



NRF Bulletin

No. 67 Summer 1983

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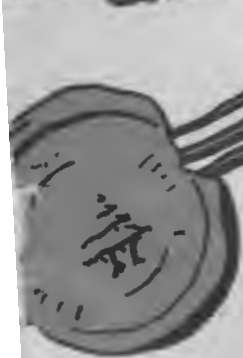
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National Resistance Front to Retrieve Lebanon from US-Zionist Control

Table of Contents

Editorial.....	3
DFLP-PFLP: Joint Political-Military Command.....	4
New Addition to Camp David (The Israeli-Lebanese accord).....	5
One Result of the Accord.....	10
Lebanese Resistance.....	11
Operations Escalate - Village Besieged.....	12
Ansar Says "NO"! - For Arab National Solidarity.....	13
DFLP-PFLP: Joint Communique.....	14
Arab Communist Parties Reject Accord.....	16
Enemy Tactics and the Arab Stand.....	17
One Year After (evaluation of the results of the 1982 war).....	19
Occupied Palestine: Uprising in Ramleh Prison - Rise in Resistance.....	24
The Long Arm of Royalty.....	26
Traitors Step Forward - Moslem Brotherhood Destruction.....	29
Camps Attacked.....	31
Military Operations.....	32
Interview with Comrade Habash.....	32
Book Review: "Zionism in the Age of the Dictators".....	35
Verdict Against Zionism: The International Commission of Inquiry.....	37
Prague 1983.....	42
To Ghassan Kanafani.....	45
Film: Palestine, 1976-1983.....	47

Notice to Readers

First, we would like to thank all those who responded to the notice in our last issue and confirmed their address and intention to receive the Bulletin. It is beyond our capacity to answer each of these letters individually. If there is a check by your name on the address tag of the Bulletin you receive, then your confirmation has reached us, and you will continue getting the Bulletin.

Second, we ask all those who have not yet done so, to confirm your address if you wish to continue receiving the Bulletin. Please inform us of a change in address if this is the case. Please fill out the form below and mail it to us immediately. This is the last issue you will receive if we do not hear from you.

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Editorial

The internal conflict in Al Fatah has reached a level which threatens to have grave repercussions for our revolution as a whole. Thus, a heavy burden rests on all Palestinian organizations and factions to work together to resolve this problem in a responsible manner which protects both the unity and the principles of our people's struggle.

Efforts to reach a solution must begin by correctly locating the cause of the conflict, which has its roots in longstanding political and organizational differences in Al Fatah itself. In the last analysis, it is mistakes made by the right wing that finally led sectors of Al Fatah to move into open opposition. Any attempt to circumvent the internal roots of the conflict and shift the main blame to external factors will only detract from the chances of finding a sound solution. Moreover, such a wrong approach invites outside interference, especially that of Arab reaction.

The Palestinian masses, cadre and fighters, have attained a degree of national political consciousness that leads them to reject a political line that vacillates between the principles of the revolution and on the other hand, attempts to conciliate Arab reaction and imperialist circles. In this context, a set of organizational and military decisions, 51 in all, made unilaterally by brother Yasir Arafat, in his capacity of General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, was the straw that broke the camel's back. Especially disturbing to the bases were new military appointments to persons who proved incapable during the invasion of Lebanon and whose conduct violates the standards of the revolution.

In general, the contents of the opposition's original demands, for internal democratic reform and adherence to the revolutionary program, coincided with the positions which other Palestinian forces, ourselves included, have struggled to implement within the framework of the PLO. Thus at the start, as a movement for rectification, the opposition gained support in Al Fatah's base and from other Palestinian organizations. From the beginning, we in the PFLP, along with others, engaged in serious efforts to alleviate tension and bring the two sides into a democratic dialogue that would preserve unity.

However, initial attempts to find a solution failed, and the consequent resort to armed force worsened the conditions for reaching an agreement that would promote the de-

sired reforms. Instead, the most prominent feature of the conflict has become the danger it poses. Most immediately, it has the effect of freezing much of the positive work of our revolution. More far-reaching, with the involvement of other organizations in the armed confrontations and the resulting polarization within the resistance movement as a whole, the unity of the PLO itself is placed in jeopardy. This in turn poses a threat to every arena of our masses' struggle. The prevailing situation can only have negative effects on the masses and nationalist forces in Lebanon who have every reason - and right - to expect united Palestinian support to their struggle against Zionist occupation and the newly imposed accord. Parallel to this is the demoralizing effect on our masses in occupied Palestine, who have set their lives on the line to defend the PLO's unity and sole representation. Furthermore, the present situation endangers the PLO's political role in the Arab arena and the gains it has made on the international level. In short, it is only the enemy forces which stand to gain from this conflict after it has reached a point where democratic dialogue is increasingly difficult and internal clashes have prodded a drift towards division in the PLO's ranks.

The tragic dimensions of the situation were underscored further with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's deportation from Syria. This highlighted the potential, negative impact which the internal conflict can have on the Arab nationalist arena. Any worsening of PLO-Syrian relations at this critical juncture could have fatal consequences, as the solid alliance of the two is more than ever needed as the cornerstone of broad Arab national confrontation against the US-Zionist policy and the possibility of a new enemy aggression. Weakened solidarity within the nationalist camp would give a golden opportunity to Arab reaction which has been seeking new avenues to penetrate the united Palestinian political position and extract concessions from the PLO. The Jordanian regime in particular is poised, ready to capitalize on the results of any divisions in the PLO's ranks, or any rift with Syria, that might allow it to re-present its plan for subordinating our people's cause to its reactionary patronage.

In light of these dangers, it must be obvious to all that the main, immediate task is preserving the PLO's unity and the integrity of independent Palestinian decision-making.

Failure to work to this end is tantamount to squandering the gains of our masses' struggle and rendering it vulnerable to enemy attacks. Instead, we posit the following guidelines:

- Democratic dialogue as the only acceptable means for resolving differences within the ranks of the Palestinian revolution.

- Shunning the use of armed force; condemning any party that initiates clashes; refraining from getting involved in a vicious cycle of retaliation and counter-retaliation.

- Working to keep the problems in Al Fatah from reflecting on the PLO; respect for the democratic basis for relations between the different organizations and factions in PLO.

Resolving these problems is first and foremost the responsibility of the Palestinian forces. On the basis of united Palestinian commitment to the above guidelines, the Arab national liberation movement, the nationalist regimes and our international allies can play a helpful role. Conversely, the interference of Arab reaction can be warded off. Also, gaps in the Syrian-PLO relationship can be patched.

This is a prerequisite for our ability to confront the enemy plans for the area.

Our masses everywhere are frankly dismayed by the conflict having been escalated to this level. In one instance in the Beqaa Valley, a mass demonstration boldly moved in to stop an internal clash. All Palestinian factions should heed this message, for the masses and their united loyalty to the PLO is greater than any of us. Above all, the PLO represents the ongoing struggle of our masses under occupation; it represents our children who throw stones - and who hold the key for carrying our revolution to ultimate victory. The PFLP is doing all in its power to retain the confidence of all parties involved in this matter in order to resolve it in the interests of the Palestinian and Arab national struggle. In these efforts, we base ourselves on the position of our people who have shown that they will give their lives to maintain the unity of the PLO - their sole, legitimate representative.

DFLP-PFLP: Joint Political-Military Command



POLITICAL COMMUNIQUE

On June 25th, a meeting was held between the politbureaus of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. This meeting was to discuss recent important political developments and the relations between the two fronts. Concerning bilateral relations, agreement was reached on the following:

1. The establishment of a joint political and military leadership to be responsible for the political affairs and positions of the two fronts, as well as for the armed forces of both. This is done in the framework of consolidating the relations between the two fronts and unifying their ranks.

2. This step will be followed by other steps on the level of the mass and social organizations, leading towards unity.

3. These decisions are based on the closeness of the two fronts' political positions regarding national and political matters, which stem from a common ideological base.

4. This step is not to be considered as an axis (factional bloc), but rather as a unifying effort on an objective basis. In taking this step, we aim at contributing to strengthening and consolidating the unity of the PLO and its legitimate institutions, it being the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the leader of our people's struggle to regain their inalienable national rights, first and foremost their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. With this step, we also aim at contributing to the implementation of the Palestinian National Council's decisions, including that on the establishment of a unified Palestinian national army.

5. We are confident that our people, and all those forces that support our just struggle, will welcome and support this move, as it helps to consolidate the strength of our revolution and the struggle of our masses and their unity within the PLO, the sole legitimate representative.

LONG LIVE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL UNITY!
LONG LIVE THE PLO!
GLORY TO OUR MARTYRS!

- The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
- The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

New Addition to Camp David

The May 17th signing of the US-Israeli-Lebanese accord rendered the 2nd official certificate of the reactionary Arab bourgeoisie's capitulation to the Zionist state. As was the case with Egypt, what is surrendered is the people's right to national sovereignty and independent development. In Lebanon as in Egypt, the regime has proven its readiness to publicly auction off the popular and national interests for the sake of its own class alliance with imperialism.

The new accord also shows that the Kissinger express, running on bilateral negotiations, is still on the tracks. Despite changing times and shifting administrations, "divide and rule" remains as a favored maxim of imperialist policy. Once again, the US has supervised the unilateral surrender of a single Arab country to Zionist demands. Once again, more balanced UN resolutions (in this case, calling for unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon) have been swept aside by an accord which rewards the Zionist aggressor.

In essence and aims, the Israeli accord with Lebanon is equivalent to its 1979 agreement with Egypt. If implemented, this will be a qualitative new step in the Camp David process, adding another brick to US imperialist strategy for gaining unchallenged dominance in our area by facilitating an open alliance between 'Israel' and the Arab states. The

success of this venture hinges on the enemy alliance's ability to liquidate the Arab national liberation movement, especially its Palestinian vanguard. Thus, military arrangements have played an all pervasive role in every stage of Camp David.

Besides offering the Egyptian army as an instrument for imperialist designs in the Middle East and Africa, Sadat's main contribution to the enemy plan was withdrawing Egypt from the Arab confrontation front. This allowed the Zionist enemy to concentrate its firepower against the Palestinian revolution and its ally, the Lebanese National Movement, and later Syrian forces in Lebanon, in a series of attacks that culminated to impose the terms of the newly signed accord (the '78 invasion, the heavy air raids of '79-81, and especially the '82 invasion). Quite literally the Israeli-Egyptian agreement gave birth to the Israeli-Lebanese accord, the midwife being the Zionist war machine, fueled by US support and Arab reaction's complicity.

New military arrangements are also the crux of the imperialist-Zionist achievement with the new accord, for it commits Lebanon to assuming responsibility for completing the Zionists' operation by removing and/or suppressing all anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist forces, Lebanese as well as Palestinian. If implemented, the result will be institutionalized Lebanese-Israeli military and intelligence cooperation with deep US involvement.

