



# PFLP

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Mass Uprising in  
Occupied Palestine



# EDITORIAL

## THE EUROPEAN INITIATIVE AND THE PALESTINIAN RESPONSE

In the past few months, the so-called European initiative has filled the world's mass media, as an initiative that offers more justice to the Palestinian cause. Indeed, the call to amend resolution 242, so that it speaks of the Palestinians as a people and not only as refugees, might seem to reflect a more just position.

However, the European initiative in its essence and aims is closely connected with the Camp David agreements. One fact that stands out is that the capitalist system as a whole is united in its aims, mainly the continued exploitation of the peoples of the world; thus it constantly attempts to strike liberation movements that aspire to genuine independence. True enough, there are secondary contradictions between Europe and the US; but American capital remains stronger, and Europe cannot follow totally independent policies, be it economic or political.

On policies involving the interests of imperialism as a whole, there can be no basic contradiction. 'Israel' is an essential component of the overall imperialist strategy in the Middle East. Therefore, reflecting as it does the interests of the European bourgeoisie, the European initiative can only be an alternative tactic in the strategic goal of maintaining this state's existence. Any solution that ignores the right of the Palestinian people to establish their independent state in all of Palestine, after destroying Zionism as a racist colonial movement, will be to the interests of maintaining this state as a base for imperialism's plans in the Arab world.

Diplomacy is a significant element in today's politics. However, it is important to remember that it always expresses the political and economic system of the specific country involved and the balance of power. We do not reject diplomacy as such. On the contrary, any recognition of the PLO is welcome. However, in the case of the European initiative, it is the motives behind such recognition that must be examined.

### To save Camp David

A major motivating factor behind the European initiative is the crisis that faces Camp David. By addressing itself directly to the Palestinian issue, this initiative aims to open the door which the parties of Camp David have been unable to budge. Up to this very moment, as the US, Israeli and Egyptian delegations are squabbling over the details of 'autonomy' and the so-called security issue at Herzlia, the Palestinian masses in unity have risen to reject 'autonomy' as an imperialist conspiracy. The essence of their uprising is rejection of the Zionist existence itself. The slogans raised such as 'Palestine is Arab' clearly show that this is our aspiration and we will struggle until it is achieved.

Consequently, the European initiative was thrown on the scene as a saving straw. If it really contradicts Camp David, why didn't the governments of these Western European countries declare their position at the time the Camp David agreements were signed? Why are they waiting till May 26th to present a definite proposal?

The Palestinian cause has been just since it arose against the Zionist colonization of Palestinian land. Thus, the timing of the initiative gives an important indication of its motives, as does the question of oil, as the European leaders themselves have declared.

### To split our ranks

A second motive behind this initiative, which is intimately connected to the first, is to create confusion and divide the united Palestinian stand against Camp David. At a time when Palestinian national unity is more vital than ever before, the European initiative aims to create illusions among some Palestinian leaders and thus divide our ranks. This fulfills the overall imperialist aim of preventing the Palestinian and Arab position from becoming more radicalized, further antagonizing the imperialist camp and more closely allying with the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, the right wing in the Palestinian Revolution fell into this trap. A clear example was the late April tour of a Palestinian National Council delegation to western European capitals, and their declarations on the PLO's 'thoughts' regarding a solution.

The five points presented by Khaled Al Hassan, member of Fatah's Central Committee and head of this delegation, violate the political and organizational programs of the 14th Palestinian National Council, as well as the Unified Tripoli Pact. In these documents, all organizations of the Palestinian Resistance clearly rejected Camp David and all capitulationist settlements. Furthermore, it was specified that the state for which the PLO is struggling is to be gained without recognition, negotiations or conciliation with the Zionist entity.

Irregardless of this, Khaled Al Hassan made the following proposals:

1. Israel should withdraw to its boundaries before the 1967 war.
2. The occupied zones should come under the control of the United Nations, possibly with Arab League cooperation, for a period of up to one year.
3. The UN should organize a referendum of all Palestinians to see what kind of government they want.
4. Should they choose independence, a state should be established in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
5. Negotiations should then begin under UN auspices involving the United States, the Soviet Union, the EEC countries and all concerned countries in the region, including the government of the new state and Israel, to deal with refugees, boundaries and other problems.

These five points are truly an outrage against over a half-century of Palestinian struggle against Zionist colonization. After all this, it is really ironic to suggest a referendum to ask the Palestinian people whether they want independence or not. Also, posing it as an open question, leaves the door open for a federation with Jordan, a solution favored by Arab reaction and some imperialist and Zionist circles as the most convenient way of suppressing the Palestinian cause.

The Palestinian masses in their struggle are emphatically acclaiming the PLO as their sole legitimate representative. Isn't it the duty of the Palestinian leadership to lead this struggle instead of making proposals

as to how imperialism might solve *its* difficulties with the Palestinian issue.

Furthermore, calling for imperialist and Israeli involvement in dealing with the problems of 'refugees and boundaries' not only means recognition of 'Israel' but also acceptance that the Palestinians of the 1948 occupied territories are refugees within the Zionist state and not part and parcel of the Palestinian people.

Moreover, these proposals overlook a major issue, namely, that imperialism, led by the US, is the main enemy of our people and in no way will do justice for our people. On the contrary, it is continually plotting to strike the Palestinian revolution and liquidate our national cause.

Within the ranks of the Palestinian Resistance, the PFLP has been calling for the 15th Palestinian National Council in order to implement Palestinian National Unity according to the programs adopted at

the 14th session. In general, this stage of increased imperialist aggression demands a total unified mobilization of Palestinian capabilities, which can only be fully realized with the completion of national unity.

The PLO leadership is required to play a vanguard role in confronting the European initiative with the same firmness that it

faces the US imperialist conspiracy, for both aim at liquidating our revolution, despite the variance in form. Thus, in particular, the proposals of the PLO delegation in Europe highlight the urgency of the 15th PNC, as all members of the leadership must be held accountable to PLO's programs, if the PLO is to lead and advance the unified struggle of the Palestinian people.

*This issue was sent to press May 13, 1980.*

## UPRISING IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

It was a seventeen-year-old high school student from Anabta, who carried a Palestinian flag in one hand and a dagger in the other and attacked the Zionist Military Governor surrounded by fully armed soldiers on May 1st. The Palestinian student, Najeh Ahmad Al Naj Abu Alla was martyred. Two others, Mohammad Khairy Qabaj and Jamal Abdel Aziz were injured. Their high school had been attacked by Israeli soldiers armed with the most sophisticated weapons. The young hero with a Palestinian flag and a dagger told the world that we are ready to give our lives until we raise our flag over liberated land.

In the history of the human race, great empires have tumbled under the force of the people's will for freedom. US imperialism with all its weapons could not win the war against the Vietnamese... Imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction cannot break the bond between the Palestinian people and their land.

Over the past three weeks, the struggle of our Palestinian masses in the '67 occupied territories has escalated sharply in wrath against the Zionist policies and presence in Palestine. They are protesting land expropriation, the 'autonomy', brutal repression, torture, in as much as these are the organic

phenomena of a colonial settler state, with which it is impossible to co-exist.

In most of the cities and villages of the West Bank and Gaza, the people did not report to work. Al Khalil, where Palestinian freedom fighters attacked Zionist settlers, has been under curfew since May 2nd. The Zionists claimed that they expelled the three leaders because it was they who incited resistance, but the mass struggle did not halt with their expulsion. Also Halhoul and Jalazon and Al Duheishah camps have been placed under curfew. Violent confrontations between the Palestinian people and the Zionist occupation forces are still occurring in many places.

Municipal centers, schools, universities and homes have been attacked by the Gush Emunim settlers, often under the protection of the occupation army. The Zionists have attempted to break the strikes with force, but to no avail. They isolated Halhoul, Al Khalil and other towns, but committees were formed by the Palestinians to collect material support for their brothers and sisters upon which this policy of starvation was inflicted. Many have been arrested and heavy fines imposed — all under the new security measures decreed by Defence Minister Weizmann. In fact, this new decree only makes official the measure the Zionist forces have utilized all along. However, these measures did and will not work.

For the first time, the Zionist movement openly declares that Jews are afraid to immigrate to Palestine, because of the security situation. It was a group of American Jews who postponed their unholy



*Palestinian residents of Al Khalil are checked at an Israeli roadblock following the curfew imposed on their city.*



mission. The continuing mass revolt has also escalated contradictions within Israeli circles, evoking a response from certain forces that have a different approach to achieving a 'peace' solution than the Bégin government. The Knesset met to deal with the security issue in the West Bank. DASH and the Peace Now Movement condemned the attack on Arab homes and called for punishment of the violators. The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* wrote that the situation in the West Bank had reached the point of a mass uprising and confessed that, "Jewish elements are the direct cause in the escalation of the crisis" and that "this bad situation must be solved if we don't want to create another North Ireland".

The talks at Herzlia between the parties to Camp David floundered... Oh yes! There are Palestinians out in the streets, men, women, children, resisting and fighting. And Linowitz began to talk of extending the

deadline beyond March 26th... Mustafa Khalil resigns in face of this impossible task.

Meanwhile Arab regimes gaze idly and some, such as the Jordanian, ask permission from the imperialist masters to share the waters of the Yarmouk River with its Israeli neighbors... the Israelis kindly consenting when the request comes from this quarter. Jordan is still hoping to annex 75% of the West Bank, while other Arab regimes increase their oil production and pray in the mosque for holy war against the communists in Afghanistan, forgetting those who burn the mosques of Palestine.

But the Palestinian people through their long history of struggle have developed clear vision, that can discern the sincere and the hypocrites, the friend and the enemy. The flag of Palestine and the stones thrown by women and children against the occupiers express the will of the people to live in freedom.

was proclaimed and enacted despite the military governors attempt to pressure the Mayor Khalaf to reverse this decision.

*Galilee:* 60 Palestinians were arrested in Tomra and Al Magar in Upper Galilee after clashes with the occupation forces, which injured five members of the Israeli police force, in the last week of April.

*April 26th:* School and commercial strike continues throughout the West Bank.

*April 27th:* Palestinians demonstrate against Gush Emunim terror. Israeli soldiers fire, killing one and injuring four.

*April 29th:* Palestinians stone Israeli buses in Jerusalem. Palestinian women stage a sit-in in El Bireh to protest Gush Emunim terror. School and business strikes continue. Al Khalil, grenade thrown against an Israeli vehicle.

*May 1st:* Zionist soldiers attack the Anabta secondary school on the pretext of ending the student strike against Israeli repression. One student killed and two injured. The students demonstrated against this crime and a general strike was declared in the town. Curfew was imposed.

In Al Jalazon camp, north of Ramallah, Palestinians lowered the Israeli flag and raised the Palestinian flag in its place, at a military post which the occupation forces erected to observe the resistance activities of the camp's inhabitants against the tanks that pass the camp. Jalazon has been under curfew for several weeks.

The military government banned May 1st meetings in Gaza and the West Bank. Violent confrontations occurred in Bir Zeit and Jerusalem.

*May 2nd:* Operation against Zionist settlers in Al Khalil. Curfew imposed and three leaders deported.

*May 3rd:* Kiryat Arba settlers fire on Palestinian cars. Protest demonstration in Halhoul broken up by tear gas.

*May 5th:* Israeli soldier injured by hand grenade while patrolling Al Duheishah camp near Bethlehem. Demonstrations on the West Bank attacked with tear gas.

*May 6th:* The Zionist occupation army breaks up the strike in Gaza.

*May 8th:* The Israelis blow up two houses and arrest inhabitants in Gaza. In Jerusalem, thousands demonstrate and throw rocks at the occupation forces. Israeli soldiers try to break merchants' strike. Arrest of over 30 patriots.

## REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

*In the beginning of April, Palestinian prisoners in Ramlah prison began a strike.* In an attempt to divide their unity, the Zionist occupation forces transferred all Palestinian political prisoners from Ramlah to other prisons, especially Bir Al-Sabe (Beer Sheva'), where thousands of prisoners with sentences exceeding 10 years are being held.

*April 9th:* On the anniversary of the Deir Yassin massacre in 1948, massive demonstrations took place all over the occupied homeland. Violent clashes took place when the occupation forces tried to disperse the Palestinian masses. In Jericho, in the Aqbat Jaber camp, the April 9th demonstration also protested against an Israeli decision to expropriate hundreds of dunums of land belonging to the city and establish 6 settlements. Zionist soldiers arrested several students in the camp.

*April 17th:* In a continuation of the Zionist policy of uprooting the Arab bedouins from the Negev, an Israeli police force removed three families from their lands and placed them in a faraway isolated place.

In Haifa and Jerusalem, thousands of Arab and Jewish students participated in solidarity campaigns supporting the Palestinian students in the West Bank and Gaza in the face of Zionist repression. In Bir Al Sabe, the Arab Student Committee also organized a demonstration.

*April 18th:* The Zionist 'Green Squad' gangsters poisoned about 500 dunums of cultivated Palestinian land (wheat and barley), 40 dunums of olive trees and hundreds of other cultivated dunums in western Hebron and Yatta. All the produce was destroyed. The military government claimed that these lands were Israeli, according to the 'Rhodus agreement' with King Abdullah in 1949! The mayors and villagers of the West Bank protested against this. This is not the first time that Sharon's planes throw poison on Palestinian land. Crops in Kufr Qassim were destroyed one month earlier. In the early 70's, the Zionists poisoned thousands of dunums in the Jordan Valley.

*April 21st:* Palestinians of Dir Al Assad block the Jerusalem-Hebron road and throw stones at Israeli soldiers, injuring two. The soldiers shot into the group injuring three Palestinians. A curfew was imposed and 20 were detained.

*April 24th:* Gush Emunim gangs destroy about 150 cars belonging to Palestinians in Ramallah and Al Bireh, including public buses, and throw stones at about 200 homes, breaking the windows. The Palestinian masses demonstrated in protest and stoned Zionist military vehicles. With Israeli tanks surrounding Ramallah, a mass rally was held in the municipal building. A three day strike



Residents of Halhoul protest the expulsion of their mayor.

*May 13th:* After the Zionist authorities have forbidden Palestinian mayors from public statements, Israeli soldiers break up Bassam Shakaa's press conference. Prior to their arrival, the mayor told journalists that he didn't fear expulsion; he accused the Israelis of the destruction of shop windows in the camp near Nablus, and the destruction of the locks of shops in Nablus, in an attempt to end the strike.

In Anabta, three teachers were arrested and charged with not preventing their students from throwing stones at passing Israeli vehicles.

*May 13th:* The Jewish Agency announced that two new settlements are being erected near Jenin in the West Bank. These settlements, Dotan and Karnei Shomron, will include homes for 400 settler families who will move in within four months.

*Al Jalazon:* The Popular Committee of the National Guidance Committee called a demonstration for April 22 to support the

inhabitants of Jalazon camp, who have been exposed to the attacks of settlers and the occupation forces for more than two months. The statement listed the following crimes of the siege: daily curfew from 5 p.m.

til 5 a.m.; firing during the night to scare the people; dragging people from their houses in the middle of the night, beating youth and old people, as well as attacking pregnant women; arrests of children.

## THE STUDENT MOVEMENT – STATEMENT

The Student Movement in the occupied West Bank issued a statement exposing the racist Zionist policies against students and the national educational institutions in the occupied homeland:

### To our heroic militant masses:

As the deadline for 'autonomy' approaches, the repressive Zionist authorities are attempting to impose upon us by force this scheme drawn up by US imperialism with the help of its local lackeys in the Middle East – Zionism and Arab reaction.

Realizing the effectiveness of the student

movement in the Palestinian struggle, the repressive authorities have intensified their ferocious aggression against students all over the occupied areas. The following is a chronology of Zionist repression against us.

1. In the middle of March, the military government decreed the closure of the science department at Abu Dees (near Jerusalem) in an attempt to hinder the gathering of Arab students in the Jerusalem area, and as part of Judaizing the Holy City.

2. When our people protested this decision, the military government hindered the mobility of the heads of municipalities



and unions in order to limit the effectiveness of this protest.

3. When sectors of the student movement went on strike erected near Jenin in the West Bank. These settlements, Dotan and Karnei from Al Najah University (Nablus) for interrogation. Some of them have not yet been released.

4. On April 9th, the student movement called for a strike in the science department to protest this decision. The military authorities forbade the heads of municipalities and the students of Bir Zeit and other educational institutions to enter the place of protest. They attacked the college and took the identity cards of students. The ID's of 22 students have not yet been returned.

5. On April 9th, a unit of the occupation army, composed of 300 soldiers, attacked the UNRWA Teachers Institution in Ramallah. They attacked the buildings and dormitories with tear gas, clubs and knives. As a result, 24 students were injured, 4 of them seriously. 42 others were arrested. Some students were forced to jump from the second floor due to the tear gas many suffered broken limbs and concussions.

6. The same day, a force of the occupation army assaulted the Womens Teachers Institute in Ramallah and forcefully ended the teachers' protest.

7. On April 10th, a force of 200 soldiers of the occupation army besieged Bir Zeit College and arrested 6 students. The identification card numbers of many students were recorded and the soldiers also assaulted homes and the research center looking for students.

8. On April 12th, at 1 a.m. the army assaulted the homes of many Bir Zeit students; 30 students were brutally beaten; 3 were arrested, 2 of them members of the university council.

9. On April 12th, the Military government informed the administration of Bir Zeit of the names of the students summoned by martial law, most of them from the student council. The same day, the occupation authorities closed down the secondary school in Saffa (near Ramallah) indefinitely.

10. On April 14th, the military governor met with Dr. Gabi Baramki to inform him the second time of the names of the students summoned.

#### Our militant masses:

These barbaric practices against our student movement mean that more support is demanded to our students. As we declare

our rejection of these Zionist practices, we are confident that these practices will not defeat our determination to crush the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary schemes which aim at squelching the will of our people for liberation and the fulfillment of their aspirations for an independent Palestinian state on our national land. The Student Movement in the West Bank affirms the following:

1. Revoke the decision to close the science department in Abu Dees, so that students are able to finish their higher education.

2. Halt all harassment by the military authorities against our educational institutions.

3. Release of the arrested students and abolition of all measures taken against them.

4. We call upon our people and the various national institutions, and the peace-loving forces in the world, to support our educational institutions so that they can carry on their task of education...

5. We reaffirm our rejection of Camp David and the 'autonomy'... We are determined to continue our struggle until foiling it.

6. We reaffirm that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of our Arab Palestinian people.

**LONG LIVE THE ARAB STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

**LONG LIVE THE UNIFIED STUDENT STRUGGLE**

**LET'S CLOSE OUR RANKS FOR AN EFFECTIVE NATIONAL UNITY**

## MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

### Early April

*Tiberias* – Palestinian militants blew up a taxi cab in a Zionist cab station, completely destroying the car as well as windows and walls in the nearby buildings. In response, the Zionist enemy arrested and imprisoned several Palestinians under the pretext of suspected involvement in the operation.

*Gaza* – A car belonging to the Zionist enemy was blown up by Palestinian militants. Several Palestinians were arrested.

*Eilat* – On April 24, Palestinian militants, using explosives, destroyed the main telephone lines to this Zionist settlement in Southern Palestine.

### PFLP Military Communique

The PFLP issued a military communique which stated: One of our units working in the occupied homeland ambushed a bus belonging to the Zionist enemy, that was used to transport Zionist settlers to two Zionist settlements – Afar and Kawkab Al-Sabah, located northeast of Ramallah. As the bus passed, our militants attacked it with grenades causing damage and heavy losses to the enemy. The Zionist authorities confirmed the operation, but as usual denied the fact that grenades had actually exploded. As a result of the operation, the enemy besieged the villages of Silwad and Ain-Yabroud in search of the unit. However, our masses confronted the occupation army and made the search difficult. The statement continued: On March 29 and on the anniversary

of the Day of the Land, another unit of the PFLP placed a time-bomb in the car of Mahmoud Abu-Azzuluf. The bomb exploded and completely destroyed his car. The bomb was placed in his car due to the suspicious role of this traitor and his continuous meetings with the US delegations in order to play a role in the autonomy conspiracy. The bombing of his car came as a new warning to remind him that our revolutionaries are able to reach him and deal with him in the manner a traitor deserves. This is also a warning to all traitors that our revolutionaries are capable and strong enough to deal with traitors and that the fate of Khazindar in Gaza awaits all those who attempt to follow his path.

*Jerusalem* – A time-bomb was placed in Talbot Quarter. This area was established after the occupation, in the southern part of Jerusalem. The explosion caused many injuries.

*Al Khalil* – May 2, Palestinian militants carried out a heroic operation against Zionist settlers. Six settlers were killed and approximately 40 were injured. This operation took the Zionist authorities by surprise. Following the operation, Al-Khalil was placed under curfew and four houses were destroyed by the Israeli army.

*Jericho* – Palestinian militants planted an explosive near an Israeli military vehicle. The explosion caused damage to the surrounding area. Jericho was considered by the-Zionist authorities as a calm area.

# PALESTINIAN LEADERS DEPORTED

One day the Zionist Military Governor entered the city of Halhoul and went to the office of Mayor Mohammad Milhelm. He was carrying a copy of *Al Hadaf*, the PFLP's Arabic weekly, containing an interview with the mayor from March of last year. The Military Governor asked Mayor Milhelm if he read *Al Hadaf*. Milhelm replied, "I would be very grateful if you would send it to me, since you receive it."

