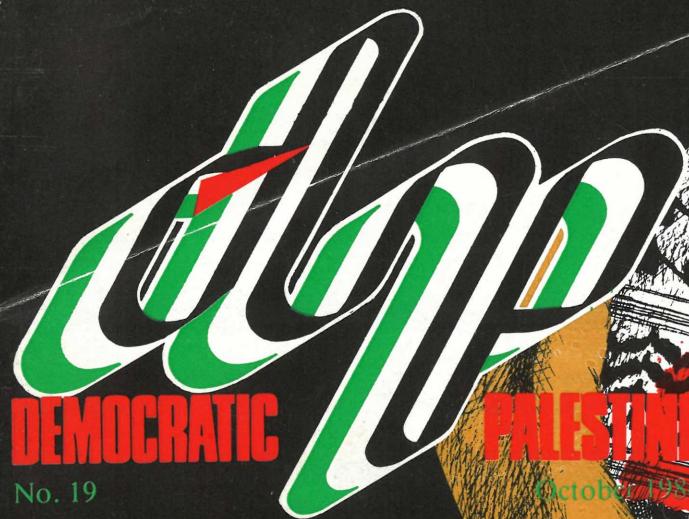


DEMOCRATIC



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We Will Not Forget

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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PFLP Condemns Paris Attacks



UNIFIL IS NOT A MILITARY TARGET

The PFLP condemns the latest wave of bomb attacks in France and against the international forces (UNIFIL) in South Lebanon.

In an interview with Reuters in Damascus, September 21st, Col. Abu Ahmad Fuad, leader of the PFLP's

military forces, said: «The PFLP condemns the latest wave of bomb attacks in Paris, because they were aimed at innocent civilians.» He firmly denied that George Ibrahim Abdulla has any relationship with the PFLP, as had been mentioned in some French newspapers. He called what these papers had written a fabrication.

In answer to a question, he said, «We do not believe that there is any relation between the attacks on the French forces of the UNIFIL in South Lebanon, and the attacks that occurred in Paris. He criticized the role of the international forces, saying, «These did not play their specified role, as was seen when they allowed the Zionist forces to pass through their positions in June, 1982. Nor did they play their role when they failed to move to protect Palestinian and Lebanese civilians from the repressive, destructive and brutal practices of the Zionist occupation forces in Lebanon. Likewise, they failed to perform their role of forcing the Zionist forces to withdraw totally from Lebanon.»

Comrade Abu Ahmed Fuad continued: «In spite of all this, we do not agree at all to consider these forces as a

military target... The main course of our military action is concentrated on intensifying armed struggle against the Zionist occupation forces in occupied Palestine, and we devote all efforts to this purpose... At the same time, we are upgrading our cooperation with the Lebanese National Resistance to strike the Zionist occupation forces in South Lebanon and in occupied Palestine.»

Regarding operations outside the Arab arena, he said, «We will continue to strike the imperialist-Zionist interests at the appropriate time and place, but we will not aim at civilians or at factions that have no connection with the aggression against our Palestinian and Arab masses.»

In answer to a question as to what aggression 'Israel' might undertake in South Lebanon, Comrade Abu Ahmed Fuad said: «We expect the intensification of the Zionist forces' presence in the border strip and other areas. 'Israel' will strike a number of Lebanese areas and Palestinian camps under the pretext of fighting what they call 'terrorism', but the fact is that the Israelis, who refuse to withdraw from South Lebanon, are the origin of the real terrorism.»

Editorial

The Requirements of National Unity

In the light of the dramatic events of the past months, we find ourselves again obliged to write about Palestinian national unity, discussing the ways of regaining the split that took place in the PLO, as a result of Arafat's 1983 visit to Cairo, and the deviationist policies then followed by the PLO leadership.

In the last two months, the dangers threatening the Palestinian national struggle and cause have become more concrete. US imperialism has decided to give new momentum to the process of implementing its schemes in the Middle East. In line with this, Shimon Peres of 'Israel' visited King Hassan of Morocco to discuss ways of implementing a US-style settlement in the Middle East. Not long afterwards, another reactionary agreement took place in Alexandria, between Peres and Mubarak, on September 11-12th, to discuss the Middle East question and solve it at the cost of the Palestinian people.

If one adds to these events the vicious moves of King Hussein against the PLO and the Palestinian independent identity, and the continued visits of the US envoys to the area, one understands the pressing need for reuniting the PLO on the national platform, clearly antagonistic to imperialist Zionist and reactionary plots. The importance of clarity in the PLO's program becomes ever more necessary as the Zionist and imperialist plans have become clearer than ever in their antagonism to the Palestinian revolution and all patriotic Arab forces. At the same time, the role of Arab reaction has become more concrete, especially that of King Hussein (See article on the plan for «improving the quality of life» in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.) For this reason, we have been calling for an immediate, comprehensive Palestinian national dialogue to start after the cancellation of the Amman accord signed by Yasir Arafat and King Hussein. We have also stressed that the focus of this dialogue is regaining Palestinian national unity and the unity of the PLO, based on clear political and organizational principles. The political and organizational principles agreed on must be stated very precisely, leaving no opportunity for the rightist leadership to interpret them in another way.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE PRAGUE DECLARATION

With varying motivations, five Palestinian organizations held a series of meetings to discuss Palestinian unity. The five are the Central Committee of Fatah, the Arab Liberation Front (tied to Iraq), the group of Abu Abbas which was encouraged by Arafat to split from the Palestinian Liberation Front, the Palestinian Communist Party and the DFLP. So far, these meetings have resulted in the Prague Declaration, issued on September 5th, which put forth eleven points, and called upon all other Palestinian factions to restore the PLO's unity in accordance with them.

The Prague Declaration has more than one major defect, which make it unsatisfactory as a basis for national unity. The Prague Declaration made no mention of the position of the PLO on relations with the Egyptian regime. This is in spite of the fact that the conferees know very well that the split in the PLO actually started from the point of Arafat's visit to Cairo. Ironically, not long after this declaration, Mubarak held his summit with Peres, before which he had contacted Arafat.

The Prague Declaration did not cancel the Amman accord which is almost unanimously considered fatal for the Palestinian struggle. It merely stated that the Amman accord is «no longer operative» and «no longer constitutes a basis for the PLO policy and activities and practice.» Obviously, the Central Committee of Fatah refused to use the word *cancel* or any of its derivatives, in connection with the Amman accord. Why? Because this is exactly the kind of statement which Arafat insists upon, because he can interpret them in his own way. Not long after signing the Prague Declaration, he insisted on saying that the Amman accord was not cancelled. In an interview with *Al Ittihad* newspaper in Abu Dhabi, September 21st, Arafat said that the Amman accord was stopped, but not cancelled, because only the PNC should decide on its cancellation or approval. He added that the accord remains one of the options for solving the Palestinian question!

Moreover, when progressive allies of the PLO, namely the leadership of Democratic Yemen, asked Arafat to sign a paper pledging to cancel the Amman accord at the opening session of national dialogue, Arafat replied that Abu Mazen, Fatah Central Committee member, could do that. Why? To have his hands free, because Arafat considers himself leader of the PLO which is larger than Fatah, of course. In any coming PNC, he will say: Lets vote on what the organizations have agreed upon, knowing that the majority in the PNC, as it was previously constituted, is in his favor. If this should happen, what would the leftist organizations have done? People will say that the left was used by Arafat as a cover for gaining approval and legitimizing the accord with the Jordanian monarch.

Another evidence of how Arafat can manipulate the situation concerns UN Security Council resolution 242. The second point of the Prague Declaration emphasizes «rejection of separate, partial and liquidationist projects and solutions, such as the Camp David plan, the Reagan plan, autonomy, functional division of administration; reject resolution 242 because it ignores the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people» (Prague declaration, September 5, 1986). On September 5th, 1986, in the non-aligned summit in Harare, Arafat declared that he is ready to recognize resolution 242 among all other UN resolutions that deal with the Palestinian question!

Another important blunder concerning the Prague Declaration is that two leftist, patriotic organizations, the DFLP and the Palestinian Communist Party, hurried to negotiate unconditionally with the rightist leadership, without trying to primarily agree with the other six patriotic organizations. This, of course, weakened the position of the DFLP and Palestinian Communist Party, and gave Arafat the opportunity to reach a politically weak agreement, as seen in the Prague Declaration.

This is deplorable because the unity of the Palestinian left on a common position is an asset that would serve not only the leftists, but also the Palestinian people and cause as a whole. Potentially, it is one of the best means to force the rightist leadership of the PLO to stick to the national program.

We reiterate that public cancellation of the Amman accord by those who signed it, is a precondition for any dialogue with the Central Committee of Fatah. This dialogue should result in a clear organizational and political program with all the i's dotted and t's crossed.

Press Conference

On October 4th, following the conclusion of the PFLP Central Committee meeting, a press conference was convened. Dr. George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP, answered a series of questions posed by Arab and international journalists. Below are some of the questions:

What is the PFLP's position on the Algerian initiative to reunite the PLO?

When President Shadli Ben Jidid launched his initiative, the PFLP welcomed it, specifying that official and announced abrogation of the Amman accord would be the proper prelude to overall Palestinian national dialogue. This dialogue would discuss the political and organizational basis for Palestinian national unity in the light of the lessons of the complicated period we have experienced since the PNC's 16th session. The PFLP considers that the reunification of the PLO, on a correct political and organizational basis, is the central task to which we will devote all the efforts needed. At the same time, this unity should be genuine, not a formality. This means drawing the main lessons of the past four years, in order to establish real unity that will enable the PLO to seriously confront the US-Zionist-Arab reactionary plans for the region.

I want to clarify that this stand is not in any way geared to the stand of our Arab or international allies. At the same time, we know very well that serious confrontation of the imperialist-Zionist-Arab reactionary plans definitely requires that the PLO be united on a clear, correct political and organizational basis, and have a serious alliance with Syria and the other Arab nationalist countries. If for any reason, there are obstacles to this formula, the PFLP would go ahead in the process of reunifying the PLO on a correct basis, and struggle for establishing the alliance with Syria later on. This is because Syria is steadfast, and the PLO's alliance with Syria is important in order to confront the imperialist-Zionist-Arab reactionary plans.

Some Palestinian forces, especially Fatah's Central Committee, say that the PFLP's stand vis-a-vis the unification of the PLO is determined by the Syrian stand, and that the PFLP will never be able to take a stand independent of Syria. This is not correct. We challenge Fatah's Central Committee to cancel the Amman accord in order to start the national dialogue. If this happens, the PFLP will immediately join the dialogue... Two months ago, I gave a statement to the Kuwaiti news agency, saying that we challenge the Central Committee to cancel the Amman accord and then see whether the PFLP's stand is really geared to that of Syria...

Why do we consider that cancellation of the Amman accord is a condition for starting the dialogue? Because we have had a painful, regrettable experience these past four years. With good reason, we fear that if we enter the overall Palestinian dialogue without cancellation of the Amman accord, we will never arrive at a clear-cut cancellation. This would mean continuation of the unclear, vacillating policy which has been pursued by the PLO Executive Committee the past four years. The Amman accord has a special character. In fact, it is a new political program for the PLO, directly contradictory to the national program for return, self-determination and an independent Palestinian state. This is really a very big, serious mistake committed by the official PLO leadership. The Amman accord is a signed document between the PLO and the Jordanian regime. It is our right to insist that it be officially and publicly cancelled.

Of course, when we start the overall dialogue, the PFLP will have its point of view on the political and organizational basis for genuine Palestinian national unity. For example, we will insist that the PLO break relations with the Egyptian regime,

as was stipulated in the Aden-Algiers agreement signed by Fatah's Central Committee, the PFLP, DFLP, PCP and PLF. In addition to the political issues, the PFLP will present a detailed point of view on organizational issues. The organizational section of the Aden-Algiers agreement provides an acceptable basis for the process of reform in the PLO. Through dialogue, we will insist on exact implementation of this.

Some consider that these are difficult conditions for reuniting the PLO. We do not consider them difficult in relation to the lessons of the past four years. I want to remind you that the 14th PNC adopted an organizational program that stressed collective leadership and democratic relations among the organizations that are united in the PLO. What happened after that? Arafat put the entire program on the shelf... We stress these things so that the unfortunate situation of the PLO will not be repeated. Most of you remember the policy of saying neither yes nor no, which was pushed by Arafat at the 16th PNC. Depending on the ambiguity of the political articles adopted at this session, Arafat and his leadership interpreted these as they chose, drawing the PLO to their preferred line - away from the political basis agreed upon. When asked about his departure from PNC decisions, he always relied on the ambiguities. In this way, he even justified the Amman accord, considering it a correct application of the 16th PNC's decisions!

The PFLP wants Palestinian national unity, but we are not ready to repeat the unfortunate situation of the past four years. We welcome the Algerian initiative, and will work with our Algerian brothers to continue their efforts, for our current, central task is reuniting the PLO on a correct political and organizational basis.

What exactly does the PFLP mean by official cancellation of the Amman accord?... Peres himself has said that it is dead, based on information from the US, Egypt and Jordan. What does the PFLP want after all these indications? Some in the PLO leadership think that your conditions only aim to cut the PLO's relations with all Arab countries, so that it would be liquidated. They think that your conditions do not open the door to unity, but close all doors on the PLO...

What we mean by cancellation of the Amman accord is for Fatah's Central Committee to cancel it, to be followed by official cancellation by the PLO Executive Committee which was formed in the Amman PNC. Although we do not recognize this Executive Committee, it endorsed the accord. We have clearly stated that this is what we mean by cancellation, on a number of occasions and in all our publications on the subject... In an official message sent to our comrades in Democratic Yemen, we clearly stated this understanding: The Central Committee cancels it, then instructs Arafat, as a member of this committee, to convene the Executive Committee of the PLO to cancel the accord, in order for us to be sure that it is cancelled officially.

The most important point is: Was the Amman accord really cancelled? Despite the Moscow and Prague meetings... Taher

Al Masri, Jordan's foreign minister, in a speech at the UN two days ago, stated that the Amman accord still exists. In an interview with Monte Carlo radio, Zaid Al Rifai, prime minister of Jordan, said that the accord was not cancelled by Jordan or the PLO. In addition to these official statements, there are press reports which may and may not be true, saying that after the Prague meeting, the PLO leadership sent an envoy to Jordan to say that the Amman accord was not cancelled, and that the Prague declaration is an agreement between three organizations only. Isn't it then our right to say that the Amman accord was not cancelled definitely? What is happening now is a return to the policy of saying neither yes nor no. We suffered greatly from this policy and it is a big mistake to allow it to continue.

I was able to follow the discussions in Prague. The democratic forces' proposal stated: «The Amman accord is no longer in existence.» Naturally, I consider this a flexible formulation, because all of the democratic forces were demanding cancellation of the Amman accord... Still, this was refused by the representative of Fatah's Central Committee, Abu Mazin, and the negotiations were stalled for nearly 24 hours. The statement from Prague said that the Amman accord «is no longer operative.» Notice the difference...

If people were really eager to unify and benefit from experience, and if there was a true wish to cancel the Amman accord, why isn't it cancelled publicly and officially? Then let the PFLP be tested... In this case, we could understand that the efforts to restore the PLO's unity are serious and on a correct basis. Some say that only the PNC can cancel the Amman accord, but this is not true, because the Executive Committee signed the accord as a document, not the PNC... Ask Fatah's Central Committee: Did you cancel the Amman accord? Abu Mazin says yes to the socialist countries, while Arafat tells Mubarak no...

Comrades, it is not a matter of us putting obstacles. We want real assurances; we don't want the people to be disgusted with us if after restoring national unity on a flexible basis, this can be broken at any moment. We want to be sure that this betting (on US solutions), which the Fatah Central Committee engaged in via the Amman accord, no longer exists.

To the last part of the question: Suppose that the PFLP found itself in a crisis in its relations with our Syrian allies. (I am looking at this according to the criteria of nationalism, not as a leftist or Marxist.) Is this an excuse for me to keep bridges open to the Camp David regime in Egypt and the Jordanian regime? When the Amman accord is cancelled and there is no betting on Mubarak, then we could say to Syria: What are your remarks on the political line? The accord is cancelled; the door to Camp David is closed; here we could be effective in reviving the alliance between the PLO and Syria. No matter how much we insist on the PLO's unity... total confrontation of the imperialist plans requires a unified PLO, allied with Syria. If we cannot achieve both steps at once, we could achieve the PLO's unity in a way that facilitates restoring relations with Syria. However, with all these zig-zagging positions and maneuvers, it is impossible to restore this alliance...

Yesterday, Zaid Al Rifai said on Jordanian television that everything the Jordanian regime is undertaking was agreed upon with the official PLO leadership, including the (Israeli) appointments of West Bank mayors... A proof of this is the case of Zafer Al Masri who is considered a martyr by the official PLO leadership... We are now fighting a vicious battle against the Israeli-Jordanian plan in the occupied territories. Isn't it in our interests to cancel the accord and organize the broadest possible front to face these plans?

Of course, I know not to judge the bourgeoisie by the stand point of the democratic or leftist organizations, but it is our right to judge the bourgeoisie on the basis of its adherence to the national position. A bourgeoisie that is trying to have a hand in both sides, without committing itself to any one position, will not do. We can't convince the progressive forces or Syria or a lot of other people in that way. Therefore, the basis

specified by the PFLP is neither Marxist-Leninist nor obstructionist. Politically, it is nationalist. Organizationally, it means that the PLO is no longer the personal property of a single class, as it was for 20 years... If the PLO is common property, sharing the leadership on the basis of proportional and democratic representation, we are ready. We think that our position is the correct one for reunifying the PLO in the light of past experience...

Some say there is an Arab decision for Jordan to liquidate the PLO inside Palestine, while other Arab parties block the PLO's unity; then the PLO could be liquidated easily...

Let us assume for the sake of argument that this is true. Then, the question is how to face this. We can only face it through a clear political program and collective, democratic leadership. Then, the PLO would be strong and able to withstand such plans...

We propose that the democratic forces consolidate their coordination and take a firm position for real reformation, politically and organizationally, in order to achieve results that guarantee restoration of national unity on a correct basis, to be able to confront the fierce schemes that aim at spreading Camp David in the area.

The statement of the PFLP's Central Committee mentioned initiatives and communications by your Politbureau. Do these include dialogue with Fatah's Central Committee within the framework you have defined?

The statement of the PFLP's Central Committee focuses on the necessity of providing the political and organizational basis for unity, and the cancellation of the Amman accord, as a prelude to dialogue. The Central Committee wants our position to have an influence on the situation. Thus, we will have contacts that will enable our position to be influential, but the official overall dialogue will not begin until the prerequisites are met.

Would you comment on Amal's attack on Rashidiya camp a few days ago?

It is painful to me and to all the Palestinian and Arab masses, to see that our camps in Lebanon are besieged by Amal. It is even more painful that this occurs while the Israeli army is still occupying the South, and refuses to withdraw before security arrangements are made to protect its borders. It is painful to see the implementation of plans which aim to destroy the Palestinian armed presence which should be directed against 'Israel'.

For the last year and a half, the Salvation Front has dealt with this matter patiently, trying to find common grounds, namely, the Damascus agreement of June 1985. We worked for a ceasefire with self-control, but unfortunately the attempts to strike Palestinian nationalist armed presence continue. To whose benefit are these conflicts? Based on protecting the Palestinian masses in Rashidiya and all of Lebanon, and defending the Palestinian armed presence in order to continue the fight against 'Israel', I call on the nationalist leaders of Amal and their fighters, I call on our people in the South, on Hezbollah, the Lebanese national movement and Syria - with its great moral weight, to put an end to this tragedy immediately.

Yesterday the Salvation Front met with Amal and our Syrian brothers, and agreed on the necessity of a ceasefire. A delegation from the meeting went to Rashidiya, but unfortunately did not find any Amal official in the Tyre area. They found that Amal people insist on the Palestinians' surrendering their light and medium weapons before anything else, because I don't think there are any heavy weapons in Rashidiya...



Mass Rally

Commemorating the Naharia Operation The Requirements of National Unity

On August 21st, the 40th day after the Naharia operation carried out by four militants from the PFLP and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP), the PFLP organized a mass rally in Yarmouk camp, Damascus. The rally was attended by leaders and cadres of the Palestinian resistance and the Arab national liberation movement, and families of those martyred in the operation. The main speakers were: Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary of the PFLP; Comrade Isam Mahayree, President of the SSNP; Comrade Mohammed Nour Al Deen of POLISARIO; and the father of one of the martyrs, Khalil Atif Khattab. Below we print the speech of Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa.

SPEECH BY COMRADE ABU ALI MUSTAFA

We are not gathered here today to cry, but to commemorate our honorable militants and to pledge to continue the struggle. This is our people, our Arab nation, sacrificing one martyr after the other with pride. We will not hesitate, despite all the conspiracies and the cries to surrender. We will be steadfast until achieving victory.

Words cannot describe the meaning of martyrdom, especially when it comes as the result of a conscious decision. On behalf of the PFLP's Central Committee and Politbureau, we salute the heroes of the Naharia operation. We salute their relatives for their high morale upon learning of their sons' martyrdom; they were proud despite their pain.

Our martyrs have joined many others on the path to the same goal. Martyr Mohammed Mahmoud Kana'a from Aleppo, Syria, joined Ghassan Kanafani of Acca, Palestine. Martyr Abdul Ilah Shahab joined Guevara of Gaza. Martyr Abdul Hadi Kathem joined Faheem Abu Ghazalah, the hero of all battles. Martyr Khalil Atif Khattab from Ain Al Zaytoun, joined Abu Mansour, the hero of the Hebron (Al Khalil) mountains. Martyrdom continues for the same goal, despite time, space and generations.

Today we also commemorate our Moroccan martyr, who embodied the true people of Morocco, not like Hassan II, the traitor. Martyr Muhammar Al Arabi Ibn Qadour joined his comrades, the four heroes of the Naharia operation, four days later, when Israeli planes raided a PFLP position (in Lebanon). He challenged the Zionist bombers with his will, while Hassan II falls before the shoes of Peres. He symbolizes the struggle, while Hassan represents capitulation.

The Naharia operation was not the first and won't be the last. It has great significance at this decisive stage of the struggle between the revolution and the capitulationist trend. Firstly, it showed the militant spirit confronting the capitulationist trend. Secondly, it negated the Zionist enemy's claims of having destroyed the base of the Palestinian revolution, which was one of their goals in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Thirdly, it confirmed Palestinian-Lebanese unity and continuity in the struggle, at a time when some suspicious voices are calling for separating the Lebanese national struggle from the Palestinian struggle, under the pretext of guaranteeing security in the South. Fourth, the Naharia operation foiled the enemy plans for protecting the Zionist enemy from the operations of the Lebanese and Palestinian national resistance, by installing a security belt in the South. Above all, it indicates the escalation of armed struggle as the only way to achieve victory and the goals of our people.

