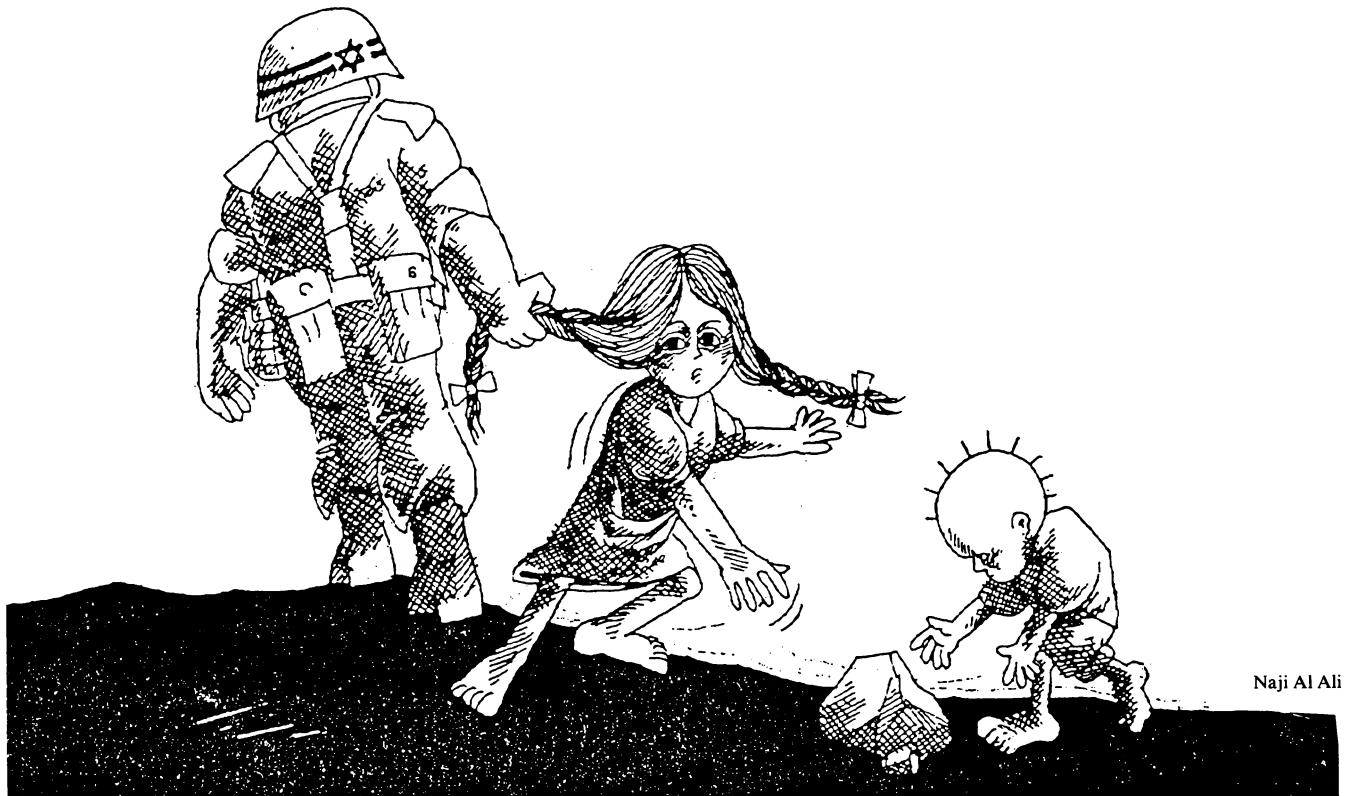
The Zionist newspaper *Maariv* commented on this, writing, «The Israeli army is unable to confront the phenomenon of Palestinians executing operations on their own.» *Maariv* noted that 58% of operations in 1986 were of this type. This phenomenon is the fruit of the continuance of occupation, showing that Zionist oppression does not kill the Palestinian will to struggle, but has the opposite effect.

In June, there were other examples of brave attacks using local resources, such as two stabbings and one instance of an unarmed attack on Zionist soldiers.

In another type of attack, PFLP militants burned two cars belonging to Hanna Seniora, editor of the Jerusalem, newspaper *Al Fajr*. This was intended as a warning to Seniora after he announced his intention to run for the municipal council of Jerusalem. This council is a totally Israeli affair, and Seniora's announcement broke a 20 year Palestinian boycott. Running for the municipal council has always been considered tantamount to recognizing the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem, which has been condemned by the UN.

### JULY

In July, freedom fighters in occupied Palestine mounted 38 operations against the Zionist military forces, property and agents. As a result, five Israelis were killed and 24 injured. Sixteen Israeli vehicles, plus six motorcycles and a bus, were destroyed. Israeli sources estimated material losses to be in the millions of dollars.





Naji Al Ali

Sixteen attacks occurred in the occupied West Bank, five in the occupied Gaza Strip, and seventeen in the area of Palestine occupied in 1948. Most noteworthy was the rise in the number of military operations carried out in 1948 occupied Palestine, which constituted almost half of all operations in July. This attests to the increased militant involvement of the Palestinians living in the Galilee and Triangle areas. It emphasizes the unity in struggle of all the Palestinian people, and their collective adherence to the strategic goal of liberating Palestine. It also exposes the falsity of the 'coexistence' slogan raised by the Zionist leadership from the time they occupied this part of Palestine 39 years ago.

#### METHODS OF STRUGGLE

Molotov cocktails were used in fifteen of the attacks in July. There were twelve explosions against Zionist military and economic targets. There were four stabbings and one shooting.

Flammable material was used in two operations. An Israeli car was burned in Gaza, while large areas of forest and grassland, belonging to the Jewish National Fund (JNF), were burned on four separate occasions in the last week of July, in the areas of Jerusalem, Houla and Afuleh (1948 occupied Palestine). These fires targeted a main instrument of the Zionist colonization of Palestine. Expropriated land turned over to the JNF becomes Jewish property permanently, never to be sold or disposed of, except by leasing. It is used exclusively for furthering Zionist settlement and Judaization. The fires of July swept through 3,500 dunums of forest and grassland near Jerusalem, and also destroyed about 2,000 dunums in the Afuleh and Houla prairies, causing an estimated \$2 million in damages.

«Restoring the damage takes 25 years»

According to the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, there have been 400 fires this

year. These have destroyed 4,000 dunums of forests and 30,000 dunums of grassland, causing damages double those of last year. Some of these fires affected Israeli military and economic installations. At first, the occupation authorities tried to conceal the causes of the blazes, but recently there were admissions that they were ignited for political reasons. Also, three Palestinians from the Galilee were arrested while trying to start a fire near Afuleh.

A JNF spokesman acknowledged that «these are deliberate fires ignited by anti-occupation forces.» Describing the damage around Jerusalem, he said, «We have to wait 25 years for restoring what has been damaged.» The JNF had supervised the planting of almost fifteen million trees on the hills surrounding Jerusalem over the past forty years. The losses are estimated in the millions of dollars, given that the cost of a dunum of forest is \$600, and \$300 for a dunum of grassland. ►

## OUTSTANDING OPERATIONS

Below we list some of the more outstanding operations for July: (1) On July 4, there was an explosion in a restaurant frequented by Israeli soldiers in Qalqilia, injuring fifteen soldiers. (2) An explosion at the Haifa power station on July 9, burned part of the station and cut off the power supply to some areas. (3) On July 12, the Israeli civil administration building in Jabalia camp, Gaza Strip, was hit by a molotov cocktail. (4) An Israeli female soldier was stabbed in Haifa on July 12. (5) A gang of settlers riding motorcycles through Jericho on July 17, was attacked by molotov cocktails. (6) An explosive charge detonated near the Akka power station on July 17 started a fire which spread and caused damage in the surrounding area. (7) There was an explosion on a bus carrying twenty passengers in Jaffa on July 21. (8) Suha Rafiq Al Ghool, an agent working for the Gaza police, was shot on July 27. (9) A car bomb targeted Hasan Abu Rokn, director of Shatta prison in Akka, injuring him and destroying his car, on July 28. (10) On July 30, a Palestinian girl stabbed a Zionist settler with a knife in Khan Younis in the occupied Gaza Strip.

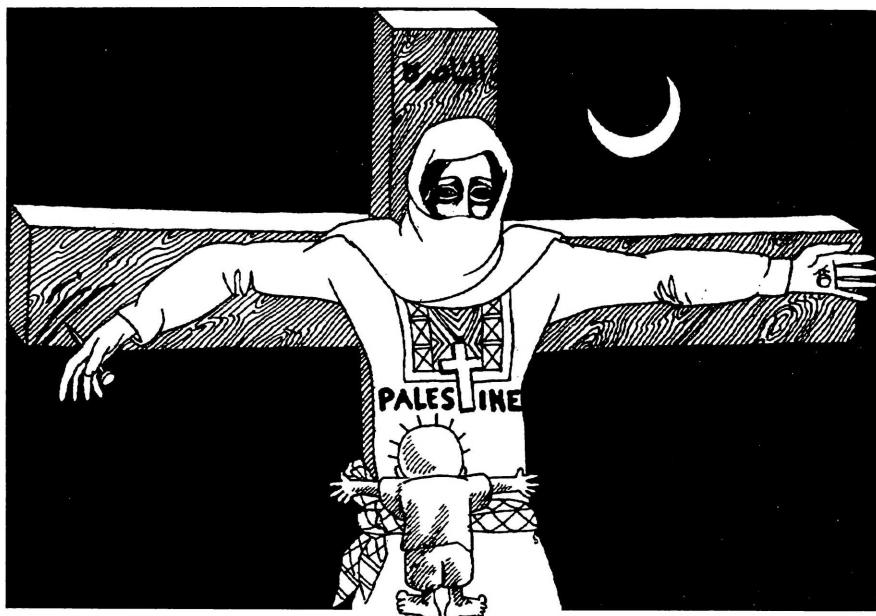
## AUGUST

In August, Palestinian freedom fighters continued their attacks on the occupation forces in Palestine. The Zionist authorities acknowledged 39 military operations, causing the death of two Israeli soldiers, 18 injured and five missing. In the part of Palestine occupied in 1948, twelve operations, or one-third of the total, were carried out, despite the strict security measures of the Zionist state.

An outstanding anti-occupation attack occurred in Qalqilia. Palestinians threw molotov cocktails inside an Israeli vehicle at short range, critically injuring an Israeli airforce engineer and his wife, and burning the vehicle. In Tel Aviv, a Palestinian woman stabbed an Israeli settler and disappeared. The authorities declared a state of emergency in the city and embarked on a search for the woman. An explosion caused a textile factory in the Negev (South Palestine) to burn down. Losses were estimated in the millions of

shekels. In Haifa, Palestinians were able to infiltrate the port area and plant explosives in the main office of the Israeli navigation company. Israeli firefighters were not able to contain the blaze, and the whole building burned down.

five bullets at short range from a 9 mm gun, while driving a military vehicle on the way to his office. He died instantly. The authorities imposed a strict curfew and closed Gaza port. Israeli intelligence men combed the city and arrested 400 Gazans in a futile attempt to



«Nazareth» Naji Al Ali

The single most outstanding operation of the month targeted the chief of police in Gaza, who was also responsible for Ansar II prison there. On August 2nd, he was shot in broad daylight in the middle of Gaza City. The Zionist authorities announced that Lieutenant Ron Thal, 23 years old, was hit with

find the militants. This operation was a shock for the Zionist leaders. The army prohibited Israeli soldiers from travelling alone, and the authorities decided to transport soldiers and settlers between Tel Aviv and the Gaza Strip, by sea.

## Mass Resistance

In August, there were a series of confrontations between the Palestinian people and the Israeli forces in occupied Palestine. Two Palestinians were killed and 35 injured. One of those killed was a seven-year old boy who stepped on an Israeli-planted land mine while returning to his village, Aqraba, in the Nablus area. The other martyr was shot by an Israeli patrol on August 22nd, also in Nablus.

On August 13th, there was a massive demonstration in front of Vishone prison, protesting the arrest of a Palestinian resident in Haifa. The demonstrators chanted slogans for the PLO and raised Palestinian flags.

On August 17th, all shops in East Jerusalem closed in solidarity with the Jerusalem Electricity Company, to protest the Israeli decision to restrict its

concession. The strike was the biggest for a long time.

There was a series of demonstrations in Nablus the last week of August, in protest of the Zionists' shooting of a Palestinian on August 22nd. The demonstrations turned into street battles between the Palestinians and the Israeli occupation forces. The masses used sticks, stones and empty bottles to confront the occupiers' tear gas and bullets. Three Palestinians were injured, among them a woman and child.

In 1948 occupied Palestine, Palestinian children began the new school year with a strike on September 1st, protesting lack of classrooms, facilities and teachers. According to Israeli radio, 230,000 students stayed away from school, closing 460 schools. The municipal council offices in Palestinian towns also closed, protesting lack of state funding to the Arab sector.

# New Israeli Attack on the Jerusalem Electric Company

As the largest remaining Palestinian economic institution in all occupied Palestine, the fate of the Jerusalem Electricity Company (JEC) has special significance. This article deals with the latest Israeli attack on the JEC, supplemented by background information taken from a study printed in the Lebanese daily *Al Safir* on August 19, 1987.

With the aim of eventually liquidating the JEC, the Zionist authorities took a decision on August 8th, to restrict the company's concession. The new concession bars the company from supplying electricity to settlements in the Jerusalem area, Jewish quarters in the city, and the Israeli military camps in the West Bank. The Israeli authorities also decided to fire 320 out of 460 employees. Moreover, the company's concession will be renewed for ten years instead of twenty as the company demanded.

A week before the decision was taken, the executive committee of the JEC workers' union sent a memorandum to the popular institutions and nationalist personalities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, stating the dangers of the Israeli plan to liquidate the company. The memorandum explained that giving up some areas of the JEC's concession would eventually lead to eliminating the company as a whole, due to the accumulating debts owed to the Israeli Regional Electricity Company; many other issues remain unresolved, such as allowing the company to install new generators and transformers. The memorandum pointed out that limiting the company's concession would lead to doubling the Palestinian Arab residents' electricity bills. It will also mean giving up the land the electricity lines pass through.

In the process of Judaizing occupied Palestine, particularly the city of Jerusalem, and its Arab quarter and institutions, the Israeli government originally decided to confiscate the JEC early in 1980. Under the pressure exerted by angry Palestinian demonstrators, the Israeli Supreme Court at that time ruled against the government decision, on the grounds

that no concessions in the West Bank could be confiscated because it is occupied territory. East Jerusalem, however, was annexed, although it was occupied at the same time.

## BACKGROUND

The Jerusalem Electricity Company is the main Palestinian company in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Israeli authorities have always considered it a stronghold of the PLO. The company employs 460 people and distributes 400 million kilowatts to more than 100,000 customers, among whom are 50,000 Israelis. Prior to the latest decision, the company served East Jerusalem, the new Jewish quarters on the outskirts of the city, 130 Palestinian villages in the areas of Bethlehem, Jericho, and Ramallah, and a number of Israeli settlements and military camps in the West Bank.

