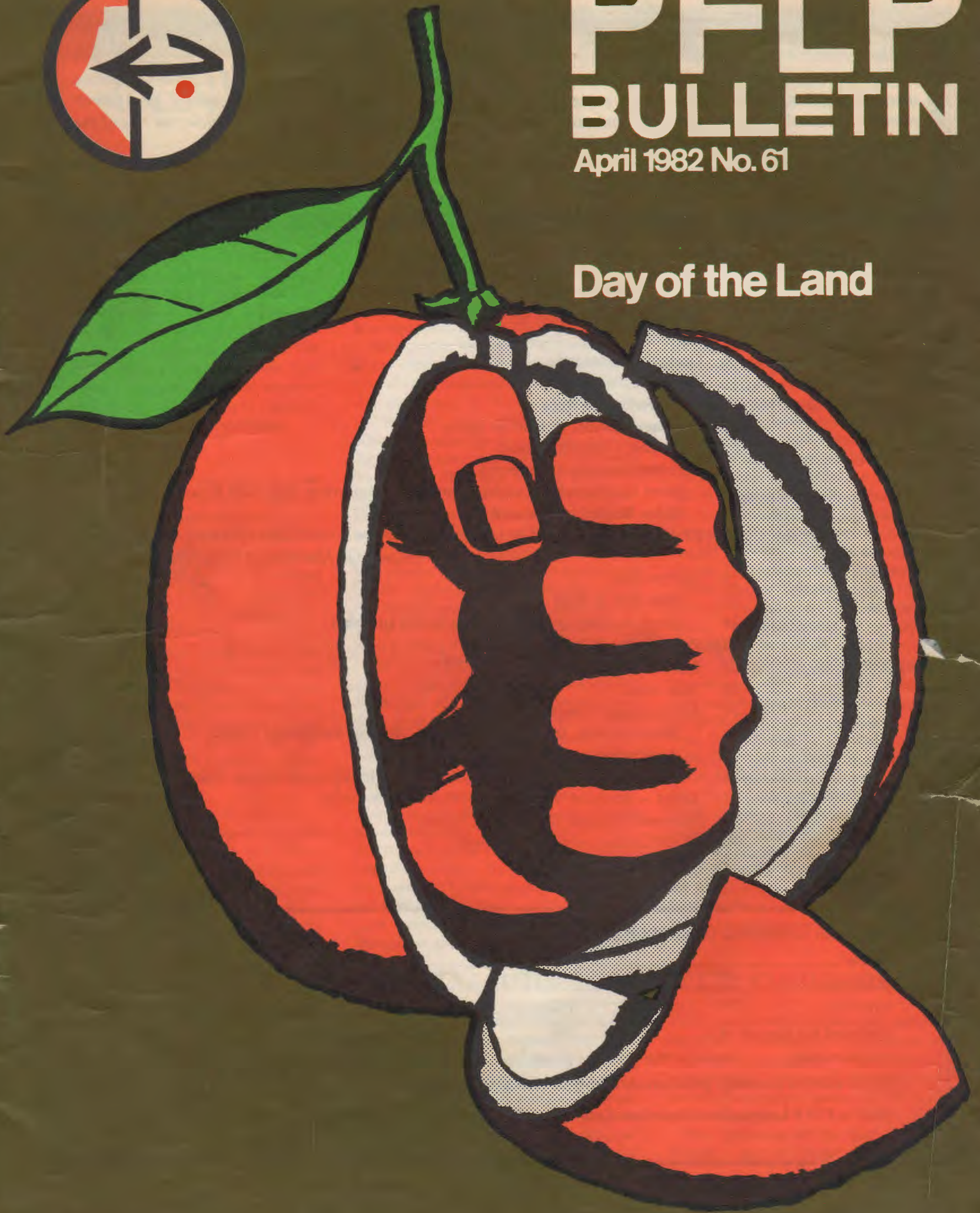


# PFLP BULLETIN

April 1982 No. 61

Day of the Land



To our readers:

*This Bulletin is enlarged and delayed due to our wish to include the report of the PFLP Central Committee meeting in February. Then, as we were going to press, the Zionist occupation authorities dissolved the Al Bireh municipal council, and the uprising of our masses escalated greatly. These events are the lead article; the rest of the material in the Bulletin covers the time period prior to March 15th.*

*Due to the expansion of this issue, you will not be receiving a Bulletin dated May. Bulletin No. 62 will be out in early June.*

Table of Contents:

- 3 Events in the occupied territories
- 5 Editorial
- 6 Occupied homeland
  - Day of the Land
  - Conference in Acca
- 7 Current Zionist settlement policy
- 12 Bir Zeit University closed
  - Palestinian prisoner released
- 13 Story of a Palestinian under occupation – interview with Salih Baransi
- 18 Golan Heights general strike
- 19 Zionist attack expected in Lebanon – interview with PFLP's military responsible Abu Ahmed Fuad
- 21 Martyrs Day
- 22 Mass rally in Sour
- 24 March in Allay commemorating Kamal Jumblatt
- 25 Poem to the Palestinian people
- 28 Palestinian Communist Party
- 30 Mass work
- 31 International Womens Day
  - Interview with Jihan Helou, General Union of Palestinian Women
- 34 Women speak
- 35 PFLP marks Womens Day – presentation by Comrade George Habash
- 37 Egypt – interview with Progressive Assembly Party
- 39 Subversion against Democratic Yemen
- 40 PFLP Central Committee Report
- 52 SWAPO anniversary

I/We want to subscribe to the PFLP BULLETIN

Name: .....

Address: .....

City: ..... Country: .....

Enclosed is a cheque of \$ ..... for ..... No. of subscriptions

I/We want ..... copies of the previous issue(s) No.(s) ..... of the BULLETIN

We want to exchange publications with you (for organizations)

Mail to PFLP International Relations Committee, P.O. Box 14/5024, Cornish Al Mazraah, Beirut, Lebanon.



# ZIONIST OFFENSIVE

## GENERAL STRIKE CALLED

As we go to press, events are virtually exploding in the occupied territories. The Zionist authorities have unleashed a brutal offensive against our people, in a blatant attempt to crush Palestinian national institutions and terrorize the population. Faced with our people's militant rejection of civil administration and the village leagues, the Zionists are moving to impose 'autonomy' and/or outright annexation by force. The use of violence and arbitrary decrees from the military has reached levels unprecedented since 1967, culminating in the death and wounding of numerous Palestinians.

### NGC banned

On March 11th, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon outlawed the National Guidance Committee (NGC) on the grounds that it is an arm of the PLO. The other ostensible reason given was retaliation for a statement from King Hussein of Jordan, threatening any Palestinian who joined the village leagues with execution under Jordanian law. However, patriotic Palestinians in the occupied land saw the ban in another light. They noted that the NGC has been virtually non-functional for a year now, due to the systematic deportation and house arrest of its leaders. Mayor Bassam Shakaa of Nablus considered this move "a precedent for further and worse measures against the Palestinian inhabitants..."

### Al Bireh council dissolved

Bassam Shakaa's prediction was quickly proven correct. On March 15th, in the midst of ongoing mass demonstrations against civil administration and the 'autonomy' scheme, the Al Bireh municipal council was summoned to a meeting with the head of the civil administration, Menahem Milson, at the military headquarters. The council members all refused to attend, stating that they were elected in 1976 to represent the Palestinian people in their municipalities. "We were not elected as a bridge over which will pass enemy plans and solutions already rejected by our people such as the civil administration and the autonomy scheme."

The Zionist reaction was swift and brutal. On Thursday, March 18th, about 100 Israeli troops stormed the municipal offices of Al

Bireh (the 4th largest city in the West Bank) and evicted the mayor, Ibrahim Tawil, and the entire city council. The council was dissolved and replaced with a 3-man military committee. The takeover was called for by Menahem Milson, whose direct superior is Ariel Sharon.

### Mass repression, mass resistance

Mass protest has been almost continuous in the occupied territories since the imposition of civil administration on December 1st and the closing of Bir Zeit University in mid-February. These militant protests have effectively closed the door on Zionist hopes for civil administration as a viable prelude to 'autonomy'. The latest actions against Al Bireh and the national institutions have sparked an unprecedented wave of militant demonstrations and protests. Groups of unarmed Palestinians are attacking Israeli military patrols; women have taken over Zionist offices; students — young boys and girls — are laying down their lives. Hundreds of arrests have been made, and scores of Palestinians injured by Israeli bullets.

On March 20th, Israeli troops opened fire on a demonstration in the Ramallah/Al Bireh area. A 17 year old Palestinian student, Ibrahim Ali Darwish Badran, was shot in the chest and died immediately. Two young girls were critically wounded; unconfirmed reports state that they and another student have now died. The family of the young martyr Ibrahim held the funeral immediately; BBC correspondents witnessed Israeli troops using tear gas to disperse the funeral procession. On the next day, Sunday, another 5 Palestinians were critically wounded by Israeli fire.

A general strike has been declared throughout the West Bank to protest the

dissolution of the Al Bireh council. Begun on Friday, it has been supported by all municipalities, despite the violent repression being used by the military authorities. An important show of support came from outside, in Lebanon, where all Palestinian refugee camps went on strike in solidarity. During a protest march in Beirut, PLO Executive Committee member Yasser Abed Rabbo said: "The declaration of a general strike in Palestinian camps in Lebanon is a confirmation of the unity of struggle and destiny, as well as an affirmation to our people inside Palestine that we shall hold firm to the gun and to the positions of the Palestinian Revolution in the South, to form a great support to them in confronting occupation, colonization and expansion."

Numerous clashes between Palestinians and Israeli troops have taken place, with the military attacking any public meetings. In Nablus, troops surrounded the municipality to ban a scheduled meeting. Mayor Bassam Shakaa, who lost both his legs when Zionist terrorists blew up his car in 1980, was dragged from his office and thrown on the ground by Israeli soldiers, who then shot around him. Eyewitnesses report that he managed to stand up, bare his chest and shout: "Hit, you fascists, hit, as the only strength you have is the strength of guns."

All signs point to an intensification of Zionist aggression. A military decree has been issued banning the distribution of any of Jerusalem's Arabic newspapers in the West Bank. Anabta mayor Wahid al Hamdallah has been arrested; Ramallah mayor Karim Khalaf was arrested and released. All West Bank municipal councils are expecting to be dissolved. The Palestinian people recognize this as a decisive enemy offensive, aimed at crushing all opposition, imposing civil administration by force, and then the last step — annexation. The magnificent mass resistance now taking place is our heroic people's answer to the Zionist threat.

## PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE

The Zionist occupation authorities took a dangerous action by dissolving the Bireh Municipal Council and appointing a military governor to administer the municipality's affairs. This step follows a series of measures undertaken by the occupation to liquidate national organizations in the occupied regions, particularly those directly elected

by our people, who have unanimously declared their opposition to the occupation and to its tools and symbols, headed by the civil administration project and all other formulae which aim to give the occupation a more palatable image.

The dissolution of the Bireh Municipal Council is part of a larger plot to end the

role of all West Bank and Gaza Strip municipalities and to replace them with direct military rule. The enemy authorities last week formed a military committee to oversee the finances of the Nablus Municipality, as a preliminary to other measures that would affect its privileges and role, and that would touch all other municipalities.

These Zionist measures fully expose the enemy's conspiracy, headed by the Sharon plan to set up a civil administration in the occupied regions. It has thus become obvious that all these projects are but a cover for the continuation of the hateful occupation, the imposition of military rule in all its forms and the continuation of the policy of colonization and of striking at

homeland, Zionist expansionism and continued settlement plans.

Under the cover of the so-called civil administration, assaults were made on educational institutions, Bir Zeit University was closed, there were attacks on syndical and social bodies, and defenceless citizens were shot at in Bethlehem, Nablus and the camps; many of them were wounded.

Our people firmly reject the civil administration. It is sufficient that the occupation authorities appointed a Zionist committee headed by an officer of the military authorities as a substitute to the legitimate municipal council of Al Bireh. This proves that the civil administration is a sham and is unable to withstand the overall resistance of our

institutions in the occupied territories, and from the Palestinian people inside and outside these territories.

The PLO Executive Committee is confident that these confrontations with the enemy will increase our people's determination to oppose occupation and to escalate their uprising against these dangerous measures and to protect the municipalities from other measures the occupation authorities are planning to implement.

Our people, in their heroic uprising, confirm the illegitimacy of Zionist occupation and that the legitimacy of our institutions stems from the allegiance accorded them by our people, and not from the enemy, who has constantly conspired against the Palesti-



Graphic from Tricontinental.

national institutions, and other measures aimed at consolidating the occupation. With these measures, the repressive image of the Zionist enemy and the ugly face of the civil administration project will be exposed, as well as the enemy's complete failure to give its real plan a cover through such suspect methods and projects.

The enemy is trying to break the brave mass uprising which has been going on continuously for the last four months, ever since the appointment of Menahem Milson as the head of the civil administration. The uprising is an expression of our people's absolute rejection of this conspiracy, which tries to give different faces to the occupation of our

people. This is in addition to the campaign launched by our steadfast people against the village leagues... dealing the so-called Sharon plan another blow. The Sharon plan is depending on these leagues as a primary pillar and on the civil administration as a secondary pillar for the implementation of its crimes.

The PLO Executive Committee salutes the brave people and their national institutions, the members of the Al Bireh Municipal Council, headed by the militant Mayor Ibrahim al Tawil, for their firm stand against the occupation and its plots. We salute Al Bireh, which has received full solidarity from the rest of the municipalities and nationalist

nian people, their institutions, and the national leadership by isolating, deporting and assassinating them.

Our heroic people will pursue their general uprising and the occupation authorities will not be able to undermine the determination and will of our people. Our people will pursue the militant path of glory, and consolidate by new and more effective means their will to resist occupation, fully committed to the PLO and its national programme, and will continue their struggle in order to achieve the national and just aims of return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on their national soil. ●

# EDITORIAL

At present Syria's steadfast position constitutes a main obstacle to the expansion of Camp David. Thus, weakening Assad's regime to force its capitulation is a primary aim of current imperialist-Zionist-reactionary efforts. At an earlier stage, the enemy alliance was bargaining on drawing the regime into its plans, relying on Syrian desire to recover the Golan Heights. However, in the context of the polarization that grew in our area following Camp David, the opposite occurred. Syria has taken increasingly firm positions against the enemy plans as seen in its role in the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, its support to the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, and most recently, its rejection of the Fahd plan. The enemy response to this development has been specific projects to consolidate the cohesion of Arab reaction and its link to US imperialism, such as the Gulf Cooperation Council and the new military agreements between the US and Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Morocco, respectively. The idea is that Syria, along with all other patriotic forces in the area, will be encircled and finally strangled by this reactionary chain.

Today the line adopted by US imperialism for dealing with Syria downplays attempts to co-opt the regime and emphasizes options of direct confrontation. The enemy alliance is operating according to a flexible plan which does not exclude the possibility of trying to topple Assad's regime. To this purpose, several points of attack have been designated — Lebanon, the Golan and the internal front — as well as several actual or potential striking forces — the Phalangists, the Moslem Brotherhood, the Jordanian regime, the Zionists. Moreover, the historical contradictions between Syria and Iraq have taken on more dangerous proportions as Saddam Hussein has moved his regime firmly into the ranks of Arab reaction.

Events have shown that the internal front can be the most threatening. This was highlighted in February, when government troops fought down a Moslem Brotherhood revolt, focused in Hama. Such an internal challenge to the regime is the most dangerous for two reasons:

**First:** It diverts Syrian resources away from the battle against the Zionist enemy. This time the Brotherhood has most clearly shown its ultimate link to the imperialist plans by challenging the regime just after Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, and at a time when pressure from Zionist, imperialist and reactionary circles continues to mount for the removal of Syrian troops and SAMs from Lebanon. Thus, the Brotherhood's offensive against the regime is also a challenge to the Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces, for Syrian presence in Lebanon serves to protect their freedom of movement and reinforce their ability to resist Zionist aggression.

**Second:** The widespread provocations launched by the Moslem Brotherhood and the regime's military response created an intolerable situation for the Syrian people. The masses were inevitably caught in the crossfire of this diversionary battle which verged on a state of civil war.

This indicates a deeper aspect of the internal problems in Syria. Any regime that wishes to ward off imperialist and reactionary subversion has a responsibility to unite and mobilize the masses to this end. This entails a social and economic program that meets the needs of the masses, including their right to express themselves politically, in order to fully develop their potentials. In the absence of such a program, the masses will remain passive, while the reactionary forces will organize; some sectors of the masses may even be drawn into side battles due to the regime's shortcomings. Thus, for the patriotic

regime in Syria, isolating and uprooting the Moslem Brotherhood is a socio-economic and not only a military task. With a popularly oriented program that is implemented in practice, the masses themselves will assume a main role in isolating reactionary forces and be prepared to devote their potentials to confronting the main enemy.

Moreover, a program designed to develop the potentials of the masses would increase Syria's self-reliance. This would help to free it from the political pressures which the reactionary forces, chiefly Saudi Arabia, can exert due to their economic prowess. Another important element in consolidating Syrian steadfastness is the enhancement of the regime's relations with the progressive forces, internally, regionally and internationally, with the Soviet Union at the forefront.

We in the PFLP along with all patriots supporting Syrian steadfastness were greatly heartened when on March 2nd, one hundred thousand residents of Hama marched through the city, voicing support to President Assad and denouncing the crimes of the Moslem Brotherhood against the people and the homeland. The demonstrators' condemnation of the "abortive plots contrived by American imperialism" was timely in view of US envoy Philip Habib's arrival in Damascus, as part of the behind the scenes efforts to remove patriotic armed presence in South Lebanon in order to consolidate not the ceasefire, but Zionist expansion. This demonstration, like the one that occurred in Damascus a few days later, was a forceful display of the patriotic unity which must prevail between the masses and leadership if Syria is to withstand the pressures and aggressions being imposed by the enemy. In Damascus, close to one million Syrians celebrated the 1963 revolution which brought the Baath party to power. President Assad was carried through the streets on the shoulders of some of the demonstrators. In his address, the president emphasized the counterrevolutionary role of the Iraqi regime, which has joined other reactionaries in supporting the Moslem Brotherhood by smuggling arms and explosives into Syria with the help of the CIA.

The immediate aims of the Moslem Brotherhood have been thwarted in Syria, but the comprehensive enemy plan, of which they represent only a part, continues. There are indications that Arab reaction, particularly the Jordanian regime, will take a more open role in confronting Syria. Right after Habib's visit, King Hussein announced Jordan's need for more advanced weaponry, F15s and F16s specifically, in order to face Syria. In addition, the campaign of explosions and assassinations, plotted by the Phalangists and the Deuxieme Bureau, in Lebanon with the aim of undermining the efforts of the Palestinian-Syrian-patriotic Lebanese alliance to protect the masses in the patriotic areas. Also in Lebanon, Syrian interests can best be promoted by a correct patriotic mass line, manifest in its relations with the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and the Palestinian Resistance. In this regard, a positive step occurred in early March when the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and the Syrian regime agreed that the former has a full mandate to organize security in West Beirut along the lines established to eliminate the internal clashes in Tripoli last month. Resolving secondary differences between the Palestinian-Syrian-Lebanese triangle of steadfastness, and supporting the Lebanese Patriotic Movement's leadership role, is crucial for facing the major Zionist attack on Lebanon which is expected in the near future. In as much as the attacks on Syria are a point of entry for attacking the other forces of steadfastness and confrontation, all these forces share responsibility for strengthening their relations to defend their common existence.

# DAY OF THE LAND

We are now approaching the sixth anniversary of the Day of the Land. This national day was forged by the struggle and blood of our masses, specifically the Palestinians living under occupation since 1948. On March 30, 1976, they rose up in a massive demonstration against the Zionist efforts to confiscate and Judaize a major portion of the Galilee.

At its roots, the conflict in our area is not a question of territory, but a struggle between pro- and anti-imperialist forces. Yet in the case of Palestine and its surrounding areas, land has always been decisive due to the settler-colonial nature of Zionism and, on the other hand, the essentially agrarian-based nature of Palestinian society. It is not a question of semantics when the Israeli

government insists that 'autonomy' applies to the people and not the land. Permanent sovereignty over Palestinian and other Arab land is crucial for the success of the Zionist project. Without occupied land, there would be no Zionist state, and without confiscated land, there is no socio-economic base for this state's viability.

For our Palestinian people, loss of land has meant loss of recognized nationhood as well as loss of livelihood. It is not surprising that Palestinians everywhere have rallied behind the struggle of our masses in the Galilee, for their resistance to expropriation represents a national cause. Land is an issue that unites all our people with the exception of those few who have succumbed to the pressure of occupation by becoming colla-

borators, or the limited strata of exiles who have benefited from the wave of petrodollars in some Arab countries.

For Palestinians under occupation, land represents economic and national survival, the alternative being emigration or wage labor in Zionist institutions, building the very structures that destroy their own society. For Palestinian refugees, liberating the land represents the possibility not only of return to the homeland, but of building a new and better life for future generations.

Land represents a past, present and future dimension of our struggle. The Day of the Land is marked by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in awareness that they share the fate of our people in the Zionist state, and that only united struggle can reverse this fate. The day is also celebrated by Palestinian communities all over the world, reaffirming determination to liberate the land in order to build a just democratic society.

## CONFERENCE IN ACCA

On February 27th, a conference was held in Acca to discuss the land and housing problems facing Palestinians living within the borders of the Zionist state. This event was arranged by the Committee for the Defense of Arab Land, Rakah and the Regional Committee for Local Mayors. The gathering of these forces was in itself an accomplishment, for a month of Zionist harassment had preceded the meeting. Organizers were interrogated by the authorities, such as in the case of Saliba Khamis, secretary of the Regional Committee for the Defense of Arab Land, who was warned not to create any unrest after she spoke at a preparatory meeting in Sakhnin.

An immediate task of the Acca conference was to plan for the Day of the Land. The participants in the conference set a goal to have the largest participation ever in this year's demonstration; the route for the march was planned from Sakhnin to Araba to Deir Hanaa.

A major topic for discussion at the conference was the situation of Palestinians in the towns of the Galilee; these towns are grossly overcrowded as the population has grown while Zionist expropriations have greatly restricted the land available for building. At present, there are roughly 65,000 Palestinians in urban areas that need new homes, because their present housing is cramped or has deteriorated. Not only has the Israeli government made no effort to improve their conditions, Zionist policy

actually prevents them from moving into new quarters. The situation is becoming more and more acute in Acca itself, due to the Israeli plan now being implemented whereby Arab citizens are being expelled to make room for incoming Jewish families. Current Zionist efforts go under the heading of a new "Law of Reform", which is actually part of the renewed surge to Judaize the Galilee. The conference also addressed the housing and land problems confronting the

masses in the Naqab and other areas of 1948 occupied Palestine.

Speakers pointed out that solutions for housing and land problems are inextricably linked to resolving the Palestinian question as such, and the Acca conference took political stands on current issues. The Israeli annexation of the Golan was condemned as was the closure of Bir Zeit University. The conference saluted the PLO and also extended a special greeting to the representative of Bir Zeit University who was in attendance.

*Palestinian homes deteriorate in Jaffa, while next door Tel-Aviv builds for Jews alone. About 20,000 Palestinians remain in Jaffa, concentrated in AlAjami quarter where one-third of the houses are unfit.*



# CURRENT ZIONIST SETTLEMENT POLICY

For the Zionist movement, settlements have been a major means for controlling the land. Every Israeli town was founded by settlers, and settlements are still seen as the key to development – consolidating the annexation of the Golan and the *de facto* annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, merging these occupied areas into 'Greater Israel', whose boundaries have yet to be delineated.

On this anniversary of the Day of the Land, it is relevant to take stock of the current Zionist settlement policy. Our purpose is twofold:

1. to give greater insight into the conditions under which our masses in occupied Palestine are struggling
2. to contribute to an analysis of the direction which Zionist policy is taking in this period when the Egyptian-Israeli treaty is being finalized without even the pretense of resolving the Palestinian issue.

This article does not pretend to be comprehensive in the sense of recording all instances of land confiscation or every single settlement announced by the enemy. Nor can we cover in detail what the presence of settlers means for our people in terms of harassment, depletion of water resources, etc. Rather we will concentrate on three trends which are indicative of current Zionist settlement policy:

1. sandwiching the 'green line'
2. the increased role of private enterprise
3. the Zionist reaction to 'peace' on the Egyptian front

## The Sandwich Master Plan

Perhaps the most telling aspect of the past year's Zionist settlement activities is what has been termed 'sandwiching the green line'. This refers to the intensive efforts, started in the spring of 1981, to establish settlements on both sides of the dividing line between the 1948 occupied lands ('Israel' proper) and the West Bank, literally squeezing this boundary out of existence. This is the physical implementation of the Zionist annexationist policy as it was verbalized by Israeli Chief of Staff, General Eitan:

*We should no longer talk of the 'green line'. It has been erased... Since the Six Day War the whole of Eretz Yisrael is ours. But we must set up many many more settlements in Judea and Samaria.*<sup>1</sup>

The aims of sandwiching were set out more specifically by the head of the Jewish

National Fund's Land Development Authority, Haim Tzaban, who is also deputy to the Executive of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department:

- *The prevention of continued growth of Arab villages.*
- *The establishment of a clear dividing line between the Arab villages on both sides of the green line.*
- *Putting an end to isolation of Jewish settlements established in the north of the West Bank.*



Gaza – fenced off for settlement.

– *The creation of opportunities for young Jewish couples to improve their standard of living and condition by moving from dense and over-populated outlying areas of Tel Aviv... to areas located only tens of kilometers away and where the land is ten-fold cheaper.*<sup>2</sup>

A major target of sandwiching has been the land between Wadi 'Ara (in the 1948 occupied territories) and Jenin (the main town in the northern West Bank). Here seven new settlements have been established. Three – Harish, Katzir and Givat Oz-B – are inside the 'green line'. Four are beyond – Hinanit, Shaked, Mevo Dotan and Mei Ami – situated in the midst of the Palestinian villages of Barta'a, Ya'bad, 'Araqa, Yamun

and Birqin. Most of these settlements are still under construction with only a limited number of settlers living in temporary housing, like the *mitspe* (watchtower) settlements in the Galilee, but all are charted for expansion. The 1982-3 budget of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, as announced on Israeli radio in February of this year, provides for 10 more projected settlements and specifies the Wadi 'Ara area as an area of concentration. Actually these new settlements comprise part of the Reihan bloc – in all 10 settlements spanning the 'green line'.

Concurrent with this settlement drive is drastic infringement on Palestinian pasture

land. The Jewish National Fund has fenced off land and initiated car patrols around the Wadi 'Ara area settlements to prevent the neighboring villagers from grazing their sheep. In 1978, the Fund established a Pasture Authority to control what is considered state lands, i.e. blocking Palestinian access to what has long been communal grazing land.<sup>3</sup> As an integral part of the campaign to Judaize the Galilee, this authority had, by August 1981, laid down 650 kms of fence, preparing 250,000 dunums to serve some 80 settlements; 100,000 more dunums are under development. These pastures can be used to reinforce the 47 *mitspe* set up in the Galilee in the two years prior to the last Israeli elections, at which time they were recogni-

zed by the government as official settlements so that the settlers could vote. Since then new settlements planned for expansion have been founded in the Galilee, such as Jeninit near Um al Fahem in June, and Yublim between Sakhnin and Tamra, where work started in September.

