

# PFLP

# BULLETIN

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*"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 organ 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:*

- *Interview with Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary, on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the PFLP*
- *Voices from South Lebanon: the political and military situation*
- *Mass Resistance in Occupied Palestine: an assessment*

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# EDITORIAL

Imperialism is an economic and political system based on the domination and exploitation of the world's resources. The US, as the head of world imperialism, inevitably carries out the internal and foreign policies that will support and preserve its hegemony on a global scale. Thus, as Marxist-Leninists, we know that there can be no real difference between Carter and Reagan, as their basic interests are the same. The contradictions that exist between them are of a secondary nature, and involve only the tactics they chose to implement the same strategic ends.

This can clearly be seen as regards US policy towards the Middle East and the Palestinian struggle. When Reagan proclaims his unwavering support for 'Israel', and declares that the PLO is a "terrorist organization", he is saying nothing new. It was during the Carter administration that the Camp David treaty — the most dangerous attack yet against the Arab masses — was launched. In the past four years we have witnessed the creation of the Rapid Deployment Force and the massive increase of American military bases in the Gulf and Indian Ocean. The Reagan presidency will not change this: Reagan will continue with Camp David while searching for other means to impose a US settlement in the Middle East. But the framework for these 'new' settlements — be they the European initiative, the United Arab Kingdom plan or whatever — were laid during Carter's term of office.

The US elections will not alter Zionist expansion and aggression against the Arab masses. At times the election campaign was like a race between the candidates to demonstrate which one was the most pro-Israeli. Indeed, the Zionists used the campaign period to intensify their attacks against the Palestinian Resistance, in Lebanon and in the occupied homeland. The Zionists knew very well that whatever president was elected, imperialism would continue to support its creation and ally, the Zionist entity.

The election results will also not alter the role that Arab reaction plays for US imperialism. If anything, Reagan will increase the role of the reactionary regimes, reinstating Kissinger to a position of overt power so that he can coordinate reactionary and imperialist plots.

It is clear that the US election, regardless of the result, posed no threat to either Zionism or Arab reaction. Carter and Reagan are two faces of the same imperialist coin. It is also clear that 'Israel' realized this. The Zionist entity plays an essential role for US imperialism, and no US president — be he Democrat or Republican — is going to endanger the security of imperialism's major ally in the Middle East. The question confronting us now is why and how certain reactionary Arab regimes were able to delude themselves, and attempt to delude the masses, that the Arab people and the Palestinian cause could benefit from the elections.

Carter held out a carrot to these regimes, saying that after the elections he would solve the Palestinian 'problem' or curb Zionist expansionism. These regimes, desperately hoping for a more acceptable imperialist settlement than Camp David, believed in these promises, and waited with bated breath for the elections. This is clearly ignoring the lessons of history: imperialism may change its

mask, but it never alters or deviates from its underlying interests. Zionism is a creation and agent of imperialism, and as such the US will never act against its interests.

Unfortunately, certain right-wing elements in the leadership of the PLO suffered from the same delusions as these Arab regimes. Thus the delay of the 15th PNC has been integrally linked to the US presidential elections. However, it is abundantly clear now, and always has been, that the only effects of the elections is to strengthen all reactionary forces in the area, and to open the door to the implementation of the future steps of Camp David. The interests of imperialism can never be joined to the interests of the Arab masses, and to think or act otherwise is extremely dangerous for our Revolution. Instead of believing in election promises, the role of the PLO is to take the strongest line possible against the US, because US imperialism is the major enemy of the Arab masses and of struggling people everywhere.

The election of Reagan is part of the general increased polarization taking place internationally. In the Middle East this polarization has recently manifested itself in the Iraq-Iran war, and the consolidation of the tripartite reactionary alliance of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The effects of this polarization can be seen in the postponement of the Arab Summit that was scheduled to be held in Amman this November. The Summit is supposed to be a vehicle for all the Arab countries to find common ground for confronting their enemies. However, the reactionary regimes have moved so clearly into the imperialist camp that no common ground is possible. Thus Syria was forced to call for the delay of the Summit, as the contradictions between the patriotic and reactionary regimes were so extreme.

The war in the Gulf, the maneuvers of Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and the delay of the Summit are all events that the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front must respond to by consolidating and strengthening their positions.

In this situation, the role of the progressive and patriotic forces is clear: we must use this polarization to consolidate our unity on the basis of clear stands against all the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary schemes. On the Palestinian level, this means the immediate convening of the PNC. Right-wing elements can no longer be allowed to hide behind 'wait and see' policies, or to advocate that US or European imperialism have a positive role to play in our struggle. The intensity of the attacks against us demands that the PLO clarify its positions on confronting Camp David, the European initiative and the relationship with Jordan. This is the prerequisite for the entire Palestinian Revolution to tighten its ranks in confronting these attacks in order to achieve concrete steps forward in our masses' struggle for liberation.

*This issue was sent to print Nov. 12, 1980.*

*The next issue of the PFLP Bulletin may be slightly delayed to allow for full coverage of the Front's 13th anniversary which occurs on Dec. 11.*

*Symbol of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.*  
*ج is the Arabic letter jeem, the first letter in Jebhah (Front).*

*Its continuation in the arrow symbolizes the struggle to return to and liberate Palestine.*



ABU ALI MUSTAFA

# ENTERING A NEW YEAR OF STRUGGLE

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*December 11th is the thirteenth anniversary of the PFLP. For this occasion, the Bulletin staff interviewed Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary of the PFLP. The interview deals with crucial issues confronting us in this stage of the Palestinian struggle, as well as the achievements and developments of the PFLP in this past year.*

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**Would you evaluate the achievements of the PFLP in the past year?**

The PFLP, as an integral part of the Palestinian and Arab national movement, outlined various tasks to be accomplished for achieving the goals of our people. If we review these tasks it is possible for us to discuss our achievements.

Our first priority is foiling the Camp David accords and their consequences. This requires a unified struggle on all fronts. In this context the struggle of our masses in the occupied homeland has played and is still playing the essential role in blocking the implementation of the 'autonomy' plan, which is a primary part of Camp David.

The members and supporters of the PFLP in the occupied homeland, through the Palestinian National Front and the National Guidance Committee, play an active and efficient role in the confrontation. The increasing participation in the struggle by our masses in the villages, towns and camps of the West Bank and Gaza is evident. The mass uprisings have taken different forms, such as blocking the roads and entrances of the camp against the Zionist forces and police. This has occurred in Jalazone camp, along with throwing molotov cocktails at enemy vehicles. PFLP activists such as Taghrid Al Batmeh, a student at Bethlehem University, have been martyred. Our armed units have also carried out military operations against the enemy's installations and personnel. The different forms of struggle by our masses have forced Camp David to a deadlock. These events are not spontaneous – a leadership and base are present to direct the confrontation, with the PFLP participating in the forefront.

Moreover, the determined struggle of our comrades in the Zionist's prisons has marked this year as the 'year of the militants', especially the vanguard heroes of Nafha prison, where the cadres and members of the PFLP played an important role against Zionist oppression.

In Lebanon, our comrades are playing a crucial part in actively confronting Zionist aggression and the fascist forces of Saad Haddad in the South. Revolutionary gains have been made, transforming our position from defensive to offensive. This change has not reached a level of strategic offense to liberate our land from the occupation forces; however, it has deterred the enemy by placing it on the defensive. This has also raised the morale and readiness of the fighters of the Palestinian and Lebanese parties and organizations to actively confront the enemy forces.



Joint achievements were made with other organizations that strengthened the relationship with the masses. Services were developed in the area of security, as well as social and cultural activities. Services are still needed to meet the objective needs of the masses. The PFLP also participated in strengthening the role of the popular committees in all the camps.

#### **The Political Level**

The PFLP has continuously and seriously discussed the necessity of achieving national unity and implementing the decisions taken at the 14th PNC with the Palestinian Resistance and in particular the leadership of the PLO.

The PFLP continues to struggle for establishing systematic and strong relations between the Palestinian Resistance and the LPM, whereby the conditions are developed to carry out their common tasks through the process of solidarity-struggle-solidarity.

Together with occupied Palestine and Lebanon, the situation in Jordan is of crucial importance, because it is an inseparable part of our struggle. Our clear position against the relationship between the PLO leadership and the Jordanian regime has been proven correct. Moreover, this stand has had a positive effect whereby a large sector of the progressive and democratic forces in Jordan have been motivated in a positive direction. This in turn has strengthened the masses' confidence in the PFLP. Relying on this support, the PFLP waged a persistent struggle to expose the shortcomings of the relationship between the PLO leadership and the Jordanian regime, and the threat this poses to the future of the Palestinian struggle. As a result, the right-wing leadership of the PLO is afraid to convene the 15th PNC, where they will face the firm PFLP position, supported by material facts and active struggle.

The PFLP has played an active role in re-activating the General Secretariat of the Federation of Mass Organizations in Jordan, keeping in mind the limitations of the Federation's role, position and range of activities.

In the Arab arena the PFLP has participated in all the activities aimed at raising the level of efficiency of the General Secretariat of the Arab People's Conference and the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. We also have given our support to the Arab liberation movements in their respective countries, especially in Egypt where the movement is struggling against Sadat's regime.

On the international level, this year was characterized by an increase in activities. Our relations with the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union, were enhanced and have had positive reflections on our role in the struggle. The amount of respect and appreciation given to our political stands and the role of the PFLP can be illustrated by the visits made to various socialist countries.

On this level we can also note the growing relations between the PFLP and the national liberation movements in Latin America and Asia, and with a large number of democratic forces representing the working class in the capitalist countries.

These activities have contributed to strengthening the steadfastness against Camp David. The tasks of the coming year may dictate a transfer from a position of steadfastness to an offensive that would foil the enemy's plots. What is urgently required is the development of working programs on all levels, especially on the Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian levels.

In conclusion, I would like to say that we are entering a new year of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. We are full of confidence in our masses, in our correct political line and in the capabilities of our struggle. Despite all the difficulties that are facing

us, we are optimistic that in 1981 we will achieve more progress and greater gains for our Revolution and our cause.

**The PFLP is preparing for its 4th National Congress. How do you view the congress in terms of the Palestinian national struggle and the transformation of the PFLP to a Marxist-Leninist party?**

Party congresses represent historical events for reviewing party policies and for outlining the future course. Congresses are of special importance to Marxist-Leninists because they are a forum for the process of directed criticism and the developed practice of democratic life within the party. The objectives of the congress cannot be reached without closing the former stage and moving the party forward by outlining the tasks of the coming stage.

We feel that it is important to make the 4th national congress the greatest event in the march of our party, especially because it has been 8 years since our last congress was convened.

We are looking forward to the congress with high expectations due to the important issues present on the agenda. These issues are stated in four written reports: military, political, organizational and financial. These reports are to be reviewed and criticized, not only by the Central Committee, who put forth great effort in preparing them, but also by the party base, who will participate in outlining the Party's future tasks in a democratic process. The great concern and activity shown by the party base will play a major role in making the congress a historical occasion and a turning point in the path of the party's struggle.

We condemn any partial, marginal or superficial view of the congress. Revolutionaries should closely study their mistakes and correct them. They should stress the positive aspects in their work that have accumulated through years of struggle. They must draw lessons from their experiences, and turn them into practical tasks for the coming stage. The leadership should be elected according to its ability to carry out these tasks.

We can proudly say that the process of transforming the PFLP into a Marxist-Leninist party has progressed organizationally, and that we have overcome many obstacles. At the present time, the main characteristics that distinguish the PFLP from its past are: the theoretical unity, unity of the leadership and unity of the PFLP's institutions. The organizational report prepared by the Central Committee includes the positive and negative aspects of the transformation process, and it is clear that the positive outweighs the negative.

A revolutionary party is one that abides by the working class ideology as a theoretical guideline, is composed of the vanguard of the working class and adheres to democratic centralism internally. In relation to these standards, the PFLP has advanced on an ideological level. This has been accomplished through the internal magazine — *Al Hayah Al Jadidah (The New Life)*, as well as other literature and publications. We are also progressing in the process of building cadres according to the program prepared by the party. This progress was due to the increased mobilization of vanguard working class activists. Also, in the past few years the PFLP was distinguished by its application of internal rules and regulations on the party leadership and base.

Our clear political line was a factor that contributed to the growth and efficiency of the PFLP on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels. However, the fact that the transformation process is proceeding does not mean that it is without shortcomings. We have to be aware of the shortcomings in order to overcome them. The upcoming congress will be an occasion for a deep and objective review of the organizational program which has been submitted. It will also be an



occasion for collectively evaluating and reviewing our organizational life. Finally, it will be the arena for drawing up the future program that is to be collectively implemented.

Nearly two years have passed since the signing of the Camp David agreements. Where does Camp David stand today? How can it be defeated?

In general, we can say that Camp David has reached a deadlock on the Palestinian level. The engineers of Camp David failed to achieve their goals of implementing the 'autonomy' plan on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, due to the heroic steadfastness of our masses. However, this does not negate the fact that as a result of Camp David, Egypt-with all its weight and resources-was transferred from the Arab front to that of the imperialist, Zionist and counter-revolutionary front.

Although Camp David has reached a deadlock, imperialism will not abandon its attempts to achieve its goals by using other means. Imperialism cannot be satisfied with and cannot rely on what it gained by drawing Egypt into its fold, especially at a time when Sadat's regime is facing internal and external problems. The regime is suffering from a severe social and economic crisis. The Egyptian masses are realizing that Sadat's promises that the Camp David accords would bring prosperity, that occupied land would be returned and that the 'Egyptian army would stop bleeding' are nothing but lies. Nearly two years after Camp David occupied land has not been returned, and the Egyptian army continues to bleed in Chad and Oman, where it is playing a dishonorable role as a servant of imperialism. Furthermore, the army is being prepared to wage wars of aggression against other Arab countries.

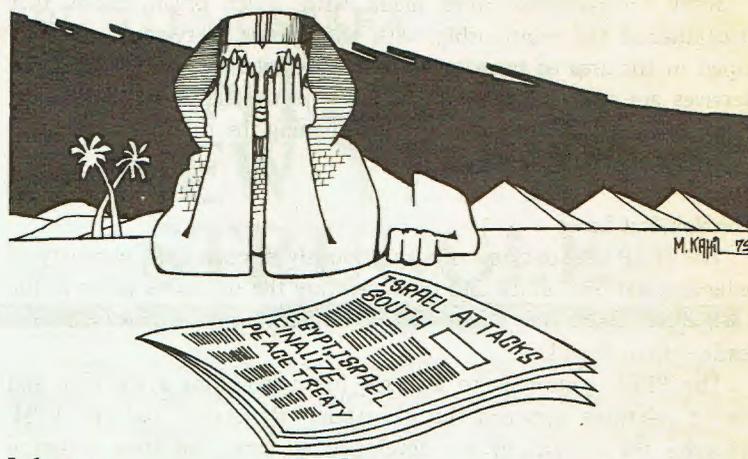
The economic and social crises are getting worse every day. The Egyptian masses are beginning to realize that prosperity is limited to the bourgeoisie at the expense of the poor toiling masses, due to the regime's increased dependence on imperialism. Oppression is steadily increasing. These combined factors have forced the average Egyptian to express his opposition to the regime and its policies through all possible means. The Egyptian masses are on the doorstep of revolution, but in order to bring this about the Egyptian national movement needs to develop mass mobilization, by taking advantage of existing conditions.

Imperialism is aware that Sadat's regime is incapable of solving Egypt's problems or of playing a viable role in future imperialist plots, despite financial and military support. Thus imperialism is planning to implement Camp David through new channels that will strengthen its grip over the area and at the same time protect the Egyptian regime from falling apart.

In this context, world imperialism, headed by the US, is working in more than one direction in order to create a suitable climate to carry out its plots. These include the following:

#### 'Israel'

On this level, imperialism is actively contributing to the return of the Israeli Labor Party to power. This is because the Labor Party has strong links with elements supporting the Hashemite regime. Such a government would be more amenable than Begin's to schemes like the United Arab Kingdom plan, in which Jordan would dominate the occupied territories. With a Labor government, 'Israel' could introduce new offers which coincide with the US position but do not jeopardize Israeli gains or require any change in Zionist policies.



#### Lebanon

Continuous attempts are being made to destroy the armed Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon. This is being done through arming and supporting the fascist forces, the regime's organized forces and the Zionist enemy. Constant pressure is being put on the Palestinian Resistance through continuous Zionist aggression. Imperialism is also attempting to split the alliance between the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement (LPM), and is fanning the flames of religious and sectarian wars. Imperialism is concentrating its efforts against the armed Revolution because it represents an obstacle that must be removed in order to open the door for Arab states other than Egypt to participate in upcoming steps of the settlement.

#### Syria

The Moslem Brotherhood is being used as a front for the bourgeoisie to destabilize Syria internally. This is also to be accomplished by external pressure aimed at either bringing the Syrian regime to its knees to sign a Camp David type agreement, or overthrowing it and replacing it with a regime that accepts such an agreement.

#### Jordan

Imperialism is orchestrating the political moves of the Jordanian regime, both internally and externally. However, the regime faces certain obstacles that prevent it from implementing its full role in Camp David. These include its population (over 65% Palestinian) and its common borders with Syria and Palestine. Thus it is necessary that progressive and nationalist forces, both within and on its borders, be destroyed or co-opted before the regime is able to participate fully in the conspiracies.

#### Europe

The European initiative which is being prepared for the next stage of the settlement will crown these maneuvers. The European Economic Community (EEC) is expected to base its initiative on the claim that it disagrees with Camp David for not meeting the required conditions for resolving the Middle East crisis. However, the European initiative is in fact a continuation of Camp David. It is a tool designed to pave the way for new plots. Regardless of the apparent difference between Camp David and the European initiative, both are directed towards safeguarding imperialist interests.

In light of our assessment of the expected imperialist activities to be disclosed in 1981 following the outcome of the US and Israeli elections, we can see that imperialism and its allies have failed in creating the necessary atmosphere for executing their plots on the

Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian levels. However, this will not prevent them from continuing their efforts to implement their plans. Determined struggle should be waged on all levels in order to counter imperialism's attempts. Thus we must accomplish the following tasks:

1. The Palestinian position should be consolidated, based on clear political stands towards all counter-revolutionary moves, especially the role of the Jordanian regime and the European initiative.