The JEC was established during the time of the British Mandate. In 1948, with the Israeli occupation of the main part of Palestine, the company moved its headquarters to the Old City (East Jerusalem), while an Israeli company provided electricity to West Jerusalem. After 1948, the Jerusalem Electricity Company enlarged the area of its concession to include other cities in the West Bank, such as Hebron, Bethlehem and Ramallah, through buying out local companies. In 1962, the JEC signed an agreement with the Jordanian government, whereby the company would serve the whole Jerusalem district which was under Jordanian administration.

The 1967 war led to the destruction of the bigger part of the company's distribution network. After Jerusalem was officially annexed in 1968, the Israeli authorities forced the JEC to supply the new Jewish settlements. The

Israeli authorities used other methods to pressure the company and eventually withdraw its concession. Some of the methods used were:

1. appointing two Israelis to the company's administrative board.
2. direct intervention in technical matters on the pretext of a shortage of technicians in the company.
3. forcing the company to submit all its account books and records to the censor and imposing high fees on the fuel and spare parts needed.
4. forcing the company to buy electricity from the Israeli Regional Company in order to meet its obligations to the Israeli settlements and quarters.
5. forcing the Palestinian company to have the same electricity prices as the Israeli company.
6. imposing high income taxes on the Palestinian company, despite its rising budget deficit.

In addition to all of the above restrictions, the conditions of occupation have aggravated the JEC's crisis to the point of collapse. In the period after the 1948 war, the JEC was buying 58% of its electric energy from the Israeli company. This led to the accumulation of 38 million Israeli pounds in debts by 1979, in addition to another ten million Israeli pounds owed to the Israeli fuel company. Moreover, the Israeli settlers who were benefiting from the JEC's services refused to pay their electricity bills, and the Israeli authorities did not interfere to collect from them. The JEC also suffered from the spiral of inflation that hit all sectors of the Israeli economy. This meant rising prices for fuel, generators, equipment and maintenance.

The Israeli Regional Electricity Company and the Jerusalem municipality, headed by Teddy Kolleck, worked together to cancel the

JEC's concession on the basis that the company was no longer able to meet its obligations. On October 20, 1978, Teddy Kolleck publicly called on the government to withdraw the JEC's concession on the basis that the company was providing electricity to only 50 out of 130 villages in its area of concession. He also claimed that the JEC was squandering liquid fuel, whereas the IREC was using coal instead.

The JEC suffered a deep financial crisis in 1978, approaching bankruptcy in 1979. This pushed the company's administrative board and its acting head, Elias Freij, to contact several Arab countries, including Jordan, asking them to finance the company in order to save it from bankruptcy. The administrative board also took many other measures to minimize the company's expenditures, such as cutting the employees' pay. This decision aggravated the employees who had for years been suffering from the rise in the cost of living due to the inflation. The JEC workers' union organized a huge strike in the administration's headquarters on July 11, 1979. The strike lasted until the end of the month, when a popular conference was held in support of workers and employees of the company. The demands of the strikers were a salary increase and a cost of living increment paid in Jordanian dinars.

The conference adopted a number of decisions in support of the workers:

1. unconditional support of the workers' demands.
2. demanding that the municipal councils of the West Bank take a strong position against the administrative board's neglect of the workers' demands.
3. condemning the relinquishing of any part of the company's concession and protecting its Palestinian identity.

The last point refers to the administration's decision to sell the part of the company's concession that provides electricity to the Israeli settlements and quarters in the West Jerusalem area, in an attempt to relieve the company's financial burden. This decision was taken with the approval of the representatives of a number of independent shareholders, such as Mayors Karim Khalaf (Ramallah) and Ibrahim

Al Tawil (Al Bireh). However, Khalaf and Tawil later worked along with other nationalist personalities to narrow the gap between the administration and the workers' union. As a result of these efforts, a meeting was held on July 28, 1979, and an agreement was reached to: (1) pay the cost of living increment in Jordanian dinars; (2) allow employees 250 kilowatts free; and (3) give bonuses to qualified, efficient employees and workers.

The agreement settled this aspect of the company's crisis, but early in 1980, problems started again when the Israeli government issued its decision to confiscate the company's concession. This decision was overruled by the Israeli Supreme Court after the employees' protest.

In 1982, the Israeli Ministry of Energy forbade the JEC from operating its five new generators. This forced the Palestinian company to depend on the Israeli company for 90% of its energy, since the JEC's old generators could only provide 10% of consumer needs. Dependence on the Israeli company had led to even more rapid accumulation of debts (\$20 million) that the company is unable to pay.

The absence of Arab support to the JEC is glaring, especially since the

Jordanian government has ceased payments from the Steadfastness Fund to the West Bank. In 1985, the Jordanian regime proposed that it supply the West Bank with electricity, reflecting King Hussein's design to share this territory with the occupation authorities. However, the Israeli energy minister replied that this should be discussed as part of the Jordanian-Israeli dialogue. This means the JEC will be used in the Zionists' game of blackmail to draw King Hussein into direct negotiations that would impose joint administration to Israeli advantage.

Clearly, the latest Israeli move against the JEC is part of the long-standing Zionist policy to undermine all independent Palestinian institutions. It is especially dangerous in this period of increasing Israeli-Jordanian collaboration to impose joint administration on the West Bank. The JEC, like the West Bank as such, is caught between the hammer of Israeli occupation and the anvil of King Hussein's plans to absorb the Palestinian national identity. The conflict over the company has shown that the real protectors of the Palestinian national identity are the JEC workers, the patriotic masses under occupation and their nationalist leadership.

## Al Jamaheer Closed

Once again the Zionist occupation authorities were disturbed by a Palestinian newspaper. This time it was *Al Jamaheer* (*The Masses*), the patriotic newspaper that has been published in Nazareth for the last two years. On August 9th, the occupation authorities ordered *Al Jamaheer* closed. The charge was the same old one, that it was financed by a Palestinian organization abroad and expressed the political views of this organization. A similar pretext was previously used to close down other publications such as *Al Mithaq* and *Al Ahd* last year, and to expel Palestinian journalists such as Akram Hanieh. However, such charges are only excuses for gagging any voice that opposes the Zionist state. Such actions are not new to a state that was established by force and aggression. The policy of trying to eliminate the

Palestinian identity dates back to 1948. It has taken the form of massacres and forcible expulsion of Palestinians, and the confiscation of their land. It continues today with the Zionist iron fist.

The closure of *Al Jamaheer* stands as a new proof that even freedom of expression is considered a threat by the Israeli authorities. It also confirms that words are an effective weapon in the Palestinian liberation struggle. With words, as with bullets, the Palestinian revolution confronts the Zionist occupation and paves the way to a better future for the masses. With words, we condemn the closure of *Al Jamaheer* and other Palestinian newspapers, and call on Arab and international public opinion to join in this condemnation. At the same time, we salute *Al Jamaheer* and express confidence that the Palestinian masses will continue their struggle against occupation, finding new ways to make their voice heard.

# Jordanian-Israeli Secret Collaboration

A series of secret agreements show the seriousness of the collaboration between the Zionist occupiers and the Jordanian monarchy, whereby the two intend to impose their joint administration on the West Bank, to the detriment of the Palestinian masses' struggle for liberation and statehood.

On May 21st, the Israeli newspaper *Hatsofieh* published the text of the memorandum of understanding agreed upon by Jordan's King Hussein and Israeli Foreign Minister Peres at their unpublicized meeting in London on April 11th. The secret document was entitled «An agreement between the government of Jordan and the Israeli foreign minister, with US consent» (See box for text.)

Although there was news about this meeting in the international press, the Jordanian government ignored the reports. Denying them would have elicited Israeli anger, leading to the exposure of further details. Confirming them, on the other hand, would have caused unfavorable reactions from Arab nationalist regimes and forces. The monarchy's only choice was to remain silent. Such silence is nothing new. It is a part of the well-established Jordanian policy of working behind-the-scenes. Since late 1985, the Jordanian government has been quietly normalizing relations with 'Israel' prior to signing an overt agreement.

Since late 1985, the Jordanian regime has been raising such slogans as «improving the standard of living for West Bank and Gaza Strip residents.» This is a cover for the agreement on joint administration of these occupied territories, reached with Peres on October 1, 1985, while he was prime minister. (See box.) Ever since this agreement, the Jordanian regime has exhausted all efforts to promote joint administration. To this end, the regime supported Israeli appointment of West Bank mayors, whereby pro-Jordanian figures would replace the legitimate, elected mayors who had been dismissed by the occupation authorities. A few months

later, King Hussein halted coordination with the PLO leadership and worked to find or create an alternative leadership. Later, the monarchy adopted a five-year development plan for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to help provide an economic base for broader sectors of the Palestinian bourgeoisie, linked to Jordan. Moreover, branches of Jordanian banks were reopened in the 1967 occupied territories.

However, this policy was strongly resisted by the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories, who reaffirmed their undisputed support to their sole, legitimate representative, the PLO. Later, the Jordanian regime was

disappointed by the cancellation of the Amman accord, and the restoration of the PLO's unity and nationalist program in April this year. Nonetheless, the regime continued the same policy, reaffirming its dedication to the success of US imperialist policy in the region.

In contrast, 'Israel' did not live up to its end of the deal. The construction of settlements continued. There was no decrease in Israeli military presence, much less the cancellation of military rule in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, as had been pledged by Peres in order to improve the population's quality of life and give them broader powers to administer their own affairs.

## HUSSEIN'S TOTAL SURRENDER

On February 3, 1987, the Israeli daily *Haaretz* published the agreement on an international conference reached between King Hussein and Peres. (See box for text.) Reviewing the terms of this

### Memorandum of Understanding - Concluded between King Hussein and Foreign Minister Peres

1. Israel's phased withdrawal from most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip territories.
2. 85% of the West Bank and Gaza Strip territories would be under Arab supervision or control.
3. The Israeli army is allowed to occupy defensive posts along the Jordan Valley for several years.
4. Israelis are allowed to live in the Arab-controlled West Bank.
5. The establishment of an Arab-Israeli joint administration for the unified Jerusalem. An Arab force would be established to patrol East Jerusalem. The Israeli flag should fly over the Wailing Wall.
6. Introduction of a project for establishing Arab and Jewish quarters, or establishing independent regional or local councils working under unified

and expanded Arab-Israeli supervision.  
7. Establishing special (extra) regional passageways between the Jordan River and the West Bank, and between Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

Source: *Hatsofieh*, May 21, 1987; reprint from *The Atlanta Constitution*.

The document also states that the first stage, which is a transitional stage, includes:

1. establishing an Israeli-Jordanian authority authorized by a joint Israeli-Jordanian cooperation.
2. A Jordanian police force is formed for eastern united Jerusalem, whereas the Israeli flag would fly over the Wailing Wall.
3. No new settlements would be established in the territories during this stage.
4. The settlement in this stage is functional and not a regional one.

Source: *Davar*, May 8, 1987.

agreement, it is obvious that the Jordanian monarch has completely yielded to the Zionist Labor Party's notion of an international conference.

Whereas the Jordanian regime previously espoused the participation of the USSR, Syria and the PLO in the conference, it has now dropped the demand for the PLO's participation. This is clear in that the agreement with Peres considers UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for the conference; it means agreeing in advance on the participants and limiting the Palestinian people's representation to a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Concerning the USSR's participation, the Jordanian regime showed understanding for the Israeli conditions.

Moreover, the Jordanian regime yielded to the US-Israeli demands that the conference be an initial step leading to direct, bilateral negotiations. This is the most dangerous aspect of the agreement since it means relinquishing the previous Jordanian demand for a fully empowered conference.

## OBSTACLES TO THE US PLAN

Though the Jordanian regime's secret collaboration with the Israelis, and its submission to the US-Israeli conditions, is an advanced step in the US-sponsored solution for the Middle East, a number of major obstacles remain.

Two obstacles present themselves on the Palestinian and Arab level. Without

Palestinian and Arab support, King Hussein cannot enact his agreement with Peres on an international conference. This is particularly the case after the restoration of the PLO's unity. Even though official Arab policies are on the decline, there is still no consensus on going so far as Hussein has done. The PLO, moreover, has officially adopted the concept of a fully empowered, UN-sponsored conference, based on all UN resolutions related to the Palestinian cause, and with the participation of all parties on an equal footing.

The third obstacle is the lack of an official Israeli consensus on an international conference. The cosigner of the agreement with King Hussein was the Labor half of the Israeli government. It is well known that the other half of the government - Shamir's Likud - rejects the very idea of an international conference. When Peres threatened to withdraw from the government and call for early elections, he found that the balance of forces in the Knesset was not to his favor. On the contrary, the Likud could ally with the small far-right parties to stay in the government. Peres later withdrew his threats.

The fourth obstacle is an international one, chiefly the Soviet Union's consistent promotion of an international conference that is just and comprehensive in contrast to the US-Israeli model. The Soviet conception of an international conference coincides with that of the PLO.

Knowing these facts, the Jordanian government continues its capitulationist policies, serving as the driving force for the US 'peace' efforts. In this, the Jordanian regime is supporting the Labor Party in its conflict with the Likud.

## MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

The memorandum agreed upon by King Hussein and Shimon Peres on April 11th, aims at furthering the plan for imposing joint Israeli-Jordanian administration on the 1967 occupied territories. The terms of the document attest to the desire of both parties to continue the joint administration plan, despite Shamir's rejection of an international conference and the PLO's renewed unity. The memorandum, for the first time in such a document, speaks clearly about a phased Israeli withdrawal from most of the 1967 occupied Palestinian territories. This new development is, however, nothing but a decoy to encourage King Hussein to continue his collaboration with the Israeli occupation. Both the memorandum and the original agreement on joint administration reserve for 'Israel' the right to lines of defense along the Jordan Valley. Both speak of the right of Zionist settlers to live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In this way, Israeli military control remains basically unaffected.

Responding to reports about the memorandum of understanding, Shamir told the Italian newspaper

### Agreement on an International Conference

#### - Concluded between King Hussein and Foreign Minister Peres

1. Prior agreement should be reached concerning participants in the conference.

2. Israel insists that only those countries who have relations with all concerned parties would participate in the umbrella. Jordan understands this but does not consider it as a precondition.

3. All arrangements and regulations are to be agreed upon by all participating

countries in advance.

4. The conference would break up into geographically-based, small, bilateral committees. One of these should be the Jordanian-Palestinian committee.

5. The conference is not authorized to veto agreements reached in the bilateral committees, or to impose its will on those parties.

6. Negotiations will be based on UN resolutions 242 and 338.

7. Negotiations in each of the bilateral committees is to be held independently and without regard for the course of negotiations in the other committees.

8. The Palestinian people are to be

represented in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, by trustworthy representatives who are not members of any terrorist organizations.

9. The UN Secretary General, after coordination with and obtaining the approval of the parties, calls for the convening of the conference.

10. The conference would be reconvened whenever the work of the bilateral committees is stalled. Israel stipulates that the approval of both parties is required, while Jordan views the demand of one party as sufficient.

Source: *Haaretz*, February 3, 1987.