THE ENEMY PLAN AND JORDAN'S ROLE

At this time, while more of our people are being martyred, more conspiracies are being planned against us. When the conspiracies are intensified, we know that we are on the right path - the path of protecting the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of our people, of protecting our cause and banning the policies of subordination. Every day we confirm that the armed struggle, the national program and unity are what will protect the cause, the people and the PLO.

Our enemies are facing a crisis. The US-Zionist plans are suffocating due to the escalation of the role of the Lebanese-Palestinian resistance. Previously, this led to foiling Camp David II (the May 17th agreement), through united Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian struggle. The US-Zionist-reactionary crisis is also caused by the faltering of the Jordanian-Palestinian conspiracy, represented in the Amman accord and the political maneuvers that followed. The enemy plan is also faced with the Syrian obstacle, confronting Camp David and its extensions in the Arab area. However, the most important factor in the enemy alliance's crisis is our masses in occupied Palestine, and their strong confrontation of all capitulationist plans, from 'coexistence', 'autonomy', the village leagues and the United Kingdom plan, to the recent plan for Israeli-Jordanian joint rule.

Because of the solid position of our people, the Palestinian and Lebanese militants, and Syria - supported by all the Arab and international forces of liberation and progress, the socialist community and the Soviet Union -imperialism found it necessary to intensify its plan in the area. This also explains the political invasion of the Arab area in order to revive the US-Israeli plan. We could clearly see the attack through the Ifran meeting (between Peres and Hassan II), George Bush's visits, the Taba negotiations and the Jordanian regime's economic and political plans. They all aim at one point: reactivating Camp David which still faces a crisis on the Egyptian front. Reactivating Camp David requires many forces in the area. Thus we find many actors on the stage, working to the same end, i.e., spreading Camp David - the imperialist-Zionist plan for the whole area, liquidating the national cause, the PLO and the armed struggle. This is their aim, though they try to achieve it by different ways and means.

A while ago, we heard Israeli Defense Minister Rabin announcing to the Zionist society that the Jordanian regime's economic aid plan (for the West Bank) will decrease 'terrorist' acts - as they like to call guerrilla warfare. He said that the plan will lead to encirclement of these 'terrorist' acts until they are finished. In fact, what Rabin says exposes the very nature of the plan that King Hussein is taking responsibility to implement, in cooperation with 'Israel' and supported by the US.

All the political maneuvers, in Ifran, Cairo, Tel Aviv, etc., aim at employing the Jordanian regime for the task it has failed to achieve for more than twenty years, i.e., reviving King Hussein's annexation plan and subordinating the Palestinian national cause. The Jordanian regime is the main beneficiary of the maneuver; it is positioned to materialize them. We warn that the regime is taking this dirty job to strike a deal at the expense of the cause of the Palestinian people, the cause of the Arab nation that seeks liberation, independence and social progress. The regime is using the Palestinian cause, according to the US-Israeli view, to gain sovereignty over the area (the West Bank). No one should be deceived by the King's talk about an international conference and the PLO's representation there, for he is slowly but surely working to prepare for taking his big step on the road of Sadat and King Hassan II.

If the Palestinian and Arab leaders are not fully aware of the dangers of this role, we will find ourselves faced by another Camp David with an Arab cover. The King's claims about an international conference and the PLO's representation will be exposed to all. Despite the attempt at deception, our people know the truth...

The real danger is opening the doors of Camp David via Jordan. Our masses are fiercely confronting this as they confronted all previous capitulationist plans. They are exposing suspicious elements like Freij, Shawwa and others who dare not announce their identity when they meet with Zionist leaders. We challenge the Israeli leaders to reveal the names of

those they meet with, claiming them as the true representatives of the Palestinian people. Peres meets with these suspicious elements, and then the military administration bans publication of their names. What is the reason for this other than protecting them? Doesn't this mean the Israelis know that whoever dares to deal with them becomes an outcast among our people?

Our people know that at this difficult stage, it is not easy to achieve the national program that we all aspire to, but they know that they are responsible for foiling the enemy plans, in order to achieve the national program in the future. Our people also realize that thousands have to sacrifice in order to achieve victory. They know their battle will take many generations.

It is enough to say that there is a conspiracy, an imperialist-Zionist-reactionary attack. We all know that there is an enemy, and we have to carry the gun. We all know it is important to specify the nature of the attack and the forces involved at each stage. More important is specifying the means of confrontation... We, in the PFLP, are fully convinced that our people are capable of foiling the present enemy plans, as they foiled all previous ones through long struggle.

THE PLO'S UNITY

The situation demands that we become better fortified to carry out our national tasks. Our most important task is restoring the unity of the PLO. We are concerned with national unity as much as we are with liberating Palestine. In order to achieve liberation, we should prepare the instrument (the PLO) and mobilize all our masses and their political and social representatives under the banner of a united PLO. This may seem difficult, and sometimes impossible, but it is an urgent task, necessary for restoring the leading national and progressive role of the revolution and the PLO, and their international role.

When we designate urgent tasks, we don't do so in an idealistic or superficial way. We must know precisely the reasons for the crisis, in order to provide the means for facing it. Mainly, there is the issue of the internal Palestinian problems. Our knowledge of these will enable us to move to the correct solution. We do not want a PLO disturbed by deviationist, rightist or capitulationist positions. Of course, we want a united PLO, but we want it solid, escalating the spirit of armed struggle, and able to be a vanguard leadership in the Arab arena - to the left of the regimes, not to the right... Leniency, idealistic slogans and spontaneity will only mean continuation of the problem, and further deterioration of the PLO's internal situation.

We do not want to deceive our people by having unity today, and then dividing again three months later because of political differences, for this will disperse the Palestinian national program. We prefer longer discussions in order to have real unity that is solid and can be maintained. Despite the dangers we are facing, solid unity, based on thorough discussion, is better than creating fragile unity today, and splits tomorrow, for then there will be no unity at all.

We do not present our point of view just to outbid others - as some like to think - or because we like to set impossible conditions. Leniency in defining the political and organizational basis of unity will not lead to a radical solution, or restore the ►



PLO to the position that enabled our people and revolution to make great achievements. On the other hand, we will not be obstructive or limited in our horizons, and turn our backs on national unity, for we want to strengthen the confrontation of the US-Zionist-Arab reactionary plan.

What then is the correct course to present to our people and to our Arab and international allies. The answer is clarity and reform that will strengthen the structure of the PLO. A chronic disease cannot be treated with aspirin. An operation may be painful, but it will alleviate the disease. At the minimum, the self-evident national issues, as specified in the PNC's resolutions, cannot be tampered with, but the right-wing leadership has deviated from these very resolutions. What we are demanding - and some call it an obstacle to unity - is commitment to the PNC's resolutions. The Amman accord is a deviation from the PNC's resolutions; so are relations with the Egyptian regime and collaborating with suspicious elements in the occupied territories, and the other matters noted in our politbureau's statement of August 10th.

We challenge anyone to prove that what we are asking for, as the basis for political and organizational unity, is a violation of the PNC's resolutions. Despite all the developments in the Palestinian arena since 1982, we have not violated the PNC's resolutions. Therefore, we insist that the right-wing leadership give one positive sign - announcing cancellation of the Amman accord signed by Arafat and King Hussein - to show their willingness to review their miserable policies that have harmed the PLO and our cause.

Some are circulating accusations in their political meetings that the PFLP is putting impossible conditions for dialogue, referring to our demand for cancelling the Amman accord before dialogue. They add that our position is such because we are submitting to certain pressures. We don't have to answer these baseless claims. The Palestinian and Arab masses know well that the PFLP bases its positions on the Palestinian people's national interests, adherence to the Arab masses' national causes, and faithfulness to our martyrs who died to protect the Palestinian people and revolution. We have gone through worse battles before, and we submitted only to our own convictions, based on the interests of our people. We have never hesitated when we felt issues were vital to our people and cause, even if a high price was extracted for our positions. This is our policy, our political line, and we need no testimony to defend our position.

Maybe the rightist leadership, and those who promote its policies by attempting to distort the PFLP's position, again want to test the independence of our position. Then we will tell them: We want to test your seriousness about cancelling the Amman accord. We want to test your willingness to review your policies that caused the PLO's deterioration. Then you can test us and see for yourselves that we will not evade our responsibilities. Our people will be our judge. They will decide if our decision is independent or if we submit to others.

If the right-wing leadership takes one step in the right direction towards national unity, we will take two. But if they are hesitant and cowardly, and keep jumping from Amman to Cairo, then the only reponse they will get from us is a solid position that gives no cover for their policies.

The PFLP's politbureau feels the great responsibility of the issue of national unity, and defines the requirements for this accordingly. In our view, the first stage is for the rightist leadership to cancel the Amman accord that was a turning point on the road of deviation. The next step is to open dialogue on the political and organizational basis of national unity. If the results of the dialogue are positive, we will then go on to the third step which is comprehensive national dialogue, among all organizations, with topics including the formation of a unifying PNC.

The question now is: What is the real threat to the national cause and the PLO? It is the implementation of Camp David, which is already in process, on the basis of normalizing relations between Jordan and 'Israel', to be followed by signing an agreement. Don't we all agree that Jordan represents the new gate to Camp David? Isn't national unity most needed now to confront this threat in particular?

The PLO Executive Committee statement, issued in Baghdad on August 10th, spoke of the Jordanian regime's

liquidation plan and that the US administration and 'Israel' are working jointly on an economic aid plan for the 1967 occupied territories. What is the role of the Jordanian regime? Is our problem with this regime merely that it closed down PLO offices and expelled Abu Jihad? Isn't it rather the sum of all the regime's policies for implementing Camp David II?

Yet until now, the right-wing PLO leadership is avoiding even talking about the Jordanian regime's responsibility for this role in the US-Zionist plan of capitulation. How, then, can they be serious about restoring the PLO's unity based on commitment to the national program and PNC resolutions? Despite this, we are still demanding that this leadership take one brave step, but they still insist on continuing their policies. We do not feel there is any real difference between the reactionaries, whether Mubarak or Hussein, but the rightist leadership insists on alternating relations with these two.

CURRENT TASKS

In addition to restoring the PLO's unity, we have other urgent tasks, most importantly, defending our revolution and people, and consolidating their role in the occupied territories. A part of this task is exposing suspicious elements who claim to represent the Palestinian people. We feel it is important to repair the gaps in the Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian alliance in order to consolidate it. Another task is consolidating Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon, on a correct basis, that will protect the right of the Palestinian people to play their national role, for as long as we insist on carrying arms, we will insist on rejecting the settlement plans.

The war of the camps has been waged against us twice, on the pretext of purging the camps of Arafat's group, but actually for political reasons. If this continues, it will threaten the Palestinian and Lebanese national existence, and it will be difficult to confront the fascist forces and the Israeli occupation of the South.

The Palestine National Salvation Front proposed a plan for organizing Palestinian-Lebanese relations. This was approved by all the nationalist forces in Lebanon, but then war was waged against the camps again. After every agreement, there has been a war, instead of nationalist relations improving. Some said that the second war was between the Cairo agreement and resolution 425, meaning a war between the Palestinian national armed presence and the guarantees to 'Israel' for implementing resolution 425. This is the reality of the war being waged against the camps. Are the nationalists going to accept this? If these deeds are allowed to pass, all nationalists will pay the price. Moreover, the whole national plan for Lebanon will fall in the face of Israeli hegemony.

We insist that Palestinian-Lebanese relations be organized on the basis of the approved paper, in order to restore Lebanon to its role in confronting the imperialist-Zionist plans and the Phalangists' fascist plan. We will not barter the Palestinian national presence. Our arms are part of the Lebanese national arms. We fought fascism together; we fought 'Israel' together; and we will fight the US plan and Israeli occupation together until the total liberation of Lebanon and Palestine. This is our right.

Another task is reactivating the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and the role of the Arab liberation movements in Morocco, Egypt, Jordan and every Arab country. It is important that they shoulder responsibility for confronting the conspiracy.

This is how we analyze the confrontation process on the Palestinian and Arab levels. Our analysis is congruent with the analysis of our international allies, concerning the necessity of the PLO's unity and the unity of the countries of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. On this occasion, we salute our brothers in Algeria for their initiative that shows their interest in regaining the PLO's unity. At the same time, we note the great concern of the Soviet Union and the socialist community about achieving this on the basis of a nationalist Palestinian-Syrian alliance, to confront the enemies' plans. We are ready to respond positively to these concerns of our allies, but the subjective factor is the crucial one. It is the strong, correct Palestinian position and struggle that give incentive to our allies to play their role in defending the PLO, the revolution and the national program.

Military Operations

in Occupied Palestine

Palestinian revolutionaries in the occupied homeland continue their attacks on Zionist military and economic presence on a daily basis. Below is a summary of military operations in occupied Palestine from July 11th until September 17th. Most of these operations were followed by mass arrests, curfews, etc., yet the next day militants managed once again to hit a Zionist target. In the case of some of the larger operations, the Zionists imposed an information blockade, so we are unable to present accurate casualty figures.



JULY

In the last half of July, there were thirteen military operations against Zionist targets in various parts of Palestine. Among these were bombs in Tel Aviv and in the Israeli War Ministry's draft center in Bir Saba' in South Palestine (the Naqab). In the latter attack, the building burned and seven Zionists were reported injured.

On July 31st, as Peres was received by King Hassan II, Palestinian revolutionaries threw hand grenades at a group of Zionist settlers from Maale Efraim, who were 'touring' Jericho; 13 of them were injured. On seven different occasions, fire bombs or stones were thrown at Zionist military posts and patrols in the occupied West Bank or Gaza Strip; three soldiers were injured in these attacks.

A fire bomb caused the Diplomatic Hotel in Tel Aviv, frequented by Zionist intelligence officers, to burn for several hours, leaving many casualties. Fires were also set in the forests of

Etzion settlement and a nature reserve in northern Palestine, on land that has been confiscated and is now off-limits for Palestinians.

There was also a noteworthy attack, aimed at stopping collaboration with the plans to resolve the question of the occupied territories via the 'Jordanian option'. Rashad Shawwa's citrus packaging factory in Gaza was burned down. His own son claimed responsibility, as a warning to his father to stop cooperating with the enemy plans. Again on August 12th, Shawwa's extensive business interests were hit; there was an explosion in his car repair shop, causing material damage.

AUGUST

Daily attacks on Zionist targets were reported in August. In the part of Palestine occupied in 1948, a hand grenade injured five Israelis in Acca. There was a molotov attack in Tel Aviv, and a land mine exploded near Kafr Robin settlement in the Galilee,

killing one and injuring another Israeli. In the occupied Gaza Strip, there was an explosion in the Gaza police center, while buses carrying Zionist soldiers were hit by stones on eight separate occasions.

Palestinian militants were especially active in the occupied West Bank. There were at least 15 hand grenade, fire bomb, molotov or stone attacks on Israeli patrols and buses, especially concentrated in Nablus and Hebron (Al Khalil). An explosion near Evrat settlement, near Bethlehem, injured three Zionist soldiers, while another near Gush Etzion caused many casualties among the settlers. In the Jerusalem area, two Palestinians stabbed two Israeli soldiers, and Palestinian militants opened fire on an Israeli jeep.

SEPTEMBER

From September 1st until the 17th, ten attacks on Zionist targets were reported in different parts of occupied Palestine. Hand grenades and molotovs targeted military patrols in the Gaza Strip, causing many casualties. Fire bombs and molotovs targeted Israeli vehicles in the West Bank. The El Al office in Jerusalem was attacked by hand grenades, injuring a guard and causing material damage.

There was an explosion in an Israeli intelligence office in Haifa, which destroyed the seven-storey building, killed two and injured many others. Another large explosion in the city's industrial area caused a fire which burned an entire factory, with damages estimated at \$50 million. According to Israeli sources, the sound was so loud that Zionists in nearby settlements ran to shelters, imagining it was a Syrian air raid!

In Nablus, a fire bomb damaged the house of a collaborator. Also in Nablus, an Israeli soldier was stabbed, while in Hebron, a 37 year-old woman, mother of ten, stabbed an Israeli soldier. Another soldier shot and killed her, while the first soldier was hospitalized in critical condition.

Mass Resistance

Remembering Sabra and Shatila



The Zionist leadership engineered the Sabra-Shatila massacre to terrorize the Palestinian people and make them despair of ever regaining their rights. The Zionists' crime, however, had the opposite effect on our people under occupation. It only increased their rage and resistance. Each year since 1982, September 16-17th have been an occasion for demonstrations as well as commemoration of the martyrs of Sabra and Shatila. The commemoration was especially militant this year with

numerous demonstrations and acts of resistance. The occupiers reacted violently to suppress the demonstrations, in some places firing into the crowds. Curfews were imposed on most of the major camps in the occupied West Bank; 130 Palestinians were arrested and seven hospitalized.

In Jerusalem, shopkeepers closed down their shops in a protest strike. Hundreds of women marched through the Old City. Israeli military vehicles were stoned. Nablus shops were also

closed down. Palestinians stoned a Zionist police car. There was militant resistance in Balata camp, outside Nablus, where Palestinians raised their flag, which is outlawed, and stoned military vehicles. Aron, deputy military governor, was injured by shattering glass, when his car was stoned.

In Ramallah, school girls initiated a protest, and classes were suspended throughout the town. Demonstrators burned tires in nearby Jalazon camp. In Al Amari camp, three Israeli soldiers were injured in clashes with demonstrators. There were demonstrations in Al Bireh and Shufat camp. The girls school was closed down after a Zionist policeman and a settler were injured. Three young girls were among those arrested in this area.

In Duheisha camp, outside Bethlehem, there was a huge demonstration. The Israelis opened fire on the demonstrators, seriously injuring one Palestinian. A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli bus, and army vehicles were stoned. In the town of Bethlehem, students at the university were prevented from entering the campus by the Zionist forces who feared further demonstrations.

In Hebron, there were several demonstrations, and youth stoned military vehicles. In nearby Al Aroub camp, demonstrators clashed with the Israeli forces. Two soldiers were wounded, and the glass of a military vehicle was shattered.

Al Mithaq Closed

The True Nature of Israeli 'Democracy'

On August 12th, the Israeli occupation authorities again took the 1945 emergency regulations in hand, this time to ban two Palestinian newspapers, *Al Mithaq* daily and *Al Ahd* weekly, published in Jerusalem. Editor Mohammed Khatib, who had already appealed an earlier threat of closure, immediately stated his intention to appeal the new military order. He was initially successful, and an interim court decision allowed continued publication until the state prosecution could marshall its arguments in detail. The Zionists' internal intelligence service did indeed marshall its forces, though not any arguments that would stand up in courts other than those of a dictatorship or occupying power. On August 23rd, the Israeli High Court accepted Shin Bet's charge that *Al Mithaq* and *Al Ahd* were «threatening state security» and «operated and directed by the PFLP». The court reversed the interim decision, ordered the two papers to be immediately closed and revoked Khatib's publishing license.

While still being published, *Al Mithaq* and *Al Ahd* were subject to the strictest military censorship, like all the Palestinian press under occupation.



Thus the argument that their contents threatened state security seems implausible if not for the fact that any Palestinian nationalist expression is considered threatening by the Zionist leadership that aspires to rule over Palestine without the Palestinians being seen or heard. The charge that *Al Mithaq* was controlled by the PFLP is equally ridiculous. It is moreover an outright insult to our people under occupation, as if they are incapable of sustaining nationalist publications on their own, or producing revolutionary writings without being instructed from Damascus. This trumped-up charge is in line with long-standing Zionist attempts to present a picture of 'benign occupation' over 'happy natives' who would never think of resisting if not

ZIONIST AUTHORITIES CLOSE TRADE UNION OFFICE

The Zionist occupation authorities continue their iron fist policies against all Palestinian nationalist expression, hitting especially hard at those forces who oppose the attempt to impose joint Israeli-Jordanian rule in the occupied West Bank. On August 13th, the Israeli army closed down the Nablus office of the Progressive Front for Trade Union Action which has offices in Bethlehem and Ramallah as well.

An Israeli military spokesman said that these offices were only a cover for secret activities of the PFLP; they were closed down on orders from General Yahoud Barak, military commander of the central sector (of the West Bank).

AL MITHAQ EDITORIAL October 24, 1985 «PERES AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS»

The local press, while talking about the so-called Peres peace initiative, did not deal with the way Peres presented his understanding of autonomy and its relation to the 'improvement' policy presented but not put into practice. Peres sees that the improvement of the living conditions is closely connected with the elimination of 'terrorism' in the West Bank and Gaza. This means that according to Peres the struggle against 'terrorism' through the 'iron fist' policy is a means of the improvement of the living conditions of the majority of residents. These remarks from Peres were approved and appreciated by the US Secretary of State George Schultz. These slogans about improvement are nothing more than velvet gloves concealing the hardline policy against the oppressed majority. We have realised this for a long time and will not be deceived by it.

Translation: *Al Fajr*, English edition, November 1, 1985

incited from abroad. This calls to mind the earlier Zionist illusions of breaking Palestinian opposition to the 'autonomy' plan by destroying the PLO's base in Lebanon, based on their supposition that West Bank and Gaza Palestinians were too 'intimidated' by the PLO to make peace with the occupiers.

The Zionists' new attempt to silence Palestinian opposition to occupation, *inter alia* by closing *Al Mithaq*, will be just as ill-fated as was their 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The consistent revolutionary line voiced in *Al Mithaq* is a product of our masses' struggle and experience. It expresses the revolutionary tendency that exists among Palestinian communities everywhere. If *Al Mithaq* is prevented from expressing our people's aspirations to liberation self-determination and a democratic Palestinian state, these will anyway surface - in demonstrations, in mass uprisings and daily steadfastness, with or without the printed page.

WHY NOW?

As irrational as the Zionists' arguments were, the closure of *Al Mithaq* was not due to the whim of some especially mean military officer. It is in line with long-standing Israeli repression of the Palestinian press, which was further tightened with the reactivation of the iron fist policy last year. Moreover, it is one of many steps taken in a current Zionist plan that originates from Prime Minister Peres' desk. It may seem ironic that the closure occurs amid so much talk in Tel Aviv, Washington and Amman, about 'improving the quality of life' for residents of the occupied territories, but that is exactly the point. In the eyes of the enemy forces, such repression is required for 'improving' the situation. This fact was aptly exposed by *Al Mithaq* itself in an editorial last autumn (see box).