2. The Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian stand should also be consolidated, and should be based on a common program that determines the tasks and duties of each organization and of all of them as a whole. Such a program will end the present 'wait and see' policy and set the stage for a new era of active practice aimed at defeating the fascist forces and the ruling regime in Lebanon. It will also enable us to remain steadfast against Zionist aggression in the South.

3. The Syrian position should be radicalized. The positive steps taken in the international and regional level (such as the friendship treaty with the Soviet Union and the patriotic position against Camp David) should be continued and deepened. By radicalizing and developing itself internally as well, Syria would greatly strengthen its political advances.

4. The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front must play an active role in isolating the reactionary tripartite axis of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. It must also push for polarization on the Arab level and assist the national liberation movements, especially the Egyptian National Front.

5. Support should be given to the national democratic forces in the Arab peninsula, the Gulf, Jordan and Iraq, so that they can expose and confront the open presence of imperialism in these countries.

6. Principled relations with our friends and allies in the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, should be established. These relations must be based on the common interest of confronting imperialism, and depart from viewing them solely as suppliers of arms.

If these tasks, with the support of our steadfast masses in the occupied homeland, are put into practice, it will be possible to counter the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plots. This will open the road for positive developments in the area. New formulas can then be applied for liberating the occupied homeland. It will also pave the way for the people of the area to achieve social and economic progress.



What are the reasons behind the continuous postponement of the 15th Palestine National Council (PNC), especially after the date was set and the agenda agreed upon by the Palestinian leaders?

This is not the first time that the PNC constitution has been violated or that a PNC session has been postponed. It seems that postponing the PNC has become a chronic illness in the PLO leadership. The delay in convening the 15th PNC has its repercussions. New developments that deserve long and detailed study have taken place since the 14th PNC which was held in January 1979. It has also become more important to implement the organizational program adopted at the 14th PNC.

We feel that there are many reasons behind the delay, but the following political factors are the most important:

1. The right-wing of the PLO leadership wants to avoid taking a clear stand on the issues to be discussed at the upcoming Arab Summit, particularly to avoid taking a stand against the Jordanian regime. The negative effects of the relation between the PLO leadership and the regime on the Palestinian cause are daily becoming more apparent.

2. They have also been waiting for the results of the US presidential elections. Arab reaction is contributing to the illusion that the US position will change following the elections. The PLO leadership is ignoring the fact that the US election campaign has been transformed into a race for displaying commitment to the security of 'Israel' and for denying the rights of the Palestinian people.

3. Also linked to the delay are the current political maneuvers by Europe, which are part of the process of covering up imperialist goals in the Middle East. These maneuvers are well planned, and aim at shifting the attention of the masses away from confronting Camp David.

In addition to these political factors, the right-wing of the PLO leadership is also exploiting organizational issues. Of these the most important is the formation of the new PLO Executive Committee, which has not yet been agreed upon.

The PLO must use the 15th PNC to review its position towards political changes, making them clear. There is no need for a new political program; the existing one just needs to be adjusted. The political position of the PLO should be radicalized with respect to the following issues:

- supporting the heroic struggle of our masses in the occupied homeland
- reviewing the relation with the Jordanian regime, and taking a decisive stand against it
- taking a clear stand against the European initiative and the statements that contradict the political program of the PLO
- analyzing the future developments in Lebanon, and developing a confrontation course against the fascist forces and Zionist aggression

The PLO position will be determined according to what is agreed upon and it will be announced in the political report of the PNC.

Achieving this in the upcoming PNC session is linked to taking a qualitative step forward in transforming the current Palestinian coexistence into Palestinian national unity. This unity is a prerequisite for successfully confronting the imperialist conspiracy. Unless this task is accomplished on the basis of the organizational program adopted at the 14th PNC, we will continue to lack an essential condition for successfully countering the enemy plots and liberating our homeland. Joint efforts by all the organizations are necessary to ensure the convening of the 15th PNC and for accomplishing the required tasks.



In the past two years the PLO leadership has increased its relations with the Jordanian regime. At the same time the regime has taken new steps in preparation for its upcoming role in the Camp David conspiracy. These include increased repression against the resistance in Jordan, and the formation of a new ministry for the affairs of the occupied land. How does the PFLP view these steps, and what dangers are posed by the PLO-Jordanian relations?

The new steps taken by the Jordanian regime come as no surprise, because they are merely part of its attempt to liquidate the Palestinian struggle and smother the Palestinian national identity.

If the PLO leadership continues to mask the policies of the Jordanian regime through bilateral relations, we will find ourselves facing new and more accelerated steps by the regime to strengthen its role in the next stage of Camp David, especially if Camp David changes its name. We must have no doubts that the regime is preparing to enter Camp David through the door of the European initiative. Hussein's rejection of Camp David is calculated and tactical. This rejection is understood and approved by the White House.

In 1981, the Jordanian regime is planning to re-open the United Arab Kingdom file, and meet the proposals of the Israeli Labor Party halfway. (The Labor Party is expected to return to power following the Israeli elections in 1981). This will include declaring itself a representative of the Palestinian people in Jordan and occupied Palestine. The formation of the Supreme Committee for the Affairs of the Occupied Land clearly indicates that the regime is increasing its campaign to represent the Palestinians at the expense of the PLO.

The PLO's relations with Jordan are serving as a cover for these schemes. The conditions outlined by the 14th PNC for establishing this relationship have not been met. We in the PFLP rejected the proposal for establishing relations with Jordan prior to its conditional approval by the 14th PNC. Our rejection of this relation-before, during and after the PNC — is based on our clear understanding of the nature and danger of the role played by this regime, especially at this stage of our struggle.

We have based our position on this understanding and have always warned of the dangers presented by the continuation of this relation. We are using all possible means to expose the policies of the regime. The developments taking place in Jordan and the occupied homeland prove that our position is correct. Our position is also supported by the overall activities of the regime on the Arab and international levels.

We believe that taking a clear stand against the Jordanian regime's policies and severing relations with it is an urgent task dictated by the current stage. The formula for joint confrontation against the regime should be based on this position.

**How do you evaluate the war between Iraq and Iran, and its effects on the region?**

We can clearly see the harmful effects of the war on the Arab national position against the Camp David conspiracy. Although Iraq was not playing an active role in this current stage, through this war it has withdrawn altogether from the Arab confrontation front against the Zionist enemy. This can be compared to the loss of Egypt when it joined Camp David.

The PFLP condemns this war and holds the Iraqi regime responsible for initiating it. Why do we condemn this war? and what is the basis for this condemnation?



*The war consolidates the reactionary alliance*

The Iraqi policies towards Iran can be traced back to 1975 when it signed an agreement with the Shah giving several concessions. At that time the regime praised the Shah and cracked down on all the forces living in Iraq who opposed him. This included the Arabstan Front and members and leaders of the opposition forces. Khomeini was deported from Iraq as a gesture of solidarity with the Shah, thus revealing the Iraqi regime's disregard for the oppressed Iranian masses.

From the onset of the Iranian Revolution the Iraqi regime stood against it. The regime made no attempt to establish positive and peaceful relations with the new leadership in Iran. On the contrary, the hostile policies towards Iran continued. The Iraqi regime began recalling the glorious days of 'Al Qadissiah', (an ancient battle where the Arabs defeated the Persians), to wave the banner of national chauvinism and to pit the Arabs against the Persians under the slogan of regaining the Arab Nation's right to Shatt al Arab and the three islands. All this was carefully orchestrated to cover up the Iraqi regime's fear of internal repercussions from the Iranian Revolution. These fears were exposed when the regime deported thousands of Iraqi citizens to Iran, claiming that their ancestors were Persians, and also launched bloody campaigns against large sectors of the masses.

Iraq, instead of contributing to the struggle against Camp David, has been working against the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. It is also conspiring against Syria and Democratic Yemen, is supporting reactionaries in Jordan, the remnants of the Shah's regime and SAVAK, as well as supporting Sayyad Barri of Somalia against Ethiopia.

In early 1980, the Iraqi regime announced the infamous national pact. This pact did not mention the dangers posed by Camp David or US imperialism, nor did it mention Lebanon, Palestine or the role of the Egyptian regime in the imperialist conspiracy. The pact referred only to confronting 'foreign forces'. The exact meaning of 'foreign forces' was clarified by the warm reception the pact was given by Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Oman, Morocco, Sudan and Somalia. Tariq Aziz, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, said at that time: "If Soviet forces come to Saudi Arabia, we will resist them despite the fact that the USSR is our friend." Presently, the US navy and US AWACS are in the Gulf and Arab peninsula, only a stone's throw from Iraq, yet Tariq Aziz and his new sultan, Saddam Hussein, are not resisting this 'foreign force'. At this critical political stage the Iraqi regime has



*Baghdad's Dora power station in flames*

exposed its deviating positions and is attempting to drag all the Arabs in the same direction.

Practically speaking, Iraq is a part of the reactionary axis, along with Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The Iraqi regime is organizing its policies on common ground with its reactionary partners, and with the consent of US imperialism. Iraq was given the green light to wage its war against Iran in the Riyadh agreement between Saddam Hussein, King Khaled and Prince Fahd, which was announced in the 'holy war' communique.

In Iran, the following paved the way for the war and allowed certain conditions to be exploited.

- The leadership in Iran was not unified and the process for political decision making was not centralized.

- The military institution was weak from changes and desertion within its ranks.

- Contradictions between the Ayatollahs and the government on one hand, and the left and democratic forces on the other deepened.

- No solution to the national question of the minorities was introduced.

- Iran is politically isolated on the international level as a result of slogans raised by the Iranian leadership such as 'The world is controlled by two satans, one is red and the other is black'. Such slogans illustrate the fact that the Iranian leadership was unable to differentiate between enemies and friends.

(Saddam Hussein relied on these contradictions within Iran to topple Khomeini, with help from the former officers of the Shah's army. However, the war united the Iranian people. Imprisoned pilots were released to help the Iranian air force stop the Iraqi attack and to destroy the Iraqi oil installations.)

These are real short-comings affecting Iran, but at the same time they do not justify a war. We must take into account the positive aspects which make Iran a country we can rely on. These are:

- The anti-imperialist position of Iran.
- Iran's support of the Palestinian cause.
- Iran's position against Camp David, including severing relations with Sadat's regime.

If the Iraqi regime was truly concerned about the Arab Nation, it could have used these positive aspects to strengthen the struggle against imperialism, 'Israel', and Sadat, especially since Iran is its

neighbour.

Iraq was encouraged to wage this war by the circles of Arab reaction and with imperialist consent. However, there are secondary contradictions within the reactionary axis. Saudi Arabia would not like to see Iraq decisively win this war, because Iraq would then be a contender for control of the Gulf. The Saudis would like to see both Iraq and Iran weakened, thereby making Saudi Arabia the strongest force in the region.

The Jordanian regime profits no matter who wins or loses the war. If Iraq loses, Jordan could take the opportunity to capitulate and join Camp David, claiming that the eastern front has fallen apart. On the other hand, if Iraq wins the war, Jordan will be given the opportunity to revive the United Arab Kingdom plan, with the support of Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Iraq counted on a short-term war to bring about the collapse of the Iranian regime. Yet after more than a month of fighting, the war is far from ending, and Iraq is exhausting itself economically and militarily. Now western capitalists are looking forward to reconstruction, as they will make large profits by exploiting the needs of both countries.

Most importantly, the US, under the banner of protecting the oil fields and the oil routes, has stationed its Rapid Deployment Force in the area. Presently this force is sitting on the doorstep of Iran and Iraq, as well as neighboring countries. US imperialism is hoping that the war will give legitimacy to certain counter-revolutionary elements in Iran to push the country's policies to the right once again, thereby making it possible for the US to regain hegemony over Iran.

We expect that the war will continue for a long time, and that the Iranian generals will be given a chance to defeat Iraq. This would strengthen their position internally, and give them the opportunity to dominate the state. The US is not concerned with reinstating the Shah's family, but only with establishing active economic relations and a pro-American regime.

If Iraq is defeated, we expect the present leadership to be punished, but replaced by leaders who represent the same ruling class. If this scenario occurs it will mean that imperialism has succeeded in achieving its goals, unless new factors intervene to upset their calculations.



## DEFIANCE

*You may fasten my chains  
Deprive me of my books and tobacco  
You may fill my mouth with earth  
Poetry will feed my heart, like blood  
It is salt to the bread  
And liquid to the eye  
I will write it with nails, eye sockets  
and daggers  
I will recite it in my prison cell—  
In the bathroom—  
In the stable—  
Under the whip—  
Under the chains—  
In spite of my handcuffs  
I have a million nightingales  
On the branches of my heart  
Singing the song of liberation.*

*Mahmoud Darweesh*



# MASS RESISTANCE IN THE OCCUPIED HOMELAND

## — AN ASSESSMENT

The Palestinian masses have waged a continuous struggle against Zionist occupation. The form and extent of mass participation in the struggle, however, has varied in accordance with the subjective and objective conditions.

For many years the masses expressed their rejection of the occupation through sporadic and spontaneous strikes and demonstrations. These were usually in response to specific Zionist policies or actions. At its inception, the Palestinian national movement emphasized armed struggle, which resulted in a lack of organized resistance on the mass level. This was because at the beginning stage of a national liberation movement, armed struggle is limited to the vanguard elements. The focus on armed struggle alone overshadowed other forms of political and mass mobilization. Thus, the Palestinian national movement was not fulfilling its full role of politicizing and organizing the majority of the masses for the Revolution.

Recently, however, the masses' participation in the struggle has been qualitatively and quantitatively developed. The last three years have witnessed the unification of the forms of struggle in the occupied land. In other words, the growth and development of

mass participation has been accompanied by the continuous development of armed struggle. This positive change has been caused by several factors.

The first and most essential factor is the objective conditions of our masses in the occupied land. Daily resistance is required to confront the aggressive Zionist policies of land expropriation, smothering of Palestinian national and political identity, and the Zionization of education and culture. In addition, of course, there are the acts of torture, destruction and assassination carried out by the authorities and the various Zionist terrorist gangs, such as Kahane's Kach movement. These oppressive conditions place our masses in a position requiring immediate and decisive action, and crystallized their awareness and methods of confrontation. Mass uprisings became a frequent occurrence. All sectors of the society participated in these uprisings, except for those few who are outright traitors. Even those socio-economic groups whose class interests had limited their participation before joined the demonstrations, especially after the Zionists imposed the added value tax, which adversely affected the petty bourgeoisie.

The second factor influencing the positive

growth of the mass struggle is the achievements of the Palestinian Resistance, as represented in the Revolution's steadfastness in its battles in Lebanon and the increased international recognition of the PLO. The influence of these achievements has played a tremendously positive role in the development of the mass movement in the occupied land.

The third factor is the growth within the political and national institutions of the occupied land. The most outstanding of these institutions is the Palestinian National Front (PNF), which was established in 1973. The political split within the PLO which appeared after the 1973 October war, and the deportation of many of the PNF's leaders (such as Abdul Jawad Saleh), had negative repercussions on the development and role of the PNF. Recently, however, after the PLO agreed on a unified political program at the 14th PNC, the PNF was reorganized and has once again become the basic political framework responsible for directing all the struggling political and national organizations of our masses in the occupied homeland. Despite the attempts of the right-wing of the PLO leadership to dominate it, the PNF remains the only real political insti-

tution in the occupied land that embodies all the Palestinian organizations, and thus has achieved many accomplishments.

The PNF plays an essential role in foiling the enemy's plots and so of course it has been declared an illegal organization by the Zionist authorities. Though oppressive conditions have forced the PNF to work clandestinely, the masses and the Resistance have created mass institutions and organizations in order to continue to wage their struggle.

After Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the signing of Camp David, our masses felt the urgency of establishing organizations that could openly guide their uprisings. Thus the national leaders and masses held a conference in Beit Hanina and formed the National Guidance Committee, embodying all the mass organizations, political forces and national figures. The Committee was elected by the conference as a unifying political instrument to overtly mobilize and guide the national struggle. The Committee's important role has been demonstrated by the resistance of our masses to Camp David, specifically the 'autonomy' plot. The Committee has held many lectures, demonstrations, festivals, and has distributed many communiques throughout the occupied land. It has also established regional branches that are responsible for the guidance and implementation of the struggle in their areas. The most important role of the Committee has been in its ability to mobilize and unify overtly all the forces in the struggle, despite the continual confrontation with the authorities. The Committee does not replace the PNF, but complements it.

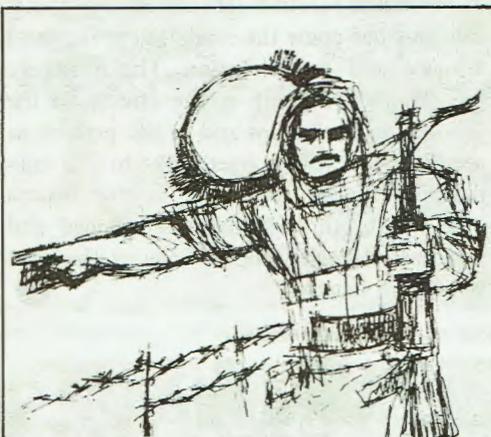
In addition, the popular committees which exist in the camps and locally are another form of mobilizing the masses. At this stage of the struggle we consider all these different frameworks necessary and essential for guiding the masses' awareness and struggle.

A primary task for all national forces at this time is supporting and enhancing the development and role of all these mass institutions, as it is through them that our masses have remained steadfast against Camp David. Our masses in the occupied territories rejected the 'autonomy' plan from the beginning, and forced indecisive elements to take a position of resistance as well. We must remember that some figures proposed a 'wait and see' policy in the early stages of the conspiracy. However, our masses took a steadfast position and this is a great achievement, as the greatest obstacle confronting

Camp David is the failure to implement the 'autonomy' plan.

Though our masses have proven their great ability to resist, we must offer them all the support we can. The PLO leadership should stop relations with reactionary figures, such as Gaza's Mayor Shawa, who use these relations to legitimize their collaborationist positions. There is no justification for relations with such people, as they have never had a national or patriotic stance, and have historically played a treacherous role by dealing with the occupation forces.

In addition to this problem, there have recently been increased activities by certain



## MILITARY OPERATIONS

*October* — Palestinian militants planted explosives in a military transport station in Herzlah, near Tel Aviv. The explosion killed many Zionist soldiers and destroyed part of the station.

*October 25* — Palestinian militants planted explosives in the Belmet Karmal factory in a Zionist settlement located between Gaza and Beir Al Saba'a. The fire from the blast completely destroyed the factory and its contents.