## Joint Administration Plan

- Agreed upon by King Hussein and Prime Minister Peres

## Security and Police

- Israel is responsible for security in the territories, while Jordan is responsible for policing.
- Jordanian police work in the Arab cities and villages; Israeli police work in the Israeli settlements.
- Water sources are subject to joint administration; each country has a veto right.
- Supervision and guarding of both bridges on the Jordan River is undertaken by the Jordanian and Israeli authorities on the West Bank side, and by the Jordanian authorities on the Jordanian side.

## Elections and Freezing Settlements

- Arab citizens in the West Bank have the right to vote for the Jordanian parliament; Israeli residents in the West Bank vote for the Israeli Knesset.
- No new settlements would be established in the occupied territories, and present settlements would not be expanded.
- Agreeing on the convening of an international conference with the USSR's participation. Israel demands the restoration of relations with the USSR as a precondition for its approval.

- Jordan demands the participation of Syria and the PLO in an international conference. Israel agrees to Syria's participation and objects to the PLO's.

## Jerusalem: Open Issue

- The issue of Jerusalem would be left open. Israel agrees to Jordanian presence in Jabal Al Beit and even allows the raising of a Jordanian flag there.
- West Bank lands are subject to joint administration with each party having veto right.
- The transition period is five years as demanded by Israel; Jordan demands a period of only three years.

The plan calls for cancellation of military rule in the territories. Civil affairs are to be governed by a joint Jordanian - Israeli council. The council's duties and powers are to be decided in bilateral negotiations. Israel will reduce its military presence in the West Bank. Jordanian and Israeli police forces are to be formed. Appointed Palestinian mayors would replace Israeli officers. Jordan will not be allowed to bring military forces to the West Bank. The borders will be open. Joint economic ventures would gradually be established. The detailed plan confirms that this partial solution is a stage on the way to a comprehensive solution. The time schedule and the powers of the joint council would be decided on during the negotiations.

August visit of Secretary of State Schultz's aide, Charles Hill, to Tel Aviv. Such activities aim mostly at spreading illusions about a settlement being close at hand. They lend momentum to the moves of the reactionary Arab regimes, particularly Egypt and Jordan, and assure them that the US solution is continuing, despite having so far been impeded.

The meetings between Hussein and Peres are only part of these activities. Whether or not the US solution is faltering, these meetings remain a danger for a number of reasons. Simply talking about Israeli willingness to withdraw from 85% of the occupied Palestinian territories bolsters the Jordanian regime's demagogic claims about the possibility of regaining land in return for peace. This spreads illusions about a solution that is not at all in the offing. At the same time, the process of Jordanian meetings and agreements with Israelis is a means of making the Arab and Palestinian public become accustomed to the idea of direct negotiations with and recognition of the Zionist state. This psychological warfare would eventually lead to acceptance of surrender to the Zionist-imperialist conditions.

In the absence of signing a Sadat-type agreement, the Jordanian regime is step-by-step normalizing relations with the Zionist state. The continuation of this process of meetings and agreements paves the way for a surrender no less dangerous than Sadat's. Although it has yet to reap the results, the Jordanian regime has been pursuing this capitulationist course for twenty years. Despite rhetoric about a just settlement and adhering to the 1974 Arab recognition of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the regime is now exhibiting its readiness to enter into bilateral solutions that would totally bypass the PLO and Palestinian rights. So far, circumstances have not offered suitable conditions for the Jordanian regime to openly enter into a bilateral deal with 'Israel'. This, however, does not lessen the need for confronting the regime's reactionary policy as part of the struggle to foil the US-Zionist-reactionary plan for subjugating the people and resources of the area.

*República* in late May: «We refuse the principle of land for peace, and accept only the principle of peace for peace.» Shamir's message to Hussein is that Peres' pledge of Israeli withdrawal from 85% of the 1967 occupied territories represents only Peres' viewpoint, not that of the Israeli government. Thus, while the Jordanian regime has yielded to all the US-Israeli demands in return for an international conference, Shamir rejects such a conference and any discussion of Israeli withdrawal.

For its part, the US administration still seems hesitant about the idea of an international conference. This hesitance is actually a maneuver for gaining more Arab concessions, while reassuring the Zionist state that only a

conference that suits its demands would be held. In the first week of August, Richard Murphy, the State Department's top official on the Middle East, stated that solutions to the Middle East conflict «cannot be worked out by fiat. They cannot be dictated by the Security Council or by any power outside the region... If the conference is set up, it will not have any authority either to veto agreements reached between the parties, or to impose its will on those parties.»

## THE DANGER OF THE US SETTLEMENT

In this situation, Washington has only to keep up a certain level of diplomatic activities, such as the

# NGO Meeting on Palestine

The fourth international meeting of nongovernmental organizations (NGO) on the Question of Palestine was held September 7-9th, at the UN offices in Geneva. The meeting was opened by Massomba Sarre, chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the International Rights of the Palestinian People. Mr. Sarre stressed the urgent need for additional constructive efforts by all governments to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East without delay.

The chairman of the International Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine, Donald Betz, declared that 1987 was the Year of the Palestinian People.

Diego Cordovez, UN undersecretary-general for special political affairs, said that it is a primary responsibility of the UN to search for a solution to the Palestinian problem.

The opening session concluded with the speech of Yasir Arafat, chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee. Mr. Arafat stated that peace in Palestine is an indivisible part of international peace and that the Palestinian people insist on the convening of an international peace conference under UN auspices and based on international legality.

## PANEL ON INTER— NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Later on the first day, the NGO meeting heard more speeches on the subject of «The Need for and the Urgency of Convening the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, in accordance with UN General Assembly resolution 38/58C.» The keynote address was made by US Congressman Nick Joe Rahall, who criticized the US administration for refusing to recognize and deal with the PLO. He stated that it was an injustice to label all Palestinians as terrorists.

Panelist Vladimir Vinogradov, minister of foreign affairs for the Soviet Russian Republic, stated that the PLO and its friends had advanced peaceful proposals aimed at a political settlement, while Israel had not ad-



vanced a single peace initiative. On the contrary, Israel has continued to block the convention of an international conference by putting forward various obstacles, such as opposing the participation of the USSR. Mr. Vinogradov stressed that splitting the peace process into bilateral efforts is unacceptable, particularly because this would give unilateral advantage to one party. He said that the only way to a peace settlement which would meet the interests of all parties concerned was within the framework of international efforts, through convening a conference under UN auspices.

Panelist Gordon Binley, member of Australia's parliament, declared that any comprehensive and durable settlement required recognition of the rights of all states in the region to live within secure and recognized borders, Israeli return of the occupied Arab territories, and resolution of the Palestinian problem.

Peter Jankowitsch, member of Austria's parliament, said that the major condition for the success of the international conference was the participation of all parties concerned with the conflict. This should include the Soviet Union, since any settlement in the region should enjoy Soviet support. He added that Europe should also participate and stressed the vital role of the UN.

Heath Nelson MacQuarrie, member of the Canadian parliament, spoke mainly about the tragedy inflicted on the Palestinian people for forty years. He advocated Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

Dr. M.S. Agwani, rector of Jawaharlal Nehru University in India, said the unresolved situation in the Middle East has had disasterous consequences not only for the region, but for the whole world. He blamed Israel for continuing to rely on its military power. He added that the Camp David accords did not bring peace since Israel itself deviated from them by invading Lebanon in 1982. He emphasized the need for an international conference and called for a more realistic US attitude towards the Middle East problem.

A representative of the All-India Arab Friendship Association concluded the panel by reiterating that a durable and just peace could not be established in the Middle East until the Palestinians were able to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and to return to their homeland and shape their own future.

The panel on the international conference continued on September 8th. Ibrahim Abu Loghod, PNC member and professor of political science at Northwestern University in the US, characterized the Israeli policy in the Middle East as colonialist. He noted that Israel's continued negation of the peace initiatives and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and the US position on the problem, continue to stand in the way of a peaceful settlement in the region.

Shafiq Al Hout, PLO representative in Lebanon and PNC member, drew attention to the dangers emanating from the Iran-Iraq conflict and Israeli nuclear armament.

Mattiyahu Peled, member of the Israeli Knesset and professor at Tel Aviv University, criticized Israel's development of long-range nuclear missiles and its agreement to house VOA (Voice of America) transmitters in its territory. He denounced the Israeli and US attempts to exclude the PLO and the Soviet Union from the peace process, and pointed to the possibility of new Israeli acts of aggression.

The concluding panelist was Tawfiq

Zayyad, mayor of Nazareth and member of the Israeli Knesset, who warned of the dangerous Israeli-US partnership, as seen in the growing military capability of Israel. There was a question and answer period after the panel statements. Then a statement condemning the recent Israeli bombing of the refugee camps in southern Lebanon was read out.

## PALESTINIAN POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The work of the meeting continued, focusing on the topic: Palestinian Political and Human Rights. This panel included statements by Dr. Hatem Abu Ghazalah, chairman for the Care of Handicapped Children in the Gaza Strip; Dr. Latif Dori, founder and secretary of the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue; Mr. Amnon Zichroni, executive director of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, and Mrs. Rimonda Al Tawil, Palestinian writer and journalist.

The panelists focused on the violations of the Palestinian people's political rights and on the miserable health, educational and social conditions in the occupied territories, due to the restrictions imposed by the Israeli military government. They also urged an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in order to pave the way for peace in the Middle East.

After the panel discussions, four workshops began on the questions of mobilizing public opinion, creative arts and the Palestinian struggle for national identity, community development and relief work, and mobilizing the international peace movement for a nuclear weapons-free Middle East.

There was also a special session to discuss organizational development and the planned NGO activities for 1987-88.

NGO representatives met to discuss the report of the International Coordinating Committee for NGOs, to draft the final declaration and special resolutions and to elect the new coordinating committee. After the elections, there was a closing ceremony.

## FINAL DECLARATION

Below we print some of the main points of the NGO meeting's final declaration:

5. We recognize the need for and the urgency of convening the International

Peace Conference on the Middle East in accordance with UN General Assembly resolutions 38/58 C and 41/43 D. We are concerned at the delay in convening the conference and gravely concerned that any further delay will worsen conflict in the Middle East, intensify the suffering and oppression to which the Palestinian people are daily subjected and increase the danger of global conflagration.

6. Accordingly, we call on all Governments to work for the convening of the International Peace Conference under the auspices of the UN, as a matter of utmost urgency, the participants to include the five permanent members of the Security Council, the PLO, Israel and all other parties to the conflict, and other concerned States on an equal footing and with equal rights.

7. We express our conviction that one hope for peace lies with a concerted European initiative to bring Israel and the United States to accept the international peace conference as called for in resolution 38/58 C. To this end we urge the NGOs in the EEC countries to persuade their Governments to revise the Venice Declaration of 1980 to be in conformity with the principles enunciated in resolution 38/58 C.

8. We recognize that the self-determination of the Palestinian people, with all that it implies, is a central requirement for peace and security, as well as being fully in accord with one of the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the UN. Therefore, we call on all Governments to recognize that right.

9. We confirm absolutely the international consensus that the PLO is the legitimate representative of the



Palestinian people in their just struggle for their inalienable rights. Accordingly, we call on all Governments which do not recognize the PLO to do so.

11. We are greatly concerned at the discrimination practiced by the Israeli Government against Palestinians Arab citizens of Israel. We condemn the continuing repressive measures of the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian population in the occupied territories (arrests, shootings, torture, demolition of houses, closure of educational institutions, and land requisitions), and we call upon all Governments and peoples to press the Israeli Government to end these practices. Special attention should be paid to the plight of the often neglected Palestinian Bedouins.

12. We note with great concern the situation of the Palestinian camps in Beirut and in southern Lebanon. In order to end the blockade of the camps and to normalize the situation of the Palestinians in Lebanon, we call for the establishment of an international fact-finding delegation of eminent persons to study the situation in the field and to report its findings.

13. We urge our Governments to contact the appropriate parties to lift the blockade, to permit the immediate entry of the ICRC into the camps and the dispatch of medical and food supplies. We also demand the reconstruction of dwellings and the re-establishment of social and educational services.

14. We call for the ending of the continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon and the intervention in Lebanese internal affairs through political coercion and oppressive action. We demand the immediate Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon and for the release of all those held in prison.

16. We NGOs condemn the introduction of nuclear weapons by Israel into the Middle East. We urge the United States and western European states to terminate all cooperation with Israel in the field of nuclear weaponry. We further call upon Israel to dismantle its nuclear weapons, to open its nuclear facilities to expert inspection and to sign the non-proliferation treaty. The world has a right to know, the Israeli people have a right to know about Israel's nuclear capacity and the threat to regional and world peace which that capacity represents.

# PFLP Central Committee Communiqué

The PFLP's Central Committee held a regular session on June 28-9, 1987, to discuss the main issues. In particular, the Central Committee evaluated the most important Palestinian event, i.e., the restoration of the PLO's unity on the basis of a clear, nationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist program, through the convening of the unification session of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) on April 20th in Algiers.

## EVALUATING THE PNC RESULTS

The Central Committee affirmed that the political results of the PNC session ended the division that had prevailed in the Palestinian arena for over four years. The results restored the PLO to its natural position in the Arab and international arenas, and intensified its confrontation of the imperialist-Zionist liquidationist plans... The results of the PNC have eliminated, in this period, the chances of success of the enemy plan to liquidate the PLO and its right to the political representation of the Palestinian people, and to create alternatives to the PLO. These attempts were facilitated by the deep divisions in the PLO.

While the enemy forces were working to deepen the PLO's crisis, we in the PFLP, along with all nationalist and progressive Palestinian forces, were in the forefront of the work to restore the PLO's unity on a nationalist basis antagonistic to imperialism and Zionism. This work was launched from the very moment that conditions were conducive to achieving that aim, in particular after King Hussein's speech on February 19, 1986, in which he declared a halt to the political coordination between the PLO leadership and the Jordanian regime.

The King's speech constituted the start of a process wherein a number of objective and subjective factors matured, making the restoration of unity an achievable mission. Most distinguished of these factors may have been the clear conflict between what was demanded of the PLO leadership for continuing the liquidationist US plan, and the capacity of the Palestinian bourgeoisie to meet such demands. US imperialism, Arab reaction and the Jordanian regime in particular saw the Amman accord of February 1985 as a tool for eliminating the Palestinian representation and our people's national rights. Yet, from the US-Israeli point of view, this accord was not enough to achieve their goal of eliminating the PLO and the Palestinian cause. Added to that was the exposure of the true nature of the ongoing Israeli-Jordanian plan in the occupied territories, which has the same goals.

The Central Committee highly praised the sincere and great efforts expended by Algeria, Libya and Democratic Yemen, as well as the positive and effective role of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and all fraternal, progressive and nationalist forces. Such efforts played a great role in pushing the unification process towards positive results, culminating in the PNC's unification session.

The Central Committee also highly praised the vanguard role of the PFLP's Politbureau, headed by the General Secretary, in working for the success of the dialogue and ex-

tracting the best possible resolutions. This, along with the positive efforts of other Palestinian forces, contributed to the restoration of the PLO's unity.

## CONSOLIDATING UNITY

In the light of the escalating efforts to eliminate the PLO and the Palestinian cause, the Central Committee calls on all Palestinian nationalist organizations and personalities, and Arab and international friends and allies, to continue the struggle to consolidate the PLO's unity, to protect the PLO, to defend its national program and upgrade its effective role on all levels. Presently, this is the central task in our struggle through which we can upgrade the Palestinian national work and repel all dangers surrounding our national cause and the PLO, as the militant political representative of the Palestinian people's national identity and their leader in struggle.

