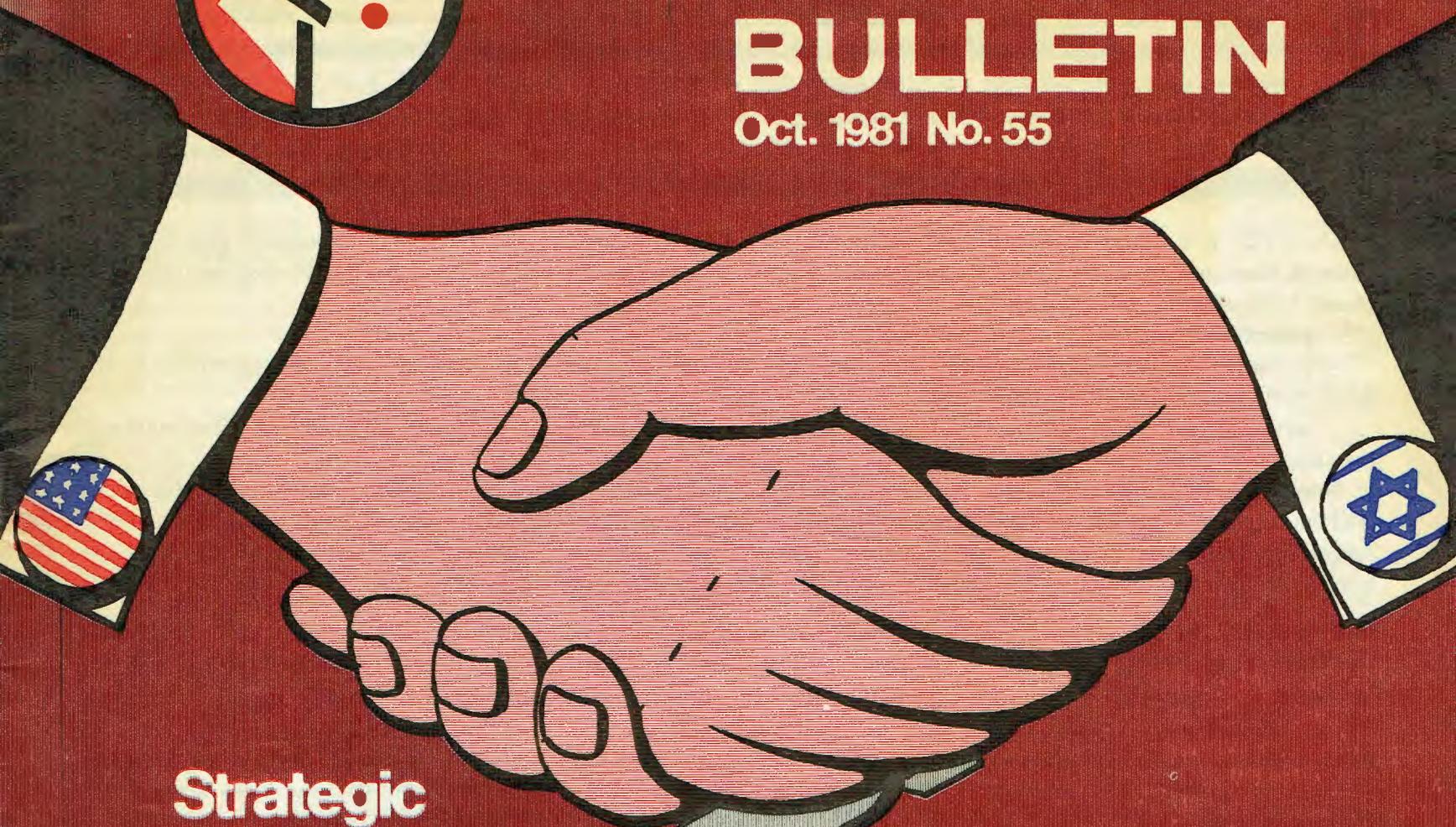


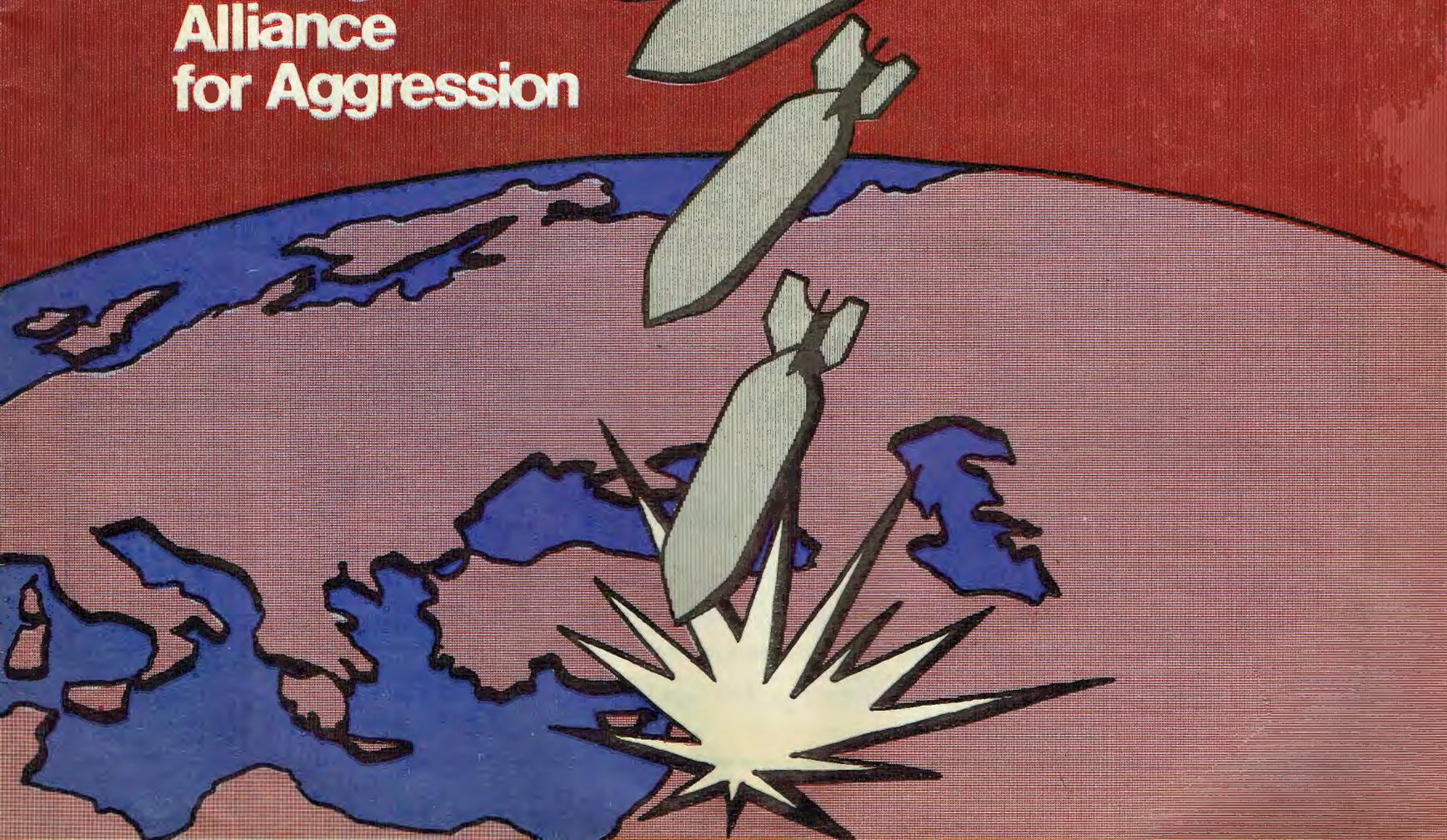


# PFLP BULLETIN

Oct. 1981 No. 55



**Strategic  
Alliance  
for Aggression**



*"One of the major reasons for the formation of the PFLP was the class perspective we gave the Palestinian and Arab struggle. Through experience we learned that the most oppressed classes – the workers, peasants, sections of the petit bourgeoisie, the Palestinians living in the refugee camps – are the ones most in contradiction with the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary alliance. It is they who carve history with determination that can persevere in this protracted war without wavering."*

*Comrade George Habash*

The PFLP is a Marxist-Leninist organization that is an integral part of the Palestinian Resistance and the Arab national liberation movement. The Bulletin is the English language of the PFLP. It has been published monthly since March 1979 with the following aims:

- presenting the political line of the PFLP
- providing current information and analysis of the Palestinian liberation struggle, as well as developments in the Arab World and on the international level
- serving as a tool for building solidarity with progressive organizations, parties, national liberation movements and countries around the world

Subscribing to the PFLP Bulletin is one way you can support these aims; so is encouraging comrades and friends to read and subscribe to the Bulletin. Another means for supporting our work is to write to us with your evaluations, suggestions and criticism concerning the Bulletin. In addition, back issues are available upon request. Of particular interest are two back issues which contain major PFLP policy statements of current relevance:

PFLP Bulletin No. 33 features a comprehensive interview with Comrade George Habash, General Secretary, on the how and why of the PFLP's emergence in the context of the Arab National Movement and the Palestinian struggle. In this interview, Comrade Habash also deals with the question of transforming a petit bourgeois nationalist organization into a Marxist-Leninist party.

PFLP Bulletin No. 42 contains a document on the relations between the PLO and the Jordanian regime, including our reasons for opposing these relations, and supplemented by the text of the "Framework for the joint work between the PLO and Jordan".

*This issue features:*

- *Section on political prisoners*
- *Resistance leaders discuss work in the occupied territories*
- *Imperialism's global march – Attacks on Libya and Angola*
- *Democratic Yemen, Socialist Ethiopia and the Libyan Jamahiriya sign anti-imperialist pact*

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# EDITORIAL

While July 1981 will be remembered for the barbaric Zionist air attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, the autumn of this year is significant for the political efforts of the Camp David partners to reap the benefits of this aggression. This political — diplomatic process was initiated with Sadat's mid-August trip to Washington and recently crowned with Begin's stay in the United States, but it will continue with the planned visits of King Hussein of Jordan in October and of Saudi Prince Fahd in November.

To the anti-imperialist forces in our area, the aims of this autumn of inter-enemy negotiations were clear from the start. Ever since imperialism began talking about 'peace' in our area, it has meant securing its own strategic and economic interests by consolidating the power of its regional allies, chiefly the Zionist state, but also the reactionary Arab regimes. In practice, the 'peace' efforts have been successive waves of assaults on the patriotic forces, particularly the Palestinian Revolution. Developments so far in this autumn of diplomacy more than confirm this analysis, the most salient feature being the agreement on strategic collaboration reached between the USA and the Zionist state while Begin was in Washington.

Today, under the twin-terrorist leadership of Reagan and Begin, the imperialist-Zionist alliance doesn't even always bother to cover its various plans with the phraseology of 'peace'. The main topic of the Israeli-American discussions was more overt, systematic military cooperation, including joint naval exercises, increased US military presence in 'Israel' through more frequent joint maneuvers or the use of Israeli territory for US maneuvers, stocking US military equipment in 'Israel' for emergency use and the sharing of information gathered by US spy satellites. Begin offered the US Air Force use of two new US-built air bases in the Naqab and emphasized that the Zionist state could supply an air umbrella to American planes in the Mediterranean if need be. Access to Israeli naval facilities was offered as well. Secretary of State Haig characterized the project as follows: "We are talking about joint planning, collaborative studies and efforts which focus on external threats to the region."

As with the imperialist military build-up all over the globe, the enhancement of the strategic US-Israeli relationship is being justified in terms of fighting the Soviet Union and "its proxies" in the area, i.e. the national liberation movements and other progressive and patriotic forces. Actually it is part of the imperialist attempt to turn the tide of its crisis with brute force. The emphasis on strategic military cooperation gives a clue as to how the Israeli and US administrations are thinking to tackle the obstacles to Camp David. While it is on the Palestinian level that Camp David is really stalled, due to the Palestinian masses' united rejection of the 'autonomy' plan, there are no indications that alternatives to this plan are being seriously considered at present. Rather it seems that the enemy alliance is proceeding to reinforce its military prowess with the aim of cornering the opponents of Camp David, chiefly the Palestinian-Lebanese patriotic alliance, Syria and most recently Libya. By intimidating and selectively striking at these forces, the enemy aims to elicit their individual and collective surrender.

At this point the plans of imperialism and Zionism coincide with the interest of Arab reaction in stabilizing the area by eliminating all those forces who oppose the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary hegemony. It is also within the context of a strategic consensus against the patriotic forces and the support they receive from the socialist countries that US imperialism seeks to resolve the secondary

contradictions that still exist between Zionism and Arab reaction. Though forced to feign concern for the Palestinian people and their rights, Arab reaction's interests lie in countering all popular movements and socialist influence in the area. And in light of Arab reaction's strategic collaboration on these matters, 'Israel' may come to accept that reactionary regimes are accorded a greater military capacity.

However, what stands out most clearly is that the Zionist state continues to be *the* undisputed main ally of imperialism, the only state in the area which US imperialism thoroughly trusts and to which it will accord unparalleled military capacity. Comparison between Sadat and Begin's visits gives an idea of the distinction. Sadat's visit to Washington was characterized by his plea for Reagan to involve the PLO in negotiations. Though only made in order to give Sadat a cover, this request was flatly turned down. In contrast, Begin arrived with his entourage to engage in partner-to-partner work meetings with the Reagan administration. In addition to the meetings with the President, Begin spoke directly with CIA director William Casey about intelligence cooperation; the 'autonomy' talks were not deliberated, but Israeli Interior Minister Burg simply gave his account of why they broke down; Israeli Defense Minister Sharon was assigned to work out a "memorandum of understanding" with his American counterpart, Weinberger, on the details of military cooperation.

'Israel' is increasing its pressure on Egypt as the deadline for the final withdrawal from the Sinai approaches. Israeli leaders are making public statements to the effect that Sadat's regime is faltering and this would mean the collapse of the Camp David treaty. Also Gush Emunim is playing its assigned role, mobilizing thousands of Zionist settlers to go to the Sinai to assist the settlers still there resisting the withdrawal. Obviously, the Begin government can use the settler movement as a pretext for delaying or refusing to withdraw; actually, it has cultivated just this situation by allowing new settlements to be established in the Sinai.

The early September meeting where Begin and Sadat agreed to resume the 'autonomy' talks clearly reflected the balance of power between the two. Sadat asked for more time to implement normalization, as every step in this process has elicited more protest from the patriotic Egyptian forces. However, Begin refused any leeway, making it clear that Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai was conditional upon speeding up the normalization. The massive campaign of arrests in Egypt immediately following this meeting was Sadat's answer to this dilemma. The regime can only proceed with normalization by erasing the last margin of democracy in Egypt. Sadat cannot afford Israeli refusal to evacuate the last portion of the Sinai, for this would drown his last feeble claim that at least he has recovered Arab land.

Despite the accumulating evidence that imperialism and Zionism are making no concessions, even to a regime such as Sadat's, the undeclared partners to Camp David are also participating in this autumn of enemy negotiations. As soon as Begin had left Washington, Haig was briefing Saudi Prince Fahd on the new US-Israeli agreements, to sound out how Arab reaction as a whole can be integrated into this "strategic consensus". Saudi reaction had prepared carefully for this meeting at the Prince's villa in Spain. Having forwarded its eight-point plan for resolving the Middle East conflict in August, the main point being recognition of the Zionist state, the Saudi rulers have since gained consensus for this document in the Gulf Cooperation Council, giving it the air of a regional proposal. With the lines of the battle

clearly drawn, the Saudi position is emerging more and more clearly. Its attempts through the Arab Follow-up Committee to curtail the Palestinian-Lebanese patriotic alliance, its pressure on Democratic Yemen and support to reaction in North Yemen and its treacherous proposals on how to resolve the Palestinian issue are all strings in the same symphony, orchestrating Arab reaction's open move into the Camp David alliance.

With the enhancement of the strategic Israeli-US relationship and Arab reaction's collaboration, the challenge to the patriotic forces is being sharpened and expanded, and this demands a militant response. A positive development in this respect is the treaty of cooperation signed in August between Democratic Yemen, Socialist Ethiopia and the Libyan Jamahiriya. This is a boost to the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction throughout the area, but it must be reinforced on two levels. For the first, all the patriotic forces and regimes must strengthen their relations with the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union. Only a strategic alliance between the anti-imperialist forces in our area and on a world scale can constitute a balance to the expanded enemy plan directed against our area. Secondly, the Palestinian Revolution and all popular movements must escalate their mobilization of the masses for the long-term battle to overthrow the hegemony of the enemy alliance. To fully implement this task, the masses must be totally aware of the full dimensions of the attacks they are facing, and this requires relentless exposure of Arab reaction's collaboration. The Palestinian Revolution bears a special responsibility for furthering the polarization between the pro – and anti-imperialist forces in our area. The battle for Palestine is part of the battle for the region, and only in firm alliance with the other patriotic forces and clearly distanced from Arab reaction can the Palestinian Revolution achieve victory.



"We've always said that Israel has a friend in the White House. Now we can say that we have a very, very good friend indeed." – Menachem Begin.

## OCCUPIED PALESTINE

# POLITICAL PRISONERS

## PRISON VIOLENCE IN BEER SHEBA

*This article is reprinted from Al Fajr a Palestinian weekly newspaper published in the West Bank.*

News is just beginning to emerge of a brutal attack by the prison administration on Palestinian prisoners in Beer Sheba prison. Reports reaching the press through lawyers and prisoners' visitors state that the attack took place on July 6. The incident started when the prison administration tried to forcibly transfer prisoner Abdallah Taleb to Ramle prison hospital. Taleb refused to go because he neither felt sick, nor asked for medical treatment. Abdallah Taleb told his lawyer, Felicia Langer, later, that, "this action is an attempt to get me to collaborate with the Israelis against my colleagues." He explained that, "transfer of prisoners to Ramle under the pretext of medical treatment is merely a guise to create collaborators and informers."

Abdallah Taleb resisted 'the illegal order,' and prison guards beat him up. Other

prisoners intervened to defend him and the Israelis called up reinforcements to assault all prisoners. Tear gas shells were thrown into cells. In order to avoid deaths, prison guards pumped in oxygen shortly after the shells exploded to enable prisoners to breathe. "This gas is produced by the US," commented one prisoner according to lawyer Langer. After the gassing ten prisoners were forced to run the gauntlet of prison guards armed with clubs. Ramadan Muhammad Assaf's hand was broken during the assault.

Later prisoners were divided into groups of eight and put into punishment cells. In the confinement cells the prisoners were not allowed toilet facilities or exercise. The prisoners had to defecate on strips of blanket and then throw them through the bars of their cells.

Prisoners told lawyer Felicia Langer that "Israeli authorities intend to destroy our solidarity, break our morale and force us to

surrender to the prison authorities. And this will never happen as long as we are alive."

Prisoners requested national institutions and people with living consciences in the homeland and in the world to stand by them.

A delegation representing families of Palestinian political prisoners met, July 19, with the League of Democratic Lawyers and Society of Support for Prisoners in Haifa to discuss recent developments in Beer Sheba prison.

Mothers of prisoners presented the meeting with a memorandum in which they asked that a delegation of lawyers be sent to catalogue the demands and needs of prisoners and adopt necessary legal measures to meet them; doctors be sent to check prison inmates, mainly those injured in the latest incident; improvements be made in living conditions in the prison and that a campaign of solidarity with political prisoners all over the world be undertaken.

# THE DABOYA DEFENDANTS TRIAL

"We recognize neither the court nor the occupation and we do not recognize the right of the occupiers and oppressors to bring us to court and to try us, the oppressed."

From the public statement of the defendants

On May 2, 1980, Palestinian revolutionaries attacked Zionist settlers and soldiers in the heart of al Khalil (Hebron). Six Zionists were killed, and many wounded. These settlers were part of the plan to Judaize al Khalil, an integral part of which is Gush Emunim's take-over of the Daboya building (Beit Haddasah) in the center of the Palestinian city. This military operation received international coverage, as the Israelis tried to portray those attacked as pious worshippers, while in fact they were armed, Gush Emunim-affiliated soldiers and settlers. It was the day after this operation that the patriotic leaders Mayor Fahd Qawasmeh (al Khalil), Mayor Mohammed Milhem (Halhoul) and Sheikh Rajab Tamimi were expelled from their homeland, charged with inciting the attack.

The Daboya defendants, as the commandos who carried out the operation are known, went on trial this July. They are refusing to participate in the trial or to recognize the legitimacy of the court, and are demanding the status of prisoners of war.

The following are excerpts from a description of the trial published in the July

Daboya defendant in the courtroom: "We do not intend to react to the charges against us and the only report we will make about our deeds will be to the Palestinian revolution."

19-25 Al Fajr, a weekly Palestinian newspaper in the West Bank.

Rarely does any court in the West Bank have such a degree of security measures as were in force at the Nablus military government compound on July 5. All those who enter are thoroughly frisked and their belongings searched. Soldiers are stationed on the compound's roof and dozens of border patrolmen and civil police are in evidence.

Inside the courtroom, sit the families and friends of the Daboya operation defendants. They silently await the beginning of the trial. The faces of the Palestinian village women testify to years of toil and hardship. Behind them sit the men, most of whom know first-hand the feeling of sitting at the defendant's dock in an Israeli military court.

"My husband and his comrades did whatever they did for us and our people," says Fauzia Um-Fidak, 18, wife of Taisir Mahmoud Taha.

"My 64-year-old mother and I were jailed for six months, my 65-year-old father was sentenced to a year in jail, my husband got two years and our house was destroyed for not giving my brother Yasir over to the authorities when he came to us for food... If we had to do it again, we would," declares Farida Hussein Zayadat...