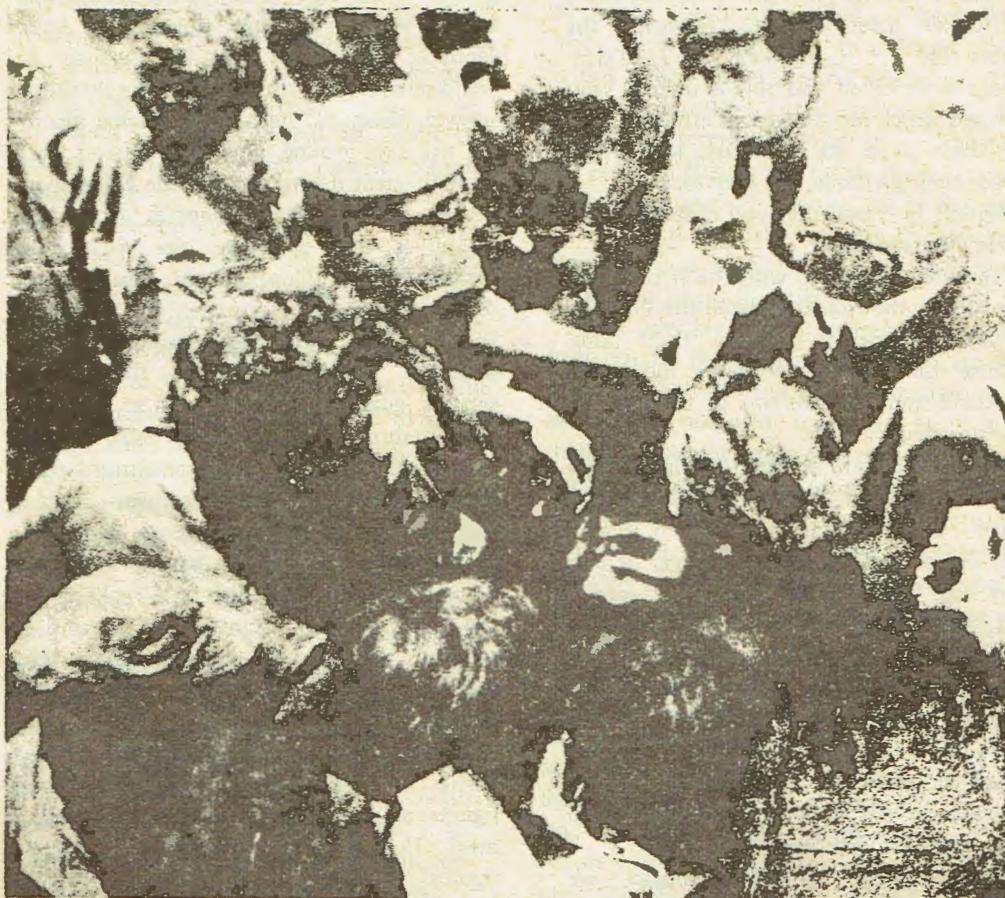
This was the beginning of the discussion between *Al Hadaf* and the three militant patriots: Fahd Al Qawasmeh, Mayor of Al Khalil (Hebron); Sheikh Rajab Al Tamimi, the judge of Al Khalil; and Mohammad Milhelm, Mayor of Halhoul, expelled on May 3rd by the Zionist occupation authorities, as part of the colonialist policies of the Zionist entity enacted since the occupation of our homeland.

**Al Hadaf:** How were you expelled? Was there any investigation beforehand? Did the occupation authorities bring specific charges against you?

**Sheikh Al Tamimi:** About 1:15 a.m., the assistant of the military governor asked me to accompany him to meet the governor in Al Khalil. I told him I would go in the morning, but he refused this and said that the military governor was waiting me for an important matter. I left him in a military car filled with soldiers. My family was very disturbed at this late hour of the night.

When we arrived, he directed me to a room. I was accompanied by two fully armed soldiers and the door closed behind me. After about ten minutes, the door was opened and a number of officers and soldiers entered and led me out to a helicopter, waiting near the military governor's office. On the way, one of the officers informed me that I was to go to the office of the general officer to drink a cup of coffee. I ascended the helicopter. Fahd Al Qawasmeh and Mohammad Milhelm were already in the helicopter, but it was dark and filled with soldiers, so I did not discern them.

The helicopter took off and then landed, for refuelling I suppose; but before it landed,



May 11: The Zionist occupation forces block the march home of Mayors Milhelm and Qawasmeh and Sheikh Tamimi.

they covered my head with a bag, forcing me to remove my turban (worn by Moslem sheikhs); I couldn't see anything. The helicopter landed again and once again they pulled the bag over my head. We were transferred to a car and an officer said in English, "On orders from the Defence Minister, you are expelled. Go now for Abu Ammar (Yassir Arafat) will be meeting you."

This was done in the most inhuman barbaric way. With the bags over our faces, we were taken to Al Adassiyeh village on the border. We heard the sheikh call from the mosque for the dawn's prayer. We wished for good to come and joined the prayer, "Allahu Akbar (God is almighty),

deliver us from wickedness and the wicked, from the vicious and despotic and the Israelis" and we prayed for good – that they will be defeated.

They made us sit in a room, ordering us not to open the door or pull up the face covers, but we pulled off the bags nonetheless and brought them with us without them noticing, as a sign of their inhumanity.

A civil car came, escorted by military vehicles, and drove us to Taibeh village (South Lebanon). There at the UNIFIL borders, we were driven to Nabatiyyeh and from there we came to Beirut.

This was the process of expulsion; they did not tell us we would be expelled; we left



without passports or papers; our families did not know where we were. This is the first time, they use this method. If we had known we were going to be expelled, we would have taken our procedures and each of us would have told our children to struggle for the homeland.

**Al Hadaf:** Weren't you interrogated about anything?

**Al Tamimi:** I wasn't asked anything at all. I was taken directly from my bed to the plane and didn't meet anyone... However, the officer told me on the way, "At 7:30 p.m. Israelis were killed and this is due to your speeches which had dangerous effects. I wish they had taken me to court, so I could expose their methods, but they didn't."

**Al Hadaf:** Is it true that you called for holy war in your speeches?

**Al Tamimi:** Beginning with the first day of occupation, the Israelis violated the Ibrahim-miyyah Mosque to achieve their aims, because this is the great Islamic mosque in Al Khalil and the Moslems of the city are very attached to it...

The Israelis have no right or relation with this mosque, yet they occupied it; they pulled out its carpet; they entered it with their shoes; they placed their prayer objects there and transformed part of it into a synagogue. Since that time, we have been protesting against them and defying them, because the violation of this mosque is a violation against every Palestinian. During my Friday sermons, I called upon the people to strengthen their determination and to wage a holy war as their path to save them from repression and despotism.

When Jewish settlement began, we struggled against it, cautioning our people of these schemes. When they decided to settle in Al Khalil, we also defied them and we clearly said: Palestine belongs to its people; Jaffa, Gaza and Haifa will return. I was convinced and satisfied with my call to raise the consciousness and deepen the faith of our people and to call upon the Moslems outside occupied Palestine to wage a holy war to save the homeland. Holy war and fighting must mainly come from outside Palestine because the people inside are unarmed, facing the Israeli authorities.

We call on our masses in the occupied homeland to rise in a popular upheaval against the methods and schemes of this extremely ferocious enemy... After Camp David, the Zionists intensified their repression, despotism and barbarity. Our masses stood against the conspiracy and against

Camp David because it consolidates the occupation and the stealing of our land.

**Al Hadaf:** Is there any connection between what is happening now and what happened in Al Khalil in 1929, when the masses rose up to confront the Zionist settlers?

**Al Tamimi:** In reality, Zionism aims at Judaizing all of Palestine. In this process, they have concentrated on the sacred places because these places are most dear to our people. From the first day of the occupation of the West Bank, they violated the Aqsa Mosque; the story of its burning is well-known. They also attacked the Ibrahim-miyyah Mosque... because the sacred places are the axes around which the patriots live.

With great determination, the Palestinian people resisted these schemes from the beginning and protected the Aqsa and Ibrahim-miyyah Mosques. Al Khalil lived under curfew and terrorism for 17 days. People could not even look out their windows. During this period, the Zionist settlers, guarded by Israeli soldiers, violated the Ibrahim-miyyah Mosque, burned and desecrated the Koran and transformed part into a synagogue. The Palestinian people then destroyed the instruments of prayer brought into the mosque by the settlers... We prayed on Fridays, with Israeli soldiers in the mosque. They transformed it into a military barrack. We prayed under the daggers, weapons and machine guns of the occupiers...

**Al Hadaf:** What are the possibilities of the parties of Camp David finding Palestinian figures willing to cooperate in their schemes? How do the masses react to such figures?

**Mayor Milhelm:** Naturally, it is impossible to implement 'autonomy' in a void; it can only be implemented through a people. For the success of the Zionist schemes, the Israelis must find bases among the inhabitants, upon which to rely. Thus, they started to create such symbols ready to get involved in their capitulationist conspiracy. We know there are some ready to participate, but their cowardice will prevent them, because of the strong position taken by our people in the occupied homeland. Such symbols exist, but they lack the courage to confront the tide of the mass movement.

Neither Sadat, Carter nor Begin can sell 'autonomy' to any people and not to the Palestinian people, known for our long struggle and national commitment. If anyone dared to participate, he will find that the 'autonomy' is a consolidation of

occupation and only gives it legality. Therefore, those who tend to accept the 'autonomy' will expose themselves to liquidation, to outrage and the people's judgement.

Consequently, I seriously doubt if there is one person, regardless of whether he's called 'moderate' 'Jordanian' or 'traditional', who is ready to participate in the 'autonomy' because through it he won't be able to offer the people anything. 'Autonomy' was buried on the day of its birth. Our people are ready to confront and defy anyone who presents himself as a candidate or even goes to the ballot box.

**Al Hadaf:** The Jordanian regime is working on a plan to regain the West Bank and this coincides to some extent with plans presented by the Zionist Labour party, which might return to power with the next Israeli elections. What are your views on these moves?

**Mayor Qawasmeh:** Our aims are clear. We demand an independent Palestinian state. We demand our identity. This does not mean that we are against Arab unity, which is a mass demand, but unity is between two peoples and is never imposed. The Palestinian people are searching for their identity and their state and will never accept an alternative. I believe this issue has become clear to anyone who imagines that he can violate the will of the Palestinian people under any slogan.

The Palestinian people rally around the PLO as their leader and as the one that expresses all their views. There are some circles that attempt to find positions of authority, but our masses know them and they will not succeed unless they pass through the correct path — the PLO and the path of all the Palestinian people. We as Palestinians are with Arab unity with any Arab country that is willing, but only on the basis of agreement on the part of the Palestinian people and the Arab people... This is clear, we are Palestinian Arabs; there are Syrians, Jordanians, Iraqis... We are all one Arab people, but the Palestinian cause has specific characteristics. We want to revive the Palestinian identity. No solution is possible without an independent Palestinian identity. We have lived long in suffering and in loss of our identity. It is inevitable that the homeland and our identity will return.

**Al Hadaf:** Can you tell about the Palestinian National Front inside?

**Mayor Milhelm:** The Palestinian National Front (PNF) existed before 1974; some of

its leaders were expelled and others arrested. When the municipal councils were elected, the occupation forces had a sharp eye out for patriotic figures, especially the Palestinian organizations which could not work openly under the occupation, despite its farcical liberal façade. Thus, the PNF is and will remain present. It is impossible to have national organized work between all the organizations without the PNF. It is also impossible for the PNF to work openly as long as it includes the Palestinian organizations.

We as heads of the municipalities are not totally independent from the Palestinian organizations. We are one; however, our work is overt, while theirs is covert.

**Al Hadaf:** Has the overt form of Palestinian national struggle through the National Guidance Committees made use of this liberal façade of the occupation, the PNF being the dynamic force behind these activities?

**Mayor Milhelm:** In reality, the organizations in occupied Palestine are always the catalyst for the masses. A new situation developed after the municipal elections in 1976; it escalated up to Camp David; the confrontation became overt; there was no dividing line, whereby activities are limited to the underground work of the organizations.

Camp David presents 'autonomy' blatantly. It was inevitable that the confrontation by the municipal councils and the organizations became overt. There followed the conferences in Al Najah University (Nablus), Bir Zeit, Bethlehem and Beit Hanina. The National Guidance Committees came out of these meetings; it is an overt framework in which all the patriotic institutions and figures participate in democratic representation, expressing the aspirations of our people. It reached a point where a decision was taken and applied all over the occupied homeland. This frightened the occupation authorities to the point that they expelled the three of us and threatened to expell the rest, thinking that the National Guidance Committee, that has an overt practice and became a front for struggle against the 'autonomy' and Camp David, would give up this struggle. However, our people in the villages and cities are the National Guidance Committee; the NGC has reached every street and home; if it is attacked in one village, it remains in the others; if it is attacked in one home, the other homes remain. The NGC is the overt framework and they cannot liquidate or

uproot it unless they uproot all the Palestinian people from their land; even then we won't be far from our land.

Now when I am asked if there is a National Front by someone I know is an Israeli or American agent, I say yes. They ask who the members are and I say that there are 1 1/4 million from the West Bank and Gaza Strip; we are a National Front; there is also a National Guidance Committee and national unity against occupation. I reassert, all of us in the occupied homeland are a National Front, NGC and national unity; I am not exaggerating.

**Al Hadaf:** Would you tell us about the people's struggle against Zionist colonial settlement?

**Mayor Milhelm:** First I have some comments on the policy of settlement. The aim of the Israeli authorities is to settle on every inch of our land, even in the houses we live in. If they enter Halhoul, they say it is their land; they want to settle in our homes as they did in the Ibrahimiyah Mosque. This is the strategic aim of the settlement policy.

The present settlement policy is to prove to the world that it is impossible to establish a state in the West Bank and Gaza, after they, of course, distribute settlements horizontally and vertically. How could a state be established when the villages and cities are divided? They have divided the West Bank with long roads, which are as much as 150 meters wide, and roads crossing these, so that the West Bank is divided into small squares, so that they isolate Nablus from Ramallah, etc. The settlements at the cross roads, as they are installing them now, will be the legal authorities. They will be able to place barricades whenever they wish, or impose curfews as happened in Al Khalil, where they smashed cars and house windows. On the other hand, these settlements will be commercial centers and the Palestinian villagers will become the consumers of the settlements' produce, instead of consuming products from the Palestinian markets. If they are able to implement this, they will be able to kill the economic movement in our cities.

**Al Hadaf:** Mayor Qawasmeh, you have a well-known saying, which we have written in one of our issues: If the settlers who were previously expelled from Hebron return, we will welcome them on the condition that our expelled masses are allowed to return to their occupied lands...

**Mayor Qawasmeh:** From its inception, Zionism realized the value of the land and

began with settlement; this policy has been followed since the 1st Zionist Congress. In 1967, Zionism followed the same policy; they established the 1st, 2nd... now 84 settlements in the West Bank alone. These settlements run in four long lines: the first along the Jordan River; the second from Jineen in the north to the Dead Sea in the south; the third, the Allon line, from the mountain tops in the north in Tulkarem to Al Khalil; the fourth, called the Begin line, from Salfet to Ramallah. In addition, there is the closed circle around Jerusalem. The aim of this settlement is to transform the geography, topography and demography of the land, so that in the future these changes become recognized realities, as is the case now in other places. If you visit Tel Aviv and Natama, you find big cities; they both started out as small settlements.

Now they are moving settlers in, not only from outside Palestine, but also from 'Israel', from Tel Aviv, to the new settlements and the newly occupied territories after '67, thinking that the areas occupied before '67 have been forgotten and they can therefore create new facts. Thus we find that the majority of settlers have lived in the areas occupied prior to '67. The Palestinian people are aware of this and have used all means to defend their land - protests, thousands of telegrams... they have defended the land with their lives as happened in Al Khalil, Aboud, Deir Al Hattab. However, the occupation is stronger for they dispatch their soldiers to expell the owners of the land and replace them with settlers. Our people resorted to the law at first, thinking that the law will protect them, and the Israeli High Court of Justice was filled with cases. Our people resorted to international means; the resolution of March 1980 is the result of the struggle waged by Al Khalil's patriots, who exerted much effort to reach the Security Council through the PLO. They also appealed to Arab, Islamic and non-aligned countries and finally reached the Security Council, which declared that the settlements are illegal and must halt. In spite of this, the Israelis continue their policy which became even more forceful after Camp David. At that time, the Israelis started full-fledged settlement, thinking there was no more an Arab force to deter them; they no longer fear international opinion. Therefore, the Palestinian people rose to defend their land with everything they possess...





**Al Hadaf:** Do you have a closing word to our people, their representatives and the other mayors?

**Mayor Qawasmeh:** I say to my colleagues that the path of struggle is long and hard. We have started along this path. The correct path is to confront and resist occupation and one day we will inevitably reach there, whether the occupation wills it or not, whether Zionism wills it or not, whether the Arab regimes will it or not, but we will achieve our national legitimate rights... More steadfastness, more resistance... Victory is

coming and we shall return and meet in Nablus and Al Khalil.

**Al Tamimi:** A word to our people in the occupied homeland... They should not despair, but must consolidate and strengthen their will and continue to resist the conspiracies and schemes. Despair is the road of the weak, and our people are strong in their faith and determination. We shall be victorious and return to our country under the banner of Palestine, with dignity; the occupation will be vanquished. I tell them to resist and be patient...

**Mayor Milhelm:** What happened is that we forcibly left the front trench for another trench. This will only motivate us to double our work in the other trench, so that we and our Palestinian people outside and the PLO leadership will most effectively confront the most barbaric and ferocious colonial settler attack in the history of the human race. We have no alternative except victory; if there are two or three hundred absent, there are tens of thousands who will follow our path and victory will inevitably be ours.

## SETTLEMENTS: TOOLS FOR COLONIZATION AND EXPANSION

Daily the Zionist occupation authorities are forging new plans to Zionize the West Bank and Gaza Strip; settlements play a major role in this. Although on the surface settlements act as a blockade to the peace solutions the Zionists continue this policy as it is an essential foundation of their state.

Settlements represent the fundamental tool for the colonization of Palestine in the late century and the early 20th century. Following the establishment of the Zionist state in 1948, settlements remained an active tool in controlling Palestine. With the occupation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, settlements were and are being used as a means of expanding the Zionist entity.

Herzl formulated the framework for creating a Zionist colonial settler state. Palestine was chosen as the most favoured site due to its historical character, which would make it easier to recruit Jewish settlers.

In 1882 the first colonies were established – Rishon le-Zion, south of Jaffa; Petah Tivah, north of Jaffa; Samaria, near Nablus and Rosh Pinah, east of Safed. They were completely financed by Baron Rothschild as capitalist ventures. Lacking their own means of support, the settlers were under the control of Rothschild, without whose backing the settlements would not have survived. Both Arabs and Jews worked on Rothschild's colonies and both were oppressed.

The colonies funded by Rothschild, relied on purchasing land to set up colonies where European settlers were brought in to exploit the riches of the country, including the labour of the indigenous population. However the colonization envisioned by the Zionists was based on the acquisition of land and the reliance on only Jewish labour to be supplied by the settlers. The reason for this difference was the projected final result; classical colonists relied on exploitation of the labour of the indigenous population, whereas the Zionists wanted to create a Jewish settler state with its own classes through the displacement of the indigenous population. Herzl defined the Zionist concept more clearly – “The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is an ancient one: it is the establishment of a Jewish state. The whole plan is in its essence very simple... The poorest will go first to cultivate the soil. In accordance with preconceived plans, they will construct roads, bridges, railways and telegraph installations, regulate rivers and build their own dwellings. Their labour will bring trade markets and markets will attract settlers.”<sup>1</sup>

The Zionist Movement was aware that in order to successfully colonize Palestine, three needs had to be fulfilled – financial support, land and settlers.