Achieving this goal requires continued struggle within the PLO to impose respect for and adherence to the PNC's resolutions, to decisively resist all political and organizational violations, and to continue the process of organizational reform on all levels, in order for the unification process to be completed. In addition, there must be serious, positive and sincere efforts to insure that other Palestinian nationalist organizations, that are still outside the PLO, join the unity that was consecrated in the unification session of the PNC. Such efforts will enable the confrontation of imminent dangers. The Central Committee renews its call to these organizations and to all independent patriotic personalities to shoulder their responsibility in confronting the dangers surrounding our revolution on all sides, and to comply with initiatives aimed at aligning all militant forces and personalities within the PLO.

While praising the role of our masses in the occupied homeland, in Lebanon, Jordan and everywhere, the Central Committee calls on the struggling masses to embrace their PLO and protect its national role and program, to escalate all forms of struggle, first and foremost the armed struggle, consolidating and developing it.

## URGENT TASKS — RELATIONS WITH SYRIA

As for immediate aims, the Central Committee reaffirmed the necessity of serious, patient and positive work to correct relations between the PLO and Syria on a clear formula, based on common antagonism to imperialism, Zionism and their plans in the region. Such a step would mean a qualitative leap in the Palestinian struggle and the struggle of all progressive and nationalist Arab forces; it would insure consolidation of the Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist alliance which constitutes the main instrument in resisting the enemy plans...

## STEADFASTNESS UNDER OCCUPATION

The Central Committee also pointed to the escalation of the joint Jordanian-Israeli plans and the continuation of the

Zionists' iron fist policy against our masses in the occupied homeland. The Central Committee proudly salutes our steadfast masses who have escalated their struggle against these plans. The Central Committee calls on all fraternal forces to upgrade the level of support to the masses' struggle. The PLO and all sincere Palestinian forces are also urged to create suitable, unified frameworks, to escalate the political, mass and military struggle, and to insure the requirements of steadfastness for the masses to foil these plans.

## LEBANON

As another urgent aim, the Central Committee reaffirmed the high priority of solving the aggravated problems suffered by the masses in the camps of Lebanon as a result of the aggressive wars and continuing siege imposed on them. The Central Committee also affirmed the necessity of taking all measures to insure the continuation of the Palestinian armed presence, allied with the patriotic Lebanese armed presence, to escalate armed struggle against the Zionist entity and liberate the occupied parts of South Lebanon. The Central Committee affirmed the necessity of erasing all negative factors that tainted relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian people and their vanguard forces, and of consolidating the Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist alliance in confronting the enemy plans drawn up for Lebanon and the region.

The Central Committee salutes our brave and steadfast masses in the camps in Lebanon, who have suffered in order to defend their rights and revolution. The Central Committee praises the unity in the field between all the fighters; this constituted a fortress in confronting the plan to liquidate our masses' camps in Lebanon, along with the Palestinian nationalist armed presence. The cancellation of the Cairo agreement and the continuation of the siege imposed on the camps in Beirut, are only other means of achieving these goals. The Central Committee reaffirms the importance of consolidating Palestinian unity as a safeguard for the security of our people, their social rights and their right to struggle; and as a support to the Lebanese nationalist role, consolidating the militant bonds between the Palestinian and Lebanese people in confronting the occupation and its agents in Lebanon. This is, in turn, a step towards consolidating the Palestinian and Arab struggle to liberate Palestine.

## JORDAN

The Central Committee draws the attention of all progressive and nationalist Palestinian forces, and of our masses in Jordan and occupied Palestine, to the dangers of the new step in the Jordanian regime's plan. This is seen in the new law which includes the Palestinian camps in Jordan in the upcoming parliamentary elections, and allows for appointment of representatives of our people in the West Bank. This marks a continuation of the Jordanian regime's attempts to eliminate the PLO and its representation of the Palestinian masses. It indicated the regime's concern about executing its liquidationist plans. The Central Committee salutes all patriotic Jordanian forces, calling on them to resist this new conspiratorial step, given the distinguished relations between the Jordanian and Palestinian people and their history of joint struggle. The Central Committee also urges our masses in Jordan and the occupied homeland to foil this plan which aims at complementing the (Israeli-Jordanian) division of functions plan and the steps towards normalization of the Israeli occupation, as a

prelude to concluding a new Camp David-style deal on the Jordanian-Palestinian front.

## ON THE ARAB LEVEL

The Central Committee reaffirmed the necessity of revitalizing the Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist triangle of steadfastness, and solving all problems which prevent the achievement of that aim. The Central Committee also calls for revitalization of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. The PLO should raise this slogan as a step towards creating Arab solidarity antagonistic to imperialism and Zionism and their plans in the region, and towards supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people and their national rights to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on their national soil.

Concerning the Iraq-Iran war, the Central Committee reaffirmed its position calling for a halt to this destructive war which only benefits the enemies of the two peoples. The Central Committee confirmed its support to all initiatives aimed at ending this war, and the necessity of a peaceful solution, so that efforts can be focused on the main conflict with imperialism and Zionism.

The Central Committee also noted that continuing the work to isolate the Camp David trend, in order to eventually eliminate it, requires first of all supporting the struggle of the Egyptian masses and progressive and nationalist forces opposed to the capitulationist trend. It also requires the creation and revitalization of frameworks supportive of our masses and cause, and the consolidation of the PFLP's and PLO's alliances with all progressive and nationalist Arab forces, in particular those in the frontline states, upgrading coordination with them.

## THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

There is increased talk about an international conference on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels. Views on such a conference are contradictory; at the same time, some believe that there will be such a conference in the near future. In the light of all this, the Central Committee confirmed that the PFLP's and PLO's adoption of the idea of an international conference, based on the Soviet initiative, represents one part of the ongoing political struggle to confront the imperialist-Israeli plan. The latter plan aims to devoid the conference of its substance and transform it into an international umbrella for direct negotiations. The Central Committee confirmed that convening such a conference, with the PLO participating on an equal, independent footing on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and an independent Palestinian state, requires the escalation of the Palestinians' political, mass and military struggle. It requires sincere efforts to unite Arab nationalist and progressive efforts to shoulder the responsibilities of struggling against the imperialist-Zionist enemy. This would enable a real change in the balance of forces, to overcome the present imbalance.

The Central Committee praises the role of the true ally of our masses, the Soviet Union, and all socialist countries, as well as the workers' parties and forces of liberation and democracy, who stand firmly on the side of our masses and struggle led by the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, for the masses' goals of return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on Palestinian land...

# Palestinians Expelled from South Lebanon

The war on the Palestinian camps in Lebanon took a dangerous new turn in July when the Amal movement embarked on an extensive campaign of expelling Palestinian families from South Lebanon.

In early July, the Amal gangs began a new series of expulsions, arrests, abductions and assassinations, aimed against Palestinians living in the camps around Tyre in particular. As a pretext, Amal raised the slogan of stopping «conspiratorial plans to substitute South Lebanon for Palestine» - falsely insinuating that the Palestinians want to resettle permanently in the South. The reality is Amal's attempt to terrorize the Palestinian masses into leaving their camps in the Tyre area forever. This is part of Amal's campaign to empty the South of Palestinians and Lebanese nationalists, in order to establish a sectarian canton under its own control. This would be a step towards providing security arrangements for the Zionist state. It would mean an expansion of the 'security zone' in South Lebanon, to protect the Israeli occupiers and Lahd's South Lebanon Army from the escalating Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist resistance. To further its goals, Amal is using methods reminiscent of the Zionist colonizers and Lebanese fascist forces.

### TERRORIZING THE CAMPS

Amal has continued its old practices of restricting movement to and from the camps, searching residents at roadblocks and confiscating food and fuel provisions. In addition, Amal humiliates and tortures Palestinians at these roadblocks in the process of checking their ID's. All this aims to strangle the life in the camps and push people to leave. Since these old methods didn't prove to be effective, Amal started new, more savage practices, targeting the smaller Palestinian camps in the Tyre area: Burj Al Shamali, Al Bus, Shabriha, Jul Al Bahar, Qasmiyyeh and Abu Al Aswad, which was burned by Amal earlier this year. (Rashidiyeh, housing about 10,000 Palestinians, is the largest camp in the Tyre area).

On July 4th, for the third consecutive day, Amal stormed Burj Al Shamali, entering all the houses, plundering valuables, damaging property and spoiling foodstuffs, especially flour supplies for breadmaking. The camp residents were forced to load barrels of drinking water - the whole camp's supply - on trucks brought in especially for this purpose. Before the Amal gangs left the camp, they arrested scores of young men and boys. In contrast to the usual practice, that day Amal removed its roadblocks from around the camp to facilitate the people leaving.

Two days later, the same Amal group once more stormed the camp, repeating the same process and arresting more Palestinian men. This time they used loudspeakers to warn the Palestinian residents to evacuate the camp immediately. A few hundred Palestinians packed and left for Sidon.

On Saturday night, July 19th, a large group of Amal fighters entered the camp masked and carrying knives in addition to their usual weapons. They tried to imitate the speech of the Israelis. They stabbed people at random. Many Palestinians were injured and at least one man was martyred. The Amal group burned houses and attempted to rape some women after making all the camp residents come out

of their houses in their nightmare. Before leaving, they warned the residents to evacuate before Tuesday. This created an atmosphere of hysteria; some packed their things and gathered in the camp square, ready to leave. Of those who left for Sidon, many were stopped at Amal's roadblocks. The men were arrested and the others were forced to turn back.

Amal also warned about a hundred families, who live along the road between Rashidiyeh and Al Bus camp, to evacuate the area within 24 hours or risk being killed. An Amal commander ordered these people to give him a list of all the residents of the area, including those who were temporarily away, and to tell Amal if any of them returned.

Using the same methods, Amal expelled forty Palestinian families from Mahallat Ras Al Ein, near Rashidiyeh, and one hundred families from the Jul Al Bahar industrial area. On July 19th, Amal was able to force 25 Palestinian families to leave their houses in the industrial area near Jabal Aamel. These families loaded their furniture on trucks, but were stopped at the Qasmiyyeh roadblock and forced to turn back, after being beaten and humiliated. When they returned home, Amal men stormed their homes again and threatened their lives if they didn't leave immediately.

At dawn on July 17th, Amal stormed Al Qasmiyyeh, burning houses and arresting many young men. The women of the camp threw stones at the Amal men, forcing them to withdraw, but not before they had shot several people. On the same day, both Al Bus and Jul Al Bahar were stormed once again by fifty Amal men who opened fire on the camp

Palestinian family expelled from the Tyre area arrives in Sidon.





Beirut camp in ruins

residents. About this time, Amal members started demanding 5,000 Lebanese pounds from each Palestinian family for facilitating their safe travel to Sidon.

In the first ten days of July, around 150 young Palestinian males and one hundred families fled to the Sidon area. By July 20th, 1,000 Palestinians had been expelled from the Tyre area. It was very difficult to house the increasing number of people who were arriving daily from the Tyre area. As a result, scores of Palestinian families were forced to sleep along Sidon's main streets, in schools or the entrances to buildings.

Amal also abducted a number of Palestinians from the Tyre area camps. The fate of many of them is still unknown. Such abductions are also intended to terrorize the Palestinians into leaving. A clear example of this was the abduction of Sheikh Mahmoud of Burj Al Shamali. He was heavily tortured and then dumped on a road where he was found. He had been returned alive to deliver a message to Burj Al Shamali residents that they would meet the same fate if they didn't leave.

Between September 1986 and July this year, Amal has arrested at least 190 Palestinians. The number of prisoners in Amal's jails rose dramatically during July as Amal has been arresting hundreds of Palestinians daily, releasing a few and detaining others. Therefore, no one is able to determine the exact number of prisoners at this point. Information from those who were released confirms that the prisoners are facing all methods of torture. They are not

allowed to contact their families. They are forced to perform hard labor, and many are suffering from serious diseases such as ulcers, kidney inflammation and skin infections. Many have been partially paralyzed as a result of torture. Amal is denying the prisoners medical treatment and preventing the International Red Cross from visiting them. Torture is being used to extract false confessions from the prisoners that Palestinians are responsible for the many assassinations committed by Amal members. A seventeen-year-old boy, who was accused of killing an Amal officer, died under torture. Amal spread rumors that he committed suicide by throwing himself from the window of his cell. They also refused to let doctors examine his body, lest their crime be discovered.

Selective assassination has also been used by Amal to spread fear among the Palestinians. Examples of those targeted are the UNRWA teacher, Omar Zakaria, and the popular committee member, Abu Yousef, and his son. At least forty Palestinians from the Tyre area camps have been murdered by Amal over the past year, in addition to those killed in the camp wars themselves.

To cover their crimes, Amal follows up each assassination by issuing a statement claiming that Palestinians are assassinating other Palestinians for the purpose of «provoking the security situation» and «to strike the state of

coexistence between the Palestinians and the Lebanese in the South»! When there were media reports about Palestinians being expelled from the Tyre camps, Daoud Daoud, Amal responsible in the South, claimed that the PLO had bought the media and was fabricating a media campaign to defame the Amal movement and agitate the Lebanese masses against Amal!

## BEIRUT: PROTESTING THE SIEGE

The situation in the Palestinian camps in Beirut is also desperate. Ten months of siege has created many socioeconomic problems that cannot be resolved as long as the camps continue to be blockaded. According to the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, 95% of the houses in Shatila camp were completely destroyed in the foregoing camp wars; the rest are on the point of collapse and thus dangerous to live in. Last month a house collapsed on an eleven-year-old boy, killing him instantly. In Burj Al Barajneh, destruction is also widespread. The houses need to be rebuilt before the onset of winter, but Amal allows no building materials to be brought into the camps. Only women and children can leave and reenter the camps to bring food provisions. Even then, they are only allowed to bring in very small quantities of food provisions.



The water, electricity and sewage systems were ruined to a great extent and need basic repair and maintenance work which is impossible in these conditions. Garbage has piled high in the alleys and squares of the camps, creating very unhealthy conditions, especially in the hot weather. Diseases such as typhus and polio have spread. Most of the local medical facilities have been destroyed, and no doctors or medications are allowed into the camps. Most schools in the camps have been destroyed, and students cannot attend school outside the camps because of the many incidents of arrest and abduction.

These inhuman conditions led the camp population to begin a sit-in in the main street of Shatila on August 11th. They declared that the sit-in would continue until their demands are fulfilled: lifting the siege, opening the roads to the camp, allowing all camp residents to move freely, allowing in food and building materials, repair of the electricity, and provision of drinking water. A similar sit-in has begun in Burj Al Barajneh. On the third day of the Shatila sit-in, Amal indiscriminately opened fire, causing chaos. The camp residents then organized a large demonstration inside Shatila.

## PROVOKING A NEW WAR?

In mid-August, Amal and the «Army Supporters» (a new force created by Amal to support the Lebanese Army) provoked renewed clashes in East Sidon, near Ain Al Hilweh and Miyeh Miyeh camps. Added to terrorization of the Palestinian camps near Beirut and Tyre, Amal appears ready to ignite a new round of camp wars to try and exhaust the Palestinian revolution and eventually eliminate its presence in Lebanon. Amal continues to fortify its positions and concentrate troops in the Sidon area.