*Settlements before law*

Farther south, the Palestinians of the Tulkarem, Qalqilya and Ramallah areas have also been affected by sandwiching. The following sequences show quite clearly how Zionist military control of the occupied territories enables the settlement drive to surge forward, bypassing all legality, even that of Israeli courts.

In early April, Zionist settlers uprooted citrus trees and vegetables in the Qalqilya

area. Later in the month, a cornerstone was laid for a new colony on Qarnin mountain, to be part of a network. By the end of April, Palestinian landowners had obtained an order from the Israeli High Court of Justice, stopping work on Qalqilya lands, i.e. the construction of a street to a new settlement under the pretext of 'public purpose'. As pointed out by the progressive Israeli lawyer, Felicia Langer, the real reason was to add to Karnei Shomrom settlement bloc. A month later, settlement activities had been resumed despite the court order.

In late July, Israeli surveyors entered Beit Amin, south of Qalqilya, claiming that the land had been purchased from local residents. The landowners disputed this and stopped their work. Later Beit Amin was put under curfew, the village mukhtar arrested

and the residents warned by the Military Government not to interfere with surveyors. The landowners took ownership documents to the Nablus court, reversing the illegal sale of their land to an Israeli company through documents forged by a middleman. They then appealed to the Israeli High Court of Justice. However, several of the owners who appealed were detained by the Israeli authorities, and in early October surveyors and bulldozers were at work on the land, despite the fact that the High Court decision was still pending.

In September, residents of the Tulkarem and Ramallah areas found Israeli bulldozers on their land; hundreds of dunums had been sold without their knowledge to the Israeli Bartu and Hamnuta companies, both affiliates of the Jewish National Fund. Through



*This map is drawn as a reference for the article and does not show all Zionist settlements nor Palestinian villages.*





Swimming pool at a settlement in the Jordan Valley.

legal procedures, some of the landowners were able to prove that this land was theirs and they had not sold it. This has slowed some of the settlement activities at least for a time, but the area continues to be targeted for expropriations, especially due to its proximity to the "green line". On August 17, the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* reported that a new settlement Yehudit will soon be begun west of Ramallah, straddling the 'green line'.

It is to be noted that the shady land deals to which the Zionists have resorted in the above-mentioned cases are not an exception, but one of the standard devices used for confiscation. Such deals have broader political implications as well, for a number of the middlemen who have been exposed are also associated with the treacherous village leagues. Moreover, such outright corruption is institutionalized. For example, in May a group of Al Khalil and Jerusalem area lawyers demanded the dismissal of the chairman of the Israeli land case appeals committee when it was discovered that he was also the lawyer for Ma'ale Adumin settlement, east of Jerusalem.

The apex of the Sandwich Master Plan, whereby settlement blocs in the West Bank are engineered so as to merge with metropolitan areas in 'Israel', is seen in Jerusalem — already annexed and encircled by settlements in the form of suburbs and highrise apartments, displacing Palestinian presence not only in the city itself, but in the entire area.

#### Trans-Samarian Highway

Crucial to the merger is the Trans-Samarian Highway, planned to link Zionist

settlements from Tel Aviv to Patzael in the Jordan Valley. This road cuts close to five Palestinian villages in the West Bank and will be flanked by at least six settlements: Tapuah, Elkana, Barkan, Ariel (planned as a city for 50,000), Ma'ale Ephraim (planned for 20,000) and Emmanuel (initially planned for 6,000 housing units, but now projected as the largest residential settlement in the West Bank).

In September, the Jewish National Fund organized a tour for journalists to view the 51 kms completed. (17 more are planned.) On this occasion, Uri Baron, settlement aide to Defense Minister Sharon, pronounced:

*It is the most important road facing the Eastern front and will ease the mobility of our troops.*<sup>4</sup>

Besides having military purposes, the highway will facilitate Zionist exploitation of West Bank land and products. Agricultural produce for export can be at Lod airport in one-third the previous time. Moreover, the road will help in attracting more settlers to the West Bank, as it will link them with the Zionist economic and social centers along the coast and is paralleled by water, electricity and telephone lines to serve the settlements and those Palestinian villages forced into the Israeli electric grid.

#### Making colonization profitable

Sandwiching is actually one prong in the new strategy announced by the Israeli Minister of Agriculture this autumn. According to the ministry spokesman, this plan is not to rely on the 'ultra-nationalists' (Gush Emunim, Tehiya, Likud), but on the Israeli population at large. In reality, this does not

denote any real shift in which group the government relies on. Rather it reflects the consolidation of the right wing on the Israeli political scene and the degree of hegemony which its thinking exercises in the Israeli society as a whole. A September poll showed that over half the Israeli public favors unlimited settlement in the West Bank. Those who are not necessarily ideologically motivated to go to new settlements can be drawn by economic incentives, especially in view of the housing crisis in the metropolitan areas along the coast. The slogan of the new strategy is "Build (or buy) Your Own House," while the government takes responsibility for providing land and infrastructure. This denotes the increased reliance on private enterprise, which characterizes the Likud government.

To see just how this scheme works, we can look at the Judea and Samaria land settlement company, where Avner Erlich, urban planner and one of the leaders of the Entire Land of Israel Movement, is a prominent stockholder. In the Shaarei Tikva settlement, under construction near Kufr Qasim, the J&S Co. owns a 700 dunum area; over half if not all is bought from Palestinians in shady deals through middlemen at an average of US \$750 per dunum. As of October, 700 plots had been sold to settlers for prices ranging from \$1500-2600. While the company is getting up to three times what it paid for the land, the settler has acquired the plot at a price much lower than real estate in Israeli urban areas. Moreover, plans are approved for construction companies to build villas on these plots, which are ample for two such homes; the settler can live in one and sell the other at a profit. Obviously the real loser is the Palestinian who has been forced or swindled into selling at below market prices.

Prior to the Israeli elections, thousands of dunums were allocated in the "Build Your Own Home" program in connection with the settlements of Elkana and Kiryat Arba as well as the Jerusalem area. According to the WZO Settlement Department, 1870 homes were built in the West Bank in the spring and summer, and more are under construction. Another settlement being built in this way is Kochav Yair, named after terrorist leader Yair Stern and located in the Little Triangle between Qalqilya and Taiyiba, an area heavily populated by Palestinians. The original plan was a *mitspe* for a five family core from the Beitar Movement, but now 1500 dunums will be used for constructing 1400 housing units, mainly luxury apartments and villas. It is envisioned as a residential community linked to the employment opportunities of

Tel Aviv. Tzaban of the Jewish National Fund explains how this enlarged version of the settlement is to be populated:

*Hundreds of immigrant families from South Africa have expressed their interest in settling here and many young Israeli couples...<sup>5</sup>*

Private initiative is not limited to West Bank settlement. In August, the government established a private committee to supervise Judaization of the Galilee. This was the result of agreement between the Defense Ministry and Chief Economic Coordinator Meridor, shipping magnate and big capital's foremost representative in the cabinet.

Likud's policy has significantly increased the role of private enterprise in the settlement business. Yet it would be a mistake to view this as contradictory to Labor's colonial policy which has relied almost totally on the state and state-related institutions. While the Labor-controlled United Kibbutz Movement announced its intention in October to set up 16 settlements in the West Bank in the next five years, the construction company Solel Boneh, owned by the Labor-controlled Histadrut, is actively involved in the "Build Your Own Home" business. In Ariel, its subsidiary, Diur, has built and sold 100 cottages and there are 80 more coming up. Here and in other settlements, private and government-related companies work side by side. The point is that the realities of Zionist colonization are changing; the pioneer venture once heralded in Zionist propaganda is obsolete; for one, it is simply inadequate to fulfill the expansionist ambitions of a state which has acquired a strong capitalist base; moreover, the potential settlers of today have other expectations, and

*Resident of Tel al Milh area stands by his citrus orchard.*



'Israel' desperately needs to make immigration and settlement attractive. All trends within Zionism are responding to these needs.

#### Zionist 'peace' = more settlement

*If there's going to be a partition of the West Bank in the future, (Israel's share) will depend on what is being done there...*

*This is a historic era that has seen peace with Egypt... people wonder... whether it will always remain a peaceful neighbor, and therefore I think Israel has to be realistic and build along the border in the Negev in order to have people living there to have viable settlements...*

*So I consider that we are back almost in the pre-state era of land again, and that it is taking on a significant role in the shaping of Israel's future to come... I see new appreciation of the fact that the Jewish National Fund is again the rallying point for world Jewry in the development of the state...<sup>6</sup>*

*— Charlotte Jacobsen, chairman of the American section of the World Zionist Organization and new president of the Jewish National Fund.*

The separate peace signed between Sadat and Begin was a major step towards legitimizing and consolidating the Zionist entity in our area. The above quotation clearly expresses the fact that for the Zionist movement, the process of seeking conciliation with the Arab regimes makes control over land even more significant. Zionist actions since Camp David have amply confirmed this: more settlements and more repression against our masses under occupation, forthright annexation of all Jerusalem and the Golan, more attacks on Lebanon and other

Arab states. Thus, Camp David has meant more pressure on the Palestinian Revolution and on all patriotic forces and regimes in the area. In terms of the issue of land and settlement, let us look at some of the consequences for our masses in occupied Palestine.

#### The Naqab (Negev)

The bedouin of the Naqab are perhaps those most directly affected by the Zionist thrust to control more land to replace what they feel to be losing by withdrawing from the Sinai. The 1980 Naqab Land Acquisition Law enabled the Zionist state to grab 96,000 dunums for new airports (some are military bases) and ruled out the possibility of appeal. Since then the bedouin have become a more noticeable militant force struggling to retain their land and livelihood in the face of forcible eviction at the hands of the Israeli Green Patrol, which destroys tents and dwellings, uproots crops and confiscates the herds of the bedouin to be sold and slaughtered. This struggle has continued this past year, and one of the focal points has been the area of Tel al Milh, designated as a site for one of the new airports, whereby 6,000 bedouin will lose their land. In May Israeli bulldozers leveled land near Tel al Milh and destroyed crops. When the bedouin tried to stop this, the driver shot at them; Israeli soldiers arrived and arrested seven of the protestors. Ibrahim Abu Kush, who was detained for two days after this incident, was interviewed by *Al Fajr* shortly after. He pointed out that 96,000 dunums is a greatly oversized area even in terms of the largest airports and went on to say: "We object to this scheme which is going to take over our land, and to contain us in dormitory camps which do not have any source of work. We will be transformed from independent farmers into servants of the Jewish market... refugees in our own country." With these words, Abu Kush aptly expresses the situation of our people all over the occupied land. In the Naqab as elsewhere, land taken from Palestinians for whatever stated purpose is used for Jewish settlements. As of January, Israeli sources reported that over 20 new settlements are underway in the Western Naqab to replace those in the Sinai. In early March, Israeli radio reported that Begin had approved the immediate erection of new settlements in the West Bank to replace those in Sinai.

#### The Gaza Strip

Also under direct pressure as a result of Zionist reaction to withdrawal are our masses in the Gaza Strip, who are to be con-



Shepherd passing a Zionist patrol in Rafah.

fronted by new settlements to serve as a barrier between Gaza and the Sinai. According to Israeli sources in October, six such colonies will be built. At present the situation in Rafah (on the border between the Strip and Egypt) is particularly acute: Hundreds of homes are in the process of being demolished, their residents evicted and cultivated areas destroyed, as the Israelis build a security belt through the town. However, in late February, Israeli radio reported that the bulldozers had stopped work due to unrest in the town. The Rafah municipality has issued a strong condemnation of the Israeli actions and pointed out that the current problems are related to the Palestinian issue as such, i.e. the right to self-determination and an independent state. Townships in the West Bank, such as Ramallah, have affirmed their solidarity with our people in Gaza.

The entire issue of Israeli withdrawal from the final portion of the Sinai serves as a rich lesson as to how the Zionist entity reacts to the 'peace' process. It is to be

noted that those settlers who are resisting withdrawal are not so much concerned with retaining their homes as with political aims. The driving force behind the Stop the Withdrawal Movement is parties and groups who opposed Camp David from the start, because they oppose any territorial concession *per se*. Many do not even live in Yamit but have come from other areas of the occupied land. The government, on the other hand, is fully cognizant that 'Israel' is gaining much more from Camp David than it can lose in the Sinai. Yet it is handling the 'rebellious' settlers with kid gloves for two reasons: first, because they are not rebels, but an important force needed in enacting Likud's settlement policy generally; second, their resistance to withdrawal is a valuable card which Begin holds over the Egyptian regime, pressuring it into more concessions with the threat that there will be no withdrawal.

The handling of the Yamit issue has also served as one more illustration that Begin's settlement policy is far removed from fur-

thering the welfare of Jews, as is claimed. This was underscored in January when the Israeli Black Panthers led a demonstration through the slum quarters of Tel Aviv, protesting the discrepancy between the rich compensation given to Yamit settlers and the insufficient welfare provided to the poor. These same sectors, mainly Oriental Jews, are also economically precluded from access to the luxury housing projects which the government is promoting on the West Bank.

It is clear that the thrust of Zionist settlement policy is heading towards outright annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In terms of land, approximately 27% of the total West Bank area of 5.5 million dunums has been confiscated for potential settlement, military or other use. (This excludes the part of Jerusalem annexed in 1967.) Moreover, Palestinians have been excluded from using another 11% by the military order of last summer which deprived the municipalities of the right to grant building permits. To this picture must be added the Zionist economic policy of subordinating the '67 occupied territories to the needs of the Israeli economy and the new judicial measures (opening an Israeli court and more recently a police station in the West Bank for the settlers).

What is happening in these areas today is a repetition of the fate of the territory occupied by the Zionist army in 1948. Then as now, Zionist settlement has only become a reality due to imperialist backing, help which is extended for reasons of economic and geopolitical control. This control is only possible on the basis of an expanded, consolidated state with a strong capital base. Though it is often cloaked under an ideology of religious mysticism, Zionist settlement policy is actually fulfilling this need for imperialism.

1 *Jewish Week*, September 20, 1981

2 *Ha'aretz*, August 20, 1981

3 This is most often land owned and/or cultivated by Palestinians. Under military order 59 of 1969, the Israeli state has the right to declare any plot government land. Responsibility rests with the owner to prove the contrary. From July 80-81 alone, 36,000 dunums were taken for settlements in the West Bank under this order. For a more comprehensive treatment of the question of state land, see the article by Janet Abu-Lughod in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42.

4 *Al Fajr*, September 13-19, 1981.

5 *Ha'aretz*, August 20, 1981.

6 *Jewish Week*, January 31, 1982.

The specific information in this article but not footnoted is mainly drawn from the past year's weekly editions of the English *Al Fajr*.

1 dunum = one fourth acre.

# BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY CLOSED

The major Palestinian institution of higher education in the occupied territories, Bir Zeit University, was once again closed down for two months by the Zionist authorities in mid-February. The university had just reopened after being closed in November in the midst of the demonstrations against the implementation of civil administration in the militarily-occupied West Bank.



Last year's celebration of Palestine Week at Bir Zeit University

The most recent closure of Bir Zeit University also comes as a result of our people's rejection of the civil administration scheme. On February 15th, two representatives of the education section of the so-called civil administration made an unannounced visit to the campus. When the students discovered this, spontaneous demonstrations erupted and the administrators were surrounded and told to leave the campus. One of the Israeli 'civilian' administrators pulled out and fired his gun. Israeli troops quickly surrounded the campus and clashed with the students.

Official reprisal was swift. Gaby Baramki, acting president of the university, was ordered to assemble all the students so that the 'troublemakers' could be identified. He refused, and the authorities closed down Bir Zeit University once again. In addition, several professors were arrested, including an American and a British citizen, charged with teaching "pro-PLO propaganda."

Strikes and demonstrations protesting the closure broke out immediately throughout the occupied land. Large demonstrations were held in Bir Zeit, as well as in Al Bireh, Ramallah, and Al Amari and Kalandiya camps. The municipal councils of Al Khalil, Dora, Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh decla-

red a general strike, and hundreds of protest letters were written. Other educational institutions showed their solidarity with strikes and demonstrations which were met with harsh repression: Israeli troops stormed the Teachers Training College in Ramallah and a girls school in Nablus. Bethlehem University declared a general strike to protest a scheduled visit of a civil administrator to the campus.

Student demonstrations are continuing in protest of the closure, and have been met with tear gas, clubs and bullets. Newspapers reported that the extremist Zionist leader Meir Kahane joined the Israeli troops who were battling students in Ramallah. When questioned, he stated that he was performing his duties as a reservist in the Israeli army. Other settlers have actively joined the fray,

## PRISONER RELEASED

The Committee for the Defense of Palestinian Prisoners recently held a press conference in Beirut, dealing with the release of Comrade Abdel Athim Khodar after 13 years in Israeli prisons. Comrade Khodar had been arrested in 1969, just one day after entering the occupied land to carry out his duty in the struggle.

Comrade Khodar described the conditions of his imprisonment and the racist, barbaric means of torture used to force confessions and to weaken the prisoners' will to struggle against the Zionist occupation. The military authorities at the prisons use various means of torture to extract information. These include being hit on the head with gun butts, having one's hands tied over

increasing their acts of vandalism against Palestinian property and threatening people.

The extent of Israeli repression was seen in the shooting and wounding of two students during a demonstration in Nablus on Saturday, March 6th. The Nablus municipality declared a general strike to protest the aggression. On Sunday, 49 students of the Engineering College in Al Khalil were arrested for demonstrating in solidarity with Bir Zeit University; the college closed down in protest. Jewish protestors have not been exempt from Zionist repression: 11 progressive Jews were arrested on charges of participating in a seminar held in Bir Zeit in solidarity with the university.

The Zionist authorities have long tried to justify their attacks against Bir Zeit University by claiming it is a center for pro-PLO activity and does not fulfill its duties as an educational institution. There are hints that this time the authorities may try to close the university permanently, or deprive it of access to funds so that it cannot function. The Zionist newspaper *Maariv* reported that the two month closure will provide the authorities with an opportunity to search the university's financial records for any trace of suspected PLO money, i.e., money from the PLO-Jordanian Committee.

It is true that Bir Zeit University is a center of pro-PLO feelings, but that is because it is a center of genuinely patriotic feelings and activities. Palestinian students have long been in the forefront of the struggle against the occupation, as their mobilization is facilitated by both their objective and subjective conditions. However, though the Zionist authorities may destroy Bir Zeit University, this will not destroy the ability of our people — students, professionals, peasants, workers — to continue to resist.

the head or behind the back (resulting in paralysis), electric shocks and being burnt by cigarettes in sensitive areas.

A more subtle form of torture is the bad health conditions that prevail in the prisons. This is based on the prevailing ideology that views Palestinians, especially prisoners, as inferior creatures. Often sick prisoners with heart, intestinal, kidney or liver diseases are given medication that serves to aggravate their condition.

Comrade Khodar stressed that Palestinian prisoners are struggling to insure their rights, including their right to organize strikes, improve their living conditions and to be able to continue consciousness-raising studies among the other prisoners.

# STORY OF A PALESTINIAN UNDER OCCUPATION

*Salih Baransi is a Palestinian who was born and raised within the part of Palestine occupied in 1948. He was one of the founders of the nationalist Al Ard movement, and an important struggler for Palestinian rights. Imprisoned numerous times, he was last released after serving ten years, from 1969 to 1979. At the current time he is living under town arrest in 'Israel'.*

*The Journal of Palestine Studies published a long interview – virtually a life history – with Salih Baransi in their Autumn 1981 issue. Here we are reprinting excerpts that deal with his remembrances of the surrender of Al Tayyiba village to the Zionists in 1949 and a section on the conditions faced by Palestinians who have been under occupation since 1948.*

I was born in al-Tayyiba, which is my village, in 1928. I had three brothers and three sisters. My three brothers are married but I am not. I never had the chance to marry, as I was always being arrested, and now I have grown too old...

## **The surrender of al-Tayyiba**

A few days before al-Tayyiba was handed over to Israel in 1949, Mr. Ahmed Khalil, whom the Jordanian government had appointed as *mutassarif* governor of the district, came to the village, which the government had taken over from the Iraqi forces that had been stationed there since they entered Palestine on May 15, 1948. At a public meeting held in the courtyard of the village school, Mr. Khalil talked of the Rhodes Agreement in which it was agreed to hand over to Israel the Triangle sector, comprising Kafr Qasim, Kafr Barra, Khunish, Jaljuliya, al-Tira, al-Tayyiba, Qalan-sawa, Bir al-Sikka, Abtan, Jatt, Baqa al-Gharbiya, Maisara, Kafr Qar', Barta'a, 'Arah, 'Arara, Umm al-Fahm and all the surrounding small villages as far as Sandala and Maqabala. Having made it clear that the Agreement included articles stipulating that the inhabitants of these areas should be well treated and that their property and security should be protected, he called on the people to stay in their villages and to hold out in them, whatever the circumstances.

This came as no surprise to me, as the news had already been reported in the press and by radio broadcasts. But as soon as I heard him calling on the people to hold out I

said to myself, "Nothing has changed. They want our people to do something they have not prepared them for. What weapons have they given them to hold out, and what equipment have they provided them with?" Casting my mind back, I passed in review what I knew of our people's experience in the struggle, and the examples of their heroism and nobility that were indelibly engraved in my memory.

I recalled the 1936 strike that went on for months, during which the people endured without a murmur and gave without wearying or complaining, while the leaderships showed such weakness and squandered all the fruits of the people's self-sacrifice.

I recalled the revolt of 1936-1939 and the role played by the peasants – their ungrudging sacrifices and generosity, with the men fighting and the women welcoming the bodies of their martyrs with chants and acclamation.

I recalled how, when the rebels stayed in their villages the inhabitants would club together to help them, every single house in the village contributing all it could afford.

I recalled my village, all of whose inhabitants without exception moved to the neighbouring villages to avoid paying a fine imposed on the village by the mandate authorities for sheltering a group of rebels, until the fine was rescinded, whereupon they returned.

I recalled the vociferous demonstrations of students in Jerusalem, and the bloody clashes with the mandate troops that took place there. I thought at length of a demonstration that took place in 1945 in the course of which many stirring incidents took place. I remembered how, inside the Damascus Gate, the demonstrators met with Jamal al-Husseini, who wanted to make a speech to them, and when the leaders of the demonstration decided to allow this, he stood at the door of a shop and said: "My sons, let those of you who are Christians go to their churches and those who are Muslims to their mosques and let us beseech God to grant us victory over the oppressors. Almighty God has said...." Whereupon the students raised loud cries of "We want arms, we want arms," making it impossible for him to finish his speech.

At the Damascus Gate, the students clashed with the security forces which were lined up in front of the gate to prevent the

demonstrators coming out; in this clash there were a number of wounded on both sides. When the security forces realized that they were not strong enough to prevent the demonstration moving on again, they concentrated their attack on the flag. But the students, realizing what the security forces were trying to do, spontaneously encircled the flag-bearer, forming ring after ring around him while others climbed onto their shoulders until they concealed the flag with their bodies to protect it, and the security men could not get at it.

I recalled these spontaneous moves by the people. I also recalled how the fruits of the people's gallantry and sacrifice were wasted. How did it come about that, in spite of all their readiness for sacrifice, our people were led to their ruin?

This was bound to happen because our masses were not sufficiently politically conscious to take part in the discussion of their problems and to take decisions on them. They were not organized. They were accustomed not to think for themselves, but to let others think for them.

All these incidents returned to my memory when I heard the *mutassarif* call on the people to hold out and stay where they were. I believed that the people would, indeed, stay and hold out, but not because they had been asked to do so, nor because they were conscious of the importance of their doing so to their people's cause, but because they were peasants and it is the nature of the peasant to be stubbornly attached to his land.

Then came May 7, 1949, the day when the Israeli forces entered the area and were received in al-Tayyiba by a delegation of notables with words of welcome – all of it blatant flattery and abject hypocrisy.

The people were like someone who is perplexed and cannot take in what is going on around him. With anxious faces and stricken eyes their looks expressed only loss, perplexity, fearful expectation and bewilderment. Behind all this was a bitterness tempered only by an inability to take in what was happening and an unexpressed but obstinate hope that this totally unforeseen situation, however real it seemed, would soon pass away and that Palestine would soon return to its legitimate owners.

This hope required no rational justification. These people were accustomed to

thinking with their emotions. Moreover, a simple person, if he has no real ground for hopes, tends to create delusive and imaginary ones and then tries to convince himself with them to the extent that, if anyone admits to harbouring such hopes, he is applauded, praised and hailed as a hero.

#### **Palestinians in the Zionist State**

The overwhelming majority of the Arabs who stayed in Israel in 1948 have stronger patriotic and nationalist feelings than others. I am convinced of this. It is not because they are different from other people, but because their objective circumstances have created such feelings.

Take, for example, the policy that has been pursued against them because they are Arabs. My land is confiscated because I am an Arab. I am humiliated and despised because I am an Arab. This policy has strengthened their feelings of nationalism and Arabism and their attachment to these sentiments. If you are beaten, tortured, humiliated and imprisoned because you are an Arab, your feelings of Arab nationalism

*Palestinian women in front of their Nazareth home.*



*Most Palestinians in the Zionist state live without the social benefits accorded to Jewish citizens.*

will certainly be increased. An Arab child is taught that Israel is democratic, but sees that his father, his brother or his relative is humiliated and hit in the street. When he grows up he also becomes aware of this fraud through the distinction and discrimination between Jews and Arabs. Therefore, his rejection of the occupation, of its shortcomings and its attempts to appear to be the opposite of what it really is, becomes increasingly strong, as do his nationalist sentiments — more than other people's because an educated person is capable of distinguishing between what is true and what

is false, and because he lives within the framework of this system.

Colonialist experience has shown that all attempts to distort local culture through a culture based on racial discrimination are doomed to failure. Take, for example, Britain in India: it was those who received their schooling from the British who led the revolt against her; take France in North Africa; and Portugal, Belgium and Spain in Africa.

Those who are most vehement and obstinate in their defence of the Palestinian identity are the young men who went to

## MY FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE ISRAELI POLICE

After our village had been handed over, I was at home when someone knocked at the door. When I opened it to see who was knocking, I found a policeman standing at the door and asking me if I was Salih Baransi. When I said "Yes", I was told to accompany him to the police station, and when I asked why, he said, "You can find out when you get there."

The police station consisted of three rooms side by side, with a cement bench in front, beneath which was a place for chickens and rabbits, and in front of it a large courtyard, a high wall and a gate. No sooner had I passed through the gate than they

started raining blows on me until I fainted.

When I came to myself I tried to get up, but could not. Looking around me I found that I was in the place for chickens and rabbits, and because the roof was so low I could neither stand nor sit up: all I could do was to lie on my side. Of course I could not stay lying on one side — I had to turn over. But every time I tried to turn on to my other side, I was wounded by the roof which, as I said, was very low and made of rough cement, which cut like a knife, and when I turned back the first wounds got cut again. I stayed there for three weeks; it was summer.

They put my food, which was a plate of lentils, through the narrow entrance and I had to eat lying on my face or my back. I

had to answer the calls of nature in my clothes, in the same place. I contracted a severe fever; my temperature rose and I asked for a doctor, but they refused my request. When I reached the stage where I could no longer move or speak, they were obliged to let me out. They took me to another place, which consisted of a small wooden shed — a sort of hutch made of mud and roofed with wood and straw, and I stayed there for a time until the fever abated. They used to send a boy to me to tell me to clean the lavatories. The idea being that I would refuse, so that they might beat me. After a month and a half they let me go, and to this day I do not know why they arrested me and did what they did to me.