On the other side of the room, friends and relatives of the Israelis killed in the Daboya operation, most from Kiryat Arba,

sit together with Rahel Barak, the mother of Urid Barak, who was killed with his wife in the Beit Jibrin forest several months before the Daboya operation. One of the Daboya defendants, Muhammad Abdel Rahman Shubaki, was tried in that case and sentenced to life imprisonment.

"We have the right to live anywhere in the land of Israel, including, of course, Judea and Samaria (*sic*)" declares a young woman, whose brother was killed in the Daboya operation. "We should show them their place — we are the rulers here! "

"They should get the death penalty," a settler from Kiryat Arba contributes. "It does not matter if they become martyrs. The Arabs have a lot of martyrs, and four more will make no difference."

The tension in the room is on the rise. When Rahel Barak passes in front of the 'Palestinian section' of the courtroom — one of the Palestinian women smiles at her, as if to say — let us stay human despite the pain. She responds in a hate-filled voice: "How dare you smile at me? How dare you?"...

The trial begins. The defendants give their names: "the revolutionary fighter Adnan Jaber Jaber"... "the fighter Yasir Hussein Zayadat"...

"Does the defense wish to bring any preliminary claims?" the bench asks.

The defense responds: "My clients claim that they are entitled to protection of the third Geneva convention of 1949, since they



are prisoners-of-war and were apprehended after a combat operation. Furthermore," he tells the court, "the status of the defendants must be determined... In any case, this court will not have the authority to try them on the charges brought against them. Moreover, this court does not have the authority to decide whether my clients are entitled to the protection of the convention since that authority is given to a 'competent special tribunal' which this court is not." He then quotes the convention and interpretations by legal scholars that sustain his claim....

The second session, two days later, opens with less camera clicks and in a less crowded court room. Few settlers are present but the defendants' relatives are present in full force. Again the defendants are led into the court room. They are apparently in high spirits. After the judges enter, the trial resumes.

The judges read their decision regarding the preliminary claim of the defense: "There is no ambiguity in the charge sheet regarding the status of the defendants," the head judge says. "They are accused of committing crimes while being members of Fatah and on its behalf. In many previous decisions Israeli courts have decided that members of this organization are not POWs and the third Geneva convention cited by the honourable defense council does not apply to them"....

The first item on the charge sheet is read and the defendants are asked whether they understand the charge. "Whatever I did was for the protection of my land and country," Muhammad Shubaki answers. "Tell your clients that they will be able to say whatever they wish later," the judge says to the defense council. "There is no later," the defense tells the defendants.

Shubaki is again asked if he understands the charge. He stands up and says: "I do not care what you are charging me with." The settlers in the court try to drown out the statement with loud hissing noises.

Another charge is read out against Adnan Jaber Jaber and he is asked if he understands it.

"I was not asked anything in 1948 when I first became a refugee. I recognize neither the occupation nor its courts. I do not recognize the laws under which you are charging me." Again the settlers hiss. And so the trial continues.

When Shubaki, who was born in Beit Jibrin in 1945 and was expelled from there with his family in 1948, is charged with planting a bomb in a cave near his birthplace, now frequented by Israeli tourists, he responds: "Beit Jibrin is my land. You will not solve anything in this court room."

Other charges are read. "We were both politically correct and humane. We killed no women or children. We killed colonialists like Eli Haze'ev, who stole our land. We do not care if you sentence us to death. It would fit in with the rest of your deeds."

"We, the Palestinian people were never against the Jews. We lived together - Christians, Moslems and Jews. We are not against the Jews now. We have our rights and we have the right to struggle for them!" (Jaber)

"We have our rights and we will fight for them. I did not throw bombs at refugee camps. I did not massacre in Deir Yasin, Kibia or all those other places, like you did." (Zayadat)

The reading of the charge sheet ends. Not one question of the court was answered. The judges call a lunch recess.

When the trial resumes later, there are fewer spectators. The defense rises and cites a law which permits the court to eject the defendants if they create a disturbance. "My clients ask that they be spared these proceedings since they are of no interest to them and that they be removed from the court without having to resort to creating disturbances," she says. The court denies the request.

The first prosecution witness, Menahem Beit Ha'lakhmi, is called to the stand. He testifies that he was in the group of settlers that was attacked and that they were all unarmed. After he concludes his testimony, the defense is asked if it wishes to cross-examine the witness.

She replies: "Our clients have asked that we not cross-examine the witnesses or participate in the proceedings in any other way."

So one after the other, the prosecution witnesses testify, and remain uncontested by the defense. The second day in court ends.

On the morning of Sunday, July 12, the third session of the trial is due to open. Outside the courtroom, in the military administration courtyard, a group of settlers congregate and hurl curses and threats at members of the defense team as they enter the compound. "The day will come when we will settle this score," they promise. In the court, one settler occupies each bench and informs anyone who tries to sit that the seats are taken... "A lot of Jews should be brought so there will be no room for Arabs except on the defendants bench," a woman settler said by way of explanation. Ultimately, the settlers give way and the usual seating arrangement of Palestinians on the right, settlers on the left, is renewed...

Next the witness stand is taken by the

agent who is introduced as the main interrogator of the defendants. He shows the court, on the closed circuit TV, four films in which each defendant reenacts the Daboya building operation. All through the films, the defendants refer to the settlers as such while, as was learned later, in all their Hebrew written and signed testimonies, the defendants are quoted as referring to the settlers as "the Jews." Experienced court observers note that this is much more than a question of semantics. Changing the word settler to "Jew" implies that the guerillas had racist motivation, which they did not. Their targets were settlers, not Jews in general. Many expected the Israeli-concocted statements would be used for propaganda purposes, after the trial and possible execution of the defendants...

As the session ends and the defendants are led out, Muhammed Shubaki, hands untied, raises his hands in a farewell gesture to his family. "His" guard immediately punches him in the back. The assault draws no protest from any of the officers present and is met with cries of glee from the settlers.

The fourth session on Tuesday, July 14, is late in starting. The settlers are present, in the largest numbers ever, although they still do not manage to outnumber the Palestinians. "Rabbi" Meir Kahane, who a few days earlier had organized a demonstration with his supporters in front of Begin's office calling on the state to execute the defendants in the trial, is present alongside the settlers.

The show eventually gets on the road at 10:00 - the defendants are brought in in handcuffs and under heavy guard; the translators bid the the court to rise and the judges enter. Instead of proceeding with the prosecution case, however, they read a statement announcing suspension of the trial until the High Court decides whether the prisoners are prisoners-of-war.

With a final plea to the defendants to "play the game" and legitimize the court with their participation, the session is suspended until further notice.

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*On August 8, the Israeli military court in Nablus rejected the demand of the Daboya defendants to be classified as prisoners-of-war. The court also refused to postpone the trial in order to give the defense time to appeal.*

*When asked if they plead guilty or not, the prisoners responded by chanting slogans in support of the Palestinian Revolution.*

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# FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS SPEAK

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Recently a group of West German leftists visited Lebanon for the purpose of making a film about the Palestinian Revolution. Among them were Thomas Reuter and Brigitte Schulz, both of whom have spent almost five years in occupied Palestine — as prisoners of the Zionist state. The Bulletin staff took this opportunity to ask about the specifics of their case, which provides ample evidence of Zionism's total disregard for all standards of justice and rights, disregard for human life itself. As well, their case reveals the extent to which the West German and Kenyan authorities are willing to collaborate in the Zionist efforts to terrorize anyone suspected of acting against Israeli interests, even if there is no proof to substantiate these suspicions. In closing, we discussed briefly with these comrades about the film they are making, in relation to the needs of the anti-imperialist work in their country.

## What were the circumstances of your arrest?

In the winter of 1975-76, we were touring the Middle East and Africa in order to contact liberation movements there. We did this with the help of a Palestinian organization. On January 27, 1976, we were arrested in Kenya. Kenya likes to be portrayed as the Switzerland of East Africa, as being democratic and open to all, but in fact, it is well-known as a base of neo-colonialism. The Zionists have a special interest in Kenya, because it provides a landing point for their flights to South

Africa. This is a very vital air route, not only because of the extensive economic relations between these two racist regimes, but especially because South Africa is developing an atomic bomb with Israeli help. In short, you could call the Tel Aviv-Johannesburg route, the nuclear power line.

Some days before our arrest, on January 25, three Palestinians had been arrested in Nairobi. According to what was later said in their trial, they were carrying weapons in order to transfer them to other places. Evidently, when the Mossad (the Israeli foreign intelligence service) checked, they discovered that Palestinians as well as Europeans, known to be involved in anti-imperialist work, were in Kenya at the same time. They panicked, fearing the involvement of the revolution on this nuclear power line. Officially, the Kenyan regime has neither diplomatic relations with 'Israel' nor an extradition agreement, but the Mossad decided to exert pressure on Kenya to have us extradited.

## How did the extradition proceed?

Actually, it was not an extradition, but a kidnapping. We were arrested by Kenyan military personnel, not regular police, and kept in a military camp for about one week. The arrest was kept secret; no information was given to the press. It was also military personnel who interrogated us with the help of the Mossad. Mossad agents were present throughout our interrogation, but in other

rooms. They gave the orders and were kept informed about the development of the interrogation.

This interrogation was very brutal. The torture methods employed in Kenya are well-documented by such organizations as Amnesty International. We too were subjected to this treatment: needles stuck in the back, beating, burning cigarettes thrust up the nostrils, hair pulled out by pliers, and having one's head beat into the wall to the point of inducing a severe concussion. The torture was very brutal, but also very primitive compared to what we later experienced in 'Israel', where the methods of physical and psychological torture are very sophisticated.

In this military camp in Nairobi, we were chained and a hood put on our heads, then driven by jeep in the middle of the night into what seemed to be the desert. We expected to fall victim to the 'Kenyan solution' — just dropped somewhere in the desert. Instead we were put in an empty El Al passenger plane on a runway far away from the airport. Inside the plane, we were immediately given an injection. We slept and woke up in what we later learned was 'Israel', in a secret interrogation camp. We call this kidnapping, not extradition. Obviously, such a thing was only accomplished through close cooperation between the Kenyan and Israeli governments, as it is a highly political act.

## Once in 'Israel', how is it that your detention continued to remain a secret?

The main reason is related to the nature of the camp where we were held. It is one of several such interrogation centers established by the Zionist intelligence service long ago. Neither the architecture nor the exact location of these camps is known. Sarafand is known to be such a center, but nobody has been able to see it from the outside. At such camps you are hooded when you leave your cell; if you leave the place, you are turned around to disorient you so that you will be unable to describe which way you were moved. We are almost certain that another of these camps is located in southern Palestine, near the village of Gidera.



The camp we were in is a small military base with 15-20 ordinary cells, plus rooms for interrogation. In addition, there are tiny torture cells of about one cubic meter in size. These installations are fixed. This is an important point, because it means that they cannot be removed in the case of an inspection. Thus, such installations must be known to the Israeli government. This camp is under the direct supervision of the Defense Ministry, while it is operated by the intelligence service.

These interrogation camps are kept very secret in 'Israel'. Another important point about our case is that Defense Minister Weizman intervened in our trial; he issued an injunction prohibiting any mention of the structure and functioning of this camp in the court — the orders given, the interrogation techniques, all information about other prisoners, the identity of the personnel, etc. We consider this important because the Israeli government continues to claim that when torture or illegal procedure occurs, it is the fault of minor officials. The government tries to avoid all responsibility, claiming that it neither condones nor covers up torture and that it is taking steps against such things. But in our case, it became very clear that the government knows exactly what is going on in these camps, it is totally involved and uses all the political power at its disposal to cover this up.

These camps are a clear example of the war machinery set up to stifle the Palestinian people. No attempt is even made to cover these institutions with a scheme of quasi-democratic procedures. We never saw a judge or lawyer. There is no separation between the guards and the interrogators; all are from the same system — the military. Even at our trial, one of the judges was an intelligence officer. It is one closed system, established to deal with resistance or other political cases; there is no recourse, nowhere to appeal.

**How long were you in this interrogation center?**

*Thomas:* I was there for about 14 months, until the time that 'Israel' officially announced our presence as prisoners. The three Palestinian comrades arrested just before us had also been in the camp all this time. We four were transferred to Ramle prison in April 1977. Here we were put in a special section, separated from the other prisoners. *Brigitte:* I was kept in the camp 17 months. At the time they announced our presence, there was no way to isolate me in the women's prison. Then a special hut to isolate me was built and I was transferred.

**During all this time, you saw no lawyer?**

No, and all of the prisoners were isolated from each other. There is a big possibility for a prisoner to disappear, because this prison system is completely closed off, even from the regular prison system. The soldiers are specially selected. They call each other by code names. The interrogators get their orders directly from the Defense Ministry. This means that an extremely limited number of persons know of the presence of the prisoner, so it is easy to cover a disappearance. Camps like this, which are well-known in Latin America, have their own terrible inner logic. Everything that happens to the prisoner pushes the torturer a step farther towards letting him or her disappear. It is easier to kill someone than to face the torture testimony...

**Like so many other political prisoners in Zionist jails, you were tortured. How did you perceive the aims of this torture, and how were you, like so many Palestinian comrades, able to resist being broken by this treatment?**

'Israel' uses a multi-faceted approach aimed at driving the prisoner to surrender. An essential element in this approach is the prison itself as a total system. There is no separation between being detained and actually being interrogated. The guards and interrogators are all part of this system. Generally in Israeli interrogation camps, the guards prepare the prisoner for interrogation; they do the beating and execute the interrogator's orders to make life miserable for the prisoner 24 hours a day.

Prisoners in interrogation camps are held in cells without windows, so it is impossible to distinguish day from night. You are fettered 24 hours a day for months on end, to make you feel helpless. Being hooded and disoriented, as we mentioned before, also has the function of terrorizing the prisoner. One is unable to control his own movements and becomes solely the object of his captor's actions. Being hooded is also used directly as a torture method. Hooded prisoners are made to run the gauntlet, being beaten and allowed to fall; hunting dogs, which you cannot see, suddenly attack you.

All methods of physical and psychological torture are used and their application is coordinated. You are kept in rags with no water facilities to make you feel cold, dirty and worthless. Another element in the scheme is forcing you to be totally obedient by giving ridiculous orders, such as, "Say the broom is beautiful", "Turn around five times", "Stand still" — maybe for hours. Several guards sit around while the prisoner

stands motionless for hours. If you don't follow these orders, there is immediate punishment. All the torture and the attempts to create this blind obedience are aimed at making you feel that you are nothing, that you are helpless, totally in their power. There are no constraints on their control, and you have no chance to win out.

The power of these camps also lies in the fact that they cover up your very existence. In our case, both they and we knew that neither our arrest nor our kidnapping was known to anyone outside. They had a convenient means to try and make us believe that nobody would ever know. As there was no publicity, they had nothing to fear.

We think it is very important to stress the possibility of the prisoner to resist in this situation. One must be constantly aware of why they are doing this or that, why this order or this measure. One must know one's own strengths and weaknesses and possess the political consciousness that tells you the character of the interrogator and how he functions. If they try to make you feel low, dirty and powerless, it is important to remember that they do this because you are not. You have precisely the power to refuse them what they want. When you grasp this, you have the psychological strength to stand the physical pain.

**In the light of your being West German citizens, what was the role of the BRD government in your case?**

The West German authorities cooperated with the Israelis on several levels. First, they handed over information about us. It is difficult to interrogate someone about whom there is no information whatsoever. In our case, we had to deal with the fact that the West German secret service transferred material from their computers to the Israelis. It was ridiculous things they had on file — where we had been on vacation, personal letters in which there was nothing secret — yet this gave the Israeli intelligence somewhere to start. This transfer of material is also an indication that the German authorities knew of our arrest, although they publicly claimed that they were not informed until a year later.

The course of the search for us provides further indications of the government's position. Half a year after our arrest, Brigitte's parents received an anonymous letter saying that we, along with three Palestinians, had been arrested and tortured in Kenya, then transferred to 'Israel'. Our parents immediately requested the German Embassy to ask the Kenyan authorities if there had

been any arrests. The Kenyan government denied any such arrests. Our parents repeated this several times, but the answer was always the same. Later our parents demanded that the German Embassy in 'Israel' ask the Israeli government whether prisoners were being secretly held after having been transferred from Kenya. In total contradiction with the intention of this request, the West German Embassy asked the border guards if people had crossed the borders! Normally an embassy approaches the government, not separate institutions, in a foreign country, yet the German Embassy asked the border guards and the prison authorities if there were people listed under our names. Of course, the answer was no. It is obvious that the German Foreign Ministry designed their questioning to give the Israelis the chance to say no.

The West German government was deeply involved in the case, following the line of the Mossad to keep all facts and circumstances secret as long as possible. Later on, their position concerning our trial was similar. The German authorities agreed to its being held behind closed doors, barring international observers. They even kept secret the accusation writ which was given to the Foreign Ministry. They refused to allow Amnesty International or our families to see this. They cooperated with the Israelis in keeping a wall of silence around our case. It was impossible for us to convey to anyone outside what our case was about or even to say that the accusations were false. Later when our parents managed to visit us in 'Israel', our short meetings were closely watched. Any word about the case meant termination of the visit.

#### When and why did the Israeli government finally announce your arrest?

After several attempts to find us, our families and friends in Germany finally managed to get in touch with the progressive Israeli lawyer, Lea Tsemel. Based on the evidence available, she felt we were there. In December 1976, she asked the Defense Ministry directly, threatening to publish our presence. At first, the ministry tried to delay for some months, with requests for documentation that she had a mandate from our parents and other technicalities. In the end, the Defense Ministry made the first official revelation of our presence to her, warning her to keep this a secret. This worked in so far as our relatives, not knowing our situation exactly, kept quiet for a short time.

In the same period, a Mossad agent visited Thomas' parents, saying that they could visit

us on the condition that they would keep silent about our circumstances for, as he put it, "the good of your children". Clearly, this was a threat both to our lives and to our parents, and this person was later declared *persona non grata*.

In fact, our parents never got a clear idea about our situation. Although Brigitte's parents stayed in 'Israel' for about 2 1/2 months, we met only in special places, having both been driven around by Mossad agents, changing cars, etc. before finally meeting.

There had also been two leaks. Radio Free Europe transmitted news of our arrest seven days after our kidnapping to 'Israel'. This occurred only once, but it made the Israelis uncertain about how far it had already spread. The second leak was in July when a journalist close to the British military secret service received news that five people had been arrested in Kenya and

transferred to 'Israel'. This was denied at the time by both Kenyan and Israeli officials. However, the Israelis could not be sure that the problem wouldn't arise again. Coupled with Lea Tsemel's inquiry, these leaks finally forced Israeli acknowledgement.

#### Can you tell about your trial?

It was a military trial, beginning in the summer of 1977, and lasting about 2 1/2 years – the longest in Israeli history. It would take too long to go into the whole procedure, but we can give some indications of its nature. The original charges proved to be untenable, so we were finally sentenced on a new charge: trying to disrupt Israeli communication lines, membership in an enemy organization and six days of military training. We were sentenced to 10 years – five in prison and five suspended.

As we mentioned before, the trial was behind closed doors. They refused lawyers

## SOLIDARITY LETTER

We, the relatives of political prisoners from the anti-imperialist struggle in West Germany, greet the Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons and their families.

The struggle of the Palestinian people against imperialism and Zionism, which they have carried on for many years with nearly superhuman endurance and courage, provides a world-wide example and orientation for all human beings and peoples fighting for their liberation from imperialism and for a life of human dignity.

We learn from the Palestinian resistance, from the struggle of the Palestinian prisoners and from their mothers, sisters and brothers who have directed international attention to the Israeli concentration camps, especially to Nafha prison.

We know that we are all confronted with one enemy, in Palestine and in West Germany, in South Africa, in Ireland and in El Salvador.

Nafha – Long Kesh – Stammheim:  
One Struggle!

*July 2nd marked the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Palestinian prisoners Ali Jaafari and Rassem Halawi, killed by the Zionists during the heroic hunger strike in Nafha prison. On that day, families of political prisoners staged a sit-in in the Jerusalem offices of the IRC, to protest conditions in Beer Sheva jail and demand information as to the welfare of their incarcerated relatives.*



of our choice, for example Lea Tsemel and Felicia Langer, by issuing special laws to prevent them from taking the case. We had to accept lawyers of their choice who were obliged not to speak outside the court. Just by luck, one lawyer finally refused to play this game; he felt that the entire procedure, the accusations, the mode of interrogation, etc. was unacceptable. He later gave some information outside the court, thus risking

imprisonment himself. Only in this way did people get an inkling of our case; this enabled our parents and comrades at home to make a campaign.

Until being sentenced, we were more or less in isolation. Then due to pressure from outside, they gradually reduced the pressure on us. The last 1 1/2 year we were together with other comrades in the prison until being released on December 23, 1980, and

deported to West Germany.

After being transferred to the regular prison, there was no attempt to continue the interrogation except that the interrogator of the three Palestinian comrades twice visited them. He warned them not to release any information to Amnesty International or the Red Cross, because as he said, Begin was now in office and would be willing and able to execute the death sentence. This threat had no effect on these three comrades. They appealed to the High Court after being sentenced. The presiding judge remarked that he had never seen a military court breaking so many rules, even the Emergency Defense Regulations of 1945. Their trial was declared a default, a totally political trial, but the judge said he could not reduce their sentences one bit because of their "personality and political history".