Editor Mohammed Khatib attributed the closure of his papers to the prevailing situation of intensified Israeli-Jordanian cooperation to resolve the

sate of the occupied territories to their joint favor. As part of the independent Palestinian press, *Al Mithaq* has been in the forefront defending the national line and sole representation of the PLO. Its editorials have lashed out at all attempts to destroy or compromise these principles, whether by Zionist repression, Jordanian intrigues or the Palestinian right-wing leadership's deviations. It is one of the publications that has most clearly exposed Jordan's special role in implementation of the imperialist-Zionist plan for liquidating the Palestinian cause.

At a time when US imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction have high hopes for a settlement between 'Israel' and King Hussein, circumventing the PLO, voices like that of *Al Mithaq* cannot be tolerated. For image purposes, the Zionist authorities may refrain from closing down the entire Palestinian press, though the extreme right is calling for just that. The Zionists are hoping that repression, plus greater Jordanian leverage in the occupied territories, can intimidate other sectors of the Palestinian press, or surplant them with yellow journalism. While this might work in one or two cases, the enemy will generally run into a brick wall, for the Palestinian press, like its readership, has persisted in united adherence to the PLO. This was recently underscored by the reaction to King Hussein's measures against the PLO in Jordan. Even papers previously considered as leaning towards Jordan, vigorously protested these measures.

Thus, the Zionist hammer can be expected to fall on other publications that uphold Palestinian rights and adhere to the PLO. Now is the time for an international campaign, protesting the closure of *Al Mithaq* and *Al Ahd*, and the constant Israeli harassment of Palestinian journalists and newspapers. Defending the Palestinian press is a defense of human and democratic rights. It is one way of supporting the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.



Memorandum

Terror in Israeli Jails

The Committee for the Defense of Palestinian Prisoners in Israeli Jails would like to inform you about the inhuman conditions for political prisoners in occupied Palestine. In the period following the prisoner exchange in May 1985, a number of repressive measures were taken against thousands of Palestinian prisoners, aiming at depriving them of their basic human rights as confirmed in the Geneva and Lahai conventions concerning the treatment of prisoners-of-war in occu-

pied territories. These resolutions have been approved internationally and confirmed by all democratic institutions, societies and committees in the world, that are working in defense of human rights, and against psychological and physical torture and terror.

All events and facts following the latest prisoner exchange, in which 1,187 prisoners were freed, show that the Zionist authorities exploited the exchange to cancel many of the rights that the prisoners were able to

achieve over years of struggle, mainly through hunger strikes.

The repressive measures against our prisoners are part of the authorities' iron fist policy against all the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine. This aims at prohibiting our people from expressing their rejection of the occupation and its settlement plans. 1,100 Palestinians were fined and imprisoned between April and September of 1986. Sentences were passed on the basis of the repressive Tamir law which allows for trial and conviction, even if there is no concrete evidence or confession. The total of the fines imposed by the military courts on Palestinians during the same period exceeded \$224,000.

The following are the main incidents in Israeli prisons during the past few months:

1. On April 16-17th, while the 250 political prisoners in Jenin prison were preparing for the International Prisoners' Day celebration, the authorities attacked them, using bats and tear gas, and gas that irritates the skin with week-long effects.

2. On May 3rd and May 9th, the authorities prohibited the prisoners' families from visiting them in Kafr Yona prison (Beit Lid). On June 9th, the authorities refused to allow the prisoners to conduct prayers for the Muslim holiday collectively. The soldiers attacked the prisoners, and used tear and skin-irritant gas.

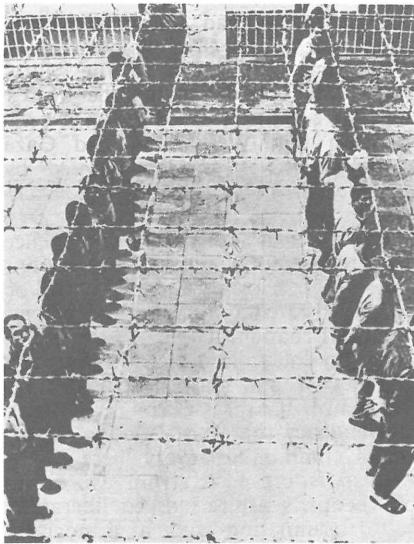
3. On May 27th, more than 800 prisoners in Jnaid, Nablus central prison, declared a hunger strike to continue until the authorities respond to their just demands. The prisoners decided to have a hunger strike after the authorities refused to recognize and meet with their elected representative. The authorities also refused to meet with some of the prisoners to discuss certain practical issues. The authorities also issued a decree that forces every prisoner to go to the prison administration personally if they need anything.

4. On June 2nd, the 48 political prisoners in Bir Saba' declared a hunger strike, and issued a statement appealing to public opinion for support to fulfill their just demands.

5. On June 20th, the Zionist authorities of Jnaid prison in Nablus attacked families who were trying to visit their imprisoned relatives. The authorities used bats and tear gas. The prisoners were continuing the hunger strike they began on May 27th, protesting their miserable conditions.

6. On June 21st, the authorities in Neve Tirza women's prison attacked the 20 Palestinian prisoners, after pushing Israeli criminal prisoners to start a fight with the Palestinian political prisoners.

7. On July 18th, Zionist soldiers attacked Palestinian prisoners in Gaza prison. Some of the prisoners were forbidden to see their relatives. The prisoners' families were also attacked with tear gas bombs. Moreover, many women and children were injured when



the soldiers sprayed them with water hoses, to keep them from seeing their relatives in the prison.

8. On July 23rd, a new section was opened in Hebron (Al Khalil) prison, completely isolated from the old prison. The political prisoners were moved into the new section, alongside criminals. The new section does not have any hot water or library for the prisoners.

9. On August 3rd, the Palestinian prisoners in Hebron prison went on a hunger strike for five days. Another 85 teenage prisoners joined in the strike in solidarity. Four of the political prisoners were transferred to Ramleh prison hospital, after they were beaten by the prison administration. The prisoners' mothers held a sit-in at the International Red Cross centers in Hebron and Jerusalem, in solidarity with the political prisoners. The sit-in was dispersed by force.

10. On August 22nd, 54 Palestinian prisoners in Ramleh prison went on a hunger strike, because they had been moved to criminal wards, and because the prison administration searches their cells four times a day.

11. On August 26th, 300 Palestinian prisoners went on a hunger strike. The prisoners announced they would continue the strike until their demands are fulfilled.

GENERAL DEMANDS OF THE PALESTINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

1. To halt the use of all physical violence against the prisoners, such as beating by bats, using tear gas and skin-irritant gas, solitary confinement for long periods and in dark rooms.

2. To resolve the problem of over-crowding in the prisons, to insure the minimum room for sleeping. (The authorities put 32 prisoners in one cell that takes a maximum of 18 prisoners.) The prisoners also demand that the place for their breaks be enlarged. 100 prisoners take their break in a 72 square meter area. They also demand a longer

break, and to be allowed sun and fresh air which are necessary for the human body.

3. To remove the iron plates that are fixed on the windows of the cells, as these prevent light and air from coming through.

4. To improve the quality and quantity of the prisoners' food.

5. To provide equipment to clean the cells and the clothes of the prisoners. Unsanitary conditions have caused the spread of insects in the cells, a problem which is especially severe in Kafr Yona prison. In addition the prisoners demand that enough water and soap be provided for baths and washing clothes. (The administration gives one bar of soap to every 13 prisoners.)

6. To allow news papers, magazines, and educational books that are issued in occupied Palestine, and to stop the confiscation of books and reading material owned by the prisoners.

7. Improving the quality of medical treatment given to the prisoners. Many prisoners suffer from contagious skin diseases. To allow the prisoners to have surgical operations and to see specialists.

8. To recognize the committees elected by the prisoners as their representatives to speak on their behalf to the prison administration. In addition, not to isolate the elected prison representatives, or move them to other prisons.

9. To separate Palestinian political prisoners from criminals, and to keep the Israeli criminal prisoners away from the Palestinian women prisoners in Meve Tirza and Abu Kabir prisons. To stop allowing the Israeli prisoners to attack the Palestinian political prisoners.

10. To improve visiting conditions, providing waiting places to protect visitors from heat and rain, and to stop provoking and humiliating them.

The Israeli prison authorities refuse to fulfill the just demands of the prisoners. They plan even more repressive measures, ignoring the strikes, sit-ins and protests by prisoners and their families, and the mass organizations in occupied Palestine.

The main task of our committee is to work to force the Israeli authorities to stop the fascist measures against the Palestinian prisoners. We call upon all committees, associations and media institutions to stand by us and protest these practices against the Palestinian political prisoners. We also call upon you to send investigation committees, and expose the results to public opinion. Our committee is willing to provide any help (i.e., information) you need to express your solidarity with our prisoners, and your condemnation of the Israeli authorities' practices.

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF PALESTINIAN PRISONERS IN ISRAELI JAILS
P.O. BOX 12601
DAMASCUS, SYRIA

Plan for 'Improving the Quality of Life'

Aims and Dimensions

The following article, written by Samir Abdullah, appeared in Al Katib, issue no. 76, 1986.

THE START OF THE PLAN

In the second half of 1984, news leaked out about a group of American businessmen who had started activities concerning the 1967 occupied territories earlier in the year. The group appeared under a variety of flashy names, such as «The American Society for Peace in the Middle East» and «Businessmen's Association for Peace and Development.» Chaired by Steve Cohen, a Jewish professor at Queens City College in New York, this group includes a select number of Jewish and Arab American big businessmen.(1) It includes prominent Zionist figures such as Howard Squadron and Philip Klusnik, former chairman of the World Jewish Congress. The members of Arab origin include Najeeb Halaby, father-in-law of King Hussein of Jordan, and Khashoggi, the known Saudi businessman who has made secret visits to 'Israel'. The group also includes known US politicians like Cyrus Vance and Philip Habib.

This group is closely tied to Secretary of State George Schultz who has been speaking much about the subject of «improving the quality of life» of the citizens of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, while completely ignoring the essence of the Palestinian people's cause. According to one report, the group's work is totally coordinated with Schultz's office, especially with his assistant William Kirby, architect of the plan for settling Palestinians in the USA and Canada.(2)

In 1985, there was no talk about the project. It seemed that the initiators preferred to wait and give the Hussein-Arafat agreement of February 11, 1985, a chance. Then talk about the project resumed after Hussein's speech freezing coordination with the official PLO leadership, and after the Israeli military coordinator of the West Bank, Moshe Goren, had toured Europe, carrying a secret list of projects to the tune of half a billion dollars. Then, Israeli Prime Minister Peres proposed a «Marshall plan» for the Middle East, also known as the Peres-Khalil plan (Mustafa Khalil is Egypt's prime minister). This is based on coupling international capital with Israeli technology in order to 'develop' the whole Middle East. This project appears to be the focus of several parties in the region, especially the ruling circles in Egypt and 'Israel'.

BACKGROUND FOR THE PLAN

To understand the background for the plan to «improve the quality of life» in the occupied territories, we have to go back to the conditions and changes that preceded its emergence:

1. The PLO's departure from Beirut, and the official leadership's deviation towards the Arab reactionary trend, which means dealing with the US settlement, cooperation with the Camp David regime in Egypt, and coordination with the Jordanian regime. This was coupled with many splits in the

Palestinian arena. This situation led to demoralization among the Palestinians. Chances were opened for the imperialists to eliminate the goals achieved by the Palestinian people through long, hard struggle and sacrifices.

2. During this period, two main factors caused the deterioration of the economic situation in the occupied territories. First was the recession in the Arab countries, especially the oil-producers, due to falling oil prices and the Gulf war. This reduced the remittances sent home by Palestinians working abroad, and the amount of aid given to the occupied territories. There are fewer job opportunities for Palestinians and less-markets for Palestinian farmers in the Arab countries. The second factor was the acute economic crisis in 'Israel', that negatively affected the economic situation in the 1967 occupied territories. Thousands of Palestinian laborers lost their jobs; West Bank products, especially construction materials, could not be sold on the Israeli market. Fears arose in US and Israeli circles that the bad economic situation would lead to an escalation of Palestinian national resistance to occupation. Some local 'moderates' thought that this would lead to 'extremism' and tried to use this talk to encourage a solution for the economic problems of the occupied territories.

3. The fall of the Likud government in 1984, and expectations that the Labor Party would succeed in the elections, was a very significant factor, because Labor's formula for a political settlement harmonizes with the Jordanian 'option'. Labor has a more flexible approach to the issue of political settlement and engages in tactics, more so than the Likud which is known for its blunt policies.

These three factors were the main variables that created the background for promoting the US businessmen's plan. These variables encouraged imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction to intensify their attack which became especially prominent on the diplomatic front with the Reagan plan and the continuous visits of US envoys to the area. Yet, from the outset, these parties realized that the invasion of Lebanon, the PLO's departure from Beirut and the inter-Palestinian conflicts had not altered the basic political orientation in the occupied territories. The distinguishing tendency was still adherence to the PLO and the Palestinian national goals. Thus, the conspiring parties set out to exploit the economic deterioration in the occupied territories, in order to change this political tendency. In this light, we can view the American businessmen's project as a plan for achieving what the Israelis were not able to achieve by invading Lebanon. This was in fact precisely expressed by the initiators of the plan themselves.

GOALS OF THE PLAN

In an interview with the Israeli daily *Maariv*, Steve Cohen explained: «Israel's security is the common factor among the



Hussein accepts Bush's offer of US money for passifying the occupied territories.

members of the group, including the Arab members. And for this reason we need the approval of the Israeli government, and we will work with the government to achieve all plans.»⁽³⁾ On October 25, 1984, the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* reported one of the group's members as saying, «The group works to add an economic base to serve as a bridge for a political process.»⁽⁴⁾ Israeli journalist Yehuda Litani wrote in *Haaretz* that the initiators had explained that the present economic structure in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was not healthy for the Palestinians or the Israelis, since unemployment among the former will worsen the security of 'Israel'.⁽⁵⁾

Israeli journalist Odeed Thamrnout wrote: «The main idea was that by creating economic stability in the West Bank, it is possible to encourage the development of a local leadership... to weaken the influence of the PLO and strengthen the circles that support Jordan.»⁽⁶⁾ *Haaretz* noted that the US businessmen's group sees that a political solution for the occupied territories could be achieved by transforming the West Bank and Gaza Strip into demilitarized zones, supervised by multinational forces. The newspaper said that such a solution had the official approval of the US and Jordan, while the Israelis are still silent on the subject.⁽⁷⁾

PRESTIGIOUS PALESTINIANS' REACTIONS

The US businessmen consulted many Palestinian notables in the occupied territories to promote their plan, and invited some of them to the US. The opinions of these Palestinians varied. Some clearly defined the nature of the plan and rejected it out of hand. Others saw it as a chance for solving some of the economic problems in the occupied territories.

Dr. Salah Al Bustami, member of the doctors' association, said: «I was shocked to discover that the political aims of these American businessmen were not in the interests of the people of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. If they invite me again, I won't go, and if they come, I won't receive them, because I know they have suspicious political aims.»⁽⁸⁾ Mr. Ibrahim Abdul Hadi said, «Of course, we look forward to establishing a Palestinian state, but these plans do not consider this point.»⁽⁹⁾

Based on participation in the consultations with the US businessmen, Dr. Hashem Ortani wrote: «We tried to make it clear to the other parties, especially some of the Jewish American leaders, that we will not be the only side that will suffer from the hatred that is building up in the hearts of the thousands of youngsters, those who had hopes of a future they have worked hard for, and were left with nothing but begging before closed doors. Do the US, Israel and the Arab oil states need to have a creative imagination to realize that unemployment of college graduates will become a time bomb whose splinters will fly in every direction.»⁽¹⁰⁾

When we examine what has been said about the plan both by its initiators and those who studied it, we notice two main points: (1) Worry about the security of 'Israel' due to the deteriorating economic conditions in the occupied territories; and (2) the discrepancy between the political tendency in the occupied territories and the US solution. Therefore, the goal of the plan has two interrelated dimensions: first, to avoid escalation of Palestinian resistance in the occupied territories; and second, to create a political tendency that supports the US solution.

THE SECRET BEHIND THE ISRAELIS' APPROVAL

A. The strategic aspect of the occupation policy

From its inception, the Zionist plan in Palestine was based on the policy of conquering the land and labor, which means depriving the Palestinian people of independent and stable conditions of life. This policy has been consistently practiced, despite the variation of forms and means in different areas, at different times. However, changing conditions, and the local and international balance of power, are no longer conducive to continuing this policy so bluntly and directly.

From this, we can conclude that the Zionist plan continues to collide with all the classes and groups of the Palestinian people. In practice, this has caused the widening of the front rejecting occupation. This is very clearly seen in the occupation authorities' inability to split the unity of the Palestinian people. In

most countries that were colonized, the colonizers were able to gain to their side certain social classes and strata that formed a social base to help the colonizers achieve their goals. With the help of the colonizers, these strata were able to form armies that fought alongside the colonizers against the nationalist forces.

The Zionist occupation authorities have tried to exploit religious sectarianism and tribalism to find a way out of their crisis. Although they succeeded in some cases, such efforts failed in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The authorities tried through the villages leagues, installed under the pretext of developing the villages and rendering public services, but they failed. The village leagues remained small and isolated, and thus unable to constitute a social base for helping the authorities achieve their aims. On the contrary, the leagues became a burden on the Zionists, which caused them to stop their support. The experience of the village leagues confirms the nature of the position that is allowed for any Palestinian class or strata. This position definitely does not meet the demands of any class or strata that is seeking an independent and respectable economic and social position.

Since the Zionist plan contradicts the development of the Palestinian people's economic base on their land, no Palestinian class, group or strata is allotted an independent economic position. What then is the secret behind the enthusiasm of Israeli politicians, especially the Labor Party leaders, about the US businessmen's plan? What do they want to gain by the plan for «improving the quality of life» in the occupied territories?

B. The occupied territories as a milk cow - tactical aspects of the economic policy

The Israeli economy profits greatly from the occupied territories, as specified below:

1. The occupied territories are the largest importer of Israeli goods. US statistics show that the trade balance surplus between 'Israel' and the occupied territories is \$800 million a year.⁽¹¹⁾

2. The occupied territories provide over one million hours of labor power daily to the various sectors of the Israeli economy at only 40-60% of Jewish laborers' wages. In addition, Palestinians do the manual and menial work.

3. An important part of the national income of the occupied territories is siphoned into the Israeli budget, as follows:

15% of the gross local product in VAT (value added tax);

10% of the gross per capita income as income tax;

- a large percentage of the wages of Palestinians working in 'Israel' as various deductions, valued at \$30 million yearly in the eighties;⁽¹²⁾

- different fees; construction licenses; court fees, traffic fines and the many high fines imposed by the military courts.

4. Income from the open bridges amounts to \$1 million daily, from permit fees, customs duties and airport fees alone.

5. The occupied territories are an entry point for hard currencies, mainly coming from Palestinians working abroad.

6. The occupied territories constitute an important bridge for exporting Israeli products to the Arab world, whether through smuggled Israeli products or products of the occupied territories. It is known that there are Israeli elements in every agricultural and industrial product.

In his opening speech at the seminar on unemployment among graduates, Anwar Al Khatib did not exaggerate when he said that 'Israel' has a net income of \$1 billion annually from the occupied territories. On the other hand, the authorities' expenditures in the occupied territories are very low, as shown by official Israeli statistics. The total expenditures of the Zionist authorities and the local administrations together in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was estimated at \$240 million between 1977 and 1983, meaning \$34.3 million a year.⁽¹³⁾

In practice, it sometimes seems that there is a contradiction between the authorities' strategic endeavor to deprive the Palestinians of the conditions of life on the one hand, and their efforts to exploit the occupied territories to serve the Israeli economy on the other. Observers of the Zionist occupation policies will discover the red line that cannot be crossed by the Palestinians in their economic practices. The authorities have hindered any project that strengthens the material base of the occupied territories' economy, or competes with Israeli

industry. For example, the Zionist authorities set impossible conditions for granting a license for the cement factory in Hebron (Al Khalil) and the bank in Nablus. They halted co-operative housing projects, and hindered efforts to raise the production capacity of the Jerusalem District Electric Company and the Nablus municipal electric company. They hindered plans to utilize irrigation water, etc. Yet the authorities do not oppose the establishment of some small industries which would supply the demands of the construction sector; this caused a surplus in the production of cement blocks and other construction materials. Also allowed was some traditional industry, with high production costs, such as clothing.

In agriculture, the authorities determine which crops can be cultivated, and in what proportion, to meet the needs of the Israeli economy.

It is clear what types of projects the Zionist authorities will allow. They have confidence in the US businessmen's plan, despite Sharon's critical statements, for they have the right to veto and hinder any projects that violate the security of their economy.

C. Activating the role of the occupied territories in the Israeli economy

Knowing the strategy and tactics of Zionist policy towards the occupied territories, one can understand the differences that many times surface between the two poles of the Israeli political spectrum - Likud and Labor. These differences surfaced again concerning the plan for «improving the quality of life» in the occupied territories. The plan was heavily criticized by Likud, whereas Labor was very enthusiastic about it.

We will enumerate some of the thoughts that were discussed on the subject. Ifraim Aharam, one of the most famous lecturers of Tel Aviv University, said: «It is to the interest of the US to look for developing the West Bank economically, because this will help absorb laborers (in the occupied territories). I believe that Israel should exploit this chance to the maximum.» Aharam explained how 'Israel' can benefit from this chance: «Israel should get rid of some of the industries that have become a burden to the economy. This should be done by transferring them to the West Bank. This would enable Israel to release part of its technical labor force and transfer a huge capital to more developed industries.» As examples, Aharam talked about the textile and diamond industries. Everyone knows that the process of transferring parts of the textile industry to the West Bank has been going on for years. Now there are scores of tailoring and clothing factories in Tulkarm, Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem and many other towns of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, based on subcontracting with Israeli factories. Aharam adds that the process of industrializing the West Bank and Gaza Strip «will open a big export market for 'Israel' east of Jordan, to a value of \$100 billion dollars.»⁽¹⁴⁾

From this, we can conclude that 'Israel' will have to utilize this chance (the US businessmen's plan) to stabilize the foundation of a system that will bring many benefits, by transferring to the occupied territories costly industries and industries that are bankrupt or nearly so, such as the Atta textile factory. Aharam also confirms the importance of the occupied territories as a bridge for expanding into the Arab markets. We all know that benefiting from this bridge requires normalizing relations with the Jordanian regime.