In the case of non-implementation, the Zionists and US imperialism have also scored a military - and political - gain. With a document signifying Israeli readiness to withdraw, the onus is shifted to Syria to withdraw. If this does not occur, the accord serves to legitimize the continued Israeli occupation of major parts of Lebanon.



De facto normalization

As part of their tactics for legitimizing the occupation, US imperialism and Zionism have presented the accord as a compromise. The Zionist demand for full normalization appears to have been sacrificed, but this is actually a formality, for the material basis for political and economic relations already exists.

'Israel' already profits immensely from its one-way trade with Lebanon. A mid-April edition of Beirut's "An Nahar Arab Report and Memo" put Israeli exports to Lebanon at \$30 million a month. This greatly exceeds annual trade with Egypt four years after signing a "peace" treaty. (Apart from Egypt's oil sales to 'Israel', trade from April 1982-April 1983 amounted to \$16 million, \$15 million of this being Israeli exports.) Moreover, the Zionist state's alliance with the Lebanese fascist forces has facilitated political and cultural infiltration of the Lebanese society to a degree that may never be paralleled in Egypt.

The treaty lays the basis for formalizing these de facto relations by providing for an Israeli liaison office in Lebanon (the embryo of an embassy) and for future negotiations on trade, travel and communications links.

In light of these realities, the apparent differences between this so-called troop withdrawal agreement and a full-fledged 'peace' treaty fade into insignificance. After all, the accord's preamble declares termination of the state of war and denotes official Lebanese recognition of the Zionist state. Moreover, article 9 rules out Lebanese commitment to any joint Arab defense effort, officially transferring the country into the Israeli side of the Arab-Zionist conflict. Despite the Israeli stance of having entered into a compromise, the essence and terms of the accord meet all the basic Zionist demands. Where the modalities are not those envisioned by the Zionists, the US role and special guarantees make up the difference.

Security for whom?

As a direct result of the Lebanese government's having put all its eggs in the US basket, the accord legitimizes and actually stipulates imperialist and Zionist interference in Lebanon's internal affairs. Though official Lebanon has never confronted the Zionist state, the terms are those imposed on a conquered nation. The following guidelines for organizing 'Lebanese' security were solely dictated by the needs of the invader and its main ally:

- South Lebanon is to be divided into a two-tiered "security region" equivalent to that the Israeli army set out to establish in June 1982.

- Lebanese sovereignty will be permanently violated by continuous Israeli military patrolling as part of the Joint Supervisory Teams.

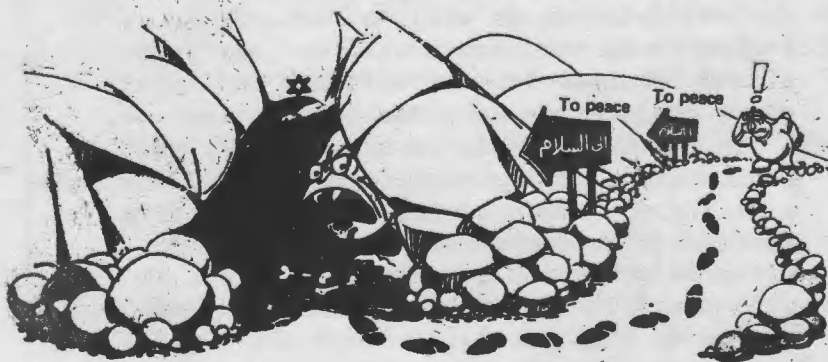
- Limitations are put on the troop strength and arms of the Lebanese Army in the South.

- The Lebanese Army territorial brigade, to be stationed in the southern section of the "security region", provides a legitimate, Lebanese cover for the Israelis' favored puppet Saad Haddad, whose status was determined in secret US-Lebanese-Israeli agreements. In the Annex on Security Arrangements, a number of other possibilities are provided for Haddad's fascist forces and other bodies of Israeli-cultivated collaborators, or US trained counterinsurgency squads, to be inserted in the South: "The Security Arrangements Committee may approve the stationing in the security region of other official Lebanese armed elements similar to Ansar" (Lebanese Auxiliary Forces, a type of militia)... "The existing local units will be integrated as such into the Lebanese Army"... "The existing local Civil Guard shall be integrated into Ansar... to enable it to continue guarding the villages."

The Lebanese government's attempt to white wash the accord, arguing that the presence of 50-100 Israeli soldiers is better than 35,000 is a flimsy, contrived excuse for having ceded Lebanon as an Israeli-American protectorate and a base for spying on the Arab national forces and regimes, particularly Syria. It is highly unlikely that the masses of South Lebanon will feel the difference. Israeli repression will be replaced by that of the Lebanese Army - the continuing arrest campaigns in West Beirut stand as a prototype. The "special security measures aimed at detecting and preventing hostile activities", as stipulated in the Annex on Security Arrangements, is simply a euphemism for martial law, i.e. legitimized restrictions on the lives and movement of Palestinian civilians and Lebanese nationalists. Moreover, like the IDF,

Israel says: Following in Sadat's footsteps is the only way to peace!

● إسرائيل تقول: اقتفاء خطى السادات هو الطريق الوحيد للسلام





Kimhe for 'Israel', Draper for the US, Fattal for Lebanon - They put their signature to the following (excerpted from the official text):

Article 4

1. The territory of each party will not be used as a base for hostile or terrorist activity against the other party, its territory or people.

2. Each party will prevent the existence or organization of irregular forces, armed bands, organizations, bases, offices, or infrastructure, the aims and purpose of which include incursions or any act of terrorism into the territory of the other party, or any other activity aimed at threatening or endangering the security of the other party and safety of its people. To this end all agreements and arrangements enabling the presence and functioning on the territory of either party of elements hostile to the other are null and void.

3. Without prejudice to the inherent right of self-defense in accordance with international law, each party will refrain:

A. From organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in threats or acts of belligerency, subversion, or incitement or any aggression directed against the other party, its population or property, both within its territory and originating therefrom, or in the territory of the other party.

B. From using the territory of the other party for conducting a military attack against the territory of a third state.

C. From intervening in the internal or external affairs of the other party.

4. Each party undertakes to ensure that preventive action and due proceedings will be taken against persons or organizations perpetrating acts in violation of this article.

Article 5

Consistent with the termination of the state of war and within the framework of their constitutional provisions, the parties

will abstain from any form of hostile propaganda against each other.

Article 8

1. A. Upon entry into force of the present agreement, a Joint Liaison Committee will be established by the parties, in which the United States of America will be a participant, and will commence its functions. This committee will be entrusted with the supervision of the implementation of all areas covered by the present agreement. In matters involving security arrangements, it will deal with unresolved problems referred to it by the Security Arrangements Committee established in Subparagraph C. below. Decisions of this committee will be taken unanimously.

B. The Joint Liaison Committee will address itself on a continuing basis to the development of mutual relations between Lebanon and Israel, inter alia the regulation of the movement of goods, products and persons, communications, etc.

...

F. Each party, if it so desires and unless there is a change of status, may maintain a liaison office on the territory of the other party in order to carry out the above-mentioned functions within the framework of the Joint Liaison Committee and to assist in the implementation of the present agreement.

...

2. During the six-month period after the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanon in accordance with Article 1 of the present agreement and the simultaneous restoration of Lebanese government authority along the international boundary between Lebanon and Israel, and in the light of the termination of the state of war, the parties shall initiate, within the Joint Liaison Committee, bona fide negotiations in order to conclude agreements on the movement of goods, products and persons and their implementation on a non-discriminatory basis.

Article 9

1. Each of the parties will take, within a time limit of one year as of entry into force of the present agreement, all measures necessary for the abrogation of treaties, laws and regulations deemed in conflict with the present agreement, subject to and in conformity with its constitutional procedures.

2. The parties undertake not to apply existing obligations, enter into any obligations or adopt laws or regulations in conflict with the present agreement.



Instant reward: US F16s for 'Israel'

the Lebanese Army will provide the umbrella for fascist terror. The net result will be another victory for the Zionists, who can monitor the Lebanese Army's law enforcement without exposing their own troops to attack as is presently the case.

New official negation of democracy

At first glance, the limitations imposed on Lebanon may seem to contradict US dedication to a strong state. Actually, the terms of the accord are prerequisites for the army and regime to fulfill their intended role: strongman vs. the masses, and dependable ally of the Zionist state. Just as the treaty is a result of the strength gained by the Lebanese right-wing due to the Zionist invasion, it in turn institutionalizes the divisions in the Lebanese society and political structure. More than ever, the regime represents the small, pro-imperialist comprador strata ruling against the political and social aspirations of the majority. More than ever, confessionalism will be used to keep the people apart and distracted from class and national struggle.

It is no coincidence that five days before the accord was signed, the outdated, confessional Lebanese parliament renewed the cabinet's emergency powers, including rule by decree, through September. By entering into the accord, the regime reaffirmed its intention to use fascist measures against any opposition. Lebanon's Economic Minister Halawi has said that Lebanese opponents of the agreement will be charged with high treason if they use armed force to foil it. In his view, "The legitimate authority, represented by Lebanon's president and parliament, are the only parties concerned to implement the treaty." This is an indirect acknowledgement that the regime has entered an agreement opposed by the majority of the Lebanese people, many of whom have actively struggled, alongside the Palestinian revolution for national liberation and democracy. The extent of national humiliation imposed on Lebanon by the treaty can only serve to strengthen the resolve of the Lebanese nationalist forces to oppose the re-

gime; mass resentment of the Israeli occupiers can only continue to grow.

It is not only armed attacks that the Lebanese regime has pledged to crush. The consequence of the security arrangements, and the commitment to end hostile propaganda contained in article 5, is a total negation of the freedom of expression and of political, social and cultural activities, previously enjoyed by the Lebanese masses. This has already been seen in practice, as when the police moved in to break up a peaceful protest against the accord, organized by students at the American University in Beirut.

Legitimizing occupation

Even more telling, Lebanese sovereignty and national commitment have been bartered away for a promise that the Israelis will withdraw their army if and when Syrian and PLO forces withdraw. Fulfilling this condition lies beyond the capacity of the Lebanese government, which has thus left all options open to the Zionist enemy and US imperialism -

- The US and its Arab friends can try to pressure Syria and the PLO into withdrawing.
- If political efforts fail, the Zionists can launch a new aggression to the same end.
- The Israeli army can pull back to the Awal River, concentrating its forces in the designated security zone from north of Saida to the southern border. Such a plan has anyway been under discussion in 'Israel' as a way of retaining their foothold in Lebanon, while reducing their casualties, whose mounting toll continues to cause internal problems in the Zionist entity.

In view of these options, the accord amounts to a legitimization of the Israeli occupation and may well go down in history as the prelude to a new war and/or partition of the country.