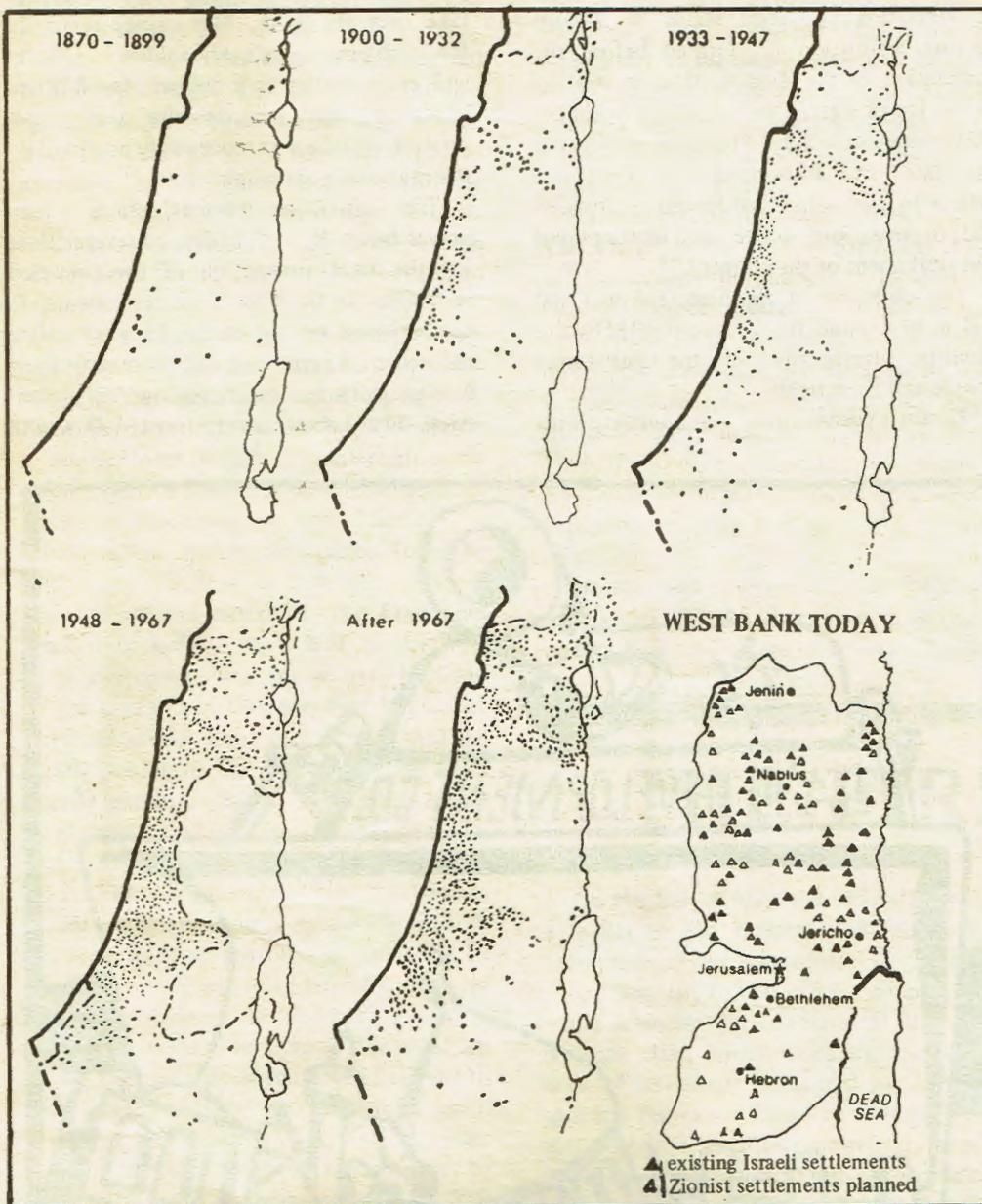
Zionist institutions and agencies were created to meet these needs. The World Zionist Organization (the Jewish Agency) solicited funds and recruited settlers. The

Jewish National Fund (JNF) was created to purchase land in Palestine and the surrounding countries. The Palestine Land Development Company was formed to train Jewish immigrants for settling the land purchased by the JNF. The Palestine Office, a branch of the Jewish Agency, was opened in Jaffa to guide the development of settlements and the placement of incoming settlers.

In 1901, there were 19 settlements; by 1914, the number had increased to 40.<sup>2</sup> Jewish labour was mandatory in each settlement; Arab labour was forbidden. The kibbutz was the fundamental type of settlement. They were funded and maintained by the JNF. Managers were supplied and paid by the JNF; the managers then employed Jewish labourers to man the settlement. These management collectives, with large groups of settlers, were located in the frontier as centers for agriculture; however their agricultural role was in reality secondary; their production was far from adequate to cover the consumption needs of the settler community as a whole. The first group of settlers laid the foundation for the entrance of new settlers to expand the existing colonies.

Prior to World War I, the amount of land for Zionist settlements was limited. However following the war and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Palestine came under British domination. This opened new avenues for the consolidation of Zionist colonization; laws favorable to the Zionist

## ZIONIST SETTLEMENTS



efforts were made by the British Mandate authorities, especially concerning immigration and land purchase.

Large amounts of capital began to flow into Palestine to support the Zionist ventures, especially the settlers. British Zionists were placed in key authoritative positions with the establishment of the civil administration in the early 1920's.

Kibbutzim were given a new role. The settlers of the kibbutzim represented the political elite and soldier class of the future state. The kibbutz was no longer primarily geared to agriculture production, but on the contrary, they were being formed in strategic locations to define the future borders of the Zionist state.

The internal structure of the kibbutz was based on Zionist collective labour and strict discipline. Military training was given under the pretext of defending the kibbutz.

Along with the more developed kibbutz settlements, moshavim (cooperatives) were established. These settlements were located closer to urban centers and were geared to agricultural production. The structure of the moshav was less disciplined than that of the kibbutz. Both the moshav and the kibbutz were manned only by Zionists, both played a central role in colonizing Palestine.

Settlements not only constituted a geographical and economic factor in the creation of the Zionist state, but also represented a substantial political force, used

by the World Zionist Organization in pressuring international negotiations on the future of Palestine. In 1941, 231 colonies had been established on the most fertile lands of Palestine. The settlements covered an area of approximately 1,604,800 dunams with a population of 110,979 Zionist settlers.<sup>3</sup>

The Zionists planned for a Jewish state covering 65% of Palestine at that time. Prior to the withdrawal of the British, the Zionists rushed to establish settlements from the north to the south to define the geographical boundaries of the future state. For example, in 1946 in order to justify their claim for the inclusion of the Negav region in any proposed partition plan, eleven kibbutzim were installed, in addition to the ten which were established during World War II for the same purpose.

### 'Security' for the future state

In the 1920's, the Haganah was established as a Jewish defense force. Its prominent role in crushing the Palestinian Revolt of 1936-39 showed that its task was far more than a defensive one. Like the settlements with which it was closely linked, the Haganah was a force for the expansion of Zionist control and the eviction of the Palestinians. This all Zionist organization grew rapidly and involved virtually all adults and youths in the settlements, as well as several thousand immigrants in the major cities. The Haganah was closely tied to the Histadrut Federation, which was the administrative backbone of the Zionist community in Palestine. The Histadrut controlled all the means of the colonization effort, economic production and marketing, labour employment and defense. Golda Meir described the Histadrut of the 1930's as "not just a trade union organization" but as "a great colonizing agency."<sup>4</sup> As for the settlements, they were supplied by the Histadrut with Jewish labourers; therefore the Haganah and the Histadrut worked hand in hand. Every settler became a soldier and later became the army of the Zionist entity.

Beginning with the establishment of the first settlement, the framework for the Zionist colonial settler state was laid out and with each additional settlement the network became stronger. By the early 1940's, the Zionists had succeeded in building up an extensive network of settlements as well as a security force and economic base capable of being transformed into a viable state apparatus; however one obstacle remained to be removed — the Palestinian population. The



proposed solution to this was given by a Zionist official in the Palestine British government who, when asked whether the Jewish state would have any problems with the Arab inhabitants, responded by saying, "Oh no! That will be fixed. A few calculated massacres will soon get rid of them."<sup>5</sup>

Prior to the withdrawal of the British, the Zionists launched several terror campaigns against the Palestinians. They had two main objectives: First, to reduce the number of Arabs in Palestine, especially in those areas designated for the proposed Jewish state and second, to expand the frontiers of the state in the making. The majority of attacks took place between December 1947 and April 1948, the most notorious being the massacre at Deir Yassin, where 250 innocent people were butchered by the Irgun led by Menachem Begin. The result of such attacks caused many to flee from Palestine. These attacks supplied the Zionists with land, which they were otherwise unable to obtain, due to the Palestinians' refusal to sell their land.

#### The state continues colonization

The Zionist entity, supported and protected by imperialism and reaction, was created in May 1948. Zionist settlements had played the main role in accomplishing this goal. Plans were made and implemented to increase the number of settlements in the territories occupied in '48. Land was needed to implement these plans. Therefore, certain laws were passed. For example, the Abandoned Areas Ordinance (AAO) (1949) and the Absentee Property Law (APL) (1950) and the Land Acquisition Law (LAL) (1953) 'legalized' the expropriation of Arab lands. The AAO allowed for any area to be closed by the Zionist authorities for security reasons. The owners were barred from tilling their land. Later the land would be declared 'abandoned' or 'uncultivated' and turned over to the state. Similarly, the APL allowed for any piece of land to be confiscated if the owner left his village or land between November 29, 1947, and the declaration of the Zionist state. Consequently, the land would be given to the state.

The LAL merely 'legalized' and made final the seizure of land under the 1949 and 1950 laws and empowered the transfer of the land to a new owner – the state or one of its agents such as the JNF.

Other laws were also made to supplement existing ones. In 1952, the Knesset passed the World Zionist Organization – Jewish

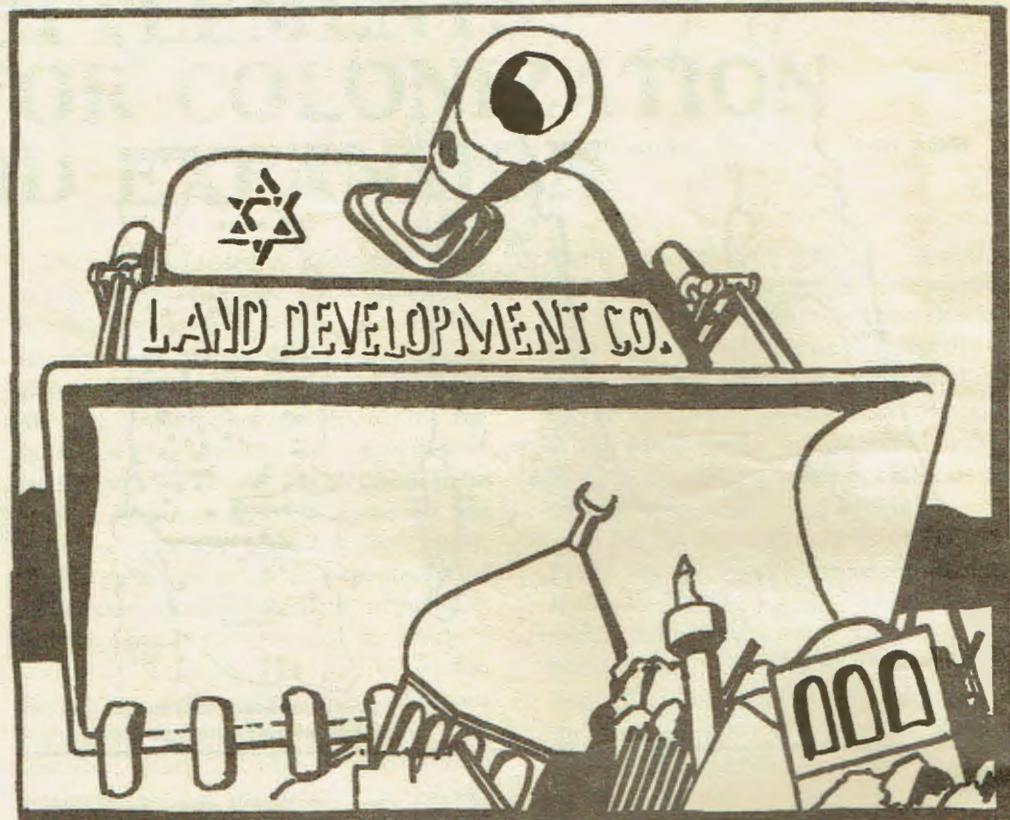
Agency (Status) Law. This was the first step in regulating the legal status of various Zionist institutions formed before the foundation of the Zionist state, in relation to the Israeli state. The Status Law made the WZO responsible for "settlement projects in the state" and authorized it to coordinate "the activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and organizations active in... development and settlement of the country."<sup>6</sup>

The objective of all these laws was and still is to expand the area controlled by the Zionists, irrespective of the Palestinian people and their rights.

Zionist expansion was not complete with

water. Later settlers would be brought in to take over the work. This caused relatively few problems, since every soldier is a settler and every settler is a soldier. In addition, citing 'security reasons' for the expropriation of land was more easily accepted by international public opinion.

The Labour government, which was in power from '48 to '77, devised several plans for the final annexation of the occupied territories. In the West Bank, settlements are concentrated on the border lines to isolate the occupied territories and to prevent their contact with the neighbouring Arab countries. The Labour government followed a



the '48 occupation; in '67 they occupied the West Bank, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai, during the Six Day War. These newly occupied areas gave the Zionists more land, water sources, a supply of cheap labour and a market.

Within months of the '67 ceasefire, settlements were being established. The main objective of these settlements was and is expansion.

#### Settlement Policy

Increasingly, settlements were established under the pretext of security. First, a unit of the army would establish a base for the settlement with housing, electricity and

systematic policy for installing settlements, whereby the settlements formed two belts. The first belt extended from the southern part of the Dead Sea to the northern border of the West Bank with the territories occupied in '48, passing through the Jordan Valley, the majority being geared to agriculture production.

The second belt began on the southern section of the Jerusalem – Jericho road and was connected to the first belt in the north. These were both industrial and agriculture settlements.

The objective of these belts was to cut off the populated areas of the West Bank from any physical contact with Jordan and to

contain the Palestinian population by surrounding them from the north, south, east and west by two belts of colonies.

By 1978, 51 settlements had been erected in the West Bank. The Zionists controlled approximately 70% of the cultivatable land in the Jordan Valley and have developed an extensive infrastructure involving drilling wells, a network of irrigation pipes, electric lines and underground telephone cables, which serve and connect the two belts of colonies.

In the Gaza Strip, settlements were established to divide the area in pieces, whereby the Arab population was cut off from Egypt and surrounded by settlements.

In the Golan Heights, 25 settlements were constructed constituting a barrier between the Golan Heights and the rest of Syria.

The Likud government differs from the Labour only in that its settlement policy is more rapid and extensive. The Likud has worked to build a third belt in the West Bank extending along the western highland to the northern part of the West Bank. The objective of the third belt is to extend the Israeli border to the doorstep of the areas heavily populated by the Palestinians and to divide the populated areas of the northern region of the West Bank into two smaller areas. The containment of the Palestinians would be further insured by closing them in from all sides by the belts of colonies. To complete this plan, three lateral roads were designed to connect the '48 occupied territories to the belts. The road in the southern region is already open and paved half way to the Dead Sea. The second lateral road, bisecting the northern region, is under construction and the third road, further to the north, is still in the planning stage. The Likud seeks to chop the West Bank into pieces, so there can be no possibility of a territorial compromise.

#### Settlements for 'security'

To understand the 'security' reasons for expropriating land, it is important to understand the meaning of security from the point of view of the Zionist entity. Security is used as a rationale for furthering expansion. This can be exemplified by examining some of the settlements in the West Bank.

Kfar Haris (Tulkarem district): In February 1978, the military authorities closed off 500 dunams of land, partially cultivated with grain and orchards, for security reasons. The industrial settlement Kfar Haris, which produces armaments, now covers the 500 dunams.

Beit Ummar (Hebron district): In 1968, 500 dunams were expropriated for use by the army. Within months, Migdal Oz was established on the confiscated land. In 1977, an additional 450 dunams was closed off for 'security' purposes, which was given to the settlement to enable it to expand its agriculture and industry.

Tabbas (northern section of the Jordan Valley): In 1975, 2,500 dunams was closed off for security purposes. The nahal of Roi was established. Nahal is a paramilitary camp, used for training units of the Israeli army. The nahal has two aims: to produce first class soldiers and to prepare the youth for establishing new settlements. In March 1976, Roi became the sister settlement of Beqa'ot located further south. Roi is being expanded to meet Beqa'ot to form a joint community.

Beqa'ot was established in July 1972, as a moshav on 5,000 dunams of land expropriated from the village of Tamun. This land

was also closed off for security purposes. Ironically, for 'security' this settlement produces poultry, vegetables and citrus.

These are just a few examples of the 'security' which the Zionist authorities are constructing in the '67 occupied territories. In fact, they represent part of projected Israeli borders. The main tool to accomplish the desired expansion is settlements.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Herzl, Theodor, *The Jewish State*
2. Weinstock, Nathan: *Zionism: False Messiah*, Ink Links Ltd., London 1979, page 74.
3. Ibid
4. Davis, Uri: *Israel: Utopia Incorporated*, Zed Press Ltd., London 1977, page 142
5. Bishuti, Bassam: *The Role of The Zionist Terror in the Creation of Israel*, Palestine Research Center, Beirut 1969, page 71
6. Journal of Palestine Studies 28, 'And the Fund Still Lives' Uri Davis and Walter Lehn, Vol. VII, No. 4 Summer 1978, page 6

## THE FIRST OF MAY

On the first of May, the PFLP distributed a leaflet to the masses. The following is excerpts from our statement.

On May 1st, the progressive forces of the world celebrate the international day of the working class, commemorating the martyrdom of its heroes, murdered by the bourgeoisie's repressive forces in Chicago. Since then, celebration of this anniversary expresses faith in the historical role of the working class in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression, and appreciation of their vanguard role in the process of revolutionary change...

The Camp David alliance, and the conspiracies linked to it, is to serve the aggressive policy of US imperialism and its allies against the Arab peoples. This is not only to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution, but aims at consolidating imperialist hegemony and exploitation and hindering the independent development of the Arab countries by sustaining their under-development. This policy directly aims at the working class, endangering its aspirations and future.

This places the historical responsibility upon the working class and its political parties, since this class is the revolutionary force which is most capable of smashing the structural dependence on imperialism. This

historical role is even more essential due to the treachery of a part of the Arab bourgeoisie, which openly joined the enemy camp, while another part suffers from incapacity and illusory policy. This increases the burden to be shouldered and precisely defines the nature and extent of the historical challenge faced by the Arab working class and its political parties.

In this context, it is necessary to point out that the Palestinian working class faces dual oppression, class and national, denying it the most elementary democratic rights and the freedom to organize. We must also call attention to the Zionist occupation's attempt to fragment its solid unity, for the enemy fears this class...

On the other hand, the objective conditions point to the increasing role of the Arab working class, its political participation, the spread of scientific socialism as an ideology in its ranks, and its continuous tendency to enlist in the struggle to defend its class and national interests. It has developed in terms of forming independent organizations, in political firmness and ideological progress. This means that the escalating conflict with reaction, Zionism and imperialism, in addition to the impotency of the





bourgeoisie, creates in turn the necessary objective conditions allowing the Arab working class and its parties to play their vanguard role in the Arab national liberation movement...

Today as we celebrate the first of May, we take pride in the role played by the Palestinian working class in the occupied homeland, as it confronts the schemes of the racist Zionist enemy to uproot our people and to exploit the Palestinian working class in its factories without providing the minimum rights to the worker...

We salute the Egyptian working class as it combats Sadat's attempts to strike its achievements and transform it into a force that applauds the regime's deviation and capitulation to imperialism and Zionism. We extend our salute to the Arab working class everywhere... to the Lebanese working class that has confronted the fascist forces that aim at dominating Lebanon and imposing its policies on the heroic Lebanese people. We appreciate its courageous stand and its support of the Palestinian Revolution.

We salute the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. We salute the working class in the capitalist countries and call upon it to stand in solidarity with our Palestinian masses and their progressive forces in the battle it wages against imperia-



lism. It is one joint battle; and the working class all over the world must wage it in unity, to achieve the final victory against imperialism and the establishment of a world society where peace and socialism reign.

*As part of the May 1st celebration, the Palestinian Youth Organization sponsored a night of Palestinian folklore in Beirut.*

## COMRADE HABASH SPEAKS

On the occasion of Workers' International Day, the PFLP held a mass rally in Ein-Al-Hilweh camp in Saida at which Comrade George Habash, General Secretary, spoke:

"Today we celebrate the International Workers' Day... it is an occasion to evaluate the meaning of this day... The working class has begun to be conscious of the system which exploits it and has determined to struggle daily... until abolishing this tyranny.

**The Unity of the International Working Class against the Unity of International Capital**

"At a certain historical stage of the development of human society, a certain system arose in some European countries, whereby a few capitalists possess all means of production, while the masses of workers toil and sell their labour power to the capitalist class in order to secure their livelihood...

"As a result of the accumulation of capital, a result of the surplus created by the workers, these capitalist countries developed. Their interests demanded that this capital flow to the countries of the world, in order to plunder the resources and exploit the peoples of the world. Thus, the capitalist class became the enemy of the working class in their respective countries and the enemy of the oppressed peoples. Thus, the revolutionary slogan which we follow was raised: Workers of the World and Oppressed Masses, Unite! A relentless conflict began in the world. What was the result?

"The 1917 revolution was the first victory of the working class... the first revolutionary authority of the workers and pe-

sants. This victory provoked the capitalist forces to try to liquidate this revolution... wars of intervention continued for more than 10 years. However, the working class in the Soviet Union was able to resist. Thus, the first socialist system was established...