## THE CASE OF ZIAD ABU AIN

Ziad Abu Ain is a young Palestinian student from the West Bank. Like many other Palestinians, he is in prison because of being charged with 'crimes' against the Zionist occupiers of his land. However, Ziad's case is unique in one way – the prison that he has been incarcerated in for over two years now is located in Chicago, USA. While visiting his sister there in 1979, Ziad was arrested by the FBI because he was wanted by the Israeli authorities for alleged involvement in a military operation in Tiberias, despite numerous witnesses to his presence elsewhere at the time. His two years in a US prison are due to the process of completing, and appealing, the extradition procedure between the US and 'Israel'.

Ziad's case raises important questions, as it is clearly part of the larger offensive against the Palestinian people and progressive forces everywhere. For Ziad to be extradited to 'Israel', the US court must find that two conditions exist. First is that the act he is accused of is 'criminal' rather than political in nature. The second is that the Israeli authorities have submitted sufficient evidence to prove guilt. In other words, extradition means that the US courts have ruled that the right of any people to resist an occupying force is not legitimate, but simply a 'criminal act', and also, that second-party confessions, clearly extorted under torture and later retracted, are sufficient evidence of 'guilt'. Thus Ziad's extradition would be a clear green light for 'Israel' and other fascist and racist regimes to *legally* attack – anytime and anyplace – those who struggle against their policies.

The importance that the US administration attaches to this decision as part of its campaign against 'international terrorism' can be seen in that the State Department sent witnesses to the trial to testify that Palestinian military operations against the occupation are not political acts, but common crime.

Ziad Abu Ain's case has gathered much support, both within the US and internationally. Reprinted here is a letter of

protest to the US State Department sent by the Committee for the Defence of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees in Israeli Prisons.

The Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington D.C.

Subject: The denunciation of the continuous arrest of the Palestinian citizen Ziad Abu Ain and the decision of the US State Department concerning his extradition to the Israeli occupation authorities.

The Committee for the Defence of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees in Israeli Prisons reminds you of its two memoranda delivered to you on 27 February 1980 and on 14 April 1981 asking you not to extradite the Palestinian citizen Ziad Abu Ain to the Israeli authorities, considering that this extradition would contradict International Law and Conventions that prohibit the extradition of political prisoners.

The Committee demands, again, the release of Abu Ain noting that two years have passed since he was unjustly arrested.

The Committee expresses again its condemnation and indignation against the continuing arrest of the Palestinian militant and looks with dislike and astonishment at your position which contradicts international conventions. We further find it meaningless to keep the Palestinian militant imprisoned without regard for any legislative or humanitarian considerations. It is as if you are merely interested in extraditing a new victim to be tortured, although you are sufficiently informed about torture and suppression in Israeli jails and about the tens of thousands of victims exposed to this torture.

Again we urgently ask you to release the Palestinian student Ziad Abu Ain and to cancel the unjust decision to extradite him to the Israeli authorities.

What are the aims of the film you are making, and how does it relate to the needs of the solidarity work in West Germany?

We are shooting a film about the situation of the Palestinians, concentrating on the progressive content of the Palestinian Revolution. The basic idea is that by letting people talk about their experience of life in the camps before the beginning of the revolution and today, the progressive character of the revolution will be presented. We already have films in Europe about the Palestinians, but most emphasize their suffering in order to elicit emotional identification with an oppressed people. This is very important, but we also feel the need for a positive identification. By depicting the progressive content of the struggle, we hope to contribute to strengthening the motivation of the left movement in Europe to identify positively with the struggle in this area, and to see the connection between the national liberation struggle in Palestine and the anti-imperialist struggle in Western Europe.

West Germany plays a crucial role in the current imperialist arms build-up, and there has been increased protest against rearmament. How do you think this will affect the nature of the solidarity work with liberation movements?

Internationalism was a very important issue for the anti-imperialist movement in western Europe in the 60s and early 70s. Then part of the left experienced a decline in internationalism as a political foundation for their activities. Today, we see a new upsurge in political activity with a broad popular base against the imperialist rearmament policy, the arms race and the stationing

of nuclear weapons and neutron bombs in middle Europe. The most natural place for imperialism to apply this renewed force will be an attack — today politically and tomorrow militarily — on the Middle East. So, objectively, the issue of the Palestinian liberation movement is an essential part of the anti-imperialist struggle, also in Europe.

For thirty years, US imperialism has not been broadly questioned in West Germany. Opposition to US imperialism was an important issue for the left, during the

Vietnam war especially, but the movement that is growing today has a potentially broader base. People's opposition to the arms race is closely connected to their own interests due to the effects of the economic crisis. We see our task today in Europe, and especially in West Germany, as working to infuse this broad popular movement, which is now primarily concerned with peace in general, with a clearer, more conscious anti-imperialist perspective.

## MILITARY OPERATIONS

Revolutionary violence, practiced in concordance with a clear political line, is an essential step on our road towards national liberation. Military operations in occupied Palestine are one form of struggle used by our masses in their confrontation with the Zionist entity, which occupies our land and is serving as a forward base for imperialism in the region. The political and military objectives of the operations are an integral part of our long term strategy of popular warfare. In general, the aims of the operations fall into four broad categories:

1) Striking the Zionist military establishment, in order to place the enemy in a defensive position, force it to disperse its forces and to lower the morale of the settler population.

2) Striking economic institutions. A frequent target of the operations is the infrastructure used to facilitate the economic exploitation of our people, and which provides the backbone of the Zionist state and its aggression. Also, targeting economic institutions speaks to our determination to prevent 'Israel' from being a stable base for monopoly capital.

3) Providing security to our masses and the Revolution by liquidating traitors.

*August 8th:* Palestinian commandos operating inside the occupied territories planted a timed explosive charge near an Israeli security forces post at the entrance of the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. The charge was discovered and an Israeli explosives expert, having failed to dismantle it, was forced to detonate it. The guard post was destroyed and several cars damaged. The security forces encircled the area, searching for other charges. Several Palestinian citizens were arrested on suspicion of their involvement in the operation.

*August 9th:* A special unit of Palestinian commandos placed a timed explosive charge at the entrance to a security forces office in Neve Yaakov settlement north of Jerusalem.

During the night, the charge was discovered by an Israeli explosives expert who detonated it. The office and its contents were damaged. The Israeli forces immediately erected check points on the Jerusalem — Ramallah road and searched the area for other charges. Several Palestinians were arrested on suspicion of their involvement in the operation, but the commandos returned safely to their base.

*August 28th:* Palestinian commandos operating inside the occupied territories planted a timed explosive charge inside a military vehicle of the Israeli Border Guards parked in the Bnei Brak suburb north of Tel Aviv. At noon, the charge went off as the vehicle was started. The passengers were injured and the vehicle badly damaged. Israeli security forces rushed to the scene and began a search for the commandos, who returned safely to their base.

*August 29th:* A Palestinian commando belonging to Special Unit 'C' operating inside the occupied territories planted a timed explosive charge in front of a consumer cooperative belonging to the Israeli forces in Herzl Street in Lydda on Saturday, August 29. At 11:30 pm, the charge went off, destroying a part of the cooperative, damaging its contents and smashing windows of neighboring shops. The Israeli security forces encircled the area and began a search in which they arrested several Palestinian citizens on suspicion of their involvement in the operation.

*August 31st:* Palestinian commandos operating inside the occupied territories placed several timed explosive charges inside the central bus station in Jerusalem. At 8.15 am, the first charge went off, wounding several Israeli settlers. The area was evacuated, and during a search, Israeli security forces discovered two more charges before they were timed to explode. The charges were dismantled by explosives experts. The secur-

ity forces transferred the operations of the Egged bus company elsewhere, and arrested several Palestinian citizens on suspicion of their involvement in the operation.

On the same day, Palestinian commandos planted a timed explosive charge near a guard stand in the centre of Acre. Shortly after midday, the charge went off, injuring several Israeli settlers and damaging a car parked nearby. Israeli security forces encircled the area and arrested several Palestinian citizens on suspicion of their involvement in the operation.

*September 3rd:* Palestinian commandos of Special Unit "C" operating inside the occupied territories placed an explosive charge in the military transport station in the settlement of Adomim near al Khalil (Hebron). The charge, which went off at 8:15 am, injured a number of Israeli soldiers and totally destroyed the station. The commandos returned safely to their base.

*September 5th:* Palestinian revolutionaries operating inside the occupied land, attacked a military car parked in Lydda city, using hand grenades, damaging a large number of military cars.

On the same day, a group of revolutionaries, using machine guns, attacked one of the military cars carrying soldiers on the way to Elon Moreh settlement. This operation killed and injured soldiers and destroyed the car. The Israeli forces encircled and searched the area.

*September 12th:* The enemy's broadcasting agency announced that some Israeli policemen were attacked by molotov cocktails in two different parts of Jerusalem. One of the molotov cocktails was thrown where Mia Sha'arim and Asbaat Israel streets cross. The other one was thrown at a group of Israeli policemen near the Metcheal cinema in Shtraus street. The Israeli radio did not report damage or injuries.

Palestinian commandos planted a timed explosive charge near the Zionist police centre at Rockefeller museum, where Israeli forces are mobilized to be sent to confront the demonstrations of the Palestinian masses. Israeli forces discovered the charge, but the explosives expert failed to dismantle it and was forced to detonate it. The guard post was destroyed and several cars damaged.

*September 12th:* Palestinian commandos planted a timed explosive charge inside the military station of Adomim settlement near al Khalil. The charge went off, injuring a number of Israeli soldiers and totally destroying the station. The commandos returned safely to their base.

# VOLUNTARY WORK

## Nahaleen

In the beginning of May, residents of the West Bank village of Nahaleen, near Bethlehem, noticed some ominous signs. A helicopter was seen hovering over a strip of land on the outskirts of the village, a taxi with Israeli plates began frequenting the village, and red marks appeared on the land in question. Then the village mukhtar was called to the military governor's office, and asked to provide the authorities with the names of the owners of the 1000 dunum strip of common land. He replied that it had always belonged to the entire village.

The people of Nahaleen, like all Palestinians, know their enemy very well, and it was clear to them that the Zionists were planning to expropriate this land. Determined to resist despite their knowledge that the entire Zionist power structure was against them, they decided to hold a voluntary work camp on the communal land. So at 6:00 a.m. one morning in May, over 1000 people gathered together on the land, and began clearing it and building fences. However, at 10:00 a.m., Israeli military personnel, complete with a tank, surrounded the area, fired in the air, and arrested 200 people for the crime of volunteering to work the land that had been theirs for centuries.

*Last year's voluntary work camp in Nazareth.*



## Nazareth

Nazareth is the largest Palestinian city in the part of Palestine under Zionist occupation since 1948. Finding funds for survival, let alone development, has been a major problem for the progressive-controlled city council, which faces severe and systematic discrimination from the Zionist state. This year the problem was particularly acute, as the authorities had slashed the Nazareth funds to virtually nothing.

One response to this situation was a general strike on July 29, called by the Committee of the Heads of Arab Local Councils. The strike targeted discriminatory fiscal policies: predominately Jewish municipalities in 'Israel' receive an average budget of 3000 IS per person, while Palestinian municipalities receive 500 IS per person. Yet another, more continuous response has been the establishment of an annual volunteer work camp, held for the past six years, and sponsored by the city council, local village councils and the various volunteer work committees that now exist all over Palestine. This year over 4000 people participated in the Nazareth volunteer work camp — over twice as many as last year. They came from all of Palestine, and even from abroad. Two thousand volunteered from the West Bank and Gaza.

Projects undertaken included paving streets, laying water pipes and sewage systems, and painting schools. It is estimated that the volunteers accomplished the equivalent of 9 million Israeli shekels worth of work.

This demonstration of Palestinian solidarity and determination did not pass unattacked. One evening the Israeli authorities entered the camp and arrested 100 volunteers from the West Bank and Gaza; the charge was spending the night in 'Israel', illegal for Palestinians from the 1967 occupied territories.

## A material base for steadfastness

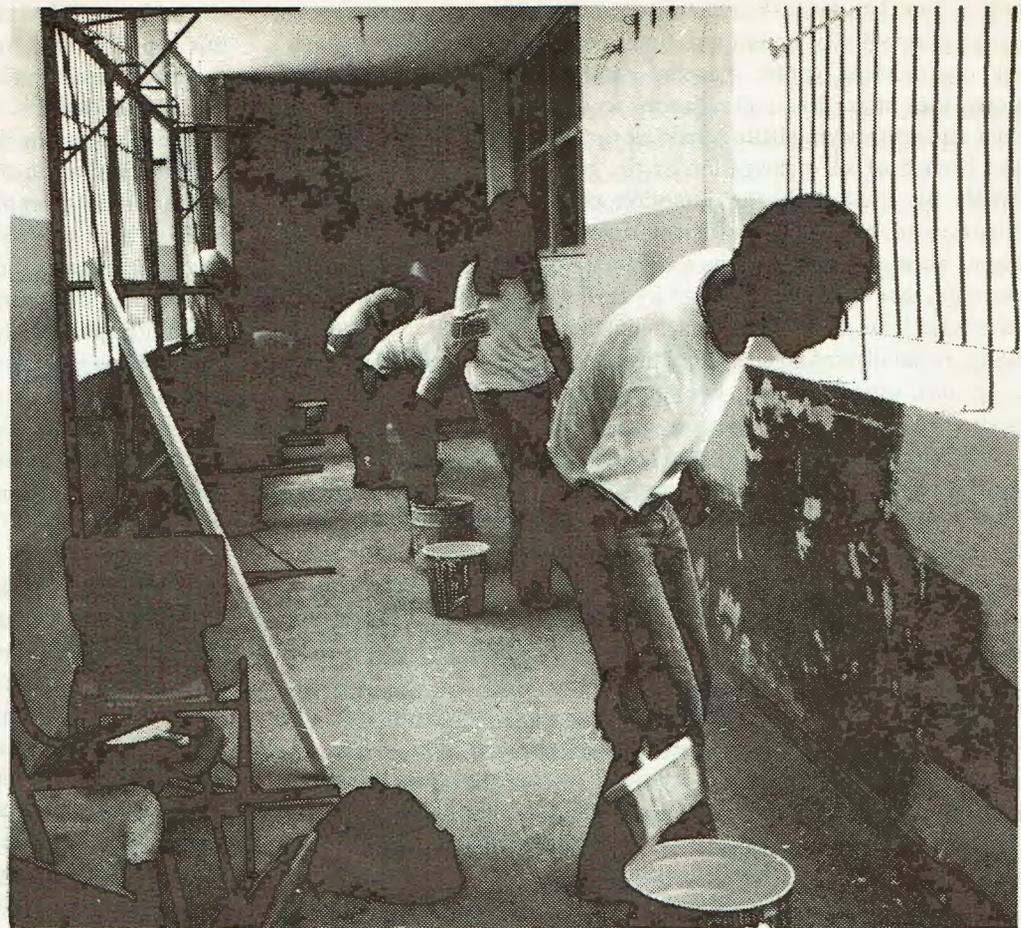
The two examples above illustrate the importance of voluntary work for two crucial aspects of our people's struggle: defending the land against expropriations, and breaking the enforced economic dependency imposed by the Zionist entity. The idea of voluntary work is not new. It grew out of the Palestinian tradition of villagers helping each other to cultivate the land and harvest crops, as communal support was necessary in the context of the severe exploitation of the peasantry under the Ottoman rule. Today the Palestinian masses are suffering and struggling under Zionist colonization, and one weapon they have taken up is the expansion and deepening of volunteer work. Thus we find volunteer groups that not only help with the harvest and cultivation, but clean streets, build fences and sewers, clear and plant threatened land, set up free community classes and create libraries.

Hand in hand with the quantitative development of volunteer work has come an increased understanding of its political importance in our people's struggle. This is seen very clearly at Bir Zeit University, where 30 hours of volunteer work a year are mandatory for graduation. One former student activist says this of the program: "Students constitute 35% of the Palestinian Arab population under occupation; it is important that they be involved in productive work for their community, to translate their love for the land into concrete action to save it. The volunteer work supports the peasants in their struggle to stay on their land and resist being forced to work in 'Israel'. This work also increases the social consciousness on the part of both the students and the villagers as to the economic conditions and national oppression."

An indication of the success and popular support for volunteer work is that it has

spread from the universities to the villages and camps. Numerous local committees have been set up, and in August 1980 a 14-member High Committee was formed to coordinate the work. The committee emphasizes that the main goals of voluntary work are to counter the economic and social pressures of the occupation, to reinforce the attachment of Palestinians to the land, to encourage agriculture and to strengthen social ties among all sectors of Palestinians. Though extremely handicapped by lack of funds, last year the committee initiated projects to plant 1650 olive trees and 600 grape vines on land that is threatened with confiscation. They also sponsored voluntary work camps as a meaningful way to commemorate special events, such as the Day of the Land, Prisoners Day and May Day. In the coming period they hope to begin medical relief committees, and committees for agriculture and construction engineers.

Voluntary work is truly one means for laying the material base for steadfastness. It helps the small farmers, who all too often are being forced to work as wage laborers in 'Israel' because they cannot afford to hire assistants for harvesting their crops. It is a tangible means for all Palestinian people — not just landowners — to assert their commitment and right to the land in the face of massive expropriations. It is a way for Palestinian villages to maintain basic services in the face of extreme Zionist



discrimination. Through practice, it provides important political lessons for advancing the struggle of our people — most importantly the lesson of united resistance that stems from and answers the needs of the masses.

July 1981: Work camp in Deir al Asad in the Galilee, where volunteers from the Palestine Front of Norway and the Palestine Groups of Sweden participated alongside Palestinians. Here a school is painted.

## WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP ISSUES OF PATRIOTIC STRUGGLE

How does the PLO proceed with implementing genuine national unity? What is the role of a national front, and how can it be formed? What is the impact of the Jordanian regime on the Palestinian Resistance? Is it possible to establish a united Palestinian communist party?

These are clearly some of the most important questions confronting the Palestinian Resistance Movement. Thus we consider it of great value that the PLO Research Center sponsored a panel meeting of Palestinian leaders to discuss these issues in the context of the struggle in the occupied territories. Participating in the discussions were leaders from Fateh, the DFLP, the PFLP, Saiqa and the Palestinian Communist Organization in the West Bank. (Abdel Rahim Ahmed of the Arab Liberation Front was invited to participate, but was out of town.) A working paper, raising provocative issues, was prepared by the journal *Palestine Affairs*, where the discussion was published in full (in Arabic).

Because of the importance that we attach to these subjects and the value of open and democratic discussion between the different Palestinian organizations, the Bulletin is printing the discussion. Due to its length, it will be presented in installments. This first section

deals mainly with the role of the Palestinian National Front in the occupied homeland. For background information on this subject, we refer readers to Bulletin Nos. 32 and 45.

**Introduction:** Bilal al Hassan, editor of *Palestine Affairs*

We welcome you on behalf of the Research Center and *Palestine Affairs*, and thank you for accepting our invitation to discuss matters of patriotic struggle in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We assume that we are all agreed upon the fact that the Palestinian struggle in the occupied territories is one of the most important issues that should be occupying your attention. Let us begin this dialogue by saying that the initiative, efficiency and attention of the Palestinian masses and leaders in the occupied land is ahead of that of the Palestinian organizations. In other words, many of the organizations, some present here, are concerned with the conditions of their organization in the occupied land, and plan their policies and tactics from outside, based on the ambitions of the organization, and the level of its relationship with the masses and with other political and armed forces.

As a result of this self-interest, general interests are sometimes lost,

or it is found to be sufficient to issue political communiques, leaving the responsibility of action and final decision to others. For example, the organizations (note: meaning Fateh, DFLP, PFLP, etc.) work alone; they make bilateral alliances according to their interests and their strength, paying little attention to the required general alliances. The branch of an organization in the occupied land plans its union battles by itself with the intention of domination, not with the intention of building an efficient union in which all partake. The organization takes care of its prisoners, not all prisoners. These are examples that can be summarized by saying: our work in the occupied territories lacks a unity of leadership that is at least parallel to that which is manifested in the Executive Committee of the PLO. This is dangerous, especially when we confront a political situation that we might face with different opinions and stands.

What is happening up to now is that the masses in the occupied land instinctively support the policies of the PLO, not the contrary. That is, this support is not the result of the influence of the guerrilla organizations in the midst of the masses.

We would first like to hear your opinions of these remarks – do you agree or do you think that there is a different objective picture?

**Majed Abu Sharrar, member of the Central Committee of Fateh**

First, we should not separate at all between the interior (the occupied territories) and the exterior. Most of the actions that take place in the occupied land on the political level, and on all other levels, are a reflection of the policies of each organization outside; in addition, the nature of the relationship between the patriotic forces in the occupied land also reflects the nature of the relationship between these forces outside.

Thus we should be concerned with strengthening and clarifying the relationships between the organizations outside as a step towards achieving joint programs which will help the forces in the occupied territories to weave relationships between themselves that are stronger, more durable and more developed. It is not true at all that the organizations in the occupied territories work on their own. The weak form of the united front existing outside the occupied territories, represented by the PLO Executive Committee, reflects on the nature of the relationships inside the occupied land. The relations between the organizations in the interior need channels that must be systematized in order to establish more stable interaction between the interior and the exterior, and avoid allowing unilateralism to be the main characteristic of the struggle. For example, we have been struggling for years to establish an office for the occupied land, different from the one established by the Executive Committee that is mainly responsible for the duties of steadfastness. The proposed office would include representatives of all the organizations and have special political and military sections. It would be responsible for the duties of coordination, for political guidance and having the final word in regard to alliances in the interior, whether to do with union elections or other matters. I would like to mention that Fateh's occupied territories office held several meetings with our brothers in the Popular Front and the Democratic Front, and we are about to conclude meetings with our brothers in the other organizations in an attempt to establish this office.