JORDAN'S CHANCE TO GAIN POWER

Although Jordanian officials were silent about the plan to «improve the quality of life,» there were many indications of direct coordination with the Israeli rulers, with consultations taking place behind closed doors. All that we heard was that Jordan demands to play a bigger role in implementing the plan.

Some of the practical things that have been going on for a while are the plans for reorganizing the villages of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. These plans are being financed jointly by Jordan and 'Israel'. Coordination is apparent in many acts of preparation for this project, specifically the campaign for appointing new municipal councils in some West Bank towns. Coordination was also apparent in consultations on important projects, such as the Jerusalem District Electric Company.

The Jordanian regime spared no efforts to isolate the PLO from the political arena; it is now achieving its goals in the open by cooperating with the Israelis. The Jordanian regime sees that the US businessmen's plan gives it a chance to gain power and supporters in the occupied territories. Having elicited the support of the Zionist authorities and the Jordanian regime, the plan for «improving the quality of life» is the economic gateway to the US-style settlement based on Camp David and the Reagan plan. This plan is expected to achieve what the Israelis failed to achieve by invading Lebanon. The Israeli invasion aimed at reversing the regional balance of power - once and for all - in favor of the US plans, marginalizing the PLO and spreading Camp David to all or most Arab countries.

On the economic level, this plan is expected to even more closely link the economy of the occupied territories with the Israeli economy, through a division of labor. This means more exploitation and marginalization of the economy of the occupied territories. It is also expected to tie the occupied territories' economy to US finances, via Jordan and 'Israel'. Through this process, it is expected to normalize economic relations between Jordan and 'Israel'.

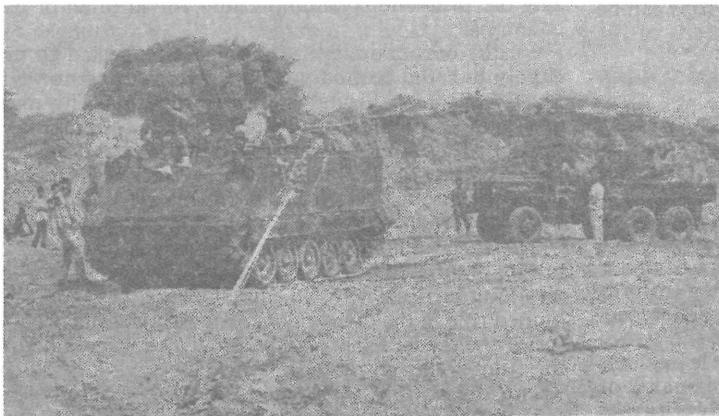
The social dimension of this process is to further the comprador nature of the Palestinian bourgeoisie, pushing them into joint projects with US capital where they will be allotted a limited role in the division of labor between the occupied territories and the Israeli economy, as Dr. Aharam talked about. In the future, this strata will be developed as a middleman between the Israeli economy and the Arab economy, after political obstacles are removed. At the same time, this strata will be prepared for a political role opposed to the PLO, posing as an alternative to it.

The political dimension of this process involves normalizing and strengthening relations between the Palestinian people under occupation and the civil administration. The civil administration will be prepared for new tasks, by giving a bigger role to local Palestinians. In addition, the role of the group that supports the Jordanian solution will be strengthened. Chances will be improved for the US solution that aims at liquidating the Palestinian cause. Peres' proposal for a «Marshall plan» reveals the nature of the broader maneuvers to materialize the US concept of «strategic consensus» by close cooperation between 'Israel' and the Arab reactionary regimes.

The plan for «improving the quality of life» is an attempt to exploit the deteriorating economic situation in the occupied territories, in order to seduce the Palestinian bourgeoisie in particular. They are to be led to believe that doors are open for them to expand and accumulate capital through the role they will be prepared for, as middlemen, in the normalization process between 'Israel' and the Jordanian regime, and probably with all of the reactionary regimes eventually.

(1) Members of the Businessmen's Association for Peace and Development:
 - Steve Cohen, professor at Queens City College, New York, chairman
 - Steve Shalom, New York banker
 - Lester Braden, Chicago, general manager of General Dynamics
 - G. Britsker, Chicago, owner of Hyatt Hotels
 - Najeeb Halaby, businessman, in charge of the association's political committee, King Hussein's father-in-law
 - Robert Arno, Robert Stuber, businessman
 - Bill Baroudy, director of an investment company in Washington, and president of the American Studies Institute
 - Henry Kaufman, economics expert
 - Alfer Moses, Washington attorney
 - Arnold Forrester, former president of the Association to Defend Jews in America
 - Cyrus Vance, former Secretary of State
 - Philip Habib, US envoy to the Middle East
 - Howard Squadron, US Zionist leader
 - Al Khashoggi, Saudi billionaire.
 (2) *Al Biader Al Seasi*, Jerusalem, issue 135, January 12, 1985, p. 16.
 (3) *Al Awda*, Jerusalem, issue 53, 1984, p. 49.
 (4) *Al Ittihad*, Haifa, October 26, 1984.
 (5) *Al Quds*, December 16, 1984.
 (6) *Al Mithaq*, Jerusalem, November 1, 1984.
 (7) *Al Ittihad*, Haifa, October 26, 1984.
 (8) *Al Awda*, issue 53, p. 5.
 (9) *ibid.*
 (10) *Al Quds*, November 3, 1984.
 (11) *Al Quds*, June 23, 1986.
 (12) *Al Khatib*, issue 54, «Cuts in wages of laborers in Israel,» by Taysir Al Arouri, p. 31.
 (13) *The Israeli Annual Census Book for 1985*.
 (14) *Al Biader Al Seasi*, issue 125, November 3, 1984.

Amal Harasses Palestinians in Tyre Camps



Amal tanks that shelled Rashidiya on Oct. 2nd

Aggression against the Palestinian camps and people in Lebanon has not stopped. All indications point to the probability that the episodes of aggression will continue and spread. The camp wars in Beirut, the attempts to ignite the situation in Sidon through kidnappings and killings, and continued provocations against the Palestinian camps in the Tyre area, are all indicators of this.

The agreement which halted the camp wars has not prevented elements in the Amal movement from apprehending or kidnapping Palestinians who pass through their checkpoints on the southern and southeastern outskirts of Sidon. This aims at destroying the Lebanese-Palestinian alliance in the area. These elements from Amal were unable to ignite a war in the camps near Sidon, due to the awareness of the Palestinian and Lebanese masses and nationalist leadership there of the dangers of such a war. Unable to ignite the

strife they desired, these elements attempt to employ their tactics elsewhere. This explains the increase of incidents aimed at terrorizing Palestinian citizens in the camps near Tyre.

Since the Israeli withdrawal from Tyre, hundreds of Palestinians have been thrown into Amal's prisons in Ma'raka, Zifta and other villages. The Palestinian camps have been stormed tens of times. The common excuse for these continued waves of intimidation against civilians is searching for hidden arms, to prevent the situation from returning to the way it was before 1982.

In June this year, bulldozers driven by Amal elements, including some of their leaders in Tyre, demolished more than half of Jal Al Bahr camp. The fact that this camp is built on land of a wealthy landowner, called Mohammed Samhat, was considered ample justification for ousting whole families and rendering them homeless. Formerly, during the Israeli occupation, attempts were made to wipe out this camp, but

this was stopped through the efforts of Mohammed Sa'ad, a leader of Amal and the Lebanese National Resistance, who has since been martyred.

Amal has again taken to intimidating the masses. On September 3rd, Amal stormed Burj Al Shamali camp and paraded in the main roads, arresting four civilians. On the same day, Rashidiya camp was subject to sporadic bursts of machine-gun fire and mortar shelling.

On September 6th, Amal tried to stop bulldozers and trucks loaded with materials for a hospital that is being built in Rashidiya. The truck drivers were called in for interrogation and accused of carrying supplies to build shelters. When the drivers refused to answer the summons, Amal prevented all cars from entering and leaving the camps, and detained all trucks carrying building materials. Another truck carrying medicines was stopped, and released only after negotiations between Amal's Tyre leadership and Rashidiya's popular committees. These incidents indicate that to Amal, the work to serve and protect the Palestinian masses, as by building shelters, is considered a crime.

On the same day, the people were outraged when Amal elements brought Palestinians and Lebanese nationalists, whom they are holding prisoner, to donate blood to an Amal member who was suffering from a stomach ulcer. The doctors, however, refused to take blood from these prisoners.

As of September 8th, tension was still rising. Amal had Rashidiya under siege and prohibited entry or exit. A pregnant woman, in critical condition, was forbidden to leave the camp to obtain medical treatment.

Outside the camps, Palestinians were forbidden to cross Amal's checkpoints, risking arrest and humiliation. The number of forces surrounding the camps increased, as did the piling of sandbag barriers. All roads, even minor routes, leading to the camp were closed. All this portends the eruption of new episodes of camp wars, this time in Tyre. Amal's continued policy of intimidation and terror will probably spread to engulf all of the South and all areas of Lebanon where there are Palestinian camps.

The Lebanese Kaleidoscope

All through August and September, various hot spots in Lebanon have emerged as headline grabbers. Events oscillated between the battles of East Beirut in mid-August (which resurfaced towards the end of September), the convening of the committee for dialogue and the turmoil of the Hezbollah-Amal-UNIFIL conflict.

The inter-Lebanese Forces battles which took precedence towards the

middle of August were between two trends. The first is represented by Samir

Geagea whose Zionist-backed ultra-fascism rejects all tendencies towards a

relationship with Syria. The second trend, represented by Masha'alani and backed by the Phalangists, takes a seemingly more flexible stance towards Syria. In actuality, therefore, the situation revolves around overt and covert attempts to abort having any serious, tangible relation with Syria, as was set out in the tripartite agreement (signed in December 1985 by Walid Jumblatt of the Progressive Socialist Party, Nabih Berri of the Amal movement, and then commander of the Lebanese Forces, Eli Hobeika).

The agreement has remained unimplemented since its inception due to the many differences and military clashes it had given rise to in the fascists' ranks. The January 15th battles this year culminated in the ousting of Hobeika by Samir Geagea. The former had gone too far in his pro-Syrian leanings in the tripartite agreement, according to Geagea and Amin Gemayel. At that time, Geagea and Gemayel joined forces to oust Hobeika. Gemayel aimed to reinstate himself as the sole strongman in the Lebanese arena, while Geagea's motives stemmed from a desire to reinforce his position in the Lebanese Forces, once Hobeika - a strong competitor - was out of the way.

Since then, Geagea has been making speedy efforts to convert the Lebanese Forces into some sort of regular army - the so-called Free Christian Army. The first class of retrained elements was to graduate in mid-August. Despite Geagea's many declarations of good intentions, the real reason behind reorganizing the Lebanese Forces was to weed out Hobeika's supporters and others whose position was not clearly pro-Geagea in the January 15th battles. Those who saw their livelihood threatened by these maneuvers rose in armed protest in the mid-August battles.

On the other hand, the Phalangist Party loyal to Amin Gemayel, attempting to capitalize on the conflict in the Lebanese Forces between Geagea and Masha'alani, supported the latter through Elie Abu Nader. However, when it became evident that Masha'alani was unable to stand up to Geagea's bloody onslaught, the Phalangists reconsidered their decision and assumed the role of impartial mediator between the two warring sides. The Phalangists were able to achieve two things in the process of engineering the truce:

(a) to have Masha'alani retain his position within the Lebanese Forces. Thus, the Phalangists would be able to keep a foothold within the Lebanese Forces and use Masha'alani when the opportunity arises in the future.

(b) to convince Geagea to suspend his plans for converting the Lebanese Forces into some kind of regular army and integrating them into the Phalangist Party structure. The Phalangists

prefer to keep these forces separate, subordinate and on hand when needed, rather than integrate them in the party structure.

Thus the Phalangists emerged from the August battles with the appearance of remaining the most qualified and authorized to make decisions in the name of the Christians.

However, the truce achieved between the two warring sides did not bring about a final solution to the core of the conflict, which is the power struggle between Geagea and the Phalangists, each equally anxious to wrest, once and for all, the sole right to represent the Christians. On the one hand, there is Samir Geagea, a strong opponent of the so-called privileged or special relations with Syria. Moreover, due to his strong Zionist backing, he supports open cooperation with the Zionist entity, as well as the division of Lebanon into cantons. On the other hand, the Phalangists loyal to Amin Gemayel hesitate to openly cultivate their relationship with 'Israel' at this stage. They refrain from openly colliding with Syria, while trying to avoid being restricted by a 'special relations' agreement.

There were several other factors which contributed to the rising tension in East Beirut and the consequent battles. Gemayel had suffered numerous rebuffs from the Syrians for not implementing one clause of the tripartite agreement. He was anxious to make a show of striking at the Zionist-backed Lebanese Forces, not because of an awakening of nationalist conscience however. Gemayel intended to give Syria the impression that he does not intend to reconsider the tripartite agreement, but did wish to curb the influence of the Lebanese Forces and their efforts to reinforce themselves.

Another factor was the election of George Sa'adeh to the position of secretary general of the Phalangist Party. His position was neither for one side nor the other. This did not change the balance of forces decisively, and thus had the effect of prolonging buried conflicts instead of deciding them.

Finally, the imposition of new taxes and new payments of protection money on civilians by Geagea's men, the waves of car bombs and the escalating propaganda war, all indicated the inevitability of the bloody battles in East Beirut.

Despite the truce, the Lebanese Forces still retain sufficient military power to constitute a force which Gemayel must reckon with. Thus, the military option for resolving the conflict remains open. This unresolved situation led to reignition of the old-new battles in East Beirut towards the end of September. Again it is a new attempt to trim Geagea's feathers. Hobeika's men, disguised as Phalangists, infiltrated East Beirut and clashed

with Geagea's men. The latter brutally and swiftly retaliated. The final toll, 200 wounded and 65 killed, left Geagea as the still uncontested strongman. Moreover, unconfirmed rumors are circulating that Masha'alani, the Phalangists' betting chip, has been kidnapped. And the military option is still open.

THE DILEMMA OF DIALOGUE

On another level, the Lebanese cabinet convened on September 2nd, as the Committee for Dialogue, for the first time since October 18, 1985. Glorious aims were declared at the end of this two-hour session «safeguarding Lebanon's unity, stressing its Arab identity, reforming its political system and liberating the South.» However, the main issues of differences remain and probably will remain unresolved, e.g., abolition of political sectarianism, reduction of presidential prerogatives and defining what is exactly meant by 'privileged or special' relations with Syria. These issues always spark fierce discussions which never result in concrete decisions.

In an interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper, *Al Watan*, prominent national figures in Lebanon commented on this much discussed Committee for Dialogue. Lawyer Sinan Barraj, head of the Defense Committee for Democratic Freedoms, said, «What is needed is a democratic national system, not sectarian solutions.» The head of the Arab Cultural Club, engineer Mohammed Qabanni, stated, «The government dialogue will lead to a truce... not a comprehensive solution.» MP Najah Wakim was most direct: «The government does not represent the people...»

On the whole, however, with the events in southern Lebanon now taking ascendancy, the discussions of this committee have been pushed to the back burner.

The year 1988 looms ahead as an important convergence point for three decisive deadlines - Lebanese presidential elections, US presidential elections, as well as Israeli general elections. This imposes the element of urgency on many forces to achieve some semblance of stability in certain hotbeds of turmoil. Such a semblance of stability conducive to imperialist designs for the region, necessitates consolidation of the pro-US and Zionist elements in Lebanon, before the whole area is subjected to a political reshuffling. The prediction of events is impossible, but one thing is certain: There will be vicious attempts to resolve the labyrinth of contradictions and conflicts in Lebanon in a form satisfactory to the US-Zionist-fascist engineers.

Resolution

425:

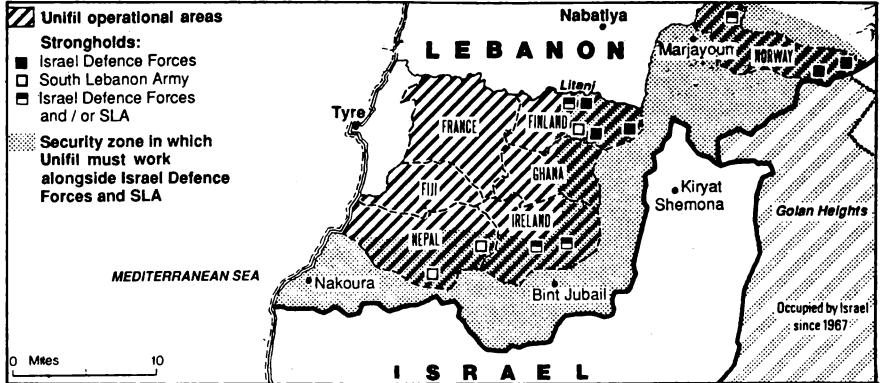
To Be Or Not To Be?

This resolution stipulates that the Zionists halt all military attacks on Lebanon and immediately withdraw all their forces. The resolution further requires that an «interim» force be formed, under UN auspices, «to guarantee Israeli withdrawal» and «help Lebanon to restore her sovereignty in this area.» Needless to say, this resolution, even now in 1986, has remained unimplemented. Moreover, due to the extraordinary delay, and the conflicting factors in the Lebanese arena, the Zionists have had the opportunity not only to entrench themselves in South Lebanon and cultivate their own gang of collaborators, but also to extend their influence into the heart of Beirut. Furthermore, local and regional developments have resulted in the emergence of various trends. Among these are the fundamentalist Shiite trends which have grown into a force to be reckoned with, especially in the southern quarters of Beirut and the South.

The differences between Hezbollah and Amal on how to oust the Zionist enemy from Lebanese territory have led to military acts directed not at the Zionist enemy, but at the French military unit stationed in the South. This serves to divert from the main struggle to enforce the national demands through armed struggle against the Zionist occupation. It is thus a dangerous issue to which all must be alert.

BACKGROUND

UNIFIL was deployed in South Lebanon in the summer of 1978, after the Zionist occupation forces withdrew from some of the areas they had occupied. In the border areas, the Zion-



The attacks against the French units of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon, which have been particularly intense in August and September, are a result of the escalation of the conflict between Amal and Hezbollah. The main issue concerns the pros and cons of implementing UN resolution 425, adopted after the Zionist occupation of southern Lebanese territory in 1978.

ists installed the fascist militias of Saad Haddad who set up their statelet as a launching pad for Zionist attacks against defenseless Lebanese civilians in the South, aiming to drive them from their homes, as a step towards permanent Israeli control. The then 6,000 soldiers of the so-called international peace-keeping forces, comprised of units from nine countries, were deployed in this area. These forces witnessed the daily perpetration of ruthless attacks carried out by the Zionists and their fascist allies. However, due to a predetermined political understanding among the imperialist countries, they were rendered incapable of deterring these attacks or establishing a secure situation to prevent the mass migration of Lebanese families northwards. On the other hand, these forces were very capable of hindering the attempts of Lebanese nationalists and Palestinians to protect the population, and attack the Zionist forces and

their fascist allies.

To give credit where credit is due, however, some of the UNIFIL units began to find it impossible to remain indifferent to the brutal Zionist attacks on Lebanese citizens, and to the glaring injustice of the whole situation. Some at times sympathized with the nationalist resistance movement, and acted on this sympathy as well. As a result, these units were sometimes targeted, along with the masses, by Zionist and fascist aggression.

The Israelis, of course, used their 1982 invasion of Lebanon to reinforce their control over the border strip. Furthermore, the Zionist lobby raised hell until the US agreed to cut financial

support to the UNIFIL and push for the removal of these forces from southern Lebanon. In this way, the Zionists anticipated a broader margin of freedom which would facilitate their atrocities on the inhabitants of the South and their exploitation of its natural resources, chiefly water. While this aggression has not been actively hindered by the UNIFIL forces, their physical presence can result in embarrassment for the Zionist enemy's imperialist allies, if the Israeli forces act as if they are not present at all. However, the Soviet Union stepped in to compensate for the financial deficiency which the US left in the UNIFIL's budget, thus foiling the enemies' expectations for the time being.

After the blow dealt to the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon in 1982, especially in the South, the Zionist and imperialist forces worked to fill the vacuum with collaborators, such as the so-called National Guards. At the same time, the Lebanese nationalists and the Palestinian resistance began to reassemble their ranks, leading to the escalation of armed struggle. This challenged the 'undisputable military edge' of the Zionist forces, and escalated to the point of threatening their very presence. No method was spared in attacking the enemy - sniping, booby-trapped donkeys, remote-controlled explosions and waves of missions carried out by selfless guerrillas who gave their lives. In 1985, 1165 military operations were carried out in the South against the Zionist occupiers and their local agents. Not only were the enemy forces subject to daily attacks in the South, including in the heart of what they so arrogantly claim as their 'security zone', the

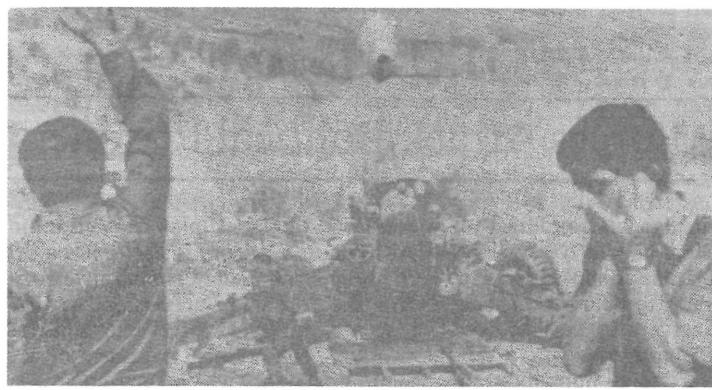
national resistance also launched attacks on Zionist settlements in occupied Palestine.

FORCED PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL

It was this incessant hammering of military operations which forced the enemy into withdrawal. This withdrawal, a victory in itself, forced the Zionist forces to return to the method of quick military strikes in coordination with the South Lebanese Army (Lahd's fascist forces). At the same time, the South witnessed the growth of fundamentalist Islamic organizations which categorically refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Zionist entity. Among these are two main trends. One is Hezbollah which considers the UN resolutions, specifically 425, and the presence of UNIFIL as insulating factors which serve to shield 'Israel' from the military attacks of the national resistance. The other is the Amal movement which considers that the UN resolutions and UNIFIL cannot prevent military operations against 'Israel', but that they do restrain the latter from going on a rampage against defenseless villages and towns. Amal further contends that the main purpose served by UNIFIL is to raise the morale of the Lebanese people in the South, more than to establish actual security! (Ironically Amal forces were stationed in certain areas to cooperate with and *protect* the French units of UNIFIL).