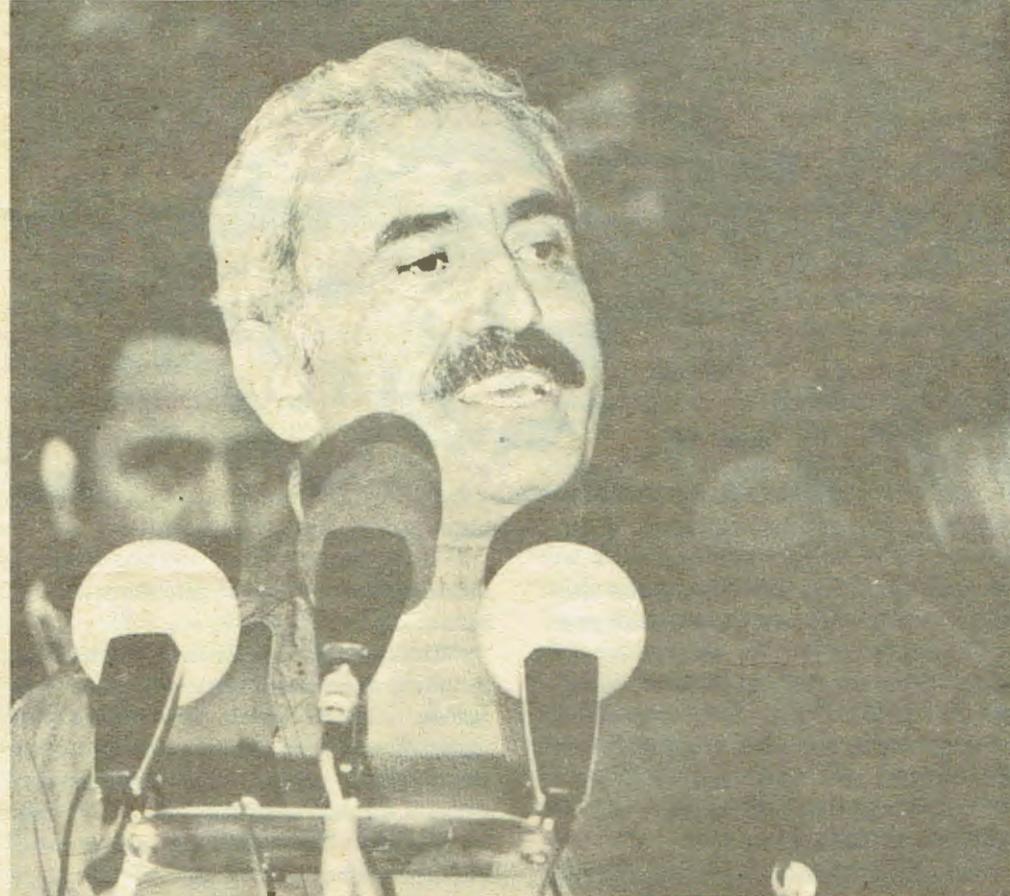
"In the 40's, socialism was victorious in more than one European and Asian country... Workers' authority was established in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, GDR, Mongolia, etc... then the first socialist country challenging imperialism in Latin America was Cuba...

"I say these things because imperialism is incessantly attempting to push our masses to a state of desperation and capitulation...

"Today the socialist system accounts for more than 1/3 of the world's industrial production. If we take into consideration that the countries where socialism was established were mainly backward agricultural countries, we realize the extent of the working class' progress and achievements in these countries...

"Look at what has happened in the world in the last five years... Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Ethiopia... then the Iranian Revo-

lution, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe... These are the concrete victories achieved by the national liberation movements. As a result, the capitalist system is undergoing a crisis at the same time imperialism is escalating its aggression — a sign of weakness and not of strength.



lution, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe... These are the concrete victories achieved by the national liberation movements. As a result, the capitalist system is undergoing a crisis at the same time imperialism is escalating its aggression — a sign of weakness and not of strength.

"Since imperialism feeds on the world market, any victory achieved by a people is a loss for it. Thus the imperialist crisis has deepened. This explains the current hysteria of the USA. As Carter himself said to the Congress at the beginning of the year, he fears a dangerous situation. He named three reasons: first, the growth of the military power of the Soviet Union; second, the broad social, political, cultural and religious

movement in various areas of the world; third, the dependence of US imperialism on oil imports for the continuation of its industry.

"Moreover, we can add that in some countries where reactionary puppets are still in power at this time, it is inevitable that the peoples will rise and take hold of their resources, thus placing imperialism in a deeper crisis. This is what explains the formation of the Quick Strike Force, the declarations about building a new Fifth Fleet, the

increase of military bases in Oman, the Indian Ocean and the continuous visits of American military responsables to Kenya, Somalia and Sudan to establish American military bases. In crisis, imperialism attempts to turn back the wheel of history by striking at peoples who have achieved their victories.

#### **US Military Maneuvers — A Policy for Subduing the Peoples**

"American imperialism is now preparing for a military maneuver at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba in an attempt to strike at the Cuban Revolution. Here we declare to the whole world that we stand in solidarity with the hero Castro, with the Cuban people and revolution against the imperialist enemy...

The US attempted directly to abort the Cuban Revolution some years ago, before it took firm roots. You all remember the American aggression-launched by the Kennedy administration in the beginning of the 60's... At that time, Castro himself led a tank under the slogan of 'The Homeland or Death' and the masses rallied around him and defeated the imperialist attack.

"The same imperial conspiracy could be applied to the Iranian peoples' revolution. This revolution achieved victories not only for the Iranian peoples, but also for the Palestinian Revolution and for the Arab World. It is an anti-imperialist revolution, crushing the treacherous Shah regime and the SAVAK. It is a revolution against Zionism and it shook the imperialist strategy in the area. Therefore, imperialism attempts to liquidate the Iranian Revolution... these aggressive schemes started at Lout desert and they will not halt. We declare to the Iranian people, to the leaders of the revolution, to Imam Khomeini, that the position of the sincere Palestinian and Arab masses is to support the Iranian Revolution. We also declare that any Arab regime that weaves intrigues against this revolution violates the position of the Arab masses and betrays them.

"It is important to note that we also realize the subjective gaps in the Iranian Revolution — the implications of leaning towards striking the progressive and leftist forces and the dangerous effects of this on the Iranian Revolution. We also realize the implications of not providing a democratic solution for the national minorities, based on the principle of the right to self-determination. Nonetheless, we recognize that this revolution during this period is anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-reaction...

"What really happened in Afghanistan, seen scientifically, removed from distortions and the imperialist aggressive maneuvers?

"In April 1978, there was a revolution against the reactionary monarchic regime, as happened in Iran. The difference is that the Iranian Revolution was led by a patriotic and progressive religious trend, while the Afghani one followed a political ideological line; it was an anti-imperialist revolution based on the power of the Afghani people. Imperialism and local reaction became rabid and wove conspiracies against the Afghani Revolution. In this situation, the Soviet Union took a political position that it would not allow peoples to be attacked or the historical movement to be impeded... This means that a people waging a bitter struggle



against imperialism, Zionism and reaction will find a real ally and support in the Soviet Union, to the degree that the people concerned have themselves decided.

### **Camp David reflects imperialism's international policy**

"It is impossible to understand the Camp David policy and plan to confront it without relating what is occurring in our area to what is happening on the international level. Due to the crisis that American imperialism faces and its vital interests in this area, the imperialist-Zionist-Sadat alliance was formed and clearly declared its intent to forcefully safeguard imperialist interests and hegemony in the area...

"Before, the Arab World was primarily valued for its geographic location... linking Europe, Asia and Africa... Now this area possesses a vital weapon that the treacherous rulers don't know how to utilize. But our heroic masses will one day know how to use it, once they hold power and drag imperialism to the ground...

"Now the US consumes 20 million barrels of oil daily; it produces 9-10 million barrels a day, i.e. 50% of its consumption; the rest it imports, namely from the Arab area. This is the importance of the area to imperialism, but the issue is not confined to oil; it also involves imperialism's foreign trade, through which the USA gets in returns the greater part of the money it pays for oil.

"Saunders says that Arab dollars in American banks amount to \$140 billion. This was in 1978. This year's studies indicate that the surplus from the OPEC countries will approach \$100 billion. However, the petrodollar does not support South Lebanon or the Arab and Palestinian struggle. Most of it supports 'the free system' as Ahmad Zaki Al Yamani, the Saudi Oil Minister, claims.

"According to Saunders' statistics, 10% of American trade enters our area... When the US attacks us, it is because it wants to retain this \$100 billion, the oil resources and the markets of the area. I say this so that we all know that in the coming years, we will face a relentless battle, through which imperialism will attempt to stamp out our determination, to liquidate us and our revolution, and strike every national liberation movement in the area in defense of its interests.

### **Let's Build the Revolutionary Alliance – the Alliance of Workers**

"The imperialist, Zionist and Sadat alliance safeguards not only the imperialist inte-



*Houses destroyed by the occupation forces following the May 2nd operation*

rests, but the Zionist interests and the interests of the ruling reactionary bourgeois class in the area as well... We must build the alliance of the workers and peasants, Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian, Arab, Mideastern and internationally, that destroys the imperialist, Zionist and Sadat alliance. We are 100% capable of that, and the movement of history points in this direction...

"Our enemy is afraid... Peres, head of the Labour coalition, says, 'What are we going to do with the Palestinians? Why should we accept the autonomy now? The Palestinian population in the Galilee approaches 600 thousand, 700 thousand in the West Bank and 400 thousand in Gaza'...

"The Israelis themselves made a study that indicates that in the year 2000, the Palestinians will constitute 46 % of the total population. Imagine, five years after that, the Palestinians will again become a majority in Palestine – a new Zimbabwe. We must not lose confidence in ourselves, although victory will not be easy... This is not the PFLP's task alone, but the responsibility of every Palestinian organization and patriot. We have consistently proved that we are a people who deserve to live... Our masses will

not accept being without determination and action.

"The tasks of the Palestinian Revolution, including Palestinian National Unity, will not be achieved, unless each one of you undertakes his/her responsibilities... If we can shoulder these responsibilities, our strength will be multiplied... We will be able to move from the stage of steadfastness to the stage of liberation...

### **Palestinian National Unity**

"Why isn't Palestinian National Unity achieved until now? Because there isn't continuous mass pressure capable of imposing it.

"Slogans are always raised in the Palestinian arena emphasizing the importance of holding the Palestinian National Council as soon as possible, so that we can achieve the tasks of the organizational program. This is not enough. We must understand national unity on the basis of the forces capable of implementing it and how it is to be achieved.

"Since the convening of the last PNC, about one year and four months ago, Palestinian National Unity has not been achieved, despite the challenges of the stage! Is the

## MAY 1ST IN NAZARETH AND KUFR YASSIF AND HAIFA

8,000 people from different areas attended a rally in Nazareth on the occasion of the first of May. Comrade Emile Habibi, Palestinian writer and member of Rakah, delivered a speech saluting the achievements of the Palestinian people on the road to regain their legitimate national rights under the leadership of the PLO. He emphasized that the sacrifices offered by the Palestinian people over the years had only served to strengthen their determination to confront all plans that aim at liquidating their rights. Other speakers condemned the latest Zionist

crime at Anabta and the daily crimes of the Zionists against the Palestinian people.

Another rally held in Kufr Yassif, in northern Palestine occupied in 1948, was attended by more than 9,000 people, who expressed their anger at the Zionist murder of the student in Anabta, and the daily repression practiced by the Zionists, especially in the West Bank and Gaza.

In Haifa, the Arab masses and Jewish progressive forces celebrated the first of May. Speakers called for intensifying the struggle against the Israeli war policy and the high cost of living, and for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian state.

mere convening of the next PNC enough to accomplish national unity?

"Palestinian National Unity can be achieved when each and every Palestinian patriot reads the political and organizational programs adopted in the last PNC and struggles for their implementation... We do not understand national unity in a superficial manner; in the coming PNC, we will insist on a genuine implementation of these programs. We will not deceive ourselves or our masses.

"You all know about the recent conference of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. One of the resolutions relates to POLISARIO and the revolution of the Saharan people and recognition of the Saharan Republic. The PLO is a force in this Front and is supposed to safeguard and push this Front forward to be the force that pushes Algeria, Libya and Syria to carry their responsibilities. However, in Morocco, the representative of the PLO there declares that the PLO does not agree with this resolution. Immediately, Abou Al Adeeb visited Morocco and reversed this declaration. In Algeria, the PLO representative said we are with the resolution... Do you want your revolution to be in such a shaky condition? How can we then demand that Libya, Algeria and Syria implement the resolutions, including those pertaining to the Palestinian Revolution?

"The political program of the PLO is clear. It does not allow Khaled Al Hassan to establish a confederation with Jordan. We participated in the adoption of the political program; we discussed for long hours and there was no mention of European-American-Soviet-Palestinian-Israeli negotiations!

On the contrary, the program reaffirms the Tripoli Pact and links the aim of this stage with the strategic aim very clearly. This was the basis of agreement. We accept tactical aims, but they must be in line with the process of total liberation. Moreover, the political program does not recognize 'Israel' or the possibility of negotiating with it...

"The organizational program specifies that all organizations are to be represented in all institutions of the PLO, including the Executive Committee. The program says that the position of the Palestinian Revolution is not decided by this or that person, but collectively; the decision is to be taken by the majority and the minority must submit to the majority. We were in the minority in our opposition to the negotiations with Jordan, yet we submitted to the majority. This is our understanding of national unity that serves the interests of the Palestinian Revolution.

### European Initiative – the more dangerous

"The Israeli flag has been raised in Cairo; but in the land of Palestine, you cannot yet find another Khazindar daring to recognize the 'autonomy'. Thus, Camp David faces a deadlock; when this became clear, some European officials started to talk of Palestinian rights... this Kreisky, Brandt, d'Estaing, what is their aim? How come their conscience has been awakened now? Britain, the country which issued the Balfour Declaration? It is because they want to save Camp David, to divide the Palestinian ranks. There is a long chain of conspiracy... the traitor Shawwa comes to Beirut to discuss the 'total

autonomy' plan; another plan is 'self-rule' in Gaza first; Kreisky, Brandt and Schmidt sing yet another tune; then the Jordanian-Palestinian state and this is the most dangerous!

"In 1981, there will be Israeli elections. There are indications that the Labour coalition might win and present a different form of 'autonomy', i.e. the return of 70-80% of the West Bank to Jordan and the establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian state. In this case, we shall face an acute crisis, due to the patriotic facade that has been offered to the Jordanian regime by the PLO. The Jordanian regime will then say that 14 years have passed since the 1967 war and not one meter of Palestinian land has been regained... give me a chance to regain 80% of the Palestinian land... the Jordanian regime will rely on the cover offered by the Baghdad Summit and its resolutions... Thus, in addition to Palestinian National Unity, we have the task of exposing all these political maneuvers.

### Support to our masses in occupied Palestine

"It is not enough to talk of supporting our masses in the occupied homeland... How do we really support our masses inside? with what political line? which forces will offer the support? Is it through the Palestinian-Jordanian Joint Committee, the activity of which has resulted in consolidating representatives of the Jordanian regime, like Anwar Nusseibeh and Anwar Al Khatib?

"Genuine support to our masses inside is achieved through two main elements: First, a clearly defined political line. I daily ask myself what happens to our masses demonstrating against occupation in the homeland, when they hear of a confederation with Jordan or of the European Initiative. This is not an idle question. We sense from those who come from the occupied homeland that this political wavering affects negatively on their morale. Genuine support is achieved by supporting the patriotic forces through the Palestinian National Front. Events have shown that it is the vanguard of the struggle of our masses inside.

"Second is safeguarding the revolution in Lebanon and that is through the close alliance with the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and the Lebanese masses... We must speak of the support to the LPM with sincere conviction in the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, to the international progressive forces, before we speak of the Palestinian Revolution... Regardless of the shortcomings in the Palestinian Resistance or the



LPM, we must remember that despite all the conspiracies directed against us since April 13, 1975 – the Phalangists, the Chamounists, the Cedar Guards, the Israeli invasion, Saad Haddad's mini-state – we are still steadfast in Lebanon. We must also realize the dangers of the situation in Lebanon if things stay as they are...

### The Lebanese Army

“There is a force in Lebanon that has not yet exercised its power and we shall confront it. This is the Lebanese authority. It is planned that the army be built up to 40,000 soldiers and the security forces to about 18,000. Johnny Abdo (head of the Second Bureau – the military intelligence), his budget and his men – this is the plan yet to be implemented and it is a dangerous force.

“How do you picture ‘Israel’ liquidating us? It attempted in March ‘78, but failed despite all its planes, tanks and bombs. The results were limited, but here a question arises: What does it mean for ‘Israel’ to liquidate us? It means to follow us to Beirut and up to Nahr Al Bared camp in the north.

“It is true that ‘Israel’ was capable of pushing the revolution back 20 kilometers, but the Revolution did not end. For the Revolution to be liquidated, the patriotic Lebanese and the Palestinian armed presence must be crushed. ‘Israel’ cannot implement this task; it only paves the way; it strikes at civilians, uproots thousands from Saida to Beirut; it creates a desperate, vindictive atmosphere among the masses. At that moment, the reactionary forces will point to the Palestinian Revolution as the cause of this situation and the Lebanese authority will say ‘Security before bread’. Who will then confront these conspiracies? The Palestinian Revolution cannot alone, neither politically nor tactically. Only the conscious Lebanese Patriotic Movement can achieve this task as it has in the past...

“We in the Palestinian Revolution must deal with the LPM frankly and fearlessly. Experience has taught us that if Lebanon becomes a patriotic state, it will become the Hanoi of the Palestinian Revolution... However, the process of liberation will not begin until there is an Arab revolutionary upsurge all around Palestine. Political positions must be taken to expose the reactionary forces and pave the way for the growth of the Arab mass movement. Here is the painful mistake committed by the Palestinian Revolution. The word has the effect of the bullet – Why doesn't the Palestinian Revolution expose

the conspiring and the incapacity of Arab reaction? Saudia Arabia alone could pressure the US administration. If Saudia Arabia stopped the oil flow or even decreased its production, it would shake the world. However, Saudi Arabia, that claims to oppose the Camp David agreements, increased its oil production from 8.5 to 9.5 million barrels daily. Iraq also increased its production. Imperialism increases its conspiracies – and Saudi Arabia offers it a bonus! These are the facts they attempt to keep from the masses. If the Revolution speaks of these facts daily, the Saudi masses will one day definitely arise against these policies and establish a patriotic regime that knows how to support the Palestinian Revolution and how to frighten US imperialism, at least to halt its aid to the Zionist entity.

“Our role in the Arab arena is immense: we must support the Arab mass movement, the LPM, the masses in Egypt, POLISARIO, PFLO, the National Democratic Front in North Yeman, etc. Moreover, we have the task of confronting the impotence of the Arab regimes. This way we will at least be serious with ourselves concerning principle and strategic issues.

“Why doesn't the Revolution play this role and confront every deviationist policy and expose every incapability?

“Here, it must not be understood that we want to wage new battles. Concerning the disagreement between us and the Iraqi regime, we want to draw attention to the fact that our relation with the Arab Liberation Front and the Lebanese Baathists is a relation based on the struggle and on our part, we will protect it, because we stand in the same trench. We do not create battles for no reason. The disagreement with Iraq is that during the Shah's rule, the Iraqi regime did not utter as much as half a word concerning the islands or the Shah's reactionary regime. However, when the Khomeini authority came to power, Iraq fabricated battles with the new regime to the extent of proclaiming it as a national enemy. This is not the only thing. The Iraq regime summoned Makkawi, who collaborated with the British in Yemen in the time of colonialism, to Baghdad. He has an office in Cairo, but now the Iraqi regime wants to keep him under its wing in order to antagonize the progressive regime in PDR Yemen.

### The ‘National Charter’ Eradicates Palestine

Suddenly, we face a new ‘National Charter’ based on facing dangers caused by the

Soviet Union! I read this ‘National Charter’ three times. The first time, I did not believe my eyes! The word Palestine is eradicated, as is any word of Camp David and imperialism! I wondered, those who wrote this charter, what were they thinking of?

“Naturally, this is a cover for their impotence, because they are incapable of doing anything for Palestine. As a matter of fact, it was not us who severed relations with the Iraqi regime, but we do have standards when it comes to matters of principle. When they sent us an invitation to the ‘People's National Conference’ held in Baghdad, for the purpose of ratifying this charter, we refused. They replied that the PFLP would pay a high price for this refusal.

“I regret that the Iraqi regime has come to such a state. In 1978, they called for unity and we were the first to applaud such a position. If Iraq genuinely will defy the enemy again, we will also applaud again. On the other hand, we will maintain a clear position concerning any force that tries to direct our battle away from its real aims.

“On the international level, our position must be clearly within the revolutionary camp, with the socialist community and against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

“Finally, the most important thing I feel compelled to say on this occasion is that the role of the working class and its ideology must be expanded in the Palestinian Revolution, because the working class does not allow for such deviation. I will give one example that concerns you all. The PLO Executive Committee agreed to a 5 million £ project in the camps, related to very essential problems such as water, shelters and bread. I will not go into the way in which this decision was taken and the struggle to get it approved, but now 4-5 months have passed and the decision has not yet been implemented. Letters are being written from the camps drawing attention to the fact that implementation has not begun.

“Let us struggle to increase the role of the working class and the real proletarian leadership, not the vanguard that, once in leadership, tails the bourgeoisie and forgets its masses. We want the leadership that remains among the workers and the peasants and lives as they live and raises their voices, carrying their pains!

LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN  
AND ARAB WORKING CLASS  
LONG LIVE THE  
PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION



# LEBANON: SYRIAN SOCIAL NATIONALIST PARTY

## INTERVIEW WITH IN'AM RIAD

*The following is an interview with In'am Riad, vice-chairman of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and member of the Supreme Council of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party in Lebanon.*

**Why did the Sarkis regime launch an initiative for national accord at this time?**

I think it is very clear that the Sarkis regime launched the initiative for national accord as a consequence of the initiative launched by the Lebanese Patriotic Movement (LPM). The political council of the LPM contacted the majority of the Lebanese forces and figures, attempting to rally this majority into a single general will that would support the initiative. This resulted in a great success, because different social, political and ideological groups, irrespective of their differences, found in the LPM's initiative the common platform for national salvation. The Armenian groups, the different parties, ex-president Franjeh in northern Lebanon, different members of parliament, and the trade unions, such a very broad cross-section of the country declared its support for the principles of national accord as initiated by the LPM. This was the motivating force which made the president and the government accept the principles of this accord as their platform.

The second component which motivated the Sarkis regime to launch the initiative was that the Arab Deterrent Force was on the verge of withdrawing from Beirut for strategic reasons, which were explained by the Syrian leadership, in order to answer the challenge of the imminent Israeli threat. This meant that an explosion of the security situation could take place. Of course, the only alternative to such an explosion was the national accord. The LPM was wise and sincere enough to take advantage of the situation, and thus produced its plan for the

national accord.