With respect to alliances, the working paper you presented to us stated that there are bilateral alliances determined by the interests and strength of the allied organizations, without taking account of the required general alliances. It is true that this sometimes occurs, but it is not the rule. In the last elections of the student council at Najah University, a Palestinian national unity list was nominated, similar to lists formed in the exterior, even though the list lost the election to the religious list. At Bir Zeit University too, only one list was nominated.

Anyhow, I believe that the nature of the relationships in the interior still needs to be furthered and given more attention; this will not be realized until an active office for the occupied territories is established outside. This office should be charged with discussing all matters concerning the occupied territories and with consulting the patriotic leaders in the interior. Thus it would make suitable decisions which would guarantee the awakening of patriotic Palestinian work more able to actively confront the Israeli occupation, resist the Camp David plans and the plans of the Jordanian regime which still has influence in the occupied territories.

With respect to the question of a united leadership in the occupied land, this is a matter that sometimes develops for the better and sometimes for the worse. Probably the highest form of a united leadership was realized when the Palestinian National Front (PNF) was established, which included all the patriotic organizations and forces struggling against the occupation. It was the PNF that was able to successfully lead the struggle of our people inside the occupied territories for many years, until the enemy discovered the leadership and succeeded in striking it a blow, either by deportations, house arrests or other punishments. After that came a period of disagements on the nature of the PNF.

The disagreement centered around a basic matter: what is the task of the PNF inside the occupied territories? Is it an alternative to the PLO or is it an arm of the PLO in the interior? What is the nature of the forces represented in this front? However, in reality things differ a great deal from what was stated above. The question is: should we form a national front inside the occupied land? In other words, which forces should be represented and what should be the size of each inside the national front? All this pushed some to fight the national front, accusing it of not really representing the forces inside the occupied land. Others tried to give the impression that the communists are dominating the front, using this as an excuse to attack the PNF.

In reality the PNF was representing all patriotic forces that believe in the programs of the PLO and struggle to realize them. It was no coincidence that the PNC, in its last session, stressed the importance of rebuilding the national front, which in the past few years has been replaced by the National Guidance Committee, formed at the beginning of 1978 to face the Israeli-Egyptian-US plans after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. This committee groups the mayors, as well as others who are active in political and economic fields, and was able to gain popularity among the Palestinian masses; branches were established in all the cities and villages of the West Bank and Gaza Strip for patriotic guidance. To this day these committees carry the responsibility of daily leadership of the struggle inside the occupied territories. However, the task of rebuilding the national front is an urgent one, and we must still work to complete the efforts to achieve it, benefiting from the lessons of the past.

**Yasser Abed Rabbo, Deputy General Secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)**

In reality the question posed does not deal with the problems of the relationships and daily work as much as it raises a basic question for the overall struggle of the Palestinian national movement. This question should be viewed as follows:

Wherever our Palestinian masses are gathered, whether inside the occupied land or outside, they are found to live in varying political and social conditions. These conditions have evolved over a period beginning in 1948, the year of the disaster. Although most of our people in both the East and West Bank live as refugees or under occupation, they are still united politically on the basis of the political program of the PLO and within its framework. Although on one hand

there is an increase in the unity of the people and their struggles, on the other hand there are varying conditions and duties of struggle for each area where our Palestinian masses are found. Therefore it is impossible to deal with the problems of the relationships between the forces, or the Palestinian organizations struggling inside the occupied territories, just as if one is discussing Saida or Sour with a leading center present in Beirut.

The general strategy is agreed upon within the framework of the PLO. However, it is impossible, not only from a practical viewpoint but also because of the conditions and tasks of the continuous struggle against the occupation, to have a leading center outside of the occupied land which is responsible for the daily tactical and detailed guidance of this struggle. It is natural that the task of guiding the struggle and planning its tactics is the responsibility of this organization or that inside the occupied territories. This is its duty and its main role. Thus I wish to say that there is no meaning in saying that the organization in the interior works on its own, as if this is an accusation or something that conflicts with the patriotic work. And when I say "on its own", I do not mean that they follow a policy that conflicts with that of the organization outside the occupied territories. I mean that there is complete freedom to plan the tactics and tasks of the daily struggle within the general policy that unites the organization and its work on the Palestinian level as a whole.

This is the first thing I wanted to note. The second point is the problems that face the relationships between the patriotic Palestinian forces in the occupied areas. Some of these are objective in nature; others have to be solved with the help of the organizations outside the occupied territories and the leaders of the organizations. In other words, what is objective is one thing, whether it is the ideological and political differences, or differences in the proportion of forces in one place or another in the interior with respect to the proportions of these forces in the outside. This is one thing, and the conflict that arises strictly from subjective conditions is another. It is the responsibility of the PLO and all patriotic Palestinian forces in the outside to cooperate in reducing the level of these conflicts. And here we do not exempt anyone at all from this responsibility.

There is a third point I would like to note. The stand with respect to the PNF has its source in something already mentioned before. Do we want a national front that leads, and guides all national struggle in the occupied territories, that takes into consideration the situation, the conditions, the readiness of the masses, the condition of the enemy, the proportion of forces already present and the possibilities of development — or do we want a national front that is simply an executive tool to follow orders coming from the outside? In my opinion it is unjustified and unreasonable that some patriotic Palestinian forces fear that the PNF in the interior will become an independent body from the PLO or oppose it. On the contrary, the PNF includes representatives of all forces present among the Palestinian masses, whether they be organizations or independent patriotic personalities. The PNF, after 1973 and during the years it worked regularly, was the main force that raised the banner of the PLO and stressed that the yardstick of patriotism in the occupied territories is recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people as a whole. It is those who were outside the national front, or at least some of them, who tried to create centers of leadership as an alternative to or in competition with the PLO. It is ironic that some are concerned with maintaining a relationship with those people under the pretext that without them the national front would not be completely representing all of the Palestinian people.

In my opinion the problem is not whether one organization dominates the PNF or not. When the PNF was functioning, no organization had a majority in it at the leadership level. The door was

open to all forces without exception, and approval was based on commitment to the program of the PNF, the central point of which is recognizing the PLO and working under its leadership.

The problem is that some trends in the Palestinian work want to make any united national action in the occupied land something that serves tactical aims, that is, not to serve the Palestinian national struggle and its tasks in the occupied territories, but to serve political considerations that are seen as necessary by this force or that on the outside. This is something that turns the united patriotic action into a group of political agents, not a leadership for a patriotic mass movement.

This is why I say there was not a political problem. The last program drawn up by the PNF, in 1979, stressed that it is an arm of the PLO and is committed to its program. Here, two disputes arose. The first has to do with the claim of some that the PNF should not be the only arm of the PLO in the occupied land, that one extension should include those forces that are not committed to the PLO and that work to establish alternative centers. The second difference has to do with another claim which says that the PNF should not have any program separate from the political program of the PLO. This is an illogical claim. The PNF is based on the general political aims of the PLO and the PNC, and using them as a guide, derives a special detailed plan for the struggle, tasks, forms of organizing and leadership of the masses against the occupation.

What I wish to stress, and what brother Majed said in conclusion, is the importance of rebuilding the PNF. Also, in this field we do not start from nothing, because there are many forms of cooperation and militant solidarity already established in the occupied territories. In my opinion they are much more developed than those forms which exist outside the occupied land, in spite of the conflicts and differences, and are generally managed in a more democratic manner. Cooperation, solidarity and political unity exist and are developing for the better. However, the task is still there and should be completed. The relationships should be developed so as to rebuild the PNF to group the active forces present on the field of patriotic struggle, on the condition that they are committed to the program of the PLO, mainly, and the program of the PNF. The problem concerning commitment to the programs of the PLO is not a problem of the forces which formed the PNF in the past, but is the problem of the forces that are said to have been isolated from participating in it in the past.

#### **Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)**

First of all, I would like to express my appreciation to the brothers of *Palestine Affairs* who took the initiative of gathering us together for this panel meeting to discuss a subject we consider to be of the utmost importance — the subject of the struggle of our people in the occupied territories.

With respect to the questions posed on the agenda, I completely agree with what our brother Majed Abu Sharrar said about the fact that we cannot make a mechanical distinction between the activities inside the occupied territories and activities outside. No matter how many political or geographical distances exist between the occupied territories and the exterior, we still suffer from one cause and we all carry the responsibility of united confrontation.

In order to show the interconnection between the occupied land and the outside, I will give two clear examples that represent two important marks in the modern history of the Palestinian national struggle. I give them to stress the point that brother Majed made concerning the mutual reflection of the struggle in the occupied homeland and outside.

We all remember the high level of potency of the Palestinian Revolution and people in the occupied land during the years from 1967 to the middle of 1970. However, the massacres of Black September 1970 and its results arose like a dam in front of the patriotic tide. This was a serious setback that resulted in a distressful and desperate situation in the occupied land.

Another example, but with positive results, was the battle of March 1978 in South Lebanon. This resulted in massive uprisings all over the occupied lands – an event which most patriotic forces could not have predicted would happen with such momentum and action.

Thus there is an interrelationship between the interior and exterior, without overlooking the distance that separates them demographically, geographically or politically, and without overlooking the differences in duties which have their roots in one program. All this makes us take a closer look at the reason for raising the legitimate questions posed on the agenda. It is not possible to limit these questions to a panel discussion like this, because they are born from reality, not from the abstract, and thus are subject to discussion within every organization.

To answer these questions I think there is an important point that we should take into consideration, not only in this panel but also in our joint efforts in the struggle to overcome it. The big defect is not in the occupied territories – not in the organizations, leaders or our masses. The defect lies in the overall condition of the revolution's leadership *outside* the occupied territories. It is a defect in the general trend and in the manner in which national unity is understood.

We can continue discussing matters for 10 hours, and we can meet daily, weekly or monthly without reaching satisfactory joint formulas. How can we explain this trend? How can we explain the fact that after 15 years of this occupation, we still speak of the subject of Palestinian national unity in every meeting of the PNC without seeing anything successfully materialize from this talk? Is the reason not this trend, which dictates the relationships on the Palestinian level and reflects itself on the work in the occupied land in a way that is different from what we have agreed on?

Who of us was not very pleased with the programs adopted by the 14th session of the PNC, especially the organizational component? All of us noted a united stand that day, based on a conviction that these broad lines constituted a correct approach for 'cleaning the Palestinian house' on a correct basis. However, at the 15th PNC we all came complaining, without taking a serious stand to draw up plans for a correct trend of decisions and relationships. The absence of this stand is at the heart of the defect in the question of national unity.

We understand that national unity must be founded on the basis of mutual understanding and on the basis of political, ideological and organizational independence. We do not feel inclined to conform to political unity on matters where we have differences, neither in the occupied territories nor outside them. The important thing is that matters are settled in the interior and the exterior on correct foundations drawn up by the PLO and all its political, military, organizational, financial and administrative structures.

Let us take one example: the prisoners. From a patriotic and humanitarian view, there should be no discrimination between one martyr and another, or between one prisoner and another. However, it was not until the middle of 1980 that an agreement was reached whereupon our institutions adopted all the prisoners of the Palestinian Revolution. The organizations suffer from this problem; in the final analysis any prisoner struggles for the cause no matter what his political or theoretical beliefs. The delay in making this decision is painful – in spite of this we do not give up and we will continue struggling to rid ourselves of these defects and disadvantages. However, the condition is that there is serious preparation, readiness



*Al Khalil*

and sincerity in putting what is theoretically proposed into practice.

With respect to the subject of national unity and the occupied territories, we all remember the communique that was issued in August 1973; it was an advanced program that all the political forces in the interior agreed upon. However, secondary benefits were allowed to take priority over the correct general trend, as mentioned by my comrade Yasser, and various points were omitted whenever and wherever it was thought to be profitable.

I remember that in 1974 the PNC which was convened in Cairo received a letter from the occupied land. This letter took a certain political line; regardless of whether we agreed or disagreed with it, the PNC was so concerned as to read it from the podium. Now at that PNC the PNF was considered the active arm of the PLO in the occupied land. But we came to the 15th PNC to struggle for implementing what was adopted by the 14th PNC concerning the PNF. We found that the PNF, which was established by a PNC decision, was ignored. We had to discuss for a very long time about its definition: is it an arm of the PLO? is it the only arm? All this so as to escape implementing the decision. Furthermore, when the discussions reach a point of imposing conditions which effect the structure of the PNF, such as insisting on the entry of questionable parties, whose acceptance is not agreed upon, into the leadership of the PNF as a condition for removing the reservations towards the PNF, then it is our right to say that there is an unacceptable policy that affects what has been accomplished on this level.

On the other hand there was a discussion about the extent to which the PNF represented the Palestinian forces; some considered that the PNF did not include representatives for all the forces present in the field of Palestinian work. If this discussion is legitimate, then it should also include what was formulated on the basis of the working program of the Palestinian Revolution, decided upon during the PNC's 14th session – the rebuilding of the PNF.

When a general program for the Palestinian Revolution is made, then we should leave a lot of room for the PNF so as to formulate a detailed program. In the PFLP, for example, the party congress is held responsible for the general program, after which the leadership of the occupied land section formulates its special program, which does not deviate from the general program of the PFLP. On the contrary, it is the application of the policy, whose details they plan. Thus we do not understand the objections that were raised with respect to the working program of the PNF, stating that it deviates from the

program of the PNC or from organizational traditions. We believe these objections were raised for political and other reasons which dictated the stands taken in this respect.

Let us look at some examples having to do with the range of power that we can represent when we raise the level of our struggle in the confrontation with the Israeli occupation. This confrontation is against all the forces that in the end serve the purposes of the occupation, whether they be supporters of the Jordanian regime or right-wing religious forces that have begun to be active in the occupied territories, affecting the programs of the Palestinian Revolution and even ruining its work in some areas. They have played a destructive role, known to us all, especially in the Gaza Strip, and they have confronted the planned tasks of our general program. The example of the elections at Najah University is a good one. Some religious forces tried to win all the seats of the student council, but when the patriotic forces formed a united list they were able to penetrate, i.e. gain some representation in the council. While in other areas we found ourselves faced with counter-penetrations, because we had failed to reach agreement among ourselves.

Now I would like to mention a point that should always be a subject for discussion among the circles of the Palestinian Revolution. If we laid the correct basis for the battles we wage against each other in the work, in the trade unions and mass organization outside, we could have avoided this matter inside the occupied land. The correct basis means applying the rule of proportional representation. Because we do not apply this rule outside the occupied land, we find ourselves facing a variety of opinions and stands inside the occupied land that sometimes affect the firmness of our patriotic forces and gives the right wing and reactionary forces the chance to succeed in some of the Palestinian institutions.

We hold in high esteem the formation of the National Guidance Committee, which was called the Committee of Direction after the Beit Hanina conference, held after the signing of the Camp David agreement. However, we as the PFLP do not consider the National Guidance Committee as an alternative to the PNF, but as a wider framework from which the PNF draws support to broaden the field of the struggle against the 'autonomy' plan. The PNF should continue to be the leadership which groups all the institutions within the occupied territories and from which all the committees of the PNF should branch off to all areas. In other words, it is not acceptable that there should exist a national front in the West Bank without having

*Ramallah.*



branches in the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, Nablus, Bethlehem and all other areas.

This is the most developed form by which we can enhance our struggle inside the occupied territories. We understand that there are objective as well as subjective reasons that can inhibit the development of the PNF, such as the oppressive activities of the enemy, which reached the point of bloodshed against the symbols of the PNF — Bassam Shakaa and Karim Khalaf, and the deportation of Mohammed Milhem and Fahd Qawasmeh.

With respect to the political conflicts between the organizations, especially those who are joining the PNF, we do understand there are differences of opinion on many matters. However, we do not understand why these differences should gain priority over the points of agreement. Let us agree to control these differences and remember that they are only secondary contradictions and that our primary contradiction is with the enemy.

#### **Mohammed Khalifeh, representative of Saiqa in the PLO Executive Committee**

In reality I do not feel that what our comrades are saying is contradictory, but complementary, with slight differences of opinion.

First, I would like to comment on a sentence in the working paper of this panel discussion. The sentence states that what has been happening up until now is that the masses in the occupied territories follow the resistance organizations because of their instinctive awareness. However, the masses are aware of their situation because of the activity of the organizations and as a result of the commitment of these organizations to the policies of the PLO and to mobilizing the masses on this basis. This reality contradicts with the conclusion reached by our brother Bilal.

However, with respect to the work in the occupied territories and outside them, each complements the other and each has its conditions, methods and tools that may differ partly or wholly. The real problem that affects the occupied territories is the result of wrong practices — and I insist on this — it is the result of the interference and the influence of the exterior. During the PNC I used to always stress that we were making decisions that we never seriously carry out. We are all present in the occupied territories as organizations. Considering the conditions in which our people live under occupation, considering the required struggle, I believe that we cannot but be in a united national front and work in a united manner.

In the occupied land there is not so much profit as there is sacrifice. In the exterior we live under much better conditions than those of our people under occupation. Thus we do not feel as committed as they, and this, I am sorry to say, affects the organizations and their actions in the interior. Sometimes I reach the point where I would like to say to all of us: take your hands off the occupied land and leave them to work on their own reckoning, by their own judgment, and you will find that they will be working within the framework of the PLO and they will be committed to the programs of the PLO. These programs are approved but not put into practice due to the fact that the organizations are not fulfilling their commitments. Our masses will be committed in theory and practice to these programs, but we will not.

This is the main problem to which we should find a solution. To the extent that we commit ourselves to the decisions of the PNC, I am confident that our people in the occupied territories will be even more committed. They are sincere and clear in their commitment to the PLO as their sole legitimate representative, and in rejecting the autonomy plan, and when there is any disagreement it occurs in the exterior, and then we export it to the occupied territories, whence the problems begin.

# THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF ZIONIST AGGRESSION

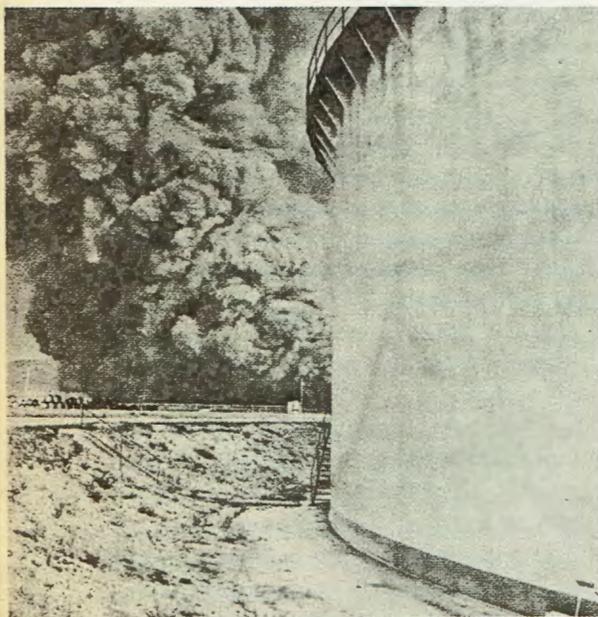
*In addition to the many deaths and injuries caused by relentless Zionist air raids, there is severe damage inflicted upon the economy of South Lebanon. This in turn affects the population and the overall economy of the country. With the aim of eliciting an Arab initiative to rebuild South Lebanon, Antun F. Harik wrote an article summarizing the economic impact of Israeli aggression.*

*The following are excerpts from his article which appeared in the Syria Times, July 23, 1981. It is to be remembered that the statistics here were compiled prior to the heavy attacks which began on July 10th. The bombing of ten bridges in South Lebanon and extensive damage to the Zahrani oil refinery can only worsen the situation described below.*

Some figures will clarify this grim picture. The south comprises 22% of Lebanon's total area and in the past this region contributed 20% of the country's gross national product. The population is primarily engaged in farming on the small but rich coastal plain where citrus fruits, bananas and vegetables are grown. A mountainous area, 9% of the total area, produces olives and fruits and in the rolling hills which comprise 85% of the area,

3,000 dunums of land were not planted since 1977 resulting in an income loss of LL 20 million per year, while 11,000 dunums of tobacco valued at LL 100 million, 51,000 dunums of olive trees worth LL 50 million and 70,000 dunums of fruit orchards estimated at LL 10 million have been destroyed leaving valuable land idle and farm families with no means of sustenance. To date, the cost of this destruction at LL 160 million and lost income for a period of four years at LL 80 million totals the staggering amount of LL 240 million that has been lost to the Lebanese economy.

Many southerners have lost their homes in the repeated shelling of population centers. 9,400 homes whose replacement value is estimated at LL 470 million have been totally destroyed to date, while 21,500 others have been damaged and will cost an estimated LL 430 million to repair. Moreover, destruction of personal belongings is estimated at LL 180 million. Before the Israeli invasion of 1978, 850,000 people lived in the south, but as a consequence of this invasion and continuing Israeli aggression in the area, the population has been drastically reduced to 300,000. This has resulted in the need to relocate and settle 131,000 families. From information provided by the UNHCR, the resettlement cost per family in domestic aid, transportation and start-up expenses designed to permit the re-establishment of income generating capacity, should run about LL 25,000 per family or a total of LL 3,250 million. To this should be added the costs involved in rebuilding and repairing municipal services so that rebuilt communities can function in normal ways. United Nations officials estimate that this will cost no less than LL 200 million.



*Zahrani refinery in flames after Zionist bombing.*

tobacco and cereals are produced. While agricultural skills are mainly of the traditional kind, development in the use of modern agricultural techniques has taken place all over the region. Now however, agricultural production has dwindled as crops and orchards are destroyed in fighting and abandoned for security reasons. Figures collected by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) indicate that



All of the above costs should be added to the loss of income which the region contributes to the national economy which has averaged LL 1.5 billion per year during the ten years prior to 1977. This lost income consists of one quarter of the country's annual fish catch, the collapse of the region's tourist industry due to daily bombardments endangering the rich archaeological sites of the south and their tourist facilities, and losses sustained by the agricultural sector outlined above. The total of this destruction and lost income for the past four years of misery in the south adds up to LL 10 billion. This amount equals the estimated national income of Lebanon for 1980. Can the Leba-



Qasmiyeh bridge destroyed.

## MIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

*In order to get more background and a deeper socio-economic analysis of the phenomena reflected in the statistics cited in the previous article, we spoke with the*

*Lebanese Communist Party. The following was prepared by Comrade George Batal, a member of the party's Politbureau.*

It is important to make clear at the start that it is difficult to give precise statistics on the full extent of the destruction that has resulted from the continuous Israeli aggression on southern Lebanon. Even some of the estimates that appear in the newspapers and the writings of experts are incomplete; one cannot totally depend on them for reaching reliable conclusions. Thus, we cannot yet present a deep analysis of the economic changes that have taken place, but we can use some of those estimates to determine the general direction of the economic and social development.

*A few Lebanese fishermen still persist in their trade.*



nese economy be expected to remain viable for very long under this monumental pressure? This means that at least 25% of the Lebanese national income per year for the next four years would have to be allocated for reconstruction of the south's economy and resettlement of the refugees if Lebanon does not receive foreign aid. It can clearly be seen that failing some sort of comprehensive and large-scale program by Lebanon's Arab neighbors or by other countries, its national economy as a whole is heading toward disaster. Given the present political facts of the region, and considering the history of Israeli strategy in Palestine, the world can ill-afford such a catastrophe in Lebanon.

The basic phenomenon to be emphasized is the migration from the southern region due to the continuous barbaric and ever-expanding Israeli aggression. It is true that this phenomenon had started before the events of 1975, but there is a basic difference between the reasons behind the migration before and after the civil war.

In the pre-war stage, the difference between the rate of capitalist development in Lebanon as a whole and in the South caused migration from the South to the faster developing centers, mainly Beirut and its suburbs. This was accompanied by a set-back in the traditional agriculture, which accounted for the main part of production in the South. This includes tobacco growing, which suffered greatly from foreign competition, especially from American cigarette companies. As well, the policy of the state and of the Lebanese tobacco company, Regi, served to decrease this form of agriculture without any real measures being taken to secure work and livelihood for the tens of thousands of families whose income derived from tobacco growing.

In the second stage, especially after the Israeli invasion of 1978 and the creation of the traitor Saad Haddad's 'state', Israeli aggression has been the direct cause of migration, as it has made living and production conditions more difficult and sometimes impossible. According to estimates from the South Council and the Higher Relief Agency in 1979, the rate of migration after the invasion was 87.5% in the Sour area (including 67 villages), 56% in the Bint Jbail area (40 villages), 62% in the

Marjeyoun area (31 villages), and 87% in the Hasbaya area (18 villages).

We should take into consideration that this wave of migration came after the previous return of the southerners from the cities, back to their villages, due to the civil war and the forced evacuation from the coast of North Metn, Karantina, etc. (note: East Beirut and north along the coast in the fascist-controlled areas). Also we should notice that the concentration of shelling on the border strip and then the creation of Saad Haddad's 'state' initially forced the migration towards the middle regions of the South — Nabatiyeh and Saida. Then, the expansion of the air attacks and artillery shelling to cover all the southern region channeled migration towards Beirut and its suburbs, especially the South Metn coast, including Ouzai (note: the coast that extends from West Beirut south).

#### Decreased production and employment

This forced migration has meant a severe set-back in the field of production, and created an unstable socio-economic situation in all fields of life. In a study by Dr. Ali Faour, it is shown, for example, that only 52.7% of the male working force actually works. Among them, the rate of unemployment is 19%. If we include the entire working force, men and women, the percentage of those actually working drops to 26%. This is due to the extremely low percentage of working females. This 26% is very low and results in a whole series of social problems, including a marked drop in the standard of living. As well, the low level of working people inhibits the provision of necessary services such as education, health and housing.

Another example of the worsening living conditions is the decrease in tobacco production as a result of the aggression and the security situation. According to the estimates of the tobacco workers trade union, the area used for tobacco cultivation has dropped to 40% of what it was before the war. The price has been increased and the workers have gained more benefits from the state through their struggle led by the trade union. Yet we believe that the overall income derived from this sector has dropped due to the decrease in cultivated areas and the increased rate of inflation in recent years. This situation reflects negatively on the lives of tens of thousands of southerners who previously worked in tobacco growing.

The continuation and escalation of aggression has stopped or greatly retarded the development which was taking place toward the growth and expansion of capi-

talist relations in agriculture. In the recent years, especially from 1972-78, there were big capital investments in agriculture by Lebanese living abroad, whereby large areas of land were cultivated and turned into plantations. Now this process took place at the expense of small landowners and resulted in the concentration of land in the hands of large landowners, whereby some of the ex-owners became workers. However, this in itself does not prevent a general increase in production. But due to the Israeli aggression, there was great destruction inflicted on the irrigated agriculture in the Khayam and Hasbaya regions and on the region extending from Zahrani to Naqoura, where large areas of citrus plantations were destroyed and burned.

Another sector affected by the Israeli aggression is fishing. The continuous shelling and piracy has stopped many fishermen from working. Thus, more than 1500 families have lost their source of income, in addition to the great material loss suffered by the gross national product. A few fishermen have continued to work under the pressure of extreme necessity, and despite the great danger from the Israeli boats that have kidnapped scores of fishermen, often imprisoning them for months. Also the Israeli intelligence and their puppets in the border strip blackmail and terrorize the fishermen in the Sour region, mainly around Naqoura.

In the industrial sector, up until 1975, there were small handicrafts in addition to some factories, such as citrus fruit packing in Saida and a single textile factory in the area of Zahrani. The number of small handicraft workshops has increased, especially in Saida and the southern villages; this is mainly mechanic workshops, agricultural machinery and shoe making. Many owners of these small factories and workshops are southerners who returned to the South from the Beirut suburbs and the North Metn coast after the explosion of the isolationist-Zionist conspiracy (the civil war). These factories have employed a large number of the agricultural workers and others who lost their work in the villages of the border strip and the frontier villages of the Nabatiyeh, Bint Jbail and Sour areas.

Based on what has occurred in all the above sectors, we can estimate that the South's share in the gross national product has dropped from having been more than 20% to 10%.

#### Implications of the July destruction

The Israeli aggression over the recent years has had dangerous socio-economic

consequences. Yet the Israeli aggression of the period of July 10-22nd, 1981, was even more dangerous in terms of the future, not only because of the actual destruction, but also due to its implications. The destruction of the bridges, the damage to Zahrani refinery, and the destruction of the irrigation installations in Qasmeyeh and Zahrani was primarily intended to create political, military and psychological conditions favorable to the Zionists. This is not to overlook the effect which this destruction will have on the economic development in the future.

The division of the South into many areas isolated from each other, and cutting off the South from the rest of Lebanon will lead to confusion and stoppage in the economic cycle in all its links. The danger in this case is the possibility of the repetition of such aggression, while the Lebanese authorities did not and will not undertake any effective measures on the political level, locally or internationally, or on the socio-economic level, especially in the South, to confront Israel and its supporters, chiefly the USA. Based on this, we expect a decrease in investment, whether in the industrial sector or in agriculture, in the coming period. This will restrain the development process which has started in the South in the recent years.

Because of this, the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, including our party, and the Palestinian Resistance have made every effort to face the new situation. The basic starting point was countering the political, military and psychological goals which the enemy tried to achieve, and guaranteeing the conditions for the people's steadfastness and the continuation of social and economic activity in the various regions of the South. In relation to this, alternative bridges were provided, a process of getting and distributing fuel oil was organized, necessary goods were taken to the South, marketing was organized, etc. The popular committees and the trade unions that worked in cooperation with the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and the Palestinian Resistance played a big role in the complex organizational effort required to carry out all these tasks.

Today we can say with full confidence that the reaction to the savage Israeli aggression has been a renewed sense of determination, among the masses in general and in the South in particular, to confront all challenges from the Zionist enemy. This sense of determination among the masses is based on the political, organizational, social and mobilizing efforts of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and the Palestinian Resistance.

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN AND LEBANESE PEOPLE

On September 11th and 12th, the International Conference in Solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian Peoples was held in Beirut. Convening for this occasion were delegations from liberation movements, progressive parties and organizations, trade, professional and womens unions – representing socialist countries, newly independent nations and democratic forces in the capitalist countries.

The conference was addressed by Comrade Mohsen Ibrahim on behalf of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and by Palestinian leaders, including Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mohammad Milhem, the deported mayor of Halhoul in occupied Palestine. The various delegations delivered solidarity messages.

In addition, the delegations spent one day in South Lebanon, viewing the effects of Zionist aggression. One group visited the Sour area, including Al Buss and Rashidiyeh camps, and saw the bridges destroyed by the Israeli air raids in July. The second group visited the Zahrani refinery, also hit in the air raids, as well as the Nabatiyeh region. In addition to the signs of the latest attacks, they also saw the site of the camp in this area which was destroyed in 1975. On returning to Beirut, this group visited Saïda and the coastal area, which has also been a frequent target for the Zionists.

The final declaration issued by the conference condemned this barbaric aggression, stating in part:

“The Conference is of the opinion that the July aggression was planned and executed with the full connivance and encouragement of US imperialism. It constitutes a serious escalation of the imperialist-Zionist conspiracies against the Arab national liberation movements in general, and against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples in particular. It is an important stage in the imperialist-Zionist plot against the peoples of the Middle East. It was preceded by the blatant Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, and followed by US provocations and violation of Libyan sovereignty and the downing of two Libyan aircraft. These three actions in a short period further confirm the blatant aggressive nature of the Reagan administration. It also confirms that the US is the center of international terrorism, using its military

build-up thousands of miles away from the United States against those who struggle for freedom, independence and progress.”

The declaration included a strong condemnation of repressive Israeli measures against the Palestinian and Arab people

under occupation. While affirming that “The broad participation in the Conference manifests the world-wide support for and solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian and Lebanese people”, the statement concluded: “Let us all struggle together to defeat the plan of genocidal war against the Lebanese and Palestinian people.”

*Hilton Obenzinger, a member of the US delegation to the International Solidarity Conference in Beirut, presented this poem in solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people.*

**My friend in Beirut, there's so much grief  
I worry for you, that the walls cave in,  
that among the fingers and eyeballs torn out  
on impact I will find yours**

**Your last letter said, “When the planes  
fly in low and drop bombs and strafe the streets with  
machine-gun fire, when you look up you see the Star of David  
The jets proclaim: We are Jews and we are killing you”**

**Star of David stolen from my heart, I feel almost insane  
Caged in a concentration camp of a sort I never expected,  
my Star of David is accomplice to the crime,  
on trial, stuck to the cold metal of “Zion”**

**My friend in Beirut, I'm afraid that the streets  
have become open wounds, that  
your smile can no longer be found, that  
a gust of napalm has carried off your last letter**

**Even so I can still read your words,  
the postage stamp remains uncanceled in the hot wind  
Unfortunately I am not insane, but can see too clearly  
So many of my people have been fooled, so many**

**I can only think how they can learn,  
and even this is as bitter as the lesson is basic:  
They will learn faster when you yank  
the wings of the Star from out of the skies**

Hilton Obenzinger



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# REPRESSION IN EGYPT

## ANOTHER FACE OF CAMP DAVID

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*Sadat's democracy: Police guarded polling stations throughout Egypt during voting on the referendum.*

In the first week of September, Anwar Sadat launched a massive campaign against the entire spectrum of the Egyptian opposition. This campaign was conducted behind the facade of such statements as: "the threat of sectarian sedition" and "I am dealing with religious fanaticism." The bourgeois media has swallowed and repeated Sadat's lie that those arrested are mainly religious extremists. The truth, however, is far different: the 1536 officially arrested, and the thousands of others thought to be detained, are proof of the wide range and deep-rootedness of the opposition to Sadat's treacherous regime.

The variety of the organizations and individuals arrested testifies to the truth that Sadat is trying to hide. They include such diverse figures as Mohammed Hassanin Heikal, a renowned journalist active in the Nasser government, and Omar Telmessanni, leader of the Moslem Brotherhood. Sheikh Kishk, a popular blind fundamentalist Islamic preacher, was arrested, but so were numerous engineers, teachers and other professionals, including Ahmed Khawaga, who recently was removed from his position as head of the Egyptian Bar Association because of his opposition to Sadat's policies. Women were also among the detained, such as Latifa Zayyat, member of the Progressive Assembly of National Unionists, Nawal

Sadawi, a gynecologist and prominent writer on feminist issues, and the wife of singer/poet Ahmed Fuad Negrn.

Among the many organizations affected was the Progressive Assembly of National Unionists, the only legal party that from the beginning has openly opposed Camp David. Many of their members were arrested, and their offices were raided and surrounded by armed guards. The Socialist Labor Party, which was formed as a legal opposition party by Sadat himself in 1976 and had only recently come out against Camp David, was also attacked, and their Deputy General Secretary was arrested. Fouad Sirag Eddine, leader of the New Wafd Party — a bourgeois grouping formed by Sadat and then dissolved — was also imprisoned. Of course members of the already outlawed Communist Party were special targets of repression, though membership was not listed in the charges.

The media was particularly hard hit, at least those newspapers that had not already been banned. The paper of the Socialist Labor Party, *As Shaab (The People)*, was closed down, as were 3 Coptic papers and 3 Islamic papers. Within the strictly government-controlled press, purges were enacted and 67 journalists were transferred to different jobs. The foreign media was not excluded; the expulsion of American

reporter Chris Harper for allegedly anti-Sadat, anti-Egypt coverage was a clear message that all media is expected to toe the line. Sadat hit communications in a different way as well, by putting the 40,000 private mosques under government supervision. Thus the prayers and speeches of the religious leaders, often used to spread information and anti-Sadat positions, are now under direct regime control.

Egyptian Copts were also singled out in the campaign. Pope Shenudah, spiritual leader of the Copts, was stripped of his authority and banished to a desert monastery. Among the Copts arrested were 8 of their 50 archbishops. Sadat justifies this, and the government takeover of the mosques, by claiming that the crackdown is against both Islamic and Christian fanatics, and by holding these forces responsible for the Moslem-Copt clashes that erupted with much violence earlier this year. However, it was the Sadat regime itself that fostered these sectarian clashes in an attempt to distract the masses from the real source of their discontent. (See Bulletin No. 53, August 1981, for background to the sectarian clashes and the current popular struggle in Egypt.) It is a reflection of just how desperate Sadat has become that he is willing to create the possibility of genuine sectarian strife in order to weaken the

masses and build a facade for his political repression.

**Lowering the margin of democracy**

Following the arrests, the leader of the Progressive Assembly of National Unionists, Khaled Mohieddin, said: "Everyone who reads the names of the detainees will understand the aim of the campaign." Indeed, the aim is obvious – to hit the entire spectrum of opposition. Sadat is no longer willing or able to live with the margin of democracy previously allowed. The failure of his policies has become clearer and clearer to all. The impoverished Egyptian masses had tolerated Camp David because it was supposed to bring prosperity to all, but the people are still hungry. Sadat had promised that his treachery would bring peace, but though the Egyptian army is no longer confronting the Zionist enemy, its troops are massed on the border of patriotic Libya. Thus Sadat's isolation on the mass level has steadily increased, and with it has come the growth of the opposition and positive steps

in forming a broad united front against the regime, including both religious and secular forces.

It is no accident that the timing of the arrests follows Sadat's meetings with 'Israel' and the US, both of whose intelligence services closely monitor internal Egyptian affairs. For the Camp David partners, the development of any threat to the Egyptian regime is unacceptable at any time. However, this is especially true now, as the coming stage of Camp David will likely call for more concessions and treachery from Sadat. These could involve the negotiations around the scheduled withdrawal from the Sinai and the issue of so-called Palestinian 'autonomy', or even the possibility of a military attack on the Libyan Jamahiriya at the behest of imperialism. Thus Sadat felt the need to 'clean his own house' to enable him to more easily move forward with more betrayals.

Sadat's actions are also a message to the world that he is still in control of Egypt, and that imperialism, Zionism and reaction need

have no fear that the Camp David process is in jeopardy. However, the very scope of the arrests and the suppression of basic democratic rights only serve to highlight the increasing instability of his regime. The referendum voted on after the arrests, where supposedly 99.4% of those who voted supported his campaign, was clearly a farce. The actual text on the ballot was as follows: "Do you agree with the principles and rules of national unity and social peace?" On the ballot was a picture of a Moslem sheikh hand-in-hand with a Christian priest, and voters marked a black circle for no, and a red one for yes.

The Egyptian masses have learned that Camp David is a betrayal of their aspirations as well as those of the Palestinians and all Arabs. In Palestine and Lebanon, Camp David is occupation and brutal aggression. In Egypt it is hunger, repression and a false peace. Sadat can fill his prisons and muzzle the press, but he cannot halt the growing tide of resistance that will eventually topple his regime.

Arab Egypt will be victorious.



To an Egyptian child who was beaten up by the police at the Cairo Book Fair because he was carrying a Palestinian flag...

**A NAIL**

Once again  
a rusty nail  
penetrated my shoe

I limped  
and when I could not bear the pain  
I pulled it out with my teeth in front of the people  
And remembered the homeland...

How many sick nails  
have penetrated the sole of history  
and the people pulled them out in a night  
thirsting for the light of the moon

by Barakat Latif  
A Syrian poet and train driver

# IMPERIALISM'S GLOBAL MARCH OF AGGRESSION

Scheduled stops for July-August: Lebanon, Libya, Angola, Salvador

While political commentators, either naively or cynically, are still bemoaning the fact that the Reagan administration has no Middle East policy, we contend that it has such a policy, and a very definite one at that. The US Middle East policy is an

integral part of the global strategy for rescuing imperialism from its own crisis. No matter where it is applied, this policy can be spelled out in a few words: massive military build-up and aggression.

The masses of the three continents have no doubts as to the existence or contents of the imperialist policy. They are directly experiencing its reflections – the Zionists'

air raid on Iraq and their massacre in Beirut, then more recently, the US-Libyan air clash and South Africa's invasion of Angola, as well as the recurring massacres enacted by the junta in El Salvador. There is a common link in all these events: imperialism's increasing aggressiveness and the green light thus given to local reactionary strongmen.

## USA VIOLATES LIBYAN SOVEREIGNTY

While imperialism has preferred to have its regional allies wage its battles, the August 19th air battle over the Sidra Gulf highlights the tendency towards US forces taking a direct role in combatting any challenge to imperialist hegemony. US fighter jets, on patrol as part of the Sixth Fleet's naval maneuvers in the Mediterranean, attacked two Libyan planes. The Libyan pilots returned fire before parachuting to safety, downing one of the American planes. US statements have denied the loss of this plane and have furthermore claimed that Libya began the battle, but it is beyond the point to discuss the incident on this level.

This is the first time ever that the US air force has engaged an Arab plane in battle, and it is the first time the US has been involved in direct combat since the Vietnam war. Such collisions are becoming increasingly likely as the US spreads its military net thicker over the land, air and sea of the area. After all, this is why more and more US forces are being deployed; imperialism no longer trusts its regional allies' capacity to defend its broadly defined interests.

The Reagan administration's decision to conduct maneuvers over Libyan territorial waters was in itself a clear provocation. However, the most conclusive evidence that this air clash was no accident is the anti-Qaddafi campaign which the US has been whipping up, starting with the expulsion of Libyan diplomats from Washington in May. Soon afterwards, the State Department began advising American citizens to leave Libya. Just why Reagan's administration wanted them out became quite evident in early August with the revelation of a CIA plot to topple Qaddafi. The Libyans had reason to expect a coup attempt or an attack

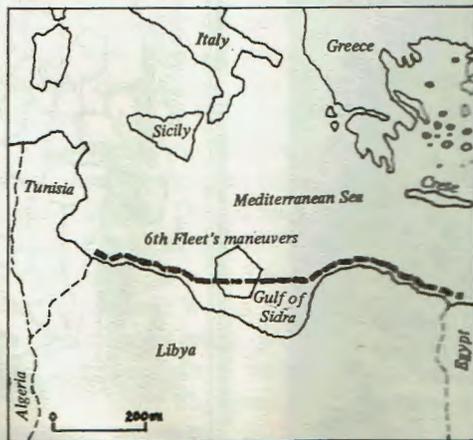
on their missile installations in the last week of August, a joint operation combining Israeli planes and Egyptian ground forces, according to a plan drawn up when Ariel Sharon visited Egypt in March.

However, the imperialist plan to strike Libya is broader than this particular option which has thus far failed to materialize. Commenting on why the government wanted its citizens out of Libya, an official said, "We're playing confrontation politics, and we want them out, whether there is a coup in the works or not." To enlist aid for this confrontation, Deputy Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci recently visited Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Egypt and Algeria to discuss the problem of "Libyan aggression". With the exception of the patriotic regime in Algeria, he found willing ears. Sadat's aggression against Libya is firmly rooted as is seen in the near permanent concentration of Egyptian troops along the Libyan border. Numeiri has followed the US lead by expelling Libyan diplomats from Khartoum; he has also tried to blame Libya for the railroad workers' strike in June, in a feeble attempt to discount the political and economic

contradictions that have long been smouldering in Sudan. In July, the Pentagon told the US Congress that \$92 million worth of tanks were being sold to Tunisia, "to protect itself from the Libyan tank threat". Sudan and Egypt also rank particularly high in the planned chart of military aid to the area.