US imperialism - prime beneficiary

With the accord, US imperialism and Zionism made achievements that extend far beyond the boundaries of Lebanon. The two allies greatly alleviated the tactical friction that has marred the surface of their strategic cooperation. The resumption of F16's to 'Israel' is one proof of this, but the implications go much deeper. US Defense Secretary Weinberger stated publicly that "There is nothing standing in the way" of reinstating the strategic cooperation pact with 'Israel'. Reagan recently told reporters that Israeli settlements do not constitute an obstacle to peace.

Most important, the accord provided the U with the means of reviving the momentum of its efforts to impose an imperialist 'peace'

in the area, and of drawing 'Israel' more closely into the political process, despite the Begin government's rejection of the Reagan plan. The US can now try and show to its Arab allies in particular, that "The problem now is not Israeli intransigence, but the fault of Syria and the Soviets", as was articulated by a State Department aide.

The Reagan Administration has also scored a point to be used in promoting its global policy. As the accord was being signed, Secretary of State Schultz referred to the Middle East as a positive example when defending increased military aid to the El Salvador regime. According to him, Israeli military power has enabled it to successfully negotiate with its Arab neighbors. The signing of the accord also opened the way for the EEC to resume its aid package to 'Israel' and lessened secondary differences between the US and its European allies as to how to reach a 'solution' in the Middle East.

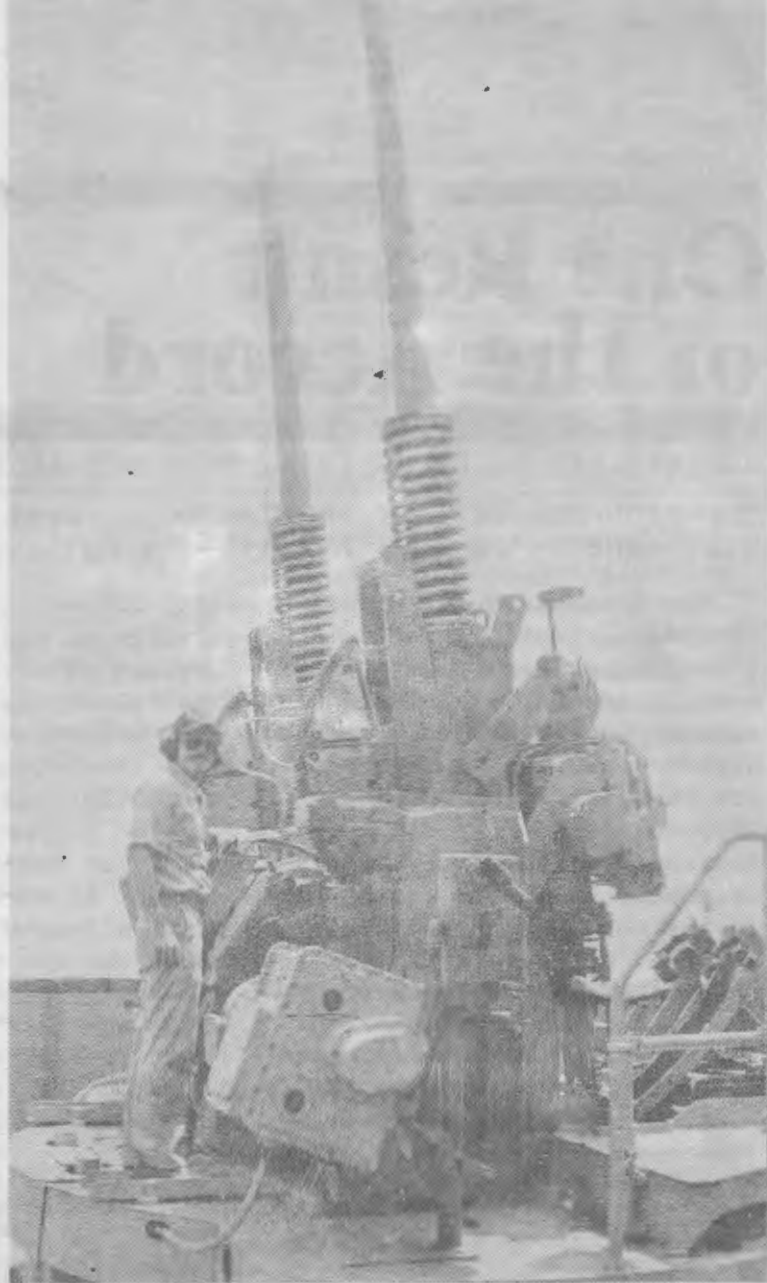
Beirut: potential NATO base

Right down to the final draft, it seemed that the Zionists' excessive "security" demands were blocking an agreement which the US very much wanted concluded. In reality, by making security the cardinal point, the Zionists were playing right down Reagan's militaristic alley, resulting in gains for both.

For 'Israel', this elicited Reagan's pledge that the US was ready for any measure to protect the Zionist state's northern border. It resulted in the secret agreements, signed in Jerusalem on May 17th, whereby the US (again) recognized the Israeli 'right' to retaliate if attacked in/from Lebanon, and pledged not to renegotiate the agreement even if Syria should so demand. Essentially, this amounts to a renewed green light for Zionist aggression if this is deemed necessary to implement the enemy plans.

For the US, its military involvement in Lebanon - and by extension, the area - was reinforced. US participation in the Joint Liaison Committee, responsible for supervising all aspects of the accord's implementation, including security arrangements, gives added legitimacy and an expanded role to the Green Berets already in the country to train the Lebanese Army. As overseer of the Lebanese Army's handling of security, the US gains new possibilities for permanent military presence in Lebanon, combined or aside from the Multi-national Forces, and their certain expansion if any withdrawal should begin.

The US contingent of the MNF is logistically attached to the 6th fleet, which in its NATO capacity is entitled "Naval Striking and Support Forces Southern Europe". Beirut has



Ready for action: US gunner onboard the USS Pensacola, part of the Sixth Fleet

become an anchorage for the 6th Fleet and a potential NATO base. According to the spokesman for the commander of the 6th Fleet, "Nationally speaking, the 6th Fleet's mission is to conduct naval operations in the area as directed by our higher authorities. Our job is to ensure control of the waters and air within the Mediterranean area. We must also be able to project our power ashore in countries contiguous to or near the Mediterranean Sea, if the need arises." A main task of the fleet is spying on the Soviet, which was designated by the spokesman as "the country with the greatest potential threat...to Allied naval forces in the Mediterranean..." (quoted from interview with the Lebanese weekly, "Monday Morning", May 30).

In this context, it is obvious that Lebanon constitutes a significant site as part of the US military network in the area; it serves as a link between presence in the Mediterranean, the US bases in Turkey and those in the Gulf and Indian Ocean, and thus a potential stop-over for the RDF, now the Central Command.

One Result of the Accord

NEW ATTACKS ON PALESTINIAN PRESENCE IN LEBANON

The PFLP Central Information Department issued a statement on June 27th, with the following contents:

The Lebanese authorities recently arrested Salah Salah, a leading member of the PLO, and closed the Palestinian Research Center, arresting its director and two employees on the basis of false accusations. These measures contradict the decisions of the Arab League countries who, with the consent of the Lebanese authorities, accorded full protection to the center and its staff.

Salah Salah is a member of the Higher Palestinian Committee which was agreed upon in conjunction with the Lebanese

authorities, to attend to the affairs of the Palestinians in Lebanon after the forces of the Palestinian revolution left Beirut. As agreed upon with the Lebanese authorities, he should have special immunity. The Higher Palestinian Committee has repeatedly been subject to harassment and criminal attempts. The latest of these was the attempt to assassinate Tawfiq Safadi in Beirut. These are clear indications of organized repressive measures in which the Lebanese authorities are participating along-

side the Zionist enemy. We note the statement of Prime Minister Shafiq Wazzan that the Lebanese authorities had no knowledge of the arrest of our comrade, Salah Salah. This is a warning of the danger that the Lebanese authorities are formally relinquishing responsibility with respect to the wave of recent arrests.

The Lebanese authorities are held fully responsible for the recent arrest campaign, as well as for the well-being of our comrade Salah Salah. We will not remain silent in the face of these measures which are a translation of the degrading Israeli-Lebanese agreement which bans any anti-Zionist institution or figure in Lebanon.

The PFLP will do all in its power to put a stop to this aggressive campaign against Palestinian presence in Lebanon, and to free all political prisoners.

Zionist-fascist terror continues both in occupied South Lebanon and under the auspices of Amin Gemayel's regime. Left: Threatening 'black hands' reminiscent of death squads in other parts of the world, appeared on the walls of Burj al Barajneh camp in Beirut this spring. Right: Palestinian-owned shop destroyed by a bomb in Beirut in early May.





Lebanese
army trooper
faces off in
Bir el Abed

Lebanese Resistance

For Lebanese nationalists, opposing the new accord was a natural extension of their active resistance against the Zionist occupation which it legitimizes. Two days before the accord was signed 7 prominent Lebanese political figures convened in Zghorta (North Lebanon) and rejected this step. They included the General Secretary of the Communist Party, George Hawi; the leader of the Progressive Socialist Party, Walid Jumblatt; former prime minister, Rashid Karami; former president Suleiman Franjeh and others. Their rejection reflected the broad spectrum, politically and geographically speaking, of Lebanese opposed to their country's becoming an Israeli protectorate.

Mass demonstrations occurred in several places on the day

of the signing. Despite the virtual martial law maintained by the regime in West Beirut, a sit-in in a mosque in Bir el Abed, on the southern outskirts of the city, grew into a militant street demonstration. Several were killed and more wounded when the army came to disperse the people.

In Koura, North Lebanon, the Lebanese National Movement and the Popular Council organized a rally on May 22nd, which included among its slogans: "No to Israeli occupation
Yes to rejecting occupation
and striking collaborators;
No to overlooking the role of the Lebanese National Resistance - Yes to the legality of struggle against Israeli occupation; Patriotic Koura salutes the detainees in Ansar and all who reject occupation."

Military operations against

the occupation increased in this period, as did the repression of the occupiers. Frustrated by their inability to halt these attacks and anticipating escalated resistance on the anniversary of their invasion, the Israelis imposed an extra harsh crackdown throughout the areas under their control. Close to 500 were arrested in the South and the Shouf in the three days ending June 2nd. This not only failed to head off mass observation of the anniversary, it actually precipitated more demonstrations, as when 400 Palestinian women from the camps of the Sour area went to the streets to protest the new arrests. In Kamed al Loz, in the southwestern Beqaa, the Israelis forcibly broke up another demonstration.

Days of mourning and resistance

The real display of the breadth and strength of the Lebanese masses rejection of the occupation and new accord came on June 4-6th. As a prelude, there had been a conference in Shtoura May 29th where all major organizations of the Lebanese National Movement and popular organizations in the central Beqaa gathered to reject the Israeli-Lebanese treaty. Also in Tripoli, a public rally was held at the same time to protest the agreement.

On the anniversary of the invasion a day of mourning punctuated by a general strike, was called by the nationalist political forces unions, popular committees and patriotic religious leaders. Tripoli, Saida, Balbeck, West Beirut and other towns and villages closed their shops. The Lebanese National Resistance Front issued a communique pledging to continue its operations against the occupation and to liquidate collaborators and staged two operations in one day.