Palestinian militants threw hand grenades at a Zionist military vehicle in the village of Beit Sourif, near Al Khalil. Several Zionist soldiers were killed or injured.

*October 26* — Palestinian militants planted an explosive in a military station in Jerusalem. Zionist officials announced that 15 soldiers were killed in the explosion and the station was completely destroyed.

*November 6* — Palestinian militants planted an explosive in a parking lot adjacent to the Jerusalem municipality building. The charge was discovered and detonated by an explosives' expert, causing damage to the nearby buildings. The area was cordoned off and several Palestinians were arrested.

religious groups, such as the Moslem Brotherhood. These groups are accepted by the occupation authorities, especially in the West Bank. They have attacked many national institutions and forces, under the slogans of anti-communism and anti-atheism. These reactionary groups attack the progressive forces before attacking the Zionist enemy. Therefore, when any national force deals with them, they are actively reinforcing the destructive role such groups play.

For a time the national movement in the occupied land minimized the role of elements linked to Jordan. However, since the PLO leadership established relations with the Hashemite regime under the cover of the PLO-Jordanian Joint Committee, the door to the West Bank has been reopened to the regime and its supporters. The Joint Committee, which administers economic aid to the occupied territories, has allowed Jordan to reward its collaborators and attack progressive and patriotic institutions. For example, the collaborator Shawa gets money to establish a magazine, while no money is given to the patriotic Jerusalem electric company. The ability of Jordan to infiltrate the occupied territories under the cover of its relationship with the PLO will be extremely destructive in the long run. The position of Jordan is absolutely clear, from its attacks on the Palestinian Resistance to its preparations for the European initiative, with the coordination of the US. If the PLO continues its relations with the regime, it means that Jordan will enter the occupied homeland in an attempt to implement the United Arab Kingdom plan, when the 'autonomy' plot fails.

### One people, one struggle

During the past four years there has been an immense development in the mass struggle in the 1948 region of occupied Palestine. This was clearly manifested on the Day of the Land, and has now reached a higher level. An important event is the Shefa'amr conference that was held recently in the Galilee. The Zionists attempt to classify the Palestinians of the 1948 occupied territories as Israeli Arabs, but the conference proclaimed that these Palestinians are an integral part of the Arab Palestinian people, and that their sole, legitimate representative is the PLO.

The growth of the national movement in the 1948 occupied land has been concretely reflected in the formation of various political organizations, such as the Sons of the Village and the Arab Student Committee.



Even though these groups have faced intense repression by the Zionist authorities, their influence has been increasing, and their programs are developing and becoming more effective. These political forces now face greater challenges that demand not only taking political positions, but taking up the difficult task of leading the mass struggle as well.

As the struggle of these political groups increases, they are attempting to achieve political cohesion with other political organizations, such as Rakah. Despite political differences, the objective conditions are such that greater coordination is necessary to confront the primary enemy. In the coming period the mass movement in the 1948 land will become more closely coordinated with the Palestinian struggle as a whole. In this context it is important to note that the confrontation against the 'autonomy' plot took place in all of Palestine, not just the West Bank and Gaza.

**"Our roots are still alive"**

A basic element of the Zionist strategy is

*Despite occupation, 'Palestine' and its flag appear throughout the occupied homeland*



## WEST BANK STRIKE

In June 1967, the Zionist forces occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip, along with the Golan Heights and the Sinai. Since that time the occupation forces have completely dominated the political and economic affairs of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Through this domination, 'Israel' established colonial relations with the West Bank and Gaza Strip by transforming them into a source of cheap labour and raw materials, as well as a consumer market for Israeli products. During the process of establishing this

to uproot our masses from the land. This confronts our people, particularly the peasantry, with two choices: immigration, or becoming part of the Zionist wage labor force. The brunt of Zionist oppression has fallen upon the peasantry, whose strong links with the land are part of the history of Palestine. For this reason it is essential that the national movement provides support and guidance to the peasants and farmers, who are on the confrontation line with Zionism. It is when our masses are still tied to their land that they are most able to confront Zionist policies.

Though the conspiracies of imperialism, Zionism and reaction are intensifying, alongside this has come the escalation of the mass struggle and confrontation. The resistance has manifested itself in the streets, in the schools, in the camps and in the prisons, as seen in the heroic hunger strike by the militants of Nafha prison. It is our masses everywhere, through their determined and steadfast struggle, who are paving the road to achieve victory.

colonial relationship, the infrastructure of the Palestinian society was being destroyed. Recently, repressive actions by the Zionist authorities have been taken against the quarries and the stone cutting and finishing yards.

On Sept. 12, 1980, the Zionist authorities informed the Arab owners of the quarries and the stone finishing yards in the West Bank that an added value tax was going to be imposed. The owners and the workers of the quarries and stone finishing y

ted the act and went on strike. In the West Bank there are 75 quarries and approximately 150 stone finishing yards, where 3500 workers are employed<sup>1</sup>.

The strikers organized a nine member central committee and several regional committees in Ramallah, Al-Khalil, Yatta, Shyoukh and Bethlehem to coordinate the strike on all levels. The workers have agreed to maintain the machines in the yards during the strike.

The imposition of this new 12% tax will add to the burdens of this industrial sector. The 160% rate of inflation that the Israeli economy is suffering from has its negative effects on all industry.<sup>2</sup> In the past year alone the prices of electricity increased by 350%, water and fuel by 500%, and the price of cutting blades by 400%. At the same time, the price of the products from the quarries increased by only 20%.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Zionist authorities, the new tax will be applied to all the raw material bought by the finishing yards from the quarries, even though the finished stones compose only 60% of the original material. This means that the stone finishing industry will be paying 12% tax on the 40% of the raw material lost in production!

Mass organizations and trade unions in the West Bank declared their support to the just cause of the owners and workers of the quarries and the stone cutting and finishing yards. The Federation of Labour Unions in the West Bank is planning to take the case to the Israeli supreme court.

As a result of the popular support for the workers cause the Zionist military governor was forced to announce that he will reconsider his decision to impose the added value tax. He also was forced to meet with representatives of the workers, which he had refused to do for the past two months.

Another effect of the strike has been that the stone supply has been substantially cut. New Zionist settlements being constructed in the West Bank depend on these stones for construction material. Construction has been delayed due to the strike.

The strike demonstrates the growing resistance against Zionist exploitation of Palestinian labour and raw materials. It is not isolated from the other demonstrations, marches, and general strikes that show the resistance of the masses in the occupied homeland.

1. Al-Houriah 988, Nov. 3rd, 1980.

2. Financial Times, Nov. 8th, 1980.

3. Al-Akhbar, Oct. 27th, 1980.



The British Zionist Colonial Mission with Chaim Weizmann (foreground), Palestine 1918

## THE IMPERIALIST ROOTS OF ZIONISM

In order to study the Zionist ideology, it is necessary to analyse the socio-economic conditions that existed at the time Zionism was formulated. To do this, one must trace the historical origins of Zionism.

The end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of European colonialism. This expansion necessitated the search for new sources of raw materials for the growth of industry, and new markets for its finished products. As a result, European colonialism spread over many areas of the world. The trade routes with the colonies also needed to be secured and protected, thus expanding colonialism even further.

### European Colonialism and Zionism

The idea of colonizing Palestine by Jews was first introduced by the non-Jewish European bourgeoisie to use as a tool in safeguarding their colonial interests. During Napoleon's campaign into Palestine in 1799, he called upon the Jews of Asia and Africa to assist him. In return he promised to 'rebuild' the Temple in Jerusalem and accomplish the 'return' of the Jews to the 'Promised Land', Palestine.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, Britain was attracted to the strategic importance of Palestine as an overland route to India. Napoleon's

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*The mode of production of material life determines the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.*<sup>1</sup>

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campaign called attention to this route giving access to Britain's most important colony at that time. Following Mohammad Ali's\* advance into Syria in an attempt to establish an independent Arab state composed of Egypt, Greater Syria (Syria, Palestine, Jordan, and Lebanon) and the Arab Peninsula, Britain adopted the policy of military intervention. This policy was employed to protect its trade routes to India. Britain also supported the idea of colonizing Palestine by Jews as a tool to achieve its imperialist goals.

The British colonial policy in Palestine was associated with promoting Jewish colonization of Palestine. This is best demonstrated by Viscount Palestron's (Britain's Foreign Secretary in the mid-19th century) letter to the British Ambassador at Constan-

tinople explaining why the Ottoman Sultan should encourage Jewish emigration to Palestine. The letter states, "...the Jewish people if returning under the sanctions and protection and at the invitation of the Sultan would be a check upon any future evil designs of Mohammad Ali or his successor."<sup>3</sup>

In his book, *The New Eastern Question* Ernest Laharanne, the secretary of Napoleon III, clarified the interests of European colonialism in the Jewish colonization of Palestine, where he wrote, "Judea would be permitted to extend its boundaries from Suez to the harbour of Smyrna, including the entire area of Western Lebanon. . . European industry has daily to search for new markets as an outlet for its products. We have no time to lose. The time has arrived when it is imperative to call the ancient nations back to life, so as to open new highways and byways for European civilization."<sup>4</sup>

### The Jewish Bourgeoisie and the Zionist Project

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the idea of colonizing Palestine by the Jews had not gained the support of the Jewish bourgeoisie, except in a few cases



from the upper bourgeoisie, whose interests were totally and directly linked to those of European colonialism. The Jewish bourgeoisie had a limited response to the idea of colonization and their attempts to carry it out were spontaneous and unorganized. The Zionist thinkers of that stage, especially Moses Hess, explained the colonialist nature of the Zionist project. According to his writings, the Jewish colony in Palestine would safeguard the European colonial interests and act as a spearhead for the forces of colonialism in the area. The colony is to be protected by the colonialist states in Europe.

In his book, *Rome and Jerusalem*, Hess writes, "... After the work on the Suez Canal is completed, the interests of world commerce will undoubtedly demand the establishment of depots and settlements along the road to India and China... This can occur only under the military protection of the European powers."<sup>5</sup> He also wrote, "It is to the interest of France to see that the road leading to India and China should be settled by a people which will be loyal to the cause of France to the end."<sup>6</sup>

In a clear reference to the nature of the proposed society as a military force directed against the people of the area Hess wrote, "... a police system must be established by this society (the colonizing society), to protect the colonialist from the attacks of the Bedouins..."<sup>7</sup>

#### Political Zionism: an Offspring of Imperialism.

In the 1860's a new wave of colonial-imperialist expansion started. This wave coincided with the transition of mercantile capitalism to the stage of monopoly capitalism (imperialism). The results of this transition were the following:

— Competition intensified among the imperialist countries to colonize the world. As a result, the need for the Zionist project as a tool for colonialism increased.

— Monopoly became the dominant feature of the economy at the expense of free enterprise competition. As a result of this the bourgeoisie was increasing its share of the market at the expense of small business.

— On the social level, the transition of mercantile capitalism to imperialism took the form of national chauvinism, racism and social Darwinism.<sup>8</sup>

The end of the nineteenth century also witnessed the transformation of Zionism

into an organized political movement. The first Zionist Congress was held in 1897 where the World Zionist Organization was formed and the Basle program was adopted. The program states that the aim of the WZO is to establish a home for the Jews in Palestine.

Theodor Herzl is the father of political Zionism and the founder of the organized Zionist movement. In Herzl's writings the imperialist nature of the Zionist project is apparent. In his contacts with the imperialist leaders he disclosed the role of the proposed state in serving the interests of imperialism and the European bourgeoisie. He wrote, "We should there form a part of a wall of defence for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism."<sup>9</sup>

In order to achieve its goals, the Zionist movement established strong relations with the imperialist powers, especially Britain. The relations with Britain were crowned with the issue of the Balfour Declaration (November 2, 1917). The declaration took the form of a letter from Britain's Foreign Minister, Arthur Balfour, to the Zionist Edmond de Rothschild who was a member of the upper bourgeoisie whose interests were totally linked with the interests of imperialism. In the declaration, Britain signed away the Arab rights in Palestine to the Zionists. It also committed itself to help the Zionists achieve their goals in colonizing Palestine. In accordance with the Zionist claims that Palestine is a "land without a people", the declaration referred to the Palestinian Arabs (comprising 92% of the population in 1917) as the "existing non-Jewish communities of Palestine." The declaration is a symbol of Zionist-imperialist cooperation.

Britain was the Zionist movement's main ally until the end of World War II, when the US rose as the new leader for the imperialist world. Realizing that the power had shifted, the Zionist movement switched to the US who became the main supporter and protector of the Zionist entity. The US aid to the Zionist entity has surpassed \$11 billion since 1943. It also composes 30% of US foreign aid today.

The Zionist movement took on the main characteristics of the stage of monopoly capital (imperialism). This was a result of becoming an organized political movement during the transition of society from mercantile capitalism to imperialism. In addition to being colonialist, Zionism was characterized with racism. It also was a bour-

geois movement which served only the interests of that class.

As a reactionary bourgeois ideology, Zionism calls for the co-existence of the social classes, negates the role of class struggle in the historical development of society and raises chauvinist and racist slogans such as 'Jews are God's chosen people' and 'Jews are a pure race.' In his book Hess gives a clear example of these traits when he writes, "On the common ground of Jewish patriotism, all Jewish classes will meet, orthodox and progressive, rich and poor." He also adds that, "The race struggle is the primal one, and the class struggle secondary."<sup>10</sup>

The Zionist movement opposed socialism and stood against the October revolution in Russia in 1917. Jabotinsky, an important Zionist leader, considered the bourgeoisie the social class of the future.

In a statement that shows the type of relation that links the Zionist movement to the Jewish bourgeoisie, Baron Edmond de Rothschild said, "Without me, Zionism wouldn't have succeeded, but without Zionism my work would have been struck to death."<sup>11</sup>

The idea of colonizing Palestine by the Jews was not originated among the Jews, but was sponsored by non-Jewish colonialists. Zionism as an organized political movement was an offspring of European imperialism. The Zionist movement is a bourgeois, chauvinist and racist movement. Due to its nature, the Zionist movement is dependent on imperialism and is a tool for imperialism to realize its goals.

1. Marx, Karl. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Progress Publishers: Moscow, 1970. Pp. 20-21.

2. Kayyali, A.W. "Zionism and Imperialism: The Historical Origins," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 23. P. 99.

3. *Ibid.* P. 100.

4. Hess, Moses. *Rome and Jerusalem*. Block Publishing Co. New York, 1945. Pp. 135-8.

5. *Ibid.* P. 148.

6. *Ibid.* P. 148.

7. *Ibid.* P. 154.

8. For more information refer to Lenin, V.I., *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. International Publishers: New York, 1974.

9. Lewisohn, Lotta. *Outline of Zionist History*. Scopus Publishing Co.: New York, 1941. P. 245.

10. Hess. P. 199.

11. Halbrook, Stephen. "The Class Origins of Zionist Ideology," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No.5, P. 106.

\* Pasha Mohammad Ali was the leader of Egypt until 1848.

# THE SOUTH



*Overlooking the occupied border strip*

The Iraq-Iran war is not the only battle being waged in the Middle East at this time. In southern Lebanon, the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement (LPM) continue to confront Zionist and fascist aggression on a daily basis. Yet these two battles – the war in the Gulf and the resistance in the South – stem from the same roots: the attempts of imperialism, Zionism and reaction to implement the Camp David conspiracy in the region.

The major achievement of Camp David, to date, is the capitulation of Sadat. However, since the actual signing of the treaty in 1979, Camp David has reached a deadlock. The imperialist-Zionist-reactionary maneuvers since then have been aimed at pushing Camp David forward to its real goal: the consolidation of imperialist hegemony in the Middle East. In this context, the Gulf war can be seen as an attempt to remove Iran and Iraq, like Egypt, from a confrontation position. Once this is achieved, imperialism can turn to the other three major obstacles in its way: the steadfastness of the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories in their rejection of the 'autonomy' plan, the patriotic position of Syria, and the armed Palestinian Resistance in Lebanon, which is backed by the militant support of the LPM and the Palestinian and Lebanese masses.

It is at this point that Lebanon clearly becomes the crucial battlefield, because by winning a decisive victory here, our enemies would be striking a blow at all three obstacles in their way.

The conspiracies in Lebanon take different forms, and are aimed not only at the

Palestinian Revolution but the LPM as well. In the South, the battle lines are clear: the Palestinian and Lebanese Joint Forces are confronting the Zionists and their Lebanese fascist agent, Saad Haddad. In Beirut and elsewhere in Lebanon, the Phalangists have been implementing their role in the Camp David conspiracy. The recent Phalangist attacks against Chamoun's National Liberal Party in Ein Al Rammaneh, in Beirut, are a continuation of their plan to liquidate any other representatives of the Maronites in their area. Their goal is to create a military force that will unite *all* of Lebanon under the domination of the fascists and the bourgeoisie – in other words, a Maronite Zionism. These battles have also exposed the true role of the newly re-formed Lebanese army, which is supposedly an impartial body. The reality, however, is that the army supported the Phalangist's take over, proving that its reconstruction is part of the imperialist plans.

Thus the primary aim of all these Zionist-fascist attacks is the destruction of the Palestinian Resistance and the LPM. The transformation of all of Lebanon into a fascist state, allied openly with Zionism and imperialism, would be a great victory for imperialism. As in Jordan in 1970, the Palestinian Revolution would lose its open armed presence, its ability to organize freely among the masses and its base for launching armed attacks against the Zionist entity. The armed revolution in Lebanon is a source of inspiration to Palestinians everywhere, especially our masses under Zionist occupation. The struggles inside the occupied homeland and those outside are organically linked, so by

striking the Resistance in Lebanon, the enemy hopes to weaken the steadfast opposition to the 'autonomy' plan.

The crushing of the Palestinian Resistance and the LPM is necessary for imperialism to achieve its regional goals as well. With all of Lebanon firmly controlled by the enemy camp, Syria would be surrounded by hostile forces, and its ability to maintain a patriotic position greatly weakened. A severe blow to the Resistance in Lebanon would also greatly strengthen Jordan's position, and allow Hussein to come forward as the 'representative' of the Palestinian people, and fulfil the role allotted to him in Camp David.