Libya has been targeted for aggression, because it represents three trends which imperialism fears most: an increasingly strong anti-imperialist stand on the part of an oil-rich patriotic regime, support to liberation struggles and closer relations with the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union. These three trends are closely related to the main causes of the imperialist crisis: the consolidated strength of socialism on the world level and the increasing victories of the oppressed people. In a desperate attempt to resolve its own crisis by eliminating these challenges, US imperialism has lumped all these trends under the heading of "terrorism". Thus, Qaddafi was singled out, by a State Department official as "the most dangerous man in the world", and the international bourgeois media has glibly repeated this slogan.

By singling out "terrorists", US imperialism tries to legitimize its own war preparations. US officials have even intimated that Libya is stockpiling Soviet weapons so that the latter can eventually create its own rapid deployment force. Besides being an attempt to cover the fact that it is the US which has developed such a force, such rumours reveal that striking Libya is being used as one of many means to pressure the Soviet Union. The Sidra Gulf affair bears a striking resemblance to the 'Syrian missile crisis'. Both are attempts to present legitimate defense on the part of a patriotic regime as an aggression. The reason for these distortions are obvious; the partners to Camp David want all obstacles to their hegemony eliminated.



The timing of the US attack on Libya is significant. It came only one month after the barbaric Zionist attacks of mid-July had proved incapable of breaking the momentum of the Palestinian Resistance. In the interim, the American plan for Lebanon was for-

warded, including a call for cutting off arms to the PLO, with Libya named as supplier. Imperialism wants to intimidate the patriotic regimes of the area in order to clear the way for an all-out assault on the Palestinian Revolution.

inflicting extensive death and destruction, both attempt to punish any people who offer shelter and solidarity to a liberation movement. In Lebanon, Israeli aggression aims to alienate the Lebanese masses and their patriotic forces from the Palestinian Revolution. In Angola, South African aggression tries to make it more difficult for the revolutionary government and masses to continue their support to SWAPO.

## SOUTH AFRICA INVADES

The South African troops' late August march into Angola for the stated purpose of striking SWAPO is also a reflection of imperialism's global offensive. The US gave a green light for this invasion a few months ago by announcing that it would not push for implementation of the UN peace plan for Namibia, because South Africa did not want this, and Pretoria is the main party concerned. Besides supporting the continuation of South Africa's occupation of Namibia, this position clearly encouraged a military solution, i.e. the liquidation of SWAPO. US imperialism's continued refusal to recognize the revolutionary MPLA government in Luanda also served to strengthen the apartheid regime's resolve that it could violate

Angolan territory and wreak destruction with impunity, and indeed the US flatly refused to condemn the invasion.

Angola stands as a symbol of a successful liberation movement which with the help of the socialist countries is developing the national democratic revolution in the direction of socialism, while at the same time assisting the continuing liberation struggle in other parts of the continent. South Africa does a real service for imperialism by simultaneously striking a popular movement and a progressive government allied with the socialist community.

There is a striking similarity between the strategy and tactics employed by the apartheid regime and the Zionist entity. By

Israeli participation in the invasion of Angola makes this similarity particularly concrete. This is in line with recurring reports that Israeli advisers have cooperated with Pretoria's forces in drawing up plans for such an invasion. At this writing it appears that the apartheid regime is delaying its withdrawal, just as 'Israel' did in its March 1978 invasion of Lebanon. Angolan officials have charged that Pretoria is trying to create a buffer zone in the south of Angola in order to stop the liberation actions of SWAPO. It is clear that South Africa is trying to strengthen the hand of its agents, UNITA, possibly providing them with a territorial base, so they can play a role like that of Saad Haddad in South Lebanon. In line with this, the Reagan administration has announced its intention to resume aid to UNITA. This in itself is an indication of imperialist resurgence after a period of retreat and vacillation. The 1975 liberation of Angola revealed the incapacity of the USA to prevent MPLA's victory. Having treated its Vietnam complex with a large dosage of rearmament, US imperialism has acquired new determination to stop the ongoing liberation struggle in southern Africa.



South African troops move into Angola.

### ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE ATTACKED

*During the solidarity conference with the Libyan Jamahiriya, held in Tripoli recently, the PFLP had the opportunity to discuss with Comrade Antonio Linqui, the head of MPLA's foreign relations department. In the light of the ongoing South African invasion of Angola, our questions concentrated on this aggression. Comrade Linqui also reaffirmed the principled support of the MPLA to the Palestinian people's struggle. The following is excerpted from the interview as it appeared in the PFLP's weekly Al-Hadaf*

*Concerning the nature and aims of the South African aggression, Comrade Linqui spoke as follows:*

The whole world knows how we achieved independence; this was through intensive armed struggle... Our primary goal was freedom, independence and peace for the Angolan people. During our struggle, we

experienced the hostility of imperialism — its maneuvers and methods... The USA bolstered up weak agent groups, calling them "national liberation movements", with the aim of destroying the MPLA. Despite this, we achieved our independence at the end of 1975...

Of course, imperialism did not accept our victory; it began to move its tools to wage a war against Angola. We call this the second stage of armed struggle. Imperialism has used South Africa as a base for this attack on our independence, and of course, we had to resist.

In March 1976, our people achieved a great victory over the invading forces from South Africa, but Pretoria did not submit to this defeat. Neither South Africa or the US can accept the existence of the progressive government led by the MPLA in Angola. For a variety of reasons, the US cannot intervene directly, so it donated its resources to South

Africa, which is also occupying Namibia, to wage this aggression. South Africa's aggressions have also been stepped-up in line with its deepening relations with Israel. The racists of South Africa are using the same tactics as the Israelis. This invasion has the same goals as the Israeli invasion of Lebanon had: They want to create an agent state like that of Saad Haddad's, to separate Angola and Namibia. So now South Africa is waging its heaviest terror campaign against our masses yet. In fact, I can say that our people have been being killed by South Africa aggressions since our independence, but this invasion is the most massive and dangerous.

South Africa is also attacking us due to our support to SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people. The strength and size of this current South African aggression is due to the large US support and to the Israeli support which is given in terms of forces and supplies.

## GLOBAL CONTEXT

The imperialist war preparations have ostensibly concentrated on the Middle East-Gulf-Indian Ocean region with the aim of insuring control over the vital oil resources of the Gulf. The apartheid regime in South Africa provides the southern anchor for this military network, while also policing the metals and minerals of southern Africa, upon which the imperialist powers are highly dependent.

Yet the ultimate expanse of the imperialist military network is global. Over the past few years, the US has exerted great efforts to have the military capacity of its NATO allies upgraded in order to threaten the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and to be more prepared to confront any actual or potential upsurge of popular struggle in the Mediterranean area. The military coup in Turkey was a link in this build-up, as is the planned stationing of nuclear missiles in capitalist Europe.

Continued hegemony in the Western Hemisphere is also a prerequisite for US imperialism's global strategy. For example, US political-military analysts point out that all US world contingencies, including use of the Rapid Deployment Force in the Gulf, presuppose holding the Panama Canal open. At present, the US has 10,000 combat troops stationed in Panama, but experts calculate that it would take ten times that number to counter local opposition which might come from Cuba or other anti-imperialist forces in the Caribbean region. This logistical point is in addition to the vast economic interests of the USA in Latin America. Just as imperialism is determined to maintain its settler colonial outposts in Palestine and South Africa, it is also determined to stop the resurgence of popular struggle in Latin America by strengthening its watchdogs — the military dictatorships. Most currently this means stepped-up aid to the junta in El Salvador. The global links are not only vertical — from imperialism to its agents — but also extend horizontally between the pro-imperialist forces. For example, Duarte's junta is getting 80% of its military needs from the Zionist state.

The ultimate extent of US imperialism's global military network is clearly seen in the Defense Department's guidelines to the Pentagon for drawing up the budget for the coming five-year program (starting in 1983). Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has secretly instructed the Pentagon to work out plans for striking the Soviet Union at "remote and most vulnerable outposts", according to a story in the *Washington Post*,

July 17th. "The US will not necessarily be constrained to meet regional aggression only at the point of attack," said Weinberger, citing as an example that if the Soviet Union were to invade Iran, the US could counter this by attacking Cuba.

### Imperialism on the warpath

The Reagan administration is more than living up to its reputation as the symbol of imperialism's renewed war-mongering, although certainly it did not initiate this policy. It was under Carter that the US reasserted that it would use force to protect its vital interests as the logical response of the leading imperialist power, feeling besieged by the advance of the popular strug-



US troops landing in Beirut's airport in 1958 — it happened before, it could happen again.

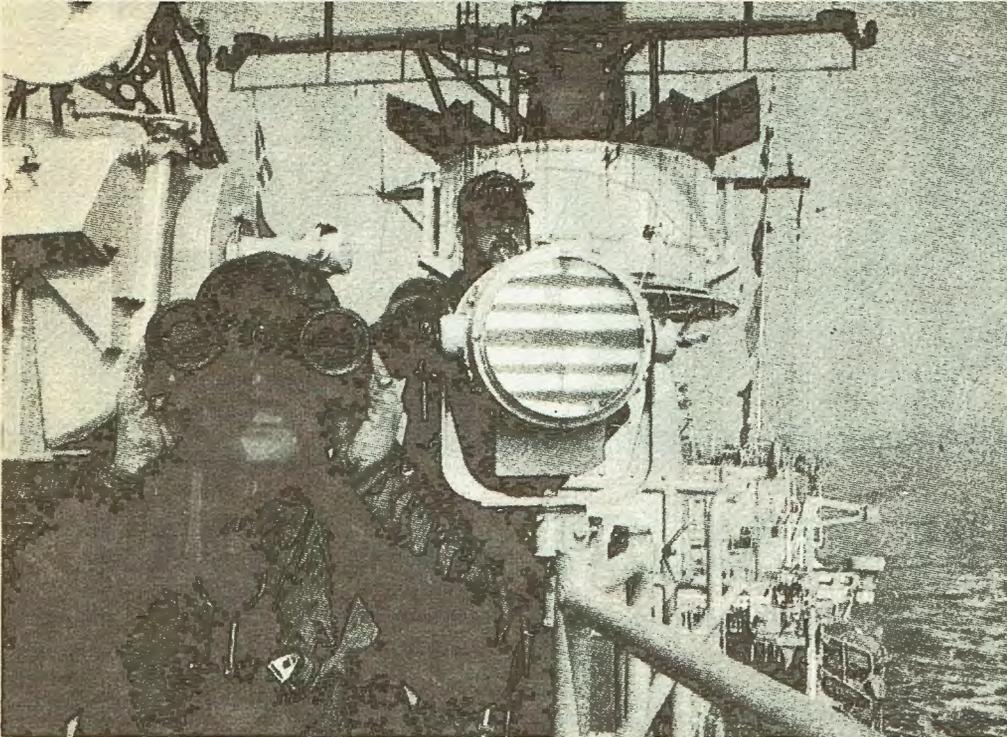
gles. The task of the Reagan administration is to stabilize and institutionalize the offensive policy, which in addition to its flagrant effects on the three continents, also has distinct consequences for social and economic conditions in the imperialist center.

An important force in institutionalizing the US preparations for war is what is called the Coalition for Peace through Strength. Its platform is based on the premise that the policy of containing communism after World War II was a failure because it did not seek to undermine the socialist states already in existence; it was too defensive. The coalition contends that the "free world" today lacks cohesion because the USA is not sufficiently active and strong, and furthermore, that national liberation wars are but the newest Soviet technique. In order to turn the side of history, this coalition forwards a National Strategy for Peace through Strength, which it will introduce as a resolution in the Congress before the end of the year.

This coalition is no ordinary lobby. Its "Strategy" was incorporated into the Republican Party's campaign platform. 262 congressmen from both parties are members, including over half the House of Representatives, making it the largest coalition of any kind in the US Congress. Thus, the "Strategy" has a good chance of being adopted, providing a lasting legal cover for all sorts of displays of force, preemptive strikes and all-out aggressions. Moreover, it would provide a permanent legislative framework for the massive military spending projected by the Reagan administration. Secretary of State Haig's announcement that production of the neutron bomb is underway, despite the extensive opposition to this anti-human weapon, is only the start of the destructive merchandise to be issued.

Already the \$222 billion military budget for fiscal year 1982 is a record high for peacetime spending, yet it is being raised. Weinberger's plans for the five coming years project 200,000 additional trained combatants, millions in breaks for the military-industrial complex and a greatly stepped-up research program including the development of weapons to fight in space. Whereas the US devoted 8% of its GNP to the Vietnam war, and 15% to the Korean war, it has leaked out that Weinberger has instructed Pentagon leaders to assess ways of channeling 50% of the GNP into the defense industry in an emergency.

The economic and class implications of this policy are evident. Throughout the imperialist countries, the bourgeoisie's preferred solution to the economic crisis has been to undercut the living standard and organizations of the working class. In the US, this is to assume extreme proportions; Reagan's handling of the air controllers' strike provides an indication.



*The eyes of imperialism scanning the globe for new targets.*

Chief among Reagan's campaign promises were balancing the budget, stopping inflation and giving the US a more assertive foreign policy profile. In an attempt to show that the administration can meet these obligations, Weinberger recently reassured the public that the plans to commit \$1.5 trillion to rearming the USA over the next five years "will not have anything in the way of an inflationary impact... thanks to the President's economic program". The reality of this economic

program is that funds are being slashed from social benefits in order to be transferred to the military-industrial complex. Thus, American foreign policy, i.e. preparations for war, are to become a nightmare for large sectors of the American people, as well as for the victims of aggression all over the world.

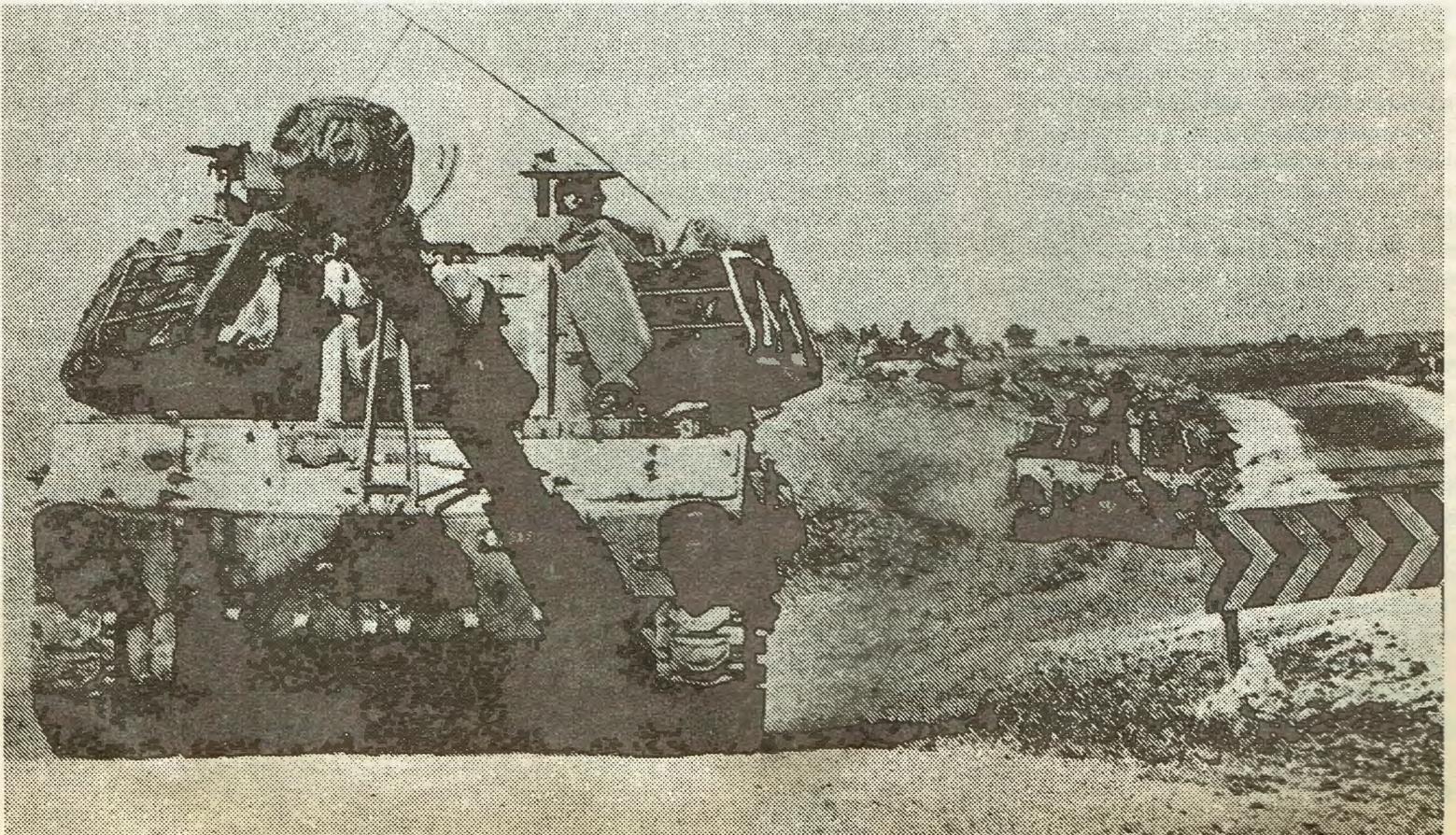
To justify renewed aggression and its social costs, the jingoism of the cold war — "The Russians are coming!" — is being whipped up at every turn. But also other,

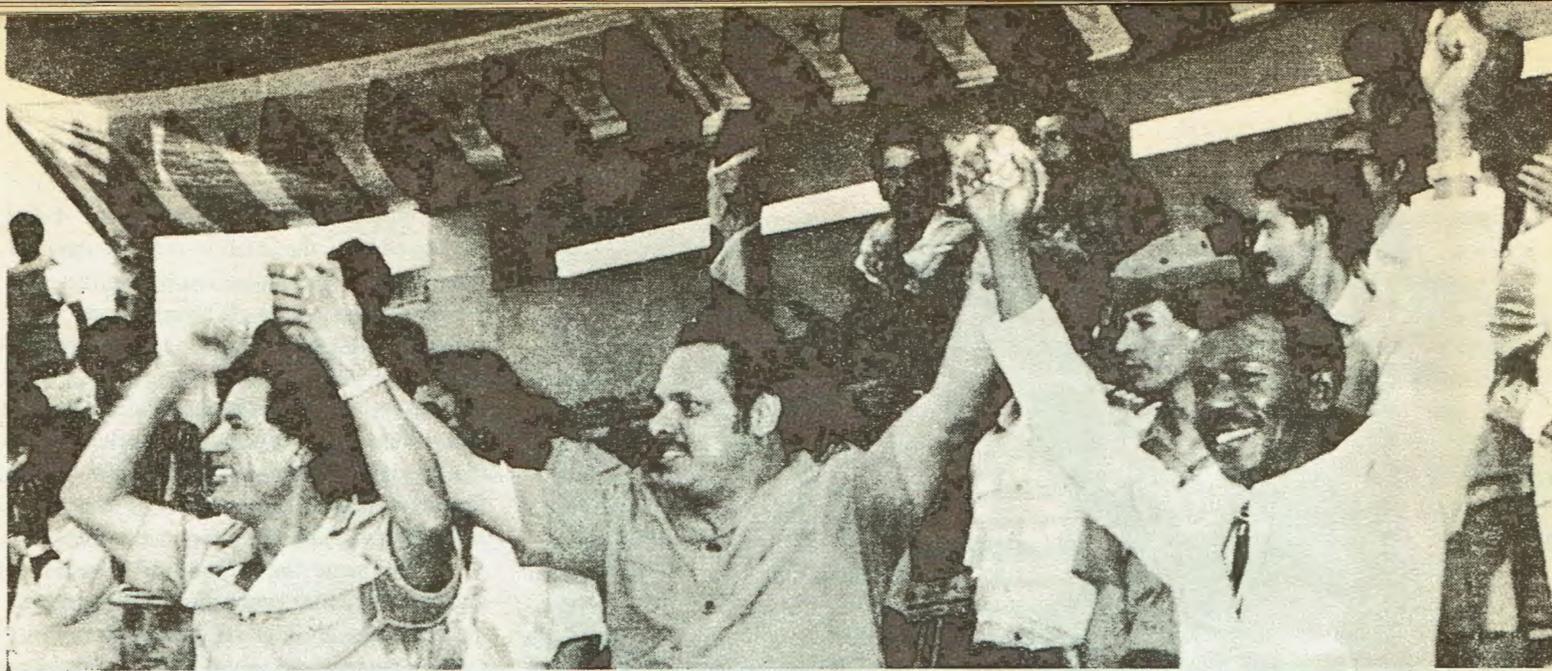
even more insidious methods are being employed as the reactionary bourgeoisie tries to forestall opposition by splitting the working class along racial lines. The increased racial violence of the last few years, and the unabashed renaissance of the Ku Klux Klan and other neo-fascist trends, shows that this is already at work, striking blacks and other minorities who are simultaneously those hardest hit by the social austerity program.

At the same time, monopoly capitalism anticipates greater profits from the increased manufacture of tools of destruction. While social austerity and repression at home is to insure exploitation of the working class, imperialist aggression abroad is to insure the continued extra profits extracted from the resources and oppressed peoples of the world.

The crisis has set the real face of imperialism in relief. This system was built on the colonial plunder of the people's wealth, no matter what the cost in human suffering. Today it can only seek to survive through an extension of such violence, this time with more costly and expensive weapons. Historically, imperialism is a dying man, but one that is intent on postponing his death. There can be little room for bargaining between imperialism and those forces who seek its destruction in order to create a world of freedom from oppression, exploitation and war. Only the consolidation of a forceful anti-imperialist alliance on the global level can insure the people's destiny.