Jewish schools — not only the universities, but also the secondary schools.

As regards the Arabs of Palestine's feeling of "Palestinian-ness," the establishment of the PLO and the start of the revolution in 1965 fostered Palestinian sentiments and gave them a tangible framework. Therefore the suppression of such feelings is one of the authorities' principal objectives. The consciousness of the Arabs in Israel of being Palestinian Arabs is powerful, committed and mature. Of this I have no doubt.

What is the situation of Arabs in the various major cities?

In Old Acre, the people are leaving because, as you know, some of the buildings are very old and were starting to collapse, and the rest were unsafe. The Israelis

therefore proposed to the inhabitants that they should abandon the Old City and leave. Many people did leave Old Acre and went to live in the neighbouring villages, while the Israelis also put pressure on the remainder to sell their houses. Very few of them bought or rented houses in modern Acre, and the greater part of the people moved to the village of al-Makar.

In Jerusalem the life of the Arabs is wretched. Israel is at present making every effort to effect a radical change in the character of the Old City from Arab to Jewish. She is not worried by world public opinion or any other opinion.

The situation in Haifa is slightly different, and better than in the other towns. The Arab population numbers 30,000 and their

economic situation is good. Most of them are educated.

In Jaffa, the Arabs have gone on living in the old dilapidated buildings of the old town, in the old streets like Faisal Street, now Street 60, and in the Ajami quarter. The oriental Jews live close to the Arab area.

As you know, Tel Aviv and Jaffa have now become a single town. But if you go into the areas where the Arabs live, you will find them unchanged. You can see the vast difference between the Arab and Jewish quarters. The Arab areas are infested with narcotics and hashish and a low standard of living. The most wretched types of Arab are those who have remained as minorities in towns such as Acre, Lydda and Jaffa, though Haifa is an exception, for reasons I have mentioned.

Most of those who stayed after the Jewish attacks in 1948-1949 were peasants, and their attachment to traditions and customs has contributed greatly to their rejection of the situation imposed on them. But it must be pointed out that these traditions are a two-edged weapon: We need them as a means of ensuring steadfastness and defiance but at the same time there is a pressing need to develop them, for they are sometimes an obstacle to development and civilization. Therefore, we as leaders were faced with the problem of dealing with our people on the basis of maintaining these traditions, so as to increase the feeling of belonging and refusal to be absorbed in an alien situation, and also of trying to develop these traditions. It was a difficult problem, but we overcame it — not through our own skill only because an important factor was the Israeli policy of occupation, repression and pressure.

The departure of the traditional leadership in 1948 left the people like a flock

1981 Day of the Land demonstration in Taiyiba.



without a shepherd. That really was a period of demoralization, but it was also of great potential benefit, for it gave an opportunity for a new leadership to appear and grow. It is to be observed that the new leadership was, for the first time, non-traditional — i.e., it did not derive from the families to which leadership used to come by inheritance. On the contrary, the leaders came from the common people, and this was a great change in our society.

One of the most difficult problems that faced us was the Israeli policy of destroying the socio-economic base of the Palestinian community. An economic base is very important — there can be no national struggle without an economic base — and we were deprived of any economic aid from any source whatever.

Israel destroyed the economic base of our peasant society by confiscating land and making it impossible for the Arab to rely on land for a living. Eighty percent of peasants' land has been confiscated since 1948 and the process is still going on. Israel is at present also confiscating the land of the Negev — thousands of dunums are being confiscated and its inhabitants are being expelled. We are threatened in the future with further confiscation of land in Galilee and in the occupied Arab territories (the West Bank and Gaza).

I am not being pessimistic when I say in 1985 or 1990 there will be no more land owned by Arabs in Palestine if Israel is permitted to continue her present policy of confiscation and Judaization.

For example, in 1945, the village of Umm al-Fahm had 5,000 inhabitants, while they now number 20,000. And in 1945, Umm al-Fahm owned more than 68,000 dunums of land but now owns less than 6,000. In 1948, my village, al-Tayyiba, had 4,000 inhabitants. It now has about 18,000. In 1948 it owned about 30,000 dunums, and now only 7,000. I myself had my land confiscated although I did not leave the country. Just think — the Arabs who live in Israel, as citizens of the country, have had the greater part of their land confiscated in the last thirty years — not to mention the lands of the refugees, of course. I am not talking about the West Bank and Gaza, but about the people who are considered citizens of Israel.

If this vast amount of land is confiscated, the peasant class is bound to disappear. The ordinary peasant can no longer live on the revenue from what land is left to him, and if he is left with a few dunums, he works on them part of the time and works as a worker elsewhere the rest of the time. Thus he is no

longer a peasant, but he has not become a worker either.

Although the peasant class has been destroyed, the peasants have not become industrial workers. Only 20 percent work in industry — not necessarily as skilled workers, but performing carrying, cleaning and varying services. They thus do not constitute a worker class in the true sense of the word.

The feudal landowners, who used to own large areas of land, have also vanished because their land has been confiscated. Even those who still retain some land can no longer be called feudal because they no longer own sufficient land.

As for the bourgeoisie, there never really existed a class in the true sense of the word inside the Green Line. Most of the merchants are shopkeepers, who account for 90 percent of this "class," while the remaining 10 percent are artisans, who are too small to constitute a bourgeois class.



*The Israeli state's refusal to allocate land for Arab housing has forced thousands to build illegally, as this house in Nazareth.*

As for engineers and doctors, the number of doctors is very low. Architects are very badly treated; building permits are very few or non-existent, and it is difficult for architects to find work. The professional people who do find work are the teachers and civil servants.

Israel knows that she cannot deport all the Palestinians from their land. Therefore what interests and concerns her is the size of the population — to ensure that there should not be a large number of Palestinians

remaining in the land. She therefore puts great pressure on them to make them leave. The small numbers she allows to stay are useful to her, as she needs cheap labour. Now, Israel has a plan to bring in Egyptian labourers in the future, which is both economically advantageous to her and does not represent a threat to her security in the form of the planting of bombs or explosives. It also deprives the Palestinian workers of their livelihood, so that they are obliged to leave the country, while the world will assume that they have left of their own free will and not under pressure.

This is a very important point. If a householder and his family in the West Bank are hungry, who has the right to say to them, You should hold out and not leave?

This also applies to intellectuals and educated people of whom there are many in the West Bank. If they are unable to find work or employment, and are obliged to emigrate to Kuwait or the Emirates, who has the right to say to them, you should hold out and not leave?

There is no plan to prevent emigration, such as the establishment of cooperative, consumer and production associations as a way of encouraging the workers to stay where they are and preventing them from emigrating. That is the only way to prevent emigration. As the proverb says: "God helps him who helps himself."

Racial discrimination against Arabs is to be found in all fields in Israel. For example, there is not a single Israeli settlement without a nursery school (pre-elementary education). But Arab kindergartens — when they exist at all — lack ventilation, heating, playgrounds or gardens, and at times even water. Sometimes an Arab primary school will be spread all round the village, because there is no building for it — it consists of one rented room here, and another there. There is a lack of audio-visual teaching aids and many subjects cannot be taught. I estimate that 50 percent of teachers are unqualified because there are hardly any Arab training colleges.

If you are an Arab making a journey you will be subjected to all kinds of humiliation. At their airports and frontier posts, you are immediately set apart and made to stand aside, while other people are allowed to complete their arrival or departure formalities. Then they take you and submit you to all sorts of provocation — search, and other kinds of humiliating treatment. In buses, a policeman asks for identity cards, and if he learns you are an Arab, he treats you differently and may make you get out if he does not like your looks.





*School in Nazareth – more than half the town's classrooms are unsuitable due to insufficient funding.*

Another example: according to the law, Arabic is an official language in Israel. That means that if I write an official petition I should be able to write it in Arabic and receive the reply to it in Arabic. But, in fact, things are different. If I want to consult a ministry, I must write what I want in Hebrew only, and the reply I receive will also be in Hebrew. And when I go to government offices I must understand Hebrew and speak it too. This is an indication of the other face of the democratic character of Israel.

The most common manifestation of Israeli treatment of the Arabs is the confiscation of land. The land is confiscated on the pretext of action in the "common interest," but the common interest always works against the Arabs and in favour of the Jews. The Arabs lose their land on the pretext of the common interest, but they derive no benefit at all from this common interest because according to the Israeli definition, it means Jewish interests.

For instance, there is the case of the Carmiel area that was established in the Galilee district after the confiscation of thousands of dunums of Arab property on the pretext of developing the Galilee district and turning it into an industrial area. When a member of the al-Asad family, a native of the district, applied to build a factory in the area, his application was refused.

The military regulations gave powers to the Military Governor of an area to confiscate land under the pretext that it was needed for security reasons. This resulted in the loss of a lot of land. In one case the Military Governor of the Triangle District went out and started going around the land. He then ordered a furrow to be ploughed in the land and gave orders for the confiscation of all land lying to the west of this furrow, while the land lying to the east of it was not confiscated. This meant that tens of thousands of dunums of land lying to the west of the furrows was confiscated.

There is a very large area of some thousands of dunums, which was later called "Area No. 9." This area was confiscated at the end of the fifties, the authority for the confiscation being no more than a scrap of paper signed by a police officer, a copy of which was sent to Sakhnin and Arraba, and it still exists. On it was written an order to the effect that the land within such and such limits was confiscated and was henceforth to be called Area No. 9.

The Arab is still regarded as an alien in his own land. I recall a statement by Sharon in an interview with *Maariv* in 1977, at that time when he was Minister of Agriculture and responsible for state lands. In the interview, he said: "At a time when Israel is talking of Judaizing Galilee, aliens are still in possession of thousands of dunums of state land." Just think. He calls us aliens after we have coexisted with them for thirty years, a whole generation, and legally we are his fellow-citizens. And the land we inherited from our fathers and grandfathers he says is occupied by us and he wants to liberate it from us! We have owned the land for thousands of years, and we are called "occupiers".

The educational system spreads chauvinism among the Israelis. Take, for example, the subject of history as taught in Jewish secondary schools. Almost 40 percent is devoted to teaching the history of the Jews in Palestine, and about 60 percent to general history, with hardly any reference to the history of the Arabs and no mention at all of the history of the Arabs in Palestine. Thus the rising Israeli generation will never allow the formation of a government in Israel that is prepared to accept any Palestinian in the land of Palestine, and it absolutely refuses to recognize that the Palestinians have a right to even a small part of the land.

There is a similar bias in history as it is taught in the Arab schools in Israel: 60

percent is general history, 21 percent is the history of the Jews in Palestine and 19 percent the history of the Arabs, with absolutely no mention of their history in Palestine. Thus, the Arab pupil studies more Jewish than Arab history. The Arab pupil is also obliged to study selections from the Torah in which are to be found the seeds of the Zionist idea.

In geography, no territory or area in Israel is called by its Arabic name, nor are the mountains, plains, rivers, towns or villages. The Arab pupil learns about his country through Hebrew names. Then there is the hysteria of wars, aggression, victories and military arrogance. All these factors lead the Israeli to treat the Arab with scorn and contempt, in a manner calculated to humiliate him.

As for anti-Semitism, I repeat that we have no feelings of that kind. We do not hate the Jews, we do not bear them a grudge or resent them. We hate Zionism, we resent Zionism and we fight against Zionism. The proof that this is our attitude is provided by the fact that we in Israel cooperate with numerous anti-Zionist Jewish elements, and this cooperation is strong, fruitful and important. We cooperate on behalf of human rights and the rights and freedom of the citizen. Our resentment is not directed against the Jews but against Zionism itself, and we believe that the Jews are its second lot of victims, the first lot being the Palestinian people.

How can the Jews be the victims of Zionism? My answer is: Did not Hitler occupy Europe and nearly dominate the world? But did this prevent Hitler and his philosophy leading to the ruin of Germany?

There are some people in Israel who understand this, but they are still few because the objective circumstances through which Israel has passed since the establishment of the state have not encouraged the rise of liberal and radical movements in the country. On the contrary, they have encouraged and fostered chauvinism and racism. There are anti-Zionist elements in Israel, but they are still weak.

When will it be possible for anti-Zionist ideas to spread, grow and multiply among the Jews of Israel? The answer is: When the Arab world succeeds in constituting an insuperable force in the face of the ambitions of Zionism, and the atmosphere is created for the emergence of objective conditions that assist the spread and increase of anti-Zionist ideas. For today, circumstances assist the spread of Zionism and encourage it rather than weaken it.

---

# GOLAN HEIGHTS GENERAL STRIKE

---

The Syrian Arab masses of the Israeli-annexed Golan Heights are providing the world with an example of determined resistance and struggle. Their general strike, declared on February 14th to protest the Zionist annexation decision, has continued now for one month, and shows no sign of abating as we go to press.

News from the Golan is sparse, as the area is under virtual siege and closed to all but Israeli military reporters. However, the news that has leaked out over the past month shows a steady increase in the Golan residents' determination to continue their protest, in direct confrontation with the Zionist authorities' avowed aim to crush the strike by any means possible.

Support of the strike has been virtually total. All schools, shops and institutions have closed, with markets opening a few hours a day so residents can buy ever-dwindling food supplies. Only 30 of the 3000 Druze who work at Israeli settlements or businesses have shown up for work. Families are stockpiling food and water, preparing for a long struggle.

The authorities have attempted to break the strike in numerous ways already. The first week schools were forcibly opened each day, but as neither students nor teachers attended that method was abandoned. Teachers' salaries have been cut. Village councils are threatened with severe future reprisals, and 11 well-known traditional leaders have been arrested.

The main Zionist tactic is an overwhelming show of military strength. The Golan Heights is surrounded by troops, and the four major towns are under siege, cut off from each other and all outside communication. Even telephone lines have been cut. Roadblocks are everywhere and permits are needed to leave the immediate area of one's house. This travel ban is severely affecting the local shepherds, who cannot tend their flocks without facing arrest. The water supply has been cut and food supplies are becoming dangerously low. Also critical is the lack of access to doctors and needed medical supplies.

The basic issue in the strike is the demand to rescind the annexation. The people have officially asked to be treated as residents of an occupied territory and dealt with ac-

ording to the Geneva Convention. This demand was presented to the Military Governor of the northern region during a meeting in February. His response was that he had not come to negotiate but to reaffirm the annexation decision and to inform Golan residents of the anger of the Zionist settlers in the area. This veiled threat has the immediate aim of breaking the strike, but also hints at the long-term goal of totally depopulating the Golan Heights through terror and intimidation. This was seen more clearly in Israeli Communication Minister Zipori's statement that the only alternative for Druze who reject Israeli citizenship is to go to Syria, adding that the authorities would "give every assistance in this regard."

The issue of Israeli identity cards has become central to the strike, as the Zionists view acceptance of the cards as acceptance of the annexation. The people of the Golan had resisted the ID cards in the past, so the authorities have escalated their campaign this time. They are refusing to register the birth of children whose parents don't hold ID cards. Farmers without cards are forbidden to enter their own orchards. Eighty Arab workers were dismissed from the Solel Boneh Construction Company for not accepting the cards. Then, on March 11th, the Zionists announced that as of April 1st, all Golan residents *must* have ID cards, and that past cards are invalid. A senior Israeli official said: "It is no longer a question of asking them to take the cards: we are ordering them to do so." It is unclear

*Two Syrian children in front of their school, closed for the strike.*



what steps will be taken on April 1st, but given Zipori's statement, mass expulsion cannot be excluded.

The Golan Heights residents' assertion of their Syrian Arab identity and rejection of the annexation has met with a great outpouring of support and solidarity from the Palestinians under occupation, in both the 1948 and 1967 occupied lands. A Jewish-Arab solidarity committee was formed in Haifa to provide medical and legal aid, while the Union of Charitable Associations in Jerusalem has been coordinating efforts to collect donations of milk, food and medicine. The authorities have reacted harshly to these attempts; medical and food donations have been confiscated before reaching the Golan Heights. The Palestinians who have been most active in organizing these campaigns have been placed under house arrest. However, solidarity demonstrations continue to be held and leading patriotic figures and institutions have issued communiques supporting the strike. Local Druze councils in the Galilee have also publicly announced their solidarity with the Golan Druze.

We in the PFLP, together with patriotic and progressive forces everywhere, support and salute the heroic example of the people of the Golan Heights. They are using the classic weapon of an unarmed people — the general strike — against Zionism's attack on their national identity, land and existence. The issues and choices are clear to the masses. On the one day last week that the authorities allowed journalists to enter the besieged Golan Heights, a tailor from Majdel Shams was asked about the Israeli campaign to impose ID cards. His answer reflects the motivation that has made the general strike so successful: "Our people will refuse that: We are Syrians and we want to remain that way."

# ZIONIST ATTACK EXPECTED IN LEBANON

Interview with PFLP Politbureau member Abu Ahmed Fuad

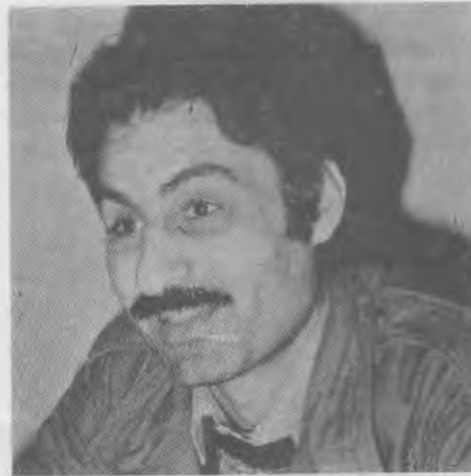
**Israeli military threats are increasing, and recently there was news about a postponed Israeli invasion. How do you evaluate these threats, and what would be the aims of an Israeli offensive?**

For some time the enemy's leaders have been making statements about the dangers of the presence of the Resistance in Lebanon. Eitan, Begin and Sharon have stated more than once that this presence must be done away with. During the last period, the pace of these announcements has increased. Sharon has stressed the fact that what happened during the July war will not be repeated in any coming battle; moreover, the type of operations launched against the Palestinian Revolution will differ from those in the past. Begin also stresses that the presence of the Palestinian Revolution's forces constitutes a danger to the Zionist entity. It is also important to note that the aim of the recent visits of the enemy's leaders to the USA, starting with Sharon and Shamir and ending with the head of military intelligence, was to inform the Reagan Administration of the military offensive to be launched against the Palestinians, in addition to dealing Syria a blow in Lebanon. It is our estimation that the Reagan Administration has given its approval to the Israeli plan to strike the Palestinian Revolution in South Lebanon.

We believe that the main aims of the Zionist offensive against the South are:

- 1) To create a new reality, especially after the annexation of the Golan Heights, in an attempt to divert the attention of international public opinion to a new situation, thus to a certain extent relieving the enemy from the severe criticisms of international institutions with regard to the Golan.
- 2) To confirm the fact that 'Israel' has a hand in determining the internal affairs of Lebanon, especially with the coming presidential elections.
- 3) To pressure Syria into decreasing its forces in Lebanon, if not altogether removing them.
- 4) To destroy the infrastructure of the Palestinian Revolution's forces and to deal the leadership a blow in various parts of Lebanon.
- 5) To internationalize the Lebanese crisis and to increase the area in which the international (UNIFIL) forces are deployed, so they

The threat of a new wave of intense Israeli military aggression is over Lebanon, buttressed by repeated public threats from Zionist leaders. In the light of this situation, the PFLP's magazine *Al Hadaf* interviewed Comrade Abu Ahmed Fuad, Politbureau member and military responsible for the PFLP.



act as a deterrent rather than peacekeeping force which was their task when they first came to Lebanon.

6) To strengthen the influence of the (fascist) Lebanese Front and give it a role to play in the execution of the imperialist plans for Lebanon.

7) Finally, to actively participate in the founding of a fascist regime over all of Lebanon.

We believe that an Israeli offensive against the Revolution's forces in Lebanon will probably take place before April. However, it's not the setting of the date which is important, but the fact that an Israeli military attack will occur during this period in light of the political situation in the region. We note particularly the Arab regimes' unwillingness to make any move to confront the Zionist enemy, occupying themselves with minor battles or differences...

**To what extent has the Resistance prepared itself for the coming offensive?**

The Higher Military Council of the Palestinian Revolution's forces has convened several meetings in which all possibilities of the coming battle were discussed. A plan has been prepared by which the greatest losses

will be inflicted on the ranks of the enemy, as well as preventing them from attaining their aims.

There is no doubt that there is development of the means of the Revolution on all levels – arms, men and military skills. Therefore we estimate that in any coming battle we will be in a better position and register better results than in the July war. In this respect we are optimistic and the morale of our fighters is high. Preparations at a higher level are also being made. The coming battle with the enemy will be no picnic for them – they will pay a high price.

**The Palestinian Revolution suffers from a fault in regard to the level of coordination between the various organizations. Does the Military Council's plan resolve this problem?**

With regard to this situation, the Council intends that the next battle will be fought under a united plan, with united forces under a united command. The PFLP believes that this is a necessity. It is high time we faced the enemy as a united force; we consider that the Military Council should be the actual leader of the Palestinian Revolution's forces. On this occasion we take the opportunity to say that we in the PFLP will exert every effort to help realize this, i.e., that the Higher Military Council and all its extensions be the actual leader of the battle. In spite of the fact that this council has not achieved a comprehensive program, our ambition is that in the near future it will be able to carry out its tasks.

**Do you think that the postponement of the Israeli military offensive was mainly due to political or military reasons?**

Begin recently stated that any battle in this period would cause the Zionists heavy losses. However, we cannot say that the reasons were purely military, because we know that with the enemy's highly advanced military technology and weapons they will be able to launch a widespread offensive. We believe that there are political reasons having to do with administrating the conflict in the region in accord with US plans. Moreover, during this period a widespread offensive would be very unfavorable, especially if Syria became involved. I don't think that the

postponement will last too long; we will probably have to face this battle within the next months.

After the July war, questions were raised by military experts on the danger of the Palestinian Revolution being dragged into a classical warfare situation with the Israeli army. What is your comment on the questions raised, especially in light of the fact that small fighting groups played a limited role during the battle last July?

In reality, any revolution must work along two lines. The first is to rely on guerrilla warfare taking place behind the ranks of the enemy within the occupied territories. We in the PFLP exert great efforts to build our forces within the occupied territories, and we believe these forces should have the lion's share of our efforts. The second line is the necessity of organized forces, in the revolutionary sense, armed with heavy artillery as support to enable them to confront a widespread offensive. This is the method used by any revolution when a rearguard base is unavailable. It has been our experience that none of the Arab armies can act as a supporting force for the Palestinian Revolution and protect its bases. Thus in Lebanon we carry a great responsibility, especially the protection of the masses and our rear bases, as well as storage and military supplies. Thus it is required of us to develop our weapons and the organization of our forces in order to be able to confront our enemy, whose military potential is great.

You mentioned that the enemy leadership announced that the July war will not be repeated. In your estimation, what kind of offensive will the enemy launch, especially with respect to the "accordion plan" (a squeeze maneuver) referred to by the Palestinian Revolution?

In our estimation, the July war taught the Zionist enemy many lessons, the most outstanding of which are:

— the time span of the battle should be short

— at the same time, the arms of the Resistance should not be allowed to reach the settlements in northern Palestine

In addition, we have the enemy's admission that for the first time they felt the Palestinians had mastered heavy artillery and dealt them a painful blow, so that they must find a way of putting an end to our military actions.

We think that the coming battle will be different in that it will not be a minor clash or reciprocal bombings. We imagine it will be

an invasion of various parts of Lebanon, aimed at military bases, leaders and civilian sites. Moreover, we expect that the enemy will strike by land, sea and air in order not to give the Resistance a chance to strike back. We took all these possibilities into consideration and based our military plans accordingly.

You mentioned that the Palestinian Revolution is making great efforts to increase military effectiveness, especially in the occupied territories. Clearly there are obstacles which prevent a greater effectiveness with regard to military operations. How would you evaluate these obstacles and what is the Revolution doing to overcome them?

The borders of Palestine, especially the Jordanian and Lebanese borders, pose many problems in our attempts to carry out an operation against the enemy. The Jordanian army has seen to it that we paid dearly for



*The Joint Forces are prepared for any coming aggression.*

these attempts. The Jordanian regime is a security belt for Zionism. Although we are able to carry out a military operation every once and a while across the Jordanian borders, many of our fighters have been caught and arrested, while others have been shot at, wounded or martyred. Thus the Jordanian front, under the present regime, constitutes an obstacle to our military effectiveness against the enemy.

In Lebanon, the presence of the UNIFIL obstructs our forces. It is as if these forces take upon themselves as their main task to push back the Revolution's forces and prevent us from entering the occupied territories. Many clashes have taken place, and we have suffered many losses from the UNIFIL when we attempt military attacks against the Zionist enemy.

With regard to groups within the occupied territories, there is truly a positive

development from the military and political point of view. However, it is not at the level aspired to by the PFLP or the Palestinian Revolution. The efforts of all the Palestinian Revolution's organizations points to the fact that development is possible and our military effectiveness can be increased in the coming period. The most recent outstanding action is the execution of the two traitors, Al Khatib and his son, who represented a main cornerstone of the enemy's plans, the village leagues...

You were one of the delegates of the Military Council which met with Lebanese Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan. What was the result of the meeting, especially in light of the Lebanese regime's plan to station two brigades from the Lebanese army in Sour and Nabatiyeh?

There is such a plan proposed by Ghassan Tuani (Lebanese ambassador to the UN) to the UN Security Council. This plan consists of a number of articles, the most important of which are increasing the number of the UNIFIL forces and positioning the Lebanese army in the South. In regard to the UNIFIL increase, we do not see that the Palestinian Revolution has anything to gain from this. Through our experience we have come to the conclusion that UNIFIL is a security belt set up to benefit the Zionists. Another question is that these forces should only be present on the borders between Lebanon and Palestine, but they are actually found in Sour, Nabatiyeh and other places far from the borders. Moreover, UNIFIL never takes any action against Saad Haddad or the Zionists, who daily carry out attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese masses in the South. From this perspective we do not agree to the increase in the UNIFIL troops or to their presence in our areas, because these forces execute programs and plans not at all to our benefit.

Regarding the Lebanese army, we consider that the stand of the LPM is the basis for this matter. The LPM sees this army as a tool in the hands of the reactionary regime; thus it is impossible to consider it a patriotic army. In addition, the army has not been equipped and trained in a manner to enable it to confront the Zionist enemy, but instead to fight the Lebanese patriotic forces and the Palestinian Resistance, thus helping the reactionary authority to tighten its grip over all of Lebanon. It is well known that there are still about 1000 Lebanese army soldiers working under Saad Haddad, but still considered Lebanese army members, on the payroll, with the approval of the regime. We will never have confidence in this army, or ever

# MARTYRS DAY



*Martyr Issam  
Mohammad al Haj.*

believe it will take a stand benefiting the LPM or the Palestinian Resistance. We refuse the entry of any Lebanese soldier unless the LPM's view is heeded in regard to the reconstruction of the army and the assignment of its leaders.

The Lebanese authorities presented a working paper having to do with Arab strategy in the South. What stand has the Palestinian Revolution taken towards this paper?