**What do you expect as the most probable outcome of the current efforts to reach national accord?**

The movement towards national accord, as you know, has been at a standstill for the past five or six weeks. This is due to several factors. First the Sarkis regime, in our estimation, was not very keen to execute this accord. Sarkis thought the situation was taken care of by declaring the principles.

Second, the isolationist – pro-Zionist, so-called Lebanese Front not only did not accept the principles of the national accord, but tried its best to have them fail. This was

very clear in the various declarations by the Lebanese Front, stating that it was still studying the plan. Then it voiced reservations concerning the basic issues in the plan. After all, if you have reservations against the relations with the Palestinians, relations with the Syrians, the unity of Lebanon, what remains of the plan? Chamoun challenged the plan initiated by President Sarkis on the grounds that it mentioned something about the cantons and that the plan should not

mention this because if not for these cantons, Lebanon would have lost its freedom. The reservations of the Lebanese Front issued, off and on, were rebuttals and rejection of the plan for national accord. However, they were not given at one time, but by installments.

Why? Because the Lebanese Front – the pro-Zionist front could not make a clear-cut rejection of this plan which was so popular. All the people were welcoming this initiative

by the LPM, as an initiative towards a political solution, which would be the alternative to a military clash. Therefore, it was rather impossible for the Lebanese Front to give a blunt no. This would mean that they were opting for the military clash. Therefore, they refused the plan for national accord by installments and not by a clear-cut blunt statement. This may be termed as one of the negative aspects of the rejection. However, the more dangerous aspect is their alliance with 'Israel' and their defence of Saad Haddad's gang in South Lebanon.

President Sarkis has given much attention to the point of view of the Lebanese Front. This policy has given the Front the advantage over the majority of Lebanese that stand against it. The advice of that Front carried more weight than all the other Lebanese groups, even though they represent a majority of the population. We all know that the president was not very happy with the Franjeh – Phalange clash in 1978. Actually, he should have taken advantage of that clash, because it meant a disintegration of the ghetto, that the central authority could take advantage of. Yet Sarkis' interpretation of the situation is that he wants the Lebanese Front to be strong, so that he can lean upon it in order to off-balance the other groups. The president thinks the strength of the Lebanese Front gives him strength, although this is contrary to his interests. If he has an independent plan as president of the republic and as a constitutional authority, he should have exploited the division and not the strength of those secessionists. A central authority would normally take



advantage of the weakness of secessionists to increase its grip on the country. But the political philosophy of president Sarkis comes to the fact that there are two secessionist movements in the country – the pro-Zionist front which is making a real secession and the other Lebanon which he thinks is falling under Arab authority, mainly that of the Palestinians. This is a very absurd way of seeing things, but that is the way Sarkis sees the situation.

Another factor is the direct intervention of the Israelis, their military escalation in Lebanon. The bombardment of Saida has nothing to do with the borderline. It has nothing to do with any military confrontation. Saida is far from the borderline and all the refugees go there; therefore, it should be made insecure for those Lebanese and Palestinian refugees that are fleeing from the borderline. This military escalation on the part of Israel at this particular time was really a bombardment of the national accord.

Now, the LPM is preparing itself for a new initiative, asking the authorities to put into execution the principles of the national accord that were declared a few months ago. We were very satisfied with the visit of the Syrian Minister of Foreign Affairs to Lebanon on April 29th, and the help it rendered to the Lebanese authorities in putting the national accord plan into motion again.

#### **How will you work to prevent the Lebanese Army's deployment from eradicating the achievements of the LPM and the positions of the Palestinian Resistance in Lebanon?**

Actually, we do not want to take our position vis-à-vis the Lebanese Army as a reaction to an action. We are not defending the LPM; we are not defending the Palestinian Resistance, but the way we are dealing with the army position is as patriotic citizens, very keen to achieve the welfare of our community and society. What should the position of the army be in a democratic society? I would like to put my answer positively and not negatively. Our view is the result of a very lengthy experience with the army institutions. The Syrian Social Nationalist Party has felt much of the military persecution. I myself was in prison for seven years after 1961, when we attempted a coup against the military, trying to take power during the Chehab regime.

We are opposed to the role of the Second Bureau – the military intelligence, which would be a form of military dictatorship,

sometimes disguised by parliamentary forms. In a democratic society, and we hope that Lebanon will remain a democratic society and will move toward more democracy, you cannot tolerate the army coming to power, especially in a disguised way. Unlike many other third world societies, the Lebanese Army is not leading a radical change or a revolution or a social change. Here the army is more conservative. If you want to find the radicals, they are in the parties, in the political groups. Therefore, democracy is essential for the left. Democracy is essential in Lebanon for social change. Because the left and the forces for social change are found among the oppressed groups in the LPM and in the other progressive forces. Therefore, we are keen to preserve democracy. In this sense, we are against any political meddling by the army, especially through the role of the Second Bureau. We feel that concerning the organization of the army according to the law which is now under debate, the crux of the problem is the power delegated to the Second Bureau or the military intelligence and its functions. The army is trying to gain not only political but also economic and social power, for that branch, to the extent that it will be meddling in all fields of the society. The country's life would be under its grip. We are supporting the position of Premier Hoss that there should be a complete division of power between the military and political, as well as other reforms concerning the powers of the commander-in-chief of the army and the intelligence. We believe if these reforms take place and the army is put under the political command of the government, this would be one of the safety valves for political life in the country.

Another thing which is very important is the defense policy which was passed by the council of ministers as part of the national accord plan, whereby the enemy was defined to be the Zionist enemy. Lebanon was defined as part of the Arab world. The Camp David accord was rejected. Problems concerning the Palestinians should be solved according to the prior agreements and there should be a special relation with Syria. These things should not be just passed as a national defense policy, but should be moving down to the bases of the army; the soldiers and officers should be educated in this national defense policy. There should be a re-orientation in the rank-and-file of the army. This will help very much in having an army that is friendly to the PLO.

#### **What are your expectations concerning the army's role in terms of the occupied border strip and Israeli aggression on the South of Lebanon?**

First, we believe that unless it is clear what the national defense policy of the army and the country is, one cannot share the orientation that the army is being built up in order to defend the borders. Rather one might expect it is being built up in order to oppress some internal groups. This has been the traditional role of the army. The army has been used for internal security reasons, which the regime feels is necessary for its protection. The conservative groups demand that this remain the army's task. Of course the function of the army changes completely if we define the policy of defense. At present, the army is being supplied with US arms. Do you think US arms could be used to liberate the borderline from 'Israel'? Were US arms ever used against Israeli aggression? US arms usually flow in very generous amounts to armies that use them against their people or against other Arab people. Now, heavy armaments are going to Sadat because he may use them against Libya, and because he has demonstrated his willingness to use them against any other Arab or African country.

US arms are being piled up by the Lebanese Army. However, once the army is oriented against Israeli aggression, I think using arms against the PLO or the LPM would clash with its orientation. It is because of the function of the army that all these problems arise.

I would like to add that we do not expect the army to regain the borderline, because all the Arab armies have not yet reached a strategic balance with the Israeli occupation army. Even if the army was built in the proper way, it would not attain the strength necessary to liberate the borderline. We know that the strategic and military balance is in favour of 'Israel'. Therefore, we do not have illusions about the Lebanese Army alone forming a strategic balance versus 'Israel'.

What we criticize is that because the Lebanese authorities did not have a clear national defense policy, Haddad's gang was not designated as traitors. A big internal fight between us and the authorities has taken place concerning this. It was not until recently that they declared through Ambassador Tuani in the UN that Haddad should be considered a traitor. Before this, Haddad was officially considered part of the Leba-

nese Army. This has given the international community and the UN a weapon against us, although it should have been a weapon in our favour. Imagine Ireland is accusing Haddad of being a stooge of 'Israel', asking Begin not to help this stooge. Lebanon should have had this position two years ago. This has been the main accusation of the LPM. We know the physical limitations of the Lebanese Army, but we want the political decision to defend the country to the last minute, and refuse traitors who collaborate with the army of the occupation.

On this basis, we also criticize the position of the government which tried twice to let the army enter south Lebanon, claiming that through US guarantees they will play a role with the help of UNIFIL to regain the borderline. This was a mirage. Nothing was executed although the LPM and the PLO facilitated the army in passing over their lines.

**Do you expect a split in the army if there is an attempt to use it against the LPM and the Palestinian Resistance?**

I think those who are rebuilding the army are conscious of this. Therefore, they are using all their weight in order to have a unified army that will not split if it comes to this situation. According to them, it is more unified than the army in 1975 that split. However we believe in one thing: No matter how the authorities try to fix up the army, officially it's part of the people. The LPM has maintained a policy that although it's against the way the army is being built, it is not for the division of the army. It is for the re-orientation of the army.

**What forces within the army have the political will to re-orient it?**

The LPM is not joining the army as organizations. However, we believe that since the army is being built from the people, then hundreds of our adherents may be joining its ranks. This will be despite the efforts of the authorities in the army, as they are very keen not to admit a single individual that pertains to the LPM. On the other hand, they welcome thousands from the other groups whom they regard as safeguards of the regime.

**What are the economic problems that effect the life of the masses in Lebanon? What are the roots of these problems? How do you see a solution for these problems?**

There are two sets of economic problems. One set pertains to the monopolistic semi-feudalist nature of the regime, in other words, capitalist like Adam Smith before the Keynesian reform. These are the basic and intrinsic contradictions: the privileged few, the poverty of the masses, etc.

Then there are things that are special to Lebanese capitalism. First, the state has a very limited role. Even in the US or European countries, the state has assumed more and more of a role. You have capitalism, but you have the state's regulation. The role of the state here is very recent, a matter of the last ten years. It is small when compared to other capitalist systems. Therefore, there is more of a *laissez faire* system. Second, the Lebanese capitalist system was mainly intended to be a service economy, rather than a system of production. Capitalism is not productive here. Industry and agriculture are not the pillars of our economy. Here is the interaction between the national and social problems. This structure was intentional, in order to prevent Lebanon from relying more on the surrounding Arab countries. If there was a cycle of production, then you need markets for your products, plus all the complementary economic relations between Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, etc. Therefore, the policy was one of isolation. There was a fear of unity coming gradually through economic ties with the surrounding Arab countries. Therefore, the policy was based on a service economy — Lebanon as a summer or winter resort, a banking system for the petro-dollars, etc. In this way, you have a rather distorted type of economy.

Then you have the other economic problems. Mainly, you have the confessional structure of the system which involves discrimination against certain areas because these areas are inhabited by this or that sect, with all the economic results of such political sectarian discrimination. Then there are those problems that came as a result of the war and the situation since. For example,

there are hundreds of thousands of people who were evicted from their homes; whether in places run over by the militias of Gemayal and Chamoun in Mt. Lebanon or Beirut, or in places that were affected by the Israeli invasion and the militias in South Lebanon or people who left their homes because of the heavy bombardment from the Israeli air force.

About 1/2 million of the Lebanese have been displaced, which is a large number,

compared to the original population which did not exceed three million; 1/5 or 1/6 of the population was displaced. This results in economic as well as social problems. In addition, the civil war ended with the destruction of some of the economic sectors, especially industry and even services, the hotel sector in Beirut for example. But the most important factor in the current rise of prices is the fact that since the war, the militias of the Phalange and Chamoun have seized most of the sea ports of Lebanon, especially the port of Beirut. According to Premiere Hoss, 800 million Lebanese pounds (about 300 million dollars) are being lost annually from the Lebanese treasury to the militias. In addition, all kinds of smuggling is taking place through these ports held by the militias. Also the economic cycle of the country is being subdivided because of the militias taking this or that port. In certain sectors of the country, there may be an overwhelming amount of wheat, but in other sectors there may be a shortage. There may be oil and gasoline in one sector, while there is a shortage in another sector.

Of course, these are temporary problems, the consequences of the civil war. Yet, these are very acute economic problems which face the country. The national accord will help. Countries that have passed through a national or civil war usually end up with a larger public sector, as was the case in Europe after World War II. In Lebanon during the war, there was regulation of the economy and a public sector attached to the different groups that were fighting. However, it is doubtful that the government is willing to reap the lesson of this by creating a wider public sector, giving more attention to the toiling masses. Or is it going to rebuild the capitalist-monopolistic system as it was? This is the real challenge. Of course, the LPM and all our parties are formulating social and economic programs for the coming situation.

**What is your party's position towards the Palestinian Revolution?**

First, you should know my party's ideology and analysis of the whole problem. The SSNP stands for the unity of geographical Syria. From Taurus to Sinai, Syria was historically a geographical, national and cultural unit. It was divided by the Sykes-Picot agreement which was concluded between the French, the British and Czarist Russia. This treaty was revealed to the world by Lenin after the Bolshevik Revolution. This colonial agreement was concluded in 1916 as part of



the division of the spoils of the Ottoman Empire. In 1917, the Balfour Declaration was issued by the British government. We feel that there is an interrelation between dividing geographical Syria and Zionizing Palestine. The all Syrian Congress, that was convened in Damascus in 1919-20 as a sort of parliament for the different regions of Syria, was attended by Palestinians, Syrians, Lebanese and Jordanians. King Feisal was named King of United Syria. The French did not accept this and attacked Damascus, because there was an Arab state coming into being. The semi-independent Arab state in

Damascus was overrun by the French troops in 1920. After that, the destiny of Palestine was decided separately, subject to the British mandate. The Zionist immigration to Palestine was given all the necessary facilities up to 1947 in order to create Israel as the Jewish national home that was promised by Balfour.

This is our analysis built on the development of events. Therefore, we stand for the unification of geographical Syria, refusing completely the Zionist state and Zionist colonial settlement in Palestine or elsewhere. We believe in the national revolution to unify and liberate our country as part of the national liberation wars throughout the third world.

We also stand for a secular democratic state and perhaps we are a party that is noted throughout its history for being strictly secular. In the recent events in Lebanon, we can be proud of having a cross-section of the country in our ranks. We can boast that a great majority of our martyrs were Christians who were fighting in the mountains of Lebanon. This is, of course, a historical result of the strong Christian mass support which our party has enjoyed all through its history in Mt. Lebanon. This has made our party the real progressive national alternative to the Phalange, because none of the other parties of the LPM, with the exception of the Communist Party, have been able to rally the masses of Mt. Lebanon on a non-sectarian basis. It would have been easier for the Phalange to make a more sectarian polarization were it not for our party, which had a strong mass base in the mountains. Therefore, we paid a higher price in sacrifices, because we were evicted from those districts. The houses of hundreds of our adherents were burned and hundreds were assassinated.

However, we still maintain a strong-hold in the Metn district; we have all the northern part of Metn, the mountainous part from

es-Shoier up to Saneen, which is a peak of the Meth mountains, and we have al-Kourah district in northern Lebanon near Tripoli, which is a Christian district as well. During the past few days, a fight has been going on between our party's forces and the Phalangists over strategic positions in the mountains.

We maintain that the Saad Haddad symptom in South Lebanon, or the Besheer Gemayal symptom with the Israeli tanks in East Beirut, are not symptoms that can be defeated militarily, but should be defeated socially and politically, mainly through offering the alternative. If here you have a minority of Christians allied with the Palestinian Resistance, this is not something that took place haphazardly, but due to conviction and political analysis and ideology, as a result of about 50 years of political struggle.

Therefore, in essence, the Palestinian question is part of our national cause for unity and liberation. We are committed to the Palestinian question, not as a matter of strategy and tactics, but as a matter of stable conviction, as part of our ideology. We believe that the Palestinian Revolution is the vanguard of the national liberation revolution. We support very much the emergence of the Palestinian national identity, but we believe this should be transitory as a vanguard for the national awakening of all the countries surrounding Palestine. You cannot liberate Palestine with the Palestinian Resistance alone; you need all surrounding national forces to come to the liberation war to tip the balance strategically against colonial settlement. This is the political philosophy of our party. We are committed to the Palestinian cause, not because we believe the Palestinians are our allies. Rather, we feel that we and the Palestinians are one and this is very important. We feel that it is not an alliance of two independent and sovereign peoples. We believe that we are one people, nationally, historically, geographically. The Sykes-Picot agreement divided one country, according to French and British colonial interests, but Lebanon and Palestine are one country. Israel is conscious of this fact. It moves strategically in awareness that this is one country. If Zionism wants Palestine, it wants more. At least we as the original inhabitants of the country should be aware of what the aggressor is aware of, and carry the national war in this strategic sense, so that we defeat the aggressor strategically. The Zionist danger is an imminent danger to the

very existence of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan as well as Palestine. Therefore, it is not the Palestinian cause we support; it is the national question of the survival of all these people which are one. In this sense we are committed completely to the support of the Palestinian Revolution, which we feel is the vanguard of our national revolution.

**What are your expectations for the upcoming conference to be held in Paris in support of the Lebanese people in June?**

We have great hopes that this conference will have international dimensions for several reasons. First, we believe that this will take place with the same international support that was given to the Palestinian Revolution in Lisbon. Second, one half or more of the Lebanese population are emigrants all over the world and therefore an international conference to support the Lebanese is sure to get the support of our Lebanese masses scattered in four continents of the world: Latin America, North America, Western Europe, West Africa as well as Australia. Therefore, we hope that this will form a strong support to the struggle of the LPM.

**What is the position of the LPM concerning the recent Baghdad conference and the charter it approved?**

Two major points of political significance are to be noted concerning the participation of the LPM in this conference. First, the delegation headed by an independent member of the LPM's Executive Committee, Dr. Fakhouri, a well-known straightforward patriot, did not include any of the major parties of the LPM. This did not take place accidentally. Second, Dr. Fakhouri delivered a

speech in the conference, representing the LPM's point-of-view, which is critical of the original document of the conference, and proposing amendment on several crucial issues. The most significant among these proposals was that the main focus must be on the struggle against US imperialism and Zionism, especially as manifested in the Camp David accords, and that the alliance of the LPM is with the Arab camp of steadfastness, the Arab People's Conference and the socialist camp. The LPM is represented in and committed to the Arab People's Conference and of course we were against any split in this conference. In the end, the Baghdad conference issued a declaration that it does not mean to split. Why? Because it felt the pressure of the LPM and the PLO in refusing such a split.

I would like to add my own comment aside from that of the LPM. The major issue of strategy in the current situation is the struggle against the Camp David accord and the tripartite alliance of US imperialism, Zionism and Sadat's betrayal. Any conference or any political orientation that neglects this major issue, and tries to focus on secondary issues as the major issue, is a real stab in the back to the national struggle. In the struggle against US imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionary capitulation, we have a very clear international ally, which is the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the national liberation movements in the world. Our enemy is US imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionary capitulation. If we are going to equate enemies with friends, this is a departure from the strategy of struggle. What was presented in Baghdad neglected the major issue. It was only after amendments and conflicts in the conference that anything was mentioned about the Camp David accords. Moreover, in the original declaration, there was nothing mentioned

about the major struggle. The struggle was stated as being against the super powers maintaining bases. Our party has stated on several occasions that we will not only tolerate Soviet bases in our area, but we encourage the Soviets to come and have bases. This is not a new position. In June 1976, in the Malta Conference of the Mediterranean Socialist Parties, I gave a speech in which I said we do not equate the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean with the US imperialist fleet. We feel that the Soviet fleet is an umbrella, defending national struggle, while we see the American fleet as a supporter of aggression.

**What do you see as Iraq's real reason for not participating in the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front?**

The basic reason that the Iraqi authorities were 'giving' all along was that they would not join a front that did not reject UN resolution 242. At one time, we and I think the PFLP had the same stand in supporting the Iraqi position at the beginning. However, now the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front has rejected 242. Are we expecting Iraq to join this Front now? No, and this is proof that the Iraqis were to an extent only using 242 as justification for not joining this Front. One should be very realistic and follow things as they are. If 242 was the reason, this reason no longer exists.

Actually we believe that Iraq is more

pre-occupied with the Gulf than with the Palestinian question. Iraq seems to be occupied with defending the Arabization of the Gulf and we stand with Iraq in defending the Arabization of the Gulf. However, the struggle should first be directed against US imperialism. A pre-requisite for defending the Arab nature of the Gulf is to liberate it from US influence. The Gulf is not Arab; it is American now. We should re-establish Arab nationalism in the Gulf and then defend its Arabization.

Actually we support the Iraqi claim that we have lost Arab land, historically speaking. During the Shah's regime, we lost some Arab land to Iran. We are very nationalistic. We want our Arab lands to be regained. We are not willing to let a grain of soil be lost from the Arab countries whether to Iran or to Turkey. Turkey has seized Alexandrette, as well as all the northern border of Syria, which was given by the French mandate to Turkey. But in strategy you have a set of priorities. Our struggle against the Zionist colonial settlement in Palestine is a struggle of existence. It is not a struggle of borders. The Zionists are carrying out a war of annihilation against our country and people. In this war we cannot say to the Zionists, "wait a moment, we want to regain some land from Iran." Why? Because the Iranians are supporting our struggle of existence against the Zionists. This was a result of the revolution and not during the Shah's regime, which was supporting the Israelis.

'Israel' would not be in existence, Israeli aggression would not have taken place, either in 1948 or 1967 or now in South Lebanon, if not for the support of US imperialism. If the Iranian revolution is supporting our struggle and is launching its own struggle against US imperialism, then we have a strategic alliance with the Iranian Revolution. Problems of frontiers between us and Iran should be solved peacefully later; primacy should be given to our country's confrontation against Zionism and US imperialism. In this sense, the Iraqi idea of protecting the Arabization of the Gulf ultimately results in the protection of the pro-American regimes in the Gulf. This means making contradictions with Iran while Iran is supporting us in our struggle against imperialism and Zionism. We do not support this line of policy. The Iraqi concern should be concentrated on liberating the Gulf from US influence first.