*Israeli troops manning US self-propelled howitzers near the Syrian border.*





*The Libyan Jamahiriya's Moammar Qaddafi, Democratic Yemen's Ali Nasser Mohammad and Socialist Ethiopia's Mengistu Haile Mariam proclaim their alliance against imperialism, Zionism, racism and reaction.*

## NEW ANTI-IMPERIALIST ALLIANCE

From August 16-19th, the leaders of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Socialist Republic of Ethiopia and the Libyan Arab Popular Socialist Jamahiriya met in Aden to sign an agreement of cooperation. The communique issued at the close of this meeting reflects the political basis on which this cooperation is based. Their statement rejected Camp David and condemned US imperialism's terrorist aggressive policy against the forces of progress and national liberation, especially the aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. Particular concern was expressed about the US military build-up in the Gulf-Indian Ocean area, the neutron bomb and the stationing of nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The necessity of ending the Iran-Iraq war was also emphasized in order to stop this waste of the area's resources and deprive imperialism of any pretext for its increased military presence in the area.

The communique reaffirmed support to the struggle of the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, and hailed Syria's steadfastness in the face of US imperialism. The three leaders expressed their support to the OAU's resolutions concerning the conflict in the Horn of Africa and to the legitimate government in Chad. They also reaffirmed support to POLISARIO's struggle for the Saharan people's right to self-determination, and to the people of Namibia led by SWAPO. They condemned the racist policy of the South African regime and its aggression against the independent countries of the area.

On the international level, the communique expressed support to the people of Latin America in their struggle for liberation, condemning the military dictatorships and US support to these regimes. Support to the people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea was also affirmed, and the

communique warned against imperialist interference against the legitimate governments in these countries. The communique hailed the non-aligned movement and praised the efforts of the peace-loving forces, including the Soviet initiatives designed to reduce military tension in the Gulf, Indian Ocean and Europe. The three leaders expressed deep appreciation for the firm support accorded by the socialist countries to the people struggling for liberation and progress, and reaffirmed the importance of strategic alliance with the socialist countries and with progressive forces the world over.

In contrast, the communique condemned the attempt of the capitalist countries to impose their control over the developing countries by blocking plans for economic development and preventing them from getting favorable prices for raw materials and products.

### Cooperation agreement

In Aden, Ali Nasser Mohammed, Mengistu Haile Mariam and Moammar Qaddafi signed an agreement committing the Yemeni, Ethiopian and Libyan revolutions to a close political, economic and defense cooperation. By coordinating their positions against imperialism, Zionism, racism and reaction, the three revolutions aim at unity in struggle which can defeat the enemy conspiracies in the area. Top priority is assigned to confronting Camp David and ending the increased US military presence and bases in the Mediterranean, Red Sea and Indian Ocean area.

In line with this, the three revolutions will coordinate their support to Arab and African liberation movements, especially to the people of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa. They pledged to unite their stands on international as well as regional questions,

and to spare no efforts in strengthening relations with other progressive countries in the area and with the socialist countries.

The three revolutions decided to develop military and security cooperation on the basis of agreements signed in order to strengthen their collective capacity to defend their national independence and sovereignty. The agreement specifies that an aggression against any one of the three countries is to be considered an aggression against all and that all necessary means will be employed to defend the party attacked.

The cooperation agreement outlines the structures and procedures for promoting unified efforts. Thus, a Supreme Council, composed of the three leaders, will be formed, along with a political and an economic committee. While the first is to follow up implementation of the agreement on the political level and to make proposals to the Supreme Council, the latter is assigned the task of coordinating development plans for the three countries, insuring mutual material support for realizing social and economic advance and for solving economic problems that may face any of the countries. In addition, it was decided to strengthen trade between the three countries. Besides regular meetings, rotating between Aden, Addis Ababa and Tripoli, these bodies can be called into extraordinary session at the request of any one country.

The agreement states clearly that it does not contradict the obligations of the signing parties to other valid international agreements, and stipulates that no signer can enter into a conflicting agreement. In closing, the agreement states that any country wishing to withdraw can do so only after one year's notice; it also states clearly that this alliance is open to other parties who concur with its aims and commitments.

### The significance of the Aden agreement

Such a firm anti-imperialist alliance is to have positive effects on the regional level. The Aden agreement was welcomed by revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces who see it as an impetus for the regional coordination required to turn back the tide of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary offensive. This pact serves notice to the enemy alliance that these three revolutions are determined to continue their anti-imperialist path, and can now do so with added strength. Consolidated cooperation between Democratic Yemen, Socialist Ethiopia and the Libyan Jamahiriya will be a forceful deterrent against any attempt to isolate these countries and undermine them one by one. It can counter the increased cooperation of local reactionary forces with imperialism. This will strengthen the position of Democratic Yemen in facing Saudi reaction's ongoing provocations and attempts to sabotage unification of the two Yemens. It can be a concrete support to Socialist Ethiopia, should it face renewed provocations from the regime in Somalia, which has granted bases to US imperialism. It provides Libya with a deterrent against imperialist-inspired attacks from the Sadat and Numeiri regimes.

The increased cooperation between the three revolutions is a positive contribution to the overall polarization between those forces committed to fighting the enemy plans for the region and those who are openly or secretly facilitating these plans. This in itself is a concrete support to the liberation movements that have often been fettered by efforts such as the official Arab solidarity, which gather all regional forces, regardless of political position.

As such, an immediate effect of the signing of the cooperation agreement is the positive influence which it will exert on the September 15th meeting of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. Libya, Yemen and Ethiopia have committed themselves to practical steps in order to implement tasks which are closely related to those adopted by the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. This should encourage the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front to reinforce its efforts to realize the correct tasks it has charted for confronting Camp David.

While giving a push to anti-imperialist struggle throughout the area, the agreement signed in Aden has special significance for the Palestinian Revolution. The PFLP has always contended that strategic advance for our revolution can only come in conjunction with changes in the regional balance of

power. The Palestinian struggle, if waged in isolation, can make only limited gains. Thus, while building our own forces, we must also rely on the potential of the Arab masses and other anti-imperialist forces in the area, and do all in our power to facilitate their unity and advance as an integral part of our own struggle. In accordance with this understanding, the PFLP has played an active role in supporting this agreement between Democratic Yemen, Socialist Ethiopia and the Libyan Jamahiriya. Also the Lebanese Communist Party played an important role. For the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and the Palestinian Revolution, today standing in the front lines against the enemy aggressions, this new alliance represents an important source of political and material support.

## SOLIDARITY WITH LIBYA

The World Conference for Solidarity with the People of the Libyan Jamahiriya was held in Tripoli from August 28-31. Attending the conference were hundreds of participants representing 245 political parties, liberation movements, trade unions, mass organizations, solidarity and peace committees and international bodies from 80 different countries. The conference was opened with a militant speech by Colonel Moammar Qaddafi, followed by solidarity messages, keynote addresses and the passing of resolutions. The closing session was addressed by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, and leaders from Libya, Nicaragua, Madagascar and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement.

In its resolutions the conference took a firm stand against the aggressive US policy, stating that: "The massive US military build-up is destabilising the entire international situation, is threatening world peace and will lead to the gravest consequences for all mankind. The aggressive and repressive acts of imperialist surrogates against the liberation movements, coupled with their subversive and destabilising practices against the democratic and progressive states in the Middle East and in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, take place with the full support of the USA."

In this context, the timing of the conference was of particular importance, as it closely followed the clear example of US aggressive intentions against Libya: the Sixth Fleet's violation of Libyan territorial waters, and the attack against two Libyan aircraft on August 19th. The conference states that this event "expresses the nature of American imperialism and of its colonial and neo-colonial foreign policy, based on the use of

The PFLP hails the Aden agreement. We commend the leadership of these three countries for taking this courageous step in committing their resources to a unified effort to confront imperialism and its allies on the regional level. Many speak of fighting imperialism, Zionism, reaction and racism, but these three revolutions have shown that they are willing to practice the slogans. This is based on an awareness that escalation of the struggle against imperialism and its local allies, combined with an alliance with the progressive and socialist forces world-wide, is simultaneously the correct path for the further development of their respective revolutions.

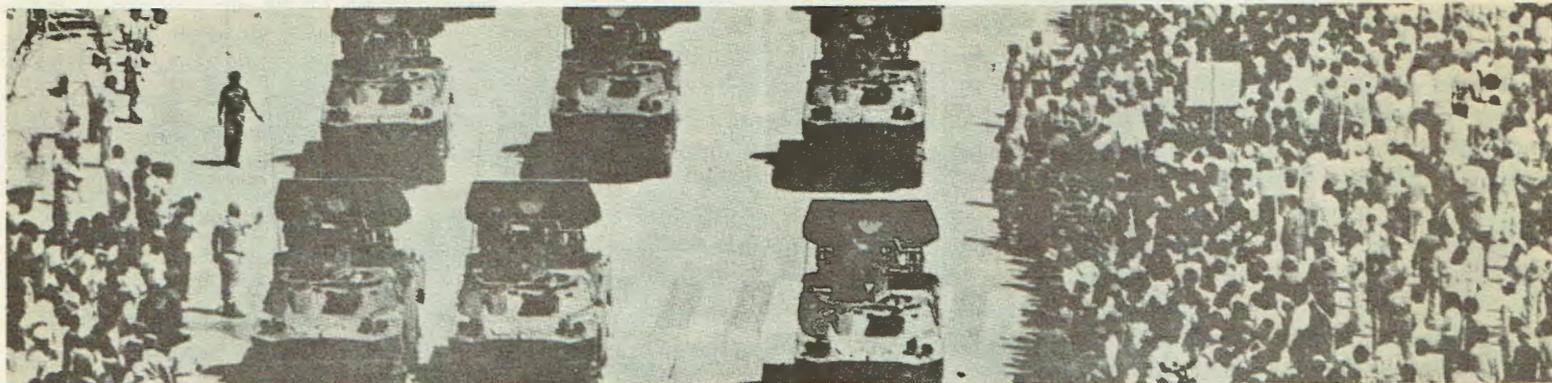
force, resorting to open military aggression and constituting the main source of contemporary international terrorism."

The Libyan Jamahiriya has taken a firm stand in the face of imperialism's attacks. On the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the September Revolution, Moammar Qaddafi proclaimed the Jamahiriya as an international center for the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, racism and reaction.

The conference was also a means for international patriotic and progressive forces to express their support for the positive role played by the Libyan Arab Popular Socialist Jamahiriya. Outstanding among this is the material and moral solidarity Libya provides to liberation movements around the world, particularly the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement. The conference also saluted Libya's role in strengthening the position of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, enhancing relations with the socialist countries and the positive steps in the social and economic development within the Jamahiriya.

The PFLP delegation to the Tripoli conference consisted of Comrades Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary, and Politbureau members Abu Maher and Taysir Kuba. The PFLP viewed the conference as an important step in the confrontation against the escalating imperialist-Zionist aggression, which can be seen in the so-called Syrian missile crisis, the Zionist attack against Iraqi nuclear installations, the war of annihilation launched against the Palestinian Resistance and the LPM this July, and the aggressive US violation of Libyan territory. We salute the firm and steadfast position of the Libyan Jamahiriya in defending its rights and the right of oppressed peoples throughout the world to struggle against imperialism, Zionism, racism and reaction.

# SEPTEMBER FIRST REVOLUTION



“Reducing the price of Arab oil only benefits the US, who buys it at cheaper prices. Is the US so needy and poor that it should be given tens of billions of dollars for nothing, while the militant Palestinian people are given only \$24 million? ... The US decided that the oil market must be flooded in order to subordinate Libya, Algeria, Nigeria, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. To the US, the visit of Kuwait’s foreign minister to the Soviet Union is an act of defiance that must be punished...”

Colonel Qaddafi said that unless a solution is reached concerning the over-production of Saudi Arabian oil, the people of Kuwait, the UAE, Nigeria, Algeria, Gabon and Libya will face a disaster. Nigeria is “unable to meet its domestic needs, for it is unable to sell oil due to the cheap Saudi oil that is flooding the market. This is also preventing the purchase of Libyan oil, that sells at \$40 per barrel... This policy is not in the interests of the Arab and Islamic nations, but is in the interests of the US and Israel... This situation can no longer be tolerated... a dangerous conspiracy is being carried out against the Arab nation, using the Arabs’ oil against them... a dangerous conspiracy to strengthen the US, its factories and banks — a dangerous conspiracy to increase US military support for the Zionist enemy, so as to hit the people of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Palestine. The US gives Israel billions of dollars that it gets from Arab oil. It also gives Israel squadrons of advanced aircraft supplied with Arab oil.

“Without the revenues from Arab oil, the US would be suffering from very high inflation and unemployment, and serious economic stagnation. But unfortunately, Arab oil has saved the US... What kind of Arab is it who gives billions of dollars to the US, the enemy of the Arabs and the Moslems, the protector of Israel? What kind of Arab is this? Damn this Arabism if it is such that it supports the US and Israel!

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*On the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the September 1st Revolution, Colonel Moammar Qaddafi addressed the Libyan people and many distinguished visitors. Following are excerpts from his speech.*

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“When Israel carried out its barbaric air raid against Beirut, and hundreds of people were killed, our Arab brothers who own the oil donated about \$24 million to the PLO. I swear I thought the figure was \$24 billion, but it turned out to be only \$24 million... while the US corporations take \$36 billion a year.”

Colonel Qaddafi spoke of the slogan of Arab solidarity which is being used as a cover for the policies of the reactionaries. “What is needed is not the unity of the Arab ranks, but a united Arab action against the

common enemy, to deter it and to rally as many Arab forces as possible for this work... On this basis we accept reestablishing our relations with Saudi Arabia or any other country.”

Colonel Qaddafi greeted “Yasser Arafat, who stands today in Tripoli with his brothers, the leaders of the Palestinian Resistance; they are the ones who have the final word because they are the ones who carry the militant Palestinian gun.” He also spoke of the readiness of the Libyan masses to fight side by side with the Palestinian Resistance: “The whole world knows that Libyan martyrs have fallen in Damour, Nabatiyeh, Sour and Saida while confronting aggression in the Palestinian trenches.”

In closing, Colonel Qaddafi expressed his solidarity with the Lebanese masses and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement in their joint struggle with the Palestinian Resistance against the Zionist enemy.

Brother Colonel Moammar Qaddafi:

On behalf of the Central Committee and militants of the PFLP, it pleases me to extend to you our warmest congratulations on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the great September 1st Revolution. This occasion comes at a time when the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary conspiracies against the September 1st Revolution and all the patriotic and progressive Arab forces are increasing. These conspiracies are aimed at implementing Camp David, and facilitating the expansion of US hegemony in the area.

The September 1st Revolution has always provided an example in its persistent struggle against the enemies of the Arab nation and against social and economic underdevelopment. It has always been a stronghold for confronting the enemy camp. This active role and great efforts were crowned with the signing of the trilateral Aden agreement, which represents the aspirations of all progressive forces in the

area and is a strategic step in confronting the imperialist plots in Africa and the Arab world. The treaty is also a great support for the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and will strengthen patriotic Syrian-Lebanese-Palestinian steadfastness. As such, it is a practical response to imperialist terrorism.

Brother Colonel,

The US aggression against the Arab Gulf of Sidra is a clear violation of all international conventions. The heroic action of the Libyan air force is a new example of the strong stand of the September Revolution against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemies of the Arab nation.

Once again we take the opportunity to extend to you and the Libyan people our sincere congratulations and to express our full solidarity with your heroic struggle towards inevitable victory.

George Habash  
General Secretary, PFLP

The oil ministers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) met in Geneva from August 19-21 to discuss "the oil market trends and conditions". The meeting had been called by Nigeria, in an attempt to reach a united position on a new range of oil prices and on the problems caused by the new conditions on the oil market. Despite the optimism expressed earlier that unification of prices was more likely than at any other time since late 1978, the conference ended in complete disarray, due to the Saudi position. Saudi Arabia refused to agree with the rest of the OPEC members on a new benchmark price of \$36 per barrel, insisting on \$34/b. In defending this stand, Sheikh Yamani told OPEC members: "I will go up, but you must come down... the sickest must take the strongest medicine, and I am not sick."

During the 3 day conference, discussions concentrated on Saudi Arabia's oil policy, which is the major factor in creating the current conditions on the market. This policy — or 'strategy', as Yamani likes to call it — consists of 2 main components. The first is maintaining a high rate of oil production. The second is keeping the oil prices at the lowest possible level. The proclaimed 'innocent' aim of this policy is to stabilize the oil prices by creating a glut on the market. The Saudis do not hide the fact that they are deliberately creating the problems in the market. Yamani proclaimed: "We engineered the glut in order to stabilize the price of oil."

To implement this strategy, Saudi Arabia has increased its production to 10.3 million barrels per day, or 45% of total OPEC output, thus creating a surplus supply of 3 million barrels per day. At the same time, Saudi Arabia kept its oil price at \$32/b, compared with \$36/b for most OPEC members and \$41/b for north Africa (Algeria, Libya, Nigeria).

As a result of the Saudi policy, it has become very difficult for other oil-producing countries to market their oil at reasonable prices. Since last May, Nigeria's oil production has dropped from 1.9 million barrels per day to .7 million, while Libya's dropped from 1.75 million to .5 million. Starting in early April, oil companies began to refuse to renew large contracts with oil-producing countries, while some are demanding that Kuwait pay them back the difference between the current and the former prices.

Thus it is clear that Saudi oil policy is not aimed at stabilizing the oil prices, as they claim, but at forcing oil countries to sell

## OPEC MEETING



their production at low prices that benefit the capitalist countries. Unless OPEC countries are able to continue to market their oil at reasonable prices, they will not be able to carry out their development plans, due to the shortage of foreign exchange. The essence of Saudi strategy is to block the development of countries that defy the Saudi rulers' oil policy and refuse to submit to its threats. A clear example of this is Nigeria, where the 1981 oil revenues will fall short of meeting the proposed state budget. Nigeria's \$4 billion in foreign exchange is expected to vanish if the situation continues, as oil revenues constitute 94% of the foreign exchange earnings and 80% of all government revenue.

The Saudi policy perpetuates the role of underdeveloped countries in the international imperialist order as a source of cheap raw materials for the capitalist world. It is helping the imperialist countries to solve their structural economic crisis at the expense of the oil-producing countries, including Saudi Arabia itself. By keeping the oil price at \$32/b, Saudi Arabia loses about \$100 million per day, or \$36 billion per year. In addition, Saudi natural reserves will be exhausted in a short time if overproduction continues. The \$36 billion and the petrodollars that usually end up in imperialist banks represent an important asset for imperialism.

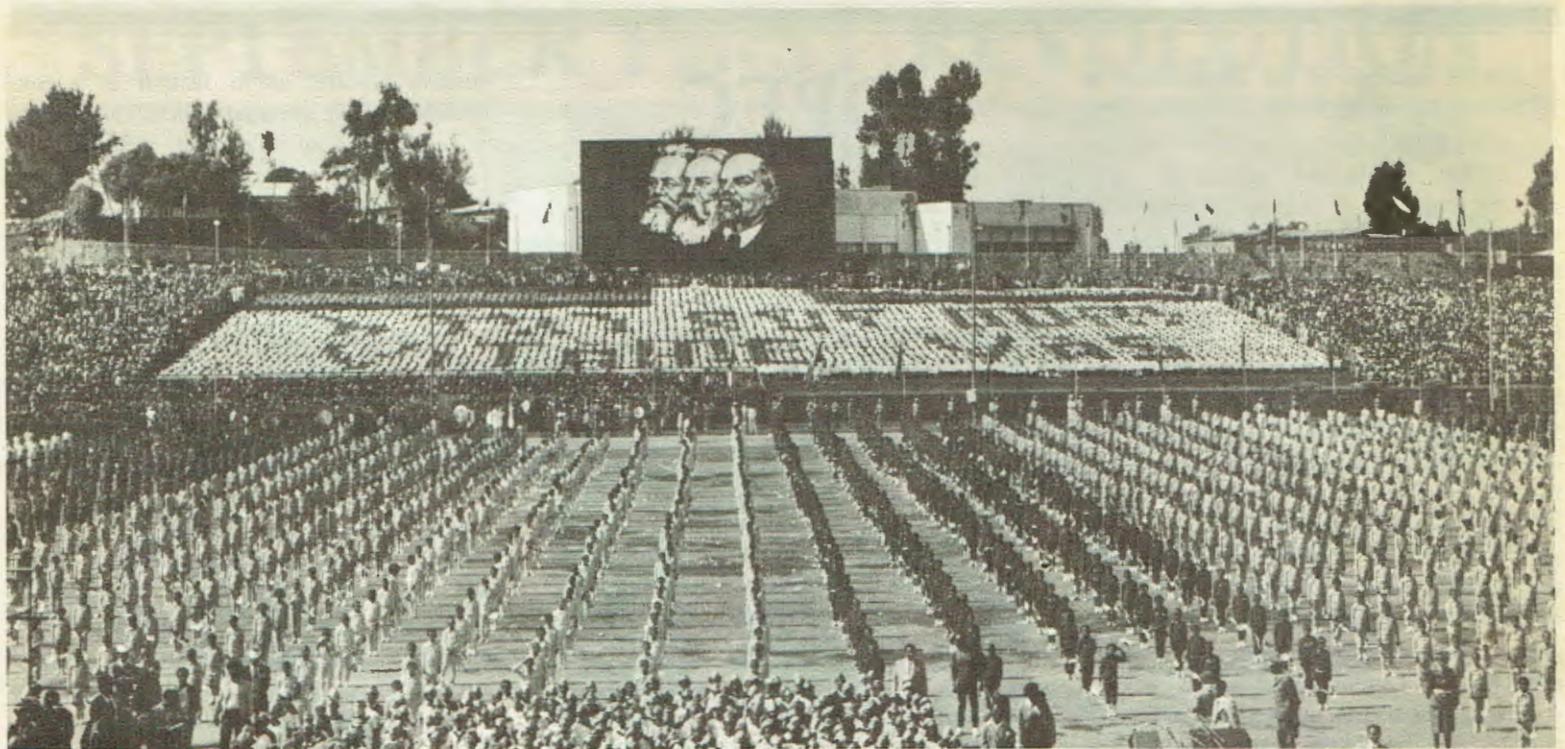
At a press conference on August 21st, Sheikh Yamani announced that Saudi Arabia will cut its production by 1 million barrels per day, starting September 1981. This announcement should not be viewed as a

positive gesture, as in fact it is a continuation of the declared policy. The cut was made because of a request from Exxon, Texaco, Mobil and other corporations, as they have no place to store all the oil, and storage costs are 75 cents a barrel. The announced cut will also have no appreciable effect on the oil market, as the surplus supply will continue to run at a rate of 2 million barrels per day. It is interesting to note that by announcing the proposed cut at a press conference and not at the official OPEC meeting, Yamani was informing OPEC members that his country considers its oil policy to be an internal matter.