A committee of Arab strategy has been formed. This committee meets under the heading "how to face matters in Lebanon", and as the newspapers reported, there was an open paper from the Lebanese authorities. In short, the paper noted that seven battalions are present in the South, 4 of which are Lebanese and 3 are Arab (the ADF), supported by the Arab countries. In reality, the Lebanese authorities do not want to confront the Zionist enemy; rather, they want a unanimous Arab coordination to help enforce the Lebanese regime's authority over all of Lebanon. We do not consider this a military matter, but a political one. Arab reaction wishes to put an end to the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon. Because they cannot gather together their armies to aim a direct blow, they use indirect methods. If their plans succeed, they will cut the effectiveness of the Palestinian Revolution.

One point in the above-mentioned plans of Arab reaction is to place the forces of the Revolution with the forces of the regime, under the leadership of Lebanese army officers who are tied to the Phalangists, the Zionists and ultimately to imperialism. Such a plan could never be to our benefit, since the energies of these forces are directed to preventing us from acting against the Zionist enemy. Thus it is natural that the parties that support this plan are Saudi Arabia, Jordan and all other Arab reactionary regimes. We can say that these regimes want to repeat what happened in 1947-48, when 7 Arab armies entered Palestine to put an end to the rebellion of our masses... However, the enemy will not be able to put an end to the Revolution.

The Jordan experience (Black September, 1970) is still very much alive. The thing that brought an end to our presence in Jordan was the Arab states and their intermediary committees. However, the Jordanian regime was unable to completely obliterate the Palestinian Revolution's forces.

In the final analysis, all enemy plans boil down to one point: the complete eradication of the Revolution and stopping the threat to Zionism.

Every March 9th, we remember those who have fallen in the course of Palestinian and Arab struggle. On Martyrs Day our thoughts turn to the memory of Ghassan Kanafani, Guevara Gaza, Abu Amal, Majed Abu Sharrar, Samir al Asmar and the endless train of those who have given their lives for what they believed in: the cause of liberation, the cause of the masses.

We remember those who died on the battlefield, those who were singled out for assassination due to their leadership abilities, and those who were martyred in the jails of the enemy. Some were killed by the Zionists, others by the reactionary Jordanian regime, still others by the fascists in Lebanon, and many by sophisticated imperialist weaponry. Their martyrdom points clearly to the fact that between these enemies, there is no difference. Thus, their example reminds us how important it is to clearly determine the enemy camp and struggle to strike it relentlessly, without compromises or deviations, until the goals of the revolution are achieved.

## Comrade Issam Mohammad al Haj

This year of intensified imperialist-Zionist-fascist aggression has brought many more martyrs. Here we wish to pay special tribute to Comrade Issam Mohammad al Haj (Noah Jamil al Haj), who was martyred while carrying out his duties of protecting our masses in Ain al Hilweh camp, near Saida.

On Saturday, February 13th, a car loaded with explosives was discovered in Ain al

Hilweh. Four experts from the revolution's joint security forces tried to dismantle the bomb. They succeeded in undoing the greatest part, but the remaining 40 kilograms of TNT exploded before they were able to complete their task. The four experts were killed, including our comrade Issam, and 20 people were injured.

Comrade Issam joined the PFLP in 1973. He completed a series of military training courses and served in the military sectors in South Lebanon for six years, where he took part in confronting the Zionist enemy in the 1978 invasion and the 1981 July war. During the recent period, he was the PFLP's military responsible in Ain al Hilweh camp.

This past year he was specially commended by the Palestinian Liberation Army leadership for his positive and prominent role in the training sessions during the general mobilization. The PFLP leadership in Saida also commended him for his active role on the occasion of the Front's 14th anniversary.

Comrade Issam is Lebanese. He was born in Aramtah near Jezz in 1954. He is from a family of seven and leaves behind a baby daughter. As well as being a strong fighter, Comrade Issam was known for being a sensitive human being, full of love for the masses and the revolution. He stands as a symbol of Palestinian-Lebanese unity in the common struggle against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemy. On this occasion we renew our pledge to Comrade Issam and all the martyrs of the revolution to remain on the path of struggle until total liberation.

# MASS RALLY IN SOUR

The PFLP designates March 9th as the day for commemoration of martyrs, in accordance with the date in 1973, when Comrade Mohammad Mahmoud al Aswad (Guevara) was killed by Zionist troops while leading the PFLP's military struggle in the Gaza Strip.

This year the PFLP organized a mass rally in Sour to mark Martyrs Day. The choice of this southern port city was deliberate, as the Front wished in this way to pay special tribute to the people of South Lebanon, who have sacrificed so much in the struggle against Zionist and fascist aggression. Those who spoke at the rally represented a cross section of the forces who are vital in maintaining united Palestinian-Lebanese steadfastness in the face of the enemy. The first speaker was the Catholic Patriarch, George Haddad, one of the many Christian Lebanese whose patriotism defies Saad Haddad's claim to be defending Christians. The city of Sour bears tangible proof of the falsity of this claim, as evidenced by the great damage inflicted on Christian churches and living quarters by the fascist militia's artillery.

The second speaker was Abu Ali Masoud, a member of the Joint Forces leadership, who spoke on behalf of the Palestinian Resistance. Mr. Hassan Farran represented the Fishermens Union in Sour. Comrade Tahan Bu Salmaan, responsible for the Lebanese Communist Party in Sour and member of the Joint Forces leadership, spoke in the name of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement. The rally concluded with the speech of Comrade Abu Maher al Yamani, member of PFLP's Politbureau and of the PLO Executive Committee.

## Patriarch George Haddad

The patriarch began by greeting the many Palestinians and Lebanese who had gathered for the rally. He pointed out that this day can be considered a day of love and a day of national unity. He read verses signifying the victory of life over death, saying that the martyrs are those who would not bow before the monuments of sectarian chaos that have been created in the South. He emphasized the positive role of national unity, based on the shared experience of steadfastness and struggle over the past years. He also pointed out that the enemy's aggression has not distinguished between

churches and mosques, and that hundreds of sacrifices have been made for the cause of national unity. The patriarch concluded by saying, "Let our admiration and love for all martyrs continue, and let our love for Lebanon be equal to our love for God, so that we may give the sacrifices needed to achieve our honorable objectives. In this way, the generous sacrifices made by our martyrs become the catalyst for all our national struggles."

## Palestinian Resistance

Abu Ali Masoud emphasized national unity: "We will not be able to confront the enemy without strengthening our ranks and reinforcing national unity — between Christians and Moslems, between Shia and Sunni, between Palestinians and Lebanese of all faiths, here and throughout the Arab world. Chaos will not prevail in South Lebanon; security disturbances will not reoccur, no matter the extent of the conspiracy."

He attacked imperialist policy in the Arab region, holding it responsible for producing disturbances and noting that explosions have accompanied every visit of US envoy Philip Habib to the area, with the aim of inducing pressure to insure implementation of the imperialist plans. In conclusion, Abu Ali Masoud said, "We in the Palestinian Revolution reject all schemes aimed against the Palestinians and Lebanese. We consider it our right to be in Lebanon; our presence has been recognized in the agreements made with the Lebanese authorities and is based on our right to struggle from all Arab fronts. We state that the propaganda for settlement is nothing other than deception, aiming to liquidate the Palestinian gun and revolution."

## Fishermens Union

Mr. Hassan Farran saluted the PFLP and stressed the importance of strengthening Palestinian-Lebanese unity. He also spoke of the necessity of eliminating any gaps in security and stopping any infringements against the masses. He demanded that judgement be passed against all delinquent elements.

## Lebanese Patriotic Movement

Comrade Tahan Bu Salmaan spoke as follows: "When we celebrate the Martyrs Day of the PFLP, we also find the opportunity to commemorate the martyrs of the

Lebanese Patriotic Movement along with those of the Palestinian Revolution, because together they embody the principle of cooperation and real unity between the Palestinian and Lebanese people."

Comrade Bu Salmaan hailed the steadfast heroes of the Joint Forces and touched on the new developments facing Lebanon and the Arab region in view of Philip Habib's visit, which is part of the effort to execute the US-Zionist-reactionary plan in the Lebanese arena. "The imperialist scheme sees the armed presence of the Palestinians in Lebanon as being the obstacle. Therefore, the US wants the sectarian (Lebanese) army to enter South Lebanon to replace the Joint Forces and to increase the area of UNIFIL, in order to pressure Palestinian and patriotic Lebanese presence... In short, this means accomplishing the Israeli objectives, politically and diplomatically."

"Prior to and during Habib's visit, we announced that we reject the entry of the isolationist-sectarian army into the South, because this army is controlled by a political decision antagonistic to the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and Palestinian Resistance. If it came to fight Israel, we would be the first to welcome it."

"The Joint Forces will not be moved from one inch of South Lebanon's land because our presence is the only guarantee for confronting the Zionist enemy that is greedy for our land."

Comrade Bu Salmaan also referred to the security disturbances, terming them the second phase of the imperialist plan, whereby the Phalangists want the balance of forces to be in their favor with the approach of the presidential elections. He concluded by saying, "We are faced with the necessity of advancing to a level of organization and action that will insure that our decisions become tasks, responsibly implemented: Let us work in this way, together with the Amal movement, in carrying out the joint security plan."

## Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

Comrade Abu Maher began by saying "Martyrs are eternal in the struggle. Commemorating them fuels the torch of struggle burning inside us which lights our path to fulfill the goal for which they died and to continue the revolutionary struggle on the same path without being diverted." H

enumerated the martyrs of our people's struggle since the time of the British Mandate in Palestine and said: "We will not live in the past, but when we look back it is to strengthen the continuity between all stages of our people's struggle, and to renew the vow to all who died for the sake of liberating the land and the human being that we will follow their path. They will lead us until we liberate all of our Palestinian homeland and establish a progressive, democratic state that guarantees equal rights and duties to all its citizens, regardless of race, sex or creed."

Comrade Abu Maher praised the struggle of our people inside the occupied territories and outside: "Our people are willing to offer all kinds of sacrifices in order to foil all conspiracies and thwart all capitulationist plans." He greeted our people in the occu-



*Comrade Abu Maher with Joint Forces leaders from the South.*

ped homeland who are resisting the occupation and remain steadfast on the land, despite Zionist terror and repression.

Comrade Abu Maher saluted the Joint Forces of the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement that are confronting the enemy attacks. He addressed the people of the South: "Thousands of greetings to you. You supported us in our struggle in the early twenties, and now, in the beginning of the eighties, you remain a help to us in all our struggles. Your South continues to be the base of our operations, and we will not forget your sharing in our struggle. We greet you, and we ask forgiveness for any harm we have unintentionally caused you and for all the mistakes we have made. We promise you to be very

strict in judging anyone who tries to harm you, for by doing so, he is also harming us and our cause....

"I call upon all brothers and friends in the Patriotic Movement and in the Amal movement, and on all patriotic forces: Based on a position of responsibility, we must work together in one front, with one hand, to confront the enemies."

Comrade Abu Maher reviewed fully the conspiracies planned against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, as well as against all patriotic and progressive forces. He defined the goals of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary attack as follows: securing imperialist dominance in our area in order to continue plundering our resources and exploiting the labor power of our masses; strengthening the Zionist entity

as an expansionist, aggressive base that protects imperialist interests; protecting the reactionary regimes whose interests coincide with international imperialism and who will fight the Arab national liberation movement and all forces of peace, progress and socialism, with the Soviet Union at the forefront.

"Being aware of the extent of the enemy goals, it is our duty to confront them, determine to foil them and achieve victory over them. To do this we in the Palestinian Revolution must show concern for our subjective (internal) conditions and strengthen our relations in a united national front, enhancing the popular uprising in the occupied territories. We must strengthen our relations with the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, enhance our relations with Syria, and

consolidate the struggle alliance between Syria, the LPM and the Resistance. We must exert all efforts to transform the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front into an active front and push forward all the forces of the Arab national liberation movement. We must fight all attempts to restore relations with Mubarak's regime, which is following the path of the previous traitor, Sadat. At the same time, we welcome a nationalist Egypt. We must wage a determined struggle to isolate the reactionary regimes and continue calling for an end to the Iran-Iraq war. We must also enhance our strategic alliance with the revolutionary forces internationally, with the Soviet Union in the forefront, and we must struggle to move from the defensive into an offensive position.

"The US government must realize that despite the positions adopted by the rulers, the Arab people will not remain passive in the face of US aggression. The US government must realize that its interests and institutions have become enemy targets. It is the responsibility of the mass movement to plan and prepare for the destruction of US interests in our area, especially after the announcement of the strategic military alliance between the US and the Zionist enemy."

Comrade Abu Maher reminded the people of the mass movement in the fifties and sixties, when the Arab world was throbbing with demonstrations against imperialism. "We should return to our masses and revive their activities, for the mass movement is like a current that sweeps away all that stands in its path. We live in the age of mass victories internationally, in Latin America, in Southeast Asia and in Africa. Our Arab region is part of this world. Thus, in spite of the divisions it faces and in spite of all the obstacles it confronts, the Arab national movement must rise to its role of leading the masses to achieve victory over their enemies."

In conclusion, Comrade Abu Maher greeted the Palestinian and Lebanese women in steadfast southern Lebanon on the occasion of International Womens Day. He greeted all struggling women in the Arab world and internationally.

After the rally, Comrade Abu Maher visited the Sour headquarters of the Arab Socialist Action Party, the Fishermens Union and the Workers Union of Sour and the South. He also visited Patriarch Haddad and the families of martyrs. These visits gave the opportunity to discuss various subjects and problems.



Popular militia march in Allay.

On March 14, a mass rally was held commemorating the fifth anniversary of the martyrdom of Kamal Jumblatt, founder of the Progressive Socialist Party and leader of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement until his death.

Approximately 90,000 men, women, youth, fighters and religious leaders from the various cities and villages in Lebanon attended. The town of Allay was packed with supporters who were expressing their sincere commitment to the patriotic struggle. Also present at the rally were Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan, leaders of the LPM, the Amal movement and the PLO, in addition to representatives of foreign and Arab embassies.

Walid Jumblatt, son of the martyr Kamal Jumblatt, and the present head of the Progressive Socialist Party and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, was the main speaker. He said, "History will not be halted because of difficulties, reactionaries or opportunists... We will continue our fight, and address world public opinion from the position of an independent patriotic Lebanon... The only solution for the Lebanese question is to reach a political settlement based upon a new regime that is progressive, democratic and Arab, in addition to the severance of all relations with Israel, and changing any proposals which aim to divide Lebanon on a sectarian basis... Within the context of an independent patriotic Lebanon, the only solution for the Palestinian cause is that the

## MARCH IN ALLAY

PLO, headed by Yasser Arafat, be recognized as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Comrade Mohsen Ibrahim addressed the rally on behalf of the LPM. He said, "Once again on this occasion we commemorate the martyrdom of the leader Kamal Jumblatt... We in the LPM are the students of Kamal Jumblatt. He raised the banner of unity and nationalism, and was genuine in raising this banner. Kamal Jumblatt said that our unity must be democratic, or there will be no unity... We pledge our commitment to Kamal Jumblatt's program, primarily our commitment to the national scope of our struggle. We declare that we were with the Palestinian revolution and we will remain supporting the Palestinian revolution... I would like to say that our primary ally in Lebanon is the Palestinian revolution... We are in solidarity with the Syrian people and leadership. Therefore we are Arab forces within Lebanon, defending the interests of the Arab nation."

Regarding the conditions for a political solution to end the Lebanese crisis, he said: "The LPM rejects any political formula which aims to liquidate the existence of a

patriotic Lebanon. We reject any formula for exchanging the Palestinian gun for the isolationist gun, or claims that the conflict is between Palestinian and Lebanese, or a Lebanese-Syrian conflict."

Comrade Ibrahim concluded: "During the past five years we have gained much experience. Despite our heavy casualties and the attempted blows, we still remain in our positions. We are proud that the LPM is still raising the banner of struggle, for we are confident of our victory. Throughout the past 13 years, we have gained from the experience of the Palestinian revolution, and we will stand side by side in struggle until the liberation of Palestine."

On behalf of the Palestinian Resistance Movement, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, spoke as follows: "Together we defend the principles of Kamal Jumblatt in the mountains and the South... We declare to Begin and Sharon on behalf of the Joint Forces and the sincere Lebanese masses who support the Palestinian revolution, that Lebanon will be a road to Palestine. The positions of the Palestinian revolution in the Lebanese arena are the decisions of Walid Jumblatt and the LPM."

After the speeches, there was a military march. The march was headed by the youth organization of the PSP, followed by the popular liberation army of Kamal Jumblatt, and contingents representing the LPM and the Joint Security Forces.



## TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

*My friend, I ask you:  
How could your wrinkles  
only show smiles  
when I know  
you have cried so much?*

*How can you smile  
like a soft glowing fire  
when I know  
your anger  
is deep, cold and dark  
as the sea?*

*How can your face  
be so gentle  
when I know  
you were beaten  
more than once?  
And your arm  
be so strong  
with two bullets inside it?*

*How can your voice  
be the rain silently falling  
when I know  
you listen so much  
to the shells, bombs and machine gun barrage,  
killing poor people's right to a life?*

*And how can you still  
joke and laugh  
when I know  
you have closed the eyes  
of more than one dear friend?*

*But lastly I wonder:  
How can you worry that much  
about the neighbor's child crying  
when the dirty camps  
are filled with crying children?  
And the god-awful jails  
of the fascists  
are filled with comrades  
crying silently inside?*

*Although I don't expect an answer,  
I only ask you  
to give me some  
of your strong love  
for the suffering people.  
I only ask you  
to give me some  
of your strength  
to fight more and longer  
for a human life  
for the people.*

*I know that this is much to ask  
But somehow, I think you can...*

*This poem was written by a Danish nurse working in Shatila camp,  
January 1982.*





*One of the many hundreds of Israeli soldiers stationed in the West Bank to*



*Ramallah on strike.*



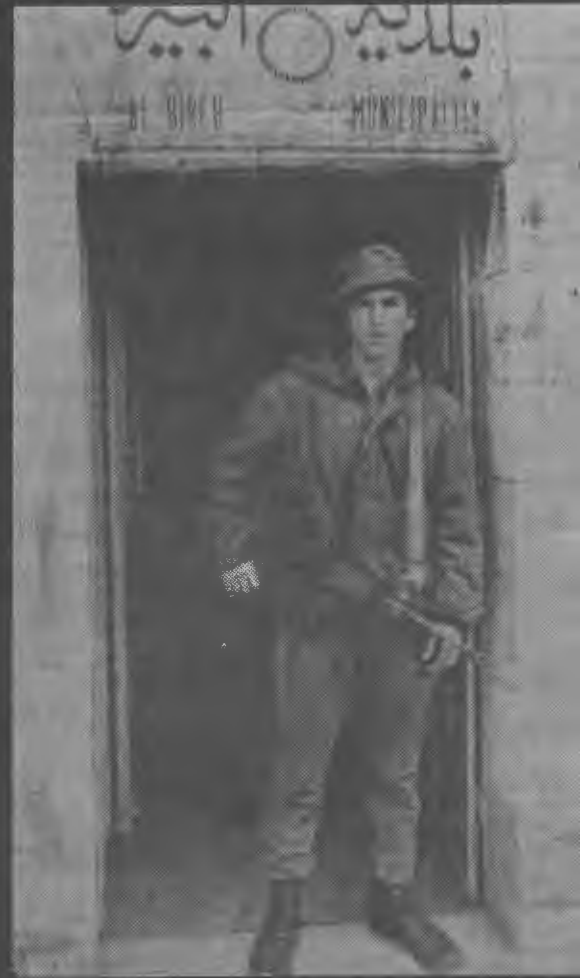
◀ *In Al Bireh, a Zionist soldier breaks the lock on a shop closed for the general strike.*

*Ibrahim Ali Darwish was the first Palestinian martyred during the demonstrations against the dissolution of the Al Bireh council.*





Zionist soldier stands guard at Al-Bireh municipal building after the council was dissolved by the occupation authorities.



in 'order'. In the background, tires burn following the funeral of Ibrahim Ali Darwish.

◀ Nablus: As the uprising escalates, Israeli armed personnel carriers appear in the streets of the town, as well as in Al Bireh and Ramallah.

## WEST BANK MUNICIPALITIES ATTACKED

These pictures are of events after the dissolution of Al-Bireh's municipal council.



Arrests follow demonstration in Ramallah.



Mayor Ibrahim Tawil



# PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The establishment of the Palestinian Communist Party (PCP) was officially announced on February 10, 1982. The PCP was formed by Palestinian cadre who split from the Jordanian Communist Party; included in its ranks is the Palestinian Communist Organization of the West Bank and Lebanon.

The formation of this party is a positive addition to the left wing of the Palestinian movement, especially as it is a potential participant in the formation of a united communist party in the future.

## Early communism in Palestine

The roots of Palestinian communism can be traced back as far as 1919, when the Socialist Workers Party (Mifleget Poalim Sozialistit-MPS) was first established. The leaders of this party were all Jewish, immigrants to Palestine from Eastern Europe who carried socialist ideology with them. The MPS was destroyed as an organization in 1921, following the May Day demonstrations in Jaffa, which aroused Zionist repression and exacerbated tensions between Jews and Arabs. The former members of the MPS who aligned with the Comintern then formed the Palestine Communist Party – Palestinensische Kommunistische Partei- PKP. Their first congress was held in September 1922. Until 1934, the main efforts of the PKP were directed to implementing the Arabization decision of the Comintern, i.e., intensification of party work among Palestinian Arabs in an attempt to organize Arab party members and encourage Arab leadership. Later the PKP became heavily involved in the 1936 revolt. However, under the pressure of British repression and because of the rising tensions between Jewish and Arab members, the organizational structure of the party was badly shaken.

In 1942, the PKP emerged from the underground for the first time, because of the easing of restrictions on communist activity due to the Soviet-British wartime alliance. Nevertheless, Arab-Jewish frictions continued and disunity between the two sides reached its climax during this period. Younger Arab leaders of the PKP, including Emil Habibi, Emil Tuma and Fuad Nassar, seized the opportunity to push for an all-Arab organization. Their efforts resulted in the formation of the National Liberation League (NLL) in 1943 in Haifa. (Sections of the NLL later became the Jordanian Com-



munist Party (JCP) from which the newly declared Palestinian Communist Party has emerged. The PKP, however, continued to exist and developed into the Israeli Communist Party, Rakah.)

The leaders of the NLL came from the Federation of Unions, the League of Arab Intellectuals and Marxist groups. Thus the NLL was not so much a communist party in the true sense as a democratic revolutionary organization lead by communist elements. The main objective bases for the formation of the NLL were:

- On the international level: the escalation of victories scored by the Soviets over the Nazi invaders increased enthusiasm for communism among Palestinians and curbed the distorted rumors spread by Zionism, Arab reaction and the colonial powers (Britain and France) about the Soviet Union.

- On the Arab level: the Arab communist movement witnessed a period of revival which contributed to the spread of communist ideology.

- On the Palestinian level: during World War II, thousands of Arab peasants were drawn to the cities to work in local industries set up by the British occupation forces. From 1939-42, the number of Palestinian workers almost doubled with the majority working in construction. Thus the rise of a Palestinian working class provided the basis for the foundation of the NLL and the beginning of Arab (rather than solely Jewish) communist activity in Palestine.

In addition to the objective factors that contributed to the formation of the NLL, there were two main subjective factors:

- The split in the PKP due to conflicts between the Arabs in the party and Jewish leaders, who sympathized with Zionist policies, and encouraged Arabs to work within Zionist institutions and defended settlements set up through Zionist programs.

- During the same period a number of social and political clubs were established in Palestinian cities. These clubs had close contact with the Arab leaders of the PKP. At the same time, in Haifa, the Federation of Arab Trade Unions and Labor Societies was founded; this was to be transformed into the nucleus of a progressive Arab workers movement. These progressive nuclei played an important role in the formation of the NLL.

The most problematic policies of the NLL from 1943 until the formation of the Zionist entity in 1948 were:

- belief in the right of the Jewish people to nationhood

- not considering armed struggle as a basic line in the Palestinian national struggle (the NLL never took up arms against its enemies)

- considering the conflict between Arabs and Jews as a racial one, and not clarifying the reactionary and settler-colonial role of Zionism

- rejecting the partition plan, but later revising this decision

## The Jordanian Communist Party

Between 1948-51, a period that witnessed concentrated aggression by the Jordanian regime against the Palestinian cause, the NLL struggled heroically against plans for annexing the West Bank to Jordan and for the preservation of the Palestinian identity. However, it revised its position concerning the annexation later on. A few months after King Abdullah of Jordan announced the annexation of the West Bank, the NLL held an emergency meeting (May 1951) and declared the establishment of the Jordanian Communist Party (JCP), composed of the NLL and some Marxist groups. This marked their explicit recognition of the annexation.

From 1951-57, the JCP struggled alongside other national and progressive forces in Jordan against the regime. However, their struggle was limited to reformist and parliamentary forms; in addition, they never put forward the assumption of state power as an aim. The regime took advantage of the wavering policies of the JCP and dealt it a crippling blow – thousands were arrested and massacres of democratic and popular forces were common.

Some positions taken by the JCP that reflect differences with the Palestinian resistance movement include:

- After the 1967 war the party called for a fortification of the interior front and the formation of a national council under the leadership of King Hussein; the JCP later withdrew this proposal.
- The party had its reservations concerning the Palestinian resistance movement, particularly the left-wing organizations in it.
- The JCP did not participate in armed struggle.
- The party supported UN Resolution 242

and considered it an appropriate basis for a lasting peaceful solution for the Middle East.

- The JCP advocates a reformist and pacifist line of struggle.

#### The Palestinian Communist Party

The recent declaration of the Palestinian Communist Party as an organization separate from the JCP comes with the maturing of various subjective and objective factors. Most importantly, it comes as a response to

the increased assertion of the Palestinian identity, which necessitates the existence of a Palestinian party separate from the JCP. Moreover, the difference in struggle conditions in Jordan and occupied Palestine contributed to the emergence of the PCP. The declaration of the PCP is additional proof of the fact that the process of history will move forward and the ranks of the working class will multiply.

The declaration of this party is a step towards correcting the path followed by the JCP with respect to the stands it has taken concerning the Palestinian cause. However, the degree of this party's success in the arena of Palestinian patriotic struggle depends mainly on the following:

- the degree of coordination with the Palestinian left-wing organizations, working towards forming a united Palestinian working class party
- recognition of the unity of the Palestinian people everywhere, and the unity of our working class (Note: the PCP says it represents all Palestinians, *except* those in Jordan and within the Zionist state)
- positive revision of the stands taken by the JCP with regard to (a) recognition of and coexistence with the Zionist entity, and (b) the position of the party concerning the adoption of armed struggle as a main line of struggle for the liberation of Palestine
- not overlooking the fact that it was the left-wing forces, developed in the process of national struggle, that deepened the democratic content of the Palestinian revolution and played the major role in spreading mass consciousness of scientific socialism, as well as organizing and mobilizing the working class; the PCP should not propose its political tasks so as to imply that it is the sole representative of the Palestinian working class

We eagerly await the announcement of the programs of the PCP, which will no doubt deal with the aforementioned points in depth and detail.

We welcome the creation of the PCP in the arena of Palestinian national struggle, because it is one of our strategic aims to build a united communist party, and such a process naturally entails the cooperation of all militant left-wing organizations. We support the PCP as a positive addition to the Palestinian left-wing movement – an addition that will no doubt add potential and impetus to our struggle for national and social liberation. We salute our comrades of the PCP and assure them that our hearts and minds are always open to all who commit themselves to the cause of the people.