**When the Soviet Union sent troops to aid Afghanistan, it was called an invasion and**

**the Islamic states created a large fuss. Why do you feel there was not similar reaction when the US began mobilizing its military forces in the region and carried out the recent military operation in Iran?**

Islam is being used by reactionary regimes and US imperialism against the welfare of the Moslem people. Neither the Iranians nor the Palestinians have received real support from the Islamic countries. When Carter apologized to 'Israel' for his delegate's vote in the UN against colonial settlements being erected in the West Bank, the Islamic governments did not convene a conference to denounce Carter's apology to Zionist colonialism. This was by-passed and the Zionist colonies are still being built in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, which is an historic Islamic as well as Christian shrine. Yet, this was by-passed as if nothing happened.

The same thing applies to the situation of Iran. After the Iranian revolution, there arose a pan-Islamic, anti-imperialist current which overran Pakistan in outbreaks against the US Embassy and US centers. The situation exploded in the Arab Peninsula as well. US imperialism tried to off-set this balance by exploiting the situation in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, Soviet support was given to a communist regime in power since 1978. The US knows they are not protesting a communist take-over, but they are trying to rebuff the pro-Islamic, anti-imperialist wave which was generated by the Iranian revolution.

Before these developments, Islam was considered by the US, as is Christianity, as a bulwark against revolution, as an opium for the people. The Iranian revolution off-set US imperialist exploitation of religion and proved that religion could be a leverage of revolution as well. This also off-set the

dogmatic approach to religion as being only an opium for the people, that revolution will take place only by economic causes. This proved that revolution could have material as well as spiritual causes, and that religion in a stage of history may be a leverage for revolution. In other words, religion is not always determined to be the opium for the people unless it has been exploited by the exploiter. If it is in the hands of the people, it will not be the opium of the people. When this took place, US imperialism tried to carry a counter-attack in order to re-establish religion as the opium for the people, not wanting to leave religion as a weapon in their hands.



# LEBANON

## ZIONIST-FASCIST AGGRESSION

Zionist-fascist terror continues against the masses in Lebanon, to strike the Palestinian Resistance and its alliance with the Lebanese Patriotic Movement. In particular, Israeli 'raids' on Lebanon have been stepped up to divert attention from the growing mass revolt in occupied Palestine. Once again Israeli reconnaissance flights over Lebanon are a daily occurrence as are Israeli gunboats and helicopters patrolling the Lebanese coast.

*April 25:* Israeli gunboats approach the West Beirut coast, but are confronted by fire from the Joint Forces.

*April 27:* Saad Haddad's militia blow up a house and kidnap a Lebanese citizen in Hinnyieh village near Sour.

*April 29:* The Zionist-fascist forces shell Saida.

*May 7:* Israeli commandos land from gunboats south of Damour in an attack which killed 5 and wounded 6. This attack was confronted by the Joint Forces, engaging the Zionists in a heavy battle, forcing them to retreat to their gunboats.

*May 8:* Israeli gunboats fire on Sour; gunboats and helicopters patrol from Sour to Beirut, attempting to land, but are repelled by the Joint Forces' fire.

An Israeli tank, attempting to cross the Litani River at the Khardali bridge to Nabatiyeh is destroyed by the Joint Forces.

The fascist militia shells Nabatiyeh:

*May 9:* Saad Haddad's forces shell Nabatiyeh and kidnap a resident of Yatar village.

*May 10:* Israeli gunboats, approaching the coast of West Beirut, draw the fire of the Joint Forces.

## JOINT MILITARY OPERATIONS

*March 22* – Two units of the joint forces in South Lebanon successfully raided artillery positions of Saad Haddad's forces.

*March 23* – Two units of the joint forces raided fascist positions in the area of Ibel-Al-Saqqi in the eastern part of South Lebanon, using hand grenades, machine guns and rockets. They destroyed the enemy position.

*April 9* – Following a successful attack on the Zionist-fascist position in the occupied border strip, the joint forces issued the following statement: On orders of the military leadership of the joint forces and after careful reconnaissance, a unit of the joint forces attacked a main fascist position in Tel Zabheen and Marje'oun at 6 a.m. April 8th. The unit was involved in a large battle, but was able to destroy the position, inflict heavy casualties and destroy several

weapons belonging to the fascist enemy. The joint forces are committed to defend South Lebanon and to liberate it from Zionist occupation. The joint forces pledge to the masses of South Lebanon to continue to escalate military operations against the enemy in order to fulfill the aspirations of the masses. The joint forces will also continue to protect the masses from this fascist-Zionist alliance.

*April 29* – A unit of the PFLP, named after comrade martyr Naser Rashid Janoof 'Guevara', working with a unit of the Communist Action Organization named after comrade martyr Ibrahim, planted explosives in and near the village of Taibeh. In the evening while a car that carried Saad Haddad and his guards passed, an explosive went off, wounding him and his guards. Ambulances transferred the injured to 'Israel'.

## POLITICAL STATEMENT

The 4th Conference of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front was held in Tripoli, April 12-15th. Participating were Chadli Bendjedid, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria; Hafez Assad, President of the Syrian Arab Republic; Mo'ammer Qaddafi, leader of the September 1st Revolution in the Libyan Arab Popular Socialist Jamahiriah; Abdul Fattah Ismail, General Secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party and Chairman of the People's High Council in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution.

The conference dealt with the developments on the Arab and international levels since the 3rd conference. It discussed in detail the present situation in the imperialist-Zionist - Arab conflict and the dangerous effects of the continuation of the policy of the Camp David alliance. The results of this have increasingly clarified the extent of the conspiracy which world Zionism and US imperialism are trying to implement against the Arab nation, aiming to abolish its national unity and to create contradictions among its countries in order to divert them into side battles, using the Sadat regime against the Arab nation and mostly against the Egyptian people. All this is done to guarantee its total hegemony in the Arab homeland and to subdue the Arab nation by liquidating all its patriotic and national achievements, plundering its resources and placing the entire Arab area under the US-Zionist umbrella.

### The imperialist-Zionist scheme aims at liquidating the Palestinian cause

Through analysis of the present situation, the conference arrived at the following conclusions:

1. What the parties of Camp David have achieved is only links in the deceptive chain of the conspiracy led by US imperialism and Zionism against the Arab nation and its central cause, Palestine.

2. The normalization of relations between the Egyptian regime and the Zionist entity

# STEADFASTNESS AND CONFRONTATION FRONT:

constitutes a new step in consolidating the aggressive alliance between the USA, the Zionist enemy and the Sadat regime, which is basically directed against the Arab nation, including the Arab people of Egypt.

3. The main aim of the imperialist-Zionist program is to liquidate the Palestinian cause, to fragment the Palestinian Arab people, to suppress their national identity, to violate the unity of their representation as well as to strike the PLO, as the vanguard of the Palestinian people's armed struggle and their sole legitimate representative. Thus, the parties of Camp David are determined to implement the liquidationist conspiracy against the Palestinian Revolution, to continue the construction of Zionist settlements, to impose the 'autonomy' plot on the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to resettle the Palestinian refugees and to expell the Palestinian people from their homeland.

4. At this stage, Syria constitutes the central link and there is an attempt to strike and liquidate it, because it represents the base for steadfastness and confrontation, due to its geographic and national position in terms of the Palestinian cause, and because it is the main political-military force in confronting the Zionist enemy and its allies.

This explains the ferocious aggression that the Syrian Arab Republic is exposed to, in a desperate attempt to put an end to its national role with the aim of striking its internal front, using tools linked with the tripartite alliance of Camp David, because it is considered the main buttress of the strength and steadfastness of Syria.

5. Imposition of American hegemony on some of the Arab states and the establishment of American military bases on their soil to defend western interests under the pretext of defending the independence of these states against an alleged danger.

6. The attempts to narrow the gaps between the Sadat regime and some of the Arab regimes as a step towards drawing them into the framework of the Camp David policy and to liquidate the unity of the Arab position, which has been strengthened by the Arab summit decisions, to instigate conflict in the Arab arena, using some Arabs against others, so that all Arabs do not stand in the same trench against the main enemy

represented by the Zionist entity, the US imperialist interests and the partners of Camp David.

7. Some Western European countries are hesitant to take positions in harmony with the interests of their people and are attempting to divert the Arab position by presenting complimentary projects for the Camp David formula and the Security Council resolution 242, following the US policy in the Middle East region, without consideration of the justice of the Arab cause and its core, the Palestinian cause, and the dangerous effects resulting from the continuation of the USA's policy in the Arab region.

8. The Arab position, embodied in the decisions of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and the Baghdad and Tunis Arab Summits, the sympathy of the Islamic non-aligned, socialist, African and friendly countries and the forces of liberation and progress in the world, supported the Arab nation in its rejection of the Camp David agreements and constituted a qualitative push for the forces struggling in Arab Egypt

to escalate their campaign against Sadat's regime and its capitulationist course. This led to the escalation of patriotic action expressed in the determination of our masses in Arab Egypt to foil all the schemes that aim at pulling Egypt away from its natural and vanguard position in the Arab nation's battle against imperialism and Zionism.

9. Events and developments witnessed by the Arab area since the establishment of the National Steadfastness and Confrontation Front in Tripoli in December, 1977, have proved that this Front constitutes the nucleus of the Arab position in rejecting the capitulationist course in the Arab area. It has played a vanguard role in Arab and international conferences. The development of

this front and the mobilization of the potentials of its parties and the establishing of its institutions is an urgent requirement, in order to transform it into being more effective in confronting the conspiracies and challenges, and to consolidate Arab solidarity on the basis of confronting and foiling the Camp David plots and to support and develop the trend towards liberation and progress in the Arab world.

## DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

The 4th Conference was held in a very critical period, characterized by continued imperialist-Zionist-reactionary aggression, aimed at rendering the forces of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front powerless.

Thus, the Front stood at a crossroads — either to deepen the polarization process initiated in the Arab arena and thus become an effective force challenging the enemy plans, or to return to the official Arab solidarity, which has failed to respond to the masses' demands for liberation and progress.

In addition to the states represented in the Front, the leaders of all the Palestinian Resistance organizations were present, with the exception of the Arab Liberation Front. The leaders of the Resistance organizations emphasized that the Front must protect the process of polarization by taking a clear national progressive stand rejecting capitulation to imperialism and Zionism, and thus distance itself from Arab reaction. The minimum level of the Baghdad and Tunis Summits has become worthless in the face of the tripartite enemy's determination to implement Camp David. Therefore, this conference was required to assume qualitatively new tasks and move from statements to action.

The practical proposals of the Palestinian delegations included the following:

— The conference should take a binding decision to use the oil weapon. If it is impossible to cut the oil immediately, at least production can be decreased; prices should not be based on the dollar, etc. Such a step would corner Arab reaction and expose its true position.

— Relations should be cut with the regimes of Somalia, Sudan and Oman, because of their relations with the Sadat regime and their opening the doors to US-imperialism. Relations with the Moroccan regime should be cut due to King Hassan's role in promoting Sadat's initiative.

3. Material and military support must be given to the major forces on the front line of the daily battle, in particular, Syria, the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement.



4. Clear and effective support to PDR Yemen in confronting Arab reaction's attack is an elementary required task.

5. Support to all the Arab national liberation movements and recognition of the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic.

Implementation of such decisions, coupled with a clear distinction between the friendly and enemy camps on the international level and full mobilization of the masses' potentials in the battle, would serve to move the Arab struggle against Zionism and imperialism from a defensive to an offensive stage.

Although not all the demands were met, we regard the 4th Conference as a qualitative step forward, because it established organizational bodies to implement its decisions. The higher leadership, the political committee, the information committee and the military leadership with joint military forces under its command, are to assume their tasks immediately with the aim of centralizing Arab efforts in order to escalate the resistance against Zionist presence and confrontation of imperialist policy in the region.

The conference made the following decisions:

– To continue resisting the Camp David policy, to confront the Zionist-imperialist programs, to mobilize the capabilities of the Arab masses and their organizations, as they are the essential base of the national struggle...

– The conference reaffirmed support to the Arab People's Conference and condemned all attempts to destroy its unity.

– Economic relations of the members of the Front with European states will be determined according to whether these states continue to compliment American policy...

– The boycott of Sadat's regime will be continued, implementing the rules applied to the Zionist enemy...

– To support, politically and materially, the Palestinian masses' steadfastness, inside and outside the occupied land, strengthening their capacity to confront the 'autonomy' plot and to resist occupation; to support the PLO, leader of the Palestinian people's struggle and their inalienable representative, inside and outside their land.

– It is the responsibility of the states of the Front to confront any attempt promoted by imperialism, Zionism and reaction within the occupied land to deteriorate the Palestinian people's unity or to cast doubts about its representative, the PLO.

– To stand beside Syria in facing the

vicious Zionist-imperialist attacks.

– To resist any attempt to divert the Arab position and to reject any settlement for the Palestinian cause based on Security Council Resolution 242, whether amended or not.

– The conference reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian Revolution to carry its revolutionary tasks from all the Arab fronts and demanded that the Jordanian government



Members of the Palestinian Delegation

enable the Palestinian Resistance to practice its responsibilities against the Zionist enemy through the Jordanian front.

– To support the Arab Egyptian masses and their national and progressive forces in their struggle against the treacherous Sadat regime to liberate Egypt and return it to the Arab nation.

– The conference supports the principles of Lebanese national accord and demanded that all parties put them into practice. Joint Arab action is required to defend Lebanon from the Zionist aggression.

– On the international level, all participants in the Front pledged to strengthen relations with the socialist community, and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, in such a way as to reinforce the active confrontation of Camp David. The non-aligned principles to which the Front adheres do not mean that it is neutral in the struggle between the forces of Zionism and imperialism on the one hand and the forces of liberation and progress on the other.

– To support the Iranian Revolution in its struggle against the US plots

– The conference affirmed its respect for the will of Afghanistan to defend its sovereignty and non-aligned policy.

– It is important to strengthen Arab-African solidarity in facing the imperialist, Zionist, racist presence in Africa and occupied Palestine. In their support, the Arab states should give priority to the friendly African states which support the rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

– To support the national accord and the official government in Chad, led by Kokone Waddi, as decided at the Lagos conference, demanding the withdrawal of the colonial forces.

– To support in all ways the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

– In awareness of the link between the security of the Mediterranean Sea and the Arab region, the conference stressed its support to the Republic of Malta, which has declared its non-alignment and expelled the colonial forces from its territory.

These decisions were positively received by the masses who are consciously awaiting their application in practice. However, the statements and activities of some parties since the conference have put a dent in these optimistic expectations.

There was no objection to the conference's decision to recognize the Saharan Republic from the Chairman of the PLO, who signed all the decisions. Yet afterwards, Salem Al Zaanon, vice-chairman of the Palestinian National Council and member of Fatah's Central Committee, declared officially in Morocco that this decision was a fraud. He further declared that the PLO did not and will not recognize the Saharan Republic. How can the PLO ask the other members of the Front to adhere to its decisions, while figures from its own ranks are sabotaging the very same decisions? Taking a position for the Saharan masses' republic is part of supporting the polarization between those forces confronting imperialism and those forces, of which the Moroccan regime is a prime example, which are allied with it. The struggle against Camp David involves the entire Arab area, and any force seriously wanting to foil Camp David must ally with the other forces fighting imperialism and reaction regionally. The Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation represents this line and the PLO must take a vanguard role in pushing for the implementation of its decisions, so that they will not remain as a declaration, devoid of concrete contents.



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*In April, Comrade Abdul Fattah Ismail resigned from his posts in PDR Yemen due to bad health, and was replaced by Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad. This change which was designed to promote the efficient functioning of the Yemeni leadership, has given rise to various rumors in the press of a*

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*possible change in PDR Yemen's political line. We think the following statement speaks for itself in terms of the Yemeni leadership's continued adherence to the revolutionary line, and its determination to continue implementing this line in practice in the interests of the toiling Yemeni masses.*

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## PDR YEMEN

### YEMENI SOCIALIST PARTY: POLITICAL STATEMENT

Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad, General Secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party and Chairman of the People's High Council, issued the following statement on April 23rd:

The 8th ordinary session of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party was held April 20-23, 1980. This session dealt with a number of important political, economic, cultural, social and party issues, related to the activity of our party and regime, in order to consolidate the revolutionary transformation in our country and to march with determination to consummate the tasks of the national democratic revolution with its socialist perspective.

Our Central Committee analyzed the political situation on the international, Arab and Yemeni levels, and sees a consolidation in the position of socialism on the international level. Moreover, the democratic movement in the capitalist countries is expanding and deepening; the general crisis of capitalism intensifies this, as it spreads to affect the various aspects of life in the capitalist societies.

The national liberation movement is consolidating and developing as an anti-imperialist force in the world, achieving victory in different locations. Today, perhaps the most important victories are that of the people of Zimbabwe and its national independence, and the crushing of the counter-revolutionary attempts and the imperialist reactionary intervention against the sovereignty and independence of the Afghani people, due to the sincere international support of the Soviet Union.

Today, our world is witnessing very complicated and dangerous political developments. World imperialism, led by the USA, attempts to liquidate the achievements of

detente and to return the world to the cold war era...

This policy is the logical outcome of the escalating and total capitalist crisis... It is the embodiment of the interests of the more reactionary cliques of monopoly capital, which see in the policy of peaceful co-existence and detente a great threat to their economic interests and a factor which aids the development of the working class movement and the democratic forces in the capitalist society and the consolidation of the revolutionary transformation of the national liberation movement internationally. Moreover, this policy creates better conditions for the development of peaceful competition between the capitalist and socialist system, and helps in putting the socialist system in relief, as a better system in terms of equality and social justice.

The Central Committee views the imperialist policy — the US maneuvers seen in the strengthening of its military bases, expansion by establishing new bases, the spread of its fleets, the support of reactionary regimes and increasing their arms supply — as a serious danger threatening the security and peace of peoples. In light of this, the Central Committee reaffirms the importance of consolidating the unity of the patriotic regimes and progressive forces in the area of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to confront the American policy that aims at transforming the area into fields for its fleets... the Central Committee views the American threats against the Iranian Revolution as an insolent violation of international law and a blatant threat to the freedom of a people who wish to choose an independent path for their development.

On the Arab level, world imperialism, through the Carter-Begin-Sadat axis, is attempting to implement the capitulationist Camp David conspiracy against the Arab peoples and to liquidate the Palestinian

cause through the 'autonomy' conspiracy and the European initiative. This initiative does not differ essentially in its aims from the American policy for the Middle East, primarily in terms of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their national state on their land. Both attempt to fragment the unity of the patriotic and progressive regimes, as well as the revolutionary forces in the Arab

World, through the policy of axes. This aggressive policy is against the Arab peoples and their attempt to confront the imperialist-Zionist conspiracies...

On the other hand, the Arab situation is characterized by the growth of the Arab national liberation movement's struggle. This is seen in several phenomena, mainly the magnificent steadfastness of the Lebanese and Palestinian people and their patriotic and progressive forces. It is seen in the steadfastness of the Syrian people and their patriotic regime against the internal conspiracies of reactionary forces... mainly the terrorist Moslem Brotherhood. Another phenomenon is the establishment of the

Egyptian National Democratic Front which carries the task of overthrowing the treacherous Sadat regime, so that Egypt returns to its vanguard role in the struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries for liberation, progress and unity. Also, an increasing number of countries are officially recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. These phenomena affirm that our Arab peoples possess capabilities and great potentials to confront the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary conspiracies.

The 4th Summit of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front forms an important step towards strengthening the patriotic and progressive efforts to foil the Camp David agreement and to take effective measures to increase the role of the Front as a buttress



for the position of the Arab progressive countries and their position in the Arab national liberation movement.

On the Yemeni level, the Central Committee also discussed the efforts exerted by both parts of the homeland to unite our country on a democratic basis... and evaluated highly the activities of the various unity committees and the results achieved. It confirms the necessity of continuing to implement the practical steps that secure the achievement of Yemen's unity, as an important aim of our people, who struggle to protect their national independence... and for social progress.

The economic issue also occupied an important place in the discussions of the Central Committee, which shows that our party is conscious of the significance of the economic issue in achieving social progress in our country and in developing the standard of living of our people, materially and spiritually. The more we achieve on the economic level, the more our regime is consolidated and its political position strengthened on the Yemeni, Arab and international levels.

Our country has achieved significant victories, primarily liberating our national economy from dependence on foreign monopolies. In addition, the base of the state sector and the cooperative sector has been laid. Also, an overall planned process of development for our economy and social life has been embarked upon. The income of the individual has risen and the standard of living of the toiling masses is rising.

All this is the natural outcome of the democratic relations of production with a socialist perspective, which enables our people under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party to establish and strengthen these relations on the ruins of the old exploitative relations.

The Central Committee dealt analytically with the causes of the gaps and shortcomings that impede faster overall growth of our national economy and the development of the forces of production. The discussions revealed that one of the main impediments is weakness in the economic administration, insufficient utilization of the forces of production, poor distribution of the cadre, lacking work discipline and the absence of administrative accountability. Official and popular supervision is not effectively achieved to secure creative implementation of the Party's directions and decisions and the economic decisions of the state.