In a more general context, the development of the LPM into one of the most progressive, armed forces in the Arab world is a threat not only to the Zionists and the Lebanese fascists and ruling class, but to imperialism and reaction's interests in all of the Middle East. The vanguard role of the Palestinian Resistance and the LPM, their arming of the masses, creates the conditions for the spreading of peoples war throughout the region. It is for all of these reasons that Lebanon, particularly the South, has become the major site of the confrontation with imperialism in the Middle East.

## **PFLP Evaluation:**

### **Conditions and Tasks in the South**

Before 1978, the major military confrontation in the South was directly between the Palestinian and Lebanese Joint Forces on the one hand and the Zionist enemy on the other. However, after the 1978 Zionist invasion, new conditions were established. During the invasion the Israelis occupied a



part of the South (the border strip), in order to create a security belt. With the occupation they were able to negotiate their 'withdrawal' from a position of strength, and achieved two important goals: the establishment of their Lebanese lackey, Saad Haddad, in the border strip, and the presence of the UN forces (UNFIL). These maneuvers have created obstacles for the Joint Forces, by preventing direct access to the Zionist entity and increasing the suffering of the Lebanese masses. The enemy wants to put the Joint Forces in a solely defensive position, and has therefore increased all military operations, using sea, air and artillery attacks.

The isolationist border strip is a base for striking the Joint Forces. It is true that Haddad is a Lebanese, but the actual force in the Haddad area is 'Israel', with the Zionist officers directly controlling all military, social and political affairs. However, the enemy is not satisfied with this, and their policy now is to take more land gradually, step by step. Thus they continuously threaten the areas on the border of Haddad's enclave, using various means. Haddad sends delegations to the villages under UN control, demanding that they petition UNIFIL in favor of Haddad, and against the Joint Forces. The isolationists, with Zionist support, have militarily entered the UNIFIL areas, subjugating the people and forcing them to support Haddad. The bordering areas under the Joint Forces' control face daily military attacks, which is part of the enemy's attempt to empty the region and expand their positions.

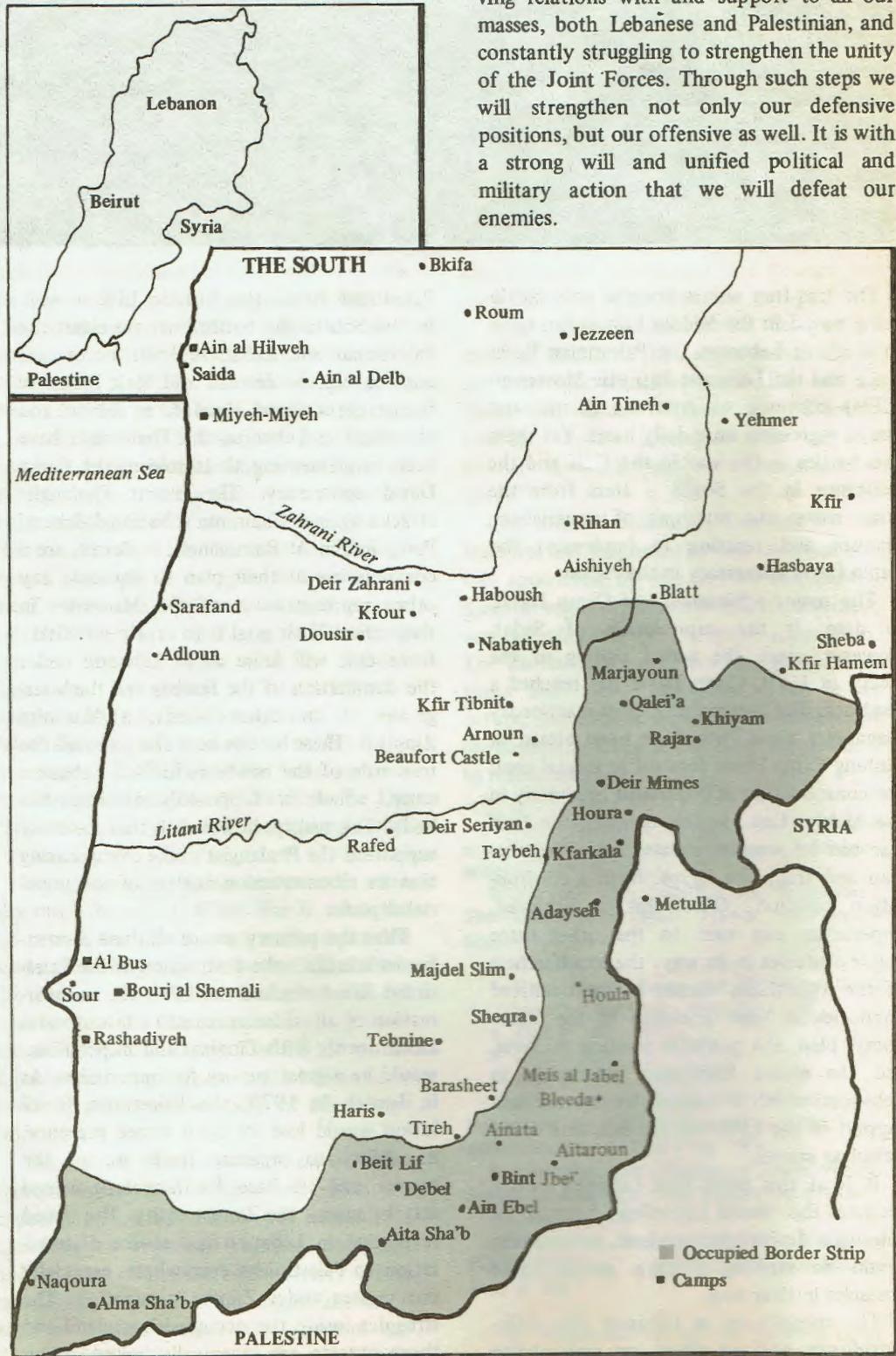
Of course the enemy has both political and military considerations. Speaking of their military aims, they are primarily 1) expropriating more Lebanese land, 2) improving their military positions, 3) blocking the openings through which the Joint Forces strike at 'Israel' and Haddad, and 4) isolating the Joint Forces from their base - the Lebanese and Palestinian masses. Their ultimate aim, however, is to control the vital waters of the Litani river. Zionist planners already have the details worked out for how the much needed water would be diverted to 'Israel'.

The role of the Joint Forces is to stand steadfast against these attacks, and to prevent the enemy from forcing them into a purely defensive position. Thus the Joint Forces must continuously strike at both Haddad and 'Israel', and at the same time provide support to the villages under occupation and those on the border, in order to

maintain the masses steadfastness. The LPM, as the vanguard of the Lebanese masses, provides them with services, housing and shelters, with the support of the Palestinian Resistance. Although the work on the mass level is not sufficient, we in the PFLP stand by the LPM in its vanguard role, and provide support in these difficult conditions.

On the military level, the Joint Forces have increased their cooperation. This has

led to the coordination of our various military capacities, so that in some regions orders come from one leader. This is a definite step forward, though it is not sufficient. Through our confrontations with the enemy, the Joint Forces have increased both their unity and their fighting ability. We in the PFLP play a vanguard role in pushing for the implementation of the necessary steps to increase our confrontational abilities: improving relations with and support to all our masses, both Lebanese and Palestinian, and constantly struggling to strengthen the unity of the Joint Forces. Through such steps we will strengthen not only our defensive positions, but our offensive as well. It is with a strong will and unified political and military action that we will defeat our enemies.



# VOICES FROM THE SOUTH

Members of the PFLP Bulletin staff recently visited South Lebanon, where they met with comrades from the PFLP and the Joint Forces, and spoke with Lebanese and Palestinian people. We would like to share with you some of the words of the fighters, comrades and masses who are daily confronting Zionist and fascist aggression. They come from many areas in the South – Nabatiyeh, Sour, Saida and the camps of Ain El Hilweh, Rashadiyeh, Bus and Bourj El

Shemali. Through these interviews we hope to convey to you the transformation of the PFLP's political line into practice, on both the mass and military level, as well as the reality of the struggle being waged by the Palestinian Resistance and the LPM, with the support of the masses.

A common thread running through all the interviews is the awareness of the political motivations behind the enemy's attacks. Camp David is not just a piece of paper –

for the people of the South, Palestinian and Lebanese alike, Camp David means daily aggression and violence. Yet it is in these voices from the South – fighters, cadres, workers and peasants alike – that we hear the most important lesson of all. This is that our victory will only be achieved through our unity, steadfastness and by following the path of the peoples war.

## PFLP MILITANTS

Every politically conscious member is a militant (fighter), and every militant should be politically conscious

**Comrade Salah**

“Through Marxism-Leninism, we know that our struggle must have an educated fighter. Any movement that depends only on the gun will turn into a gang and not mobilize the masses. Our role in the military is to translate the PFLP's political line into practice. Thus the fighter, through his understanding of stages and tactics, is able to mobilize the masses for the liberation of Palestine and the building of a socialist state, as part of a socialist Arab world.”

**Comrade Besan**

“The PFLP follows the slogan, ‘Every politically conscious member is a militant and every militant should be politically conscious’. Thus in all the regions we have political cadre whose responsibility is to educate and discuss political issues. We do this daily, despite the war. If we have a person who is unaware, young or just running away from his oppressive reality, and he is left unaware – that is our loss. But if we understand his position, and help him understand the cause of his oppression and why he must struggle, then we gain him.”

**Comrade Jamal**

“We have a daily program, with training, political meetings, fortifications within our line of defense, work and organizational meetings, as well as confronting any event or attack at this base.

On the political level, our leadership encourages us to meet with other Palestinian and Lebanese organizations, to discuss with them various political issues, such as the delay of the PNC, and the reasons behind

the delay. Also the Lebanese Army – what is its structure, what role is it being prepared to play.

We also work with the masses, picking olives, or harvesting, depending on the need. All of our comrades do this work, because the Lebanese masses have suffered so much and it is our duty to support and help them as much as possible.”

**Comrade Tahsan**

“We do more than just provide services for the masses. We discuss political issues with the people, bringing up all aspects of the revolution. We strengthen the revolution by developing political awareness among the masses. The Revolution depends upon its base among the masses as well as the abilities of its cadres. Our role is not only to provide services but to develop political consciousness among the masses.”

When the planes strike they don't differentiate between a Palestinian and a Lebanese

**Comrade Hassan**

“We are in a continuous state of war with the enemy for as long as the Zionist entity exists. However, at times we are in direct and constant battle with the enemy, while at other times we carry out our defined daily program. Early in the morning we begin with exercises, then we hold our daily work and evaluation meeting. During the day we have a military training program to maintain our capabilities, and there are organizational meetings. Right now we are working with the masses in harvesting the olives, and at other seasons we work with them according to their needs. The work with the masses is a definite part of our program, because

without it our work would be stagnant. Through our work with the masses we clarify to them the purposes behind our fighting... I believe this is why the masses understand and accept us, regardless of the constant attacks of Haddad and the Zionist enemy.

We have been able to overcome people's belief that the Israelis attack because of the Resistance and the military. This is because of the ‘scorched earth’ policy that the Zionists inflict on the Palestinian and Lebanese masses. Clarifying the military and political aims of the enemy is part of our responsibilities, and has strengthened our ties with the masses. The most important aspect of our work among the masses is offering them services that allow them to remain steadfast. Of course our resources are limited, but we do what we can. The Resistance has been able to give instructions on digging shelters in the homes, which provides immediate protection. In the camps that are being constantly attacked these programs are stressed.

Of course the enemy is constantly trying to differentiate between the Palestinian and Lebanese masses, using the Deuxième Bureau and Haddad. This is done under the slogan of ‘Divide and Rule’, but our relationship with the masses has prevented this. When the planes strike they don't differentiate between a Palestinian and a Lebanese.”

**Comrade Sami**

“In the recent large battle, while the enemy planes were throwing their bombs at us, we were maneuvering our weapons from one base to another, and continuously striking back. This success confirms the necessity of unity. Even though the enemy is more advanced technologically, we continue our struggle. If we are not martyred today, we will move tomorrow to another base.”



### Comrade Jihad

"We here in the South, due to our direct contact with Haddad and the Zionist enemy, find that coordination between the different Palestinian and Lebanese forces is natural... We consider the daily struggle against the enemy a necessity, and believe in never losing a chance to strike... We've learned from the experiences of other struggling forces in the world, and this is why we say that when you strike a blow at the enemy you must immediately follow with another..."

### Comrade Abu Yousef

"This camp has been subjected to 273 attacks, from air, sea and land. There has been a lot of destruction, injuries and death. The PFLP has had many martyrs in Rashediyeh.

Of course, residents of the camp have moved. At first, during the attacks, the masses had no means of resistance or defense. Lately, through hard work, we've been able to ensure shelters. Now Rashediyeh has the largest number of shelters that were dug by the Resistance.

The Zionist policy is to continuously attack, and to disperse the Palestinian masses and the Revolution. There are 14,600 people here – 30% have left. Despite the 'scorched earth' attacks, the majority of the Lebanese and Palestinians have remained steadfast on their land."

We have the unity of blood and the unity of trenches... (but) it is impossible to achieve victory without a clear and unified political program

### Comrade Abu Ahmed

"We in the PFLP demand the convening of the PNC as soon as possible, because we consider that the political situation requires such action, especially as we are living in the shadow of Camp David and regional wars, which of course reflects on the fighters. We always push for the deepening and improving of our joint work in the Joint Forces, as it becomes a force in driving the political leaders who are delaying the PNC... It is clear to us who are the forces behind the delay, and who are the ones benefitting from it.

The situation for those who are battling the enemy daily is different. Of course many factors influence the essence of a human being and the positions he/she takes, such as where they come from and their society. However, the continuous confrontation with the enemy creates the objective conditions

for unity and coordination between fighters, and this decreases the organizational prejudices among us. The main point that we must emphasize is that all these benefits that have been gained militarily must be implemented to the advantage of the Palestinian Revolution – its continuity, its masses and the just Palestinian cause..."

The enemy's missiles and artillery don't differentiate between a PFLP fighter and another. Thus we have the unity of blood and the unity of trenches.

But the convening of the PNC is essential, in order to face the Camp David conspiracy as a unified body and achieve the goals of the revolution. This is why it is the duty of all the fighters to pressure their leadership to convene the PNC. It is impossible to have successful work without a clear and unified program."

### Comrade Abu Mohamed

"When we (the Joint Forces) carry out an operation against Haddad's enclave, we often leave leaflets. This is both to clarify our position to the Lebanese masses under occupation, and to demonstrate our ability to launch attacks into these areas.

The Lebanese masses under occupation are suffering from oppression, blackmail and heavy taxes on their olive trees and land. They reject the occupation, and those that leave tell a grim story of their life. There is an involuntary draft of the masses to defend the so-called Free Lebanon. People come to us and ask if they can live in areas controlled by the Joint Forces."

### Comrade Ibrahim

"The Joint Forces hold regular meetings in which they discuss military events occurring in the regions in which they are based. For example, after the last attack we held a meeting to discuss the tactics in the last three attacks. The enemy attempted to

surround our areas and not come into direct confrontation with the bases.

All the Palestinian and Lebanese forces work under a coordinated military program from the Joint Forces. Of course, this doesn't alleviate the absence of a coordinated political program. However, the Joint Forces experience at this time is very positive and good. The enemy lost the element of surprise in this last attack, and was unable to occupy even one base. The battle lasted from 1 A.M. to 4 A.M.; we suffered only one death and were able to move into an offensive position. These last battles in the Nabatiyeh region have shown the capacity of the Joint Forces to defend and to attack, and indicate the steadfast spirit that our fighters have."

### Comrade Abu Amal

"I am 55 years old. I am one of those who were thrown out of Palestine in 1948, and have been in Lebanon ever since. I was with the Arab National Movement, and joined the PFLP at its beginning. All of my family belongs to the PFLP.

I've given two martyrs to the Revolution. One was my only son, who was just 17 years old and newly married. Yet all that we have we offer to the Revolution—our blood, our life.

We are not terrorists – we are a people with a just cause, and those who have conspired against us, from Arab reaction to imperialism, they are the terrorists.

Of course I was in Palestine in 1936. Our revolution has come a long way since then; now we have the organizational and military ability to fight the enemy, not as in '36 when the Arab regimes dictated our moves, and we were disorganized and without arms.

Today, all of us, young and old, fight when the enemy attacks. No one can deter the development of our struggle and the achievement of our ultimate goal, the liberation of Palestine."

## IN THE CAMPS

The Resistance has restored the Palestinian masses' pride

### Abu Brahim, Palestinian peasant, Ain El Hilweh camp

"I am a peasant. I participated in the 1936 Revolt. I believe that it is much easier for one who is fighting a revolution on his own land than for one who is fighting on another's land. We had been dispersed since 1948 but no one knew of us till 1965, when

the Revolution came..."

Of course our Revolution has committed mistakes. However, when we compare this to the positive elements, such as our fighters in the South, we realize that the positive is far more than the negative.

We believe we shall be victorious. We must of course be prepared to fight the enemy, but our sincerity and willingness to sacrifice will be the determining force in our gaining the ultimate victory."

### Tawfiq, Rashadiyah camp

"The Resistance has restored the Palestinian masses' pride. Here in Lebanon, before '65, the authorities used to spy on our lives and control everything. They oppressed us badly, and we were beaten, imprisoned and tortured for no reason, except that we were Palestinian. The Deuxième Bureau used to threaten our every move... Today we still have traitors among us, but the Resistance has regained for us the ability to stand up to them. In the long run we shall defeat them, because our Revolution is just and our masses are determined to return to all of Palestine. Of course the enemy camp is expanding. The war in the Gulf has clearly placed Iraq in a position that benefits only the enemy camp. However the Arab masses are also becoming aware, and that is to no one's benefit but their own. Of course what we need to speed our victory is to have unity among the different organizations in the Resistance. The National Unity that will unite our political and organizational program is a necessity, and is the wish of every Palestinian."

### Abu Ali Mohamed, Ain El Hilweh camp

"In 1948 we left Palestine with many difficulties, because we had few weapons and there was much pressure on us... A large number of us came to Lebanon, where the authorities met us in Sour with trains. Many of us were forced onto trains to be sent to Syria. I was one of those that stayed in Lebanon because Saida was one of the stops on the train's route. When we arrived in Saida we were told by the authorities that they had prepared nice housing for us, which was of course a lie, and part of the attempt to take us as far away from the borders of Palestine as possible.