## PFLP GREETING

Comrades, leaders of the Palestinian Communist Party:

The Central Committee of the PFLP is pleased to congratulate you on the occasion of the foundation of your party, and sends comradely greetings.

The establishment of your party comes at a time when the aggression of imperialism and Zionism against the Arab liberation movement in general, and the Palestinian Revolution in particular, aims at eliminating these patriotic forces, thus realizing imperialism's military and economic domination over our Arab nation. By building offensive bases in the Arab region and carrying out maneuvers on Arab land, sea and air, US imperialism continues to threaten the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, as well as all Arab progressive liberation forces. In addition, the Zionist enemy's annexation of the Golan Heights, with the support of US imperialism, is only the beginning of attempts to bring steadfast Syria to its knees and threaten the Joint Forces in South Lebanon. This all contributes to creating a suitable atmosphere for the Lebanese fascists' plans, which are coordinated with the Camp David conspiracy.

Comrades: The Fahd plan, which has reached a deadlock, is the embodiment of the dangers facing the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab liberation movement. We consider this plan to be complimentary to Camp David. Its ultimate aim is recognition of the Zionist entity; Arab reaction and imperialism are working hard to brainwash our people into accepting this cancerous growth on our Arab land.

Confrontation of the 'autonomy' conspiracy requires the reactivation of the Palestinian National Front and the preservation of the unity of the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories, in order to enable us to practice all forms of struggle, especially armed struggle.

Confrontation of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary plans requires Palestinian national unity within the framework of the PLO – the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people – on the basis of its political and organizational program. It also requires strategic cooperation between the Palestinian Revolution, the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and Syria, supported by the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and relying on the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union – the faithful friend of the Palestinian people, the masses of our Arab nation and their patriotic and progressive forces.

Comrades: Some urgent tasks rest upon all patriotic and progressive forces in order to achieve our people's goal of the complete liberation of our land. They are: to struggle against the settlement trend, to concentrate on the popular liberation war, to open the Arab borders to struggle against the Zionist entity, to develop the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and to prepare to confront the Zionist enemy.

Comrades: The formation of your party, as one of the organizations of the Palestinian working class, contributes to the building of a united Palestinian communist party with the other Marxist organizations in the Palestinian arena. This is on the basis of complete commitment to the unity of the Palestinian people every place they are found, their unity of representation, the unity of our working class, rejection of coexistence with the Zionist entity and UN resolution 242, and considering armed struggle as our primary form of struggle in our battle for the liberation of Palestine.

Together on the road of struggle towards a united Palestinian communist party!

Together on the road to achieving the aims of our people for liberation, return to our homeland and the creation of a popular democratic state on all the land of Palestine!

# MASS WORK

## Youth at the service of the masses

Since its inception, the Palestinian Youth Organization (PYO) has been active in promoting volunteer work in the camps. Following its first congress, held in December 1981, the PYO formed a social committee responsible for three main tasks for the coming period: (1) implementing literacy classes, (2) volunteer work, and (3) first aid courses. Each of the five branches in Lebanon (Beirut, Bekaa, Tripoli, Saida and Sour) has a member in the committee which meets monthly to coordinate the work.

In the past, each branch worked according to its ability on an individual basis.

Since the PYO congress, several projects have begun according to the program made by the PYO social committee. In the north, the PYO Tripoli branch began clearing the ground to make a volleyball field. In Shatila camp, the Beirut branch has started clearing the ground to build a recreation area to include a soccer field and an indoor recreation center. In the future they plan to build a cafeteria on the same site. Also in Shatila camp, 25 youths participated in fixing broken water pipes and transferred wood, bricks and cement to a site where the PFLP plans to build a rehabilitation center for fighters recuperating from injuries, who

based on the lessons learned in order to eliminate the negative aspects and strengthen the positive ones.

The PYO works closely with the mass institutions in the camps, such as the Popular Committee and the PFLP medical committee, when planning their projects. For example, during a cleaning campaign last summer, the Popular Committee donated the brooms and garbage bags. At the same time, the PFLP medical committee held meetings to explain the necessity of pest control in eliminating disease. In yet another project, the PYO gathered families from Shatila camp and took them to the clinic to



Youth clean-up campaign in the camps.



Each branch initiated a number of projects ranging from cleaning campaigns to installing and repairing water pipes. This resulted in projects being done on an irregular basis with no concrete program encompassing long-term effects. Using examples from the socialist countries and drawing from its past experience, the PYO made a program specifying a special project each month, rotating the responsibility from branch to branch. The aim of each project is to promote constructive work; thus applying the PYO slogan for 1982: Youth at the service of the masses.

need medical care but not hospitalization, and a guest house for people coming from outside Beirut. 45 youths participated in clearing the ground to build a glass works factory with an area of 35 square meters. When the project is finished, they hope to train interested members of the PYO to work in the factory. The aim of this project is to produce and sell glassware as a means of providing funds for other PYO projects while at the same time providing work for the youth.

After each project is completed, it is evaluated and future projects are planned

be inoculated against cholera after a number of cases were reported last summer.

Given the poor living conditions found in the camps, volunteer work provides some of the basic necessities to the people who receive little assistance from the regime and rely mainly on the Resistance for such things as functioning sewer systems and road repair. It is also a means of organizing youth in productive work, while at the same time strengthening the relations between youth and the community in the process of building a new society on the path to liberation.



*International Womens Day celebrated in Jerusalem, 1981.*

## INTERNATIONAL WOMENS DAY

*On the occasion of International Womens Day, the PFLP Bulletin staff spoke with Jihan Helou, member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) and responsible for international relations. The discussion ranged over many important topics facing Palestinian women, including the role and priorities of the GUPW, how the social and political situation both impedes and promotes mass mobilization and the importance of developing our women's sense of self-worth in order to move forward the struggle of all our Palestinian people.*

### **The role of the GUPW**

The most important role of the GUPW is to mobilize Palestinian women, to organize their potentials so as to enable them to participate effectively in the national struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction. We have a womens union because there is a women's cause; as Palestinian women we share the oppression of our brothers, but we face additional oppression due to the backward social and political system. To achieve this goal of mobilization and organization, we need specific programs

— political, economic, social, educational — that help us promote the situation of Palestinian women. Our women are uprooted from their homeland, and have less employment and educational opportunities... So we work on two levels: general struggle, and socio-economic programs such as kindergartens, nurseries, literacy campaigns, political lectures, cadre training, vocational training and production centers. All are activities that help to change the situation of women.

Of course, we as Palestinian women see our role as part of the Palestinian national movement. When a womens union was first established in 1921, we perceived our role as a national one against British colonialism and Zionist settlements. We never thought that there could be a womens movement separated from the national struggle, because we can't be liberated when our homeland is colonized and our society oppressed by Zionism and imperialism.

We faced many difficulties when the GUPW was formed in 1965. Most of the Arab regimes did not allow any mass or separate movement for the Palestinians. It was difficult to work in the different coun-

tries. This changed much after 1967 and the war, when the Resistance became stronger... Women began to join the struggle gradually, and our role was to help them overcome the backward values that had blocked their participation in the past. So we witnessed a start of women's mobilization after 1967 in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and the occupied territories, but there were few women cadre, so it was difficult to really have a womens movement from the grassroots to the leaders. Maybe our leadership had much to learn, but we also lacked a base.

A very important development is that the new cadre from 1967 on came from the base. I remember at that time I was in Lebanon, and we were trying to create a local leadership in every camp. Of course there was enthusiasm, a readiness to die for Palestine, to carry arms, but at the same time there was a lack of cadre who were politically conscious and committed to full-time work. We faced the problem that when they married their time was less, if they continued at all, as they were not solid cadre who could really defend their position and their right to struggle as women. But this started to change after 1967. Before that some resistance organizations were starting to organize, but it was difficult and mainly underground, so building cadre was hard. It is not easy to build women cadre, as they must face their society and family, and find time to work at home and in the struggle. So we can see that having professional and committed cadre is now one of the main achievements of the womens movement. These cadre are found in every camp, and our main cadre are from the camps...

### **Social contradictions**

It is not enough to say that our primary aim as the GUPW is to mobilize women into the national struggle. You have to facilitate this by changing her social and economic situation to at least some extent, as you cannot make real root changes without a liberated land. All the programs that we sponsor are aiming to objectively change the situation of women in general. When you have, for example, a kindergarten, you are helping to educate the children but are also easing some of the women's burdens, thus facilitating women's ability to struggle. Our aim is to alleviate these handicaps and burdens.

However, there are more sensitive and less clear problems for a woman, such as her husband or father. Our experience — even my own experience with my parents — prompted us to discuss how to deal with our families. It is not an easy thing. I still

remember when it was difficult for a woman to say that she was participating in politics. Politics are for men, what are women doing talking about politics! It was not accepted in our society, especially in the camps. Socially we were very conservative. Sometimes people, when they try to preserve their national identity, hold on to the negative as well as the positive aspects of their traditions, thinking that this is the way they can confront cultural imperialism. In the absence of the Revolution, the camps were very conservative and tried to preserve *all* the old traditions, thinking this would make us better Palestinians. Of course, when we began to struggle, to carry arms, and regained our national identity and our self-confidence, then it became much easier to begin dropping some of the old values that don't help our struggle. That doesn't mean we drop them all; I'm always speaking about a process. It is also important to preserve the national identity of the Palestinian people.

First we tell our women cadre to talk to their family about the national struggle. This makes it easier for the families to accept, as they also want to go back to Palestine, to achieve liberation. Their resistance to women's participation comes from fear: they don't want to hear people talking about their daughter, saying she is coming home late or walking in the camp looking for a bridegroom. In our society, it's easy to be criticized.

We tell the women to struggle with their parents, as they represent values that are holding us back, but not to cut all the links. It's not easy. Our experience is that the woman who is not able to struggle with her parents does not become a good cadre. If she is totally submissive and does not have the zeal to take her rights, without cutting her social relations, she will not usually continue in the movement. Those of us who did struggle with our families — and really it's one of the most difficult struggles — became better cadre. We tell our women to struggle for their rights because their parents and society will respect their participation some day. The vanguards have to pay a higher price and be patient. The few women cadre in the camps in the beginning had to bear much talk and criticism, but later on they became personalities and are seen as vanguards.

Many women find difficulties with their husbands. Maybe he's in the Revolution, but still he thinks he should come home and find food prepared every day. He wants to maintain the traditions he was born into, and does not want his life disturbed by changes. There is a contradiction between

what he says and what he practices. We discuss these things in our lectures and meetings. It's better to discuss in a group than for everyone to face their problems alone. Unfortunately, we don't really have the obligatory programs and laws that are necessary. We are still building new traditions only, but we have proceeded well.

Speaking about women, you must always identify at what stage of revolution we are, what threats we face. You can't speak in a vacuum. As a resistance movement, we are still in the defensive stage. We are still defending our existence. In the camps and parts of the South we have what looks like liberated land, but it's not really. You can't compare it to a liberated area as in other revolutions. We don't have an economy — we are still part of the Lebanese economy, as is our education system. We are proceeding with building our institutions and practicing our authority as a revolution, but we cannot practice it fully as we don't have an economic base, and you can't really have laws without this. So it is difficult, in the defensive stage, to make really radical changes. We must speak about passing civil and family laws, but at the same time we face daily Zionist and fascist attacks and we must have priorities. That's not to say the Revolution is not taking responsibility, but we need some rules and regulations, at least for people who are committed to the Revolution. We can't have laws for Palestinians everywhere, but really, as a revolution, we can have some civil laws applied to those who are part of our institutions. Here I make a self-criticism for us as the GUPW. We have a responsibility to really start to struggle on this level, to make studies and present a program to the leadership and the PNC. Yet we must recognize that many new unwritten norms have been developed within the Revolution; now girls can study outside, choose their husbands freely, not be dependent on a dowry, etc.

#### Mass mobilization

It's wrong to speak about Palestinian women as an absolute; you must look at different geographical areas. The Revolution's influence is mainly in the areas where there was struggle, mass mobilization and direct confrontation with the enemy, be it Arab reaction, Zionist occupation or other tools of imperialism. Mass mobilization, for men and women, is much less out of the 'hot spots'. We must also look at the stage of the Revolution. Though our organized struggle has been for 17 years, and our people have been struggling for more than 60 years, we have unfortunately not reached an equal

balance of power with the enemy. We are part of the Arab liberation movement, and imperialism's schemes are aimed not only at the Palestinian people but at the Arab masses and resources. Now we are passing through a bad period... Arab reaction is dominating parts of the Arab world, and the Egyptian regime has isolated the great potentials of the Egyptian people. So when we see we are still in this stage, we cannot expect to move as if we were Hanoi. We must recognize our objective conditions. But this does not mean that we as Palestinian women leaders do not have shortcomings, especially in preparing the most urgent social programs to stop the suffering and lessen the obstacles that stand in the way of our women's participation. We need to elaborate such programs, though it may take some time, and struggle for them to be adopted by the political leadership and applied to at least our revolutionary institutions. We have achieved much, but this aim is still to be struggled for...

Today we have many institutions that we didn't have 10 years ago because of lack of cadre and means. Now we are supported by friendly organizations, the socialist community and UN institutions. The GUPW is a leading member of the Womens International Democratic Federation, as well as the All Arab Womens Federation. We have developed strong relations with national liberation movements, womens organizations in the socialist community and the third world, and progressive womens groups in the capitalist countries. Our role with the UN has increased; at the last women's conference in Copenhagen, Palestinian women were a special topic on the agenda.

Though we still lack resources, we have been able to establish many institutions. These include 12 kindergartens, a nursery, literacy classes in every camp, several vocational training centers and Beit al Somoud, a center established to care for homeless children from Tel al Zaatar. We've reached many women, but it needs development in the struggle itself to be able to mobilize all. When there are attacks, our women and all our people are willing to come out and do anything, but unfortunately we cannot maintain this situation when the fighting is over. What we are struggling for now is how to organize these spontaneous emotions into a permanent reality. There are changes; we have progressed much compared to the past.

#### Women's self-perception

We are able to talk about the women's problem scientifically, but then we come to the value system we carry inside us as a



society and as individual men and women. I know from my experience that, first of all, we don't have enough self-confidence. We were brought up in a man's world, and were limited to the household and working with our mothers. We are raised to see marriage as our goal, while men are oriented to a profession and self-fulfillment. So we have a sort of inferiority complex in a man's society. At the beginning of the struggle, if a woman was responsible politically or organizationally over other women, even other women cadre, she was not accepted. There was the feeling that any man is better than a woman. This is not easy to struggle against; that is why we say that a woman must struggle against her own value system.

Another thing we face is that we live in a bourgeois society — really a distorted bourgeois society — so how do we perceive ourselves as real human beings and not just objects in a consumer society. We are influenced by the mass media and by the education system. It is not easy for a woman to change the outlook of society. People say: Oh, he married a beautiful woman; they never say that she had good understanding or potential. We are not against beauty, but beauty is related to how much a woman spends on cosmetics and clothes. Here the Revolution has really helped us in getting rid of these ideas. Our participation in the Revolution has increased our confidence. Now women are ready to work with each other and accept each other's leadership, as they see this is how we can gain our rights. Not in a chauvinist or solely feminist way, but through understanding our humanity and potentials.

There are many good and progressive men in the Revolution. You cannot have a women's movement without the support, understanding and cooperation of men and the political organizations. But I think that women have a greater and more immediate advantage in understanding the necessity of their liberation, so there is an opening in their mind to the knowledge that women's liberation is connected to the broader struggle. Men understand theoretically, but in practice they feel as if they are losing a lot. We tell them that on the strategic level it's to their advantage; it's better to live with a comrade as your wife instead of someone who cooks well but is not developing. Men say that we have hundreds of years of backward traditions, or that their work is much more important. This is partly true, but is also an excuse. If they don't struggle themselves against these values, they can become reactionaries in practice, only using progressive words, being two men in one.

When women have even a small chance to change, they do, even our mothers and grandmothers; when they don't have the chance, they appear as if they are defending their oppression. I remember when I was in Bourj al Barajneh camp, in 1969, giving a mass lecture. I said: "You should participate in the struggle. Aren't we equal to men?" Many of the older women said: No, of course not. It's not easy to say we are automatically equal. When I discussed with these women, I found they were bitter, and had lost many opportunities in their lives. Still, it's important not to present the problem as a war between men and women. We must see the objective conditions and what can be solved. You cannot say: Household work is bad, your husband must help, etc. We shouldn't make the women simply rebellious or extreme. The man should provide support, but the reality of our society is that the home is still the responsibility of the woman until we can achieve social and economic changes in the process of production. Only then can we find real alternatives and solutions for all our society.

An example of women perpetuating traditional values is the mother-in-law syndrome: women suffer much abuse from their mother-in-law, but when they become one themselves they act in the same way. This is a result of the traditional society, and was true also in China and Vietnam. People tend to perpetuate the roles of the society they are born into if they are not given alternatives. Also, here a woman is sad if she has a baby daughter. This is because she knows what the child's future will be, and also because she sees with the eyes of her husband. She doesn't defend the backward ideas, but she cannot see the light of her liberation. It is comparable to the working

class; many times, when they are not organized in parties or unions, they are tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie because they are afraid of losing the few benefits they have. They feel it is their destiny to be oppressed, so they don't struggle. Not because they like their situation, but because they don't see any alternative and are afraid.

It is the role of the vanguard of women to present an alternative. As the GUPW, our first aim is how to change women from being passive human beings in society to active human beings. This is very important. What do I mean by passive? She is brought up to think that her most important role is in her kingdom — what they call her kingdom to make her satisfied at home — so she is passive; she doesn't really care what happens outside her home, in society or politics. It is enough that her husband, daughter or son is participating, but not she. How do we change her outlook? This is why we stress social and economic programs. Of course she will say, "I love Palestine", but she doesn't think she has a concrete role in the struggle. So we start with the concrete program to change her self-outlook. The mere fact that maybe she comes to a production center at a certain hour means that she has the opportunity to meet other women, to gain new ideas — then she may begin to be more active and productive.

We often say, though not in a chauvinist way, that women are more revolutionary and patient. I was happy to hear, when I was in Vietnam last year, that they say the same. We women have a double interest in the liberation of Palestine — as Palestinian people and as women. We can't see how our problems will ever be solved unless we build a progressive society in Palestine. ●





## WOMEN SPEAK

*Um Mustafa is 32 years old. She is Palestinian and grew up in Ain al Hilweh camp in South Lebanon. At 16 she married and moved to Nahr al Bared camp in the north. Prior to the civil war she moved to Shatila camp where she has lived ever since. She has nine children ranging from 15 years to 10 months. Though she is not a member of a resistance organization, she is active in the camp and is currently teaching a course in the literacy campaign.*

I like to participate in all activities, even though I have nine children. If I had more time I would give more. I was always enthusiastic to work, but I didn't have the chance before I was married. Now because my daughter is older, she can take care of the children for one or two hours. This gives me more time to participate.

It's the duty of every woman to give as much as she can whether she's organized or not. When the children are older and can care for themselves we can give more. The upbringing of children is just as much a responsibility of the Revolution. Not only the person who carries arms is struggling. We (as women) struggle just as much...

The most painful thing is to leave a crying child at home when I go out to contribute what I can to the Revolution. I'm completely convinced of what I'm doing. Even if the neighbors, other women or relatives try to dissuade me from my conviction, I don't listen to them. I try to convince them to work with me.

When we work with women, we must give and take with them on all levels. We must try not to give them any excuse; if the problem is children, house duties, etc., we must give them extra time to finish and block the road to these excuses. We must treat them as sisters, part of the family, to gain their confidence. We must be tied to them socially. You can't leave them for a week, then come back; we must be with them — take part in their social occasions — weddings, funerals, births, birthdays — to make them feel part of the family.

*If your daughters decide to follow in your footsteps, what would you teach them?*

Before anything else, I encourage my daughters to be frank and to have the courage to confide in me for anything. I encourage them to take part in the Revolution and to be frank with me so I can

direct them. I try to tell what's wrong and what's right, so they can avoid making mistakes.

*Khadegi is in her mid-twenties. She grew up in the Gaza Strip in the camps. She has six sisters and three brothers. She is married, with two small daughters.*

The misery and oppression that I experienced led me to take part in the Revolution. My father was put in prison by the Zionists. They stormed our house and threatened to blow it up. They tortured my father in front of us, and this left a deep impression on me.

My father took part in the 1936 revolt and told us of the role he played in the Revolution. This also influenced me to follow his path. When I was young I used to distribute leaflets. I also took part in demonstrations against the Zionist enemy. When I was older I transported arms from place to place. I also helped in delivering funds to families with relatives in prison.

*As a woman, what are the main obstacles you have faced while playing a part in the Revolution?*

The traditions of Palestinian society. No matter how patriotic the family is, the traditions and ways of our society impose obstacles. This prevented me, especially in the occupied land, from participating more. It also limited what my family would allow me to do.

Before the '67 war, my father used to train us in how to use weapons and to be enthusiastic about the Revolution. Then came the '67 war and after that the stories of how the enemy treats the girls — rape, prisoners being presented to visitors naked to embarrass the family. This had a negative effect on my parents, who then began to place limits on our (girls) participation in the Revolution. If we did participate, it had to be in secret. This crystallized the contradictions between my parent's principles and their practice.

It was not only the family, but also the neighbors, who interfered in what the girls were allowed to do. This is also true here in Lebanon, but not as much.

*If your daughters decide to follow in your footsteps, what would you teach them?*

I'll try to teach my children to be courageous and outspoken. They are still young, but I'll encourage them to be educated and try to direct them to love the Revolution. My family used to make us fear the enemy; I don't want my children to have this fear. I will also try to release them from the bonds of tradition, but not in a way that they defy them.

# PFLP MARKS WOMENS DAY

*Comrade George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP, held a meeting with women cadre on the occasion of International Womens Day, and delivered the following presentation.*

On the occasion of International Womens Day, I would first like to express to you all the most heartfelt congratulations on behalf of the Politbureau, the Central Committee and on my own behalf. I would also like to extend my deepest solidarity and struggle for the sake of the victory of women, their liberation and the victory of their just cause. It is natural to remember our women martyrs, such as Comrade Taghrid al Batmeh and sister Dalal al Moughrabi, as well as all the other women martyrs of the Palestinian revolution. It is also natural on this occasion to remember and salute the wives and mothers of our martyrs; to salute the women comrades and sisters imprisoned in Zionist and reactionary jails and to bow our heads in humility before their patience, steadfastness and continuation of service to the Palestinian revolution, despite the hard conditions they are under.

My comrades, allow me to salute through you all the women of the world, the women

of the Arab nation and Palestinian women. With this salutation, I declare on behalf of our leadership our determination to achieve the task of womens liberation as a part of our continuous and endless revolutionary work – a task that will not come to an end until the complete liberation of humanity has been achieved.

On this occasion, I felt it would be best to briefly note the PFLP's most important stands with regard to womens liberation. We are committed to these stands in our struggle – a commitment that we solemnly promise you and all the masses to fulfill.

Our position on the subject of womens liberation is based on a number of understandings:

*First: There should be nothing less than complete equality for women as human beings.* In the PFLP, we begin with the scientific belief that the question of equality between men and women has nothing to do with biological differences or with women's abilities in general. In the broad historical context this inequality is a passing sickness. We should not surrender to this matter of inequality. It is like capitalism or imperialism, which respectively represent class and

national oppression. These have been present in our societies for a long time, but have we surrendered to them? The answer is no, we have not. We struggle for our liberation knowing that imperialism will and must pass because it is based on the exploitation of man by his fellow man. In the same way, with the same enthusiasm, we must struggle against inequality between men and women, until the complete liberation of women – despite the long time span that stretches between us and the achievement of this task.

This is the first stand of the PFLP with regard to the question of womens liberation. We stress the central issue of inequality and analyze it scientifically. This provides an economic basis, and this condition of inequality will only change once the economic base is changed.

*Second: Womens liberation is of necessity connected with political liberation, followed by economic liberation and then the social liberation of society as a whole.* It is unrealistic to believe that it is possible to liberate the masses of Palestinian and Arab women separately from political liberation and from the struggle for economic liberation, i.e., apart from the national democratic revolution that places society on the threshold of socialism.

The path leading to genuine liberation of Palestinian and Arab women is the path of participation in the national democratic revolution. Some women may achieve individual liberation to a certain degree; however, complete liberation cannot be separated from the ongoing battle between the forces of progress, liberation and socialism on one hand, and the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction on the other.

*Third: At present, the Palestinian revolution provides the most suitable objective conditions for the process of womens liberation.* This point reflects the view of the PFLP with regard to the dialectical relation between the Palestinian revolution and the liberation of Palestinian women. You, as comrades of the PFLP, participate fervently in the struggle against the Zionist enemy; you dress the wounds of those struck during air raids and you demonstrate against oppression and attacks. This is the path to the liberation of Palestinian women. The Palestinian revolution provides the suitable conditions for the beginning of the process of womens liberation and the crystallization

*PFLP Womens Day poster.*



of the dialectical relationship between the liberation of women and the liberation of Palestine.

I don't believe that your activities and those of your sisters in the occupied land — including demonstrations, protests, nursing, etc. — would have been possible or would have reached such heights if your mothers and fathers did not feel that you were struggling for the cause of all the people. It is in this way that the process of changing attitudes towards women occurs. Thus when a woman really participates in the Palestinian revolution, she is demonstrating the right to our liberation and to her liberation.

*Fourth: The process of womens liberation is to a great extent the responsibility of women themselves.* We have mentioned this before on other occasions, and now repeat this point so you will realize your special responsibility. I do not deny the vanguard role of the party in this process. On the contrary, I consider the party to be the base of this process; however, this must be complemented by a stand which specifies the special role of women. This is what drove Ho Chi Minh to say: "Do not wait for the liberation of women to come from the government or from the party — this is a task you must fulfill yourselves." I do not, naturally, go so far as to cancel or lessen the role the party must play as the leader of the

whole process of change in society — as a leader of the process of political liberation, then economic and social. However, the complete liberation of women can never be achieved without the special struggle of women themselves.

Our joint struggle — men and women's — is a revolutionary process which is now taking place and will continue until the complete liberation of humankind and the eradication of all types of oppression and repression in society. Both men and women will participate in the process of political liberation; however, in light of the present situation of inequality, we say regretfully that men will play the outstanding role in this stage. After this the stage of economic liberation begins, and here the role of women will increase in the process of building socialism — the only way to remove economic exploitation from society. But after the process of political liberation (the liberation of Palestine), and after the process of economic liberation (socialist construction), there remains the great task of social and cultural liberation. This is the most critical stage.

On the level of oppression of women by men, you as women must rely on yourselves to a great extent and on the formal programs of the party. We are speaking of a long historical process. We are not speaking now

of women's activities in Lebanon or in the occupied homeland, nor are we discussing the current realities of the Palestinian revolution and the dangers facing us. Why? Mainly, because this is a women's occasion. Thus, despite the critical dangers facing us in the political situation which might cause some to despair, we are 100% sure that the process of the liberation of all of humanity will continue, as has been proven by the movement of history. No one should be under the illusion that if we face great difficulties in the Lebanese arena in the coming period, then the process of liberation will come to a stop, making all this talk meaningless. The process of the liberation of humanity will continue, and the conflict between the exploited and the exploiters will continue. History has confirmed that it will only end with the victory of the exploited.