Operations Escalate

As previously noted, operations against the Zionist occupiers have become a daily occurrence in Lebanon. What characterizes the recent development in this field is the increasing effectiveness of the Lebanese National Resistance Front's operations. Carefully planted and timed, remote-controlled explosives account for greater success in striking Israeli patrols and convoys and inflicting heavier casualties. This led one Israeli army major to comment: "The war is very strange now - It's safer for a soldier to be on the front lines than it is to move behind our own lines."

Use of remote-controlled devices has been most concentrated along the coastal highway by which the Zionist enemy brings most of its troops and nearly all of its supplies into Lebanon. In April, the Israelis recorded 26 attacks on their forces on this road alone. By mid-May, the enemy was suffering daily casualties on this stretch. There have also been a series of highly successful operations in the southern Beqaa Valley, as on May 13th, when 16 Israeli soldiers were wounded by an explosion as their bus passed Hasbaya.

The Shouf mountain area has witnessed an escalation of attacks against the occupiers, as on May 5th, when a well-aimed shell against an enemy convoy killed an Israeli sergeant and wounded nine others. Particularly alarming to the enemy is the rise in operations on the southern outskirts of Beirut. In the first week of June, a car bomb killed 2 Israeli soldiers in this area; in another operation, 2 were killed, one injured and an armored personnel carrier destroyed by an explosion.

As a result of the anti-occupation forces' increasing effectiveness, the Israelis counted 8 dead in May alone. By June 12th, the total of Israeli dead since the start of the invasion hit 500 with 2,776 wounded (according to their own admission).

Other recent operations attest to the Lebanese National Resistance Front's capacity to zoom in on particularly vital targets: The May 27th attack on the new Israeli airport at

Damour; the June 27th strike against an Israeli military camp east of Saida, which set fire to fuel reserves; the June 23rd attack on an Israeli intelligence center near Nabatiyeh, and in the same area, several attacks near the site of the concentration camp at Ansar.

The current operations assume particular significance coming as they do in the context of increasingly open mass resistance to the occupation. It is telling that the enemy is generally unable to capture the guerrillas. Instead, like in Palestine, the Israelis are resorting to collective punishment of villagers.

Israeli convoy hit on May 5th



Village Besieged

On June 10th, 3 Israeli soldiers were killed, 2 wounded and 1 captured in an ambush near Deir Kanoun, east of Sour. Unable to capture the resistance fighters, the Israelis arrested 200 villagers and clamped a curfew on Deir Kanoun. For one week, all roads to the village were blocked, and the 6,000 residents were forbidden to move about. Electricity, water, food and medical supplies were cut.

Though officially denying that an Israeli had been taken prisoner in the operation, the

occupiers demanded that the villagers produce the missing soldier. This was the pretext for brutal harassment: shooting over the villagers' heads, using planes to make sonic booms to induce panic, beating up men, and destroying olive trees, which are a main source of livelihood for the village.

The real reason for the blockade was perhaps that revealed in the Lebanese daily "An Nahar": The Israelis had wanted to set up a military position in Deir Kanoun, but the residents refused this.

Ansar Says «NO»!

Despite the barbed wire and heavy Zionist guarding, the unrecognized prisoners-of-war in Ansar concentration camp were among the most militant voices against the Lebanese - Israeli agreement.

On May 18th, the detainees went on hunger strike, protesting the accord; their action continued until May 22nd, also protesting their intolerable conditions. A prisoner who happened to be released right after the accord was signed reported: "After the prisoners were informed of the contents of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, there was an uprising in Ansar, especially as no reference was made in any of the clauses to their fate as detainees." He refused to say how the prisoners were able to obtain the details of the agreement, but further reported the tightened measures enforced by the Israelis: additional guard posts were set up

in the camp, and four soldiers were assigned to each of the prisoners' tents. The prisoners shouted slogans and demanded that negotiations should be on the basis of releasing all the detained in Ansar and withdrawal of the Israeli army.

Protests also broke out on the first anniversary of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon; prisoners burned tents, threw stones at the guards and shouted against the occupation. The protest continued for several days, and on the night of June 12th, dozens of prisoners staged an escape, aided by their fellow inmates burning tents and a guerrilla operation against Ansar. The Israeli army embarked on a massive manhunt.

Again at the end of June, there was an uprising, sparked by Israeli brutality against the detainees. Residents of the area reported hearing gunfire from within the camp.

how the cause of the people is facing a fascist plot which, if successful, would lead to splitting Lebanon's unity, aborting its democracy and uprooting its national identity. Despite all these efforts, Arab nationalist circles continue to view this cause as secondary, a supplement to other Arab causes.

"If the fate of the Lebanese is exposed to the danger of total loss because of this 'agreement' which has been imposed on it, letting loose this plan of fascist domination, then we are no longer in a position to be lenient with any Arab party which is content to be an onlooker, resorting only to condemnation without taking any measures of active solidarity or using all means to support the struggle of our people to liberate our land, restore its sovereignty, renew its unity and enforce its national identity, and to preserve democracy as a framework for our aspirations.

"We call on all Arab nationalist forces without exception to understand the particularity of the Lebanese national cause in its true form, because this understanding is the only way that these forces can really feel their responsibility with regard to supporting the decisive battle in Lebanon, which is at its most dangerous juncture. It is no exaggeration to say that all Arabs from the Gulf to the ocean owe the Lebanese nationalists a debt, for we have given more than our capacity in defense of the Arab cause. When will this debt be paid? When will the Arab nationalist forces raise the banner of active solidarity with the Lebanese national cause? When will the echoes of this solidarity reach us? So that we will be sufficiently strengthened to be able to face this enemy, whose creeping will not stop at the borders of Lebanon, if it succeeds in swallowing Lebanon.

For Arab National Solidarity

When rejecting the Israeli-Lebanese accord, Comrade Mohsen Ibrahim, General Secretary of the Communist Action Organization in Lebanon, also addressed the Arab national liberation movement concerning a major prerequisite for foiling this treacherous agreement:

"When we direct criticisms concerning the weak stand of the Arab nationalist forces with regard to the Lebanese national cause, our intention is not to accuse. There are many objective factors that lessen the level of Arab national solidarity with the Lebanese cause. Your weak stand is one of them, but there are

other factors of which we are aware.

"Patriotic Lebanon has suffered immensely due to the Arab view whereby it is seen solely as a station for the Palestinian revolution, or as the only arena for resisting the US-Israeli hegemony which is directed against other Arab countries of the region. The Lebanese nationalist cause has not received its fair share of Arab attention as a cause in itself. Lebanese patriots have done their share these past years in explaining our cause: how our country is threatened by Zionism as an entity that threatens all the countries...

DFLP-PFLP: Joint Communiqué

On June 4th, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine issued the following communiqué which highlighted their joint political stand on two urgent issues: (1) the necessity of foiling the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and of imposing an Arab boycott vs. the Lebanese authorities, and (2) democratic reform in the PLO's institutions, and the protection of national unity as a guarantee for victory.

The coming days will witness the first anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, while imperialism and Zionism continue their efforts to impose complete hegemony over the Arab nation.

The main purpose of imperialism's encouragement and support of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon was to relieve the deadlock for Camp David and the civil administration, by obliterating the PLO, striking the Lebanese nationalist forces and at the same time weakening Syria and the Arab national liberation movement generally, and dealing a blow to the alliance with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union. Yet another aim was to convert Lebanon into a US-Zionist protectorate in accordance with the second part of the Camp David agreement, so as to pave the way for the third, suspended plan, which is drawing the Jordanian regime into negotiations with the Zionist enemy on the basis of the Reagan plan, which aims at liquidating the Palestinian people's national cause and independent representation.

The heroic steadfastness of the forces of the Palestinian revolution, together with those of the Lebanese National Movement and Syria, foiled the enemies' aim to liquidate the PLO. The steadfastness in the face of the savage Zionist aggression strengthened our status and role among the ranks of the masses on the Arab and international level. At the same time, this pushed US imperialism and its allies in the region to embark on a political offensive, so as to achieve the aims not achieved by the invasion and its aftermath.

To this end, the Reagan plan was proposed, based on US policy with regard to the PLO and the rights of the Palestinian people... This plan met with widespread approval from Arab reaction, which promoted it from the start. Arab reaction also continued to pressure the PLO and the nationalist Arab regimes to submit to this plan, to surrender the region to US imperialist hegemony, and to respond to the conditions and greed of the Zionist entity. Arab reaction continues its efforts and pressures to exploit the complex situation

through which the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese nationalist forces are passing, taking advantage of the general Arab retreat to drive the area towards the US policy. The avenue for this is extracting concessions in favor of the Reagan plan and gaining acceptance for the capitulationist, Zionist - Lebanese agreement.

The last PNC clearly defined Palestinian national unity on a correct political basis, underscoring the PLO's adherence to the interim political program, the previous PNC resolutions, and insistence on its role as the sole representative of our people. The PNC rejected any authorization, mandating or sharing in its representation; it rejected anything which might harm the national rights of the Palestinian people: the right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to build their independent state on their land.

The PNC resolutions also reemphasized the importance of deepening the Arab national and progressive international alliances of the PLO, and the importance of confronting all attempts and pressures aimed at forcing the PLO to change its allies - a change that would entangle it in the net of alliance with Arab reaction and imperialist liquidationist solutions.

Based on this, the PNC reemphasized its rejection of the Reagan plan, which does not recognize the rights of our people and their sole, legitimate representative. It called for a solution based on the interim political program of the PLO, and on Arab and international resolutions which support the national rights of our people.

The only way to strengthen Palestinian national unity and ensure the independence of Palestinian national decision-making is total commitment to the last PNC resolutions and putting them into practice on all political and organizational levels. This is the only way to block the road to any attempts, maneuvers or pressures designed to make the Reagan plan more alluring without making any change which alter its essence. It is also the only

way to confront all plots aimed at splitting the ranks of the Palestinian people, whether in the occupied land or outside. These plots include the recent attempts of the Jordanian regime to create a political force to replace the PLO in the name of "Popular Alliance". The strengthening of Palestinian national unity, based on the latest PNC resolutions, can guarantee that these various shady plots will meet the same miserable fate as befell the treacherous village leagues.

Haste should be made to implement a democratic reform in the framework and institutions of the PLO and in the Palestinian revolution's forces. This requires strengthening the democratic foundations of our united front and limiting the role of bourgeois, bureaucratic factions, whether military, diplomatic or administrative. This reform should be made on the basis of national unity and commitment to democratic internal dialogue, which will strengthen the role of the Palestinian revolution and its national decisions.