My son was martyred in February 1976 in Damour, which had been seized by the fascist forces. He was 17 years old. At that time, had all my family been martyred — my 3 sons and 5 daughters — I would have been willing to accept this sacrifice. We had to prevent the fascists from reaching Ain El Hilweh and massacring us as they were doing in Damour. I was happy when Damour was liberated, though my son had been martyred there."

"Though this is not our land but a camp, we must be steadfast"

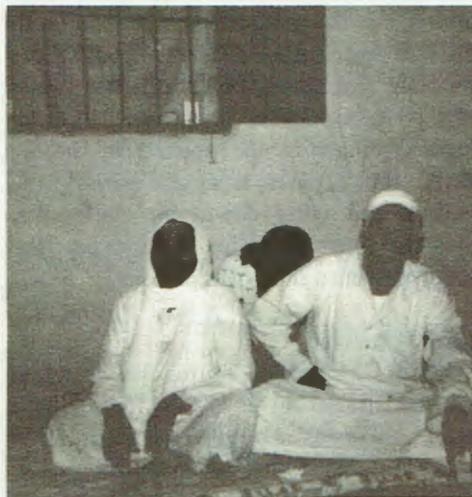
### Palestinian Family, Ain El Hilweh camp

"We have nothing but the Revolution in our house. We are not looking to the Arab

states, but to the Revolution. If the resistance in 1936 and 1948 had been like today, we would not be out of our homes...

Every day the Revolution grows stronger, but it does not have just one heart... there are forces pulling to the left and the right. What scares us is that each organization works separately. If we united, there is no force that could defeat us. Our lack of unity makes our enemy strong.

The cooperatives and clinics are all good, but more are needed. Here we have 68,000 people, and only one bad government hospital. The clinics of the Resistance are good for the poor, because if you don't have money they will still take you. However, it is important that the masses not become dependent on the Revolution, but that we become a part of the Revolution."



*"We have only the revolution in our house."*

### Ghassan, Rashadiyah Camp

"One of the aims of the continuous attacks on the camp is to empty the area of the masses, to make it unbearable for them. Our Palestinian and Lebanese masses are confronting this steadfastly. People are suffering every day, but continue to stay here. We have learned this from our past... in 1948 we were expelled from our land, and the result was dispersion. Though this is not our land, but a camp, we must be steadfast."

### Palestinian Family, Bus camp

"We were in Tel al Zaatar before we came here... Since we left Tel al Zaatar we've had more expenses, because here we rent our home... the Palestine Resistance is very good, it is our pride. Of course we want the Resistance to be stronger, and more developed.

Yesterday, when the Zionist planes attacked Damour, my children — my son who is in the PFLP and my daughter — were there. When we heard that there had been a heavy bomb attack we got worried, but then

we heard the news that the attack had failed. We were so satisfied that we even forgot that our own children might be in danger. We've grown accustomed to the attacks, as has everyone in the camp.

As we said, we come from Tel al Zaatar, and when we left there we left all our belongings. My mother, who was an old woman, was among those who couldn't leave and was martyred there. When I heard she was dead, after the fascists' siege, I was glad she was martyred when the camp was still steadfast against the fascists.

Here we have an individual shelter in our house. Of course it cannot stand up to heavy attacks, but is all right to shelter us from Saad Haddad's attacks...

Of course when there is an attack we are all ready to fight, as we did before. In Tel al Zaatar, young and old, male and female — all participated to the best of their ability. My daughter was 12 years old when we were in Tel al Zaatar; she learned first aid and did whatever was needed. She is now a member of the Women's Union, and her husband is in the Resistance."

## WOMEN

"We can work, we can carry arms, we can nurse our wounded"

### Fatima, Rashadiyah camp

"The situation of women in a camp in Beirut is different than in the South. Social backwardness is felt more deeply in the South than elsewhere, which makes conditions for the working woman more difficult. However, the constant attacks and the need for every person to defend the camp is creating different social conditions: the women must work, and they must at times carry arms. Of course, despite these conditions and changes, women are still ruled by social habits and conditions, and continue to hold a position second to men. The Resistance, especially the PFLP, is aware of this and incorporates women into the Revolution. For example, the PFLP has opened a sewing center in the camp, which gives women the chance to be out of the house and learning a trade, while at the same time developing social and political awareness. We also have the clinic. Of course the main aim of both institutions is to serve the masses, but we believe that raising women's consciousness is also a service to the masses."

### Leila, Bus camp

"We all want our children to be members of the Resistance — they are the backbone



of the Revolution. Of course, we as women are ready to give what we can. We can work, we can carry arms, we can nurse our wounded. The main role that we play under normal conditions is to educate our children about Palestine, and tell them why we were forced to leave and why we want to return.

Many of the younger women have received military training and are active members of the Resistance. There is definitely room for more, but at least they are playing a more active role than we did in the past. Conditions have forced us all to carry arms at one time or another. There are negative aspects to the Revolution, but we are all responsible for them – ‘He who doesn’t labor, cannot commit a mistake.’”

## MASS WORK

“The main objective is to serve the masses”

### Doctor in PFLP Clinic in the South

“Even though a person has their own political beliefs, when it comes to practice these beliefs get tested and stronger... All through the shellings of the camp a main point is how much we stay among the masses, not only how much health care we provide... thus there is not only a material effect but also an increase in morale. Even during the worst shelling, the clinic stays open. We work here, or in a shelter, and are ready to move to any area that gets hit, to care for the injured.”

### Nurses in PFLP clinic

“The clinic was opened here in 1976. We treat at least 50 patients a day and change about 60 bandages a day as well. We are increasing our role among the masses every year, and improving our equipment. For example, we had a first aid training program. And now more and more people are coming to our clinic.

The role of the clinic is not solely the offering of medical treatment. We go out into the camp and speak with the masses; sometimes we hold discussions in which we explain the PFLP’s political line and at the same time we explain the relation that exists between that line and the services we offer.

We also go out among the masses and speak to them about the problems that exist in their daily life, such as hygiene and preventative medicine... We visit our patients at home and during these social-medical visits we discuss current events as well as individual problems in the camp.

The clinic’s main objective is to serve the masses; however their awareness must be

increased. It is therefore our duty to awaken their consciousness through our medical services, and allow them to understand the differences between the PFLP and the other organizations. This is not done in a compe-

titive way, but by allowing the masses to see in practice what the PFLP’s theoretical and political analysis means. Through such discussions we as the PFLP become better equipped to meet the masses needs and demands.”

## IN THE VILLAGES AND TOWNS

“This is my land, my home, I’ve never left it despite the attacks and the constant fear of death that we live in.”

### Nasser, Sour

“I am a political person, but the bombs don’t distinguish between us. My mother, who is in her 70’s, was struck by shrapnel and her leg broken. What was her political affiliation?

As far as we’re concerned we’ve been ignored by the authorities since independence, so we feel no difference except that now our lives are more constantly threatened. The money or aid from the authorities is going into the pockets of the big gangs. They comes here and survey the damages and write down our names, but when the time comes for them to pay, the money goes into their own pockets.”

### Jamal, Nabatiyeh

“Saad Haddad is a traitor; we all know that the attacks on us are by Haddad and ‘Israel’...there is no difference between them. Of course the Lebanese authorities have not helped us in reconstructing...I had three stores destroyed, and haven’t received one penny. The South Council\* gives token aid to those in severe need and the real money to those in the least need of it.

Of course we know that neither Haddad, Gemayel or Chamoun, represent us as Christians, as they claim. How can they, when it is them who are working with ‘Israel’ to attack us?



Nabatiyeh (Oct. ‘80) – major target of Zionist-fascist aggression

Our relationship with the LPM and the Palestinian Resistance is very good. We know that the attacks are not aimed just at them, but are part of the expansionist policies of ‘Israel’. The attacks are to scare us and make us leave our land...many of us have left, but then found out that this is not the answer, and returned to our homes.”

### Um Ahmed

“I am a Christian. I am 75 years old or more, I do not know. This is my land, my home, I’ve never left it despite the attacks and the constant fear of death that we live in. In the last attack my daughter-in-law died right here on the doorstep.

We’ve never received any aid from anyone, especially not the South Council. They said that they were going to support us in reconstructing our homes after the attacks, but all that I was given was 500LL, which will not even reconstruct a single wall.”

\* State agency for distributing aid to victims of Zionist aggression.

### Lebanese peasant family

“Any nation will die and be destroyed if no one defends it. As far as we are concerned, the Resistance is defending us. The relationship between us is very good; as far as we’re concerned the relationship between us and the Palestinian Resistance is the same as with the LPM.

In this area the authorities are non-existent, and as a result our medical aid and many of our immediate needs are met by the Joint Forces, and not by the government. We have never received any economical aid from the government or anyone: no one has ever paid us for reconstruction. So the way things happen is that whenever someone needs help, economical or medical, they go to the Joint Forces and ask them – and of course they get it. We’ve lived together with the Resistance for 10 years now, and have had no problems. When the enemy planes attack they attack all of us, and in peace we work together.

The government doesn’t, and has never, offered us anything, and now Haddad has occupied half our land and continues to

attack us, and of course the authorities continue to do nothing. So if it wasn't for the Palestinian Resistance and the LPM's confrontation with Haddad, he might have occupied our village and many others.

We are close to the PFLP because of their class position, and because their fighters have very good social relations with us. They help us in picking the olives, and because of their services they cannot be criticized by anyone in the village, either on a moral or social level. They are also very active in trying to make us aware politically of our

conditions. Due to the LPM's absence in our village the PFLP has had to play a major role...of course many individuals in the village are members of parties in the LPM, but they have no actual base here.

Many of the people here have expressed their willingness to carry arms and fight alongside the PFLP. Now there is a project here to open a clinic — it is a joint project between the people of the village and the PFLP. There's an ambulance that comes twice a week from the PFLP to help treat any ailments."

## JOINT FORCES

### Comrade from the Syrian Social National Party (SSNP)

"The SSNP's decision to fight Haddad is part of the decision of the LPM and Palestinian Resistance — the Joint Forces. Together we are launching operations against Haddad and the Zionists, with the support of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses.

The relationship between the SSNP and the PFLP is based on sharing the same trench — it is a blood relation. We support the PFLP, and all of the Palestinian Resistance."

### Comrade from the Communist Action Organization (CAO)

"The South is a front line with the enemy, so it requires the presence of the LPM and the Palestinian Resistance. The enemy continuously attacks this region, and attempts to occupy it. Beaufort Castle is very important to the enemy, and the recent battles there have demonstrated the strong

and necessary role that the Joint Forces are playing, and the support and coordination that exists between us.

Communist fighters, both Lebanese and Palestinian, play a vanguard role in this area. The relationship between us and the PFLP is very good, and has been proven in practical terms, as many of the operations against Haddad were done jointly by the PFLP and CAO."

### Comrade from the Lebanese Communist Party

"The Joint Forces were founded under very difficult conditions — organizationally, politically and practically. However, the constant attacks have forced the Joint Forces to coordinate both centrally and in the bases. We know that 'Israel', the right hand of imperialism, is trying to implement

the conspiracy of Camp David in the region. Here in Nabatiyeh the Joint Forces experience has proven very successful in our battle against the enemy, and the contribution of the PFLP has been invaluable."

### Comrade from the Arab Socialist Action Party

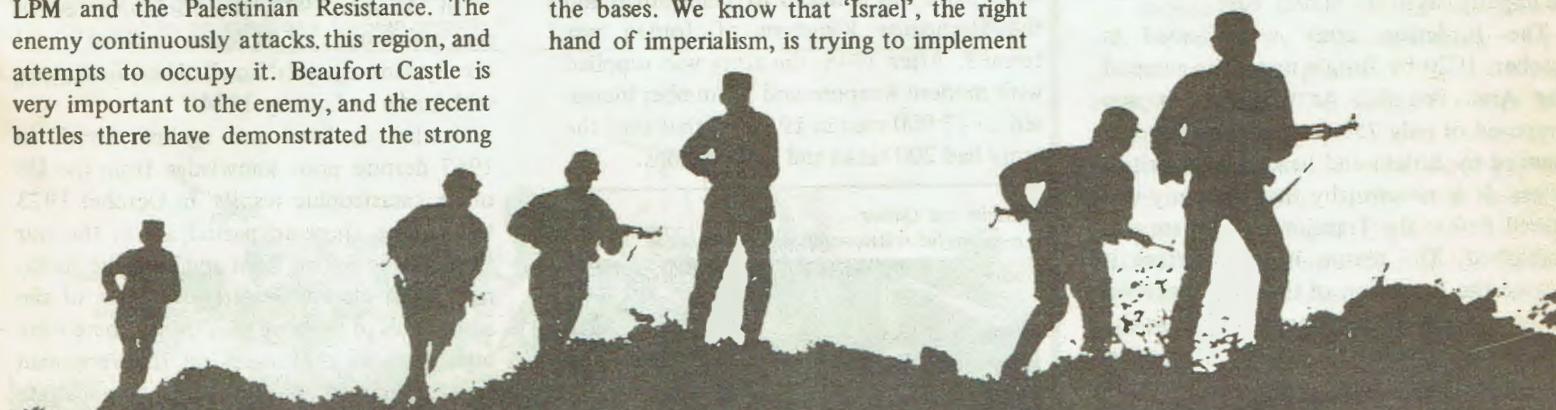
"The experience of the Joint Forces in Nabatiyeh is exceptional, due to the intensity of the battles and the strategic location. Thus the work of the Joint Forces is broader and more coordinated. The invasion of August 19th proved the strength of the Joint Forces. We have carried out many successful operations with the PFLP."

### Comrade from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)

"The joint work with the PFLP here is a reflection of the leadership and ideological points that we agree on. We have many joint bases, and have undertaken many joint operations."

### Comrade from Fateh

"The Joint Forces have been very active and fruitful. As far as we are concerned this experience is good, but in order to achieve more we need a unified military force, not just a coordinating force. Being at the front line strengthens the active role of the Joint Forces, and has resulted in unified military operations, joint artillery bases, etc." ●



## JOINT MILITARY OPERATIONS

*October 20* — A unit of the Joint Forces — PFLP-PLF (Palestine Liberation Front) attacked a Zionist-fascist position at Telet Al Shukair in the occupied border strip controlled by Saad Haddad's forces. Using rockets and machine guns, the unit destroyed two tanks and killed and injured many enemy forces. The unit returned safely to base.

*October 26* — Several units of the Joint Forces attacked a Zionist-fascist position at Beit Yahoun in the occupied border strip. The enemy forces, with support from UNIFIL forces, tried without success to prevent the units from returning to base. The enemy suffered heavy losses. The units returned safely to base.

*November 11* — A unit of the Joint Forces working in the occupied border strip attacked a Zionist-fascist position in the village of Rashaf. This operation was in response to the heavy shelling of Sour by the fascist forces. During the shelling a children's school in Sour was hit. The enemy suffered heavy losses and the unit returned safely to base.



Jordan has granted full and strong support to Iraq in its war against Iran. This support was displayed in many forms, the most recent being the formation of a joint military command between the two countries. The command is headed by King Hussein of Jordan and Saddam Hussein of Iraq. It also includes Iraq's Defense Minister and the Commander-in-Chief of the Jordanian armed forces. If Jordan is not already involved in the war, the formation of the joint command is certainly a step in that direction.

On the other hand, the Jordanian people, in a show of protest against the king who "has never been so out of tune with his people as he is today"<sup>1</sup>, are listening to Tehran radio broadcasts in Persian, despite the king's anti-Iranian mass media campaign. The Iraqis have financed this slanderous campaign.

This is not the first time that the Jordanian regime and its army have been involved in a war that does not correspond to the country's national interests. This involvement seems natural from the viewpoint of US imperialism's interests, the actual engineer of Jordan's role in the imperialist schemes.

Before discussing the dishonorable role of the Jordanian army in recent years, it is necessary to discuss its earlier role in serving the imperialists in the Middle East.

The Jordanian army was formed in October, 1920 by Britain under the name of 'The Arab Brigade'. At that time it was composed of only 750 troops. The army was financed by Britain and headed by a British officer. It is noteworthy that the army was formed *before* the Transjordan Emirate was established. The reason it is important is because the formation of the army preceded the future role of the state as a stick in the imperialists' hands with which to threaten the national movement.

In 1922, the army protected the central government from the uprisings of the bedouin tribes in Ajloun under the leadership of Kleib El-Sharidi. In 1923, the army violently crushed a mass uprising lead by Sultan Al-Odwan. In 1931, a 350 man mobilized unit was added to the army. The continuous British support enlarged the army to a force of 1,600 men in 1939.

The role of the Jordanian army as a servant for imperialism was growing in proportion to its increased military strength. This role was inaugurated in 1941 when the



mobile units of the army participated in the British campaign against the revolution of Rashid Aali Al-Kilani in Iraq. During the campaign, the Jordanian forces controlled the railroad connecting Baghdad and Al-Mousel.

In addition, the army was moved to the Sinai to assist Britain in countering an expected German attack. Following the allies' victory in Al-Alamein in Egypt, the Jordanian army was assigned to protect the transportation routes, the oil fields and the airports in Palestine, Iraq, the Syrian Desert and Iran.

In the 1948 war, the Jordanian army entered the West Bank. A few years later the West Bank was annexed to Transjordan and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was formed. After 1948, the army was supplied with modern weapons and its number increased to 45,000 men in 1958. At that time the army had 200 tanks and 200 cannons.

*Hussein and Qabus -  
a meaningful relationship for imperialism*



In 1956 Jordan didn't take any action towards assisting Egypt in confronting the tripartite aggression waged against it by France, England and 'Israel'. Starting in the early 1960's the army began to play the role of reserve force for the imperialists and their clients, the Arab reactionaries. It was sent to North Yemen in 1962 to fight against the legitimate government of Abdullah Al-Sallal in an attempt to reinstall the deposed Imam to power. The assistance to Imam Al-Bader, the most backward ruler of his time, continued until 1964.

In early 1967 the Jordanian army had 65,000 men. It also had 250 tanks, 250 personnel carriers, 200 cannons and 32 aircraft. In the June war, the Jordanians withdrew from the West Bank leaving it to fall into Israeli hands. After 1967, the army was reconstructed and supplied with 300 tanks, 600 personnel carriers and 38 aircraft.

In September 1970, the Jordanian regime waged a dishonorable war against the Palestinian Resistance that resulted in the death of more than 20,000 persons. This war was waged as part of the regime's role as the arm of repression for US imperialism. This war displayed the counter-revolutionary role that the regime was prepared for all along. It also offered a great service to the Zionist entity whose eastern borders were protected by the Jordanian army.