*Fifth: Our stand with regard to womens liberation is connected to the role played by the party in the process of liberation.* It is true that you as women must bear special responsibility, but it is the party which is responsible for completion of the process of liberation on all levels. The party is responsible for reaping whatever benefits can be achieved from the dialectical relationship that exists between the Palestinian revolution and the process of womens liberation. It is also responsible for spreading revolutionary ideas with respect to womens liberation in order to pave the way for the third stage of struggle — the stage of social liberation. We always are struggling on a political, economic and social level; however, each stage has special characteristics. We are now going through the stage of political struggle, aiming at the liberation of Palestine and establishing political authority. After that begins the stage of building socialism, accompanied by a cultural revolution, i.e., the process of ideological liberation. Clearly events in Poland provide an example of how a Marxist-Leninist party should always remain aware that the process of political liberation should be accompanied by economic and social liberation as well.

*Sixth: The last of these points is that we in the PFLP consider the stand taken on women as not only a matter of principle but a moral issue.* The position on women and their right to equality and liberation comes as the result of moral values. There is a Marxist-Leninist saying that a people who exploits another is not a free people. In the same vein, we say that any human being who exploits or enslaves another is not free. This is the essence of the moral issue in regard to women.



# EGYPT

The National Progressive Unionist Assembly Party (previously referred to in the Bulletin as the Progressive Assembly of National Unionists) was established in 1977 and is the only legal Egyptian opposition party to clearly oppose the Camp David conspiracy from its inception. The party acts as a broad front, encompassing a wide spectrum of the opposition, from communists to individuals who oppose the regime's policies.

The PFLP's magazine *Al Hadaf* recently interviewed Rifaat Said, deputy general secretary of the National Progressive Unionist

Assembly Party. We are printing excerpts of the interview here; the sections omitted deal with various rumors circulating in the Arab press which we did not consider relevant to the Bulletin. One issue we should mention, however, is the party's denial of reports that it is prepared to act as a mediator between the Mubarak regime and other Arab countries after the April withdrawal from the Sinai. Comrade Said also denied reports that the party's leader, Khalid Mo-hieddin, had condemned the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

**In a recent interview, you spoke of some of the changes in the Egyptian arena after the assassination of Sadat. What is the extent of these changes?**

We determined by analysis that there is a limit to any changes from this regime. What is strange is that those who had illusions when Sadat was killed are the ones who are presently saying that absolutely nothing new has happened, though on that day they were predicting much change. We differ in how we analyze the events. The primary event, which was simply changing the leader of the regime, was an assassination of one individual and has not led to changes.

Our party's position towards Sadat was based on four main points, which were decided upon at the political session of our congress on April 10, 1981. This document reaffirms that the regime is in crisis — it is unable to solve the basic problems in the society. Also the opposition, despite its activities, is still unable to fulfill the popular aspirations. The apparatus that is needed for any change to occur will not be achieved by only changing the superstructure of the regime. Therefore, there is a crisis, both in the regime and within the opposition. All were aware that Sadat was about to fall, but the force that could push the mass movement to topple Sadat was not present or developed. There was a strong opposition, ready to sacrifice, but this opposition was unable to organize the millions of Egyptians, and did not realize that only cursing the regime would not change it. Despite all it has given, the opposition was incapable of achieving any changes; it still is, for objective reasons. It is not able to mobilize those 40 million patriots who are not satisfied with the present situation, and change them into elements able to place the crisis of the regime

in a deeper framework — the crisis of society itself.

It is within the context of the crisis of the regime and the opposition that the assassination occurred. It was the result of the crisis, its natural expression. Our analysis said that the regime's crisis was only resolved temporarily. Now we have a new president and he is enacting a new style, but the crisis of the regime remains. It is unable to resolve the four basic points that constitute the primary crisis. They are the relation with the US, the relation with Camp David, the socio-economic crisis and the question of democracy. In regard to these points, the new president (Hosni Mubarak) has initiated changes, but only superficial and small ones, without resolving the problems. In regard to the relation with the US, just looking at it without any analysis, it is clear that Mubarak wants to say that the relation is different from Sadat's; this was seen even in how he visited the US and other countries. Regarding Camp David, he is for Camp David as he is for the US, but he sees the necessity of some changes. It is clear what these are, such as his refusal to agree to autonomy without the approval of the Palestinians. But what Palestinians does he mean? and what will they agree to?

There is another point where we can see some slight changes — the social and economic situation inside of Egypt. The only change that Mubarak made is that the 'open door' economic policy became 'open production'. What is meant by open production? This could be explained in a hundred ways... Mubarak called for a conference and invited all the opposition parties to give their opinions on the economic problems. One positive thing about this is that it was an opportunity for discussion, not only for

decisions from above. We said at the conference that the economic crisis cannot be solved by individual geniuses or mere proposals, but only through social change.

There are also differences in how Sadat and Mubarak deal with the question of democracy. Sadat considered any opposition as spies, traitors or agents... he passed a referendum making any criticism of Camp David a crime, thus turning us into criminals.

Thus we can see the differences between Sadat and Mubarak, but they are minor and we don't have any illusions. What has been achieved on these four points is not even the basic minimum of our demands.

**These limitations demand the continuation of the struggle of the Egyptian opposition, especially your party. This raises a question: How correct is it to give the regime a chance until the Sinai withdrawal?**

As there have been changes in the regime's methods, this has been reflected on the opposition, especially in the ranks of the front's forces where there are those who came to us from the same class position as the regime, such as intellectuals, politicians and journalists. These are the people who were arrested by Sadat on September 3rd, because they sympathized with the beliefs of the left... They came to us because they felt that Sadat's positions were causing great harm to the future of the regime, which they basically supported. They decided to fight the president and change him. Since they were unorganized individuals, they found no alliance other than our party as an organized political force. It was upon this basis that the front was formed. This formation was of course loosened, as it was based on hatred of Sadat, and Sadat died...

Many of the political forces had imagined that Mubarak's coming would bring a more positive policy, and that this would be realized after a short time. The masses themselves, who see only by looking, not by analysis, felt that Mubarak differed from Sadat. As usual, the Egyptian masses begin with high hopes, which then plummet to apathy, then to rejection. This has happened repeatedly. The last time was when they based their aspirations on Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. The illusion was that they would receive bread and freedom.

**This question needs to be clarified. There is a cat and mouse game between the opposition and the regime. Who is benefiting from this game?**

As it is our right to gain the masses, we believe it is the right of any president in any state, even an absolute democracy, to iden-

tify the opposition. The question is, who gains from Mubarak's methods, which are more civilized than Sadat's.

I believe that we gain doubly. First, we impose civilized methods to change the barbaric way of dealing with the opposition. Thus we begin a new way, which reflects on the oppression and pressures brought secretly against our members. The second is that we speak our opinions clearly, honestly and without hesitation... We should take advantage of the fact that the regime tried the method of silencing everybody and eliminating all self-expression, but discovered there are other means of self-expression that constitute a greater threat to the authorities.

### Is the regime still paying the price of Camp David?

The regime is convinced of the line of Camp David and continues to pay the price. Regarding the Sinai, the regime is attempting to place us before the masses as rejecting the withdrawal and liberation of the land, under the pretext that we are waiting for the liberation of the Golan and the return of the Palestinians to their land. As this is a distant dream at the moment, we are presented as people who don't want the return of their land.

It is possible that the regime will try to develop Camp David on this basis — that there are no quick solutions to the Palestinian part of the Middle East problem, so why not solve our problems. This is the whole story. With regard to this, the regime — and the facts — confirm that there is no just settlement now; even the available means of Arab struggle are not able to achieve what is wanted in the near future. Thus we can only face the masses with the following: either to lay down our cards and say we don't want Sinai, or to continue struggling against Camp David, stressing that we are against the price being paid. I am sure that we have paid the price twice, once to Israel and once to the USA. The problem of Camp David is not simply a matter of settlement with a neighboring country; it is part of a trend that is trying to impose US domination over the entire region. Thus we doubly oppose Camp David, because it is a partial solution and because it is a US solution, which is the most dangerous aspect.

Do you believe that the opposition, which was united before Mubarak's coming, will remain united? Do you think that the regime will be able to bring various sectors of the opposition to its side?

We believe the regime has been successful in gaining some of the opposition groups by

beginning to be more flexible and forgiving. It was able to win over some of those opposition forces that hoped to realize certain ambitions. However, our party believes that any possibility of change can only come about by the actual participation and mobilization of the masses, promoting them to the political movement. Without this, there can be no real change. Regarding these other opposition forces, with all due respect, after all the agreements made between them and politicians, or with other political and social parties, we are ready to welcome them back to our ranks without blame. We believe it is their right to go through this experience, and we refused to dictate to them. However, we believe that real front work has to do with creating popular organizations that are able to organize the masses, and to transform individual criticism and solutions into social and group criticisms and solutions. Thus, on this basis, we announced the formation of a progressive women's union. It is a women's organization that aspires to be a popular cornerstone that can work among the masses of women. This is in addition to the efforts of our party to draw up a resolution to convene a peasants congress, which was actually held, and a preparatory committee for the peasants union was elected. This committee tries to act as a popular party base around which the masses can rally, including politicized as well as ordinary peasants.

We also exert all efforts within the framework of the Egyptian union movement. Despite the fact that many of our cadre won local elections and our relations with the leaders of the workers unions, we have our differences. We do agree on an important thing, which is defense of the public sector. The question of the public sector is the central issue to any union member, no matter what his social position might be. Another thing is that the unions should fight against the laws protecting the foreign monopolies, because these laws forbid the right to establish unions. If the yellow (opportunist) union leadership imagines that foreign investments and joint projects will be spreading to the public sector institutions ...if the foreign companies would invest 1 or 2 million pounds, then the union structure would be dissolved in that institution. So this leadership sees that the union framework itself is threatened. Therefore we cooperate with these people in this context. We also cooperated with them in the workers conference, which was held in the headquarters of the workers union. We sent them our greetings on the occasion of the establishment of the workers union. But we

believe that we are able to build other mass institutions, such as committees in defense of the public sector, which the party has formed in many of the important industries. This is an attempt to gather the masses in a more flexible framework...

### What will be the situation of the regime after the April withdrawal?

We do not base our political analysis only on hopes... but even the dreams of political people have an objective basis. The objective reality reaffirms that the economic crisis has not been solved. You cannot rule a people if there is neither bread nor democracy. Our experience with Sadat proved this. There was only a small amount of democracy and freedom. We can see what happened in 1977, when millions of people went into the streets. They opposed the laws restricting their freedom...

In this regard, our basic bet is on the possibility of social change. Without any social change, it will be hard to find any basis for any other types of change. The situation in Egypt is complex. In the time of Nasser it was complex. For that reason, when Sadat wanted to make changes he was forced to change all fields. He was not able to be close to the US without opening Egypt to foreign investment. His relation to the US also depended on his striking the Egyptian Bank, its right to financial decisions and its domination over Egypt's financial market. Then he brought the foreign banks to Egypt. You cannot take a political decision without looking at what takes place in the banking sector and other economic sectors. Therefore the situation is complicated.

We are aiming at a comprehensive understanding of our four points of difference with the regime. We cannot solve one without solving the others. Because of the difficulty of achieving this change, our party has reaffirmed the necessity of demanding mass mobilization, organization and participation. The process of change can only be achieved by this. Even in the era of Nasser, he was unable to make changes until he had wide mass support...

### What is your opinion of the slogan currently raised by the regime — 'open production'?

I believe the essence of the economic problems in Egypt is the problem of foreign banks. The core of this problem is the relation with the US and the West. Therefore, one cannot carry out 'open production' or any other production when the foreign banks absorb all the hard currency income of Egypt. Even the currency which comes from workers outside Egypt is collected by

the foreign banks and sent outside the country. This is a real catastrophe for the Egyptian economy. In its essence it is a political catastrophe and cannot be solved through the economic sector. For this reason, our position at the economic conference mentioned earlier was that the real issue is to create a new social and political direction.

**Regarding the question of democracy and the game of releasing political prisoners... What's the truth of this matter?**

I would like to say that the regime's cells have never been vacant since 1975, but are filled with militants and progressives. Now the detainees are divided into two sectors; those arrested before October and those after October. After proclaiming a state of emergency, Mubarak arrested a large number of members of religious groups and left political groups, including our party. We believe that demanding their freedom is a duty and a right, but it is not enough. We demand an end to the state of emergency and cancellation of all the exceptional laws. The just constitutional law should remain the arbitrator between us and the regime.



*Egyptian nationalists in court.*

This is a form of arbitration we accept and in this framework we are able to accomplish something.

With the existence of these exceptional laws and the state of emergency, the situation has become unbearable. Even with the amendments of the state of emergency after October, the situation is still terrible. During

the time of Sadat, a prisoner was allowed to file an appeal to a judge monthly. This right has now been taken away; now a prisoner only has the right of appeal every six months, and then only to the president, who has the right to disregard the appeal... This makes the situation for a prisoner very difficult.

## SUBVERSION AGAINST PDRY

The authorities in Democratic Yemen have announced that in early February they arrested a group of armed counterrevolutionaries, financed by a foreign power, who had entered the country with the intention of carrying out destructive operations against economic centers and fuel storage sites. Ten people were arrested, tried and found guilty (2 escaped).

While Democratic Yemen has not officially announced which foreign countries are behind this subversive attack, the PFLP's magazine *Al Hadaf* writes that the investigation has clearly pinpointed Saudi Arabia and

North Yemen as responsible. The gang had left Democratic Yemen for North Yemen, then travelled to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, where they were trained in subversive techniques under the supervision of an American expert known as 'Captain Bill'. Then they returned to Democratic Yemen, remaining in touch with their Saudi masters through specially coded radio programs. Their bombing campaign was set for February 13, but they were arrested before it could begin.

Confessions at the trial have proved the Saudi regime's involvement, despite its denials. This is not a surprise, as the Saudis

have a long history of supporting aggression and subversion against not only Democratic Yemen, but all patriotic and progressive regimes and forces in the area. Saudi intervention in other countries has recently been highlighted by their interference in Bahrain and their ongoing support to the Moslem Brotherhood's attempts to overthrow the Assad regime in Syria. Any force that is considered a potential threat to either Saudi or US interests is vulnerable to such maneuvers.

*The trial of the captured mercenaries was shown on television so that the Yemeni masses were fully aware of the threat posed to their continuing progress.*



# PFLP

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT

---

The PFLP's Central Committee was convened in the first part of February to discuss the most outstanding political developments on the international, Arab and Palestinian level. The political report adopted at this meeting covers the time period since the Front's 4th congress in April 1981. The following is a summary of this report.

---

### INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

#### US aggressive policy escalated

Capitalism's worsening crisis on the one hand, and the progress made by the socialist community, the national liberation movements and other popular struggles on the other, have impacted on the practice of imperialism. The result is an escalation of imperialism's aggressiveness as is seen in its policies aiming to halt the historical process and strike the people's achievements in those countries which have gained independence. These practices have confronted the world and humanity with the danger of destruction and war.

The escalation of imperialism's aggressiveness is exhibited in many forms: the production of the neutron bomb, the new policy of war based on increasing the production of long-range missiles, strategic nuclear submarines, and deploying missiles with nuclear warheads in Europe. Hence, the discussion of a "limited" nuclear war.

The USA has demonstrated this aggressive policy in the most barbaric forms possible throughout the world. Under Reagan, the American administration has made strong efforts to strike the national liberation movement in El Salvador by sending expertise and arms to save the dictatorship. Likewise in Guatemala, US imperialism is supporting a dictatorial regime in order to stop the spread of the liberation movement.

The US has continued its threats against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada under the pretext of their support to the liberation movements in Latin America. Furthermore, the US enacted a type of bacterial war against Cuba and prohibited the country from purchasing medicines.

The US has supported and encouraged the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, intervened in the country's internal affairs and imposed sanctions, after taking other measures which it claimed were to save Poland from anarchy.

In the Middle East, US imperialism maintains its support to the Zionist entity and all its aggressions. Besides giving economic and military aid, the US enacted a qualitative step forward in its aggression against the Arab liberation movement by signing the strategic military cooperation agreement with this racist entity. Moreover, the US violated the territorial waters of Libya, thus using direct military intervention as part of its continuous threats to overthrow the regime. The US also extended protection and support to the reactionary regimes in Egypt, Sudan, Oman and Somalia, thus escalating its aggression against the liberation movements and people of these countries. Military bases have been established and maneuvers, such as Operation Bright Star were carried out after the formation of the Rapid Deployment Force with the intent of striking the liberation movements and protecting the reactionary regimes in the area.

The US sent a large shipment of arms and crews of CIA officers to support the monarchy of Hassan II against POLISARIO and the

popular movement in Morocco. Saudi Arabia is being supplied with all sorts of arms for repression and espionage. Saudi Arabia has also been encouraged to form reactionary groupings, such as the Gulf Cooperation Council, in order to protect these regimes.

These aggressive practices also encompass military support to the reactionary regime in Pakistan, with Saudi Arabia as the intermediary, and to the counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan in an attempt to destroy the Afghani people's achievements and bring an end to their progressive government. The imperialist policy also encourages the Chinese leadership to launch offensives against Vietnam and Kampuchea, and to provoke conflicts with the Soviet Union.

In Africa, US imperialism is extending support to the racist regime in South Africa, ending the superficial boycott previously imposed; thus, it supported South African aggression against Angola, Mozambique, the Seychelles and the national liberation movements.

All revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces have responded decisively to US imperialism's escalated aggression. In Cuba, we see unparalleled mass support for the socialist government and the masses' readiness to confront any form of imperialist aggression. The liberation movements in El Salvador, Guatemala, Columbia and other countries of Latin America are waging a counter offensive and are gaining forward bases in confronting the dictatorships.

In Europe, opposition to US policies is increasing, and in Poland, the socialist government is moving out of its crisis.

In the Middle East and Arab region, the intensity of patriotic and progressive confrontation is increasing against the reactionary agents of US imperialism. The mass movement in Morocco, Sudan, Somalia and the Arab Peninsula and Gulf has broadened, while POLISARIO has scored an increasing number of victories.

The attacks of South Africa did not reap the gains anticipated, but on the contrary were met by steadfastness in Angola, Mozambique and the Seychelles. They also elicited international condemnation.

The aggressive US policies are being faced by a determined policy on the part of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, rejecting the provocations being made under the banner of cold war and nuclear war.

#### Poland —

##### A blow dealt to imperialist hopes

The Polish government has clarified its official position vis-a-vis the counterrevolutionary forces and the necessity of facing the problems with determination. This was seen in the declaration of an emergency situation and the formation of a military council for national salvation in order to retrieve Poland from the state of chaos and liberalism into which it had fallen as a result of the CIA conspiracies, instigating extremist elements and the counterrevolutionary forces of Solidarity.



However, there remains the necessity of really striking at the counterrevolutionary forces and putting an end to the possibility of future threats to Poland. By taking control of the situation, the Polish authorities surprised the counterrevolutionary forces and started the process of uprooting them. However, we should be aware of the difficulties involved in this task. These difficulties are a result of the authorities' neglect of the laws of socialist transformation: spreading socialist culture among the masses and implementing socialist relations in the rural areas.

Chief among the factors which led to the Polish crisis are:

- the broad influence of the church
- the presence of chauvinist attitudes among broad sectors of the population
- the fact that 70% of agricultural land is under private ownership
- the corruption which has been widespread in the leadership ranks of the United Polish Labor Party
- the great debts which Poland owes the capitalist countries

The ability of Poland to overcome its crisis depends on a number of conditions, primarily the application of the laws of the transition period to socialism; striking the private sector in agriculture; following an economic policy that is not dependent on imperialist loans, but instead increases coordination with the CMEA, in order to rescue Poland from the economic crisis to which past policies have led; purging the party and rebuilding it on a Leninist foundation.

Imperialism had high hopes concerning the situation in Poland, but the latest measures taken by the Polish authorities were a big blow to these dreams.

**Iran -**

#### **The Islamic Republican Party's appropriation of the authority**

In addition to the continuation of the aggressive Iraqi war against the Iranian Revolution, the other most prominent development is the open participation of the reactionary Jordanian regime on the side of Iraq. This was done with the blessing and support of imperialism and Arab reaction, the Gulf states in particular and especially Saudi Arabia. This matter is strongly condemned by the PFLP.

The other prominent development concerning Iran is the Islamic Republican Party's exclusive authority, without the participation of the other forces that struggled for the downfall of the Shah. There is no doubt that the appropriation of authority by the Islamic Republican Party, especially in this period, and the party's opposition to the other anti-imperialist forces will have a negative effect upon Iran's ability to stand firm against imperialist pressures and internal conspiracies. The party's refusal to let other forces share in the power was a basic factor in the escalation of violent clashes between the patriotic forces in Iran, which adversely affected the consolidation of the internal front. In addition, there is the Iranian leadership's incorrect position on the national question.

**Europe -**

#### **The class nature of the state is not changed by Social Democratic parties coming to power.**

There are differences between the policies of the French Socialist Party and the relatively positive policies of the Greek Socialist Movement with respect to our cause and current international questions. The Greek Socialist Movement has taken a positive stand with respect to the Palestinian cause; Greece was the first nation (in NATO) to receive the head of the PLO Executive Committee officially and to open a diplomatic office for the PLO. Moreover, it has opposed the measures being taken against the Soviet Union and

Poland. Greece has also demanded the removal of American bases from its land.

Despite this, it is our view that this does not constitute a radical change in the class nature of these states. Rather it is an expression of the inability of the ruling classes to continue to govern using the old methods, due to the mass protest and the mass desire to change the (former) governments. This situation will increase the extent and depth of the contradictions between the countries in the imperialist camp. We are referring to contradictions such as those provoked by the policies of the Reagan Administration in various fields. This weakens the unity of the imperialist camp and lessens its ability to maneuver. This is evidenced by the atmosphere of opposition and discontent which prevails due to the economic and military policies of Reagan's administration with regard to Europe. Another evidence is to be seen in the conflict which arose from the US intention to take measures against the Soviet Union after the declaration of an emergency situation by the Polish government. The differences between Greece on the one hand and the other European countries, NATO and especially the US on the other, concerning Greece's membership in NATO and the American bases in Greece, is perhaps the most prominent example of the nature of the intrainperialist conflict.

## **ARAB LEVEL**

### **Intensification of imperialist aggression in the region**

US imperialism has continued its aggressive political and military policies throughout the recent months in an attempt to rearrange the situation in the region to suit its interests and plans and to guarantee the Camp David agreements. As yet, US imperialism is unable to implement Camp David in full, especially on the Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian fronts. However, all maneuvers and developments indicate that there are continuous efforts to realize this goal, using all methods.

On the political level, the most important and dangerous maneuver in this period is the Fahd initiative. On the military level, the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement were faced with the July offensive and the series of explosions enacted by the Deuxieme Bureau in coordination with the Phalangists, the agents of imperialism and the Zionist entity. These aggressions are not only aimed at the Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement; Syria is still subject to subversive actions, assassinations and attempts to disrupt its internal security; local reaction, supported by imperialism and Zionism, is responsible for this.

In addition, US imperialism launched a hysterical campaign against the Libyan Jamahiriya, terming it a "center for international terrorism". Reagan declared that a Libyan hit squad was sent specially to kill him and other officials. Moreover, the US engaged in an aggressive propaganda campaign against Libyan military presence in Chad. In view of the internal situation in Chad and the joint American, French and European campaign against Libya, the latter was obliged to withdraw from Chad. US imperialism crowned the above aggression by direct military attack, shooting down two Libyan planes over Libya's territorial waters during the Sixth Fleet's maneuvers. This indicates that the US has no qualms about direct military interference in the countries of the region. Imperialism followed up this intervention by calling for all countries to cut all economic and diplomatic relations with Libya; American experts working in Libya were told to leave in an attempt to set back oil production as a first step to encircling Libya economically.

On another level, it seems that the series of political developments and military arrangements, being made by the imperialists, Zionists

and their reactionary agents in Lebanon, all contribute to setting the scene for Lebanon to join Camp David. This is because US imperialism's interest in implementing Camp David is keen in this period.

Secretary of State Haig has stressed the importance of supporting the "legitimate authorities" in Lebanon and of separating the Lebanese crisis from the regional crisis. He also proposed a program for executing a solution to the Lebanese crisis. Philip Habib and Morris Draper also raised the subject of the withdrawal of Palestinian heavy (weaponry) from South Lebanon in order to insure continuation of the ceasefire. Moreover, the Lebanese authorities requested an increase in the number of UNIFIL troops deployed in the South in accordance with the US plans. Haig has spoken very frankly about the necessity of reducing Syrian military presence in Lebanon and expressed hope that the Syrians will cooperate in this matter.

If we take into consideration the Zionist preparations to invade the South, as well as the enemy's intention to increase UNIFIL's zone of operation at the expense of Palestinian armed presence, we can see that the thrust of the US imperialist and Zionist plans is to prepare Lebanon to be the next candidate to join Camp David. Thus, Camp David would gain a new Arab link in its framework.

The embodiment of US imperialism's political efforts in the region are many and varied, yet three are most outstanding: Fahd's initiative, the annexation of the Golan and the strategic cooperation agreement.

#### Fahd's treacherous initiative

The series of moves during the last period, chiefly the Fahd plan, prove beyond the shadow of a doubt the real position of Arab reaction: verbal opposition on the one hand while at the same time moving towards Camp David, as the only way for these regimes to secure their interests and defend their power.

Fahd's initiative came at a time when it was clear that the Camp David agreements had reached a deadlock; therefore, it was imperative to find a way out, but only on condition that this not differ in essence from Camp David. It is now clear that the essence of Fahd's plan is its seventh clause which very frankly speaks of formal recognition of the Zionist entity. The other seven points, concerning the establishment of a Palestinian state, Jerusalem's return to Arab sovereignty and Zionist withdrawal from all land occupied in 1967, cannot be realized under the present balance of forces; experience has shown that it is the weaker side which makes concessions.

Why does Saudi Arabia propose this plan at this particular time if the means of achieving anything are unattainable in light of the objective realities and the declared Zionist position? Does Saudi Arabia hope to have the seventh clause accepted as a necessary first step to preparing the region to follow Camp David under a new name, i.e. the Fahd initiative? There is no doubt that this is the intent of the Saudis and the other Arab reactionary regimes that supported the Fahd plan.

On two separate occasions when speaking before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Haig has emphasized that for the US the political problem in the Middle East is that the Arab-Zionist conflict still causes divisions in the ranks of "our friends" who would be able to cooperate "with us" and among themselves to face the "Soviet danger" if they can resolve their differences.

There is no doubt that the formulation of the Camp David agreements did cause superficial splits within the ranks of the friends of US imperialism in the region. Thus Fahd's plan, which is not contradictory but complementary to Camp David, is also a formula for putting an end to these superficial splits occurring among the friends of US imperialism.

US imperialism still considers the Camp David agreements as a basic link which resolved part of the Arab-Zionist conflict. However,

seeing that it does not solve the whole problem, the US is looking to Arab reaction to find a formula, complementary to Camp David, which can resolve the remainder of the conflict and which will tie the whole region to imperialist strategy on all levels.