The Lebanese government is unanimous in its support for implementation of resolution 425. However, even on this level, there are conflicting opinions as to whether or not the Lebanese Army is to be responsible for 'helping' the UNIFIL to carry out the resolution.

The above is a rough outline of the main differences about whether or not implementing resolution 425 is the best way to oust the Zionist enemy from Lebanese soil. These differences have developed into inter-Lebanese military conflict with the French units of UNIFIL used as a target in order to make a political statement. One point must, however, be made clear to anyone who has become confused by politics in Lebanon: The Zionist enemy



SLA shells
southern village.

has a long history of violating all resolutions, agreements and promises if these do not serve its purposes. It should be clear to all involved that, in the historical conflict with the Zionist enemy, a one-sided agreement is not sufficient to bring about a comprehensive solution for the South. It borders on the ludicrous to ignite and escalate strife over something which 'Israel' has no intention of complying with, even if Amal and Hezbollah were to come to agreement. 'Israel' will still be intent on retaining its hold on South Lebanon, in order to have a regional trump card in any future settlement proposed. This reality should be fully grasped, in order to consolidate the nationalist ranks and direct blows against the real enemy. It was armed struggle which forced the Zionist enemy from West Beirut, the mountains and great parts of the South, not miracles worked by resolutions numbered 508 and 509. Let no more breath be wasted on resolution 425.

FRONTLINE STRUGGLE

Despite the diversionary incidents covered above, the main struggle does indeed continue against the Zionist occupiers and their fascist proxies of the South Lebanese Army (SLA). In addition to the steady work of unknown patriots, which receives little publicity, there were spectacular attacks and major battles in South Lebanon in August and September. On August 5th, fires raged in the Zionists' security zone after the Lebanese National Resistance fired 20 Katyusha rockets against SLA positions. On August 10th, mortar bombs killed a SLA soldier in Yatar, one of three fatalities suffered by the Zionists' agents in the month, in addition to a number of injuries. Katyusha rockets also fell on Zionist settlements in northern Palestine.

The occupiers, as usual, vented their rage on the masses. On August 10th, Israeli helicopters attacked two Palestinian refugee camps, Ain Al Hilweh and Miyeh Miyeh, near Saida, injuring ten people, including a 13 year old girl. The next day, the Bekaa Valley was bombed; eight people were killed, among them a Red Cross worker and an 18 month old baby. On August 21st, Israeli gunboats off the Beirut coast attacked a checkpoint manned jointly

by the Syrians, Amal and the Progressive Socialist Party, just south of the city. For its part, the SLA repeatedly shelled villages north of the 'security zone', killing 14 civilians in the course of August. The end of the month witnessed the heaviest artillery duel this year between the Lebanese National Resistance and the SLA.

On September 4th, an Israeli soldier was killed as the occupation army raided a village north of the 'security zone', blowing up homes and taking prisoners. A week later, Israeli helicopter gunships devastated an industrial district on the outskirts of Saida, killing three people and injuring 12, on the pretext that attacks were being launched from this area.

Not intimidated by all this aggression, Lebanese National Resistance fighters launched several Katyusha rockets on North 'Israel' in early September. In mid-September, there were a series of daring attacks on SLA positions. In one of them, two SLA positions were attacked at once and captured. Up to 20 fascist militiamen were killed. In another, the Lebanese National Resistance attacked four SLA positions simultaneously.

In response to the mounting casualties in the ranks of their stooges, the Israelis launched air raids on several southern villages, a fact that they later denied. Zionist War Minister Rabin ordered increased logistical support, such as more heavy artillery, for the SLA. By September 22, 'Israel' had amassed hundreds of soldiers along the border with Lebanon; officials said they were ready to move into Lebanon if needed. Meanwhile, in New York, Peres confirmed that 'Israel' plans to stay in Lebanon, right after the UN General Secretary had called for «urgent action» to remove the Israeli troops in the context of discussing the «intolerable» situation for UNIFIL. «For the time being, we cannot reach an agreement with the UNIFIL forces,» Peres blandly stated, thus indicating that 'Israel' is the real obstacle to these units carrying out their mission. So far, it is only the Lebanese National Resistance, actively assisted by the Palestinian revolution, that has scored concrete victories by confronting this obstacle, to enforce total Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.



SLA thugs harass civilians in South Lebanon.

Jordan

Security Forces Attack Political Prisoners

The regime in Jordan continues to escalate repression and terror against our people and the nationalist forces in Jordan. The authorities' barbaric attack on the political prisoners in Al Mahattah, on August 6th, was a criminal act, contrary to all humanitarian principles. It confirms, once again, the regime's insistence on continuing its bloody policies in order to tame the masses, and impose acceptance of direct negotiations with the Zionist enemy and liquidation of the Palestinian cause, contrary to the national interests of the Jordanian people.

The Ifran meeting between Morocco's King Hassan II and the Zionist prime minister, Peres, was an exploratory step to prepare for King Hussein's moving from secret to open negotiations with the Zionist enemy. In order to make his big step, the king has to prepare the domestic situation in Jordan by bridling all active mass opposition that would be an obstacle in his path. This duplicates the Zionists' policy in occupied Palestine, aimed at subduing our people into accepting an alternative to the PLO, one that will not conflict with their liquidationist plans and the infamous Reagan plan.

The barbaric attack on the political prisoners, like the closure of PLO offices in Jordan, and the approval of the economic 'development' plan for the occupied territories, are all steps to prepare for the king's big step!

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS IN JORDAN (IN EXCERPT)

The Committee for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms in Jordan published the following report on the details of the attack, in order to alert international and Arab public opinion, and committees concerned with defending human rights, to the continuous and escalating terrorist practices of the security forces against the masses and the political and national forces in Jordan. Recent examples of this terror include the bloody attack on Yarmouk University on May 15th, to suppress the students; the open interference in the elections in Irbid province on June 19th, and then the terror campaign against the political prisoners in Al Mahattah on August 6th.

The recent attack against the militants of the Jordanian national move-

ment and the Palestinian revolution, in Al Mahattah prison, is part and parcel of the general policy aimed at terrorizing the Jordanian masses and repressing the militant forces. It aims at depriving the political prisoners of the legitimate rights which they have won by hard struggle, beginning in the early seventies.

The Committees for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms call on public opinion and international and Arab humanitarian and democratic institutions, to act immediately to alleviate the terror against the political prisoners; to have the prisoners' rights restored; to condemn the cruel attack of the Jordanian security forces against the prisoners of the national movement and the Palestinian revolution; and to demand improvement of their conditions in prison.

Below are the details of the attack on the prisoners in Al Mahattah, as reported to the Committee for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms in Jordan:

On August 6th, at 5:30 p.m., a joint security force, estimated to be a whole brigade of the special forces, invaded Al Mahattah central prison in Amman. They searched the cells, and humiliated and tortured the political prisoners. The search continued for 12 hours, ending at 6 a.m. the next day.

The force searched the cells in a provocative manner. They destroyed all the kitchen utensils and other equipment, and confiscated all the prisoners' possessions such as books, radios and



foodstuffs. They also ruined facilities that serve the prisoners, such as the cafeteria. They destroyed the tools used by many of the prisoners to make handicrafts, the sale of which is the only source of income for them and their families. The attackers even ruined plants and all the facilities that the prisoners had been able to gain, by many years of struggle, to improve their living conditions.

During the search, which was supposedly for weapons, the prisoners were humiliated and barbarically beaten. Many were injured and two were transferred to the hospital. The eardrum of one of the prisoners was punctured due to beating. Another prisoner almost strangled after being pulled around the prison with a rope around his neck.

Over 1,500 books were confiscated from the prisoners. Fifty thousand Jordanian dinars worth of personal possessions were ruined. These losses, though, are insignificant compared to the dangers posed to the health of the political prisoners. Very little food is given to them, not to mention the quality. The prison kitchen is equipped to prepare food for 100, whereas there are now over 1,000 prisoners in Al Mahattah. Moreover, the prisoners are not allowed to receive food from their families.

After the incident, the prison administration imposed restrictions on the prisoners' visitors. The prisoners' families and friends undergo a strict search in three stages. They are humiliated and not allowed to bring food, clothes or books to the prisoners.

The prisoners submitted memorandums to the president and members of parliament, to the prime minister and to the International Red Cross and other humanitarian institutions, condemning this terrorist attack against them, and demanding that their possessions be replaced and their conditions improved. The prisoners also decided to stop receiving visitors as a protest, until their demands are met.

It is noteworthy that the attackers were the same forces that invaded Yarmouk University in May. The attack on Al Mahattah prison was led by the vice-director of the general security and former head of the general intelligence, Mohammed Obeidat, in addition to 12 colonels of the special forces and general security.

The Committees for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms in Jordan call on the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, the Arab Organization for Human Rights and the Arab Lawyers' Union, to send representatives to meet with the political prisoners in Al Mahattah prison, to witness their inhuman conditions and publish the facts.

Mubarak - Sadat in Disguise

Mubarak Involves Egypt Deeper in Camp David

Interview with Abdullah Diab, famous progressive Egyptian economist



«Warming up the cold peace» - Egypt's prime minister lights Peres' cigarette.

What is your opinion of the meeting that took place between Mubarak and Peres in Alexandria? What are its motives and how do you evaluate the Ifran meeting between King Hasan II and Peres?

First, I would like to draw attention to the short time period between these meetings. This confirms that the first meeting was in preparation for the second. The first meeting was to test the reaction to an Arab leader meeting with an Israeli official. We note here that the Mubarak regime was the only one to declare support to the Hassan II-Peres meeting. Mubarak himself supported this step, though he belittled it in comparison to the big step taken by Sadat when he visited Jerusalem. Mubarak considers Sadat's step as the main step that opened the doors to the peace process, while the Hasan II-Peres meeting was just another step on the same road.

Before the Alexandria summit, Mubarak was claiming that he was not involved in the Camp David process. To prove his claims, he said that he had never met with any of the Zionist leaders.

In his meetings with some of the opposition forces, Mubarak always insisted that the special relations with the U.S. were necessary, since Egypt suffered many economic difficulties. Mubarak said he had to have special relations with the international financial institutions, the same institutions that represent neocolonialism. Mubarak always expressed disgust that the day would come when he would have to deal with the Zionist entity directly. He said he would rather die first.

There were other tricks Mubarak pulled to contain and split the ranks of the progressive national movement, such as claiming that he was «a democrat», while all the emergency rules and regulations, that grew much more in his term, make speaking of democracy a deception. The torture of the political prisoners by the police, and the sentences passed against progressive militants, only prove the deception of his claims. Mubarak repeatedly threatened the opposition forces, in order to prevent them from going beyond certain limits. What Mubarak called «the national issues» are considered off-limits. These include the special relations with the U.S. and adhering to Camp David. Not to agree with him about these «national

issues» means, in his view, going beyond the limits of democracy, which could lead to a «dark fate». By this, he is referring to the possibility of a military coup lead by Abu Gazala.

The possibility of a military coup is very limited, first, because Mubarak himself is part of military institution. Second, the US government, that has gone through a bitter experience with military regimes in Latin America, no longer objects to dependent, multi-party, liberal regimes, that basically have a coalition of two main parties in power. The two parties are from the same class, have the same aims, and alternate in the government, in addition to other smaller parties, for decoration. The two main parties in Egypt are the National Party, and the Wafd party. Therefore, to speak of the «military option» is only an attempt to blackmail the national and democratic forces.

Third, after he was inaugurated, Mubarak convened an economic conference in February 1982. In the conference, he replaced the open door policy of importing consumer goods, with the open door policy of producing goods locally. Actually, Sadat spoke of the same idea two years before he was assassinated. Sadat also attacked parasitism. He said it was a vague concept, and that the parasitic bourgeoisie was undefined and not represented in specific individuals.

Mubarak's slogan of opening the door for production meant an attempt to develop industries in Egypt, directed toward serving the vast majority of the masses who have a very limited income, but not- Mubarak said- to serve the privileged elite. He also claimed it was meant to minimize dependency on imports. However, none of the positive recommendations, including the ones proposed by the liberals in the conference, were taken into consideration.

The February 1985 conference, confirmed that the promise Mubarak had made to himself, was reversed. The class differences, and the exploitation of the poor masses, are going according to the directions of the World Bank, which always aimed at not resolving the economic crisis of any country, as much as it increases the burden of the poor masses.

More than 100,000 workers of the public sector participated in a series of strikes, directed against the authorities. Although the workers raised economic slogans, collision with the owners, i.e., the state, turned the strikes into a political struggle.

We could then say that the objective conditions on the economic and, consequently, the political level, and on the level of relations with the US, paved the way for the Mubarak-Peres meeting. We note that Sadat's visit to Jerusalem followed the January 18-19th mass uprisings. The Mubarak-Peres meeting follows many uprisings and strikes, such as the strike of the workers at Al Mahalla, the railroad workers' strike and the revolt of the central security forces.

We can look at the issue from another perspective. The production policy of the last eleven or twelve years is one of free capitalist development. This entails dependency on foreign and Arab capital that has the financial capacity to fill the gap between the funds available and the need for investment. The foreign and Arab capital has the technological capability to boost the Egyptian economy, but foreign investment means foreign capital's control, and thus financial dependency on the imperialist camp. The imperialists never give us advanced technology. They retain control of the technological operations, and only allow us to use their technology in minor industries. Of course, the main profit goes to the multinational companies and foreign capital, whereas the local capitalists get a very small percentage of the profit.

Mubarak's era has contributed greatly to the process of subordinating the national and progressive movement by containing it. The national and progressive forces were betting on the government, and on a guided capitalist system that would rescue Egypt from its crisis, while we all know that only a socialist system will rescue the underdeveloped countries. In order to prepare the people to accept foreign capital, they have to have hopes that a guided capitalist system will solve the crisis. All the aid that was given to Egypt was part of an attempt to keep the economy afloat until the process of class, social and political subordination is completed. Egypt became involved in endless debts. It became very dependent on foreign imports-at least 40% of its food needs and 75% of its wheat requirements. This is one of the means to subordinate Egypt. ▶

Egypt exports strawberries to Europe and imports wheat instead, which is double subordination. Egypt's exports are subject to the vacillation of the European market. The European countries could stop importing from Egypt to exert political pressure. They also have the final say in what to export to Egypt. Egypt was pulled into this circle due to the interests of the ruling coalition.

According to the minimum estimates, Egypt's debts reached \$34 billion in 1976. In the next two years, the bulk of this debt is due. Egypt will have to pay back \$5 billion. These are the loans that were used to cover the deficit. The imperialists and the International Monetary Fund created this situation in order to make it more difficult for Egypt to correct the deficiency, hoping that Egypt will have no alternative but to give more concessions to foreign capital, without any conditions. The General Motors deal is the best example of how the Egyptian economy is entering into the next stage. In the next stage, imperialism imposes its hegemony on certain economic sectors as a whole, such as the car industry. The General Motors deal takes us back to two years ago when Mubarak raised the slogan of a «100% Egyptian car». A country that barely has bread is planning to make cars? The regime called for bidders, and many multinational companies submitted bids. The worst bid was that of General Motors, yet the government awarded the contract to this company, because Egypt's debts, specifically the military debts, were costing Egypt \$600 million a year. The international interest rate is less than 7%, while Egypt pays the US 13-14% in interest. Last year, Egypt failed to pay back the interest on military loans, which alone amounted to \$550 million, and Washington threatened to cut off aid if the loans weren't paid back! How to get out of this trap? In order for Egypt to pay it back, the US government gave a green light to some American banks to loan Egypt \$550 million at a 20% interest rate.

The latest US-Egyptian joint military maneuvers are another example of the concessions the regime gives due to the crisis. The maneuvers took place off the Libyan coast, while Washington continues its threats not only against Libya, but against Syria as well, in an attempt to liquidate what the US considers the last two bases of resistance. These maneuvers were only part of the US scheme to subjugate the whole area. Egypt is going along with the imperialist schemes to impose US hegemony on the Arab area as a whole.

The Palestinian question is the central issue that, according to the US schemes, should be finished. This is why the idea of self-rule was inserted in the second part of the Camp David accords.

In an attempt to distinguish himself (from Sadat), Mubarak tried to make the Egyptian-Israeli relations seem frozen in regards to the Taba question. This is what is known as the 'cold peace' that was supposed to be turned into a real peace: a defined relationship with the Zionist enemy - full recognition, including giving 'Israel' the right to have international arbitration over a piece of our land (Taba). If this principle is approved concerning Egyptian land, it is possible afterwards to implement it on parts of Palestine (the West Bank and Gaza Strip), the Golan Heights, Jordan, etc. Warming up the 'cold peace' is connected with the Marshall plan, which is in reality the Peres-Khalil (Egypt's prime minister) plan. The Marshall plan entails subduing the whole area to the interests of US imperialism. Israel plays the most important role in implementing the plan, due to its strategic relations with the US. The Marshall plan aims at liquidating not only the Palestinian cause and national liberation movement, but also the Arab national liberation movement in Egypt, Syria and every Arab country.

There is talk in the Arab political arena of the necessity of working to return the Egyptian regime to the ranks of Arab 'solidarity' and the Arab League. There are two main schools of thought. Some feel that Egypt's return can only be secured by pressuring the regime, boycotting and isolating it locally and on the Arab level. Others think this could be achieved by lifting the measures taken

against the regime. What is your view?

I believe that both means will be useless. What is the nature of the Egyptian regime? The regime's class structure consists of the big Egyptian bourgeoisie - its feudal, industrial and financial strata, etc. It has parasitic bourgeois features and made its fortune through its position in the bureaucracy and by exploiting the public sector. It is organically connected with foreign capital, specifically US capital. It is very contradictory to speak of the possibility of this regime's getting closer to the Arabs on an anti-imperialist basis, no matter how much pressure is applied. Everyone who really knows the nature of the regime thinks that this is a remote possibility.

Such talk goes back to the illusions about making a distinction (between Sadat and Mubarak). It is often said that Sadat staged a coup against the Nasserites, although he was one of them, so why can't Mubarak stage a coup, although he is part of Camp David? This is very superficial thinking, because it ignores the vast difference between the two situations. Sadat took power at a time when the reactionary forces had already infiltrated and controlled most of the state institutions, including the army. Despite the fact that the army was very nationalistic, some reactionary forces had started to gain control over it. Nasser was aware of this fact. In 1969, Nasser said, «In Egypt, there is an organized reactionary party.» Sadat staged his coup, depending on these institutions. The main problem was that Nasser only stripped the reactionary forces of their political influence, without destroying their economic base. In the absence of democracy, these forces were able - during Nasser's regime - to grow up again within the state institutions.

Now, is a coup possible from within these institutions, even if we assume, for the sake of the argument, that Mubarak is not part of them? It seems impossible to change the regime under any kind of pressure. The regime will change only when all of these institutions change, and when its entire class structure changes.

However, under the pressure of the growth of the nationalist, democratic and revolutionary forces, the regime might give in and enact some superficial reforms. Reforms in any capitalist society are a step forward, because they are a partial concession. Whoever is betting on Egypt's return to the Arab arena or to an anti-imperialist position, without getting rid of the present regime, is dreaming.

If we look at the political map of the Arab world, we can see that it is possible for the regime to return to an Arab League where the majority of regimes are reactionary. The progressive regimes within the League are vacillating. The Egyptian regime's return will mean further regression of the League, especially since the mass movement is not yet mature enough to make radical changes in the area, in the near future.

The time has come to defeat the slogan of Egypt's return. We call upon the forces, who have genuine interests in ending colonization and liberating Palestine, to take the lead.

The basis for Palestinian national unity has been hotly debated. Relations with the Egyptian regime was one of the most hotly debated points. There are those who now say that breaking off relations with the Camp David regime should not be a condition for national unity, because this requires a long struggle. What is your opinion?

The PLO rejected Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. What is the excuse for dealing with the Egyptian regime after Mubarak threw away the fig leaf he was hiding behind, and is repeating the treason to a greater extent. This is the line of rightist Palestinians. Since Egypt will not return to the Arab fold for a long time yet, and will not make a positive contribution to solving the Palestinian question for a long time either, we should not wait till Egypt's situation changes. This defies all logic.

It seems strange to want to preserve relations with Egypt until a change occurs in the future, yet not want to preserve a positive and sound relation with Syria. Syria is a country which shares borders with 'Israel' and has a nationalist government. Why would anyone wish to preserve a relationship with Camp David and ignite a crisis with Syria, converting secondary contradictions to primary ones? This is not because they are con-

cerned about the cause - far from it. It would have been much better had they turned to the national democratic forces in Egypt directly.

It is the duty of every progressive nationalist Arab to extinguish the fires of secondary conflict in the Arab nationalist ranks. Dictated by a sense of responsibility towards the Arab nation, all should support the unity of the PLO on the basis of the Aden-Algers agreement. No doubt, implementing the Prague Declaration requires much struggle, before the unity of the PLO is realized on the basis of opposition to imperialism - far from any illusions - and allied with Syria and the Lebanese national movement. This alliance would then be a genuine support to the Egyptian national movement.

What are the implications of the relations between Mubarak's regime and the rightist PLO leadership, for the Egyptian and the Palestinian national struggles?

When Sadat returned from his visit to Jerusalem in 1977, he was welcomed. It was only the Egyptian Communist Party and the Progressive Unionist Party that opposed the visit. However, before the year was out, all forces in the Egyptian arena were opposed to this visit. The Egyptian people know that Egypt was boycotted because of this visit, because of this clear treason to the Palestinian and Egyptian cause.

If the regimes do not reconsider their relations with the Egyptian regime, this will contribute to strengthening the illusions of the Egyptian people that Mubarak's regime is better than Sadat's. And if the PLO, the party directly concerned with the cause, does not reconsider its relations with the Egyptian regime, this reinforces these illusions.

This poses the question: What's the use of a broad mass resurgence against the regime?

This all contributes to misinforming the masses and strengthens the illusions as to the nature of the regime and the extent of its deterioration.

During the recent period, especially after the revolt of the security forces, there was talk about national reconciliation among national forces which possess a high level of awareness. What, then, do we expect of the ordinary citizen when he witnesses rapprochement between those directly involved in the cause and the Egyptian regime. We remain opposed to any attempts to build bridges with the Egyptian regime.