Amal is employing the newly formed Front for Liberation and Unification to lend legitimacy to its crimes. The article of this front's program, concerning Palestinian-Lebanese relations, is used by Amal to justify its war on the camps. Despite the results of the unifying PNC session, the program refers to the PLO leadership as being «deviationist and capitulationist». This is a tacit declaration of war on the PLO. The program

moreover calls for reigniting inter-Palestinian fighting in the name of confronting «the deviationist trend», calling for a «corrective move» in the Palestinian arena.

Objectively speaking, Amal's war on the Palestinian presence converges with the other attempts to subordinate Lebanon to the US-Israeli plan for the area, most recently: the assassination of Rashid Karami, the collapse of the Lebanese economy, the fascist forces' drive for partition and recurring Israeli aggression. Thus, it is in the interests of Lebanese as well as Palestinian progressive and nationalist forces to halt Amal's war on the Palestinians, as part of the struggle for an independent, unified Lebanon. Finally, the Palestinian revolution will not stand with arms folded in the face of Amal's attempt to expel Palestinians from the South. Rather, the Palestinian revolution is intent on a joint Palestinian-Lebanese struggle to end Israeli occupation, and the sectarian system. ●

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The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine issued a communique detailing Amal's campaign against the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. The Front called for November 29th this year to be a day of solidarity with the Palestinian masses in the camps in Lebanon.



# Initiative to End the Camp Wars

On the 9th anniversary of Imam Musa Sader's disappearance, the Amal movement held a rally in Baalbak, eastern Lebanon, on August 30th. In his speech, Amal's president Nabih Berri introduced a six-point initiative regarding the camp wars. The points of the initiative were:

1. Total withdrawal of all Palestinian forces from East Sidon (3 villages) to their original positions (before the camp war was ignited).

2. The Amal leadership and the Palestinian leadership will make joint visits to all the camps, starting with the Tyre area camps, to listen to complaints and meet demands immediately.

3. Establishing joint, unarmed liaison police units. In the Tyre area camps, these units will be composed of two members of Amal, two from the popular committees and two members of the Lebanese Internal Security Forces. In the Beirut camps, the two members of the Internal Security Forces will be replaced by two Syrian officers. The responsibilities of these units will be implementing the Damascus agreement (signed by the Salvation Front and Amal after the first camp war in 1985) and resolving any problems that may come up.

4. October 1st was set as the date that Palestinian students could go back to school.

5. November 1st was set as the date to begin rebuilding the camps.

6. Forming a higher leadership coordination committee centered in Beirut and composed of two members of Amal and the Front for Unification and Liberation, two members of the Palestinian popular committees and two Syrian officers. This committee will deal with all other issues related to the Palestinian resistance.

## PLO RESPONSE

On September 1st, two days after Berri's declaration, the PLO welcomed this initiative as a positive step that would contribute to resolving the tragic conditions prevailing in the Palestinian camps for the past two years. The Palestinian leadership confirmed its readiness to begin a dialogue immediately in order to maintain Palestinian-Lebanese relations. The

PLO spokesman stated that the Palestinian National Work Leadership would take the necessary steps and contact the concerned parties, to reach practical results as soon as possible. (The Palestinian National Work Leadership was recently formed by the PLO to follow up on Palestinian affairs in Lebanon. It is headed by Salah Salah, politbureau member of the PFLP.)

## AGREEMENT SIGNED

On September 11th, Musatafa Saad, head of the Popular Nasserite Organization in Sidon, chaired the second meeting between the delegation of the Front for Unification and Liberation and a unified Palestinian delegation. The causes of the destructive camp wars were discussed, as were the steps to be taken to end them, based on Berri's initiative.

The Palestinian delegation included: Isam Salem, the PLO chairman's personal representative in Lebanon; Salah Salah, PFLP politbureau member; Mamdouh Nofal, DFLP politbureau member; Abu Khaled, the Popular Struggle Front's responsible in Lebanon; Abu Imad Al Hassan, Al Saqiya; and Walid, Fatah-Revolutionary Council (Abu Nidal).

The delegation from the Front for Unification and Liberation included representatives from the Progressive Socialist Party, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Arab Democratic Party, the Arab Socialist Baath Party and the Amal movement.

After about four hours of discussion, the two delegations signed the following nine-point agreement:

1. condemning the resort to arms to resolve contradictions; democratic, brotherly dialogue as the only method for resolving differences within the nationalist ranks.
2. The Palestinians are committed to withdraw from all military positions in Ain Al Dulub, Qrayeh and Janasnayeh (East Sidon); they will withdraw to positions assigned by the Front for Unification and Liberation, from which they will confront the Zionist enemy and its agents.
3. ending all measures on both sides in order to enable the residents of the

camps and the surrounding areas to move freely and safely; starting the rebuilding of the camps and the Lebanese areas that were destroyed during the camp war; allowing all expelled Palestinians to return to their homes; and freeing all prisoners held by both sides.

4. Both sides will be committed to Mustafa Saad's statement concerning halting all military actions and propaganda campaigns against each other.

5. The two sides will form a central construction committee with subcommittees in different areas. Both sides appeal to the Arab League and all local, Arab and international humanitarian and social institutions to provide the needed material support for rebuilding the camps, and to establish a fund for this purpose.

6. The two sides will form joint committees in the Beirut and Sidon areas. In the Tyre area, the committee includes Amal and the Palestinian popular committees, with the participation of the Syrians. These committees will supervise ending the present military conditions, insuring freedom of movement for the camp residents, the return of the expelled to their homes and the entry of building materials. These committees will be convened as soon as possible to begin practical implementation of their duties.

7. The third meeting for the two sides will be held on September 18th in Mustafa Saad's home in Sidon.

8. Both sides confirm their intent to put forth the political and organizational basis needed to organize future militant relations between the two peoples, to enable them, along with the Syrians, to achieve their joint national goals in confronting the enemies of the Arab nation.

9. The Front for Unification and Liberation and the organizations of the Palestinian revolution express their appreciation of Syria's great efforts that contributed to reaching the agreement.

This agreement is positive in that it includes the major Palestinian organizations. The Palestinian side is deeply committed to this agreement as a means of ending the vicious cycle of camp wars. However, there have been many agreements before, and practice is the real test. One remains skeptical until all the terms of this agreement are implemented.

# Shamir's Africa Tour

In mid-June, Israeli Prime Minister Shamir toured Africa, visiting Togo, Cameroon, Liberia and the Ivory Coast. The significance of his trip exceeds the direct results, for it serves to reinforce Zionist penetration of Black Africa.

A highlight of Shamir's tour was the ceremonies in Togo which restored relations with the Zionist state earlier this year. Following in the footsteps of Zaire, Liberia, the Ivory Coast and Cameroon, Togo became the fifth to restore the relations broken off by 29 African states in 1973. Predicting economic development for African states in cooperation with 'Israel', Shamir and other Zionist officials presented this as an achievement for Israeli diplomacy, and gave the impression that a number of other African countries are waiting impatiently to follow suit.

The five states which have restored diplomatic relations with 'Israel' are among the most reactionary in Africa and those most linked with world imperialism. This explains the desire of their rulers to have close relations with the Zionist entity. Moreover, they hope to benefit from Israeli expertise in the fields of state security and suppression. The president of Togo frankly declared that he wants to benefit from the Israeli experience in suppressing 'terrorism' i.e., any opposition to the regime.

From the Zionists' side, Shamir's visit was part of the drive to encourage African states to restore diplomatic relations with 'Israel'. (24 African countries are continuing the diplomatic boycott begun in 1973.) Shamir's visit also aimed to reinforce relations with the countries visited via economic and military contracts, which will encourage Zionist business interests to penetrate these countries. Israeli papers reported that Zionist businessmen are planning either to invest their money directly in the African countries which have relations with 'Israel', or to use their influence to get US-European funds for projects in these same countries.

On the political level, 'Israel' aims to win African states to its side against the Arabs, convincing the former to adopt the Zionist point of view on resolving

the Arab-Zionist conflict, while damaging the reputation of the Palestinian national struggle with false accusations about the PLO being a terrorist organization. The Israeli reentry into Africa also aims to supplement imperialist exploitation and plunder of the continent by increasing Israeli participation in joint projects with the USA and Western European countries. At the same time, by expanding their political and economic presence in Africa, the Israeli leadership intends to provide new avenues and cover for the Mossad's activities on the continent.

Shamir's visit also had aims related to Israeli domestic politics, and the friction between the Labor and Likud blocs in the national unity government. Shamir was accompanied by an entourage of about forty persons in a clear bid to augment his prestige, presenting him as a leader who can make political gains for the Zionist state, and boost the Likud's popularity. This is part of the competition between the Likud and Labor to gain votes in the next elections. After all, Peres rounded off his term as prime minister by presiding over the restoration of relations with Cameroon in August 1986, and Shamir needs to deliver comparable foreign policy results.

Security and military cooperation between 'Israel' and the countries visited figured most prominently in the negotiations, followed by economic relations.

## WHAT FACILITATED THE ISRAELI RETURN?

The restoration of diplomatic relations by five of the 29 African countries that broke relations in 1973, does not grant 'Israel' a stable official presence in Africa, despite the fact that a number of countries maintain economic relations in the absence of diplomatic relations. However, there are indications that other African countries will resume diplomatic rela-

tions with the Zionist state in the future. The Central African Republic, Guinea, Gabon and Sierra Leone are being named in this connection. What then are the reasons for the current Israeli return to Africa?

First is the Camp David accords between Egypt and the Zionist state, which gave African states an avenue and an excuse for restoring ties with 'Israel'. This trend was reinforced by the Moroccan regime's reception of Shimon Peres in 1986.

Second is the policy of a number of African states to try to develop their countries through linkage with the imperialist countries. The countries in question are ruled by traditional reactionary classes more concerned about personal enrichment than serving the cause of the African people's freedom.

Third is the inability of the Arab states, whether reactionary or nationalist, to understand the nature of relations with the African countries. Relations were limited to financial aid through the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, and secondary projects which did not seriously help African countries to surmount their problems. No special political relations were established to reinforce the aid which was exclusively aimed at boycotting 'Israel'. Relations in the fields of education, science and journalism were neglected, despite the fact that Arab and African countries have a number of common causes.

Fourth is the role of the US and Western Europe, especially France, in pressuring African countries to establish strong relations with 'Israel'. To this end, they exploited the difficult economic conditions and famine prevailing in some African countries, and the political instability in others. The US and France have defended reactionary regimes in Zaire and Chad, sending their aid via 'Israel' as evidence of Israeli good intentions.

As a result, it is increasingly important to move quickly to confront the Zionist penetration of the African continent. The PLO is called upon to strengthen relations with the progressive and democratic African states and forces. On the other hand, it must strive for the increasing isolation of Zionism, by increasing the armed struggle against its state, 'Israel', and on the international level, by defending the UN resolution 3379 which branded Zionism as a form of racism, and con-

demned the cooperation between 'Israel' and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The Arab nationalist regimes are also called upon to confront the Zionist penetration of Africa. They should raise this issue at all coming Arab

summits and study the means for continuing the boycott of the Zionist state. Strengthening relations between the nationalist and progressive forces and regimes in Africa and the Arab world, in cooperation with the socialist countries and liberation movements

worldwide, will not only confront the Zionist penetration of Africa. It will establish a basis for common struggle to abolish Zionist, imperialist and reactionary presence both in Africa and the Arab world.

## 'Israel' in Africa Part of US Global Strategy

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's June visit to Africa was the latest step in the Zionist state's drive to restore relations with Black Africa. While specific Israeli political, economic and military aims are involved, the overriding aspect of this venture is reconstructing a project begun in the sixties whereby the US funded Israeli aid to African states as a means of perpetuating neocolonialism on the continent.

The new phase of cooperation in Africa was hatched at Camp David, as part of the US-Zionist globally-oriented strategic alliance. This aims to bolster reactionary regimes, such as the one in Zaire, against the tide of national liberation sweeping southern Africa. Training Mobutu's armed forces is not an isolated Israeli enterprise. In the early eighties, Zaire doubled the size of its army and received substantial US military aid. The importance the Reagan Administration attaches to Zaire's military role was underlined in April when US army special forces staged an exercise with Zaire troops at the Kamina air base in Shaba province in the south of the country, site of great mineral wealth and repeated revolts against Mobutu's rule. Kamina «is reportedly the installation the CIA has been using to transfer the bulk of \$15 million in covert military aid to Mr. Jonas Savimbi's guerrilla forces (UNITA) fighting the Angolan Government» (*Guardian*, April 20, 1987). Counterrevolution in Africa is an ever more urgent imperialist-Zionist concern as the mass struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa gains irreversible momentum.

On the diplomatic plane, initial Israeli success in restoring diplomatic relations with Zaire (1982) and Liberia (1983) was followed by a lull until 1986 when President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, who advocates relations with South Africa and has even met Foreign Minister Botha, reopened an embassy in occupied Palestine. However, Zionist political, economic and military activities have been ongoing in step with renewed US interest in vitalizing the 1981 agreement signed with 'Israel' on joint ventures in Africa. In 1983, teams from the US State Department and Israeli Foreign Ministry began regular meetings on African affairs. Secretary of State Schultz reportedly ordered US embassies in Africa to be at the disposal of Israeli representatives. With the November 29, 1983 US-Israeli memorandum of understanding on strategic cooperation, a joint political - military committee was formed to coordinate activities in the 'third world'. New agreements allow for US aid recipients to use these funds for purchasing Israeli weapons. In 1984, the US Congress approved a \$2 million package for setting up the US-Israeli Cooperative Development Research program (CDR). According to the *Jerusalem Post*, December 28, 1984, this will provide US fun-

ding for Israeli efforts to solve 'third world' problems via the US Agency for International Development (AID) - often a conduit for CIA-inspired projects.

«Israel has also become a participant in the newly-created and somewhat mysterious US Presidential Task Force on International Private Enterprise. Israeli Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche (one-time Mossad operative and more recently participant in the Iran/contragate affair) testified before the Task Force in early October - the only non-American to do so. Kimche subsequently reported that he had achieved 'an important breakthrough' for US financing of Israeli projects in developing countries» (*Israeli Foreign Affairs*, February 1985). All in all, the Zionists' activities in Africa are merely the other side of the coin of their role in the US's global aggressive schemes, such as funding the contras in Nicaragua.

### AID OR SABOTAGE?

Besides shielding the Pretoria regime from its inevitable demise, the Israeli role in Africa has served a variety of the Reagan Administration's pet schemes, such as the vicious campaign against Libya. To this purpose, covert Israeli efforts were joined with French intervention in the civil war in Chad, at a time when Libya was backing the opposition to Habre's regime. In August 1983, troops from Zaire landed in Chad's capital, Ndjamena, and took delivery of \$10 million in US arms; they were accompanied by Israeli advisors (*Israeli Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1985). Zaire troops trained in 'Israel' trained the French-backed Habre forces. In the 1983 Vittel Franco-African summit, 'Israel' encouraged Habre and Mobutu to go against the prevailing consensus among African states, by rejecting a negotiated settlement in favor of trying to reconquer the areas held by the opposition. With Israeli guidance, Mobutu has also proposed a new organization of sub-Saharan states, ostensibly as a counterpart to the Arab League, but actually as a device for weakening the OAU and African - Arab friendship.