In October 1973, the Jordanian regime sent a few units of its forces to Syria to aid the Syrians against 'Israel'. The forces were withdrawn in January 1974.

Jordan declared war against 'Israel' in 1967 despite prior knowledge from the US of its catastrophic results. In October 1973 the regime chose to participate in the war through the Syrian front and kept the Jordanian front closed, despite awareness of the advantages of opening that front. There were high chances of success on the Jordanian front. These positions clearly demonstrate the role of the regime as a servant for imperialism and Zionism. In 1967, it entered the war to surrender the West Bank to 'Israel' and in 1973 it remained inactive on its longest border, thereby reducing the chances for Arab victory against the Zionist entity.

Also, in 1973 the Jordanian army was sent to Oman to aid the backward and reactionary regime of Qabus. The army fought shoulder to shoulder with the Shah's army and the British army against the Omani revolutionaries in Dhofar.

The Jordanian military and intelligence experience and the techniques of oppression are being exported to the Arab states in the Gulf. Jordan gained that experience through the collaboration with the CIA. King Hussein himself admitted that he received payment from the CIA, but claimed that the money was used to strengthen the Jordanian intelligence agency. At the present time more than 1,000 Jordanian advisors are working in the Gulf states in the above mentioned fields. More than 10,000 men from the Gulf states have received military training in Jordan. In his latest visit to the US, King Hussein expressed his willingness to assist any of the countries in the Gulf area if asked to do so.

The increasing role that the Jordanian army and advisors are playing in the Gulf area does not mean that the Jordanian regime is acting on its own or against the wishes of the imperialists. On the contrary, this growing role and the growth of the army itself were both designed by imperialism. In a report submitted to the US Senate by the Secretary of State, the author of the report clarifies the role of Jordan as viewed by US imperialism: "Supplying Jordan with US arms does not and will not pose any threat to the security of Israel."<sup>2</sup> In another statement the author of the report states, "Jordan is working actively to defend the stability and the security of the Gulf states. This policy serves our interests in stabilizing the area and in resisting any foreign aggres-

sion."<sup>3</sup> The report goes on to refer to the arms sales with Jordan, "We have said that we are not ready to sell tanks equipped with infra-red ray devices at the present time."<sup>4</sup> "Jordan has agreed to get M-60 tanks under the condition of replacing the M-48 tanks on a one-to-one basis."<sup>5</sup>

It is clear that the Jordanian movements are made with the consent of US imperialism and within its limits. The new Jordanian role in the Gulf war is no exception. This role is part of the attempts to pave the way for Jordan to join the Camp David conspiracy. If Iraq wins the war Jordan will go ahead with its old project of the United Arab Kingdom supported by its partners in the new reactionary axis, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. If Iraq loses the war, Hussein will capitulate claiming that the eastern front has collapsed and he can no longer fight 'Israel'.

At the same time that Jordan is waving the flag of Arab nationalism and talking about liberating 'occupied land' in Iran, it prevents Palestinians from fighting the Zionist entity and obstructs all efforts aimed at liberating occupied Palestine.

The fact that Jordan, the traditional client of imperialism in the area, is involved in the Gulf war and fans its flames exposes the nature of the war that only serves imperialism and its agents in the area.

1. *Herald Tribune*, October 13, 1980

2. *Al Qubbas*, October 23, 1980.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

## EGYPT IMPERIALISM'S POLICEMAN



On November 13th, more than 50 US transport planes participated in airlifting 1,400 US soldiers to Cairo West Airfield in Egypt. The troops included light infantry accompanied by anti-tank weapons. They are backed by 12 A-7 tactical war planes, and supported by 600 other soldiers who assisted in various phases of the airlift and logistic support. The airlifted troops are going to stay in Egypt for two weeks for a joint military exercise with the Egyptian armed forces. This is the first overseas exercise of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF). The operations were labeled "Bright Star" and were watched by the commander-in-chief, General Paul Kettle. The airlift and the training are part of what is called "joint US-Egyptian military training and exchange of combat experience program", while in fact they are part of the imperialist military presence in the area.

This is the third time Egyptian and US forces have carried out joint exercises. In January of this year two US Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS), with a support crew of 250 Air Force personnel, were sent to Egypt to participate in a joint exercise. The exercises ranged from directing fighter-bombers to their targets to helping ships set up a blockade. They lasted for three weeks. US imperialism has been

*Battalion of the Jordanian Army*





allowed to use Qana air base regularly since January as an operation center for the long range AWACS radar. In early October 1980, a three month long US-Egyptian exercise ended. Cairo West Airfield served as a site for the exercise. A squadron of US F-4 fighter-bombers and Egyptian Phantoms and MIG 21's participated in it.

These continuous exercises are another step in the gradual build-up of US imperialism's military presence in the Middle East and the Arabian Gulf region. According to Nixon's doctrine, US imperialism relies on armed local agents to protect its interests. Following the signing of the 1975 disengagement agreement between Egypt and 'Israel' under the supervision of the US, the US committed itself to assist Egypt on both economic and military levels. Since that time Egypt and the US were moving towards higher levels of military and strategic cooperation that were in fact turning Egypt into imperialism's policeman in the area.

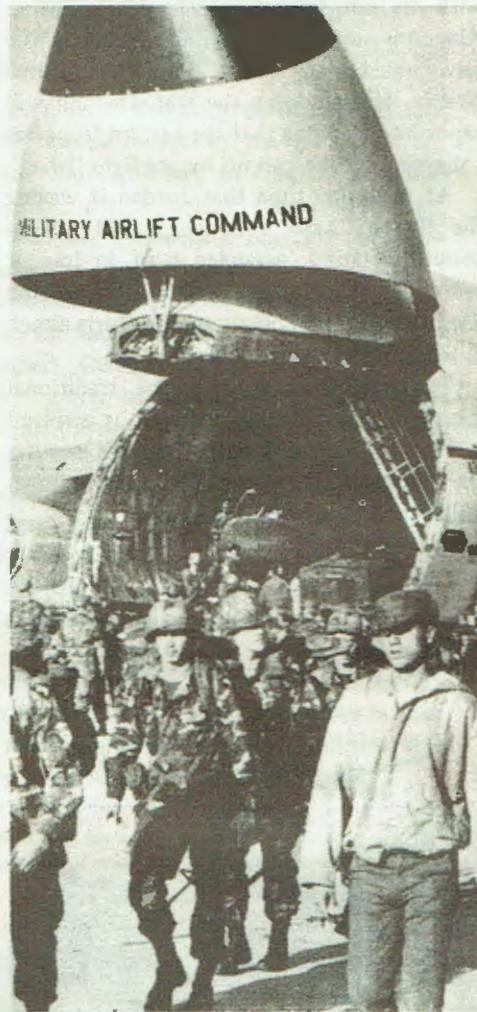
The new role of Egypt as a policeman was enhanced following Sadat's complete capitulation in Camp David and the overthrow of the Shah. After the fall of the Shah a senior US official said that "... to come up with a new strategy in the Middle East and the Gulf, it is clear that after Iran, we have to go back to the drawing boards to stay in the game in the region." It is in this context that the role of Egypt can be understood. One of the new "drawing boards" is the new arms deal intended to re-equip virtually the entire Egyptian army during the rest of this decade. This step would cost around \$10 billion. Also, the Egyptian army will be reorganized according to western standards.

As part of the Camp David deal, Egypt received \$1.5 billion in US military aid, including 35 F-4 Phantom jet fighters and improved Hawk anti-aircraft missiles. Early this year, the US agreed to supply Egypt with 40 F-16 jet fighters and 250 M-60A3 tanks as part of new credits expected to reach \$4 billion over five years. Egypt's military industries, which employ 16,000 workers, will be permitted to assemble up to 100 Northrop F-5 fighters, 30 to 40 Bell 214 helicopters and a whole range of auxiliary equipment.

On the other hand, Egypt has granted the US the right to use the military base at Ras Banas for its military purposes. Egypt also announced that the US can use its military facilities if the need arises in the future to protect its interests, and also declared its readiness to assist the reactionary Gulf states in defending themselves. The Egyptian

cooperation was tested during the US attempt to rescue the hostages in Iran. The US commandos used Egypt's military facilities during the operation.

Within less than one month of the signing of Camp David, Egypt prepared itself for the role of policeman in the area by changing the color of the army combat uniforms from khaki, worn in the desert, to green, worn in jungle or forest areas. The change indicates that Egypt no longer considers 'Israel' a threat; Africa is the future battlefield for the Egyptian army. In keeping with the 'policeman' role, the Egyptian army is being reorga-



*The RDF arrives in Egypt*

nized to form more quick strike capabilities and to have mobile air units capable of reaching as far south as Zaire, where Sadat sent his army in 1977 to assist the reactionary president Mobutu. At the present time Egyptian advisers and troops are stationed in Oman, Sudan and Morocco. Egypt is swiftly becoming a base for counter-revolution. Afghani and Iranian counter-revolutionaries are being trained there.

Besides assisting the reactionary regimes of Sudan, Morocco, and Oman, Sadat's

regime declared a state of emergency on the Libyan borders. This action is part of its task to strike at the opponents of the Camp David conspiracy. Sadat is doing his best to demonstrate his loyalty to US imperialism by opening Egypt for the imperialist presence and the RDF. He also is loyal to imperialism through assisting reactionaries in the Arab world and Africa. Despite this stance, US imperialism realizes that Sadat is an undesirable person in the Arab people's view and, more importantly, in the Egyptian masses view, due to his treacherous role in the Camp David conspiracy. The US administration has already concluded that Sadat cannot further the efforts to solve the Middle East problem and protect US imperialist presence in the area. In light of this assessment, the US administration is contemplating the possibility of replacing Sadat by a person who is less mistrusted by the Arab and Egyptian masses.

The State Department and the Pentagon, however, have different opinions on the question of Sadat's successor. The State Department is proposing a civilian candidate, namely Mostafa Khalil (Prime Minister) or Ismail Fahmi (former Foreign Minister). The Pentagon prefers a military leader who can exert his influence upon the army and its senior officers. The most favored is Kamal Hassan Ali (Foreign Minister), whose close ties with the US were strengthened during his long stay in the US in 1979 and 1980. There he received considerable sums of money after he had negotiated US arms supplies to Egypt. The second choice is Defense Minister, A. Badawi, who is respected by the US for his influence upon the senior army officers and who has not yet been compromised by negotiating with 'Israel'.

The US involvement in Egypt is growing as Egypt's role as policeman increases. The number of US citizens present in Egypt now is about 6,000 persons. The US presence is growing, but with no guarantee that it will continue in the future. A US official summed up the US administrations's fear of the unpredictable future by saying, "It is just like Iran, except (in Iran) the Iranians were paying for it."

There is no doubt that imperialism's presence in Egypt has no future. This is the course of history. It is the duty of the patriotic and progressive movement in Egypt to mobilize the Egyptian masses and lead them in overthrowing Sadat's treacherous regime, and put an end to imperialist presence in Egypt.

# COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

## IRAN

The United States regards the liquidation of the present regime in Iran as a task of the first importance. In order to realize this, the US has worked out a number of alternatives. One of the alternatives involves the utilization of monarchist sympathizers in Iran and of a strong group of Iranians who followed the shah to exile. Favourable conditions for this group's activities exist, especially in Egypt, where Sadat has enabled the exiled Iranians to pursue their activities to the full.

There are many former SAVAK officers in Cairo who were ordered by the shah, when he was still living in Panama, to prepare the operations which would result in gradual destabilization in Iran. One of those operations is based on sending subversion groups to Iran to assassinate the leading representatives of the Iranian revolutionary regime. The CIA has recommended that the Iranian terrorists who are to be sent to Iran should be trained in Egypt, in addition to the Afghan refugees whose training is already going on. The training of those groups is being organized by the Egyptian specialists in the desert camps near the towns of Tenth Ramadan and Belbeis, under the pretext of an "Egyptian contribution to the struggle of the Afghan rebels."

In order to conceal the existence of those groups, the trainees are divided into small groups in which the Iranians are also included. At first, the reasons for the presence of the Iranians is explained by claiming that they will act as "co-ordinators" of the Afghan operations to be launched from Iranian territory. Then the Afghans are told that their "Iranian colleagues" are opponents of the present regime in Iran. In the course of training the Afghans are subjected to thorough indoctrination by the SAVAK officers. The Afghans are being persuaded of the necessity to wage struggle against the present Iranian regime, whose existence is said to have opened the door to "the Russian invasion of Afghanistan." They are also being told that the regime has been infiltrated by the secret supporters of the TUDEH party, etc.

The plan of assassinations to be carried out by the subversion groups in Iran, the collection of information about the Iranian leaders and their whereabouts, and the creation of conditions for the assassinations are all ensured by the special group of SAVAK officers in Washington. This group, which works in co-ordination with the respective section at the CIA headquarters, has its field office in Cairo. The office co-ordinates its activities with Egypt's General Intelligence Department (muchabarat). Cooperation between "the SAVAK group" and Egypt's General Intelligence Department is based on the agreement signed by the then Minister of Defence Kamal Hassan Ali in Washington in mid April 1980. It was Sadat who ordered Hassan Ali to sign the agreement immediately after his (Sadat's) talks with the CIA director during his April visit to Washington.

The special training of the Afghan and Iranian terrorists is organized by the Egyptian army general staff in the Egyptian army training centres. When the training is over, it is to be evaluated by the SAVAK officers who are to appreciate especially "political loyalty" of the Afghan terrorists, in view of their participation in the operations against the "Iranian targets."

After the training the groups of terrorists are to be transported to Pakistan. Then they will be sent to the area bordering on Iran and Afghanistan in order to go across the frontier to Iran. Transport of the terrorists to Pakistan and Iran is being organized by Egypt's General Intelligence Department liaison officer in Pakistan, who co-ordinates its activities with the chief of the so-called "Afghan branch" of the CIA station in Pakistan. The Afghan refugee camps in Iran are to become key positions for the groups of terrorists.

## THE GULF

The US has great interest in prolonging the military conflict between Iran and Iraq. For this reason the US has publicly declared its neutrality and refusal to support either of the countries militarily, as the adminis-

tration is striving to prevent either from gaining the upper hand in the conflict. However, if the prolongation of the conflict would destabilize the situation in Iran, the aid to Iraq would be intensified, namely through the US allies or conservative Arab regimes.

The US actions in the Iranian-Iraqi conflict are closely coordinated with China, which — within a framework of mutual consultation — provides the United States with detailed and important information. Contrary to the US, China maintains diplomatic relations with both Iran and Iraq. Therefore, China has the chance to influence governmental circles of the two countries in line with the US interests and needs.

The substantial economic and military weakening of both countries is regarded as imperialism's main objective in the conflict between Iran and Iraq. That is why some of the US military circles try hard to encourage both the struggling countries to transfer "the centre of gravity" from the frontier region to "vitaly important" economic and industrial facilities. The destruction of these facilities would create a favorable climate for US and Western military intervention on the one hand, and it would also create the opportunity for US economic penetration on the other hand.

The prolongation of the conflict and the destruction of oil facilities and equipment (mainly in the case of Iran) would substantially reduce the role of the two countries in OPEC. Such a development would also be a favorable occasion for Saudi Arabia to strengthen its position in OPEC, to the detriment of other member states, particularly the radical regimes.

At present, the US and its Western allies are making plans to guarantee the solid and permanent dependence of Iraq (and later Iran) on Western economic, military and political assistance. These plans include concrete offers related to the reconstruction of damaged oil tanks, refineries and other oil installations, the compensation of destroyed military equipment, food aid, technical assistance, and so on. On the ideological level, the US International Communication



Agency has begun to consider schemes for launching publicity campaigns which would improve the US image in the Iraqi and Iranian public and weaken the anti-US attitudes.

The American administration is anxiously awaiting future internal political changes in Iran. It analyses the means of influencing the internal situation in Iran so that the pro-US tendencies might be encouraged. The US does not exclude the active use of the Iranian ex-prime minister Bakhtiar who should ensure the final settlement of relations with Iraq. In this connection the exploitation of the Kurdish problem will be considered as a potential means of pressure on Iraq and Iran.

On September 29, 1980, the US National Security Council adopted the following decisions:

(a) The deployment of US Air Force airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft in Saudi Arabia (which can be seen as the first step towards the deployment of more US armed forces in other Gulf nations).

(b) US specialized governmental bodies will take prompt action in order to organize campaigns which should raise fears and uneasiness among the Arab countries-neighbours of Iraq and Iran. The above-

mentioned campaigns must remind the nations' rulers of the menace which "the adventurous regimes of Iraq and Iran" represent. The Arab rulers must be concerned about the stability of their regimes "which are threatened by the Soviet danger". Carter ordered a secret review of all the possible forms of action which could bring about the consent of the Arab rulers for US troops' deployment on their territories. Such forms of action can include "harmless raids" on oil refineries or pipelines in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait; "erroneous information" provided by the AWACS; "counterfeit alarms"; mock raids on the US ships and oil tankers, and so on.

(c) The US military command must make full use of the AWACS in order to gather information on the territory of Arab countries, but mainly on Iraq and Iran. (Such information must be thoroughly analysed with a view to the prospect of the freeing of 52 American hostages in Iran). The information provided by the AWACS must be kept for US armed forces' exclusive benefit. Only to a small extent and in extraordinary cases would the AWACS information also be available to the host country.

(d) Consultation about US special action and misinformation campaigns will not be carried out with the Western allies.

(e) The US military command is to start storing nuclear tactical weaponry at the military bases in the Middle East, Italy and Greece. The US Air Force Command will consider the possibility of the conversion of the AWACS aircraft into nuclear-tactical-weaponry carriers, which would be used without the knowledge of the host country.

In connection with the above-mentioned schemes, the importance of the decision to modernize the ammunition for 203 mm howitzers was stressed. The US is considering the eventuality of making use of the tactical atomic warhead in any possible military operation carried out in the Arabian oil fields (under the condition that during such an action the oil installations remain undamaged). The US troops are to be armed with chemical (nerve-paralyzing) warfare agents for the eventuality of the rapid occupation of oil fields in the Gulf.

(f) The idea of the Egyptian armed forces' participation in military operations in the Gulf will be analysed in coordination with the Egyptian military command.

All of the above points illustrate how far imperialism is willing to go in order to guarantee its hegemony over capitalism's most vital resource: oil.