The Central Committee also reaffirmed... the guidelines for the 2nd 5-year plan (1981-85); the main aim for the economic and social development being to improve the toiling masses' standard of living, materially and spiritually, through continued building of the material base of the national economy; in this, the state sector assumes the primary position in directing development; it is also important to develop and increase the effectiveness of the cooperative sector, which occupies a significant position among the main directions to develop our economy.

The Central Committee also devoted attention to the organization of the participation of the private sector in developing the national economy on the basis of the Plan and according to state laws. It emphasized the importance of consolidating economic relations with the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and of making maximum use of our membership in COMECON.

The Central Committee dealt with the housing question and sees objective obstacles that impede the quick fulfillment of the citizens' needs, mainly limited purchasing power. It presented a number of measures to limit this problem's economic and social effects.

The Central Committee sees the solution for the economic tasks as being closely linked to the consolidation of the leading role of the party in educating the toiling masses ideologically and politically, and raising their consciousness concerning the nature of the economic tasks in our country; to more firmly rally the working class and other social sectors of the toiling masses around our party, as a leading and directing force of society; to struggle to deepen the democratic popular line of our authority, through developing and increasing the effectiveness of the elected state institutions, primarily the People's High Council and the local people's councils, by increasing the role of the mass organizations and mobilizing the toiling masses to solve the tasks of the social-economic development. These tasks are primary in the political and ideological work of the branches and cadres of our party among the masses.

Propaganda and agitation tasks of the party, state and mass organizations are subordinate to the requirements of the economic and social development, as the main link securing the development of the revolutionary process in our country and the completion of the tasks of the national democratic revolution and the building of

the material base to transfer to a further stage of social development.

On the ideological front, we have the task of strongly confronting the counter-propaganda directed against our progressive regime with the aim of creating suspicions about the path of independent social progress chosen by our people.

The Central Committee also asserted that strengthening the leading role of our party, and the development of political and ideological work among the masses, demands attention by supporting the positive results achieved in party education and to improve and develop its content and method to raise the ideological and political consciousness of the members of our party and to reinforce their ideological, political and organizational unity...

The primary task facing our party's branches is immensely difficult and complicated. However, it is a noble task related to providing the necessary conditions for carrying out the tasks of economic and social development, as well as to provide the requirements for the material and spiritual development of the toiling masses... primary among these conditions is providing a good and conscious example in discipline and an increase in production with lower costs, and playing a vanguard role in helping the toiling masses to carry out their responsibilities effectively. This demands a strict position against lack of discipline and assisting the administrative bodies in the fields of work and production in applying the laws concerning those who do not fulfill their duties, while appreciating and praising the workers who excel in fulfilling their production and administrative tasks.

The branches and members of our party are called upon to work diligently in consolidating their activities and transforming the branches into effective centers, manifesting the participation of the toiling masses in administering production and implementing the authorities' directions, in order to achieve popular supervision that insures and asserts the popular democracy of our authority.

The Central Committee has a deep and firm belief that the workers, peasants and intellectuals of our people, through their patriotic spirit, are aware of the immensity of the tasks confronting our country... They are exerting great efforts to implement the 2nd economic and social 5-year development plan, for it is the effective path to achieve progress and prosperity for our people.



# US MILITARY BUILD-UP

US imperialism in its quest to maintain its dominance throughout the world has been dealt numerous defeats. With the fall of the Shah, US strategists have actively been studying the globe with an eye for avoiding any new defeats. With these intense studies, they have also been re-designing methods to keep their dominance. US imperialism has come to the conclusion that reliance on its stooges is not always the most dependable means of maintaining its dominance. Therefore, military might is becoming more obvious on the part of US imperialism.

For the past three and a half post-war decades, the US and its NATO allies have entangled the world in a wide network of military bases and installations. The US alone possesses 2,500 bases, including more than 400 large naval and airforce bases in 114 countries, including the US, with a staff numbering more than 480 thousand.<sup>1</sup>

Under the disguise of a 'communist threat', the US has launched a massive build-up, using the recent events in Afghanistan as a cover, both to reduce the 'Vietnam complex' and to re-establish a cold war atmosphere.

Of course, to turn the screws are the leaders of the capitalist system in the US, who favour military build-up which will add large amounts of capital to their coffers.

The US defense budget for 1981 was given at \$157.5 billion, by far the largest single item of the entire budget. To exemplify corporate interest in US military adventures, Lockheed Corporation was given a \$134.7 million contract from the US airforce to build C-141 planes; Litton Industries was given a \$12.9 million contract with the US army to produce land navigation systems; Rockwell International was given a

\$11.2 million contract from the US navy to produce submarine communication systems.<sup>2</sup>

In line with re-modeling and advancing its own military capacity, the US is also active in supplying its puppets throughout the world. From Morocco to the Philippines, massive military aid has been distributed to suppress national liberation movements. In early March, \$232.5 million in counter-insurgency weapons were allocated to Morocco, which included F-5 fighter bombers, helicopters and reconnaissance planes to be used against POLISARIO. The bill is to be paid by Saudi Arabia.

Earlier, in February, the US reached an agreement with Philippine dictator Marcos to allow the US continued access to bases in the Philippines. These serve as stop-overs, which allow greater US military mobility in the Arabian Sea and the Gulf. At the same time, US imperialism was making arrangements with the regime in Turkey for the same type of agreement concerning US use

of bases in Turkey. To seal the agreement, Turkey was given \$450 million in US military aid.

In Malta, March 28-31, the International Conference against Imperialist Bases for Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean - International Solidarity with the People of Malta took place. Several reports were presented at the conference dealing with US military activity, etc.

The following are excerpts from a report presented by a delegation from India entitled 'Peace & Security in Asia: An Indian Perception' by Subrata Banerjee. We feel that it is an important document pertaining to US military build-up in the region.

The immediate response of President Carter to the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, last December, was to rearm Pakistan and speed up the process of increased US military presence in the Indian Ocean region. This has brought into focus the

growing threat of the national security of India and all the countries of South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia and the littoral states of East Africa. The area involved is exactly the one defined by President Carter's National Security adviser, Zbigniew Brze-

zinski, as the "arc of crisis".

The present response is really the culmination of a process that started shortly after the 'peanut King' Jimmy Carter was elected president of the United States on a peace platform. He has himself admitted recently that he has been building up US military presence in this entire region over the last three years. This process was stepped up considerably after the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan followed by the overthrow of the Shah in Iran. The preparations for greater US military presence had started during the notorious Camp David talks with Egypt and Israel, which came in the wake of the

Iranian revolution. A recent article in the *New York Times*, by Edgar Bronfman, Chairman of the North American branch of the World Jewish Congress, has revealed that the details of a Middle East Treaty Organisation, involving Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Sudan, had been thoroughly studied and discussed at Camp David. This particular session was attended by Pentagon, CIA, representatives of Egypt, Israel and leading US specialists.

The Israel-Egypt agreement was the first step. Speaking on US television on the Camp David agreement, the Israeli defence minister, Mr. Ezer Weizmann, characterised it as "probably one of the first links in a chain

that could be an American chain". The idea was, as he put it, to create "a buffer, of a stronghold against what is happening in Afghanistan and Teheran". As a follow up, strong points are being built in Egypt and Israel, for take-off points in different directions in West Asia.

Two large air-bases are under construction in the Negev desert in Israeli territory. The US secretary of state, Mr. Cyrus Vance, asked Congress on 5 February 1980 for a sanction of \$10.4 million for foreign aid, to help developing nations "defend" themselves. Military aid was to include budget authority for \$714 million to finance military credit sales of \$2.6 billion, nearly 60 per cent of which will go to Egypt and Israel. Military credits to Egypt are expected to rise by \$4 billion in the next five years. The Egypt-Israel combination is emerging as the US viceregal authority in West Asia.

President Carter recently made the US position very clear, while addressing the youth conference of *The United Jewish Appeal*, the leading Zionist organisation in the USA. He re-emphasised US opposition to an independent homeland for the Palesti-



nians. He also pledged US military and economic aid to Israel "for ever". This is being declared at a time when US military presence in the region has increased tremendously. There are three aircraft carriers and escorting destroyers, cruisers and frigates in the Arabian Sea, east of Oman. This air and naval base on the Omani island of Masira is very strategically situated. It covers the Strait of Hormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Through this Strait two-thirds of the Arab oil for export moves out every day.

Oman borders the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Oman also faces its own domestic problem of a guerrilla movement in Dofar. The foreign minister of Kuwait, in a recent interview with *UPI*, has pointed out that the Masira base can be used by the USA for land patrol, reconnaissance and military transport planes. An *AP* report of 27 January 1980 from Washington confirms that there is a five-ship West Asia force in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and a guided missile carrying destroyer in Bahrein.

The largest concentration of US forces in this region is in Saudi Arabia. Here 1,200 advisers and specialists are training and building bases for the 44,500 strong Saudi armed forces. The French too have their bases in this region. At Djibouti, near where the Gulf of Aden joins the Red Sea, are stationed 10,000 troops and a marine battalion and 10 naval ships. The airfield is used regularly by military aircraft. According to Western press reports the US Sixth Fleet has moved into the Gulf from the Mediterranean. It has been replaced by the ever-obliging British Navy. The US aircraft carrier, *Forrestal*, named after the notorious US cold-warrior of the forties, with 5,000 marines and 80 aircraft on board, has moved into the Egyptian port of Alexandria. The French navy's seven vessel task force is on the alert at its base in Toulon. It consists of a missile cruiser, two frigates and four submarines. Already 40,000 US servicemen trained in desert warfare are awaiting deployment, obviously in West Asia.

It was the fall of the Shah that triggered the US decision of a permanent presence in this region. This led to the concept of building up the Fifth Fleet, such as the Sixth and the Seventh Fleets. The US has now decided to strengthen the proposed Fifth Fleet with the latest nuclear submarines carrying Trident strategic missiles to reach targets not only inside the USSR, but also in the countries around the Indian Ocean and

the Persian Gulf.

When finally assembled, the Fifth Fleet will include two attack aircraft carriers, complete with maintenance facilities, nuclear submarines, other warships, auxiliary vessels, with a specially reinforced Marine battalion on board. This build up will take place with the help of vessels from the Sixth and Seventh Fleets as they begin to get new ships. The shipbuilding programme started in December 1978. The target is 95 warships in the next five years. Work has started on a new submarine system Trident. A Nimitz type aircraft carrier has been launched.

Increased US military presence in the Gulf and West Asia is tied to the recent moves in the Indian Ocean and the building up of a "rapid deployment force". In October 1979, President Carter announced the reinforcement of "our naval presence in the Indian Ocean". In less than a fortnight the US defence secretary, Harold Brown, announced the despatch of a task force to the Indian Ocean "because this is a vital region to us. We will in the coming years deploy

four task forces, two of them led by carriers. This compared with three in earlier years. We have increased our permanent presence there by adding two destroyer type ships to the permanent force".

Early in December '79, General Paul Kelly, Chief of the US Marine Corps Planning, revealed that the proposed "rapid deployment force" was to be set up at the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean. This is the most important base in the region. It is considered the "Lynch-pin" for the vastly increased US military presence in the Indian Ocean, to "safeguard American interests in Africa and West Asia". Earlier, at a special meeting convened at UN headquarters the USA had categorically refused to accept any restrictions on its programme of militarisation of the Indian Ocean and had even reserved "the right" to maintain bases and warships carrying nuclear weapons.

The "Rapid Deployment Force" includes the 82nd Airborne Division, notorious for its activities in Vietnam. There is at least one or more army divisions and naval, airforce and marine units. This 110,000 strong force is really part of an overall intervention force of 600,000 men, accounting for 28 per cent of the total strength of the US armed forces. *Le Monde Diplomatique*, quoting Michael Klare of Washington Institute of Policy Studies, reports that this intervention force consists of three Marine Corps divisions, two airborne divisions, hundreds of cargo planes,

and dozens of warships. In conflict situations elements of this force can be moved to Diego Garcia, Masira and Israeli bases in Sinai. There is also a plan to set up a joint Israel-Egypt armed forces in support of the Rapid Deployment Force.

According to an AFP report of 1 March 1980, quoting the Kuwaiti daily, *Al-rai Al-am*, 1,000 US soldiers and advisers have already arrived at Berbara air and naval base in Somalia. Kenya has also agreed to provide facilities to US armed forces. The key to the militarisation of the Indian Ocean, however, is the base at Diego Garcia. It is Pentagon's biggest naval and air force base. It has been described as "another Okinawa" or "Malta of Indian Ocean". It is virtually an observation post for and an intervention base against development in the littoral states. Nuclear submarines now can hover about menacingly in the neighbourhood for twice as long a period as before because of servicing facilities available here. Fast warships are only within two days reach to the most remote point in the Indian Ocean. From the Pacific it takes at least seven days.

Diego Garcia is situated 1,200 nautical miles directly south of Kanyakumari, India's Southern most point. A billion dollar project, it has a 5,792 km long runway capable of receiving B-52 strategic bombers carrying nuclear weapons. Reconnaissance planes and anti-submarine aircraft with a range of 3,700 km are already in position at Diego Garcia. It has a deep sea harbour, telecommunication stations, 25 kilometres of roads, eight fuel tanks, and all the ancillary services necessary.

According to *US News and World Report* there are already 16,000 American naval personnel in the Indian Ocean region. They represent 75 per cent of the US Seventh Fleet. On 15 January this year, the 91,000 ton Nimitz aircraft carrier, accompanied by Texas and California (two nuclear-powered guided missile carriers) entered the Indian Ocean to replace the smaller aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk*. A four-ship amphibious force carrying 1,800 Marines have just moved into the Indian Ocean, after two weeks of exercises at Subic Bay in the Philippines. The force is a self-contained one with helicopters, tanks and artillery. This is the first time that marine combat troops have been introduced in the Indian Ocean region. The total US warships here now number 29.

The Diego Garcia base is a link in a chain of US bases stretching from Simonstown in South Africa to Cokburn Sound in Australia.

Included within this chain are the naval base at Subic Bay and the air base at Clark Field, both in the Philippines. They guard the eastern approaches to the Indian Ocean. Within this pattern an attempt is being made to convert the ASEAN into a military alliance as part of a triangular security system in the far east with Japan and South Korea. This is to be backed by another triple alliance between US, Japan and China. American presence at the Thai air base has increased. The Manila Pact of 1954, ensuring US armed support in case of any attack on Thailand, has been reaffirmed.

The US is now helping expand Japan's self-defence forces and strengthening it as part of the global military preparations. The Japanese navy is now being equipped to be able to take on some of the responsibilities of the Seventh Fleet. This is in violation of the terms of the treaty after the second world war. This is a situation similar to the rearming of Germany in the thirties, with disastrous consequences for the world.

Brzezinski, in an interview with *Time* magazine, has said, "China is a factor for stability in Asia and contributes to a great restraint by all parties." After Defence Secretary, Harold Brown's recent visit to Beijing, steps have been taken to increase China's military capabilities presumably to strengthen its capacity to ensure restraint on its neighbours and thus contribute further to its stabilising role in the region. It has been generally agreed that China will fully back US aggressive policies in Afghanistan and the Arab world. The USA in turn will fully support Chinese action in Southeast Asia and especially Vietnam. As Harold Brown said in a TV interview on 14 January this year after his Beijing visit, "We are primarily interested in this part of the world." It is also an area of "parallel interests" for China according to him.

There is also an American proposal to form a 12 link "oceanic alliance" to include Canada, Britain, FRG, France, Italy, Holland, Japan, Taiwan, Australia and New Zealand. This is confirmed by Harold Brown's statement in Congress on 25 January 1979 that the US should have strategic trump cards in the Japanese Sea, Malacca Straits, Persian Gulf, the Dardanelles, the Baltic and the Barents Sea. (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, July 1979).

Pakistan has long been a key factor in American military deployment in this region. By 1954 Pakistan had become a member of a chain of US sponsored military

alliances covering both West Asia and Southeast Asia. It was considered a "strategic bridge between two theatres of Western defence against communism". After 1971, according to the *International Herald Tribune*, "With the loss of East Pakistan, a bridge between the South Asian subcontinent and Southeast Asia, Pakistan has essentially become the eastern bulwark of American interests in the Middle East."

US rearming of Pakistan officially started in 1975, long before the Afghan revolution and even the Iranian revolution. After these two historic developments Pakistan is being turned into a military arsenal to replace Iran. It is also a focal point of Sino-US area of parallel interests. Both China and the USA have started jointly arming Pakistan. Increased Chinese military aid to Pakistan is designed to reduce open US involvement. It will, however, supply a certain level of technology and know how for defence production. Without a sophisticated industrial infrastructure such assistance will not reduce Pakistan's continued dependence on the USA. Brzezinski has promised that \$400 million offered immediately after the entry of So-

viet troops into Afghanistan will be increased to reach \$2 billion in a few months. This will be ensured through the cooperation of the US-sponsored consortium for military aid to Pakistan, comprising of Saudi Arabia, FRG, UK and Egypt. The promised aid includes a wide range of sophisticated weapons systems, suitable for operations in India and Afghanistan.

Pakistan became a base for US intervention against Afghanistan, immediately after the April 1978 revolution. By December 1978 a counter-revolutionary mercenary army had been assembled in Pakistan, armed with Soviet equipment secured from China and Egypt. Today there are 30 special bases and 50 training centres for these counter-revolutionaries on Pakistan soil. Over 30,000 people have been trained and equipped to launch a major offensive as soon as the snow melts.

According to the *New York Times*, the CIA, under orders from President Carter, continues to supply weapons of non-US origin to create the impression of non-involvement. These arms are brought to the Pakistani side of the border in Pakistani army trucks and guarded by their personnel. Pakistani servicemen are engaged in preparing and carrying out sabotage and terroristic operations in Afghanistan. The operations of the counter-revolutionaries are coordinated and

guided from joint headquarters. Pakistan is playing this dangerous game because it is backed by the relevant clauses of 1959 agreement with the USA which provides for the use of American troops in Pakistan in the name of its national security.

President Carter in his State of the Union message of 3 January 1980, has placed all these military developments, which started long before the Afghan and Iranian revolutions within a comprehensive framework. The State of the Union message had very little to say about the domestic affairs of the Union. The main emphasis was on military measures and especially on the preparation for armed intervention in the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia. The President declared, "Any attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

President Carter, in his role as the modern Sir Galahad, is determined to save the world from the Russian danger. Hence he has announced his programme of action in the State of the Union message. This includes:

(a) increased and strengthened US naval presence in the Indian Ocean and naval and air bases "to be used by our forces in the region of Northeast Africa and the Persian Gulf";

(b) Additional military and economic aid to Pakistan and further strengthening of "political and military ties with other nations in the region";

(c) creation of "a cooperative security framework" with a special role for China, which would "help to preserve peace and stability in Asia and the Western Pacific";

(d) registration of those liable for military service to "meet future mobilisation needs rapidly if they arise";

(e) complete freedom of action to the CIA in its subversive activities.

In April, the Carter administration launched a military attack on Iran, using its bases in the Gulf. The mission was a failure. However, this move by US imperialism exemplifies the extent to which the US is prepared to use military force in maintaining its dominance for the purpose of exploiting the resources of the area to keep the capitalist system working.

1Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee report at the Malta Conference, p. 8  
2Wall Street Journal, Dec. 16, 1980



# IRAN

The US military intervention in Iran is only the preliminary climax of imperialism's attempts to subvert the Iranian Revolution.

Iran is a dynamic manifestation of the main contradiction in the world today, that being between imperialism and the masses of the people. The development of the Iranian-US confrontation reveals two important aspects of this contradiction. The first is that imperialism is finding itself less powerful in the face of rising popular struggle. The second is that, in this situation, imperialism's aggressiveness is increasing.

It is by now a well-established fact that immediately after the overthrow of the Shah, the Carter administration planned a series of military options aimed at toppling the Khomeini authority. Accordingly, the National Security Council, the CIA and the Pentagon began preparing the armed forces for direct intervention in Iran. This in itself shows that Carter's concern for the hostages, since the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran, is but a pretext for a prior intention to abort the Iranian Revolution. The Carter administration is bent on drawing Iran back into the orbit of imperialism, by one means or another. The April 25th 'rescue' operation is a dramatic proof of this, for anyone who may have been in doubt as to the limits to which US-imperialism is prepared to go.

However, due to the drawbacks involved in direct military intervention, US-imperialism initially activated other options, aimed at undermining the Iranian Revolution from within. In fact, until shortly before the April 25th intervention, the US-Iranian crisis had seemingly reached a point of relative stagnation. For a time, Carter's tone towards Iran was conciliatory, as in his January State of the Union message. In this period, the main force of US imperialism's fury was directed against the Soviet Union's active support to the Afghan Revolution. Aside from all its overall aims, the anti-communist campaign launched by the US had two specific objectives in terms of Iran. First, Carter hoped to convince the Iranian leadership to join the reactionary alliance against the Afghan Revolution and the Soviet Union being formed in the name of Islam. In this way, imperialism hoped to end the Iranian-US crisis and bring Iran back into its fold. Second, by making a big fuss about the

events in Afghanistan, US imperialism hoped to divert international and especially Iranian attention away from its past criminal record in Iran and its continuing efforts to sabotage the Iranian Revolution from within.

The first objective remained unfulfilled as the Iranian leadership explicitly rejected allying with the US against the Soviet Union and upheld the demand that the US must return the Shah and the money that he had swindled. It is on the backdrop of this

and popular forces. All the while the US was cooling down the crisis verbally, it was increasing its attempts to overthrow the Islamic Republic in a bloodless coup and establish a puppet regime.