Israeli relations with Liberia were also restored parallel to the Chadian civil war as both the US and 'Israel' tried to employ President Doe in their anti-Qaddafi plan. These relations were also turned against the progressive nationalist ►

government in Ghana. In 1983, the Israeli secret service, Mossad, was reported to have worked with the US and British intelligence services to promote mercenaries who should incite ethnic divisions in Ghana. In 1984, Ghana's government criticized Togo and the Ivory Coast for harboring mercenaries. According to the *Washington Post*, June 15, 1986, «... two years ago, Israeli intelligence helped the CIA find an officer who had been kidnapped by the Ethiopian government.» (What the *Post* describes as 'kidnapping' was the Ethiopian government's legitimate effort to unravel a CIA plot against the country.) In Nigeria, a country threatened with division under the guise of religious differences, «Israel has also been funding various movements, clandestine and otherwise, whose main goals seem to be to run anti-Arab, anti-Islamic and anti-communist crusades» (*Guardian*, July 24, 1987).

Despite its proclaimed democratic ideals, the Zionist state finds it useful to aid repressive regimes. Faced with recurring opposition, these regimes need outside help to stay in power and are thus vulnerable to manipulation, while 'Israel' gains a market for its military hardware and expertise. The presidents of Zaire, Liberia and Cameroon are all three protected by Israeli-trained elite units, while the Israeli ambassador to Liberia is a former inspector general of police (*International Herald Tribune*, July 28, 1987). Cameroon's president, Paul Biya, established a security department managed by Mossad agents after the coup attempt of April 1984. In Malawi, which never broke relations with 'Israel', the state youth movement was established by advisers from Gadna and Nahal (official Israeli paramilitary formations). This youth movement «is used as the tyrant's private instrument for murdering political opponents, terrorizing workers by flogging, and torturing anyone who dares to doubt the divine wisdom of the nation's 'father' Dr. Benda» (Israel Shahak, *Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression*).

Israeli help was pivotal in helping Liberia's President Doe survive a coup attempt in November 1985, after he had narrowly won in rigged elections. According to Liberians present in Monrovia at the time, the Israeli embassy jammed the communications system of the Patriotic Forces that attempted the coup. Israeli forces wearing Liberian army uniform retook the radio station captured by the coupists (*Israeli Foreign Affairs*, March 1986). Soon afterwards, there was an Israeli-Liberian agreement on cooperation against 'international terrorism' (Zionist-imperialist double talk for liberation movements). «Israeli experts have recently conducted seminars in Monrovia on how to deal with terrorists» (*Jerusalem Post*, June 18, 1986). While Doe's main concern is simply staying in power, the Zionist state scores points in the reactionary campaign to blur the contradiction between imperialism and the underdeveloped countries, by blaming all problems on so-called terrorism.

## EXPLOITING FAMINE

In its efforts to penetrate Black Africa, Zionist officials hold out the carrot of development aid, advertising Israeli expertise in agricultural, infrastructural, medical and industrial projects. The old Zionist myth of having made 'the desert bloom' in occupied Palestine has been used since the initial phase of Israeli activities in Africa. In the eighties, it is marketed with new vigour, capitalizing on the prevailing famine. In addition, African states are led to believe that the Zionist lobby will help procure more US aid. Though this lobby has few qualms about promoting regimes with bad human rights records, like Zaire

and Liberia, these efforts have not yielded the desired fruit. So far, the most prominent Israeli endeavor in relation to the famine in Africa was using this as justification for the airlift of Ethiopian Jews to 'Israel'. The real aim of this operation was not humanitarian aid but increasing the settler population in occupied Palestine, despite the fact that as Black Africans, the Ethiopian Jews encountered harsh racism and were forced to prove their 'Jewishness' upon arrival in the 'promised land'.

All in all, Israeli aid to Africa is much exaggerated. At a symposium in Ghana on Israeli policies towards sub-Saharan Africa, one speaker told the forum: «Israeli assistance has at most represented 0.5% of all foreign aid to African nations, while much of its largesse takes the form of military supplies and training» (*US Guardian*, September 18, 1985). In addition to the Israeli weapons industry, the beneficiaries of Israeli projects are likely to be the CIA, the Mossad and the apartheid regime's intelligence service (BOSS) that specializes in destabilization, terror raids and death squad-style executions of ANC cadres in various African countries, having already disposed of Mozambique's revolutionary leader Samora Machel.

Over the years, the US has sent millions of dollars in covert aid to 'Israel' for operations in Africa, according to the *Washington Post*, June 15, 1986, which also noted that the knowledge gained in these efforts helped the Israelis in their 1976 raid on Entebbe airport in Uganda. The presence of thousands of Israelis working on various aid projects and economic enterprises in African countries provides an ideal cover for the Mossad's intelligence gathering and covert operations.

## PERPETUATING SUBORDINATION

'Israel' has extensive economic activities in Africa, often in the absence of diplomatic relations. These have a more subtle but just as subversive role in that they maintain African countries' subordination to foreign capitalist interests. African leaders, who are truly concerned about their countries' independence and growth prospects, should evaluate the question of relations to the Zionist state in terms of their own national interests.

Many of the Israeli economic activities in Africa are related to luxury projects or the rulers' personal wealth and prestige. For example, in the Ivory Coast, some of the 300 Israeli experts working there are involved in managing the president's pineapple plantation. In the capital, Abidjan, Israeli contractors recently completed an enormous cathedral as well as hotels. «The luxury hotels, the palaces for the rulers, the monopolistic companies - all this was and is built in close cooperation with Israel, first and foremost with the Histadrut-owned corporations and secondarily with private companies» (Shahak, *ibid*). Thus, the Israeli role reinforces the social disparities in a country where 80% of property belongs to the president, his family and a few select cronies.

A branch of the Histadrut construction company, Soleh Boneh, which builds settlements in the occupied West Bank, is also active in Cameroon. Thousands of Israelis, many of them retired military officers, are working as experts in Cameroon in the fields of agriculture, tourism and industry, as well as in the military and security departments. The Israeli company, Yona International, is erecting a new defense ministry building in Monrovia, and has also secured a concession for felling and marketing Liberian timber, using equipment brought in from 'Israel'.

Zaire provides perhaps the clearest example of how Israeli efforts serve to perpetuate subordination to international capital. When Israeli President Herzog visited Zaire in January 1984, he personally arranged contact between Mobutu and British businessman Leon Tamman who has extensive investments in 'Israel'. Tamman subsequently agreed to invest \$400 million in Zaire's transport and pharmaceutical sectors, the largest foreign investment ever in the country. The Israeli paper *Davar* wrote forthrightly that it was hoped that the Tamman deal would «help Israel's image in Africa and... strengthen the impression in other countries that Israel has connections and influence with businessmen worldwide who might invest in countries in Africa.» The other side of the deal is that Zaire ceded 40% of the government stake in three state-owned enterprises (the national air and shipping lines and the central pharmaceutical-buying organization) to the Tamman investment group which also gains a 60% stake in two new companies dealing with medicine and timber. The whole deal is part of an IMF program for Zaire.

Having turned the financial aspect over to a Zionist-linked, international capitalist concern, President Herzog signed three cooperation accords with Mobutu when the latter visited 'Israel' in May 1985. These concern aviation, investment and technical training. The cooperation between Air Zaire and El Al can have hidden benefits for Israeli covert operations, trade with South Africa, etc., since in February 1985 the Belgian authorities let it be known that Air Zaire was smuggling diamonds, ivory and drugs to Brussels. What 'Israel' actually offered Zaire was, typically, in the military field. Mobutu had been grumbling about the Israelis' not honoring the promise reportedly made by Ariel Sharon, who visited Zaire when he was defense minister and pledged a \$8 million credit for arms purchases if diplomatic relations were restored. While secrecy shrouded the military agreements made during Mobutu's 1985 visit, the *Economist's* Intelligence Unit wrote that «Tel Aviv made an unconfirmed commitment to match... Zairian purchases of Israeli arms with credit for further acquisitions» (quoted in *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, February 1986).

Zaire is a rich country by African standards due to extensive mineral deposits. The economic problems suffered by its population stem from the regime's willing subordination to imperialist interests, economically and militarily, and Mobutu's habit of usurping a sizeable portion of the national wealth for his own private consumption. Since Zionist relations with the regime serve to reinforce all these negative

South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster, former Nazi supporter, visits occupied Jerusalem in 1976.



trends, one can ask what the consequences of Israeli influence on poorer nations will be.

## APARTHEID'S BEST FRIEND

Of course, the most damaging aspect of Israeli activities in Africa is support to the racist regime in Pretoria. While imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces planned that restoring the Sinai to Egypt would pave the way for official Israeli reentry into Africa, African national interests in abolishing apartheid argue against this. It is telling that those African states who openly deal with 'Israel' are far removed from the struggle against apartheid.

Relations between the racist states in occupied Palestine and South Africa are too extensive to be comprehensively covered here. Yet there is little doubt that military cooperation is a dominant aspect in ties that extend back to pre-state days, based on shared racism and settler-colonial ambitions. From the mid-sixties to the mid-eighties, a reported 35% of Israeli arms exports went to South Africa (*Washington Post*, August 12, 1985). When the UN imposed an arms embargo on South Africa in 1977, the Israeli ambassador in Johannesburg publicly stated that it was now more important than ever for the two states to stick together to confront the alliance of Africa and the Arab world.

Currently, annual Israeli arms sales to South Africa are estimated at \$125 million-US administration report mandated by Congress - to \$800 million - unconfirmed Israeli report (*International Herald Tribune*, March 30, 1987). While war capitalists in many countries defy the embargo, the Israeli sales have a special character because the Israeli arms industry is government-controlled. Far more than a purely economic venture, this arms trade is a facet of close, high-tech military cooperation which includes the exchange of expertise and manpower, and ranges from counterinsurgency to joint nuclear weapons development, as we touched on in *Democratic Palestine* no. 25. According to James Adams in his book *The Unnatural Alliance*, Israeli officials privately acknowledged that there are approximately 300 Israeli military personnel in South Africa, giving training and working on joint arms projects.

The Zionist state has been the key party in helping South Africa in circumventing sanctions. This help ranges from recycling South African products into the European Common Market, to passing on US technology to the apartheid regime. There are reports of South African involvement in funding the development of the Israelis' Lavi fighter jet, in hopes of later producing it on license. Besides the official agreements signed between the two states with Vorster's visit to 'Israel' in 1976, this cooperation is facilitated by 20,000 Israelis working in South Africa and South African ownership of a high-tech industrial park in 'Israel' (*Jerusalem Post*, August 20, 1985).

The Zionist state has also been willing to cross world opinion on two other issues vital to the South African regime: Namibia and the bantustans. The Israelis have been involved in fighting SWAPO since the seventies. In December 1984, the Israeli ambassador to South Africa announced Israeli willingness to give technical aid to Namibia before South Africa ended its illegal occupation there. The fields in which 'Israel' offered expertise, especially «community development», are chillingly reminiscent of the help 'Israel' gave the Guatemalan dictatorship in herding peasants into «model villages» (read: concentration camps) to separate them from the revolutionary guerrilla forces (*Israeli Foreign Affairs*, October 1985). In ►

Namibia such projects would obviously target the unanimous mass support to SWAPO and its persist guerrilla warfare against occupation.

Along with Taiwan, 'Israel' is the only state to deal with the bantustans created by the Pretoria regime to finalize the Black masses' dispossession of their rights in South Africa. By 1985, there were about 60 Israeli entrepreneurs operating in Ciskei whose puppet rulers are known for their brutality and corruption; 200 Israeli citizens were working there as advisors, entrepreneurs or technicians, when a scandal broke out, revealing the depths of Zionist cynicism in these exploitative ventures. Charging corruption, the Ciskei government terminated the contracts of Yosef Schneider (former Kahane aid) and Nat Rosenwasser (member of Herut's Central Committee) who had served as Ciskei's trade commissioners in 'Israel' for three years; the trade mission was closed. Among the contracts under investigation, «many were awarded to shell companies which then subcontracted the entire contract to South African companies» (*Jerusalem Post*, July 31, 1985). In another case, a pilot training project was awarded to an Israeli company to the tune of \$10 million, which Ciskei officials claim would have been cheaper in South Africa.

## WHO CONDEMNS APARTHEID?

In 1985, with emergency rule clamped on the masses in South Africa, eliciting broad international protests, the Israeli cabinet condemned apartheid for the first time - and for opportunistic reasons. Hoping to maintain its 'democratic' image in the West, and further its reentry into Black African states, 'Israel' offered a verbal condemnation for public consumption. Practice was something different as relations continued unabated. Zionist 'sympathy' for the anti-apartheid struggle was expressed in the official reception of Chief Buthelezi in 'Israel' in August 1985; he is the only Black leader in South Africa, with any following, who advocates a moderate solution with Pretoria, while directly attacking the historical leader of the anti-apartheid struggle, the ANC. Israeli aid was offered to Buthelezi's tribal homeland, Kwazulu, which Pretoria presents as an alternative to the ANC's struggle for genuine democracy and majority rule. In the same period, Prime Minister Peres asked Absorption Minister Tsur to «prepare a plan for the absorption of South African Jews seeking to escape the upheaval in their country» (*Jerusalem Post*, August 1985).

Also in 1985, as South African security forces shot down, beat and arrested anti-apartheid activists by the thousands, two delegations of South African security men were given red carpet treatment by the Israeli military and police forces who demonstrated smoke and tear gas grenades for them. A South African purchasing mission in November, 1985, was treated to a demonstration of the use of the electronic border fence in the Jordan Valley (*Israeli Foreign Affairs*, February 1986).

In July, 1986, the Cheetah, South Africa's new fighter bomber, was unveiled. PW Botha called it «our response to the imposition of sanctions against us,» and the defense minister termed it «a new iron fist.» The Cheetah is also a manifestation of the Israeli role in bolstering Pretoria's aggressive capacity. It is a remake of the Israeli Kfir (modeled after the French Mirage), based on an old Mirage overhauled with help from the Israeli Aircraft Industries. The engine is on the model of plans stolen by the Mossad from a Swiss company in 1968 (*Israeli Foreign Affairs*, August 1986).

In view of the continuing Israeli-South African cooperation, one can be highly sceptical about the effect of this year's Israeli

government decision to stop new arms contracts with South Africa. The decision was, of course, only made because US aid to 'Israel' might be jeopardized by its relations to South Africa, in view of the anti-apartheid sentiment in the US Congress (generated by Black legislators, not the Reagan Administration). This stoppage appears ironic since the formalization of South African-Israeli ties occurred under the impact of US imperialist strategy in the seventies, when President Ford upgraded relations with 'Israel' and Kissinger encouraged Israeli support for South Africa's invasion of Angola. The cooperation may indeed continue. It has always been kept secret and Iran/contragate has shown the extent to which the Reagan Administration, CIA and Israeli government will go to circumvent US congressional restrictions. The scandal has also dealt the imperialist and Zionist forces painful lessons which could spur them to find more foolproof methods of continuing their efforts to turn back the tide of history and stave off popular revolution. So ever more alertness is called for in monitoring Israeli-South African relations.