Some news agencies carried information about a struggle among different factions in the Egyption regime, especially between the former prime minister and the defence minister and the president. According to the news agencies, these struggles were connected to Washington's desire to change the regime, replacing Mubarak with Abu Ghazala, the defence minister, because he is more responsive to Washington's plans. In your opinion, how correct is this information? Does this have a relationship with developments in the region as a whole?

First, it is necessary to clarify a subject that some ignore: Mubarak and Abu Ghazala and Kamal Hassan Ali (the former prime minister) are all sons of Egypt's military institution.

Secondly, the question of struggles between various capitalist forces is an established fact. In the USA, where pure capitalist development has reached its highest stages, there are contradictions and struggles, for example, between the military sector and the civilian industrial sector, between the oil monopolies and agricultural monopolies....etc. Such contradictions are inevitable because any capitalist regime is based on competition. They are however secondary contradictions and will not reach the point of rupturing the regime.

In Egypt also, there are contradictions between various factions of the ruling authority.

Some speak of comprador capitalism. Some prefer to describe it as parasitic, others as bureaucratic, and there are those who speak about a big bourgeoisie connected with foreign capital.

Those some describe as «parasites» are, in fact, capitalists. Some of them accumulated their wealth - at first through illegitimate (i.e. parasitic) activities, stealing, bribery, illegal transactions between the private and public sectors, hashish trade...etc. Let us take Sadat as an example. At first, he accumulated his wealth through illegitimate means. After accumulating this wealth, preserving it necessitated its investment into bigger projects. For example, Sadat owned a tile factory, a petroleum shipping company, poultry farms and farm lands, a company for importing wood...etc. All these are activities which are at the heart of normal capitalist activity. Capitalism which accumulated its wealth through parasitic activities, is big capitalism. Those who accumulated their capital by taking advantage of their positions in the public sector, i.e. bureaucratic bourgeoisie, also began expansion by investing this wealth in their own private projects.

Conflicts emerge among the various bourgeois sectors, on who will be the decision-maker. They are, however, all joined through links to foreign capital, the multinational corporations, and their complete subjugation to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund schemes. In addition, they are organically united among themselves in their exploitation of the toiling masses of worker and peasants.

Thus such contradictions are secondary and cannot be relied upon to reach a stage whereby radical changes can occur, resulting in a nationalist regime. The wagering on such false hopes by differentiating between such things as «evil parasitic capitalists» and «positive capitalist production» must be eliminated. The latter is an expression of the intermarriage between local and foreign capital.

Discussion of the possibility that Abu Ghazala may orchestrate a coup against Mubarak in order to force the latter into granting more concessions, has no support in reality. Let us take the example of the General Motors Corporation deal which Abu Ghazala was involved in and signed for the production of cars in Egypt. This 'gain' for the big bourgeoisie in Egypt was reciprocated with a concession to the U.S. : allowing the passage of U.S. nuclear warships through the Suez Canal. This concession was made by Mubarak not Abu Ghazala. We are confident that Abu Ghazala does not have more to offer than Mubarak.

With respect to a possible military coup, it is known that any coup in order to succeed must offer something to win credibility. What will Abu Ghazala offer? Will he say he is against corruption and Mubarak is a symbol of that corruption? Can he promise to extricate Egypt from its chronic economic crisis? The option of a military coup is improbable; however what may prolong the life of the regime is the liberal facade that allows the opposition «to let off steam» in the newspapers. The lesson of Marcos and Duvalier confirm that Washington easily abandons its agents and dictatorship regimes in order to preserve this facade of liberalism.

In addition to this, the new tune in Egypt today is that of the «danger of Islamic groups». This is the new scarecrow being brandished in the face of the masses in order that they be satisfied with the standing situation of corruption.

Nevertheless, the more important question remains: Is there a force which can generate enough pressure to threaten the regime with being overthrown thus justifying a search for a more vicious alternative? I think the matter in Egypt has not reached this point, despite the fact that the awareness of the masses supersedes that of the existing frameworks. Therefore, a military coup or the «danger of Moslem groups» are merely scarecrows used to terrorize nationalist forces, of petit bourgeoisie origin, into submissive acceptance of coexistence with the existing regime.

Human Rights Violations in Bahrain

On August 26th, the following statement was issued jointly by the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Bahrain, and the Committee for the Defense of Political Detainees in Bahrain.

Since Bahrain's independence on August 14, 1971, the government has systematically violated human rights as they are defined in the International Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of the State of Bahrain, adopted by the Constituent Assembly and the government on June 9, 1973. As the people of Bahrain struggled for exercising their legitimate rights, democracy, real independence, justice and equality among citizens, they suffered repression from the security and intelligence apparatus which is directed by British officers - Lt. Col. Bell and Col. Henderson. In addition, there are a number of mercenaries of different nationalities who practice torture and terror against the people as a means of making a living.

Bahrain has witnessed waves of repression and arrest campaigns, where thousands of patriots of different social strata, males and females, were jailed. Many of them were exposed to physical and psychological torture; some were martyred under torture, while others suffered lasting physical and mental disabilities.

The situation of prisoners in Bahrain is miserable. Commonplace phenomena include: solitary confinement of long duration, denial of contact with the outside world, lack of minimal sanitary conditions, absence of supervision by any independent judicial or health authority. Detainees are systematically exposed to humiliation and torture, even after being sentenced.

In addition, the government of Bahrain resorts to other repressive measures which contradict human rights and the rights of Bahraini citizens. These include: stripping persons of their citizenship, deportation, deprival of employment and means of livelihood, and prohibition of return to the homeland. The violation of human rights and the practice of repression, arrest and torture, are the Bahraini government's official policy, as has been verified by Arab and international human rights committees.

The government's repressive policy has accelerated. Detainees, including many women, of different ages and backgrounds, were exposed to barbaric

physical and psychological torture, including sexual assault which grossly contravenes religious and human values. This policy incites the feelings of our people who possess militant traditions. It motivates their determination to safeguard their religious and national unity, led by religious and patriotic forces and personalities. It will motivate our people to confront the regime's terror, until securing dignity for the ordinary citizen and freedom for our country.

The Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Bahrain, and the Committee for the Defense of Political Detainees in Bahrain, express their gratitude for the solidarity rendered by different forces and personalities. At the same time, the two committees appeal to all political, religious and social forces, and to Arab and international organizations concerned with defending human rights, peace and democracy, to increase their solidarity in order to stop the terror sweeping our country, and save the lives and dignity of our citizens.

International Terrorism

Concepts and Roots

The highest rate of terrorism accompanied the emergence of the capitalist mode of production. The new relations of production promoted by the bourgeoisie would not have been imposed in Europe without violence and terrorism against the then powerful feudal authority. The bourgeoisie intentionally forgot its past history, and now contends that the revolutionary violence practiced by the proletariat and the national liberation move-

ments, to achieve their legitimate rights, is terrorism that threatens international peace.

«They accuse us of terrorism... However, the British bourgeoisie forgot 1845, while the French bourgeoisie completely ignored the year 1797... Terrorism was considered just and legitimate when they practiced it against the feudalists, while terrorism became a barbaric and criminal act when the poor workers and peasants dared to use it against their enemy, the

bourgeoisie.»⁽¹⁾

STATE TERRORISM

With the spread of colonialism, and capitalism's development into imperialism, the bourgeoisie imposed its hegemony over the peoples and resources of the world through violence against the domestic working class and even more massively against the people of the three continents. The phenomenon of state terrorism arose as a

result of this drive for hegemony, and terrorism became the salient feature of the imperialist state's foreign policy. State terrorism takes a variety of forms: Nazi Germany's campaign of invasions and mass extermination; US intervention and attacks on independent countries; Israeli and South African racist dispossession and persecution of the native population, and the massive terror of US-backed dictatorships against their own population. Added to this is the terror of imperialism's economic system which imposes undernourishment on the millions.

THE ROOTS OF TERRORISM AMONG THE OPPRESSED

The internal contradictions of the capitalist societies give rise to another form of this phenomenon, which can be termed individual terrorism. The objective basis for this is the antagonistic contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class. High unemployment generates terrorism within the capitalist societies. The individual's social functioning is impaired when work is not available, since production is the basic activity of the human being. One of the many other causes of terrorism is changes in the social and cultural reality in the society where the individual's character is formed. Constructive conditions are absent in a society which is full of exploitation, isolation, social unrest and instability. Not only are the unemployed made to feel useless and neglected, but they are made to feel as harmful elements in the society, inferior and of limited capabilities, a burden on society. This is in addition to inhuman working conditions that reduce human beings to the state of animals, working just to survive, without being given a chance to be productive and creative. All of these factors contribute to the development of violence and terrorism in the capitalist society.

In essence, all of these material facts

express the extent of the contradiction between the social mode of production and the private ownership of the means of production. The products of this contradiction are the real reasons for individual terrorism. The individual starts to search for suitable means to express himself outside the production process in the capitalist society. Out of such frustration, terrorist groups emerge. Certain types of terror groups may be encouraged by the ruling authorities, as a way to confuse and divert the class struggle. The social base of individual terrorism is drawn from sectors outside the framework of the relations of production - the lumpen-proletariat and the unemployed. The proletariat that assumes its position within the relations of production, rejects terrorism as a form of struggle against oppression and exploitation, considering it a struggle among individuals, isolated from the masses.

There are other social components of individual terrorism which stem from the petit bourgeoisie, students and intellectuals. As a result of the centralization of capitalist production and unfair economic competition, strata of the petit bourgeoisie are forced to join the ranks of the working class. Because they are forced into the working class, they do not necessarily develop working class awareness. Some of them may take a nihilistic position and use adventurous methods, violence and terrorism without revolutionary aims, as a means to escape from this reality.

These are the reasons behind individual terrorism. Such an inhuman activity does not exist in socialist societies; the socialist society does not suffer the crises of capitalism; the big bourgeoisie does not exist, and the petit bourgeoisie has been transformed to the position of the proletariat and the working people.

TERRORISM AND PROPAGANDA

Imperialism uses all its resources to control the minds of the people and

direct them as it wants, through the media. The entire system, through social and psychological propaganda, aims to divert individuals from their humanity, by trying to portray the bourgeois society's values as perfect and eternal. This propaganda aims to show that individuals who attack or contradict these values are abnormal, eliciting a negative reaction to any revolutionary act in the world. At the same time, the bourgeoisie's terrorism is justified as necessary to defend and protect the principles of capitalist 'democracy'.

RIGHTIST AND 'LEFTIST' TERRORISM

The imperialists divide terrorism into two kinds: rightist and 'leftist'. Marxist-Leninists reject this terminology, but differentiate between revolutionary violence and terrorism. According to Lenin, «Revolutionary violence is a tactic which involves organizing political assassinations, accompanying the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Revolutionary violence is not the opportunist terrorism that is totally unrelated to the core of Marxism. Not only is opportunist terrorism an isolated and rejected step, but it brings about no advances in socialist tactics.»⁽²⁾

The methods used in contemporary individual terrorism were historically used by the anarchists in the first stage of the labor movement's struggle. Despite the illusions and subjectivity of these anarchists, anarchism was a weapon to be wielded in the face of the capitalist system. This radical confrontation of the whole of the capitalist society was sometimes characterized by heroism and selflessness. In essence, however, it did not go beyond the petit bourgeoisie ideology; it was characterized by impatience and inability to confront the effects of the crisis of the bourgeois society. Lenin indicated this by saying, «Anarchism is an inverted form of the bourgeois ideology.»⁽³⁾

Therefore, it is necessary that the present definition of 'terrorism' be based on scientific Marxist-Leninist understanding, taking into consideration the class character of all so-called terrorist acts, and specifying their aims. The bourgeoisie defines every militant act as terrorism. The entire bourgeois media is activated against all revolutionary military practices that are in the interests of the masses, whereas this same media supports the criminal acts of actual terrorist groups.

The history of the international revolutionary movement has concretely proven that in certain moments of the struggle, when the masses of the workers are not politically aware, so-called terrorist acts can have important political effects that accelerate the subjective conditions of the struggle. Lenin said, «The wish to deny the value of single, heroic blows is far from our



State terror: The Israeli army invades Lebanon.

thinking, but it is our duty to struggle hard against those who practice aimless terrorism. It is also our duty to struggle against the trend that considers terrorism a basic method of struggle.»⁽⁴⁾

One cannot categorize an isolated strike as a purely terrorist act. If there is a political motive, justified by the historical conditions and the interests of the workers, and especially if the balance of forces is not in favor of the revolutionary forces, then the revolutionary act transcends its moral value. It becomes a means of mass agitation and mobilization in the revolutionary process. We shall always remember when a group of Russian revolutionaries invaded one of the Czar's prisons in 1905. Lenin then said with enthusiasm: «This is an honorable victory. This is the real victory after a bloody battle with an enemy armed to the teeth. This is not an attack against any hated figure. This is not a shameful act, and it is not an impatient outlet... This is the beginning that prepares and equips, taking into consideration the balance of forces. It is the beginning of the acts of the vanguard factions of the revolutionary army.»⁽⁵⁾

This Leninist analysis applies to the revolutionary acts of Castro and the Cuban revolutionaries when they invaded the Moncada garrison. While in prison, Castro drew up a correct revolutionary tactic concerning the means of struggle against Batista's reactionary authority. He explained in one of his letters, «Now, if there are men among us who are trigger-happy and ready to deal with the devil to get a gun, they should be purged from our ranks with no second thoughts! Also those cowards who retreat at the decisive moments of battle should be done away with immediately. In general, those people are impatient, but we, the true revolutionaries, don't want anarchists... within our ranks. We want men who are aware of their historical destiny, who know when to be patient and when not to be, and how to plan the future of their homeland in a scientific manner.»⁽⁶⁾

TERRORISM AND ZIONISM

Imperialism and Zionism consider any armed struggle as terrorism, to be fought. They consider any national liberation movement as terrorist, illegitimate and internationally banned. Under this cover, imperialism and Zionism attempt to misrepresent the nature of the aid which the national liberation movements receive from the progressive and socialist movements and peoples of the world. The imperialist and Zionists also try to distort the noble causes and goals of the revolutionary struggle. The PLO, the internationally recognized, sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian revolution, is nothing more than a terrorist organization from their point of view. According to imperialism and Zionism, it should be destroyed since it is illegi-

timate. For this reason, the Zionist enemy tries, with propaganda and lies, to justify its fascist, aggressive policies and terrorism against the Palestinian people everywhere. The butcher of Lebanon, Ariel Sharon, confirmed: «We have to fight terrorism on the scale of all continents, 365 days a year, day and night, within our borders and the borders of all countries all over the world. We should wage a firm, well-planned and endless war against terrorists. If we do not prepare ourselves for this war soon, the phenomenon of terrorism will quickly spread inside and outside our borders.»⁽⁷⁾

At the same time, we find that imperialism and its allies, especially Zionism, are searching for combat methods of added force, and employing terrorist methods of violence.

THE DEFINITION OF TERRORISM

In an attempt to define international terrorism, the special committee affiliated with the UN had to deal with two main interpretations. One was very limited; the other was broader. Imperialism and Zionism describe any act against imperialism, Zionism or reaction as a terrorist act. This contradicts the real definition of terrorism and international public opinion. Until now, there is not one formula for defining terrorism that is agreed upon by all. What is confirmed, as principled and just, is that the UN recognized the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people wherever they may be, branding 'Israel' and Zionism as racist and expansionist. Imperialism and Zionism worked hard to prevent the approval of any legal or international formula for defining terrorism; they vetoed all suggestions by the socialist and non-aligned countries.

The UN General Assembly also adopted a resolution in 1974, concerning the definition of aggression. The resolution recognized the right of all peoples to employ all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, in order to gain freedom, independence and self-determination. Thus, the UN differentiated between terrorism and armed struggle based on such goals.

Terrorism is any criminal act that is practiced without any right. This applies to Zionism, that employs international terrorism to achieve its goals and foreign policy, by illegal means. The Zionists make this clear, as when Peres said: «Israel has to hit any place where terrorists exist. Israel has the right to destroy their plans and methods and to completely destroy their morale, and to hunt them as fish in the sea.»⁽⁸⁾

Imperialists, Zionists and other terrorists try by all means to hide the connection between their states' aggressive policies and international terrorism as a tool for these policies. There are many examples. Israeli terrorist policies are the official means to annex occupied Arab land, by waging

constant wars against the Arabs and the PLO. Begin said, «I call upon you to wage an attack against terrorists anytime and anywhere. We have the authority to wage this attack, we also have the necessary potential and we have to use it. We also have to establish special official organizations to fight the invading Arabs»⁽⁹⁾

Before the establishment of 'Israel', the Zionist organizations used terrorism during the British mandate in Palestine, aiming at evicting the Palestinians from their homeland. Between 1937 and 1948, the Haganah, Irgun and Stern Zionist groups performed criminal, terrorist acts and massacres against the Palestinian people in order to annihilate them. After the establishment of the Zionist entity, terrorism officially became accepted practice by the state, as a 'creative' application of its racist ideology. Terrorism, annexing Palestinian land, and exploiting this land by force became the sole means of Zionist settler-colonial expansion. The Zionists' internal and external policies reveal the terrorist practices against the Palestinians.

CONCLUSION

1. Terrorism reached its climax with the birth of capitalism. In fact, terrorism is one of the main byproducts of the capitalist system; it was one of its main components for destroying the outmoded feudal system.

2. The economic and social contradictions of the capitalist system, with its class structure, create the basis for this inhuman phenomenon, especially as a result of the general crisis of capitalism.

3. Revolutionary violence is a natural and legitimate right, when practiced by exploited peoples against imperialism. Thus revolutionary violence and imperialist terrorism can never be equated.

4. Marxism-Leninism rejects terrorism practiced as an aim in itself, without connection to other revolutionary acts and forms of struggle, mainly, the political class struggle and mass struggle.

5. Zionist terrorism is one of the most reactionary expressions of the imperialist policies. Also, the Zionist state's terrorism against the Palestinian people is one of the most bloody and criminal forms of terrorism in the history of humanity.

(1) Lenin, *The Complete Works*, Spanish edition, Havana, Vol. 28, p. 64.

(2) Ibid, vol. 23, p. 21.

(3) Lenin, *Party Organizer and Party Literature*, Spanish edition, Moscow, p. 18.

(4) Lenin, *The Complete Works*, Spanish edition, Havana, Vol. 5, p. 15-16.

(5) Ibid, Vol. 9, p. 270.

(6) Castro, Fidel, *The Fertile Prison*, Spanish edition, Havana: International Publishing House, 1980, p. 165.

(7) *Hatena* newspaper, Spanish edition, May 24, 1974.

(8) *Mario Latin* newspaper, Spanish edition, July, 1974.

(9) *Haaretz*, Spanish edition, May 21, 1974.

Dictatorships Challenged

Focus on Pakistan and Chile

Growing mass struggle many places in Asia, Africa and Latin America has unmasked the crisis of neocolonialism. This year's power changes in Haiti and the Philippines showed that the people will not tolerate corrupt dictators indefinitely. Now events in Pakistan and Chile are challenging US imperialism's reliance on fascist regimes to insure its interests.

In the seventies, imperialism's crisis became apparent with a chain of victories for national liberation movements, and an economic recession in the capitalist countries. The prevailing structures were proving insufficient to secure imperialism's exploitation of the peoples and resources of the 'third world', and the US resorted to installing dictatorships, relying on the military and the most reactionary strata of the local bourgeoisie. The CIA was active in promoting coups - Chile 1973, Pakistan 1977 and Turkey 1980 are only a few examples. The gendarmerie regimes unleashed a virtual reign of terror, comparable to Nazi atrocities practiced at the time of World War II. Thousands upon thousands of patriots have been incarcerated, tortured, murdered, or made to simply 'disappear'. Mass impoverishment was the other side of this massive repression, as the juntas

totally subordinated the local economy to the multinationals and finance capital.

Today the cycle is coming full circle with the resurgence of popular struggle against the political, social and economic tyranny of imperialism's surrogate juntas. The 1979 Iranian revolution was the first major jolt to imperialism's reliance on dictatorships. Since then, civilian governments have replaced the juntas in a number of Latin American countries. Faced by objective developments, the US was quicker to anticipate the outcome of the mass uprisings in the Philippines and Haiti. Marcos and Duvalier were escorted to safety, while the Reagan Administration worked to prevent the mass struggle from bringing truly revolutionary forces to power. However, the dilemma for imperialism remains,

as seen in the recent mass protests in Pakistan and Chile, where the respective dictators continue to respond to their crises with the usual state-of-siege methods.

PAKISTAN

In January, General Zia Al Haq made a pretense of 'keeping up with the times' by lifting eight years of martial law, announcing elections for 1990, and installing a civilian cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Junejo of the rightist Muslim League. However, mass pressure for real democracy exposed all this as a fraudulent maneuver.

This spring the return of Benazir Bhutto, daughter of the prime minister who was hanged when Zia took power, served as a rallying point for popular sentiments against the regime. In August, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, which she profiles, declared its intention to initiate a new phase of struggle if elections are not held this year. The Movement planned a rally for Pakistan's independence day on August 14th, to be followed by a campaign for Zia's removal. The dictator tried to keep his face clean by absenting himself from the country, posing as a pilgrim in Mecca. Junejo meanwhile confirmed that his cabinet is only a decoration pasted on the de facto continuation of martial law. Hoping to head off the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, he banned public meetings, ordered the preventive detention of scores of opposition leaders, and sent the army into the streets for the first time this year.

This only served to further enrage the people who went into open rebellion the last half of August, with protests occurring throughout Sind and Punjab provinces, and in Peshawar, capital of the North-West Frontier Province. The people were demanding early elections and the release of the detained. In many instances the masses went beyond the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy's legalistic approach. Slogans were raised demanding an end to Pakistan's collusion with US imperialism's plans. In scores of towns, demonstrators hurled stones and erected barricades against the regime's forces, and engaged them in hand-to-hand combat. Banks and government buildings were burned, and railways disrupted by mass sabotage actions. Zia's soldiers shot to kill, and over 50 people died in the first five days of the uprising, among them a few soldiers and policemen who fell victim to the masses' rage. Arrests were ongoing, with estimates of the number of those detained ranging as high as 10,000.

WHAT IS AT STAKE?

Besides the masses' right to freedom, vital imperialist interests are at stake in Pakistan. Especially since 1979, when then Secretary of State Brzezinski, after the fall of the Shah, defined the 'arc of

June 1983 demonstration in Santiago



crisis' as stretching from Pakistan to Turkey, the US has focused on drawing Pakistan into its plans for extending its own military presence in the Gulf and Indian Ocean region. The Pakistani regime has innumerable attributes which qualify it as a main promoter of the US imperialist plans: «Pakistan's military missions in 22 countries in the Middle East and Africa make it the largest exporter of military manpower in the Third World (and especially to the Gulf states' armed forces). Its role in the Gulf has a direct bearing on Washington's strategy in the region, on the future security role of the Gulf Cooperation Council and on Pakistan's own internal dynamic. Pakistan has consistently placed among the top five recipients of US military and economic aid over the past three decades.»