The national political spirit and the continuous heroic struggle of our masses under occupation, against the Zionist enemy, collaborators and reactionary bourgeois figures who support the capitulationist, US solutions, requires that the PLO leadership directly and immediately revive the Palestinian National Front in order to support the struggle of our people in the occupied land. It also requires improving the unity of our popular institutions, unions, federations and all other national bodies in the occupied land. Moreover, steps should be taken to stop the formation of other institutions or unions parallel to those already in existence, as this would hinder our people's unity in struggle and the role of their national institutions.

The Zionist-Lebanese agreement announced last month imposed basic concessions on Lebanon, which violate its sovereignty, unity, independence and Arab national identity. This agreement comes in the context of the continuing US imperialist offensive in the region, and its efforts to implement the second part of Camp David - to clear the way for the Jordanian regime to join the negotiations with the Zionist enemy in order to liquidate the national rights of the Palestinian people and strike the PLO, their sole representative.

The imminent danger posed by this agreement, and the threat it represents to Syria, the PLO and the people of the region, demands that the confrontation forces and all Arab nationalist forces and countries shoulder urgent tasks to foil its implementation and force the unconditional withdrawal of the Zionist forces from Lebanon in accordance with UN resolutions 508 and 509. The first of

these tasks is to strengthen the alliance between all forces involved in the frontline: the Lebanese nationalist forces, the PLO and Syria. Thus, the task arises to speed up the formation of a broad national front to develop and improve armed, political and mass struggle against the occupation.

The PLO is required to escalate its struggle against this agreement, which greatly harms the Palestinian cause and the interests of our people in Lebanon. The PLO should refuse to withdraw its forces from the Beqaa and the North, and should safeguard the political, security and social interests of the Palestinian people in Lebanon.

The determination of the US and the Zionist entity to carry out this agreement reflects their intention to wage a new war. Thus, Syria, the PLO and the Lebanese nationalist forces are required to take serious steps to confront this offensive and foil its aims. This requires that all nationalist forces and countries shoulder the serious responsibility of supporting the frontline forces. Moreover, it requires developing our relations and alliance with the socialist countries, first and foremost with the Soviet Union.

The humiliating Lebanese-Zionist agreement, and the threat it represents to the interests, rights and aspirations of the masses, requires that all Arab countries commit themselves to the resolutions of the previous Arab summits and take the initiative to enact measures of economic and political boycott against the Lebanese government, to force it to abandon this agreement. This also demands taking political and material measures to support the frontline forces, enabling them to remain steadfast and to resist.

On this occasion, let us intensify our struggle to foil the Reagan plan and the capitulationist Zionist-Lebanese agreement. Let us remain on guard, ready to confront all possible US-Zionist offensives. Let us escalate armed struggle against the occupation. Let us face all attempts to strike the Palestinian nationalist ranks with determination. Let us struggle to consolidate Palestinian national unity within the framework of the PLO on the democratic foundations of a common front, based on the resolutions of the PNC.

- Long live the struggle of our people for the cause of their inalienable rights
- Long live the PLO, sole legitimate representative of our people
- Long live the struggle of the Lebanese people to foil the capitulationist agreement
- Glory to the martyrs of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon
- Freedom to the militant detainees in the jails of the Zionist and Lebanese authorities

Arab CPs Reject Accord



In early June, eleven Arab communist parties met and registered their common stand against the Israeli - Lebanese accord. Below is a summary of the communique issued by the following parties:

1. Jordanian Communist Party
2. Bahraini National Liberation Front
3. Tunisian Communist Party
4. Socialist Vanguard Party (Algeria)
5. Communist Party of Saudi Arabia
6. Sudanese Communist Party
7. Syrian Communist Party
8. Iraqi Communist Party
9. Palestinian Communist Party
10. Lebanese Communist Party
11. Egyptian Communist Party

The communist and workers' parties in the Arab countries held a meeting where the current situation in the region was discussed, as well as the international situation. The communique defines and condemns the dangers which the imperialist - Zionist invasion poses to the Arab national liberation movement. The communique points out that the military attack on Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance was of the severest nature; this has been underscored in the signing of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement and the escalation of threats to carry out a military offensive against Syria.

The communique condemns this agreement, forced upon Lebanon by US pressure, as an extension of Camp David and an outrageous violation of the sovereignty and independence of Lebanon. By this agreement, Lebanon is converted into a military base and a US-Israeli protectorate, as well as a threatening factor to Syria, other Arab countries and world peace. It fulfills Israeli ambitions for regional politi-

cal, economic and cultural expansion. It aims at splitting Lebanon from the Arab world and putting an end to democratic freedom there. Moreover, it widens the gap of internal strife, giving fascist, isolationist, sectarian forces strength, which threatens the unity of Lebanon, leading to its partition. In addition, the agreement rewards the Israelis, instead of punishing them and forcing them to unconditional withdrawal according to the Security Council resolutions.

The communique stresses that the communist and workers' parties in the Arab countries will "continue their struggle...at the side of the nationalist Lebanese and will exert all efforts to foil this agreement and prevent Lebanon from submitting to Israeli and US occupation, continuing under the facade of the MNF, so as to restore the complete sovereignty of Lebanon, reasserting its Arab nature, unity and the right of its people to democratic development, removed from

any external dominance or interference."

The communique also condemns the Zionist-US escalation of threats against Syria, which serves to emphasize the importance of the latter's role of steadfastness in the face of the imperialist plan and offensive policy. It also stresses that the battle in defense of Syria "acquires an Arab and international nature; moreover, the question of fortifying the steadfastness of Syria is of extraordinary importance under the present circumstances."

The communique calls for increased solidarity with the Palestinian people and the PLO as their sole, legitimate representative, stressing the importance of unity. It salutes the stand taken by the Soviet Union in support of Arab causes and Arab steadfastness, and calls for strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union as a decisive factor in our liberation battle.

Enemy Tactics and the Arab Stand

The accord on Lebanon accentuates Syria's key role as a major obstacle to the enemy plans. The mainstream Arab response, on the other hand, facilitates the enemies' efforts to overcome this obstacle.

By imposing their accord on Lebanon, US imperialism and Zionism in effect directed a new attack against not only the Palestinian and Lebanese masses, but also against the Syrian nationalist position and legitimate security interests. However, the US-Zionist enemy seems loath to employ the military option to oust Syrian forces from Lebanon, for several reasons: (1) A new war would further aggravate the internal problems which arose in the Zionist entity with its last, costly aggression. (2) US imperialism is anxious not to further mar its image as a "peacemaker", for this masquerade is essential for drawing more Arab regimes into the Camp David process. (3) The Soviets' strategic support to Syria forewarns that an Israeli strike could precipitate a confrontation far beyond what imperialism and Zionism could

steer in their preferred channels.

Accordingly, US officials tuned down their cold war rhetoric against Syria. Veliotes, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, emphasized that "the door is still open", despite repeated Syrian statements that it will not withdraw on the basis of the treacherous Israeli-Lebanese accord. In a rare admission for a US official speaking of a country that opposes its plans, Veliotes stated, "We recognize that Syria is a proud country and has legitimate security concerns in the area."

Another element in the new enemy refrain is stressing the independence of Syria in order to separate it from its Soviet ally and draw it into the camp of Arab regimes who stake their hopes on US 'mediation' in the area. This last

tactic in specific is flawed by being based on totally false premises. The Syrian stand is based on its national commitment and security interests, the Soviet stand on commitment to the Arab cause and strong opposition to the increased US presence in the area. Thus, Syrian and Soviet interests intersect at this point; it is not a question of one's position being determined by the other.

The problem for the imperialist tactics is that in view of the Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights, it is offering Syria nothing. Instead, extensive diplomatic and political maneuvers are being undertaken to maintain the aura of success for US efforts, which was created with the signing of the Israeli-Lebanese accord while simultaneously pressuring Syria to withdraw its forces from Lebanon. As is usual in periods when the enemy alliance seeks to reap the benefit of Zionist aggression, pressure is directed chiefly through America's Arabs. A role is also projected for the US's fellow imperialists, who at the Williamsburg summit agreed to make separate efforts to get Syria to withdraw.

To give space for these maneuvers, the US and even the Zionists toned down their belligerent stance towards Syria. Here, the Zionist Labor Party is playing a special role in line with its hopes of an eventual return to power. The party secretary Haim Bar-Lev took the occasion to state that 'Israel' should consider territorial compromise in the Golan Heights if Syria is serious about coming to the negotiations table. However, his subsequent remarks served to reaffirm the limits of what Zionism is willing to offer: the territory to be conceded is "very, very, very small", and settlements would remain part of the Israeli "security system" (as quoted in Israeli radio).



Arab ambivalence - tool for imperialism

Arab reaction's efforts to assist in turning Lebanon into a US-Israeli protectorate are made easier by the prevailing situation of Arab officialdom. Aside from Syria, Libya and Democratic Yemen, no Arab regime has definitively rejected the accord. On the other hand, only Egypt, Oman, Sudan and Jordan have given unqualified support. The pivotal point in the official Arab stand is the ambivalence of the majority. Not wanting to lose their national face, some regimes have verbally criticized the accord as a surrender to Zionist demands. Their real stand - support to the US efforts - is covered by the pretense of respecting Lebanon's right to make its own decisions. (It is noteworthy that respect for Lebanese "independence" is a new stand on the part of Arab reaction, adopted only after there are prospects of a strong reactionary authority.)

Such doubletalk is totally in line with the imperialist tactics. This was evidenced by Veliotis' statement: "We are encouraged that a large number of Arab states have either supported the May 17 Lebanon-Israel withdrawal agreement or have supported Lebanon's right to decide for itself what is best for Lebanon."

The Saudis, with their financial clout and behind-the-scenes politicking, are the prime movers in the efforts to induce Syrian withdrawal by a combination of enticement and pressure. In order to be the US's most utile ally in the region, the Saudis must also maintain their image as leader of the Arab and Moslem world. Any move must be covered by a semblance of consensus and independent decision-making. Thus, Prince Sultan (Saudi Defense Minister) felt impelled to issue a statement after meeting his US counterpart, that "Saudi Arabia is not a

tool in the hands of any big or small power for exerting pressure on an Arab nation." Pressure on Syria is being exerted in a "brotherly" fashion - a fact which makes the situation no less dangerous, on the contrary. Capitalizing on the weakness of the Arab national liberation movement, Arab reaction has a relatively free hand to pursue these tactics, risking only minimal exposure in the eyes of the masses.

New lines of polarization

The signing of the accord on Lebanon, and the Arab response to this, provides an objective measure of US imperialism's progress vis-a-vis the regimes of the area. There is no official talk of convening an Arab summit for the purpose of imposing sanctions, as occurred after the Egyptian regime signed the treaty with 'Israel'. (This in fact is no surprise; the reactionary regimes have long circumvented the embargo imposed on Egypt at the Baghdad Summit. In the past year, open political and economic relations with the Mubarak regime have become de facto.) Now the talk is of a mini-summit between Saudi king Fahd, President Assad of Syria and Amin Gemayel of Lebanon, for the purpose of getting Syria to withdraw. This reflects the mainstream Arab approach of dealing with the current impasse as a misunderstanding between Syria and Lebanon, hoping that the Arab masses can be lulled into forgetting the real issue at stake: that a second Arab country has made a separate 'peace' with the Zionist enemy, and US imperialism has gained new ground in the Arab region.