General Haig has stated that the US will miss Sadat's "uncommonly bold and clear views". Imperialism aspires to compensate for the loss of Sadat's "boldness" by continuing to concentrate on the importance of Egypt in the US strategy in the region and on the Saudi link, enhancing the latter's role in leading the other reactionary regimes to Camp David through the Fahd plan proposed in August 1981. This explains the importance accorded this initiative in Europe and the US, as well as Arab reaction's insistence upon this plan even after the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front was able to defeat it at the Fez Summit.

The aims of the Fahd plan can be summarized as follows:

a) to gather Arab reaction around this initiative in order to follow the strategy of Camp David

b) to hold the door open until after April in order to be able to welcome Egypt back (in the Arab ranks), including it among the supporters of the Fahd initiative in order to guarantee the unity of Arab reaction in the broadest possible framework in accordance with US imperialist strategy

c) to affect the stand of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and the Palestinian and Syrian stands in particular, in an attempt to eradicate the political positions taken by these forces after Camp David

d) to undermine the growing relations between the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front countries and the Soviet Union, and to hinder the serious efforts aimed at distinguishing between the progressive, patriotic regimes and the reactionary ones

e) to revive the settlement atmosphere in the Palestinian and Syrian arenas in order to divide the Palestinian forces, weaken Syria's stand and recreate confusion in the ranks of the masses.

When the Fez Summit failed to produce any results, the disappointment of imperialism, Zionism and reaction was commensurate with the great hopes they had harbored concerning the summit. The wave of bombs and assassinations intensified in Lebanon and Syria. The Zionist enemy annexed the Golan Heights, taking advantage of international developments and the failure of the Fez Summit.

The Fahd initiative was at the head of the agenda of the Fez Summit, convened in November 1981, despite the Arab differences which had preceded the summit with respect to the Fahd plan, its clauses, its timing and its being proposed at all. The insistence of Saudi Arabia and other Arab reactionaries on proposing the plan despite the unresolved differences proves that Arab reaction is totally committed to following the path of Camp David under Fahd's banner. It also proves their inability to maintain even verbal commitment to the decisions of the Baghdad Summit.

The adjournment of the summit at its beginning without the achievement of agreement on the plan constituted a real defeat for Saudi Arabia and the reactionaries that supported it. Imperialism also clearly expressed its disappointment. However, the defeat at Fez was not final; the plan was not withdrawn. This initiative remains despite broad mass rejection, despite the rejection of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and Iraq, and despite the reservations of other Arab countries concerning some clauses for one reason or another.

On top of this, when the Zionists issued their decision to annex the Syrian Golan Heights, Saudi Arabia continued to maintain its initiative, drawing attention to its advantages and the necessity of adopting it. Arab reaction did not hesitate at all, even after Zionist intentions were exposed.

How do we explain these developments? The political report of our fourth national congress stressed that the Camp David agreements are the political expression of the overlapping interests of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. It was our analysis that Arab reaction, which opposed Camp David verbally and superficially only, would make its way to Camp David, but probably calling it something else, in order to merge politically, economically and militarily with the Zionist-imperialist alliance, standing against the people of the region and the progressive, socialist forces.

Arab reaction, which opposed the Egyptian regime at the Baghdad Summit and decided to boycott it, was actually supporting this regime. Three states — Sudan, Somalia and Oman — have already aligned with Egypt and broken its isolation. The same regimes participated alongside the Rapid Deployment Force in Operation Bright Star. In other words, the reactionary regimes were divided into those who openly stood with Egypt and those who assumed the traditional position of superficial condemnation at the Baghdad Summit. The aim of the latter regimes was to absorb the masses' response to the Egyptian regime's actions, to abort the Palestinian revolutionary movement and the Arab national liberation movement, to erase the process of polarization between the reactionary and patriotic forces and to undermine the positions of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front.

The insistence of the reactionary regimes on the Fahd initiative proves that their path is the path of Camp David. Moreover, these regimes showed their true colors after Sadat's execution when they called for considering the return of Egypt to the Arab League and the official Arab solidarity, as if the differences were based on Sadat's person and his death had ended these differences. This was despite the fact that Mubarak repeatedly stressed his commitment to Camp David.

In the view of the PFLP Central Committee, it is necessary to constantly be on the alert for and confront any settlement trends and the forces which seek to have their political maneuvers accepted under various banners. We must expose the bourgeois policies that try to depict the advantages of the Fahd plan and almost managed to create confusion and divisions anew among the Palestinian and Arab masses. As much as we are responsible for promoting the level of Palestinian national unity, nevertheless we have a special duty to fight the settlement trend and eradicate the calls for surrender.

The plan of the enemy for striking the Palestinian revolution consists of two parts, one political and one military. During this period in particular, the Fahd plan is the theme of the political plans against the revolution. Thus, the dangers of this conspiracy are no less than the military attacks. This calls for continuous struggle until the Fahd plan is finally buried.

#### **Annexation of the Golan Heights**

The Zionist entity knows its position and role exactly: being the forward aggressive base above any other imperialist base in the region. Its task is to protect imperialist interests and other bases for the future, fulfilling US imperialist plans. At the same time, this entity has its own particular expansionist aspirations in order to establish 'Greater Israel' and increase its exploitation of the land, water, labor force and markets of the area. The Zionist entity exploits its usefulness for imperialism to the maximum in order to fulfill its own interests. These do not contradict with imperialist interests except in the sphere of causing some political embarrassment in the United Nations and in the face of world public opinion, including within the imperialist countries. In addition, there is the reaction evoked in the region on the mass level against world imperialism, especially the US,

and its local reactionary agents who are exposed by their friendship and dependency on the US.

The Knesset's decision to annex the Golan Heights, which was occupied by the Zionist entity in 1967, occurred at a time when conditions were beneficial to the enemy on the international and Arab level. Foremost among these conditions were:

1. The broad and unlimited support accorded by the US administration to the Zionist entity in most of its aggressive plans, despite occasional token disapproval of some of these actions; the US veto against the resolution of the majority of Security Council members to impose minimum sanctions against the enemy, aimed at inducing it to retreat from the annexation decision, erased any Zionist doubts and reaffirmed US support to the blatant Israeli aggression.

2. The western European position, which does not go beyond minimal verbal condemnation of Zionist actions; this has been proven by many events, most recently, the voting in the UN over the Golan Heights issue. This position is designed to gain the friendship of Arab countries in order to secure oil and other economic interests, while having minimal effect on the Zionist entity.

3. The Zionist entity chose a time when very sensitive conditions prevailed for the socialist community, the Soviet Union and actually for every communist in the world, due to the Polish crisis. These forces were on alert to confront the possibilities of the situation in Poland after the declaration of an emergency situation. In this volatile situation, with the fierce campaign waged by the imperialist ranks, headed by the US, against Poland and the Soviet Union, Begin left the hospital to introduce the annexation proposal in the Knesset.

4. On the Arab level, the Zionist enemy did not expect Syria to initiate military actions against the annexation decision. In the event Syria should do so, the Israeli leaders expected this to be to their favor, giving them the opportunity to deal a heavy blow to Syria's military forces. This evaluation is affirmed by Iraq's involvement in the protracted war with Iran as well as its sharp contradiction with Syria. Moreover, Syria faces conflicts in Lebanon with the fascists and the regime, especially in view of the approaching presidential elections, all of which is a cause for concern for Syria, leading it to maintain its forces in Lebanon.

The Zionist entity timed the annexation with the approach of its final withdrawal from the Sinai. Despite conviction that the current Egyptian regime is totally committed to Camp David and all its consequences, the Zionists wanted to add a new practical test of its policy towards the Arab regimes that oppose Camp David. In this way, the Zionist leadership sought to achieve one of two goals:

- a) Answering the Zionist voices who have demanded cancellation or postponement of the final withdrawal, especially after Sadat's execution, in order to convince them and Israeli public opinion generally about the withdrawal.

- b) Prolonging, postponing or preventing the final withdrawal in case the Egyptian reaction exceeded the level deemed acceptable, even while acknowledging how hypothetical it was that the regime would go farther than verbal criticism.

The Zionist enemy is fully aware of the real conditions on the Arab level. It knows the aims and positions of the reactionary regimes, whose interests dictate a move towards peace and recognition of the Zionist entity as a prelude to joining the Egyptian regime in the scheme of opposing socialism and the Soviet Union. The move to join the Egyptian regime has been manifest in the Saudi princes' proposals for coexistence with the Zionist entity. The Zionist response to Fahd's plan is the most expressive, showing awareness of the reactionaries' aims. Although the Zionist response to this plan was a violent one in accordance with traditional Zionist arrogance, which has only been increased by Camp David, Begin said in effect that Prince Fahd

and the Saudis know "our address" if they wish to make contacts and negotiate.

5. Internally, the annexation step was intended to serve certain political aims of the Likud. In particular, it was a response to the voices which arose opposing the dismantlement of the settlements in the Sinai and accusing the Likud of giving up "Israeli lands". In addition, it gave the Likud the chance to hit the opposition, i.e., the Labor Party, which faced internal problems when many of its members voted for the annexation. This forced the Labor leadership to freeze their membership for a period for having violated the central party decision.

In the context of these international and regional conditions, 'Israel' took the decision to annex the Golan in full awareness of the fundamental role Syria is playing in confronting the policies of Camp David. The Syrian forces in Lebanon are performing a primary role in preventing the Lebanese authority from responding to Begin's repeated invitations to negotiate and normalize relations, Sadat style. The Syrian regime is supporting the Palestinian revolution in confronting the Zionist plans and limiting the expansion of Saad Haddad's area in the South. Syria plays an important role in preventing the expansion of fascist-isolationist domination, supported by the Lebanese authority, into West Beirut and all Lebanon, which would enable the authority to enter the chain of Camp David as desired by Zionism, imperialism and reaction.

Annexing the Golan Heights in this period is specifically aimed to punish Syria for the role it plays in confronting the imperialist and Zionist plans. Syria's role in foiling the Fez Summit caused the Zionist entity to speed up this step. This is another example of the intertwining of the Zionist role with the political maneuvers and role of Arab reaction.

Thus, we see the decision to annex the Golan Heights as one of the byproducts of Camp David, carrying the concept of Zionist 'security' to this extent. Our position concerning confronting the annexation can be summarized as follows:

1. Any political moves should be initiated by the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front in consultation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community; then contacts can be made with the other Arab countries.

2. A solely political answer is not sufficient. Therefore, Syria must necessarily consider a military response, not by means of waging a sudden all-out war alone, but by means of beginning to wage a protracted people's war.

3. The annexation step should serve as an opportunity for the Syrian regime and Baath Party to work to strengthen the internal front by enhancing the role of the National Front, granting democratic freedoms and firmly confronting the economic sabotage being enacted by many bourgeois sectors, who aim to secure their private interests at the expense of the masses' interests.

4. Syria must also respond to the enemy's step by increased support to the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, and by accelerating its own active role in directing more blows against the plans of the US, the Phalangists, the authorities and the Zionists in Lebanon.

#### **US-Zionist strategic cooperation agreement**

The signing of the strategic cooperation agreement demonstrates the very high level of agreement that exists on the common role that American and Zionist forces are playing and will play against the people of the region and their patriotic and progressive organizations. It also reflects the extent to which the Zionist entity is considered a major offensive base, more secure, stable and able to serve imperialist plans than any other.

The freezing of the agreement by the US, as a token protest against the Zionist decision to annex the Golan Heights, and the reaction of the Zionists, considering it cancelled, express the secondary conflicts which are very quickly resolved between the Zionist entity and US imperialism. Haig described the differences arising from the annexation as a "passing cloud"; Shamir, the Zionist Foreign Minister, made a number of statements to the same effect.

It is important to note that the same thing happened between the two parties after the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor: The US froze the delivery of F16s for some weeks, but then the Zionist entity received these planes and additional weapons.

US imperialism has taken a new qualitative step in signing the strategic cooperation agreement without considering the embarrassment this would cause its Arab reactionary allies, who continue anyway to talk of the US's friendship, its role in settling the Middle East crisis and its 'neutrality'.

#### **The Arab national liberation movement**

During the imperialist aggression in our region, the Arab national liberation movement confronted these attacks by firmly holding on to their bases and by confronting the enemy parties in many places. Last year's experiences proved that the Arab national liberation movement can be steadfast and can move and act. Moreover, the means available to the movement give it a legitimate reason to believe that it can enact a strategic change from a defensive to an offensive position, and that it can defeat the enemy of the people gradually by an accumulation of daily struggle.

In this report we cannot enumerate all the partial victories achieved; only the most outstanding events will be mentioned:

#### **The execution of the symbol of treachery: Sadat**

Sadat's execution is one of the more important events of 1981, due to its close relation to the current of events in the Arab region. After Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem, the Camp David agreements and the state of shock experienced by the Arab people over his visit, there were continuous attempts to 'normalize' the mentality of the people into accepting Sadat's steps as the only reasonable and possible way open to them.

However, despite the means expended to brainwash the Egyptian people, depicting the Camp David agreements in a positive light, unrest grew in their midst and crystallized less than a year after the signing of the agreements. The opposition movement – democratic, progressive and religious forces – began to grow, forcing Sadat to strike it severely one month before he was executed. This execution clearly and tangibly expresses the people's rejection of the agreements and the normalization process; it obliterated the symbol of national treason and expressed a deep belief that coexistence with the Zionist enemy should be rejected and that death is the certain fate of all traitors, no matter how they repress the people and no matter how much effort is exerted to mislead the masses into accepting their treason.

The execution of Sadat was an important event because it constituted a real loss for imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. What distinguished Sadat from other rulers was his extreme daring in dealing with internal and foreign policy. In Sadat and his regime, US imperialism had found a basic lever for establishing imperialist domination in the region. Thus, the loss of Sadat and his regime, that had led events in the direction of Camp David, was a great one.

However, there are more important issues: Has Sadat's execution led to a difference in the trend of rule in Egypt? or has the regime continued steadily in the same trend? Has imperialism shown more or less interest in furthering Camp David after Sadat's death?

Everything indicates that the 'new' regime continues to uphold Camp David and is equally enthusiastic about continuing this trend to the very end. Moreover, it is exerting great efforts to generalize this trend in the region.

The political report of the fourth national congress explained clearly and in depth that the Camp David trend is not that of an individual. Sadat was only the chief representative of a ruling class which found in Camp David a way to fulfill its interests, which overlap with the interests of imperialism and Zionism. The political statements made by Mubarak since he assumed power clearly express the economic basis of the Camp David agreements. Scores of statements issued by Egyptian officials at various levels confirm commitment to Camp David and stress that whatever can happen in terms of Arab solidarity will be tied to the Camp David agreements and consolidating them.

To show good will towards the Zionist entity, Mubarak stressed that Egypt will not fight alongside Syria and will not at any time fight 'Israel'. At the same time, Mubarak is trying to absorb the patriotic Egyptian forces, especially the representatives of the patriotic bourgeoisie and the liberals in this movement, in order to broaden his political base. With this aim, he took a number of measures designed to improve his image in their eyes. It is the responsibility of the patriotic forces, and especially the truly progressive ones, to be on guard for these tricks.

With regard to 'autonomy' and what has been said about differences between the Egyptian and Zionist points of view, our estimation is that these differences will not reach a level which threatens Camp David. By pretending to take a firmer position and to have a special understanding of 'autonomy', Mubarak's regime is trying to commit Zionism to applying the agreements made by both parties with regard to the Palestinian level, which from the Egyptian regime's point of view should lead to self-determination and a kind of Palestinian entity, seemingly independent from the Zionist entity.

Having met criticism that the Camp David agreements do not remedy the Palestinian question, which is considered the core of the Middle East crisis, the Egyptian regime is still trying to apply its understanding of Camp David with respect to the Palestinian question, so as to defend these agreements on the Arab level and internationally. The regime also tries to have 'autonomy' apply to the land as well as the people and to assign greater powers to the administrative council which is to be elected, including power in security matters.

However, negotiations between the two parties with the participation of the US have made it clear that the Zionist enemy avoids committing itself to the minimum conditions laid down in the Camp David agreements. Every time the meetings have been adjourned so that pressure might be applied, the Egyptian regime has resumed the meetings only to make concessions itself. In the light of this, we expect that in its attempts to avoid the Zionist pressure aiming at full Egyptian surrender to the Zionist point of view, the Egyptian regime will come up against the intransigence of the Zionist enemy; this will lead the regime to make more concessions, one after another, without Zionist intransigence endangering the Camp David agreements.

The question which elicits much debate in political circles is: Will the Zionist enemy withdraw from the last third of the Sinai at the appointed time, or will it create obstacles that excuse it from carrying out the agreements made?

This question arises from previous positions and actions of Zionism. In reality, matters were planned by the Zionists so as to apply pressure on Egypt, blackmailing it into total surrender to the Zionist conditions, especially with respect to the sections of the agreement dealing with the Palestinians. A great fuss has been made about the removal of settlers from Yamit settlement. It has been

reported that some Israeli ministers encouraged the settlers not to move, and that they propose the possibility of cancelling or postponing the withdrawal. However, an end was put to this confusion when the Zionist government stressed its commitment to withdrawing on the set date. Sharon also visited Cairo to discuss the details of the withdrawal. We expect the Zionist enemy to pressure Egypt even more in order to get total approval of the Zionist point of view; Egypt will continue to uphold its position on this level; yet any differences arising will not lead to cancellation of the agreements.

US imperialism, which supervised the signing of the Camp David agreements, is continuing to exploit all means and methods to generalize the Camp David trend throughout the region. The Camp David agreements constitute the essence of US imperialist policy in this period, which may be an extended one. It does not take much thought to see the reasons behind the great efforts which the US exerts to implement and expand the Camp David agreements. Imperialist interests in the Arab region are increasing daily. Oil is still a concern for the US and Europe, as its continued supply is indispensable for their interests. The US still imports 50% of the oil it consumes from the Arab and other regions. As yet, attempts to solve the energy problem by finding substitutes for oil have failed to decrease these countries' dependence on oil. Research has shown that the cost of developing alternatives is much greater than the cost of securing oil.

Moreover, US imperialism is in dire need of the billions of dollars deposited by Arab reaction in the imperialist banks in order to handle the economic crisis. It also needs the markets of the Arab region to distribute its products and guarantee the absorption of the billions which flow to the region as oil revenues. In the light of this, how can imperialism relinquish the Camp David agreements which are intended to secure the continuation of its political, military and economic domination in a region whose importance is increasing?

The great importance of Camp David for US imperialism explains the violence with which it defends this trend and works to deepen it, using all methods available, secret and overt. It is sufficient to note the practices of US imperialism on the Arab and international level, and the fact that it went on alert after the execution of Sadat. In this context, one can understand that the path of Camp David was not affected by the execution of Sadat and Mubarak's replacing him. However, this does not mean that Mubarak will limit himself to the details of Sadat's policies on all levels or to a degree that will introduce no change.

Despite the shortness of Mubarak's rule, there are signs of changes; for example, the regime's stand towards the Soviet Union. The tone of animosity is less than in the days of Sadat, and there are signs that relations will be normalized and that Soviet experts will be called as advisors in the field of economy, especially for the programs which were halted when Sadat expelled the Soviet experts. Moreover, Mubarak does not seem so enthusiastic about offering direct military assistance to US imperialism in the region and in Africa. Mubarak has a less offensive policy towards Libya. He has directed the Egyptian media to stop attacking the other Arab regimes and to refrain from responding to attacks on Egypt in the Arab press. His official statements affirm the regime's wish to rejoin the official solidarity of Arab reaction in order to broaden the regime's circle of political security and attract Arab capital to relieve Egypt's economic crisis.

Internally, Mubarak's policy towards the opposition is characterized by moderation, and he has taken steps to combat corruption within the regime and its institutions. He began releasing political prisoners arrested by Sadat immediately after assuming office. He met with political leaders to discuss matters of national concern. In other words, he is moving towards a deceptive liberal policy aimed to

rearrange the internal situation in a way that will fortify his regime and diminish the influence of other power centers.

Our evaluation is that changes are being made, but they are not on a significant level. The regime will continue to exhibit willingness to rejoin the official Arab solidarity on the condition that it is not required to cancel the Camp David agreements.

#### **The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front – Fifth conference**

This conference was held in September 1981, nine months later than the appointed date, despite the seriousness of political developments in the Arab region. The delay was a clear indication of the nature of this front and its ability and seriousness in confronting the dangers to which the Arab region is exposed. However, what is more indicative is that the fifth conference, with great difficulty, reached agreement on issuing a communique which represents less than the minimum required by the political matters facing it.

If we examine the major issues discussed and evaluate what the conference members did, we notice that this front has more or less remained in place without taking any confrontation measures in light of current developments. The fifth conference witnessed differences in the evaluation of the role played by one reactionary regime or another. It was clear that some countries took a stand based on local interests, not considering the national interests. Moreover, while relations with the Soviet Union and socialist countries were discussed, developments in the region require more serious consideration of deepening these relations in order to make available the means of actual confrontation and steadfastness.

In short, it was clear that the major issues which should have been resolved during this conference were not resolved.

Although we support this front and work for its development, we stress that the evaluation in the political report of the fourth congress was correct regarding the future of this front and its capabilities; we consider it a political front, representing the minimum requirements, which we should struggle to develop to a level which will serve the cause.

The Fez Summit proved that this front *can* act within the official Arab framework and within the popular framework; it can confront imperialism and Zionism and their plans if it directs itself seriously towards the national and patriotic tasks, and rises to the level of the challenge imposed. The political stand of this front was an important factor leading to the failure of the Fahd initiative. This calls for another conference to discuss new developments in the Arab arena and specify a practical line of confrontation to face the coming dangers. At the same time, this front is called upon to establish practical institutions to follow up the national tasks.

#### **Increasing mass activities against reactionary regimes**

Recently, there were broad, angry and sometimes violent mass movements in some Arab countries. This is the masses' response to reactionary policies practiced by the regimes against their interests and to the economic crisis which has increased to the point that conditions are intolerable.

The most outstanding mass movement in this period was in Sudan. This movement has intensified and grown to include most of the cities; this led the regime to launch an enormous and bloody campaign of repression. Moreover, the regime ordered the closing down of schools and universities until further notice, and blocked roads in an effort to end the uprisings originating here. However, the means to which Numeiri has resorted will not stop the situation from deteriorating, because the economic policies followed by the regime and the deep-rooted corruption in its institutions are incapable of solving the problems.

Egypt also witnessed the beginning of mass unrest against the regime's policies on all levels before Sadat's execution. The regime felt weak and isolated because of its economic crisis and due to the growth of the progressive and patriotic forces opposing Camp David and its economic policies. Thus, it launched a broad campaign in September 1981, whereby thousands were arrested and terror methods used against the patriotic and progressive forces and the people, in order to avoid a mass uprising like the one of January 1977.

In Morocco, there were demonstrations, and broad sectors of the workers and students protested the regime's suspect role in the Arab region, in the service of reaction and imperialism, and the worsening economic situation. Despite the repression enacted by King Hassan against the popular movements, whereby scores were killed and hundreds arrested, the situation is still threatening the regime.

At the same time, the revolution of the Saharan people continues, led by POLISARIO, which has dealt painful blows to the regime, such as the last battle at Kulta Zamour, where the Moroccan army suffered heavy losses; this is another factor adding to the regime's crisis.

In Bahrain the reactionary regime recently arrested a number of patriotic, religious people who were preparing themselves for armed struggle against the regime. Despite the political affiliation of this group and the fact that some of them had connections with the Iranian Revolution, it is an expression of the people's discontent with the regime's policies. Popular anger is felt most strongly against those policies which tie Bahrain completely to Saudi Arabia and US imperialism in order to protect the regime from the progressive and patriotic Bahraini opposition. It is important to note that the recent arrests were not the first of their kind; the regime has previously enacted repressive measures, including the execution of progressives and patriots.

The mass movements in the Arab Peninsula and the Gulf are not limited to Bahrain. There is also information about patriotic and progressive movements among the masses in Saudi Arabia, which the regime has dealt with using the most terrible kinds of liquidation. At the same time, the National Democratic Front in North Yemen is escalating its mass, military and political struggle in the face of the regime, which is tied to Saudi Arabia.

These movements confirm that despite the repression practiced, the Arab masses are still asserting their will to struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. The political report of our fourth congress stresses that the challenges embodied in Camp David and the increasing economic crisis, that affects the everyday life of the masses, will provide the objective basis for crystallizing the energies of the masses and exploding them in the face of the reactionary regimes.

Despite all the suffering borne by the Arab masses, they still have enormous potentials for struggle. If correctly mobilized, their energies will be able to bring about great changes in the region. All this points to a great process of national awakening in the confrontation of imperialist plans in the region. In the light of this, it is our duty and the duty of all patriotic and progressive forces to continue a genuine and serious struggle to instate democratic freedoms for the masses in order to enable them to participate in the process of confronting the enemies' plans, which aim at obliterating the patriotic and progressive forces and the people's movement.



## PALESTINIAN LEVEL

The implications of the past year's events indicate that the proposed enemy plan according to Camp David is to liquidate the Palestinian cause, and not simply to restrict and tame it into making compromises. The major developments which prove this are the July 1981 aggression, the moves of the reactionary forces in Lebanon, and the ongoing attempts to implement 'autonomy'.

### The July 1981 aggression

In July, the Zionist enemy launched a severe, broad and barbaric attack on the bases of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, crowned by the bombing of residential areas in West Beirut. Planes, boats and artillery were used in this war of devastation which aimed at destroying the infrastructure and heavy arms of the Palestinian revolution, causing a shortage of supplies and ammunition, cutting all transport and supply lines by bombarding the bridges in the South, shelling civilian areas and leadership centers in Beirut as well as in the South.

The Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces confronted this war of devastation with fantastic steadfastness, relying on heavy artillery and rockets to bombard Israeli settlements in northern Palestine. This was carried out with a high degree of cooperation and on the basis of a common plan which enabled painful hits against the Zionist settlements, obliging the enemy to admit high losses. This heroic, coordinated response and the enemy's admission of its losses raised the morale of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, who witnessed the revolution's military response. The masses in South Lebanon were able to see the damage inflicted on the enemy on Israeli television. This added to their readiness to bear the results of the confrontation.

The Joint Forces displayed great efficiency in this confrontation, confusing the enemy's forces and preventing the enemy from achieving its political aims. In more than one operation along the coast near Sour and in the Nabatiyeh area, the Joint Forces were able to destroy the Zionist troops' morale and arrogance.

The Zionist enemy's aggression in July was a basic and major effort to liquidate the armed presence of the revolution in Lebanon. There is no doubt that the military role of the Zionist entity in the plans to liquidate the revolution will continue along the following lines, as we earlier specified in the political report of the 4th congress: supplying the forces of Saad Haddad and the fascist Lebanese Front (the Phalangists), attempting to liquidate the Joint Forces and hitting the masses continuously in order to plant desperation in their hearts. This aims to destroy the Joint Forces' efficiency and create divisions between the masses and the revolution. It is hard to imagine that this role will change, even in the event of another aggression against the South like that of March 1978, although the coming attack may be larger and have different results.