Pakistan is also pivotal in the Reagan Administration's anti-communist crusade. With the fall of the Shah, the US lost direct access to the Soviet borders, but now depends on Pakistan for access to Afghanistan's borders, in order to arm the counterrevolutionaries fighting the progressive government in Kabul. «Washington would like to enhance the agreement it has with Islamabad for full access to all new Soviet weapons captured by the rebels in Afghanistan.» Pakistan also provides the US with access to Iran's borders. «Reliable sources claim that at present Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan province (Pakistan), and Erzerum in eastern Turkey have become the major listening posts and operational bases for intelligence on Iran. Washington is trying to rebuild its intelligence gathering network in Iran before Ayatollah Khomeini dies.»

No less important, the US wants Pakistan as a staging base for the Rapid Deployment Force, called the Central Command. Incentive for this has escalated in line with the escalation of Reagan's war on 'terrorism', used as a cover for the US's extending its own

global military network. After the early September highjacking in Karachi, the media revealed that the US had made an early decision to mobilize the Delta force (the so-called anti-terrorist unit stationed in North Carolina), but that it was unable to arrive on time. The US administration released these stories partly to chide its western European allies for not yet accepting Delta being based on their territory, but also to remind Pakistan that it could 'benefit' from more US military presence.

Crucial to all the imperialist plans are Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province, both bordering on Afghanistan. Zia's government is cooperating with US projects for equipping these remote areas with a military infrastructure in the name of 'development'. For Zia, this serves the purpose of getting financial aid to lessen the country's economic woes, and enacting a passification program against the Baluchi people, whose recurrent uprisings have threatened the central government's control. Baluchistan's ports on the Arabian Sea are ideal «for the pre-positioning of Central Command's roll-on/roll-off ships,» according to US experts. (All the above quotes are from Jamal Rashid, «Pakistan and the Central Command,» *MERIP — Middle East Report*, no. 141, July-August 1986.)

These plans show what is at stake if Zia's dictatorship were to be toppled. While Benazir Bhutto has yet to articulate clear opposition to the US military plans for her country, the Reagan administration is unlikely to trust her to collaborate so eagerly as does Zia's regime. Moreover, the US has good reason to fear that continuation of mass revolt against the dictatorship will bring more radical forces to the fore. If the mass struggle intensifies and the leadership is radicalized, the US might well be on the market for alternatives to Zia, as it was forced to seek in other places.

CHILE

General Pinochet's pretense at liberalization is just as transparent as Zia ul Haq's. On September 8th, the Chilean dictator reimposed the state of siege (which had been lifted for a bit over a year), arrested opposition leaders and closed a number of newspapers; five citizens were abducted and later found dead in the same number of days.

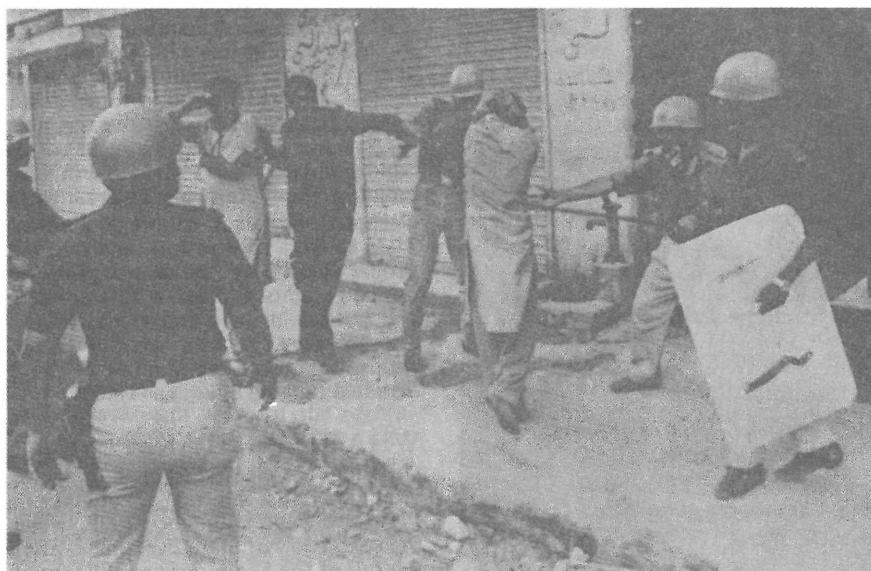
Again the regime can legally tap phones, open mail, hold prisoners in secret locations, ban public gatherings and censor the press, without any possibility of judicial review of its arrest and banishment orders. All this occurred after an attempt on Pinochet's life, but the real reason for reimposing the state of siege is that the regime has simply been unable to halt the opposition which has been steadily and visibly mounting over the last three years, to the point of raising concern in Washington D.C.

The latest state of siege is simply a reinstitutionalization of ongoing procedures. A recent Amnesty International report noted that in the last few years the regime has increasingly reverted to the use of death squads and mass arrests - its original hallmarks which cost 30,000 Chilean lives. In early May, security forces besieged thirty different poor neighborhoods, cutting off water, electricity, telephones and gas, and detaining 15,000 people. Such raids have been weekly fare ever since. Also since the spring, soldiers are daily patrolling the streets, their faces blackened to avoid identification as they commit crimes against Chilean citizens.

Despite this, protests have been constant since March, uniting broader and broader sectors of the population. This was clearly seen on July 2nd and 3rd, in the first nation-wide general strike since 1973, demanding Pinochet's immediate resignation and the restoration of human and democratic rights. Added to this is the increasing efficiency of attacks on the regime's forces carried out by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR), formed in late 1983 by members of the left parties, most significantly the Communist Party of Chile and MIR, as well as independents and Christian patriots.

It is these factors which prompted the Reagan Administration to discover the human rights problem in Chile, gallantly forgetting the CIA's role in fomenting Pinochet's coup and teaching his henchmen the 'fine points' of torture. The US administration's 'concern' is part of a double-dealing tactic to keep the Chilean masses from attaining freedom from imperialist exploitation. The initial idea is to get Pinochet to liberalize his rule just enough to split, confuse and absorb the opposition. Failing in that, the US aims to court a bourgeois alternative - or a new general? - to ensure imperialist control in a milder form if Pinochet is toppled.

Police vs. the people in Pakistan



These two alternatives can be equally difficult to implement in the Chile of today, for several reasons. First, the opposition movement is truly broad and well organized, with organizations grouping literally all sectors of the masses, from workers and students, to shanty-dwellers. Second, this breadth is backed by a strong unity of the major left parties. Left unity is expressed on the mass level via the Popular Democratic Movement, and militarily via the FPMR. Third, Pinochet's economic policies and political intransigence has inclined the bourgeois, centrist opposition towards united action with the popular forces. A spokesman for the FPMR summed up the situation in an interview with *Granma* (Havana, August 3rd), «The popular movement has reached such proportions that merely cosmetic, superficial change that doesn't address the needs of the majority is not possible. That's why we think that the FPMR is a valid option for the masses now that the fight against the dictatorship has taken a qualitative shift.»

So far, Pinochet himself has only responded to these realities by rhetoric about the «war between Marxism and democracy» (sic) and the need for laws «to attack terrorism definitely», appealing to Reagan's pet themes. However, with Chile's economy in shambles, the US administration may be taking a hard look at cold facts, in hopes of finding a more clever way of suppressing the mass movement.

Pinochet's downfall would simultaneously mean the demise of the Chicago Boys' neoliberal economic policy which the US imposed on many a 'third

world' country, especially in Latin America. Chile was planned as the showcase for the 'wonders' of completely 'free' enterprise in the age of monopoly capitalism. Today, the 'wonders' are so apparent that Chile cannot pay its foreign debt. The industrial sector has actually regressed as a result of the privileges granted to financial circles tied to imperialism. Still, production is rising more than consumption, i.e., Chilean workers produce goods for export, to pay the foreign debt, while the decline in real wages erodes their own buying power - a new form of plunder, especially since the debt was incurred by private enterprise. There is no more free education, for the poor are only intended as a cheap labor reserve. Agriculture is reverting to the latifundia system due to the reversal of earlier agrarian reform. According to the trade unions, 30% of the population is unemployed or under-employed - the best way to keep wages down.

The US's treasured economic model for Latin America has backfired. Even middle class strata, who originally supported Pinochet, are feeling the pinch and joining the opposition. Pinochet's demise would be doubly uncomfortable for the US at a time when Latin American countries have joined together across political boundaries, in rejecting the debt burden imposed on them by imperialism.

«WE WILL MAKE JUSTICE»

The Palestinian revolution feels a special affinity with the mass struggles in Pakistan and Chile, as with all people struggling against injustice and

imperialism. Pakistan's proximity to the Middle East means that events there will affect the Arab national liberation movement. Pakistan supplies considerable military manpower, including technicians, to the reactionary Arab regimes. Zia himself fought with King Hussein's forces in the September 1970 massacre against the Palestinian people in Jordan. A blow to Zia's regime could weaken Arab reaction and imperialism's leverage in our area. Conversely, it could give a push to the Arab national movement.

In the case of Chile, we have the same enemies - imperialism, Zionism and reaction, concretely manifest in Israeli arms sales to Pinochet. Moreover, like revolutionaries all over the world, we can draw many lessons from the Chilean experience. In 1973, there was a negative lesson about the impossibility of peaceful transition to socialism in view of the refusal of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism to relinquish power. Today, the lesson being projected is more optimistic. In Chile we see the potential of the mass movement when backed up by the unity of the left forces and the correct use of revolutionary violence.

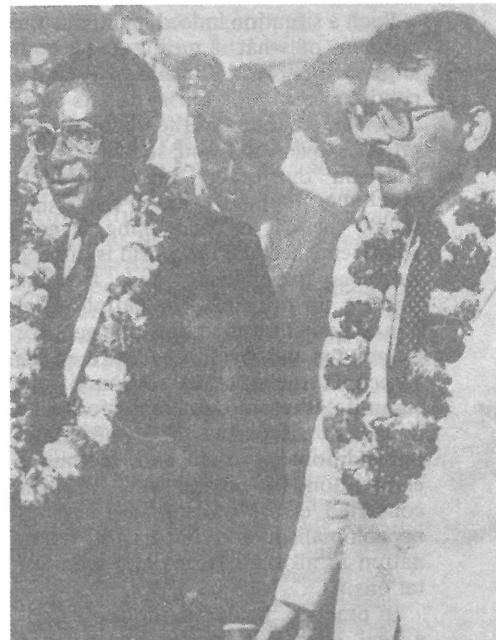
In the July general strike, the violence of Pinochet's henchmen reached the grotesque as they doused with gasoline and set afire two young Chileans who were trying to photograph a demonstration. One of the two, Rodrigo Rojas, 19-year-old student and journalist, died. Several thousand Chileans braved the regime's teargas to gather for his funeral where a student leader pledged: «We will not ask for justice, we will make justice.»

8th Non-aligned Summit

The 8th summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, held the first week of September, marked the movement's 25th anniversary. Since its founding meeting in 1961 in Beograde, the movement has grown from 25 member states to 101, and now represents 2/3 of the world. The movement grew out of the struggle against colonialism, so it was only natural that the 8th summit focused on eliminating the vestiges of this, as found in the cruelest possible form in apartheid South Africa.

The summit's being held in Harare, Zimbabwe, emphasized the changes that have taken place since the movement was founded. Originally conquered by the archcolonialist, Cecil Rhodes, Harare, misnamed Salisbury, was the capital of the renegade settler-colonial state, Rhodesia. In 1980, as the result of a persistent people's war, the racist regime was abolished. Harare again became a capital for the African people, in free Zimbabwe, on the frontline against the racist regime in

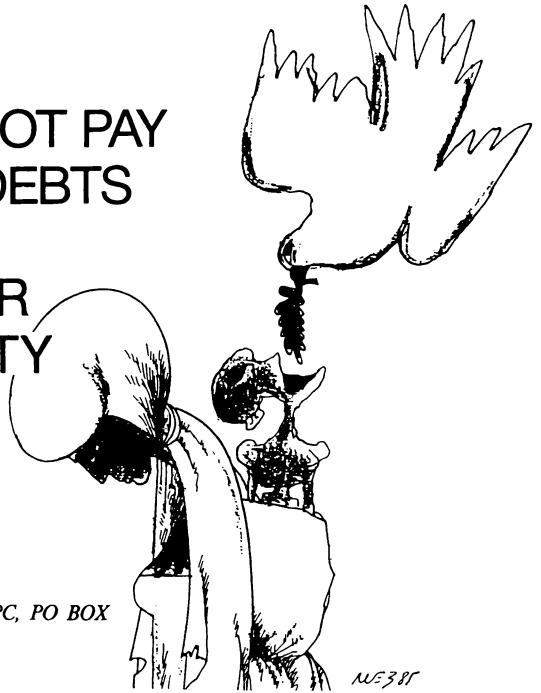
Pretoria. Robert Mugabe, who assumed the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement at this summit, started his political career as a freedom fighter, becoming leader of the ZANU liberation organization and then the first elected prime minister of Zimbabwe after liberation. Thus, the summit's location and chairman both served to stress the abolishment of apartheid as the main issue, put on the agenda by the African masses' escalating struggle.



Mugabe with Nicaragua's President Ortega

WE SHALL NOT PAY EXTERNAL DEBTS WITH THE HUNGER AND POVERTY OF OUR PEOPLE

*This poster is available at
the Information Centre of the WPC, PO BOX
114, 00181 Helsinki, Finland.*



This summit was also faced by the problems of the time, chiefly those caused by imperialism's aggressiveness - the US military build-up, Star Wars, the attacks on Libya and Nicaragua, to name only a few, and the economic tyranny of the imperialist multinationals and finance institutions. At the foreign ministers' meeting which preceded the summit, Zimbabwe's foreign minister Mangwende noted: «Non-aligned and other developing countries face an increasingly hostile environment as long-buried 19th century policies of gunboat diplomacy have been resurrected.»

Such a situation indeed highlights the question of what it means to be non-aligned in a world increasingly polarized between imperialism and its allies on the one hand, and the national liberation movements and socialist countries on the other. Libya's leader, Moammer Qaddafi raised the issue, saying there is no such thing as non-alignment, because the world is divided between imperialism and freedom fighters. In principle, the definition of non-alignment was settled long ago, for as pointed out by Fidel Castro in his speech at the opening session of the summit, the movement's founding document advocates «the immediate, unconditional, total and definitive elimination of colonialism, and the concerted effort to end all forms of neocolonialism and imperialist domination in all their forms and manifestations.»

In practice, however, the problem is a real one. Within the Non-Aligned Movement, there are countries that are preoccupied with fighting each other to the detriment of the main struggle

against imperialist domination; the Iraq-Iran war is only one example of conflicts which threaten to exhaust the potentials of the Non-Aligned Movement. There are also a number of states whose independence and non-alignment are but formalities, for the ruling class practices policies which facilitate imperialism's continued dominance. There are states which host US military facilities and actively cooperate in its aggressive plans, such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, Pakistan, Honduras, etc. Only the week before the summit, Sea Wind, the joint US-Egyptian air and sea maneuvers off Libya's coast, had emphasized this point concretely.

Also the week preceding the summit, Cameroon restored full diplomatic relations with the Zionist state. Syria, Libya and Iran brought up the issues of Egypt's close cooperation with the US, and the restoration of relations with the Zionist state, in a move to expell those states who violate the principles of non-alignment through their relations with imperialism and settler colonialism. It is especially noteworthy that the same African states who have relations with 'Israel' - Zaire, Liberia, the Ivory Coast and Cameroon - were among the conservative bloc at the summit, arguing for dialogue with the apartheid regime, while the overwhelming majority wanted to impose strict sanctions against it.

The fact that some 'non-aligned' states are running errands for US imperialism was also seen in the question of choosing the location for the 9th summit. A majority supported convening it in Managua, which would be fitting as Nicaragua is a main target of US interventionism, but voices of dis-

sent forced the delay of this decision. In general, however, imperialism's agents found it difficult to argue for their policies in view of how blatantly the US has become in attacking the independent countries and the peoples struggling for liberation. The summit's final declaration contained greater criticism of US policy than did the declaration of the previous summit, reflecting international popular outrage against the Reagan Administration's aggressiveness. The final declaration strongly condemned the US links with the Pretoria regime, which only serve to encourage its aggression against the African people and neighboring states. It condemned the US's acts of state terrorism against Libya and Nicaragua. The declaration also called for an immediate halt to the Iraq-Iran war.

Adhering to the principle of disarmament on which the Non-Aligned Movement was founded, the final declaration stressed the call for a moratorium on nuclear testing, as is being practiced unilaterally by the Soviet Union. It opposed the spread of the arms race to outer space, as the US is attempting with the Star Wars program. It was emphasized that the millions being poured into arms, if used otherwise, could solve the problems of famine and underdevelopment that plague the majority of the people of the world. The declaration called for a new economic world order, eliminating plunder and promoting equality between the developed and developing nations. Unfortunately, the declaration stopped short of incorporating the calls of progressive states for cancellation of the foreign debt burden imposed on the developing countries.

The most significant decision of the summit, welcomed by progressive forces all over the world, was the adoption of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. Especially important is that these sanctions are to be implemented according to a concrete plan, and backed up by a special fund to support the frontline states, as well as special aid to ANC of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia. Alongside African leaders, Fidel Castro profiled the anti-apartheid drive, stating that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is not a precondition for Namibia's independence, as the US tries to contend. Rather, Cuban troops will continue to assist the African people until apartheid itself is abolished. In addition to demanding Namibia's unconditional independence, the declaration affirmed that there will be no peace in the Middle East without Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab land, and fulfillment of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights to self-determination and an independent state.

In Remembrance of

Emile Tuma

On August 27, 1985, Emil Tuma, Palestinian historian and writer, died at the age of 66. Tuma was born in Haifa, Palestine, in 1919, and remained in his homeland after the establishment of the Zionist state. In addition to his writings, he is best known for his prominent role in the Committees to Defend the Land, and his membership in the polit-bureau of Rakah - the Israeli Communist Party.

It has been a year since Emile Tuma passed away. Tuma was a prominent intellectual and militant who deserves to be remembered. We can review his life in his works, for he spent his life working for the national cause; the overwhelming majority of his works focus on the history of the Palestinian national movement and the development of the Arab national movement.

ARAB UNITY

Tuma's most interesting work was a study entitled *Arab Unity in the Historical Development*, which was a summary of his PH.D. thesis in Moscow. The study was published as a book in 1971, by the Lebanese publishing house, Dar Al Haqqa. The study was a controversial one at the time, due to the topics it discussed and the debate among Arab progressive circles about the importance of Arab unity and the responsibility of the progressive forces for its success or failure. Tuma's study reviewed the attempts to establish a single Arab state, from the time of Mohammed Ali Pasha, until the union of Syria and Egypt in 1958. Tuma made a great contribution to crystallizing a position on unity, although many of his conclusions raised a lot of controversy.

THE ROOTS OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION

One of Tuma's many other important works was his book, *The Roots of the Palestinian Question*. Despite its brevity, this book gives the reader a great deal of information about the Palestinian cause in the period from the start of Europe's ambitions vis-a-vis the Arab countries, until the UN's adoption of the partition plan for Palestine on November 29, 1947.

Many books, in many languages, have dealt with this period, but *The Roots of the Palestinian Question* is one of the few that dealt with the issues in a class and socialist perspective. It described the struggle as being more than a local one. In the first half, the book points out that before Zionism

was formed in the minds of the Jewish bourgeoisie, its general outlines were formed in the minds of the British colonialists. Britain wanted to control the Far East, and thought of exploiting the Jews as a foothold in the area, in the face of French claims to protect the Catholics, and Czarist Russia's claims to protect the Orthodox. This was the British Zionism that thought to create a state for the Jews. On the other hand, there was the French Zionism that also aimed to tempt the Jews. We all remember the famous promises of Napoleon when he arrived in Egypt, and again when he was besieging Acca. He promised the Jews to restore their «ancient glory» and rebuild their «old Jerusalem Kingdom,» if they would help him.

In another chapter of his book, Tuma accurately analysed the history of the Jews before Zionism. He wrote about the birth of Zionism, and the conditions and ideologies that made it a reactionary movement, doomed to flourish on hatred, myths and the sympathy of the imperialist forces. Dr. Tuma said that Zionism could not at all have «any common language with the Arab masses,» which made the confrontation «not only inevitable, but also planned by Zionism from the beginning.»

The book then moves on to the national movement in Palestine, showing that, until the Balfour declaration, it was part of the Arab national movement. The Palestinian national movement contributed to confronting the degenerate Ottoman Empire, and struggled to establish an Arab state, but World War I dealt a blow to the Palestinian and Arab national movement as a whole. First, there were the repressive measures of the butcher, Jamal Pasha, against the Arabs. Then, more crucial, there was the disaster of «the success of the Hashemite dynasty in controlling the developing Arab national movement,» which later resulted in King Abdullah's conspiring against the future of Palestine.

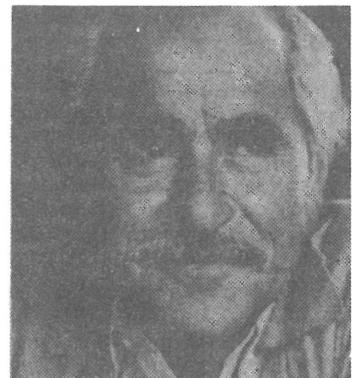
The book moves on to a subject

which has always been controversial, namely, the role of the Arab national movement in Palestine, and in leading the Palestinian struggle. Dr. Tuma believes that the movement was essentially formed by land owners and prominent feudal families, such as the Husseini, Nashashibi, Hadi, Tamimi and Madhi families. It was not a reflection of the social forces most harmed by the British imperialist and Zionist policies. In fact, according to Dr. Tuma the mandate authorities «played a major role in reinforcing the positions of the land owners in the leadership of the Arab national movement.» The mandate authorities also engineered the feud between the Husseini and Nashashibi families. The struggle between the two families greatly harmed the Palestinian struggle, as was confirmed by the Palestinian historian, Mohammed Azzah Darwazeh, in his book on the contemporary Arab movement. Dr. Tuma believed that the feud was only a struggle involving the degree of conciliation with the British, the Husseinis being less conciliatory and the Nashashibis more so. Yet this did not prevent the Palestinian national movement from playing a prominent role in leading the struggle and putting forward the demands of the Palestinian people, confronting the British rule.