## ARAB RESPONSIBILITY

The decline in official Arab policies has greatly facilitated the Israeli comeback in Africa. Hassan II of Morocco, as an example, is reported to have encouraged the Ivory Coast to restore relations with the Zionist state. Not only has the Arab position vis-a-vis 'Israel' weakened, but Afro-Arab solidarity is affected as well. Most serious is that some Arab reactionary states have been caught circumventing the boycott of South Africa and its puppet mercenaries. In connection with the Iran/contragate scandal, it has been revealed that the Saudi monarchy has been funding UNITA's subversive war on Angola. This dates back to agreements made with the US in connection with the AWACS deal in 1981. In their eagerness to please the US administration, the Saudi princes involved themselves in a larger project, helping Reagan get around US Congress restrictions on the CIA, by financing the counter-revolutionary forces fighting Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Mozambique as well. This places Saudi reaction on the same side as the Zionist state in the global confrontation between the imperialist forces and the forces of liberation, peace and progress.

De facto Saudi-Israeli collaboration has resulted in such dirty deals as that reported in *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, June 1986, whereby the Saudi businessman Khashogghi helped 'Israel' obtain 60 modern Gazelle helicopters as well as armoured cars, cannons and guns from Egypt. These were shipped to South Africa and Zaire, most probably intended for UNITA and the so-called MNR which is fighting the independent government of Mozambique. The important thing to the conspirators, aside from the weaponry itself, was the label «made in Egypt» for this should hide the real identity of those sponsoring sabotage against Angola and Mozambique.

Such facts serve to accentuate the importance of the PLO's role in maintaining Afro-Arab solidarity on an anti-imperialist, anti-racist basis, in the interests of the broad masses of both regions. The unifying session of the PNC in April stressed support to the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa, denouncing the Tel Aviv-Pretoria alliance. Based on its restored unity and nationalist program, the PLO must work to consolidate its relations with the national liberation movements and truly independent governments in Africa, especially those on the frontline of struggle against apartheid. This is the real meaning of Afro-Arab solidarity.

# Soviet Union, 1917 - 1987

## Leninism, Glasnost and Socialist Renewal

Seventy years ago, the October Revolution made history by founding the world's first socialist state. As we celebrate this anniversary, the Soviet people and party are not simply resting on their laurels. Quite the contrary, they are engaged in a renewed revolutionary process under the twin banners of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring).

Most immediately, the new policy appears as a creative response to the problems which surfaced in the Soviet economy in the late seventies and early eighties. However, the implications of socialist renewal go much deeper, involving the political, social, cultural and theoretical spheres as well. This becomes obvious if we view *glasnost* and *perestroika* in their historical context.

Marx and Engels developed dialectical materialism as the theoretical tool for analyzing the world *in order to change it*. While they demonstrated scientifically that history is objectively moving towards socialist revolution and eventually communism, Lenin and the Bolshevik party contributed the theoretical premises and practical experience for *how* such revolutions could become a reality, chiefly through the role of the party and its leadership of the masses. The Soviet Union was the fruit of Marxism-Leninism, consolidated in hard struggle against formidable odds ranging from the backwardness bequeathed by the Czar regime to the imperialist-sponsored counterrevolution, Hitler fascism and later US imperialism's cold war subversion.

As the first socialist state to be established, the Soviet Union is also the first to reach a level of development where new, unanswered questions and challenges arise concerning the continuation of socialist development towards communism. In this perspective, *glasnost* and *perestroika* are not only policies for rectifying past mistakes, though that in itself is very important. They are just as much a sign of Soviet strength, showing ability and determination to move on to higher



levels of progress. If fundamentally pursued, socialist renewal in the Soviet Union will make a new contribution to the theory of scientific socialism, which will be of great use to revolutionary movements the world over. In this sense, we are witness to a process which can be just as ground-breaking as was the October Revolution in its time.

Already the process underway in the Soviet Union has reminded us that Marxism-Leninism is not a static dogma; nor is socialist construction, or any revolutionary endeavor for that matter, a question of mechanically following uniform, prescribed methods or recipes. Rather, scientific socialism is a living, dialectical theory, open to new development. The dynamics of Leninism are brought to the fore with their emphasis on the party acting boldly and creatively, according to a concrete analysis of the concrete conditions, in tune with the masses and unleashing their full potentials.

### THE ECONOMY AND THE SUBJECTIVE FACTOR

In line with its sound, materialist understanding, the CPSU determined

to tackle problems at the roots. Thus, the economy was the starting point and the base for the restructuring initiated by the Central Committee at its April 1985 plenary meeting, and adopted more comprehensively at the 27th Party Congress in 1986. The aim is to accelerate socio-economic development and specifically to attain a new *quality* of growth, based on vertical rather than horizontal development. This means restructuring industry based on scientific-technological advances, rather than simply expanding the existing production system. At the same time, new modes of management and stimulation of labor would be introduced. This would strengthen the Soviet economy overall, while more efficiently providing the Soviet citizen with consumer products. The watchwords are collective work, incentives for labor, self-management, self-financing and cost-accounting for the various industries and enterprises. A key factor is better organization of workers and employees, drawing them more closely into the decision-making process and thus giving them greater responsibility and motivation for achieving results.

So, already on the economic level, one clearly sees that while based on objective factors, restructuring involves the subjective factor, striving to maximize the potential of the working people - the human beings that both build and benefit from socialism. As stated by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in the Central Committee's Political Report to the CPSU's 27th Congress: «The main thing that will ensure us success is the living creativity of the masses, the maximum use of the tremendous potentials and advantages of the socialist system.»

This emphasis on the subjective factor as part of the rectification process is also connected to the Soviet view of the roots of the problem: Here it is a question of attitudes prevailing in the party and leadership as pinpointed by Georgi Smirnov of the USSR Academy of Sciences, writing in *New Times*, April ►

27, 1987: «The main cause of the difficulties that arose in the seventies and early eighties was that for subjective reasons we could not realize in time the need for change, the danger of mounting crisis phenomena in society, and work out a clear strategy to overcome them. No Party leader rejected the bedrock principles of the Leninist teaching on socialism, but there have been many deviations from it. The result has been stagnation in the economy and social relations.»

## GLASNOST'S DIVERSITY

There is, then, a direct connection between perestroika and glasnost. In step with restructuring on the economic level, socialist renewal is sweeping all fields of life in the Soviet Union, generating new topics and experimental forms in film, theater, literature and public debate. In this context, glasnost is not a question of concessions to dissidents; nor is perestroika bowing down to individual initiative, as some western commentators like to insinuate. Both are part of a conscious strategy for further politicizing Soviet citizens

and upgrading their activities in all fields from factory work to political participation to cultural endeavor. Glasnost is actually a strategy for strengthening the party's role, emphasizing its political leadership while eliminating bureaucracy and interference in the daily affairs and decision-making of various associations and enterprises. Simultaneously, glasnost is a strategy for having the state serve the people better, delegating more freedom and responsibility, so that cadres and other citizens can more effectively and creatively perform their duties and exercise their rights.

## SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

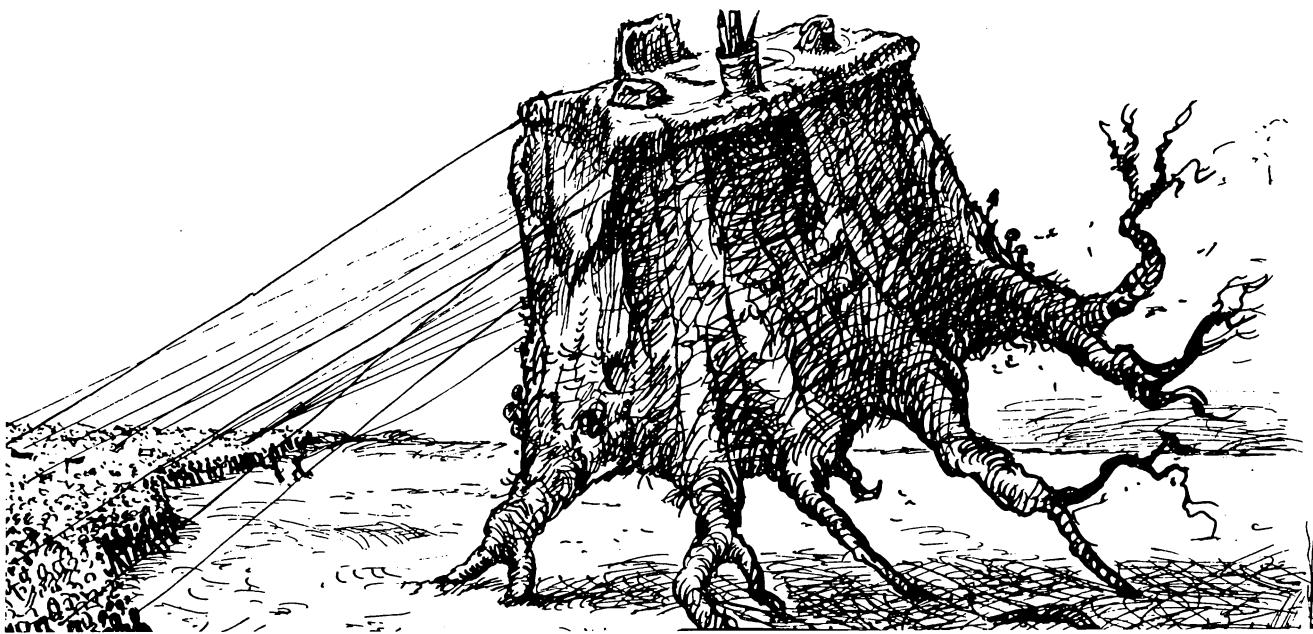
Glasnost is not just a slogan, or an impetus to verbal debate. It is being embodied in political reform, in the creation of new institutions and the reactivation of others. The role of the Soviets, the original base of the revolution and socialist democracy, is being reinvigorated. Grass-roots women's councils, which were prevalent immediately after the revolution but then became inactive, are being formed

again in all localities. Associations of creative workers, such as the National Theater Workers' Union formed in December 1986, have been assigned an equal status with state cultural bodies in their field. A broad electoral reform is underway, beginning with this summer's local council elections which featured choice of candidates in some districts and secret balloting.

The Soviet leadership is aware that the changes contemplated require time -some officials estimate a five-year period before real results emerge. Also, like any revolutionary process, glasnost and perestroika require political, ideological and real struggle, even conflict and personnel changes in the party and state aparati. All revolutionaries stand to benefit from the current Soviet experience, learning how such struggle unfolds and is resolved in a developed socialist society where classes and private property, the sources of antagonistic contradictions in the capitalist society, have been abolished. In this respect, Gorbachev's remarks at the June plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee are enlightening.

Comrade Gorbachev makes an impromptu visit to a Moscow neighborhood.





Soviet cartoonist, Igor Smirnov, depicts the task of weeding out bureaucracy.

He stated that even though «socialism removes the antagonism of interests, contradictions of interests of various groups of the population, collectives, agencies and organizations» continue to exist. These give rise to opposing viewpoints and tendencies. Addressing solutions to these difficulties, Gorbachev advocated «extensive development of democracy... It is the command-and-administer forms of

managing society that are braking our movement. Democratic and only democratic forms are capable of giving it mighty acceleration.»

In conclusion, we note an important point that may already be obvious to our readers: The socialist renewal underway in the Soviet Union is the internal backbone of the daring and innovative Soviet foreign policy, and its cornerstone: The repeated, sincere

Soviet proposals for a world of peace, free of nuclear weapons. Just as the Soviet peace policy has thrown the most reactionary imperialist powers off-balance, the success of socialist restructuring and renewal, and the expansion of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, can herald a future shift in the international balance of forces, in favor of the forces of peace, progress and socialism worldwide. ●

## Central American Peace Plan

On August 7th, the presidents of Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica met in Guatemala City and signed a peace plan for Central America. This raised hopes for a serious effort to establish peace in the region. By ruling out US support to the contras, the plan represents a political victory for Nicaragua's revolution.

The plan was the accumulation of nearly four years of regional peace talks in Central America. It calls for: (1) bringing about a ceasefire throughout Central America within 90 days (by November 7th); (2) stopping aid to all rebel groups in the region; (3) prohibiting the use of any country's territory for the purpose of undermining or overthrowing any other Central American government; (4) providing verification of the above-mentioned measures; (5) amnesty for political

prisoners and the armed opposition in each country; and (6) beginning a process of democratization in the area.

As agreed by the five presidents, the foreign ministers of thirteen Latin American countries met in Caracas, Venezuela on August 23rd, and created a commission to verify compliance with the Guatemala plan. The ten-member commission consists of the foreign ministers of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, and the secretary

generals of the UN and OAS, or their senior representatives.

The Guatemala plan grew out of the proposals presented by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias in February. But while Arias' proposals were basically directed against Nicaragua, for example prohibiting arms shipments to the Sandinista government, the Guatemala plan deals with all countries in the region on an equal basis. Most importantly, the Guatemala plan eclipsed US President Reagan's so-called peace plan for Central America, which was introduced just one day prior to the Guatemala meeting.

The US plan, devised by Reagan and House Speaker Jim Wright, aimed at guaranteeing the survival of the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries (contras), rather than being a genuine peace effort. It called for a negotiated ceasefire acceptable to the contras, while prohibiting any military aid from the socialist countries to the Sandinista ►

government. Its provisions calling for a multiparty electoral commission, and a timetable and procedures for new elections within 90 days, were designed to force the Nicaraguan government into sharing power with the contras.

Nicaragua's president Daniel Ortega termed Reagan's plan «a publicity stunt» and immediately called on Washington to start direct, bilateral negotiations. Ortega's call was quickly rejected by the US administration. Secretary of State Schultz said that «...there is no way the United States would want to sit down with Nicaragua to decide what is right for Central America» (*International Herald Tribune*, August 7, 1987). This response clearly exposed Washington's real intentions of continuing its war against Nicaragua. In fact, Reagan's intent was to introduce a plan unacceptable to the Sandinistas, in order to use their refusal as a prelude for gaining congressional approval for more aid to the contras.

Faced with a Central American consensus, Washington initially seemed to respond positively to the Guatemala peace plan. However, Reagan's August 24th speech which was broadcast on the contras' clandestine station, Radio Liberacion, added new evidence of the US administration's intentions. Reagan said that the US would continue backing the contras until the Nicaraguan government lived up to its promises under the peace plan. The US's real position on the Guatemala plan was further revealed by a senior official who stated that: «The Reagan administration has decided that a regional peace plan for Central America cannot work unless the United States provides long-term support for the rebels in Nicaragua perhaps even months after a ceasefire» (*International Herald Tribune*, August 20, 1987).