### The reactionary Lebanese regime's ongoing conspiracy against the revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement

Throughout the previous stage, the Lebanese authorities have continued their moves on various political and military levels, preparing to execute their main role: liquidation of the revolution in accordance with the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plan. In order to clarify the way in which the Lebanese authorities are enacting their role, the main topic to be discussed is the activity of the regime following the July War. The reactionary authorities have taken a position which signifies adoption of the aims and demands of the Zionist enemy, as listed below:

1. withdrawing the revolution's forces from the areas of Sour, Qasbiyeh and Arnoun

2. yielding these regions to the Lebanese army and the UNIFIL
3. increasing the number of the UNIFIL troops
4. forbidding the entrance of weapons to the forces of the revolution in Lebanon
5. gradually withdrawing the ADF (Syrian forces) from Lebanon

The moves of the regime and its ambassador to the UN were within this prescribed framework as was the Zionist demand that Palestinian artillery be moved back so that it cannot reach the Zionist settlements, or else 'Israel' would be obliged to occupy the land on which this artillery is located. Also the moves of the US envoys to the area, Philip Habib and Morris Draper, have been within this framework; they said that the US cannot prohibit 'Israel' from occupying South Lebanon if these objectives are not fulfilled.

The Lebanese regime called for an Arab summit on South Lebanon to arrive at a unified Arab strategy for confrontation in order to "guard the South from being lost". The slogan of a unified Arab strategy sounds like a good one, but actually it aims at bad results. According to the Lebanese regime's thinking and in the context of the current Arab situation, a unified Arab strategy means that Lebanon should not continue as the sole area of confrontation with the Zionist enemy, because it cannot bear the results of this battle and has already paid a high price in loss of security and stability, due to Palestinian actions. This line of thinking continues: Since the Arabs want peace and are not preparing for war, then it is their duty to help the Lebanese authorities stop the Palestinian war from being launched from Lebanon alone. This is an attempt to deprive the revolution of justification for its presence in Lebanon, as a preparatory step for its liquidation. The Lebanese authorities achieved some success on this level with the ceasefire agreement in July, where Saudi Arabia played a prominent role. At the Fez Summit, the authorities were compensated for the special summit on Lebanon (which they had requested but was never convened) by the decision to form a committee to draw up a unified Arab strategy.

The reactionary Saudi regime has made great efforts, directly and through the Arab Follow-up Committee, to implement the imperialist plan in the Lebanese arena. Relying on financial resources, the Saudi ambassador to Lebanon is making concentrated efforts to undermine the patriotic areas by mobilizing reactionary figures who reside in these areas against the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement. The Saudis play an active role in supporting the Lebanese regime as well as the fascist front, strengthening them against the revolution and the LPM.

All these developments have occurred after the Lebanese regime succeeded in unifying its authority, ending the situation where there had been two executive poles due to contradictions between the President and the Prime Minister. This conflict was resolved in favor of the President (Sarkis) and the reactionary front. Since then, the Lebanese government requested additional UNIFIL troops and increasing the areas where they are deployed; the authority has also increased pressure to have the Lebanese army deployed in the patriotic areas and reduce the bases of the revolution and the LPM, thus cooperating with the US plans to get significant political concessions. These plans rely on the constant threat of impending Zionist aggression.

After the July ceasefire, the Lebanese regime, the Deuxieme Bureau and the Lebanese Front acted concertedly to spread explosions and provoke clashes in the patriotic areas of Beirut and the South, extending to most areas of Lebanon. These explosions and clashes provided the reactionary forces, with the regime at the forefront, with a golden opportunity for mobilizing the masses against the revolution. Traditional reactionary figures in the patriotic areas

raised their voices calling for an end to this situation and for the regime's reactionary army to impose security measures.

Confronting this situation, the LPM in cooperation with the ADF executed the first stage of its security plan, starting in the beginning of November, just prior to the Fez Summit. These measures achieved a degree of success and elicited a positive response on the mass level, in spite of the enemy's ability to carry out some destructive operations, especially after the failure at Fez.

The revolution and the LPM have courageously confronted all the plots of the Zionist, imperialist and reactionary agents in spite of the extent of the enemy conspiracy. Yet as soon as the Joint Security Committee had moved to implement its immediate measures, the clashes started again, spreading from one area to another. This phenomenon of clashes among the patriotic forces, instigated by agents of the regime, the Deuxieme Bureau and the fascists, is becoming even more dangerous in light of the expected developments of the coming stage, which require securing the base of the patriotic forces. The patriotic alliance will face the possibility of a Zionist annihilation attempt in the South, as well as the contest for the presidency in Lebanon, for which the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces have been preparing politically and militarily. The enemy may choose to explode the situation in the event that the election of the next president is not arranged in line with the isolationists' demands and wishes.

Our expectations should motivate us towards serious action to strengthen the LPM and consolidate its leadership role. We must use all means and work on all levels to achieve this aim. A top priority is completing the endeavor which has been started to control the security situation in the patriotic areas. These expectations should also push us to develop and enrich the Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian alliance. It must be raised to a level capable of defending the common presence and aims against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracies that are escalating with the aim of liquidating the revolution and the LPM, and weakening Syria.

The declaration of Haig about the necessity of solving Lebanon's cause before the Palestinian one and his proposals for widening the deployment area of UNIFIL while increasing its ranks to become an offensive force, in addition to the military supplies sent by imperialist states to the regime's army – certainly not to confront 'Israel', but to liquidate the revolution and the LPM – all make the 'hidden' imperialist plot quite clear. The plan is to narrow the area in which the revolution can operate as a preparatory step for its total liquidation and an end to the Syrian presence in order to implement Camp David in as many Arab countries as possible. The upcoming presidential elections in Lebanon may provide US imperialism with a chance to execute some steps on this level. This is seen in the threats of the fascist Lebanese Front and the coordinated moves of reactionary forces within as well as outside the regime. The Palestinian revolution, the LPM and Syria should be on alert against these plans, as well as against the Zionist plans for Lebanon, which have been clearly expressed in the threats of the Israeli military leaders. As Sharon has said, the coming Israeli attack on Lebanon will be of a different kind; the enemy may attempt a major military attack against the revolution, the LPM and the Syrian forces, occupying South Lebanon. This coincides with the overall imperialist plan, for the occupation of South Lebanon would give the US the opportunity to extract concessions in exchange for Israeli withdrawal. In this context, the US policy of supporting the regime and speaking of its unity is complementary and not contradictory to the Zionist designs in South Lebanon.

### The ongoing Zionist attempt to impose 'autonomy'

Throughout the previous period, the Zionist authorities have continued their policies aimed at liquidating our masses' resistance inside occupied Palestine in order to implement the 'autonomy' project. In line with this, the Zionist entity strove to thicken settlements, further economic merger and obliterate the Palestinian national identity. The annexation of Jerusalem and then the Golan should open our eyes to the next step to be expected: the annexation of the West Bank and/or Gaza Strip, especially if the suitable political situation is found which gives the Zionist enemy reason to believe that it can achieve this big step. The enemy's policy for implementing 'autonomy' was evidenced in the following:

#### *Civil administration*

After becoming Israeli Defense Minister, Sharon declared his plan for the West Bank and Gaza: ending the military's responsibility for administration of daily affairs; assigning this responsibility to civilian Israelis who would gradually work to recruit Arab administrators ready to share this task; maintaining the army's responsibility for security, but reducing military manifestations to a minimum to keep the army from coming in contact with the inhabitants. The Israeli cabinet and Knesset confirmed Sharon's policy, and Menahem Milson was appointed the civil administrator for the West Bank. Just afterwards, Major General Danny Matt, coordinator of the occupied territories, resigned, as his responsibilities were in effect assumed by Milson.

However, our masses and their patriotic forces in the occupied territories saw through this maneuver; they were aware of the ultimate consequences of this step, which is actually an advanced stage of imposing 'autonomy' according to the Israeli understanding of the Camp David accords. Thus our masses confronted this step with all their might. The peak of this resistance was the heroic uprising of our masses in the Gaza Strip which continued several weeks with many forces joining in. This was simultaneous with the uprising of our masses in the West Bank and the increase of patriotic activities in the Galilee. We stress the role of the Gaza masses because throughout the previous period the partners to Camp David were bargaining on the Strip as certain conditions led them to think that 'autonomy' could be implemented there first. Moreover, patriotic activities had been subdued in the Strip in the previous period.

The uprising in Gaza began as a protest against economic conditions, particularly the heavy taxation imposed upon physicians and pharmacists. It rapidly grew into a broad mass uprising, declaring opposition to the civil administration proposal. Protest over economic conditions was transformed into a clearly political protest. Therefore, Gaza mayor Shawwa rode the wave of the uprising and joined the five-member committee formed to guide it. However, his aims were clear to the patriotic forces: Like any reactionary, Shawwa was trying to polish his image, and at the same time he was frightened that the situation would develop beyond the limits he desired. Thus, he hastily declared his own proposal for ending the situation – a proposal which does not in essence conflict with the Fahd Plan.

Shawwa's proposal did not stop our masses' uprising. Thus, the Zionist enemy was forced to declare its readiness to make some concessions on the economic level. At the same time, under the pressure of the uprising which encompassed all sectors of our masses in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with students at the forefront, Sharon retreated temporarily by withdrawing the army and limiting its role to a minimum. At the same time, he increased the police's responsibility for security, especially in the Strip. Then once again, Sharon ordered the army to carry out its repressive and barbaric acts against the masses, thereby exposing the essence of his policy.



Thus, the consciousness of our masses, led by the patriotic forces, and their readiness to struggle and sacrifice stands as an obstacle to the enemies' attempts to implement 'self-administration' in any form.

### *The village leagues*

In all countries of the world, there exists a difference between the objective conditions in urban and rural areas. This is based upon the difference in economic and social levels between the city and the countryside, related to the standard of living, the amount and type of work opportunities available, and the level of social services offered to the inhabitants. In a backward society, this gap often leads to migration from rural to urban areas, resulting in the growth of a poverty belt around the cities. In Palestine, the British Mandate authorities were able to utilize this gap in order to serve their colonial aims, by turning objective differences into forms of contradiction between the city and the countryside. Later, the Jordanian regime was able to manipulate this same gap; actually, it was this reactionary regime that began the process of forming the village leagues. After occupying the West Bank, the Zionist enemy was also aware of the possibilities for exploiting the existence of this gap to serve its interests.

Zionist policy has intensified the gap between the urban and rural areas. At the same time, the patriotic Palestinian organizations have neglected their work in the countryside and focused their political and organizing activities in the cities, because they were the active centers. This left the field open for collaborators and agents to find a social base among the rural masses who are subject to tribal relations and backward conditions. In addition, the masses in the countryside are often apathetic, which is quite understandable in view of the lack of attention accorded to their living conditions. As an indication of this, we find that the beginning of the success of the village leagues was in the district of Al Khalil, one of the poorest regions in the West Bank.

This was the social groundwork for the Zionist enemy's adopting the village leagues as a main vehicle for its policies aimed at creating

an alternative to the patriotic forces and leaders. The enemy has been able to play on the above-mentioned contradictions and benefit from this. There are many figures in the cities who have relations with the Zionist enemy; they enjoy privileges even greater than those accorded the heads of the village leagues, but they lack any popular support.

The Zionist enemy has taken great measures to support the leagues; this has begun to constitute a considerable danger, threatening the unity of our people in confronting the occupation, especially after Sharon armed the leagues to protect them from the people. The provocations made by the league's members after the execution of the traitor Yusef al Khatib, who headed the Ramallah league, and his son are only an indication of what can occur.

In attempting to develop the leagues into a political force with a social base, the Zionist enemy has provided them with material support and large budgets. Conversely, many obstacles were placed before those in the countryside who do not cooperate with Zionist policy, thus tightening the noose around the patriotic organizations and institutions in all areas with the goal of making the leagues responsible for the interests and needs of the people.

Despite all the opportunities and aid accorded the leagues, our masses in the occupied territories are aware of their danger and linkage with the enemy. This became even more true after the execution of Al Khatib and the arming of the league members, and the provocations and destructive activities they have carried out since. Therefore, the patriotic forces must direct increased political and organizational efforts towards the countryside immediately, in order to compensate for their previous shortcomings and to give all possible support to the patriotic forces. Also, more effort must be made to liquidate the heads of the village leagues. By following these two lines of struggle, political-organizational and military, the situation may be reversed to the extent that 'Israel' will not be able to create alternatives to the patriotic forces. Already, prior to Khatib's execution, the intense political campaign to isolate the leagues had led to the withdrawal of many suspected elements from the Ramallah league. These two lines must be reinforced by a united Palestinian position, condemning the leagues and all those who collaborate with or support them.

### *Striking the patriotic municipalities*

The municipalities headed by the patriotic mayors, elected in 1976, have played a significant role in the mobilization of the popular forces, especially the unorganized ones, around patriotic positions. This disturbed the Zionist occupation authorities to the point that they have used all means and methods to end this broad patriotic coalition. The authorities began by singling out the heads and members of the municipalities, as occurred in Beit Jala, where they deported the mayor and assigned one of their agents in his place. The Zionists have deported various mayors, most recently Mohammad Milhem and Fahd Qawasmeh, and attempted the physical liquidation of others, Karim Khalaf and Bassam Shakaa. The authorities finally resorted to imposing candidates of their choice, as occurred in Ariha (Jericho). All this was coupled with pressuring the patriotic municipalities by postponing or blocking their projects and delaying permission for them to receive aid from outside.

This line followed by the authorities crystallized in the recent period, with the Israelis seeking to strengthen the linkage between villages (i.e., village leagues) and to enhance the role of mayors who are connected with the occupation authorities or the Jordanian regime. Such figures are distrusted by the patriotic forces and the masses, and constitute a negligible force. They are being promoted by the Zionists as a political alternative to the PLO in contradiction to the patriotic municipalities that constitute a mobilizing center for the



Graphic by Suleiman Mansour

patriotic forces who adhere to the PLO as their sole, legitimate representative.

Confrontation of this scheme requires more support to the patriotic municipalities and seeking ways to secure the aid needed for them to perform their patriotic and administrative duties. At the same time, we must confront all attacks aimed at destroying the position of these municipalities, whether they are launched by agents connected to the occupation authorities or by reactionary forces aligned with the Jordanian regime.

#### *The moves of suspect religious groups*

A distinctive phenomenon that we began seeing in the occupied territories in the past few years is the broad activities of various religious groups, especially those who assign priority to attacking the progressive and patriotic forces. The most prominent ideas of these groups are as follows:

1. Communism and communists are the primary threat to Islam and Moslems.
2. Land belongs to Allah; he leaves it to whom he wishes, and nothing should prevent us from worshipping him.
3. Palestine as a limited spot on the map does not merit all this attention and should not be accorded primary importance instead of Allah.
4. The resistance organizations generally depend on imported thoughts, foreign to our true Islamic religion.

It is known that these groups receive aid from reactionary Arab forces, especially Saudi Arabia, encouraging their leadership to act in accordance with these ideas. Religious institutions in various parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip are used as cornerstones for these activities; this includes the College of Islamic Law and some of the instructors at Al Azhar in Gaza. In this connection, we should also note the Jordanian regime's support to Moslem Brotherhood groups in the occupied homeland and in Jordan.

What is particularly dangerous is that the role of these groups goes beyond preaching these ideas. In many instances they act to destroy or fragment the work of the patriotic organizations and institutions, as in the case of the attacks on the Gaza Red Crescent Society in 1979 and 1981. What occurred at Al Najah University in Nablus in January is another example. Here fanatics struck a number of teachers and progressive students, and threw one of the professors out of an upper story window of a university building. The activities of these destructive groups have even gone to the extent of obstructing the struggle of detainees in the enemy jails; they have often attacked militant prisoners.

In view of this reality, much thought, planning and work must be devoted to confronting these religious trends and their practices in order to deal with the problems and dangers that they create, and the bloody fights they have caused. Exposing their practices and relations with the reactionary regimes of Saudi Arabia and Jordan should occupy an important place in our agenda for the coming period.

#### *Destroying mass institutions and unions*

The Zionist enemy worked to encircle and destroy the mass organizations, due to the progressive role these have played in confronting the occupation and their ability to mobilize our masses within a broad framework. This began with linking the president of the workers union in Gaza with the policies of the occupation authorities, thus halting the role of the active unions in accordance with the plans and directions of the authorities. The Zionist director of labor in the West Bank has repeatedly tried to interfere in the internal affairs of the unions. To this aim, new regulations were passed, such as the amendment to labor law no. 83, requiring Israeli approval of candidates for union elections.

The process of encirclement and destruction initiated by the Zionist enemy was aggravated by the mistakes and incorrect policies of some Palestinian organizations, which harmed the unity of the unions and thus detracted from their role in the struggle. It is an immediate task for the patriotic organizations to correct their policies concerning the unions and other mass institutions, so that these are able to confront the enemy plans to end their organized mass activity.

Our masses are suffering from the various plans of the occupation aimed at the emigration of the greatest possible number and the imposition of 'autonomy' upon those remaining. At the same time, the patriotic work in the occupied homeland suffers from divisions. The work of the Palestinian National Front remains hindered, as does that of the National Guidance Committee. The differences that arose in the unions of the West Bank added to the seriousness of the situation. The split that occurred has harmed the most important mass organization in the occupied territories. This has been reflected in various forms in internal conflicts from the beginning of the summer until now. What is most painful is that this split is due to narrow reasons of organizational chauvinism. This harms the bulk of our struggle movement in the occupied homeland and outside, and divides the unity of our masses in confronting the plans of the occupation, thus allowing room for agents to act and to stabilize their presence.

Despite the severe situation for our masses, whether due to the Zionist policies or to the divisions in the patriotic work, they have risen above these conditions and continuously renewed their uprisings after the relative slowdown that occurred last summer. The uprisings have again become militant and have encompassed all areas. The persistence of the masses demands: first, the correction of relations among the different patriotic organizations; second, providing the frameworks for mass mobilization; third, securing support for the needs of patriotic activity and the masses' steadfastness. We should not only extol the sacrifices of our masses in the homeland. It is our responsibility to insure their ability to sacrifice. No patriotic organization should be party to placing obstacles before the masses' march. Rather the duty of the patriotic forces is to lead this march.

Our comrades have played a positive and initiatory role in dealing with patriotic relations in the occupied homeland and outside. Those who bear responsibility for the fact that positive results have not been reached are the factions that contributed to halting the work of the National Front and the Guidance Committee, and those who split the workers union.

The fact that the balance of power is in favor of the Zionist enemy does not necessarily mean that it is all-powerful or that it cannot be confronted and foiled. There have been situations where our masses, united and led by their patriotic forces, were able to impose their determination upon the occupation authorities — the experience in the case of Bassam Shakaa and more recently, the experience of Gaza. However, splits in the patriotic ranks makes it easier for the occupation authorities to implement their plans.

The steadfastness of the Palestinian revolution outside the occupied homeland, coupled with the uprisings of our people under occupation, defeated the implementation of the plots directed against the masses under occupation, primarily the 'autonomy' conspiracy.

#### *Spreading an atmosphere of capitulation*

In January, dangerous statements were made by the Palestinian mayors, Shawwa and Freij, calling for recognition of the Zionist entity and questioning the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people. Such statements would not have been the light of day were it not for the appearance of the capitulationist trend in the Palestinian national arena, due to leniency in responding to those voices on the Arab level who dared to propose the possibility of recognition and

coexistence with the Zionist enemy. This trend prompted the Palestinian bourgeoisie to express its opinion about the necessity of recognizing the Zionist entity, as Shawwa and Freij in fact did. In this situation, the basic and primary duty of the leadership of the Palestinian revolution is to refuse to give any form of cover for such capitulationist voices in order to deprive them of all legitimacy when they declare or imply recognition of this racist, settler-colonial entity which fulfills imperialism's objectives in our area.

#### **'Basic prerequisites for confronting the enemies' plans**

After discussing the schemes of the enemy forces aiming to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and cause, the PFLP's Central Committee addressed two questions that are intimately related to the revolution's ability to confront these schemes:

#### *First: Serious and determined steps to enhance Palestinian national unity*

The Central Committee confirmed the positions adopted at the 4th congress, calling for resolute struggle to develop the forms of Palestinian front work. This is based on adherence to the Palestinian National Covenant, the decisions of the 14th Palestinian National Council and the Palestinian declaration at Tripoli (1977), which revived the unity of the organizations and institutions and repaired the cracks which had developed prior to Sadat's treacherous visit to Jerusalem.

Our resolute struggle against the capitulationist trend and our insistence on the necessity of all Palestinian organizations adhering to the organizational decisions of the 14th PNC has only one motive. This is our great concern for safeguarding strong relations of struggle between the organizations of the revolution, and our legitimate revolutionary desire to organize Palestinian affairs and maintain an independent, collective Palestinian decision, protected from individualist tendencies.

#### *Second: Struggle to unite the democratic forces in the Palestinian arena*

This task is not determined by a specific political condition; it is not to be dropped and revived as conditions vary. Rather it is a primary and strategic task, because it is a necessary step towards building a united Palestinian communist party, a party of the working class, despite all the difficulties and obstacles that must be solved and overcome in order to achieve this goal.

Uniting the democratic forces is part of the struggle to develop the issue of Palestinian national unity. Seventeen years have passed since the emergence of the revolution, and throughout these years the issue of national unity in the framework of the PLO has remained static. Strengthening the unity among the democratic forces will advance the cause of Palestinian national unity. While we are careful not to deal with the question of uniting the democratic forces in an idealist, hasty or spontaneous manner, we are convinced that it is imperative to take action in this direction.

In this context, we attach great importance to the declaration issued a short while ago about the formation of the Palestinian Communist Party. We see the implications of the decision to announce this party as a step towards correcting the line of the Jordanian Communist Party. After years of debate in the base and other levels of its organization, this party has been affected by the great developments in the Palestinian cause: the development of the Palestinian revolution into a profound reality and the transformation of some forces within it, who have adopted the position of the working class, Marxist ideology and scientific socialism, and called for a united Palestinian communist party.

At the same time, we maintain that the success of this new party in the arena of Palestinian struggle and the development of its relations, especially with other left forces and cooperating with them to form a united Palestinian communist party, will depend largely on its interactions, policies and practice in the struggle concerning a number of fundamental matters:

1. A decision on the part of the announced party that it is one of the organizations of the Palestinian working class that will struggle along with this class to secure the unity of all its organizations in order to build a united Palestinian communist party

2. Declaring the unity of the Palestinian people wherever they are found and consequently the unity of their political representation and the united representation of their working class

3. A review of the past positions of the Jordanian Communist Party related to readiness to recognize and coexist with the Zionist entity, including its position on UN Resolution 242.

4. The adoption of the principle of armed resistance as the fundamental method of the Palestinian national struggle to liberate Palestine.

\*\*\*

In closing its session, the PFLP's Central Committee extended militant greetings to our heroic people who continue to challenge the clubs and prison walls of the enemy. It conveyed sincere greetings to our masses in occupied Palestine who are still heroically rising up against the occupiers, in spite of the terrorist, oppressive and collective punishment tactics employed against them.

The Central Committee conveyed warm greetings to the Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces who remain in their positions in South Lebanon and heroically confront the enemy's aggression and expansionism. It expressed solidarity with the patriotic regime of Syria that in these days is confronted by a broad range of internal and external conspiracies.

The Central Committee highly appraised the support of the September Revolution to the Palestinian revolution and at the same time pledged joint efforts with the Libyan Jamahiriya to oppose the reactionary US plans. The Central Committee affirmed its high evaluation of the Aden trilateral agreement and called on the parties to this treaty to work continuously to advance the role of their alliance in confronting the common enemy. The role of Democratic Yemen was highly appraised, and the PFLP pledges to join with it in confronting all conspiracies.

The Committee made a special evaluation of the firm and principled support extended to our people's cause in all fields by the socialist community, with the Soviet Union in the forefront. The Committee declared the PFLP's full solidarity with Cuba - The Island of Freedom - in its confrontation with the imperialist threats.

In conclusion, the Central Committee condemned the decision of the Jordanian regime to send troops to assist the Iraqi regime in its war with Iran. The Committee forwarded the warmest greetings to all the Palestinian and Jordanian progressives, patriots and strugglers in the regime's prisons, and especially to our comrades Abu Issam and Abu Mashhour. The Central Committee alerted all progressive and patriotic forces to work for the release of all the political prisoners, who are subject to the worst kind of torture and intimidation at the hands of the Jordanian intelligence.

**LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION  
LONG LIVE THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF  
PALESTINE  
WE WILL BE VICTORIOUS**

# SWAPO ANNIVERSARY

22 Years of Struggle

On April 19, 1960, a group of patriots meeting secretly in Windhoek, Namibia, formed the South West Africa People's Organization — SWAPO — to be the vanguard of the struggle for liberation from colonialism. Since then, SWAPO has developed as a result of persistent work to mobilize the masses of Namibia, politically and militarily, and to serve their needs. Today, it is the undisputed leader and sole representative of the Namibian people. The recognition accorded SWAPO by the UN and other international forums is a result of its armed struggle and broad mass base.

In fact, the only attempt to establish a political alternative to SWAPO has come from the racist South African regime, the direct colonial oppressor of the Namibian people. However, the 'leadership' of collaborationist tribal chieftans assembled by the occupation forces proved to be a failure; it has neither split the masses nor weakened their adherence to SWAPO. Quite the contrary, it has perhaps served to demonstrate, unwittingly, the progressive social content of the revolution aspired to by Namibians; clearly they will not accept a superficial end to direct occupation which only means indirect neocolonial occupation under the auspices of South Africa's stooges. The people's aims are clearly stated in SWAPO's political program, where one article reads: To unite all Namibian people, particularly the working class, the peasantry and progressive intellectuals into a vanguard party capable of safe-guarding national independence and of building a classless, non-exploitative society based on the ideals and principles of scientific socialism.

The failure of the political maneuvers instigated by Pretoria is highlighted all the more by the stepped-up South African military aggression over the last year. In the face of the Namibian people's determination and SWAPO's increasing military effectiveness, the racist troops have resorted to even more daring and atrocious military methods. An estimated 60-80,000 South African soldiers are presently in Namibia, making it the most militarized country in the world in comparison to its population. The occupation authority has also resorted to instating compulsory draft for Namibians in hopes of making the anti-colonial struggle appear as a civil war.

The past year is perhaps one of the most difficult ever faced by SWAPO. The Namibian people have tasted the effects of the Reagan Administration's more open and intensive support to the apartheid regime. This has resulted in increased terror raids against Mozambique and the yet unended invasion of Angola, aimed not only at destabilizing these progressive governments and stopping their support to SWAPO and the ANC, but also at creating a no man's land for the freedom fighters.

The US policy of letting the South African regime dictate the conditions for resolving the conflict in Namibia means that the struggle will be harder and longer. Responding to this, SWAPO has put even more efforts into its military activities over the past year.

At present, South African land mines crisscross Ovamboland, where roughly half

the Namibian people live and where SWAPO has its strongest mass base. Internal repression, arrests and unwarranted attacks on civilians have increased to the degree that almost all of SWAPO's work, including schools and workshops, functions in clandestinity. Yet there are partially liberated zones which the enemy forces cannot control. SWAPO's operations against the enemy's military transport and communications infrastructure have escalated; on occasion, attacks can be launched on military targets near the capital, Windhoek. The situation of the occupiers is seen in the fact that barricades and sand bags are prominent in the urban areas inhabited by the racist settlers.

Now and historically, the Palestinian people feel a special bond with Namibians. Like them, our country is occupied by a settler-colonial regime. Like them, we are experiencing the escalating aggressiveness of imperialism and its allies. We in the PFLP take this opportunity to extend our warmest greetings to SWAPO on its 22th anniversary; on this occasion we also express our confidence in SWAPO's ability to turn the tide of the current enemy offensive through escalating the people's war.