Khomeini has earlier accused US imperialism of the murder of several of the religious leaders known for their position against the US. He has uncovered the CIA's role in arousing clashes between reactionary separatist elements and the central authority. In

## SOLIDARITY WITH IRAN

Your Eminence Imam Ayatullah Khomeini:

The American insolence was met with revolutionary determination in Iran, and once again American superiority was degraded... Consequently, imperialism will attempt to use any means possible to regain its dignity, and might again rely on force, endangering the security and peace of the whole world, despite its deceitful claims that it wants to maintain security and peace.

However, we have deep faith in the capability of the Iranian masses to foil all the stubborn imperialist attempts. More than ever, this requires the solidarity of all the forces of the Iranian people against the imperialist enemy, on the basis of democratic relations within the framework of the

Iranian Revolution in order to protect it.

You can be certain that the PFLP unconditionally supports the Iranian masses, under your leadership, against American impudence. The Arab masses also take this principled position, which is in total contradiction to the contemptible position of most of the Arab governments, which serve imperialist schemes against the interests of their peoples.

In your relentless battle against the imperialist octopus, you are expressing the interests of the peoples of the area, and we will struggle with you until the total defeat of the common imperialist enemy and the victory of all peoples.

George Habash

failure that imperialism renewed its overt aggression, culminating in the April 25th intervention.

However, it is impossible to discount that the second objective has gained some ground. Certain internal events in Iran have given all those who support the continuation of the Iranian people's struggle against imperialism, cause for concern. The US and its agents have been exploiting and will continue to try to exploit secondary internal contradictions in order to reconstruct the reactionary forces in Iran and thus subvert the present authority from within. Neither can one discount the possibility that there may have been a close connection between this subversion and the US's aborted attempt to end the crisis through military means. It is more than possible that the US's military plan relied heavily on the cooperation of internal reactionary agents.

### Internal subversion

The CIA and certain reactionary Iranian figures have been persistently increasing their coordination of sabotage against the nation and repression against the progressive

this way, US imperialism has been exploiting the just demands of the different national minorities and attempting to undermine the progressive forces who are struggling for these demands in the context of an anti-imperialist Iran.

An example of this is the events in Azarbaijan, where the mass work of the progressive forces has focused on land reform and the creation of institutions through which the Azarbaijanis could revive their cultural identity, long suppressed by the Shah regime. These activities are clearly in line with the development of the progressive thrust of the Iranian Revolution and in accordance with Khomeini's declaration concerning a solution for the national minorities. In February of this year, the masses of the area convened to celebrate the first anniversary of the victory of the Revolution against the Shah, as well as the 9th anniversary of the Siahkal operation in which the Organization of People's Fedaii Guerillas initiated armed struggle against the Shah regime. Local reactionary forces directed their gangs against this demonstration, purposefully creating a violent situation, whereby the

Revolutionary Guards were drawn into a confrontation with the people and their progressive forces. What was portrayed in the international media as Turkostan's revolt against the central authority began as an attempt to celebrate the Iranian Revolution. These events attest to the efforts of the reactionary forces in creating false divisions among the peoples and forces of Iran, that were united in toppling the Shah.

In its subversive plans, US-imperialism has been relying on certain authoritative figures who have had strong relations with the CIA since the 50's when the CIA issued them passports that remain valid until this day.



These figures have insured the continued presence of SAVAK agents in the Iranian armed forces and tried to resume some of the US-Iranian military aid programs, which would allow US military presence in Iran. In general, they have attempted to force Khomeini to resume relations with USA.

A number of these figures have played an active role in the 'Iranian Students Conference' established in the USA as an alternative to the progressive Iranian student movement. The CIA roamed freely in the 'Conference'. These figures have also played a role in arming reactionary elements among the national minorities. It is known that after American-Omani consultations, Bakhtier went to Oman to meet feudal figures from the Sistan and Baluchistan provinces and other reactionaries.

Although their numbers are decreasing, these figures continue to work in contacting the US in Paris and elsewhere to discuss the best means of clearing away the obstacles that hinder US-Iranian relations. In all this, the motivating factor is the coinciding interests of the US agents, the liberal bourgeois reformists and US imperialism.

#### The aftermath of intervention

The direct US military intervention served to put imperialism's aggressive aims out in the open again and to accentuate the intensity of the contradiction between the Iranian Revolution and imperialism. As we have emphasized before, Carter did not direct this operation primarily to save the hostages. Rather, it is imperative for him to solve the Iranian crisis in a way favorable to US interests, if he is to retain his seat in the White House in the coming elections. The real intent of the operation was to destabilize the Iranian authority and to restore American prestige, as the Zionists once did

with the Entebbe operation.

While failing to achieve these aims, and creating internal problems for the Carter administration, the failure of the mission has not deprived US imperialism of other weapons against Iran. American success in getting its allies in the European Common Market to decide on sanctions against Iran, which amount to an economic blockade, was not marred by its blatant aggression. On the contrary, in this situation of crisis for the US, its fellow imperialists closed their ranks in reactionary solidarity.

Imperialism's aggressive stance towards the Iranian masses, their revolution and leadership, serves to accentuate once again what has been clear since February 1979: Only the unity of all those forces which actively struggled against the Shah can insure that the Iranian people can withstand the imperialist assault and avoid the installment of a new Shah in the form of a US puppet regime. In this context, it is catastrophic that one week before US troops landed on Iranian soil, a battle was opened at the universities against the leftist organizations which were vanguards in the struggle against

the Shah and have continued to work for the continuation of the anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people.

If the Iranian leadership is to withstand the imperialist attack, it must take a more decisive role in uniting all the popular and democratic forces, not leaving any room for the US's internal agents to create false divisions in the ranks of the revolution. While the failure of the April 25th mission does not rule out a new military attempt, it is certain that the US, at least for a time, will concentrate on stepping up its internal subversion. Hence, to defeat USA's attack on Iran, the role of the CIA agents and other reactionaries must be curtailed.

On the regional level, the US military aggression on Iran served to highlight the deepening polarization between those forces ready to fight imperialist hegemony and those who are secretly or openly allied with it. The reactionary forces who tried to use Islam against the Afghani Revolution and the Soviet Union by organizing the infamous Islamic Conference, have yet to react to the same degree against direct military intervention in the Islamic Republic of Iran. And in fact, we don't expect any real protest from this quarter as we know that the regimes of Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, etc. are not concerned about the Moslem peoples, but only about preserving their thrones, secured by their alliance with the USA.

In particular, events in Iran serve to uncover those forces who hide behind the banner of Arab nationalism in their attack on all popular struggle. Iraq's role in agitating reactionary forces in Arabestan against the central authority in Iran is well-known. At a time when Iran is locked in a life or death confrontation with the leading imperialist power, the Iraqi regime launches a virtual war on Iran, supposedly over the islands which it previously relinquished to the Shah.

Just as the fall of the Shah regime opened new possibilities for the anti-imperialist struggle in our area, the outcome of the current Iranian-US confrontation will have decisive consequences for the future of this struggle. The Palestinian struggle to liberate our homeland is in the last analysis a struggle against imperialist dominance in this part of the world. The duty of the Palestinian Revolution and all anti-imperialist forces in the region to support the Iranian Revolution is not a secondary task. Rather, it is an integral element in our ongoing struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.



## GREETINGS TO AFGHANISTAN

Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party, President of the Revolutionary Council, Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

Comradely Greetings,

On behalf of the Central Committee and all the cadres and members of the PFLP, I extend to you and to the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party, all its cadres and members, and to the heroic masses of Afghanistan, the sincerest revolutionary wishes on the 2nd anniversary of the glorious April Revolution.

The victory achieved by your revolutionary party against the decaying reactionary regime and the transfer of power to the working class and its vanguard revolutionary party, as well as taking the first steps in developing the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan towards fulfillment of the stage of national democratic liberation and the building of socialism in your homeland, is a great victory for your country and for all forces of socialism and liberation in the world.

Despite all the attempts of local and neighboring reaction and the atrocious imperialist conspiracies aiming to smash the achievements of the April Revolution, the heroic resistance of your people and party has foiled one conspiracy after another. This is due to the solidarity of the patriotic and progressive forces in your country and the strategic alliance with the forces of world revolution, primarily the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.

As we congratulate you on the 2nd anniversary of the April Revolution, we express our comradely solidarity with your revolution, people and party. We condemn the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary conspiracies that aim at striking your revolution and the independence of your country, these being the same forces that are aiming to strike the Palestinian cause and our Arab nation.

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS APRIL REVOLUTION  
LONG LIVE PALESTINIAN - AFGHANI FRIENDSHIP  
LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

George Habash

## CONDOLENCES TO YUGOSLAVIA

Comrade Lazar Kolisevski  
President of the Socialist  
Federal Republic of  
Yugoslavia

Dear Comrade and members of the Yugoslav Communist League,

We received the news of the death of leader, Comrade Josip Broz Tito, with great remorse. On this sad occasion I extend to you and all the people of the friendly country of Yugoslavia, our deepest comradely condolences in the name of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, all our members, cadres and on my behalf.

The international working class and the communist movement, as well as the movement for liberation, progress and peace have lost a great symbol, who struggled against international imperialism and Hitler's fascism. The Non-Aligned Movement has also lost a great symbol of its foundation, who struggled for the liberation and peace of all people throughout the world.

Our Arab masses and Palestinian Revolution have lost a sincere great friend, who stood by our just cause during this difficult period that our revolution is passing through.

Once again we extend our condolences; Comrade Tito will remain alive internationally in the hearts of all peace and freedom loving people.

George Habash

## COMMENTS ON PUERTO RICO

We have received many critical comments concerning the article on Puerto Rico, which was printed in Bulletin No. 35, Feb. 1980. We would like to emphasize that, as was stated in the introduction, this article was written by Liga Socialista Puertorriquena. As such, it does not reflect the position of the PFLP on all points.

However, as a political organization, we are obviously responsible for what is printed in our Bulletin. We therefore wish to apologize for having printed an article which evoked such negative reactions from a num-

ber of forces who seriously support the cause of Puerto Rico's independence. While it is necessary to take a position concerning different political lines in the anti-imperialist struggle and the solidarity work, perhaps this article did so in an unconstructive way. In any case, some of the questions dealt with in the article are best resolved among the Puerto Rican left forces and the solidarity organizations supporting them, and not in the pages of our Bulletin.

We encourage any group or party involved in the struggle for a free Puerto Rico to send us their comments or an article concerning these questions for publication.

# DENMARK: ZIONIST INFLUENCE AND SOLIDARITY WORK

In April, the PFLP received a joint delegation of the Left Socialist party and the International Forum from Denmark. Both these organizations are involved in solidarity work with the Palestinian struggle for a democratic state in all of Palestine. Based on a clear rejection of Zionism and its state,

these organizations see it as an important part of their work to fight Zionist influence in Denmark. In line with support to the medical and social work of the Ghassan Kanafani Cultural Foundation, a comrade from International Forum is currently serving as a nurse in one of the Palestinian

camps in Lebanon. The following is an interview with the delegation.

### What is the basis of the Zionist influence in Denmark?

"The Social Democratic party (SD) has provided the main pivot in organizing the Zionist lobby in Denmark. Even prior to 1948, the Danish SD actively supported establishment of a Zionist state in Palestine. Since the state's creation, there have been close ties between the Danish labour movement and the Zionist labour organizations, notably the Histadrut and the political party, Mapai.

"One can see this in that Danes involved in Social Democratic trade unions are usually offered a trip to Israel, under one pretext or another, as they ascend the labour hierarchy. Among those who act as their tour guides are persons from the Danish-Israeli lobby, for example, Werner David Melchior, who is a correspondent for Denmark's Radio in Jerusalem. As a rule, upon coming home, these people return the favour by writing about Israel in their respective trade union magazines. They tell about the Israelis' courage and cleverness. They depict Israel as a state where socialism is on the way and already realized in many respects, referring to the kibbutz movement, Histadrut's very great influence — its role as a trade union, capitalist and state institution. All this is regarded as the beginning of the fulfillment of the Social Democratic ideals — the kind of socialism they envision, of which there are only fragments in Denmark.

"According to their own statements, one reason that Israel attaches importance to its relations with Denmark is the brave rescue operation organized during World War II, whereby the Jews in Denmark managed to escape to Sweden when the Nazis occupied Denmark. However, the real reason is to be found in Denmark's international image as a democratic welfare state. Israel is eager to be identified with the Scandinavian countries, especially Denmark, as a lively democracy providing well-being for its population.

"For its part, SD has interests in supporting Israel and in fighting the anti-Zionist forces in Denmark, because they are to be found on the revolutionary left wing. SD, like the Zionists, abounds in prejudice concerning the so-called Jewish question and labels any opposition to Israel as anti-Semitism. In this way, SD attempts to attack the anti-imperialist work of the left wing in general, by discrediting the solidarity work with the Palestinian people.

"Moreover, the Danish bourgeoisie as part of the international imperialist bourgeoisie, naturally supports Israel actively. Many, who may have held anti-Semitic views in the 30's, are today among the staunchest defenders of what they call 'the Jewish people'. Another aspect of the bourgeoisie's support to Israel is linked to the fact that Zionism has always been strongly anti-communist. Ever since the Balfour Declaration coincided timewise with the October Revolution, pro-Zionist propaganda has been violently anti-Soviet. We see this in Denmark in a series of committees established to demand the right of Soviet Jews, Polish Jews, etc. to emigrate. They make campaigns centered around prominent individuals, such as Sakharov. He himself is not Jewish, but well-known pro-Zionists are active in this committee.

"In Denmark, there are around 5,000 Jews, which the Zionists regard as the base for their lobby. Thus, for almost every political party, organization or movement in Denmark, there is a counterpart that is directly or indirectly tied to Zionism or Israel, so that all Jews can find an alternative. Those who see themselves as bourgeois can be members of the Danish-Israeli Association. Those who very loosely identify with socialism can join the Danish Friends of the Kibbutz, which supports kibbutzim in Israel as 'socialist enclaves'. For women, there is the Women's International Zionist Organization. There is a broad spectrum of political, humanitarian and social organizations to insure that Jews are kept separate from the rest of the Danish population and that they actively support Israel.

"Since Israel's creation, the Zionists have dominated the Jewish Religious Community. Today, they have a majority in its board of directors. However, this has not been without discussions and conflict. Some have opposed the Community being tied to Israel, because they were of the opinion that political opinions should not be dependent on religious belief. This conflict still emerges from time to time.

"In addition, the pro-Israeli lobby is strong because in Denmark, as elsewhere, it has been able to exert an enormous influence on the media. This is the case in television and radio, which are controlled by the state, as well as in the privately owned media like the newspapers. We have already named Werner David Melchior, member of Mapai, who has lived in Israel many years. During the British Mandate, he worked with Hagana's intelligence service.

"Another example is Herbert Pundik who also lives in Israel. He fought in the 1948 war; today he divides his time between being editor in chief for *Politikken*, one of Denmark's leading newspapers and working for Mapai's daily *Daavar*. There are also pro-Israelis, including organized Zionists, placed throughout the rest of the major newspapers, including that of the Social Democratic dominated labour movement.

"Another example of the strong Zionist influence is to be found in the person of professor Ise Foighel, who has been employed by Israeli universities from time to time. During his term as chairman for Danish Refugee Aid, he made sure that a large portion of the money allotted to refugees all over the world was channeled to Israel. One organization which received these funds is Organization for Rehabilitation through Training, which is mainly for Jews who have left the eastern European countries. It seems one must be 'rehabilitated' from socialism if one comes to live in Israel!

"In addition, the Zionists have managed to have money sent to Israel from the Danish state institution for development aid to third world countries, because in official Danish thinking, Israel is regarded as a third world country. On the basis of accounts accessible to the public, we have calculated that Israel managed to get 2 1/2 million crowns (approx. 1/2 million dollars) from the pockets of Danish citizens in 1976. In addition, there are numerous collections for Israel. All in all, we estimate that 3-4 million crowns flow annually from Denmark to Israel."

**You mentioned that the Zionists strive to extend their influence in all fields of the political spectrum. What success do they have on the left wing?**

"The Zionists can also count on sections of the Danish left. As an example, there is the Socialist People's Party (SF), which regards itself as a socialist party, but is actually a reformist party. Its leadership firmly supports Israel and regards itself as the sister Party of Mapam in Israel, saying that while some sections of the Zionist movement should be opposed, other sections should be supported and encouraged. In concrete terms, this precludes the party from cooperating with the left in the solidarity work. Instead SF's policy is an attack on the revolutionary left, which calls for a free and democratic state in all of Palestine. By trying to separate the anti-Zionist left from the left

as a whole, the SF functions as a fifth column within the left wing.

"Another example is New Outlook, which was formed in Denmark at the time of the Israeli '78 invasion in Lebanon, but which is an offshoot of an international organization of left-oriented Jews, which has branches in Israel, the USA, etc. New Outlook's political program advocates the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, but also recognizes Israel's right to exist, and must therefore be considered as an officially Zionist organization. In reality, New Outlook serves to absorb various forms of protest against Israel's official policy. Jews who cannot identify with Begin's politics are provided the opportunity to organize themselves as left-oriented Jews, instead of joining one of the left-wing organizations which support the Palestinian people. By gathering critical Jews and preventing them from joining the left wing, New Outlook serves a real function for the Zionist establishment and cannot be seen as an alternative to Zionist organizing.

We have written about the Palestine Week held in Denmark last fall. What results has this solidarity week had for your work?

"In our opinion, the Palestine Week had two very important consequences: In the preparations prior to the week, we attempted to involve the Danish Communist Party. However, they are unwilling to enter the solidarity work with the Palestinian people because of their desire for close cooperation with the Social Democrats. They withdrew at the last minute, despite the fact that they had declared themselves in agreement with the political platform. We continued with the other organizations that had agreed on arranging this week. We feel it is very important that it was proved that the left wing was able to organize a nation-wide event which attracted several thousand people to solidarity activities on the basis of a clear anti-Zionist platform.

"Another important consequence is the recruitment to the solidarity work which came in the aftermath of this week. Through VS and IF's branches in the provincial towns, we were able to make the solidarity week nation-wide. Permanent Middle East groups have been formed in several places on the basis of the week's political platform. This will strengthen solidarity work in the future — the demonstrations and meetings which are held every May 15th and the

Palestine Week, which we will try to make as a tradition every November. So for the first time in Denmark, we can say that solidarity work with the Palestinian people is nationwide.

"We have consciously attempted to take full advantage of the increased consciousness about the Palestinian question to recruit more people to the solidarity work. We began study circles in Copenhagen and in Aalborg with good attendance; many of these people have pledged to join the soljdarity on a regular basis.

"As you know, the Palestine Week was violently attacked in the bourgeois press. In particular, the media concocted distorted stories about Kamal Al Nimmeri, the Palestinian comrade who was invited to represent the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and Detainees under Israeli Occupation, an organization which is part of the PLO. This was intended to block his entry to Denmark and to slander the Palestine Week, so that it would not be effective in reaching people. However, because of the current situation with very strong Zionist influence in Denmark, those to whom we address our work are primarily to be found on the left wing in the broad sense. These people did not take the media campaign at face value; in fact it meant that many more people heard about the week than we would have been able to reach with our limited means for broad propaganda work."

What problems do you anticipate in the coming solidarity work?

"One difficulty we will face is connected to the international situation, with the general tendency towards a new cold war, with increasing imperialist aggression, at the same time that we see that US-imperialism and Zionism are having difficulty in resolving the Palestinian issue. This means that they will do everything in their power to suppress the existence of the Palestinian issue. We saw this after the events in Iran and Afghanistan; Israel escalated its attacks on Lebanon, because it wouldn't draw so much attention when there were conflicts so many other places. There has always been a general tendency to suppress information on the Palestinian question; what news was issued was used to distort the Palestinian liberation struggle. It has been our task to refute these lies, but now there is the danger that no news will appear whatsoever. Israel, shelte-

red by other conflicts, will be able to attack without people at large being informed. So we will have to struggle not only for presenting the correct political points-of-view, but also for the issue getting any attention at all.

"The second difficulty we anticipate is related to the political and economic crisis which the capitalist countries are undergoing and the effects that this has on the left wing. The general shifting to the right, which is seen on the left throughout Europe, means that there will be more concern about questions related to life style and improving the quality of life. This trend will undermine the work of the new left vis-a-vis the working class in Europe and will also mean that the Palestinian question will receive less attention, if the shift to the right is consolidated.

"The Danish left wing today is divided on how to tackle the questions posed by the crisis. We are expecting discussions to arise also within our own organization that will be an assault on our solidarity work with the Palestinian people. Some may force a discussion on the strategic role of the Israeli working class in the Middle East conflict, arguing in an economic vein that only an industrial working class will be capable of confronting Zionism in Israel; this will raise the question of how the Palestinian armed struggle affects the left's possibilities for working within Israel.

"Of course, in the long run, we can also envision a situation, when the liberation of Palestine and the rest of the Middle East is much more advanced, where an alliance with the Israeli working class could be relevant. This is a strategic possibility, but it cannot be decisive for what tactics the Palestinian liberation movement chooses today in its struggle to liberate Palestine. In this discussion, our task will be to maintain that the main contradiction in the Palestinian conflict is that between Zionism (Israel) and the Palestinian people as such, and not the contradictions within the colonial state.

"There has already been a tendency to support only liberation movements that are declared socialists. The consequence of this would be that we could not join in an overall support to the Palestinian unified struggle. As socialists, we place most weight on our support to the socialist forces within the Palestinian liberation movement, but in the current stage, we find it correct to support the united efforts of the liberation movement as manifested in the PLO."



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