Saudi Arabia's determination to go ahead with its policy will force other OPEC members to lower their prices if they want to stay in the market. Nigeria has already announced a \$4/b cut; other countries, except Venezuela and Libya, are expected to follow suit. Venezuela has little problem with marketing 2 million barrels at \$36, while Libya has announced that it prefers to cut production to zero barrels per day rather than cut the price. The Libyan position is backed by \$14 billion in foreign exchange.

The Saudi oil policy is clearly politically based. It is well known that Saudi Arabia refuses to use oil as a weapon against imperialism and the Zionist enemy. In fact, the regime actually uses oil as a weapon for imperialism, against the oil exporting countries and against the masses of Saudi Arabia. It is interesting to note that the aggressive implementation of the Saudi policy mirrors that of the Reagan administration. For example, Reagan basically announced to western Europe that if they didn't join him in producing the neutron bomb, he will produce it alone. Similarly, Yamani unilaterally told OPEC that if they don't agree with \$34/barrel, he will continue this policy because "we are happy with the price of oil at \$32/barrel".

Even Yamani admitted that the struggle within OPEC was "more political than economic". Overproduction at low prices is not a correct economic policy by any standards. The reason behind this disastrous policy is the reactionary nature of the Saudi regime. A correct oil policy that preserves the national natural resources, invests oil revenues so as to benefit the people and turns oil into a weapon in the hands of the masses against imperialism and Zionism is an urgent necessity. Establishing a democratic regime on the ruins of the present reactionary Saudi regime is a pre-requisite for such a correct policy.



*Anniversary celebration in Ethiopia.*

# ETHIOPIA ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

On the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution, a PFLP delegation visited Ethiopia on the invitation of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE). The delegation was headed by Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary, and included Comrade Taysir Kuba, member of the Politbureau and Comrade Sadiq Shafi, member of the Central Committee.

The celebrations were held September 11-12, in Revolution Square in Addis Ababa. Comrade Gustav Husak, President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, was an honored guest. Also invited were numerous government officials, ambassadors, representatives of national liberation movements and heads of various international organizations. The actual celebrations were notable for their large level of mass participation and attendance. Thousands of members of popular organizations paraded, chanting such slogans as: "We shall struggle for the formation of the Party" and "The economic construction will achieve its goal".

A highpoint of the celebration was Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam's address to the nation. He stressed the importance of the revolution's victory over the exploitative monarchy, and the new era it heralded, where the people of Ethiopia are "laying the groundwork for socialism which is unique to the history of this country..."

Much of the speech dealt with the dedicated struggle for national reconstruction, and a new 10 year plan was unveiled, whose aim is to "first, eliminate the present temporary economic difficulties, and second, to lay a firm foundation for the building of socialism..."

Chairman Mengistu's speech also praised the role of the Soviet Union and the socialist community and, conversely, attacked US imperialism and its current military build-up. In this context he hailed the recent signing of the Aden agreement: "As war-mongering and exploitation is the main character of imperialism, it is a must for people to wage a struggle against this. Therefore, the need for strengthening their unity of struggle for an existence free from exploitation and oppression should not be neglected. In this respect, the cooperation between Socialist Ethiopia, the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Libyan Popular Socialist Arab Jamahiriya, not only makes a great contribution to the socio-economic development of the three countries, but is also a great example for oppressed and progressive forces of the region."

The PFLP delegation was honored to participate in the celebrations, and in addition held a number of meetings and visits to view the achievements of the Ethiopian people. A meeting was held with Comrade Berhani Bayeh, member of the

Standing Committee of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), executive member and head of the Foreign Relations Department of COPWE. Topics of the meeting included the political situation in the Arab region, the struggle conditions of the Palestinian revolution in this stage, achievements and successes of the Ethiopian people and the ambitious tasks set in all fields on the road to complete the national democratic revolution. In addition, they discussed important developments in the militant relations between the Arab nation and the Ethiopian masses, and the great development in the relation between the PFLP and COPWE and the Ethiopian revolution in general. They also discussed the means and ways for achieving even more progress in this relationship. Comrade Bayeh extended the appreciation of Ethiopia for the role played by the PFLP in enhancing the relation between Ethiopia and the Arab nation, its progressive and patriotic forces and regimes. He also assured the delegation of Ethiopia's strong support for the Palestinian revolution and its struggle to attain its just aims. The PFLP stressed its support for the Ethiopian masses' struggle for national independence and the construction of socialism.

The PFLP highly evaluates its visit to Ethiopia, and looks forward to continuing and deepening this relation.

## COMRADE HABASH SALUTES THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION

Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam  
President of the Provisional Administrative  
Military Council  
Socialist Republic of Ethiopia

On behalf of the Central Committee of the PFLP I extend to you our sincere congratulations and warm greetings on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the victory of the Ethiopian revolution. This anniversary is close to the hearts of all progressive and patriotic forces in our area and worldwide.

The victory of your rising revolution against the Haile Selassie regime represents a great achievement. Your revolution toppled one of the main reactionary strongholds, that was linked to imperialism and carried out its policies in Africa and the Arab world. In addition, it has paved the way for the national democratic development of your friendly country and its masses. We are confident that your courageous struggle to consolidate the independence and progress of the Socialist Republic of Ethiopia will be crowned with victory, due to your sincere efforts in fighting imperialism and its tools, and in leading the struggle of the Ethiopian masses towards progress and socialism.

Dear comrade,

We would like to take this opportunity to extend to you our greetings and great appreciation for your efforts that led to the signing of the friendship and cooperation agreement between your country, the Libyan Arab Popular Socialist Jamahiriya and the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen. The agreement is a severe blow to the imperialist and reactionary conspiracies, and is a strategic step towards consolidating the forces of Africa and the Arab world. It will result in increased support for the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, will strengthen the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and move forward the struggle of the progressive forces in Africa, resulting in increasing the confrontation against the Camp David conspiracy.

Once again we extend our sincere congratulations on the occasion of the victory of your revolution.

Long live Ethiopian-Palestinian friendship  
Long live proletarian internationalism

George Habash, General Secretary  
of the Central Committee of the PFLP

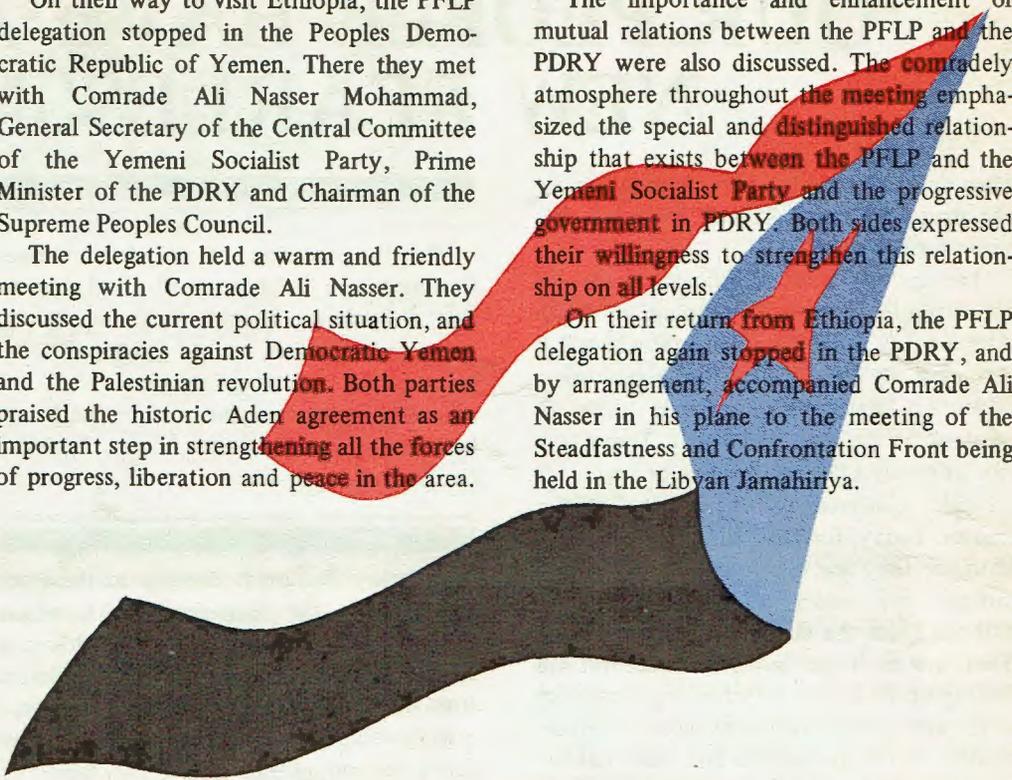
## VISIT TO DEMOCRATIC YEMEN

On their way to visit Ethiopia, the PFLP delegation stopped in the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen. There they met with Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, Prime Minister of the PDRY and Chairman of the Supreme Peoples Council.

The delegation held a warm and friendly meeting with Comrade Ali Nasser. They discussed the current political situation, and the conspiracies against Democratic Yemen and the Palestinian revolution. Both parties praised the historic Aden agreement as an important step in strengthening all the forces of progress, liberation and peace in the area.

The importance and enhancement of mutual relations between the PFLP and the PDRY were also discussed. The comradesly atmosphere throughout the meeting emphasized the special and distinguished relationship that exists between the PFLP and the Yemeni Socialist Party and the progressive government in PDRY. Both sides expressed their willingness to strengthen this relationship on all levels.

On their return from Ethiopia, the PFLP delegation again stopped in the PDRY, and by arrangement, accompanied Comrade Ali Nasser in his plane to the meeting of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front being held in the Libyan Jamahiriya.



## PFLP GREETS BULGARIA

*This September marks two important events in the history of the Bulgarian people: the 90th anniversary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and the 37th anniversary of the victory over fascism. The PFLP sent letters to commemorate both events, which are excerpted below:*

### Anniversary of the Bulgarian Communist Party

"For 90 years your friendly party has participated in the working class struggle and laid the basis for proletarian internationalism side by side with the communist parties of the world, in the forefront of which is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The leading role that the founders of your party, comrades Dimitrov and Blagoyiv, played had a great influence on the enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory, providing lessons and experiences that are still an example for us to follow.

The lessons in building a vanguard party, which were part of the teachings of comrades Dimitrov and Blagoyiv, provide great historical experience and theoretical knowledge that have enriched the international working class struggle and armed revolutionary militants with new weapons. The PFLP, as a vanguard party within the Palestinian Revolution, gives these teachings special attention."

### Victory Over Fascism

"Your victory over German fascism, with the help of the Soviet Red Army and the solidarity of the international democratic forces, provided lessons that continue to guide the forces of revolution. The united front, which grouped together the anti-fascist and anti-reactionary forces, was formed by the initiative and leadership of the party, and represented a revolutionary example that should still be followed."

The letter also saluted the leading role that Bulgaria, its party and people, play today, and praised the important theoretical contributions of comrade Dimitrov.



*Militants of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front upon the liberation from fascism.*

# “OUR PEOPLE HAVE ACQUIRED NEW FEARLESSNESS”

How do you assess the current situation for the struggle in South Africa? What does this mean for the ANC?

Perhaps the most significant feature of the struggle as it is developing in South Africa today is the mass character which it is assuming. By this, I mean the cohesiveness which is developing between different sections of the mass movement. Today it is not primarily a student struggle or a womens struggle, confined to one section of the masses. Today, for example, as the students struggle, they see very clearly that student struggle can under no circumstances be isolated from the struggle of other sectors. They are no longer going it alone, but are linking up on a very effective organizational level with civil structures, womens movements, church movements and trade unions. Needless to say, we welcome this development. We evaluate these new structures which are evolving very positively, for as you know, nothing is constant in our struggle. It is developing very rapidly, sometimes suddenly.

If we glance at the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Republic of South Africa, which was celebrated by the regime, we can safely say that the black population of South Africa stood aside. Now it is relatively easy to stand aside; it is not a difficult form of boycott. But this boycott was active. Large sections of the population actively worked to undermine the celebration with different kinds of demonstrations. Of course, the form varied from area to area, depending on the strength of the region in question, the extent to which each area could cope with the repression imposed by the regime. But in this period strikes occurred. Church services were held, and in South Africa, these can assume a very militant political form in the more advanced black churches and on the part of certain conscious elements within the white population. Many sectors participated actively, boycotting, yes, sabotaging the celebration.

The most significant thing about the direction which the struggle is taking is the very clear progressive acceptance on the part of the population as a whole of the inevitability of armed struggle, coupled with mass action, as the means by which change is going to be effected in South Africa. A very

On the occasion of the International Conference in Solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian People, held in Beirut, September 11-12th, we had the opportunity to make the following interview with Comrade Reg September, member of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress of South Africa.

noteworthy feature is coming to the fore, and that is the fearlessness with which people are speaking out. If you had seen a film recently shot in South Africa by filmers from outside, a number of people who were interviewed spoke along these lines. They could see no change unless the forms of struggle employed were coupled with armed action. These people were asked if they were not afraid to express their views in front of a camera, if they wanted their face covered, etc. But they said: no, everyone understands this, everyone sees this now. This message is coming through repeatedly, and we are taking this new fearlessness into account in our organizing. If you ask people who they see as the leading force, they answer: of course, it's Mandela. People disregard all caution in speaking out about this.

This year is very important for our movement. It marks the 60th anniversary of the Communist Party of South Africa. On January 8th, the African National Congress,

which I represent, will celebrate its 70th anniversary. The ANC in particular has traveled a very long way since it started as a group of chieftans trying to fight for their land. It was on a very elementary level in those days. Since then the ANC has grown enormously to encompass and lead a nation. Of course, it is illegal. Many of our most experienced comrades are either in jail, like Mandela, or in exile, but today we are very encouraged by the growth of our movement inside the country. One sees clear evidence of this in the manner in which all strands of the movement are being pulled together inside the country. Our own comrades do not have a monopoly in participating in or leading the struggle; many elements are involved, but we are the most experienced. We are also the organization with trained military cadres and experience. On December 16th of this year, we will celebrate 20 years of the existence of our armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*.

Our comrades have been able to undertake some very significant operations, particularly acts of sabotage: the June '80 attack on the Sasol oil plant, the sabotage of the electric transformer which was considerably more effective than reported in the press, attacks on railway lines, the attacks on police stations and our comrades' ability to deal with police informers. Most recently, there was the August 12th attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte military barracks in Pretoria, the regime's largest military camp.

Our comrades are quite successful in evading the regime's net. Our operations continue, despite the regime's claim time and time again over the years that they have smashed the ANC. Sooner or later they must retract such statements. I think that they have more or less arrived at the conclusions now, and made it clear to the white population in particular that, as they say, we have to live with it. And we are sure that they will have to. I'm sure that they know that this is just the beginning.

In desperation the regime thinks that it can crush the ANC by shooting unarmed cadres as they did in Matola in Mozambique earlier this year, or by assassinating our chief representative in Zimbabwe more recently. We know that in certain cases the regime has its agents in the surrounding territories. The

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Crossroads, the largest African shantytown near Capetown.

regime's forces are sometimes in a position to enter and search homes in some of these areas, claiming that arms are hidden there. Unfortunately, the regime in South Africa is stronger, economically speaking, than some of the surrounding countries. It exerts heavy economic pressure in order to impose its will on the surrounding countries, coupled with military intimidation. The regime is training agents to infiltrate and destabilize Lesoto, Swaziland, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola. This is common knowledge. But of course, they are not finding the heart or the vitality of the ANC outside; our armed operations are not staged from outside, but are taking place within the borders of South Africa, and this is where they will have to deal with us.

**How do you assess the role of the African working class and trade unions in the struggle?**

We are fully aware that we will not achieve power in South Africa without the real participation of the organized working class. This task is shared by the ANC, the Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Each will play a part in that struggle, because all realize how essential the fullest participation of the working people of our country is.

We have a very experienced working class, perhaps one of the most experienced on the African continent. Thus, it is no accident that there is a very impressive development of the strike movement in the country today, despite — and I want to stress *despite* — the regime's repression. The regime has been forced to give the impression that it is becoming more liberal and more realistic in its approach, that it is prepared to accommodate the African workers and their trade unions. However, every day that passes shows just how restrictive the system really is. Africans still do not have negotiating rights as these are understood in any democratic society. Their unions are still not recognized; whenever possible, registration of their unions is rejected. Of course, this is unacceptable.

Concerning the struggle that is developing in the working class today, what is especially significant is the extent to which the strikes are not of a purely economic nature; they are not simply for higher wages or better working conditions. Large numbers of the strikes taking place today are in fact solidarity strikes. For example, if 20 workers are sacked, 2-5000 come out on strike in a display of solidarity. This indicates a high degree of political maturity, especially if you take into consideration that these workers are not necessarily organized in unions as in Europe; they have no such thing as a strike fund. They rely purely and simply on their own unity, their own militancy, and on the support of the people in the areas where they live.

**What are the implications of the regime's recent mass eviction of people living in the shantytowns?**

Let's start by looking at what happened: 2000 or more women and children who were living in the shantytown Crossroads outside of Capetown and shunted into the Transkei bantustan. In South African legal terms, they were living there illegally in many cases. They have been living there because they want to be near their husbands or because they need work, although they may not have a permit to work. They are living there because they stand a chance of getting some food, of living, although with great difficulty.

Now you must know that the regime has declared Capetown as a so-called 'colored

labor area', i.e. reserved for coloreds. Of course, we do not accept this. It's part of the divide and rule game which the regime has always played, part of their attempt to return to tribal conditions. Thus, we feel duty-bound to oppose this eviction with all means at our disposal.

No sooner had these people who were evicted been dropped in the Transkei than they took their children and meagre belongings and walked out of the Transkei, crossed this so-called border and found whatever transportation they could back to Capetown. They set up a new camp outside Nyanga. Their explanation for why they returned was very simple: There is no work; we will starve in the Transkei. In fact, they had no alternative than to return. This act of resistance, of political defiance, was for them a simple matter of existence.

As you can see, this eviction is part of the whole policy of the bantustans. In this connection, we should refer to the impending declaration of 'independence' of the Ciskei, the bantustan planned for December 6, 1981. This so-called 'state' is being set up despite the fact that a pro-establishment commission advised against it because it is not viable. Of course, we know that it will be totally dependent on integration with the rest of South Africa; it is part and parcel of the country. When we reject the bantustanization of our country, the balkanization of our homeland along racial or tribal lines, we do this on both moral and scientific grounds. We do not see that one section of our people or one area of our country can survive, let alone make a contribution, with this method of balkanization. This is apart from the inhumanity and racism inherent in this process.

You can anticipate that our people will mount a growing campaign against the imposition of this new bantustan, Ciskei, especially now as they are witnessing the plea for help from these women who have escaped from the Transkei. Such a campaign is inevitable given the oneness that is developing within our people on the one hand, while on the other hand the regime is attempting a return to tribalism. These two basic trends in the country today are irreconcilable.

**Do you see this eviction as the other side of the repression against the African workers in the light of the fact that many of these women are the wives of workers?**

Yes, but actually there are so many issues involved. For one, as a part of the so-called "new deal" concerning recognition of the trade unions, there is one sector of the black



population that is specifically excluded from the trade unions: those from the bantustans.

In addition to being a reflection of the whole bantustan policy, this eviction must be correlated with the regime's iron fist policy to terrorize the people. It is also linked to the attempt to buy off the colored

Africa, especially Namibia and South Africa itself, to follow. They would also like to plant Savimbi's agents wherever possible in the south of Angola.

Maybe due to the increased military preparedness of the Angolan people and the international demand for their withdrawal, South Africa will withdraw, but there is no telling when they will return or when they

will enter another territory. The real heart of the matter is the fact that South Africa has no real solution as to what direction the country should take or how to solve the problems that exist. So until such time as the very foundations of the country are changed, the security of our people will be at stake, as will the security of the surrounding states.

people in these areas. There is unemployment in Capetown. The regime wants to say to the colored people that it was trying to help them, because these people were taking their jobs. This is a standard trick used by fascist forces, as it is being used by British fascists in the United Kingdom against blacks today.

I would like to mention another very nasty example of how the regime uses the bantustans. When black municipal workers struck in Johannesburg, buses were brought and the striking workers were shipped off to the bantustans. In this way, the regime cracked the strike.

#### **What were the aims and effects of the South African invasion of Angola?**

Of course, South Africa is intent on pursuing SWAPO, but it is more than that. SWAPO's roots are very, very deep — inside Namibia and all over. They cannot be destroyed by going some hundred kilometers into Angola. What is also involved is South Africa's avowed intention to destabilize Angola. They hate Angola's very existence. They cannot under any circumstances tolerate its peaceful development as an independent country, because this presents an example for all the people of southern