The 1983 mainstream Arab response reveals that fewer Arab regimes are even making a pretense of opposing imperialist-Zionist plans. Saddam Hussein's Iraq is the prime example of a former nationalist

regime that has now cemented ties to the US. In a dying gesture of its former militant stance, the regime verbally condemned the treaty. It was left to US Secretary of State Schultz to report on its real stand: "The Iraqis I met with in Paris, and they are strongly in favor of Syrian withdrawal." The Iraqi position is not surprising, but the danger is that others are following in this tendency. The issue of Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon is integrally related to the future course of struggle in the area. Though they may not dare to say it aloud, those favoring Syrian withdrawal also mean PLO withdrawal and the end of open power bases for Lebanese nationalist forces. This means passification of the currently most advanced frontline with the Zionist enemy, and cutting off the rearguard for the militants who continue to strike the occupation forces from behind the lines.

With the official confrontation front narrowed, the importance of the genuinely nationalist and progressive forces is set in relief. The reaction to the new accord delineates the current state of polarization in the area. While the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front has not convened in this critical situation, the strong, correct positions of Democratic Yemen and Libya against the accord serve to maintain the national progressive perspective for which this front was formed. This is an important support to the Syrian-PLO-Lebanese nationalist rejection of the accord. Also, the Arab People's Conference, meeting in Damascus in early June, roundly rejected the accord, as did 11 Arab communist parties (see communique in this bulletin). It is with these forces that the ultimate responsibility lies for broadening the confrontation against the enemy plans for the area.

One Year After

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, "Al Hadaf" (PFLP's Arabic weekly) published an assessment of the current situation in terms of the extent to which the enemy forces have accomplished their goals with the war. The following is an abbreviated version of this article.

As a background for evaluating the current situation, we can summarize the Zionist-imperialist goals with the invasion on 3 levels:

1. On the Palestinian level -

The direct aim, as declared by the Zionist government, was the destruction of the infrastructure of the Palestinian revolution and the elimination of its political role in the region. The Zionist government perceived that anything less than a deadly blow to the PLO might only serve to strengthen and consolidate it. Thus, the enemy deemed it necessary to employ the full weight of its war machinery in order to completely crush our revolution which, in its essence, is Zionism's historical contradiction and the force that will eventually dig its grave.

2. On the Lebanese level -

Though the direct aim of the invasion was the destruction of the Palestinian revolution, we must not underestimate the Zionists' aims related to their interests in Lebanon. It is an old Zionist dream to control the water resources of South Lebanon and to annex part of it. This dream has expanded to encompass full control over the Lebanese economy, people, land and politics, thus becoming Lebanon's partner in its relations with the other Arab countries. This was evident in the Zionists' economic invasion, whereby Israeli products were shoveled into the Lebanese market by the Israeli tanks.

On the political level, the Zionist plan is to divide Lebanon along sectarian and regional lines, and to rebuild it on the same racist, sectarian basis by which the Zionist entity justifies its own existence. The Zionists' role in promoting internal clashes in the Shouf region is a clear indication of this aim. Moreover, the Zionist dream of creating such sectarian entities does not end with Lebanon, but targets the entire region.

These aims and policies cannot be dismissed on the basis of the Israelis' claims that they have "no special interests" in Lebanon. Nor can they be judged solely by the Israelis' direct demands in the negotiations.

Rather the immediate Zionist demands are prerequisites for realizing their original plan for full control.

The direct aim of destroying the PLO was overemphasized throughout the war, leading to an erroneous belief that the Lebanese people were not targeted. This allowed the Lebanese right wing to support the invasion. Soon, however, the reality of the Zionist plan - which included the Lebanese people - was discovered. This realization has escalated mass resistance to the occupation and strengthened the role of the Lebanese National Resistance Front. In addition, sectors of the Lebanese bourgeoisie have voiced fears of the occupation, having experienced that it contradicts their interests.

3. On the Arab level -

The invasion aimed at bringing new life to the original US Camp David plan, ending its



deadlock as being a unilateral agreement with Egypt. The invasion also aimed at dealing a military blow to Syria's forces in Lebanon, in order to compel Syria to accept the US - Zionist conditions and thus end official Arab rejection of the US plan. This was evident in the number of political plans proposed soon after the PLO's departure from Beirut: the Reagan plan, the Fez plan, the confederation with Jordan. These plans revealed the real dilemma facing the US-Arab reactionary moves in the area, due to the effective role of the Palestinian-Syrian-Lebanese nationalist alliance, which was indeed an obstacle to be eliminated.

4. On the international level -

The invasion was intended to definitively end the Soviet Union's role in the region, in order to facilitate full US control. During the war, 'Israel' waged an intense anti-Soviet propaganda campaign to win further support from its US allies. (Former) US Secretary of State Haig, who was one of the most enthusiastic advocates of the war, was also the architect of the US's strategic consensus policy for the region. According to this policy, the Soviet Union-communism is pinpointed as the number one danger in the area, requiring joint US-Israeli-Arab efforts to confront it. Obviously, this policy was strongly rejected by the Arab nationalist forces, leaving the US and Arab reaction with the option of having this opposition destroyed at the first opportunity, which came with the 1982 Zionist invasion.

Today, the US and Zionist leaders continue their attempts to undermine Soviet influence in the area. They refer to the Syrian military build-up and advanced defensive weapons as a threat, in order to maintain their attack on the Soviet Union and its influence in the area.

Taking stock

Did the US-Zionist alliance succeed in its goals? What is the situation of the Palestinian revolution in light of these goals and their ramifications, one year after the invasion? What are the results of the last war? What are the requirements for continuing national steadfastness and strengthening it?

The US-supported, Zionist invasion succeeded in accomplishing some of its goals, leading to new conditions with dangerous implications not only on the Palestinian and Lebanese levels, but also on the Arab and international levels.

First: The enemy succeeded in dealing a strong blow to the Palestinian revolution and

its open armed presence in Lebanon. The three months' war ended in almost totally expelling the Palestinian resistance from South Lebanon and Beirut. The Palestinian revolution's victory was confined to the moral level. The fact that it stood heroically against the most advanced war machinery for three months is indeed a victory for our people, which led to more respect and support for the movement throughout the world. However, in practical terms, the end result was to the benefit of the enemy.

Second: The invasion weakened the Lebanese National Movement, dealing a heavy blow to its organizations and its political and military presence in South Lebanon and Beirut. Further, it strengthened the fascist forces and allowed them to come to power in Lebanon. It has become quite clear that the election of Bashir Gemayel would not have been possible had it not been for the invasion, the siege of West Beirut and the heavy blow dealt to the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. Nor had the election of Amin Gemayel, the brother of Bashir and Phalangist Party Politbureau member, been possible without the Zionist occupation of large areas of Lebanon. The fact that the Phalangist Party has gained state power has influence on the Lebanese, Arab and international situation.

Third: The war aimed at dealing a heavy blow to the Syrian army by expelling it from most of the Lebanese areas extending from Jezzine (in the southeast) through the Shouf mountains and to Beirut, in order to weaken Syrian influence in Lebanon. In spite of the consequences of this blow for Syria's political influence on the Arab and international level, the present situation still allows Syria a real chance to influence the balance of power in the region, and to bring changes that will serve the national interests by confronting the imperialist-Zionist plots. Furthering Syria's cooperation with the Soviet Union and maintaining its solid political stance on all levels are essential conditions for Syria to overcome the effects of the blow dealt to it.

Fourth: The invasion succeeded in weakening the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front politically, morally and practically, on the Arab and international level. This front proved its incapacity to confront the Zionist attack on two of its members: the PLO and Syria. This front, that was formed to confront the Camp David alliance, failed the real test and cannot continue functioning in the same manner.

Fifth: The war revealed the extent of the crisis of the Arab national liberation movement. It inflicted a political, moral and



Israeli troops seal off Ghazieh (South Lebanon) to stop the residents from burning tires and setting up barricades. The protest in Ghazieh began after the occupation troops opened fire on a group of youth May 6th, killing one and wounding numerous others.

practical blow on the movement which went beyond its loss of an informational and political center (Beirut). The invasion and its results called into question the structure and methods of struggle of all factions of the movement, both in terms of their role in the respective countries and on the Arab national level.

The overall situation of the Arab national liberation movement, with very few exceptions, was complete silence in the face of the war. In fact the Arab region did not display any noticeable public support to the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement. We view this weakness of the movement as a major factor in the spread of Arab reaction's influence in the region. The last war not only exposed the limitations of the Arab national liberation movement, but also served to deepen its crisis.

Sixth: The imperialist-Zionist-reactionary forces have attempted to exploit the outcome of the war to sow doubts about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries' commitment to the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese National Movement and the Arab national movement as a whole. This campaign continues in an effort to downgrade our allies' support on both the official and mass level. The enemy has continually stated that it waged a war against the progressive nationalist forces without eliciting any political or practical reaction from the socialist community.

Seventh: The results of the war served to revive the role of Arab reaction, granting it a greater influence in the realm of official Arab solidarity. This was seen at the Fez

Summit when the Fahd initiative, which had been defeated by the PLO and nationalist Arab regimes at the first Fez meeting, was endorsed. The capitulationist Arab position is also evidenced by Arab reaction's having granted all its cards to US imperialism as the only power that has a solution for the Middle East crisis. This is exactly as Sadat did in his time.

Eighth: US imperialism achieved an important part of the goals of its overall plan to control the region politically, economically and militarily. An avenue was opened for implementing the Camp David plan on the north-eastern front and thus in the Arab region as a whole. The US has made this achievement despite all its demeaning practices vis-a-vis its allies in the area. Time after time, the US has shown that it is unwilling to make even superficial political or diplomatic concessions to cover Arab reaction's approach to Camp David. The US positions towards the Arab side in the UN are one example; another was the US refusal to countenance PLO representation in the Arab delegation that met Reagan after Fez; there are many other examples.

The imperialist attack continues

The above is a summary of the most fundamental practical consequences of the war in Lebanon. As a whole, these constitute the basis for the continuation of the US-Zionist reactionary offensive aimed at fully attaining the goals of the war and transforming its results into a fixed reality that insures US hegemony in the area.

After the war, the US attack on our area escalated by different methods; the goals remained the same. Scarcely had the last group of PLO fighters left Beirut, when Reagan presented his 'peace' initiative for the Middle East, which continues to be the centerpiece of political maneuvers in Arab capitals and other capitals that are involved with the Middle East crisis. The timing of this proposal was no coincidence, but was calculated prior to the invasion. It came after the upheaval in Lebanon and prior to the convening of the Arab summit in Fez. Obviously, it was a directive to Arab reaction as to the moves and positions to be adopted after Beirut. Endorsement of the Fez plan shows the extent to which Arab reaction acted on this initiative.