## BLOCKING US INTERVENTION

The most significant aspect of the Guatemala plan is that it establishes a consensus against foreign intervention in local conflicts. This constitutes a major barrier to US imperialism's strategy in Central America, and a major gain for Nicaragua. For years, the Nicaraguan government has worked hard to establish reasonable relations with its neighbors in order to head off US intervention. It is well known that without US support, the contras cannot

continue their war against the gains of the Nicaraguan people. Ending the contras' sabotage would allow the Sandinista government to channel more of its resources into development projects for increasing the people's welfare. Due to such considerations, President Ortega termed the new plan «a first, great, transcendent and historic step.» He also noted, «We still have major steps to take before there is peace in Central America.»

Though hopes for a peaceful settlement in Central America were increased by the Guatemala plan, a number of obstacles remain. Chief among these is the Reagan Administration's continued efforts to overthrow the Sandinista government. Another problem is related to the fact that to be lasting, peace must be just, acknowledging the political, social and economic realities prevailing in the countries involved. Peace has in fact different prerequisites in Nicaragua and El Salvador, sites of the two most intense conflicts in the region. In Nicaragua, the Sandinista government came to power as the result of popular struggle against dictatorship. It is leading the masses' struggle for democracy and social progress.

Democratization does not therefore necessitate power-sharing with the contras whose war is but sabotage kept alive by US support.

The opposition in El Salvador - the FDR/FMLN - is a completely different force in terms of its nature and strength. In El Salvador the liberation struggle is propelled forward by broad mass opposition to the Duarte regime's political and economic oppression, and its dependence on US imperialism. Democratization there does require serious negotiations between the regime and the FDR/FMLN since the latter has a legitimate right to demand that the grievances of the people be addressed and a government acceptable to the people be created.

Despite these problems, reaching a regional agreement on peace in Central America is in itself a success. It shows a positive tendency to seek indigenous solutions related to local needs, rather than submitting to US-imposed solutions. This was a very difficult achievement in view of the fact that several of the governments that signed the peace plan were imposed and/or kept in power by the US. ●

Nicaragua's president Ortega



# The September Massacres

Jordan 1970 Tel Al Zatar 1976 Sabra-Shatila 1982

Since the rise of the Palestinian revolution in the late sixties, Palestinians outside their homeland have been subjected to three all-out massacres in the month of September - in Jordan 1970, Tel al Zatar 1976 and Sabra-Shatila 1982. In all three cases, the shock troops were provided by reactionary Arab forces, the Jordanian regime in 1970 and the Lebanese fascists in 1976 and 1982. In all three cases, the butchers were acting in accordance with the imperialist-Zionist master plan for imposing reactionary stability in the strategic Middle East.

What is the common quality binding the Palestinian masses in Amman with those in Tel Al Zatar and Sabra-Shatila? Why were they targeted in these inhuman attacks? Each of these massacres was linked to a major thrust to eradicate the Palestinian armed revolution. In 1970, Jordanian troops slaughtered over 10,000 Palestinians in the effort to drive the fedayeen out of Jordan. The Phalangists' siege of Tel Al Zatar, where 1,300 Palestinians were killed in the fighting and over 4,000 massacred as the camp finally fell, was the culmination of the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war. Via this war, the US-Israeli-fascist alliance hoped to liquidate the Palestinian revolution. The massacre in Sabra-Shatila was a bloody 'mopping-up' operation in the aftermath of three months of Israeli bombing and invasion, intended to wipe out the PLO. Especially the case of Sabra-Shatila, where as many as 4,000 Palestinian and poor Lebanese civilians were massacred after the departure of PLO fighters from Beirut, makes clear the enemies' intentions: Their goal was not simply snatching away the Palestinians' kashnikovs, but rather to quell the whole revolutionary process associated with the fact of the masses' carrying arms.

The rise of the Palestinian resistance, first in Jordan, and later in Lebanon and the alliance with the Lebanese National Movement, generated a new atmosphere of mass mobilization and democracy. It formed the objective basis for the spread of progressive secular ideas, so dangerous to the sectarian Israeli and Arab forces. It created a new human being armed with a revolutionary spirit - a spark that would spread throughout the Arab world, threatening not only the Zionist occupiers in Palestine, but reactionary Arab forces who rely on repression,

violence and alliance with imperialism, to keep the masses underfoot.

This revolutionary spirit among the masses engaged in revolution was beautifully captured in the poetic prose of Jean Genet, the famous French writer and defender of third world liberation causes, who died in 1986. Genet's identification with the oppressed seems to have developed instinctively from his own experience of being oppressed. Growing up deprived and separated from his parents, Genet became involved in petty crimes for which he spent long years of his life in prison where he began to write. He was finally freed as a result of a broad campaign by French intellectuals who recognized the genius contained in his plays and novels.

In an interview printed in *Le Monde* after his death, Genet related how during the French mandate in Syria, he was drafted out of a youth detention center

into the army and stationed in Damascus. Reacting against being part of the colonial army, and out of boredom, he slipped away at night to play cards with Syrian friends. They played secretly in mosques as the colonial army had forbidden cardplaying in the coffeehouses.

Later, on his own, Genet visited the Middle East several times. One time was to Jordan where he visited the Palestinian fedayeen after the 1970 September massacres. Another visit brought him to Beirut in September 1982, where he entered Shatila camp right after the Israeli-orchestrated massacre. Genet combined the impressions of these two instances when writing «Four Hours in Shatila» which was printed in the *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, Spring 1983. Below we print excerpts of this to mark the September massacres.

## «Four Hours in Shatila»

No one, nothing, no narrative technique, can put into words the six months, and especially the first weeks, which the fedayeen spent in the mountains of Jerash and Ajloun in Jordan. As for relating the events, establishing the chronology, the successes and failures of the PLO, that has been done by others. The feeling in the air, the color of the sky, of the earth, of the trees, these can be told; but never the faint intoxication, the lightness of footsteps barely touching the earth, the sparkle in the eyes, the openness of relationships not only between the fedayeen but also between them and their leaders. Under the trees, everything, everyone was aquiver, laughing, filled with wonder at this life,

so new for all, and in these vibrations there was something strangely immovable, watchful, reserved, protected like someone praying. Everything belonged to everyone. Everyone was alone in himself. And perhaps not. In the end, smiling and haggard. The area in Jordan where they had withdrawn for political reasons extended from the Syrian border to Salt, and was bounded by the Jordan River and the road from Jerash to Irbid. About 60 kilometers long and 20 deep, this mountainous area was covered with holm oaks, little Jordanian villages and sparse crops. Under the trees and the camouflaged tents the fedayeen had set up combat units and emplaced light and semiheavy arms. The artillery in place, directed ►

mainly against possible Jordanian operations, young soldiers would take care of their weapons, disassemble them to clean and grease them, then reassemble them quickly. Some managed this feat of disassembling and reassembling their weapons blindfolded so they could do it at night. Between each soldier and his weapon a loving, magical bond had developed. Since the fedayeen had only recently left adolescence behind, the rifle, as a weapon, was the sign of triumphant virility and gave assurance of being. Aggressiveness disappeared: teeth showed behind the smile.

The rest of the time, the fedayeen drank tea, criticized their leaders and the rich, Palestinian and others, insulted Israel, and above all they talked about the revolution, the one they were involved in and the one they were about to enter upon.

For me, the word «Palestinians,» whether in a headline, in the body of an article, on a handout, immediately calls to mind fedayeen in a specific spot-Jordan-and at an easily determined date: October, November, December 1970, January, February, March, April 1971. It was then and there that I discovered the Palestinian Revolution. The extraordinary evidence of what was happening, the intensity of this joy at being alive is also called beauty.

Ten years went by, and I heard nothing about them, except that the fedayeen were in Lebanon. The European press spoke off-handedly, even disdainfully, about the Palestinian people. Then suddenly, West Beirut.

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A photograph has two dimensions, so does a television screen; neither can be walked through. From one wall of the street to the other, bent or arched, with their feet pushing against one wall and their heads pressing against the other, the black and bloated corpses that I had to step over were all Palestinian and Lebanese. For me, as for what remained of the population, walking through Shatila and Sabra resembled a game of hopscotch. Sometimes a dead child blocked the streets: they were so small, so narrow, and the dead so numerous. The smell is probably familiar to old people; it didn't bother me. But there were so many flies. If I lifted the hand-

kerchief or the Arab newspaper placed over a head, I disturbed them. Infuriated by my action, they swarmed onto the back of my hand and tried to feed there. The first corpse I saw was that of a man fifty or sixty years old. He would have had a shock of white hair if a wound (an axe blow, it seemed to me) hadn't split his skull. Part of the blackened brain was on the ground, next to the head. The whole body was lying in a pool of black and clotted blood. The belt was unbuckled, a single button held the pants. The dead man's feet and legs were bare and black, purple and blue; perhaps he had been taken by surprise at night or at dawn. Was he running away? He was lying in a little alley immediately to the right of the entry to Shatila camp which is across from the Kuwaiti Embassy. Did the Shatila massacre take place in hushed tones or in total silence, if the Israelis, both soldiers and officers, claim to have heard nothing, to have suspected nothing whereas they had been occupying this building since Wednesday afternoon?...

Which alley should I take now? I was drawn by men fifty years old, by young men of twenty, by two old Arab women, and I felt as if I were the center of a compass whose quadrants contained hundreds of dead.

I jot this down now, not knowing exactly why at this point in my narrative: «The French have a habit of using the insipid expression 'dirty work.' Well, just like the Israeli army ordered the Kataeb or the Haddadists to do their 'dirty work,' the Labor Party had its 'dirty work' done by the Likud, Begin, Sharon, Shamir.» I have just quoted R., a Palestinian journalist who was still in Beirut on Sunday, September 19.

In the middle, near them, all these tortured victims, my mind can't get rid of this "invisible vision": what was the torturer like? Who was he? I see him and I don't see him. He's as large as life and the only shape he will ever have is the one formed by the stances, positions, and grotesque gestures of the dead fermenting in the sun under clouds of flies.

If the American Marines, the French paratroopers, and the Italian bersaglieri who made up an intervention force in Lebanon left so quickly (the Italians, who arrived by ship two days

late, fled in Hercules airplanes!) one day or thirty-six hours before their official departure date, as if they were running away, and on the day before Bashir Gemayel's assassination, are the Palestinians really wrong in wondering if Americans, French and Italians had not been warned to clear out pronto so as not to appear mixed up in the bombing of the Kataeb headquarters?

They left very quickly and very early. Israel brags and boasts about its combat efficiency, its battle preparedness, its skill in turning circumstances to its favor, in creating circumstances. Let's see; the PLO leaves Beirut in triumph, on a Greek ship, with a naval escort. Bashir, hiding as best he can, visits Begin in Israel. The intervention of the three armies (American, French, Italian) comes to an end on Monday. On Tuesday, Bashir is assassinated. Tsahal [Israel Defense Forces] enters West Beirut on Wednesday morning. As if they were coming from the port, Israeli soldiers were advancing on Beirut the morning of Bashir's funeral. With binoculars, from the eighth floor of my house I saw them coming in single file: one column. I was surprised that nothing else happened, because with a good rifle with a sight they could have been picked off. Their brutality preceded them...

The Palestinian woman-for I couldn't leave Shatila without going from one corpse to another and this jeu de l'oie would inevitably end up at this miracle: Shatila and Sabra razed to the ground and real estate battles to rebuild on this very flat cemetery—the Palestinian woman was probably elderly because her hair was gray. She was stretched out on her back, laid or left there on the rubble, the bricks, the twisted iron rods, without comfort. At first I was surprised by a strange braid made of rope and cloth which went from one wrist to the other, holding the two arms apart horizontally, as if crucified. Her black and swollen face, turned towards the sky, revealed an open mouth, black with flies, and teeth that seemed very white to me, a face that seemed, without moving a muscle, either to grin or smile or else to cry out in a silent and unbroken scream. Her stockings were black wool, and her pink and gray flowered dress, slightly hiked up or too short, I don't know which, revealed the tops of swollen black calves, again with the delicate mauve tints matched by a similar purple

and mauve in the cheeks. Were these bruises or the natural result of rotting in the sun?

"Did they strike her with the butt of the rifle?"

"Look, sir, look at her hands."

I hadn't noticed. The fingers of the two hands were spread out and the ten fingers were cut as if with gardening shears. Soldiers, laughing like kids and gaily singing, had probably had fun discovering and using these shears.

«Look, sir.»

laughing or smiling. No one was throwing rice or flowers.

Since the roads had been cut off and the telephone was silent, deprived of contact with the rest of the world, for the first time in my life, I felt myself become Palestinian and hate Israel...

\* \* \*

The statement that there is a beauty peculiar to revolutionaries raises many problems. Everyone knows, everyone suspects, that young children or ad-

more muted beauty prevailed because of the presence of women and children. The camps received a sort of light from the combat bases, and as for the women, it would take a long and complex discussion to explain their radiance. Even more than the men, more than the fedayeen in combat, the Palestinian women seemed strong enough to sustain the resistance and accept the changes that came along with a revolution. They had already disobeyed the customs: they looked the men straight in the eye, they refused to wear a veil, their hair was visible, sometimes completely uncovered, their voices steady. The briefest and most prosaic of their tasks was but a small step in the self-assured journey towards a new, and therefore unknown, order, but which gave them a hint of a cleansing liberation for themselves, and a glowing pride for the men. They were ready to become both the wives and the mothers of heroes, as they already were for their men...

\* \* \*

... Perhaps we should also recognize that revolutions or liberations aim -obscurely - at discovering or rediscovering beauty, that is the intangible, unnamable except by this word. But no, on the other hand, let us mean by beauty a laughing insolence goaded by past unhappiness, systems and men responsible for unhappiness and shame, above all, a laughing insolence which realizes that, freed of shame, growth is easy...

Many died in Shatila, and my friendship, my affection for their rotting corpses was also immense, because I had known them. Blackened, swollen, decayed by the sun and by death, they were still fedayeen... I had spent four hours in Shatila. About forty bodies remained in my memory. All of them -and I mean all - had been tortured, probably against a backdrop of drunkenness, song, laughter, the smell of gunpowder and already decaying flesh...

At the Damascus airport on my way back from Beirut I met some young fedayeen who had escaped from the Israeli hell. They were sixteen or seventeen. They were laughing; they were like the ones in Ajloun. They will die like them. The struggle for a country can fill a very rich life, but a short one. That was the choice, as we recall, of Achilles in the *Iliad*.



The ends of the fingers, the top joints, with the nail, lay in the dust. The young man, who was simply and naturally showing me how the dead had been tortured, calmly put a cloth back over the face and hands of the Palestinian woman, and a piece of corrugated cardboard over her legs. All I could distinguish now was a heap of pink and gray cloth, hovered over by flies...

The day after the entrance of the Israeli army we were prisoners, but it seemed to me that the invaders were less feared than despised, they caused less fear than disgust. No soldier was

olescents living in old and harsh surroundings have a beauty of face, body, movement and gaze similar to that of the fedayeen. Perhaps this may be explained in the following way: breaking with the ancient ways, a new freedom pushes through the dead skin, and fathers and grandfathers will have a hard time extinguishing the gleam in the eyes, the throbbing in the temples, the joy of blood flowing through the veins.

In the spring of 1971, in the Palestinian bases, that beauty subtly pervaded a forest made alive by the freedom of the fedayeen. In the camps a different,

The September Massacres