## IRAQI EMBASSIES: HEADQUARTERS FOR SUBVERSION

Iraq wants to establish an autonomous federation for the Kurds. This is Saddam Hussein's maneuver to win the Kurds over.

The Kurds are to build their own armed forces that would, however, be controlled and financed from Baghdad. Then these troops would penetrate into Iran, Turkey and Syria to join the Kurds there. It would, of course, not be known that these troops are in fact controlled by Baghdad.

The objective of the 'Kurdish insurrections' in these countries is to establish federations with the Kurdish autonomous regions there. These regions would then join with Iraq's 'autonomous' Kurds to establish the Kurdish Republic, within the framework of the Iraqi Federation.

This is tantamount to a long-term plan of

annexation by Iraq of these parts of neighbouring countries under the pretext of self-determination for the Kurds, who are to become a part of Iraq "voluntarily."

Saddam Hussein is afraid that Khomeini will reach an accord with the Kurds before Baghdad is able to implement its plans. Therefore, Iraq's initial actions are directed against Iran and Khomeini.

Iraq's plans are known to the CIA, which is supporting them secretly.

The following is a photocopy of a document prepared by the coordination department of Iraq's intelligence service in the autumn of 1979. This is a special intelligence department that is answerable only to Saddam Hussein and is part of the Iraq Foreign Ministry.



The following is a translation of the above text.

From:  
The Iraqi Foreign Ministry  
Special Office

Coordination Department

September 11, 1979

**SECRET  
URGENT**

To:  
Iraqi Embassy in ( )  
Coordination Department  
Subject: IRANIAN KURDS  
To be implemented:

1. You are instructed to agitate the Kurds who are present in your area to send telegrams and petitions to Arab and Foreign Heads of State, to Arab mass organizations and to local and international organizations clarifying the oppressive practices of the Khomeini regime against the Iranian Kurds.
2. The Iranian Kurds are the only ones to implement these tasks. The task of your department is limited to persuading and aiding them (Iranian Kurds). We warn against any association with Iraqi Kurds in this field.
3. Coordination (of activities) should take place with party organizations, diplomatic missions and student unions. Telegrams should be sent in the name of the Kurds (according to point number one).
4. External party organizations will be assigned to do solidarity activities within demonstrations and protest rallies.
5. Your department is instructed to carry out propaganda in your area and to launch a broad propaganda campaign concerning the oppressive measures taken by the Iranian government against the Iranian Kurds.
6. You are to work on sending telegrams and letters written by Iranian Kurds concerning this matter to Heads of State and other organizations.
7. We demand that all efforts during this period be placed on making a huge propaganda campaign on the international level — assuming political and humanitarian form concerning the oppression of the Iranian Kurds by the Khomeini regime.

## INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR PALESTINE

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations passed a resolution for the partition of Palestine. Thirty-one years later, on November 29, 1978, in an act of support for the Palestinian people, the UN adopted a new resolution, declaring November 29th the International Day of Solidarity with the Just Struggle of the Palestinian People. Thus this day marks not only the attacks against the Palestinians in 1947, but also the increase in support for the just struggle the Palestinians have been waging since then. What is in effect the cancellation of the imperialist-inspired 1947 resolution also reflects the setbacks imperialism has faced since that time. This can be seen in the countries now constituting the UN, many of whom have achieved independence from colonialist and neo-colonialist rule in the past thirty years.

Through steadfast struggle, the Palestinian people have succeeded in expanding world awareness of the just Palestinian struggle to liberate their homeland. The true nature of the Zionist entity is now recognized by the majority of countries who are members of the UN. The resolution determining "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination" was passed in 1975, thus defining legally what has existed in reality since the beginning of the Zionist occupation. The racist nature of Zionism cannot be separated from Zionism as an ideology, from the Zionist state or from the

racist structure of world imperialism. This was noted in the resolution: "The racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regime... in South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being originally linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being."

In 1947 the Palestinians faced three main enemies: imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. The UN resolution on partition (which allocated over one-half of Palestine to the Zionist colonialists) was just one link in the chain of conspiracies that led to the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland, and the establishment of the Zionist entity. Today the Palestinian masses are confronting these same three enemies. However, there has been a great change in their ability to resist. While the attacks of imperialism, Zionism and reaction have increased, so has the steadfastness and determination of the Palestinian people. Great steps have been taken since 1947: among them are the emergence of the PLO, the application of Marxist-Leninist analysis by the left in the Resistance, and the mobilization of the masses both politically and militarily. With these gains have also come an increase in international support, particularly from the socialist countries. The vanguard role of the Arab masses and working class in the struggle has been strengthened by the heightening of world solidarity.

November 29th, as the International Day of Solidarity with Palestine, is a time when national liberation movements, the socialist countries and progressive and democratic forces throughout the world show their support for the Palestinian struggle. This solidarity is more than just a commemoration of our cause—it is a demonstration of the unity between our revolution and struggles elsewhere. The growing support of the Palestinian Resistance, as seen in the many events held around the world on November 29th, is in recognition of not only the justness of the Palestinian cause, but also the dialectical relationship between all revolutionary and progressive forces in their shared struggle against imperialist and reactionary oppression and exploitation. It is in this spirit of proletarian internationalism that we celebrate the Day of Solidarity with Palestine.

*Pro-Palestinian demonstration in the US*





# SOLIDARITY WITH THE MASSES OF THE GULF

The massive build-up of US military presence in the Gulf region is steadily growing, especially since the outbreak of the Iraqi-Iranian war. The Rapid Deployment Force created earlier this year will soon reach 110,000 army infantry, 50,000 navy infantry, and a squadron of fighter planes to go along with two aircraft carriers. The dispatch of added warships, aircraft carriers and guard ships to the Gulf is reminiscent of the old strategy, 'gunboat diplomacy'. This strategy is designed to intimidate the people of the area who oppose imperialist domination by blocking off important ports or cruising strategic waterways and coastlines, such as the Hormuz Strait.

The US plans for intervention in the Gulf area are both direct and indirect. The capitulation of Sadat into the enemy camp paved the way for military cooperation between Egypt and the US. The indirect US policy of 'defending' the region on the request of certain countries located there is now being replaced by more direct tactics, including outright military build-up. This direct intervention to 'safeguard' US oil interests is coupled with belligerent statements by the US administration. These statements even suggest the possibility of imperialism using nuclear military force against the Gulf area in the future. This danger is increased by the US policy of maintaining 'Israel' through imperialist domination of the entire region.

In response to imperialism's insistence on destroying the self-determination of the Arab people and its attacks against liberation movements in the Gulf region, an important conference was recently held.

Under the title of "International Conference in Solidarity with the National Liberation Movement and Masses of the Gulf Region Against Imperialism," 148 delegates representing 63 states and organizations gathered in Nicosia, Cyprus, from October 28-30 to express their solidarity with the struggle of the people in the Gulf against imperialism. The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) initiated the idea of the conference that was co-sponsored by the AAPSO, the International Secretariat for Solidarity with the Arab People and their Central Cause - Palestine, and the Permanent Secretariat of the Arab Peoples' Conference. All patriotic parties in the Arab World were invited with the exception of the Iraqi Baath Party.



*Omani freedom fighters*

The importance of the conference was illustrated by the messages that were received. The most important ones were those of comrades Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union and Ali Nasser Mohammad of Democratic Yemen. In his message, comrade Brezhnev strongly condemned "the imperialist policy of threats and military blackmail", and expressed the support of the Soviet Union for "the consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of all states, including the states of the Gulf area, for free national and social development of their peoples." He also clarified the clear-cut and principled position of the Soviet Union towards the Gulf. The Soviet Union considers the Gulf "a sphere of the vital interests of the states and the peoples of the region, and no one has the right to interfere in their affairs."

In his message to the conference, comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad of Democratic Yemen strongly condemned the presence of imperialist bases in the Gulf area and called for their "prompt dismantling." He added that "the struggle of the people of the Gulf area against imperialism runs in the course of the international struggle for peace."

The studies and research submitted to the conference were also significant. Twenty-one research papers and studies were presented, covering the subjects of imperialism's aggressive policies in the Gulf, the violation of human rights by the reactionary regimes in

the area and the socio-economic conditions in the area.

The active role of the national liberation movement in the Gulf was apparent through the conference. Several research papers and studies analyzing the conditions of the area and outlining the tasks of the national liberation movement in the area were presented by representatives of the movement. Two examples of these papers are "The Economic Problem in Saudi Arabia" presented by the Saudi Communist Party, and "A Study on American Presence in the Arabian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula" by the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO).

In the final resolutions of the conference, the participants took a clear stand against the Iraq-Iran war that has played directly into the hands of US imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, thus creating favorable conditions for increased US imperialist exploitation, aggressiveness and complete domination of the area.

A program of action for extending solidarity to the struggle in the Gulf was elaborated. It includes establishment of national solidarity committees, publication of documents, and support in exposing US imperialist moves throughout the world.

Resolutions passed by the conference stressed the importance of exposing imperialist designs on Palestine, and the dangers of imperialist plans to strike at the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement. The central cause of the Palestinian struggle was present throughout the conference's papers, speeches and discussions. Palestine was represented by a high ranking PLO delegation.

This meeting of revolutionary and democratic forces, especially those in the socialist community and in particular, the Soviet Union, points to the necessity of a unified struggle against the aggressiveness of imperialism, Zionism, racism, colonialism and reaction in the Middle East. The increased world consciousness about war preparations by imperialism is an important step in supporting revolutionary movements within the Gulf region. The conference call for mutual support on the political, informational, and economic levels with all progressive forces of liberation will contribute to the ability to confront US imperialism in all areas of the world, but especially in the Gulf.



This year the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen celebrated the 17th anniversary of its October 14th revolution, which marks the victory of the Yemeni masses over reaction, feudalism and colonialism. This celebration was coupled with another historical event – the convening of the Extraordinary General Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party on October 12th through 14th.

Since achieving victory, the Yemeni masses – led by their vanguard party – have continued to struggle to achieve their ultimate goal: the creation of a socialist society free from exploitation. It is in this context that the Extraordinary General Congress was held. This congress marks a step forward in consolidating the gains achieved by the Yemeni masses and their

## YEMENI SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS

vanguard, the Yemeni Socialist Party. It also reflects the clear principled stands taken for achieving progress, unity and socialism.

The political, organizational and mass preparation for the congress was illustrated by the recommendations and resolutions taken by the congress. The amount of preparation also reveals the intellectual, organi-

zational and political unity within the party.

During the congress all the political, party and economic activities which have taken place in PDRY for the past two years were evaluated. This detailed evaluation laid the framework for outlining the tasks for the present and coming stage. Special emphasis was given to the economic situation in PDRY. The economic difficulties facing the country were outlined and the means for eliminating them were formulated. The first five year plan was evaluated, concerning its positive and negative effects. As a result of this evaluation several amendments were proposed on the second five year plan, which will cover 1980-85.

These amendments are designed to develop the national economy and create practical, realistic and guaranteed solutions

Sector	1980		1985		Rate of Growth	Per Capita income in dinars	GNP			
	Amount in Million dinars	% of GNP	Amount in Million dinars	% of GNP			Private Sector	Public Sector		
Industry	59.5	22.0	107.4	24.0	12.6	1973 35.5	61.3%	25.0%		
Fishing	19.0	7.0	32.0	7.0	11.0	1978 44.0	30.4%	52.0%		
Agriculture	31.0	11.0	47.2	11.0	8.8	<b>Increase of Industrial Production 1974 – 1978</b>				
Construction	43.1	16.0	73.9	16.0	11.4				Fishing	167%
Transportation	62.8	23.0	96.6	22.0	9.1				Agriculture	30%
Trade & Services	58.0	21.0	91.7	20.0	9.6				Construction	318%



for the problems facing the Yemeni masses. Three main tasks were outlined concerning this plan.

1. to increase the Gross National Product (GNP)
2. to increase productivity
3. to improve the masses' standard of living

The following tables illustrate the economic progress achieved by the Yemeni masses in their struggle to develop a socialist society. Also given in the table is the expected (approximate) progress to be achieved when the second five year plan is completed in 1985.

The congress also analyzed and defined its positions concerning the most significant developments on the Arab and international levels. This included continuing the struggle to achieve Yemeni unity through all possible peaceful and democratic means, as well as developing relations with the countries in the region on the basis of peaceful co-existence and coordination, in order to confront the danger posed by the increased number of imperialist military bases in the area.

The congress also cited the need to implement the resolutions taken by the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front during its Summit in April 1980, and to strengthen the relations binding the Yemeni Socialist Party with the members of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and all the Arab progressive forces, in order to confront imperialism's plan for the region. The congress reaffirmed its solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution against the schemes of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, especially Camp David.

The congress, through a democratic process, elected a new Central Committee. The Central Committee in turn elected a five member Politbureau and Ali Nasser Mohammad as the General Secretary of the Party. The new Central Committee was entrusted with implementing the resolutions taken by the congress.

The convening of this congress and its positive results reflects the firm political and ideological positions taken by the Yemeni masses, under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party. This congress is not only important for the Yemeni people and their party, but it is also important to the Arab masses in their struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The struggle of the Yemeni people and their determination to overcome all obstacles has proven that imperialism can be defeated.

## CUBA

# EVER ONWARDS TOWARDS VICTORY



The revolutionary process of national liberation and the construction of socialism in Cuba began with militant armed struggle on the part of the Cuban masses. The insurrection against imperialist domination of Cuba's resources, economic activity and social life was triumphant due to the constant and enduring armed struggle and direct confrontation with imperialist aggression, originating only ninety miles from Cuban shores. Because of the Cuban people's tenacity and desire for self-determination, Cuba became the first socialist society in the western hemisphere. After twenty-one years of vigilance against attacks by the US, Cuba has succeeded in consolidating the revolutionary process.

The new stages of development towards socialism which opened up shortly after the march into Havana in 1959 culminated in the formation of the Cuban Communist Party. In December, the party will hold its second party congress. This congress marks the deepening of the vanguard role of the party in the advancement of the socialist state.

Today the Cuban people are still struggling against imperialist aggression that has changed character from direct military intervention such as occurred in the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 to the current strategy of US imperialism: the economic blockade. Mass organizations have been formed in Cuba on a neighborhood level for the defense of the revolution. In more recent years these committees have decreased emphasis on the patrol and vigilance activities once carried out during earlier years of armed struggle when both counter-revolutionaries and US troops were present to attack the revolution. The committees have

organized the people for quick mobilization and for such activities as neighborhood clean-up brigades and voluntary work brigades. The committees for the defense of the revolution (called CDR's) act as the nucleus of political organization on the local level where delegates and representatives for various social, political and cultural events are elected. Since the triumph of the revolution, the CDR's and other mass organizations have developed extensively so that in this stage of the revolution all Cubans belong to at least one mass organization, whether a union, the Federation of Cuban Women, the pioneers (the Cuban youth organization), the Communist Youth organization or any number of other organizations. These mass organizations have not only politicized the Cuban masses by providing mass participation and political education, they also are the basis for building the socialist state administratively, strengthening the link between the masses and the Communist Party.

### The US Imperialist Blockade: Economic Progress Despite Aggression

The revolutionary government in 1959 began to implement a number of reforms in compliance with revolutionary goals: agrarian reform, housing and rent reforms, electric rate changes, etc. However, these reforms were minor compared to the larger task of reconstruction of the entire Cuban economy, the prerequisite for building the socialist state. The US took immediate action against the far reaching changes that were carried out in revolutionary Cuba as these broke the US monopoly over its markets and trade. The most devastating of US actions was the initiation of the total trade embargo which included all supplies

and products, including food and medicine. The United Nations stipulates that food and medicine cannot be cut off by any member country when economic boycotts are initiated. The blockade against Cuba has caused severe shortages and inconvenience for the Cuban people for nearly twenty years. Yet the Cubans have persisted and have proven to imperialism that economic aggression will continue to fail just as the military aggressions of the past have failed.

The Cubans have adapted to long lines and frequent shortages caused by the blockade. But the fraternal assistance from other socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, has eased the burden of scarce commodities for them. The cooperation and assistance given by the socialist countries have allowed the Cubans to progress in developing Cuban owned factories, mills and mines, thus encouraging the growth of the economy. It was difficult to undo the stranglehold of the US economy since Cuba was highly dependent on US spare parts,

machinery, consumer goods and technology, as well as the closest and most prolific market for sugar before the revolution. Even today the Cubans must take into account the extra time and expense involved in importing medical equipment, spare parts, foodstuffs and heavy machinery from across the ocean from friendly nations. However, today it is not unusual to see American made cars imported before the revolution with Soviet engines and spare parts inside, or food preparation equipment such as cooking vats and mixers that are a potpourri of former American made products and new ones from the GDR or the Bulgarian People's Republic. The fact is that the blockade against Cuba has been ineffective in trying to collapse the Cuban economy but it has put a great burden upon the Cuban people.

The blockade forced Cuba to trade with countries outside of the western hemisphere since the Organization of American States, under the coercion of the United States,

voted as a block to participate in US imperialism's scheme to bring down the revolution. The two countries that did not participate were Mexico and Canada. Today, however, Cuba has established trade with nearly 80 different countries in the world, thus expanding outside of the realm of trade dominated by US imperialism and truly achieving economic and social independence through persistent struggle.

#### Progress and Political Development

At the beginning of the revolution the political arena in Cuba was characterized by a grouping of revolutionary organizations including the July 26th Movement, the Popular Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro and others, these groups were consolidated into a Marxist-Leninist party that had two basic objectives: 1) to prepare the popular forces and the proletariat for establishing state power in their hands and 2) progressing toward the construction of

*"This flag, this land - we will defend it whatever the cost"*





socialism and communism in Cuba. The leaders of the transformation of Cuba were determined to maintain and strengthen the links with the masses. They therefore subordinated the bureaucratic apparatus of the state to the legitimate organization of the power of the masses. The mass organizations that were organized early in the revolution contributed to the process of party transformation since the population was organized and mobilized at the local, provincial and national levels.

In addition to the mass organizations already mentioned, a new and uniquely Cuban mass organization for political power was organized before the first party congress in 1975.

The "organos de poder popular" or popular power groups began to function in Matanzas province in 1974. Since that time these groups have provided the forum for electing representatives in the various institutions of state power throughout the nation, according to the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. These groups function at a local level, providing the masses with the power to elect represen-

tatives and remove them when they do not fulfill their duties. They also provide the masses with administrative experience and the power to elect and participate in reviewing the judges in the people's courts in the local area.