The main aim of the Reagan plan is to end the Arab-Zionist conflict on the basis of liquidating the Palestinian revolution, denying the national rights of the Palestinian people and negating the role of the PLO as their sole, legitimate representative. The proposal comes to complete the US plans for hegemony in the area, based on the results of the war. This plan poses the main danger to the Palestinian and Arab national struggle, since the US administration is working full force to implement it and will spare no means, including a new war, to this end.

The ferocity of the US administration's determination to pursue this plan increases each time it meets an obstacle, especially the rejection of the Palestinian and Arab nationalist forces, as most recently, the PLO's refusal to mandate the Jordanian regime to speak on its behalf or to form a joint Palestinian - Jordanian negotiating team, which

Israeli armed personnel carrier in the Shouf: continued stay generates Lebanese resentment



crushed the regime's hopes for a quick entry into the Camp David circle.

Soon after Reagan made his proposal, America's Arabs made a significant gain by having the Fahd plan endorsed at Fez, after the revision of its "Palestinian" articles. However they were still unable to undermine the PLO's representation, or have the Reagan initiative officially endorsed. This failure was due to the active role of the PLO in opposing this initiative, especially with its having come out of Beirut with a strong political and moral weight whereby it was able to overcome the panic created by the military and political attack against it.

Also Syria and the other Arab nationalist regimes played an important role in drawing the line against official Arab compromises. Still, due to the imbalance of power, Arab reaction won parts of its goal by retaining point 7 of the Fez plan, which denotes recognition of 'Israel' and officially does away with the military option for Arab confrontation of Zionism. Thus Arab reaction offers compromises and tries to draw the PLO into making concessions which would lead to total capitulation to the enemy's conditions. Arab reaction first called for a merger of the Reagan and Fez plans in order to sell the former to the PLO. Today Arab reaction is calling for adoption of the Reagan plan on the grounds that the Fez resolutions lack a mechanism for implementation.

The confederation with Jordan was proposed as another means for promoting Reagan's initiative. Though the PLO rejected it, continuous attempts have taken place with the aim of granting King Hussein a Palestinian cover and drawing him to the negotiations table. King Hussein still hopes that pressure can change the PLO position. Obviously, there is a chance that some of the right-wing leadership of the PLO will respond positively, especially those who are attached to reactionary Arab regimes. This poses a real threat to the achievements made at the PNC's last session, which preserved national unity on the basis of confronting the US plans and allies in the region.

On the Lebanese level, US imperialism continued its attack under the pretext of 'peace' by pushing the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations and pressuring Lebanon to accept the Israeli demands for normalization of relations, security arrangements and continued Israeli military presence in Lebanon. In this process, Lebanon offered compromises leading to the signing of the humiliating treaty with 'Israel' under US supervision. This step poses a threat to Lebanon and to the Arab region, similar to that of Camp David. Therefore, the Arab region, more than ever before, is faced

with strategic options that will determine the future of this area for many years to come.

In spite of the successes achieved by the enemy forces as the result of the last war, their plan for the area still faces the obstacle posed by the Palestinian-Syrian-Lebanese nationalist steadfastness. In fact, the most important achievement for the enemy following the war is the Lebanese-Zionist agreement, and even this is threatened by failure or a deadlock. In efforts to avoid this, Washington is lobbying for European and Arab reactionary aid in eliminating all obstacles, to exert all possible pressure on the triangle of Arab national steadfastness, to force it to kneel to the US plan. Needless to say, The US administration is relying on Arab reaction to exert political and economic pressure on Syria and the Arab revolution. The Zionist enemy provides another means of pressure; it is poised as a threatening stick warning of the possibility of another military aggression. All this indicates the US's determination to have the Arab area under the total control of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Foundation for struggle

Despite the heavy blow suffered by the Arab nationalist and progressive forces as a result of the last war, there remains a foundation for the struggle to defeat the US proposal. This foundation has the following elements:

First: The Palestinian position, which despite all pressures and maneuvers, remains in adherence to the national platform. The last PNC's resolutions came as a strong rebuttal to all those who are hoping to divide the Palestinian position. The PLO reaffirmed its rejection of the US plan, which aims at negating the rights of our people and the achievements of our revolution.

On another level, the PLO's rejection of the Jordanian option, whereby the régime seeks to represent the Palestinians as a means of gaining entry to the Reagan plan, reaffirmed the firm Palestinian position and reasserted the importance of the PLO's political role in the region. This stand was based on Palestinian national unity, the strong role of the democratic forces within the PLO, and most of all, on the steadfastness of our masses under occupation, who reject all alternatives to the PLO.

This overall united Palestinian position constitutes a real obstacle to the US plan. This is why Arab reaction, the US and Reagan himself are increasingly attacking the PLO. The enemy forces want the PLO to be left with

two options only: either to relinquish its role and the rights of our people, or to risk being totally eliminated from the political equation in the area. Yet the PLO that stood firm in the face of the cluster bombs in Beirut, is capable of standing firm in the face of these multinational bombs.

Second: The importance of the Lebanese nationalist position has increased due to the escalation of mass resistance, military operations and open confrontation of the Zionist presence in Lebanon. This resistance comes to rebut the enemy propaganda and proves that the Lebanese mass position is opposed to the occupation. The escalation of Lebanese rejection of the Israeli presence posits it as an unwelcome occupation, strengthening the basis for eliciting international support to the Lebanese national cause.

Third: The Arab national position still has many strong assets, specifically Syria's nationalist position that remains to be the main obstacle to the US plans, especially after the strengthening of Syrian-Soviet relations. These relations have increased Syria's defense capacity and strengthened its steadfastness against all pressures aimed at facilitating the US 'solution' on the Syrian and Jordanian fronts.

These three forces - Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian - possess assets that constitute factors of steadfastness. These assets must be utilized by each respectively and by all collectively in order to revive the Arab national liberation movement to a state of effectiveness.

Fourth: The strengthening of the alliance between the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese nationalist forces on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the socialist community on the other is a great asset. It provides a cornerstone for national confrontation of the successive US moves in the region. If properly used, it is a strategic weapon capable of inflicting real defeat on the enemy.

Naturally, the effectiveness of the confrontation forces, given their assets as mentioned above, depends to a large extent on the Palestinian-Syrian-Lebanese nationalist alliance and on healing any gaps in this alliance, especially concerning Syrian-Palestinian relations. This is a crucial point as the two are the number one target of the US attack and the two essential forces in the battle. The alliance between these forces, based on a firm and correct political position, can elicit the support of all Arab and international liberation movements and the socialist countries. Moreover, maintaining a strong political position is a key factor in ensuring the steadfastness and victory of the nationalist forces.

Occupied Palestine

Uprising in Ramleh Prison

There was an uprising in Ramleh prison as 78 political prisoners demanded improvement in conditions and to be considered prisoners-of-war. A clash occurred with the Zionist guards in which two of them were seriously wounded and hospitalized. The Zionist daily "Haaretz" described the uprising as a mutiny and said that the two guards had been held as hostages. Sources from within the prison say that one of these guards was stabbed with a penknife, while the other suffered an attack of hysterics.

As a result of the uprising, the director of Ramleh prison was forced to admit the terrible conditions suffered by the



prisoners: "We are well aware of the justice of their demands." These demands include everyday things which most people take for granted: fresh air, sleep, edible food, etc. Instead the prisoners are subject to constantly being moved from cell to cell, having their cell stormed night after night, confiscation of what small belongings they have, refusal of permission to see their families. Also, for one month, some of the prisoners were fed a kind of grass normally fed to sheep.

In the face of these conditions, the prisoners raised their voices in one resounding cry: "Yes to hunger, No to kneeling". Despite these conditions, they were able to organize their struggle within the prison barehanded; with only the most primitive means, they were able to inflict casualties on their fascist jailers.

1983: Rise in Resistance

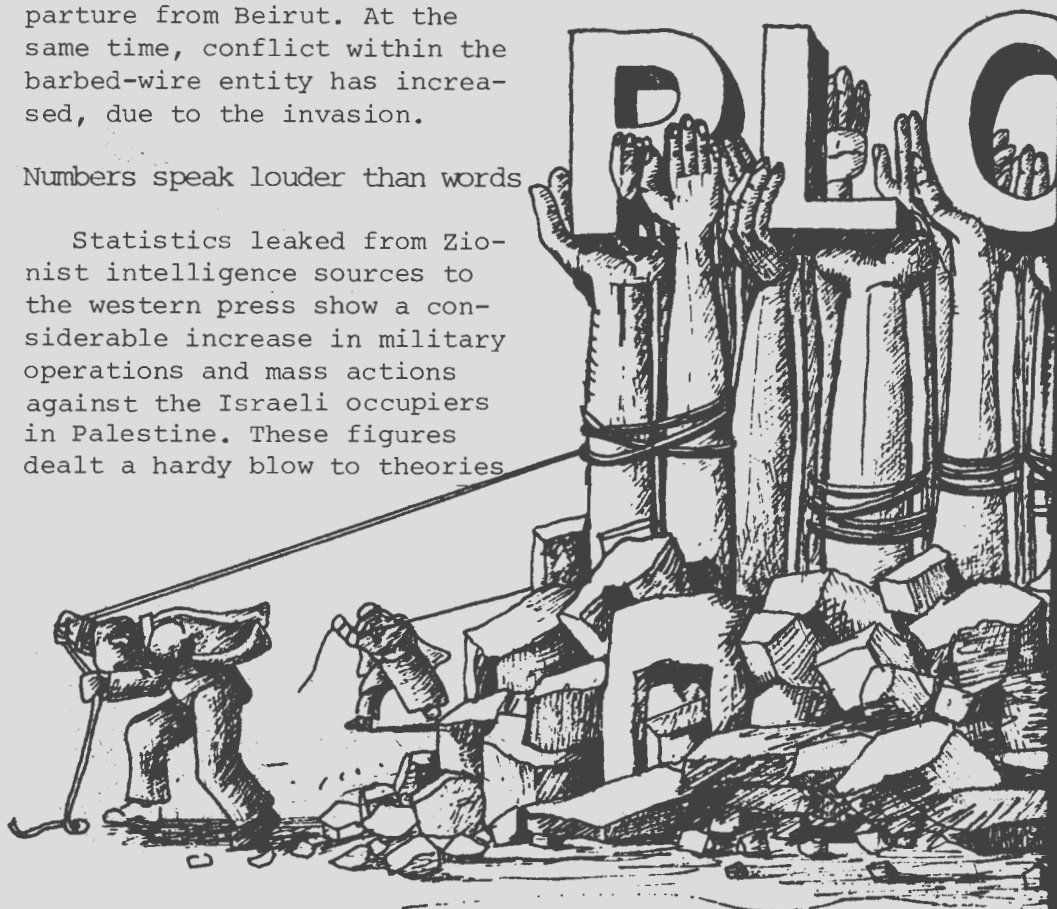
Contrary to Zionist aims with the invasion of Lebanon, our people under occupation have actually escalated their struggle after the PLO's departure from Beirut. At the same time, conflict within the barbed-wire entity has increased, due to the invasion.