The book also includes a detailed discussion of the 1929 revolt, known as Al Buraq uprising, and the 1933 uprising, sparked by the eviction of Palestinian farmers (the Hawarneh and Zubeidat clans) from their lands, and the accelerating Zionist immigration to Palestine.

In another chapter, the book discusses the rise of the Palestinian parties between 1931 and 1935. This began when veteran activists of the Arab national movement, who worked with the Fatat (New) Arab Association, established the Independence Party (Al Istiqlal) in August of 1932.

The book also contains detailed research into the 1936-1939 revolt and the Qassam movement that motivated



it. Dr. Tuma observed the popular character of the revolt and how it took the traditional political leadership by surprise. After dealing with the development of the revolt and then its halt, the book discusses the situation in Palestine during and after World War II. During the years that followed the war, the Palestinian leadership was shattered, while the Zionist institutions were strengthened, ending with the partition that was a turning point in the history of the Palestinian question.

No presentation of *The Roots of the Palestinian Question*, no matter how lengthy, can cover all the ideas contained in the book. In his review, Dr.

Anis Sayegh said that every idea in the book is «worthy of attention». Dr. Tuma's book showed the correct way to document Palestinian history.

THE PALESTINIAN ARAB NATIONAL MOVEMENT SIXTY YEARS

We must also point to another book of Emile Tuma, that is just as important: *The Palestinian Arab Nationalist Movement-Sixty Years* was published in 1978, by the PLO's Media and Education Department, and the Iben Rushd publishing house. The book expands the ideas of his two other books, *Arab*

Unity and *The Roots of the Palestinian Question*. It focuses on the Palestinian struggle with its Arab dimension, the big achievement of the Palestinian people, i.e., the establishment of the PLO, the PLO's achievements and the coming dangers.

Experience has proven that Dr. Tuma's works are indispensable to anyone doing research in Palestinian history, and to every reader. One year after his death, we salute the great Palestinian historian and writer whose works merit further study to define his position in the Palestinian political and cultural history. ●

Four Years After the Sabra-Shatila Massacre



The following article appeared in *Al Safir*, the Lebanese progressive nationalist newspaper, on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Sabra-Shatila massacre. It was a presentation by Bayan Nwaihed Al Hoot, progressive Palestinian journalist, telling about the field research he did on the Sabra-Shatila massacre, to the international conference held in Bonn, March 1985 to discuss Israeli crimes against the Lebanese and Palestinian masses.

Time: Thursday, September 16, 1982

Place: Sabra and Shatila, Beirut

Area: Approx. One square kilometer

Inhabitants: Mostly Palestinians and Lebanese. the area is one of the camps for Palestinian refugees from 1948. It is also a popular, poor Lebanese area. Persons of various other nationalities also live here, but they are not asked for their ID cards. Though the people are poor, they survive, and being a foreigner does not rule out the right to live and be secure.

Subject: The massacre - Murderers spread death and fear for three days and departed, but they are known. From Thursday evening until Saturday morning, for forty continuous hours, the massacre went on.

Casualties: Many of the victims have vanished, buried by bulldozers, and many of the survivors are dispersed. Those who remain are identified by a torn ID card, a leather shoe or the color of their shirt. Their names have been recorded, but they were few. Many names were absent from the list for a variety of reasons. Yet the victims are all known. They are immortal in our life and memory.

GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research is not merely to satisfy scientific curiosity, nor to serve coming generations as is normally taken for granted. The obstacles to writing on this matter challenge the scientific curiosity and commitment to writing history of any writer.

The question is: Why were they killed? And why do we remain? Was it the crime of the Lebanese among them, to be

born in Shabaa, Magdal Zoun, Beaufort Castle and Bint Jabil (villages of South Lebanon)? Was it the crime of the Palestinians among them, to be born in Tarshiha, Deir Al Qasi, Khalsa, Suhmata and Safouria (villages in Palestine, destroyed by the Zionists)? Or was it the crime of the two peoples, that they were forced to migrate time after time, from Saida, Sour and Nabatiyeh, from Dekwani, Tal Al Zaatar, Bourj Hammoud and Karantina?

And we, why did we stay alive? Is it because we were born in the capitals, or because the murderers' capacity, no matter how big, had its limits? Thank God that their capacity did not exceed one square kilometer, and that we have money to rent an average or deluxe apartment outside the border of the popular areas. Maybe that's why we stayed alive, because we have enough to live outside the 'borders', so we have to pay the price for remaining. This is not a financial one. It is the desire to search for answers to the questions: Why? What happened?

In our great tragedy, in our struggle with the Zionist enemy, we, the Arabs, are unaware of a great deal about this tragedy. We think that we know. We are content with generalities. We do not take an indepth look at each tragedy so as to prevent the coming one. Yesterday was the tragedy of Deir Yassin, Kibya, Kafr Qasem and Al Samu'. Yesterday was Bahr Al Baqar (site of Israeli air raid on Egypt) and Khiyam (village where Saad Haddad committed a massacre). Yesterday was Sabra and Shatila, and tomorrow the bloody story will repeat itself anywhere the struggle with the Zionist enemy continues. The



matter is not only a geographical one. Sabra and Shatila were more accessible to the butchers, nothing more. The hunted people are more than the inhabitants of Sabra and Shatila. They are all the Arabs, and all those who believe in liberating all occupied Arab land and Jerusalem.

TESTIMONIES OF THE LIVING

Before beginning, it is important to note a basic point which is that this research does not give final answers. It is totally impossible, in a research like this, to arrive at final numbers or even claim to narrate the story exactly. We convey what we hear, but each one who has lived through this experience will relate the tragedy as seen through his eyes. No matter how much we hear, there remains much to be heard. The awaited book on this subject will not be written today, but tomorrow. Its author will be a young boy whom fate saved from death. We are waiting for this boy to grow up and write.

From November 1982 until the end of 1983, I recorded testimonies from the relatives of victims and from the inhabitants of Sabra and Shatila. Recalling the memories of that difficult year and the stories of scores of witnesses, I cannot forget any of them, no matter how many they are. None of them was a scientist or a leader. They were simple people who had witnessed a tragedy that many wish to forget. They were the heroes in an unheroic age. They exposed themselves to persecution if they spoke, yet they spoke.

How can I forget the fear in the children's eyes? And the torture in the mothers' eyes? How can I forget their small, connected houses where nothing covers the tile floor in December, and ruins overlook you everywhere - from the window and from the roof. There is no money for restoration and no decision for restoration. The walls that had been splattered with the blood of the martyrs, are now covered with pictures - pictures of the martyrs.

In Shatila, you walk from house to house in narrow streets that are often narrower than the hallways of modern buildings. The walls are bent and curved; they often seem decrepit. So you ask: How do these houses and walls protect the people from massacres? How can they protect them from cold and rain? How can they guard their whispers and secrets, or their pride? They told me that they sleep in the shelters nightly. In the shelters? Why? At that time, there was no shooting or war. Why to sleep in the shelters now? And they remain quiet. There is no answer to my question. Their silence was an overly polite answer to my ignorance. When they spoke at last, they confessed that the shelters will not protect them from a new massacre, but they feel more safe there, even if only a little. If they sleep in their houses, memories like ghosts will keep them awake. If they sleep with the crowd in the shelters, the vividness of the memories haunting them fades, and for a short while at least they can sleep.

In the many, continuous meetings, the testimonies are similar. They affirm, coincide and contradict what was reported. If I was asked about the importance of those mee-

tings, I would unhesitatingly answer that the living testimonies are the primary and fundamental documents. The press, for its part, spread news, interviews and pictures that were extremely important in raising international awareness about what happened. This was followed by a series of tribunals, in Cyprus, Oslo, Athens, Tokyo and Bonn, from 1982 to 1985.

THE KAHAN REPORT

My conviction in the testimonies alone as a mode of research, was shaken after reading the Israeli report on the massacre, the notorious Kahan report issued in February 1983. The international media gets the credit for being the first to bring the massacre to the conscience of humanity everywhere. These same newspapers began to stress Kahan's report, presenting it as an indication of the existence of 'democracy' in 'Israel'. The newspapers also began to stress the contents of the Kahan report, while the truth is that its contents are totally contradictory to what the newspapers originally published about the massacre. We will present one example:

The report states that the number of child victims was only 20, and what newspaper that had released pictures of the massacre had not shown this number many times multiplied? Despite that, the report was presented by prominent newspapers as proof of Israeli 'democracy'; that was the excuse of the foreigner in defending the Kahan report. Foreigners who defended the report supported this by saying: «it was a good report. I didn't read it, but I read about it.» The question of numbers did not mean much to me in the interviews with the witnesses, and often I recalled Toynbee's statement: «The large number adds to the graveness of the tragedy and torture, but it is impossible for a human to be more than 100% criminal.» That means it is enough to kill once to be a murderer. In 1961, in a public debate, Toynbee replied to Hertzog, the Israeli ambassador to Canada, who was antagonized by Toynbee's comparison of what happened to European Jews with the massacre of Palestinians in Deir Yassin. According to Hertzog, the victims of Deir Yassin were a few hundred and thus did not merit comparison with the millions of Jews who fell victim to Nazism. Following Toynbee's line of thinking, I had not been seeking the depth of the tragedy in numbers, but today it seems that we are living in the era of Kahan, not Toynbee. It became necessary to search for the numbers and investigate all the details.

FIELD RESEARCH

The field research was carried out in March and April 1984, i.e., after the ghost of the May 17th agreement had vanished. It had not been possible to do any field research in the camps in the shadow of this agreement (between Lebanon and 'Israel'). It is impossible to give a complete picture or even a concise one of the field research in this presentation. It is also impossible to cover all the distortions in Kahan's report. From the fallacious figures presented there, we will choose only four: the number of victims, the number of females, the number of children, and the number of Palestinians as opposed to Lebanese. Our discussion of these numbers is part of the reply to the claim that what occurred was a murder, not a massacre. To facilitate the process of replying, it is necessary to indicate some of the points relevant to the field research.

1. This research is an individual effort and no more than that. The primary credit goes to the Palestinian and Lebanese youth of the area, who volunteered, enthusiastically and responsibly, to distribute the forms and have them filled out, beginning in their own homes and families, and moving to the neighbors' homes, from the nearest to the farthest. I need not mention that the trust among them was the basis for this effort.

2. The goal of the field research was very clear to everyone. What was needed was to record the event in the most detailed manner. Nobody had preconceived convictions. However, all agreed that in our struggle with the Zionist enemy, we do not need exaggerations or underestimates. Everyone's motivation was loyalty towards every martyr and kidnapped, Arab or ►

foreigner, old or young, man or woman.

3. The forms were divided into three categories. Information was present for the individual person, family and event.

4. In addition to the field research, which is the basis, lists of victims and kidnapped were gathered by various groups. These lists sometimes contained information about nationality, age and occupation. These include lists from the Lebanese Civil Defense, the International Red Cross, the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, daily newspapers, committees of mothers of the kidnapped, and the graveyard of the martyrs.

5. The results obtained in the field research cannot be considered final, but we do not expect that the results of any future research will deviate very much percent-wise.

6. The primary importance of the research is its inclusion of the correct names and numbers arrived at, the reliability of the sources used; to emphasize this, lists of names were presented at the end. Next to the name of each martyr and kidnapped is recorded the source or sources from which the information was acquired. This means that additions to the list of names would be impossible without following this method.

THE VICTIMS

Kahan's report revealed the number of victims to be 328, based on Red Cross statistics. The report said their number did not reach 1,000. The Israeli army estimated there were 7-800 victims; its report adopted this number because it was the «closest to reality». We agree with Kahan that it is impossible to give a «final, definite number», but we disagree with his estimated figure. The figure has to be much higher. The list of names we have compiled amounts to a much higher figure than his. The list of victims compiled from field research includes 430 victims, and the list from the different sources includes 439. The total is thus 869. The list of kidnapped, compiled through field research, includes 393 names. The list of kidnapped from different sources includes 100. The total of these two is 493. The total of both victims and kidnapped is thus 1362.

The process of compiling this list was the most difficult of all the stages of the research. I felt obliged to thank all those who contributed their efforts to provide information and lists. I also feel obliged to thank my friends who were patient enough to continue this long process with me. With regard to the estimated figures, we should not be in a rush. We should continue to follow up the other lists, especially since experience has proven that many names are repeated in many lists, while many other names were not listed at all. Another reason we think that the figures are much higher than estimated is that we were told in many interviews about many whole families that were killed. We were unable to get information about all of them.

SEX OF THE VICTIMS

Kahan's report mentioned that the vast majority of the victims were males, needless to discuss the reasons. The report also mentions detailed figures: Only eight Lebanese females and seven Palestinian females were killed! Faced with this obvious falsification, we had either to completely ignore it or else refute it, using all means possible. We determined to do the latter.

It was easy to recognize female names on the different lists, by referring to the first name. Among the 869 victims we have listed, there are 187 female victims. We got our figure through our own search that was based on limited capacities. We wonder how Kahan, and those who worked with him, dared to distort the facts and history to the point of diminishing the number from 187 to 15. Kahan had the capacity to find the facts. Our percentage of female victims is 25%, whereas in Kahan's report, we are not sure if he means there were 15 females out of 328 victims, or out of his estimated 7-800 figure. In the first case, the percentage of females would be 4%; in the second case, only 2%. Kahan has gone too far with his lies.

CHILDREN

Kahan's report said that only eight Palestinian children, and 12 Lebanese children were killed. Who could believe these figures when the cameras showed piles of children's bodies?

Among Palestinians, there were families that lost eight children a piece. The Mohammed family is one example. Among Lebanese, the Miqdad family lost twelve. Who could forget them? In researching this topic, we only used the figures from our field research, because the lists from different sources did not always specify the age of the victims. There were 25 babies, from a few months to one year; the bodies of some of them were found near their mothers' bodies, and the rest were scattered. There were 14 children between the ages of one and three. There were 56 between the ages of three to twelve. The total number of children was 95. Their percentage out of 430 is 22.9%. Out of Kahan's estimated figure, it is only 2.5%, and out of the Red Cross figure, it is only 6.9%. It is not necessary to explain the huge discrepancy between these figures, because the Israelis deliberately falsified the number of children killed. 'Israel' knows very well what it means to kill children in the eyes of international opinion, since it is very concerned with maintaining a 'civilized' image.

OLD PEOPLE

Kahan's report did not discuss the number of victims who were elderly or handicapped. The figures we have here are solely from field research. The number of victims, men and women aged 50 to 60, is 30. The number of victims, aged 60 to 70, is 18. The number of victims older than 70 is 22. The total of elderly is 70. The percentage of elderly among the total number of victims is 16.28%. Why did the Kahan report ignore these people? Was killing elderly European Jews in Dachau and Auschwitz the only sin? Was killing elderly civilians in Sabra and Shatila a virtue?

NATIONALITIES

In Kahan's report, there were 329 Palestinians and 109 Lebanese and other nationalities. Of course, for the Israelis, it was necessary to focus on the number of Palestinians in order to justify the whole operation.

What is the truth? There is no doubt that the Palestinian refugees were targeted, but butchers don't usually differentiate between their victims in massacres. In Sabra and Shatila, they certainly didn't. The details of the field research, based on information from survivors, eyewitnesses and civil defense workers, told of a tragedy that words cannot describe. Such a human tragedy does not permit any outbidding concerning the nationality of the victims.

Sometimes, those we interviewed forgot the names of the victims. One witness forgot the names of his foreign neighbors who came from Bangladesh and rented a room in his home. They died with their families. There were eight of these guests. They had come looking for jobs. Six of them were killed together in one room; the other two were killed another place in the camp. In the nationalities list, there were fifteen unidentified persons, the reason being that they were children, infants or fetuses that no one could identify. Out of 25 infants, we only had names for ten, which gives credibility to our witnesses' speaking about the bodies of unidentified children.

The fact that the victims were of different nationalities proves that there was a massacre. The high percentage of Palestinians among the victims confirms that it was a massacre, and is only natural since the population concentration in the area is of Palestinian refugees. If it wasn't for that concentration of Palestinian refugees, the massacre wouldn't have taken place in the first place.

According to the field study, there was the following distribution of nationalities among 430 victims:

- 204 Palestinians
- 120 Lebanese
- 31 nationalities still under investigation
- 22 Syrians

- 18 Egyptians
- 8 Bangladeshis
- 3 Jordanians
- 3 Turkish
- 2 Sudanese
- 2 Algerians
- 1 Iranian
- 1 Tunisian
- 15 unidentified

In the lists from different sources, the nationalities of 145 were identified; 75 Palestinians, 55 Lebanese and the rest of different nationalities. This means Palestinians accounted for 48,52% of a total of 575 victims; 30.43% were Lebanese. The proximity in the distribution of nationalities, between the field study and what was added to it from other sources, asserts the plausibility of these figures.

Among the kidnapped, there were many from different nationalities. Many of them were kidnapped on Saturday, the third day of the massacre, despite the orders to the inhabitants to present their ID cards and line up according to their nationality. Out of 100 kidnapped, according to the field study, there were 66 Palestinians, 14 Lebanese and the rest Egyptians, Jordanians, Algerians and unidentified. One black British man, known to everyone as Othman, disappeared on Saturday, September 18, 1982, and never came back. People said they only knew his first name, and that he held a microphone near Gaza hospital, encouraging people to obey the orders.

«IDENTIFYING TERRORISTS»

The Kahan report stated that the main task of the 'agents' the Israelis sent into the camps was identifying 'terrorists'. Supposedly, their 'agents' had lists of names of 'terrorists'. The initial Israeli reports insisted that the murdered people were all 'terrorists'. To refute this, we ask one question: Did their 'terrorist' list include the names of women, children and elderly? And what about the families that were massacred in their homes or on their doorsteps, or in the shelters? Why were they killed?

On the list of victims, there were 20 Palestinian families that had only one family member left. Taking the Khateeb family as an example, the father, mother, grandmother and eight children were killed; by chance, one child survived. The same happened with four families of the Miqdads.

In the victims and kidnapped list, there were fifty Palestinian families that lost from two to eleven members. There were 25 Lebanese families that lost from two to nine members. There were three Lebanese families with only one member remaining.

Reviewing the list of victims of the first night only, Thursday night, reveals that of a total of ninety families - Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian and undetermined, there were 52 families that were all killed that night. Among these were 28 Palestinian families and 17 Lebanese. There were all these killings of whole families, elderly, women and children in the very first hours, yet the Kahan report confirms that the 'operation' was a legitimate fight between the Lebanese Forces and 'terrorists'.

The unannounced aim of the Kahan report was to deny that there was a massacre. To refute this, we say that the above mentioned figures are only a part of the whole. Finally, the testimonies of the survivors make us laugh at the question: Was there a fight?

Um Nabil, a Palestinian woman who lived near Al Sharq street cafe, laughed ironically in the midst of her mourning when she said: «Our house was on the green line between Sabra and Shatila... I saw them with my own eyes. There were around fifteen young men and one young girl. People told them to go home and not to make trouble or shoot. They quickly veiled their faces with kuffiyehs. I saw these youths by the entrance of the camp. They were sixteen and seventeen years old, not older than twenty. When the Israelis realized these young men were armed, they started to shoot dozens of rockets on the camp. I saw the building opposite us burning down. This was the game - the Israelis shooting the rockets,

and the Phalangists and Saad Haddad's forces massacring the people. On Saturday morning, I saw three young men, they were only children, with their RPGs. We lived on the third floor on a main street. We could see everything. We saw the Phalangists entering the camp and forcing the people to leave their homes. I yelled at the three young men to run. They threw their weapons and ran...»

«This is our story - a few young men, shooting (at the enemy) from far away, were able to protect the camp from the inside. None of the Phalangists were able to enter! The attackers were cowards. Could you imagine what would have happened if there had been more men and if they had been ready... How could they say there were 2,000 fighters? There weren't even 100. All the men of the revolution were gone. There were only a few left, here and there. I wish the people had allowed them to resist. They were yelling at them not to shoot and make trouble, so as not to give the Israelis the opportunity to destroy the camp...»

«Please understand, the massacre took place because we believed that we had international protection. Had we known there was going to be a massacre, we women would have fought, but they took us by surprise. This is our story...» (interview April 5, 1983).

All witnesses said there was some resistance here and there, but nothing substantial. The fighters that crossed the sea in every direction but that of their homeland, sent letters to their wives and children. But these letters, if they reached the camps at all, found nobody to read them.

All the survivors told us unforgettable stories. One man, who owned a small shop that was destroyed by the Israeli air raids, stood in the middle of the main street of Shatila, in front of Abu Jamal's garage, where dozens were killed and shoved into the garage, saying, «The family that lived in this house was all killed. This was Abu Yaser's house and the next one was Abu Ali's. They were all killed. This is Abu Ali's car, it is still sitting here, God bless his soul. This was Yousef's house. His father, mother, grandmother and brother were all killed. Um and Abu Saber could not find the bodies of their children; they were buried under the rubble, God bless their souls. All the houses inside the camp were destroyed. In the quarter over there everyone was killed...» (interview March 3, 1983).

CONCLUSION

Once more, we state that the results of investigation into the massacre are hardly final. It is not the writer's task to investigate, but to carry out a scientific research and to be accurate to a degree that allows the writer to draw an analysis. We hope that we were able to do so. The interviews with the survivors, the lists of names and the field research with the original forms, are all preserved at one of the Arab universities. In due time, researchers will be able to utilize them.

Continuing to hide, disguise and bury the facts is useless. It will only lead to discovering more facts. It will also lead the Zionists to ask over and over: Isn't there anything besides Sabra and Shatila? Why do you only speak about this? What about what happened to you over the past ten years in Lebanon? What about what happened to you in Tripoli? What about the war of the camps?

No one denies the horrors of the civil wars, but every civil war came to an end. Conscience tell us that in civil war, you are torn between your own people. You mourn the killer as well as the victims. But in massacres, all the victims are on one side and all killers on the other. That is the nature of massacre.

In Sabra and Shatila, the real killers were toying with their binoculars, while the killers - the tools - were executing their task barbarically. One killer - the tool - rejoiced and bragged about accomplishing the mission, and threatened to do it again. The other killer - the real killer - swore that he did not kill with his own hands. Is there a difference between the two? They are both killers. One day we will find the truth, when the real killer will speak. In the history of massacres, death speaks first, then the dead, and finally the killers.

Sabra and Shatila Remembering