At the national level, the National Assembly of People's Power serves to organize legislative, judicial and constitutional powers. The Communist party and the Communist youth organization (Juventud Comunista) are indispensable for ensuring proletarian democracy and the Cuban Communist Party, the vanguard party of the revolution, has continued to expand and broaden its membership in order to express the voice of the working masses.

Thus the transformation of Cuban politics from the primary stages of the revolution to the consolidation of the socialist state in the hands of the Communist Party has progressed rapidly, despite seemingly insurmountable attacks by US imperialism.

#### The Second Party Congress

In 1975 over 3,000 delegates from across Cuba attended the first party congress, as

well as 87 foreign delegates from several communist parties and national liberation movements. The first five year projections and plans were made at that time.

This year around 400,000 party members and candidates for membership have been preparing for the second party congress in all of the provinces in Cuba. This year's congress will review the achievements in the areas of economic progress of state enterprises, labor and social programs, health programs, education, science, culture, and ideological development of Marxism-Leninism among the people. One of the priorities for this congress includes formulating plans for a steady improvement in the standard of living for all Cubans. More consumer goods, appliances, cars, furniture and other goods will be produced or imported in greater quantity: improved transportation services are planned and a drive to become more efficient and productive will be stressed. Another topic of discussion will be the housing problem. Construction of new housing in Cuba is impressive, but due to a lack of construction materials caused by the blockade, housing remains a problem. Plans to increase the

## CUBANS IN THE US

The recent Cuban arrivals to the US who abandoned their socialist society were surprised to find the high costs of food, clothing, shelter and medical care in the heart of US imperialism. Many had visions of streets paved with gold that their traitor relatives relayed to their families during visits designed to reunite families inside Cuba during 1979. The recent wave of hijackings back to Cuba is a result of many frustrations and disillusionments caused by the mass media that shows life in the imperialist capital of the world, the United States, as easy, free of exploitation, full of riches and justice. The Cuban anti-social elements soon discovered the lies about life in the US, and now they want to go back to the freedom they abandoned when they boarded the boats in Mariel harbor.

In their newly adopted country they discovered that under capitalism in the stage of imperialism, workers are pitted against each other and the worst, lowest paying jobs are left for the Blacks, Cubans, Haitians and other minorities to fight over. They observed first hand the results of deeply ingrained racism, backed and reinforced

through imperialism, that exploded in Miami, Orlando and other cities where Cuban immigrants were relocated. They experienced the detention centers labeled "relocation centers" in military camps, surrounded by barbed wire and regulated by armed national guards in places such as Fort Chaffee, Arkansas and Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania. They observed a pregnant woman beaten by guardsmen, and interrogations of entire families by police and intelligence agents. If they were lucky enough to find a job during this time of high unemployment in the US, they experienced the worst safety and health conditions and the lowest pay of any worker in the factory or firm.

In one city, a group of approximately ten Cuban women were required by their employer, a restaurant and bar owner, to engage in prostitution if they wanted to keep their jobs as waitresses. They experienced this degrading slavery under the threat of unemployment, which would lead directly to lack of food and shelter. Those who could not afford an apartment lived in tent cities built under highway bridges in Miami and other South Florida cities. Eventually, even this minimal shelter was taken away as US citizens complained about the

Cubans and their living conditions.

It is no wonder that the disillusioned Cubans want to return to their socialist homeland where these discriminatory and racist events do not take place. Many are even willing to suffer the penalty of a jail sentence for hijacking aircraft back to Cuba rather than suffer the experience of imperialist oppression of workers who toil under this system, devoid of class consciousness.

Perhaps the worst part of this immigration of anti-social elements is the fact that several thousand unsuspecting children were brought along. However, the imperialist education system is having a difficult time capturing the minds of the young Cubans, who have participated in one of the best educational atmospheres in the world. One elementary school teacher teaching a lesson on north American history asked a group of Cubans about the colonialist expansion into the western states. One student quickly answered in the style of classroom militants in Cuban schools, "Oh yes, those are the lands that you *stole* from the Indians." This correct answer was not what the teacher expected. Obviously, the political education these students received in Cuba will greatly effect their future in the heart of US imperialism.

number of housing units will be discussed.

This year has been designated the year of the Second Congress and preparations at provincial assemblies have been taking place for several months. This congress marks another giant step forward for the Cuban people, an accomplishment in which they take great pride.

#### Proletarian Internationalism.

Despite the constant battle against imperialist aggression, often both economic and political, the Cubans have supported and assisted the oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle for national liberation. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism that the Soviet Union has shown Cuba, the Cubans have unceasingly recognized the united international struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This stand is firm despite the severe economic conditions faced by the Cubans themselves. Several thousand teachers from Cuba recently volunteered to participate in the Nicaraguan literacy campaign on a moment's notice. Doctors and nurses have volunteered for service in the African countries fighting for liberation. This model of proletarian internationalism is best exemplified by one of the most admired and respected revolutionaries, Ernesto Che Guevara, hero of the Cuban Revolution.

In reviewing the progress of consolidating the revolutionary process in Cuba, the importance of armed struggle, steadfastness in the face of imperialist aggression and the practice of proletarian internationalism are all important aspects of revolutionary development. The strength of the Cubans to stand up to the attacks designed to destroy the Cuban Revolution is a model for people everywhere struggling against the forces of destruction. They have shown the world that the future of peace and progress lies in the united struggle against imperialism and the steady construction of socialism and communism.

The PFLP holds the Cuban people's struggle in high esteem. The steadfastness of the Palestinian masses against the US imperialist conspiracy of Camp David can be matched by the heroic steadfastness of the Cuban people against the same enemy. We salute the Cubans on the occasion of the Second Party Congress and commend their constant solidarity with and support of the Palestinian people in their struggle against Zionism, Arab reaction and US imperialism.



#### CUBA

*My friends in the fertile sugar fields  
My friends in the oil refineries  
in proud Cuba*

*From my village, my precious home  
I send you greetings:  
Scented kisses—delicious boxes  
of sweets  
I have for you bouquets of flowers  
And songs of magic—the chirping  
of the birds  
I wish I had wings—like an eagle  
To carry these gifts.*

*The people of my village tell of many  
stories  
About you,  
They tell them proudly—with  
glowing eyes  
With hearts beaming with joy and  
jealousy  
On the golden hills they gather,  
at high noon,  
Under the trees, in the pastures,  
in the humble lanes  
Their conversation is a medley of fire  
and May, a moving song.  
The people in my land love the  
truly heroic.  
My friends who have filled the world  
with the fragrance of struggle  
Keep up the pressure on the imperialists  
They have cut my wings.  
Within me lies the vengeance of  
a wounded people  
Thrown into the streets  
A people yearning for their usurped  
lands  
Press on—the wings of the eagle  
are stronger  
Than the hurricanes,  
The imperialists do not understand  
The language of humility and tears  
They only understand the people surge  
To the arena of struggle. Tawfiq Zayyad*



## SOUTH AFRICA: PROFITING FROM APARTHEID

South Africa fell under colonial domination in the 17th century. This domination culminated in the creation of the white supremacist regime which is controlling South Africa today. For the past three centuries South Africa has been plundered of its manpower and natural resources. Just as it was important to earlier mercantile and capitalist forces for strategic and economic reasons, so today South Africa is also important to capitalism in its most advanced stage — imperialism. Crucial oil shipments to the West are protected by South Africa, as it is located on the main shipping route connecting the Gulf with the South Atlantic.

South Africa is also ideally located for monitoring all air and sea traffic from Latin America to the Bay of Bengal. In the 1970's the South African regime, in collusion with NATO intelligence, built a huge computer monitoring base known as Project Advocate, in the mountains near Cape Town, for this purpose. Although South Africa is not a

member of NATO, close cooperation between the two exists. It was through this cooperation that the regime was able to develop its nuclear potential as well as its military machine.

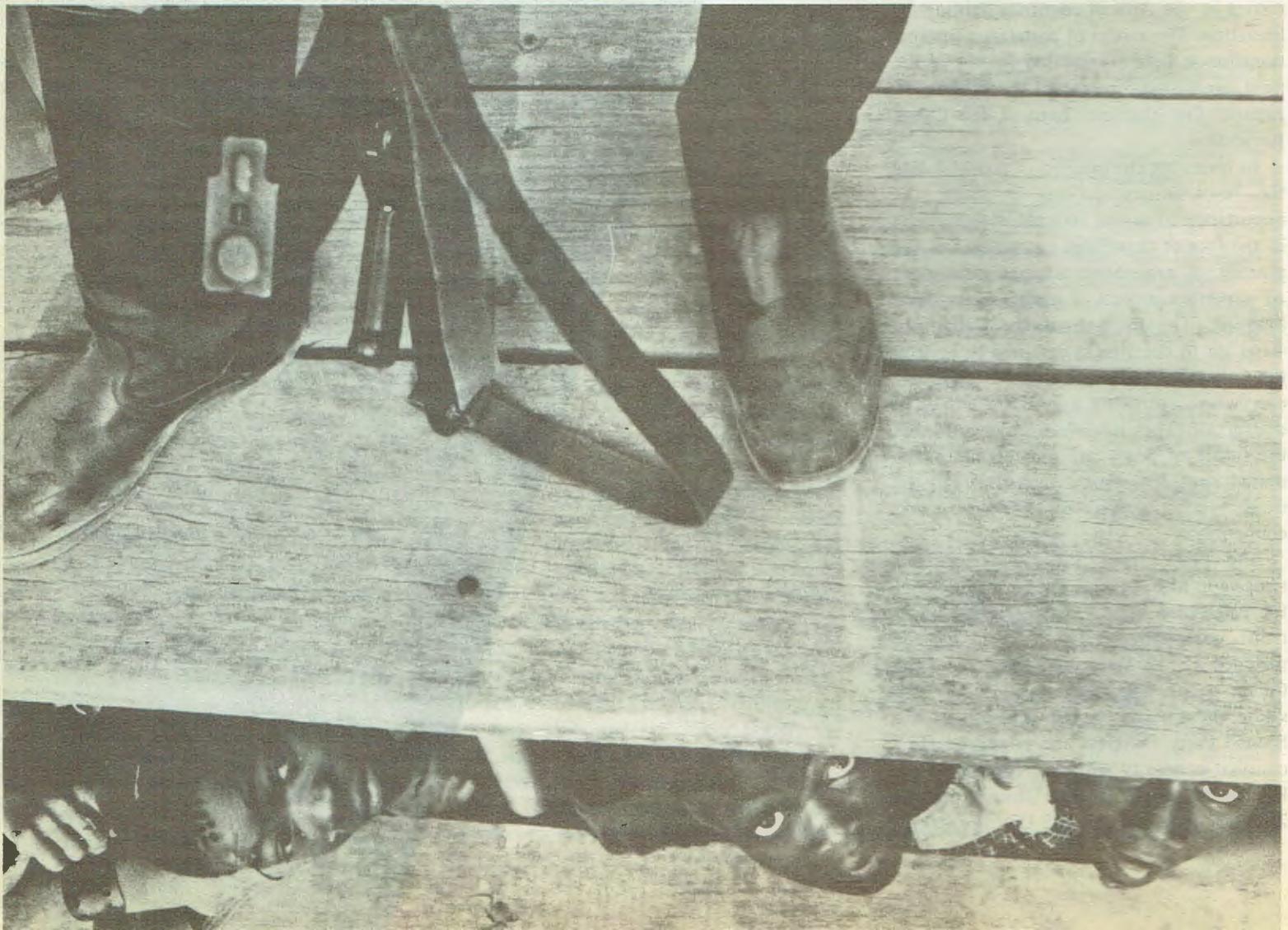
The regime's ties with the reactionary regimes in Latin America and Taiwan have increased through trade of consumer goods and arms. There have also been proposals for creating a South Atlantic alliance composed of South Africa and the military dictatorships of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, similar to NATO in West Europe. This alliance would be informally linked to NATO without formally linking the Western powers to South Africa.

The South African regime is also used as a regional police force. In 1976, under US guidance, South African troops were sent to fight in Angola but were forced to withdraw as a result of heavy casualties inflicted by the MPLA. The regime has also launched attacks into Zambia and Namibia to crush

the liberation forces that are threatening imperialist and racist hegemony in the area.

Economically, South Africa is a paradise for capitalist investment due to the large amount of cheap labour and natural resources, such as gold, diamonds, coal and other minerals. Investment by multi-national corporations and banks such as Ford Motor Company, Mobil Oil, Goodyear, Union Carbide, Chase Manhattan Bank and Citibank have contributed to making South Africa the most industrially advanced country in Africa.

It is important to note that South Africa, as a colonial settlement, was dependent on the West for capital investment. In the past two years this has changed due to the jump in gold prices. In 1978, it produced approximately 60% of the capitalist world's gold and with the current gold price well above \$550 per ounce the regime faces few economic worries.



However, the regime is not free from problems. The regime can no longer effectively repress the country's 22 million blacks. Unrest by the black population is daily mounting, thousands of black militants are filling the prisons, the sub-human wages given to black workers are no longer acceptable (for example, black workers in the gold mines are paid less than a \$1 per hour), strikes and demonstrations by students and workers are becoming an everyday occurrence.

The formation of progressive governments in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, as well as the '76 Soweto uprising and the Cape Town uprising of 1980 illustrates that the apartheid regime's days are numbered. Internationally the regime has been ostracized for its policies, especially after it gunned down hundreds of unarmed black students in the Soweto uprising. The UN has announced economic and military boycotts and blockades against South Africa. However, these measures have little effect, for the following reasons. One, the regime has striven to become economically self-sufficient. Two, it has also strengthened its relations with other reactionary regimes such as Brazil, and the Zionist colonial settler state of 'Israel', and openly trades with them. Last, but most importantly, the capitalist countries have vested interests in perpetuating a strong South Africa, so have not genuinely implemented a boycott.

To remain in control, the regime is continuously increasing the level of oppres-

sion, coupled with suggested cosmetic reforms, in hopes of projecting a new image internally and internationally. These reforms include the revival of a previous proposal for creating a 'federal solution' whereby the Bantustans are incorporated into a federal structure, giving some appearance of democracy, but leaving all political and economic power in white hands. Other suggested reforms include allowing blacks to live and buy homes in urban areas, the formation of limited African unions, and abolishing some aspects of the infamous pass law.

These reforms mean nothing, as the structure of the society remains the same: legalized racism and a division of labour wherein the black population is perceived solely as a source of cheap labour. The settler regime cannot afford to abandon its racist structure, as its entire economy is based on the exploitation of black African labour and natural resources.

The oppressed South African masses are aware of the regime's maneuvers and the effect that they will have on their struggle. The regime has banned every organization promoting black interests, such as the African National Congress, Pan-African Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement, etc. However, this has not stopped the work of the progressive forces. Daily new organizations are being founded to take up where those banned left off. Armed actions against the regime are assuming new dimensions. For example, on June 1, 1980, South African militants planted explosives in the

SASOL complex in Johannesburg a supposedly security tight billion dollar oil-from-coal conversion plant.

The masses have found that unity is an effective weapon against the regime and its policies. Although the regime has tried to pit black against coloured, coloured against Indian and vice versa, as a means of destroying the formation of any mass unity, its attempts have failed. In recent months the number of unified organized demonstrations and strikes including the students and workers displays the increasing level of political consciousness by the masses.

The Palestinian and South African struggles have historical and contemporary links. The peoples of both countries are confronting racist, settler colonial regimes that are supported by the full weight of imperialism. In recent years, South Africa and 'Israel' have deepened their military and economic relationship, drawing closer together as international recognition of their racist and oppressive policies has increased. A crucial part of this relationship is the exchange of counter-insurgency information and techniques, to be used against progressive forces struggling for liberation. The black Africans of South Africa, like the Arabs of Palestine, are fighting for a just cause. Despite the military and technological superiority of these racist regimes, the determination and continuous struggle of the masses and the working class will eventually lead to the people's victory. ●

## GREETINGS TO THE USSR

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev  
General Secretary of the  
Communist Party of the  
Soviet Union Central Committee  
and Comrades of the  
Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of the  
Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

It is my pleasure to convey to your party, government and people, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and myself, our warmest comradely greetings on the occasion of your 63rd anniversary of the victory of the great Socialist October Revolution.

On this great occasion all the peoples of the world who are struggling for national liberation, social progress and world peace are celebrating with you, the anniversary of the great Socialist October Revolution which laid the foundation for beginning a new era in the history of mankind. This era is characterized by the deterioration of colonialism and imperialism, and the victory of the oppressed people and socialism.

We are participating in your celebration of this great occasion by deepening and strengthening our determination to continuously escalate, through all means, the struggle of our Palestinian and Arab peoples for confronting the plans of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary enemies, especially Camp David and its consequences. We are also working to enhance the friendship between the Palestinian and Arab masses and the people of the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

We are confident of our inevitable victory, in spite of the vicious attack launched by imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, which is aimed at striking all the partiotic, progressive and revolutionary forces in our region. Our confidence is based on the justness of our cause, the mobilization of our masses and our strategic alliance with your socialist country and the socialist community.

On this great occasion I wish you good health, and your friendly country more prosperity and achievements on all levels.

Long Live the Great Socialist October Revolution.

Long Live Palestinian - Soviet Friendship.  
Long Live Proletarian Internationalism.

George Habash  
General Secretary  
of the PFLP



*TENT #50 (SONG OF A REFUGEE)*

*Tent #50, on the left, is my new world  
Shared with me by my memories  
Memories as verdant as the eyes of spring,  
Memories like the eyes of a woman weeping,  
And memories the color of milk and love!*

*Two doors has my tent, two doors like two wounds  
One leads to the other tents, wrinkle-browed  
Like clouds no longer able to weep;  
And the second - a rent in the ceiling, leading  
To the skies,  
Revealing the stars  
Like refugees scattered,  
And like them, naked.*

*Also the moon is trudging there  
Downcast and weary as the UNRWA,  
Yellow as though it were the UNRWA  
Under a load of yellow cheese for the refugees.*

*Tent #50, on the left, that is my present,  
But it is too cramped to contain a future!  
And - "Forget!" they say, but how can I?*

*Teach the night to forget to bring  
Dreams showing me my village  
And teach the wind to forget to carry to me  
The aroma of apricots in my fields!  
And teach the sky, too, to forget to rain.*

*Only then, I may forget my country.*

Rashed Hussein