Numbers speak louder than words

Statistics leaked from Zionist intelligence sources to the western press show a considerable increase in military operations and mass actions against the Israeli occupiers in Palestine. These figures dealt a hardy blow to theories

According to the latest report, the strike was continuing on June 26th. On this day, The Zionist guards attacked a group of prisoners with nerve gas and plastic clubs. Two of the prisoners had to be hospitalized, having received concussions from the beating. The two are Mousa Fahd and Mohd Jibril. The rest of the prisoners involved were put in solitary confinement. The prisoners have called on the International Red Cross to inspect the prison and form a legal committee to investigate the circumstances at Ramleh.

that the explosive situation in the occupied territories would eventually peter out and specifically so after the 1982



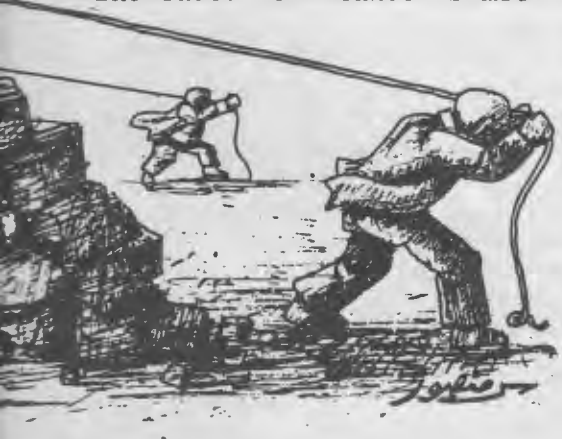
invasion of Lebanon. "The Times" reported that these statistics "astounded the Israelis", while "The Guardian" wrote, "The statistics disappointed the Israeli government...they thought the invasion...would have a sedative effect in the occupied territories."

The statistics revealed are for the period April 1982 - April 1983. Military operations increased by 40% as compared to past years. Uprisings, demonstrations and other acts of resistance, registered as "disturbance of the peace", increased by 79% - from an average of 2467 in former years to 4417 this year. In March 1983 alone, 900 acts of resistance were recorded in different parts of Palestine.

More sophisticated resistance- Increased brutality

In the report, mention was made of increasing use of the molotov cocktail and hand grenades in the attacks on Zionist patrol cars, check-points and institutions. Moreover, the number of Israeli casualties was placed at around 170. This glance at the statistics confirms what a prominent Zionist military analyst said to "Haaretz": "The operations in the occupied territories have not been dampened."

Increased resistance is met



1982: 30,000 demonstrate in Nazareth for immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

with ever increasing brutality on the part of the Israeli authorities. The severity of the measures taken against our people is in itself a confirmation of the casualties suffered by the enemy. In the past year...

- 11 Palestinians were killed and 174 wounded in clashes with Israeli gangs.
- 35 schools were shut down by military orders.
- Curfews were clamped on more

than 66 refugee camps and villages for an average of over 24 hours. The following are those hit hardest by curfews:

- Dhahiriyyeh village near Al Khalil - 54 days
- Balata camp near Nablus - 24 days
- Jalazoun camp near Bir Zeit - 28 days
- Duheisheh camp near Bethlehem - 25 days
- Kalandia camp - 15 days

The Long Arm of Royalty

After the breakdown of the Palestinian - Jordanian talks, the jilted regime unleashed its supply of penalties, threats and restrictions on the Palestinian masses. In a campaign which could well be entitled "How do I destroy thee? Let me count the ways..." the long arm of the Jordanian regime does not stop in Jordan, but is mobilizing its puppets in occupied Palestine, to undermine the role of the national and progressive forces. Moreover, the regime is sparing no efforts at string-pulling along with the other Arab reactionary regimes.

Ensuring "Jordanian national security"

Though Jordanian officials have presented a variety of justifications for the repressive measures taken, a closer look will reveal the dangers contained in these restrictions. The standard justification is "national security" or "discouraging Palestinians in the occupied territories from emigrating". Bashir Barghouti, editor of "Al Talia" newspaper in Jerusalem, pointed out that this latter call was a smokescreen: "For 16 years, Jordan...did not prevent the wave of emigration from the West Bank."

The measures now being enforced on the Palestinian population are:

1. Limiting to one month the period of stay in Jordan for all those entering from the occupied territories. (From the Israeli side, those departing must stay outside for 6 months.)
2. Refusal to issue work permits to those coming from the occupied territories to seek employment in Jordan.
3. Those allowed into Jordan must fill out a complete report about the purpose of entry, addresses of people they will contact, place of temporary residence, etc.
4. Especially strict measures are imposed on men and women between the ages of 16-26. Many of this age group are students at Jordan University, Yarmouk University or vocational colleges in Jordan. Many of them have been refused entry to Jordan. Those refused are completely aware of the reasons why; at the bridge, they told reporters that these restrictions are attempts to pressure the PLO to submit to the Jordanian demands.

On another level, the Jordanian regime has begun tightening its stranglehold on the PLO institutions and cadre in Jordan:

1. The Jordanian authorities have pressured the head of the PLO office in Amman to relinquish his post.
2. The activities of the official liaison between the PLO and the regime have been suspended.
3. An order is being enacted whereby all those connected to the PLO, and who entered Jordan after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, are being forced to leave. A large number have already been deported by force.
4. Many students and workers who were volunteer fighters in Lebanon during the last war, have been arrested and given the choice of remaining in prison or being deported.
5. Palestinians residing in Jordan, who have been deported from Palestine or served prison sentences there, were personally warned by intelligence agents not to engage in any political activities.
6. Dozens of families, who left the West Bank or Gaza Strip and entered Jordan in order to travel further or to have their passports renewed, have had their travel documents confiscated at the borders (the Jordanian side of the bridge), thus forcing them to remain in Jordan indefinitely.

Monetary avenues for the regime's influence

It has always been obvious that any influence granted to the Jordanian regime concerning the funds to support our people in the occupied territories is very dangerous to the Palestinian cause. The regime has consistently worked to take advantage of the Palestinian-Jordanian Joint Committee and the funds channeled through it. Although the PNC, in its 15th and 16th sessions, put restrictions on the functioning of the Joint Committee, no real control has been exercised to regulate

the flow of funds to the occupied territories. As things stand, the regime is using this committee as a cover to facilitate the flow of material means to its puppets in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Thus, instead of supporting the steadfastness of our people, some of these funds go to promote Jordanian policy and undermine the role of the PLO. In contrast to the treatment meted out to the average Palestinian, pro-Jordanian figures are encouraged in their travel to and from Amman, to allow coordination with the regime and give them first access to the offices of the Joint Committee in Amman.

Jordanian puppets in action

The Jordanian regime has never paused in its efforts to hinder the progress of the national movement in the occupied territories. Its moves may be direct or indirect, according to what the political situation dictates. Though pro-Jordanian elements remain to be a small minority of our people under occupation their vociferation has increased noticeably since the breakdown of the talks between King Hussein and PLO Chairman Arafat. A host of statements have been issued in an effort to create a platform of mass support on which these traitors could rely to pressure the PLO. A handful of these figures went so far as to appear on Israeli television, bemoaning the plight of the Palestinian people, whose suffering, according to one of them, has increased "due to the irresponsible attitude of the PLO". A Palestinian woman who saw this program described the effect such soap opera has on our people: "We (her family) cursed him roundly. Some of us got up and left the room, turning off the television..."

The best known of these pro-Jordanian figures are: Mustafa Dudeen, head of the village leagues; Anwar Nuseibeh, former Jordanian minister of defense; Rashed Shawwa, mayor of Gaza; Hikmat al Masri, head of the board of trustees of Najah University in Nablus; and member of the Jordanian parliament; Farah al Araj, mayor of Beit Jala as appointed by the Israeli authorities after dismissing the elected mayor, Bashara Dawoud; Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem; and Hanna Atrash, mayor of Beit Sahour.

Though each of these figures has his own particular turn of phrase, the essence of their statements is the same:

- The PLO is to be blamed.
 - The role of armed struggle is finished; negotiations are an inevitability and the only way to achieve anything positive.
 - The PLO cannot achieve anything without coordinating with the Jordanian regime.
- These figures have actually defended the re-

gime for "taking precautions", i.e., putting restrictions on our people.

Having previously failed to collect a significant number of signatures on a petition, which aimed at circumventing the PLO, the pro-Jordanian figures are now taking new organizational steps. After meetings between Hikmat al Masri, Mahmoud Abu Zolauf, Elias Freij, Aziz Shehadeh, Ali Sharif and Jordanian officials, it was agreed to set up a number of committees in various areas of the occupied territories. "Al Mithaq" daily in Jerusalem has uncovered contacts made by these figures in an effort to organize a substitute to speak in the name of the Palestinians - a mock organization called the Popular Front of the Popular Alliance. A meeting was held and representatives of this "organization" will be visiting Amman to consult and coordinate with the regime.

In another field, but not unrelated to the Jordanian regime's maneuvers are the meetings of Elias Freij and Hanna Atrash with the head of the Israeli civil administration (see following article). The Jordanian regime is also among those forces encouraging the attacks made by the Moslem Brotherhood on our national institutions and universities in occupied Palestine (see following article).

The Jordanian regime is also trying to harm our people's united struggle by setting up new bodies in the occupied territories, for example, councils for professionals, so as to develop alternatives to the existing national institutions. This is intended to provide a material base for the regime's confederation plan. These fraudulent bodies are founded by Jordanian collaborators in the West Bank and are represented in the ministries and administration in Amman. While deriving some of their funding through the Joint Committee's coffers, the bulk of their financing comes from Saudi Arabian and Gulf state bank accounts from which funds are deposited in Amman to be drawn upon by pro-Jordanian elements. However, despite all the efforts at promotion, these councils remain isolated. Unable to rally the mass support required to play their intended role, they remain limited to a small number of wealthy professionals, whose class interests lie in betrayal of the national cause.

The mass position

Our people have repeatedly expressed their opposition to the Jordanian regime's plans and policies. Each demonstration of their adherence to the PLO serves as a denunciation of the regime. Our masses' high level of consciousness and steadfastness has foiled all the regime's attempts to create any popular

framework worth mentioning. Rejection of the regime's policy is implicit in the demonstrations and rallies held in the occupied territories during the past months. The trade unions and other mass organizations and institutions have repeatedly issued statements stressing rejection of the Reagan plan and of giving any mandate as desired by the regime.

The patriotic leaders' statements give voice to the awareness of our masses. For example, Yacoub Farah, General Secretary of the West Bank Tailors Union, clearly asserted that the aim behind the Jordanian measures and rumors is basically to pressure the PLO. As Bashir Barghouti pointed out, the new measures are not really so new; they are the "embodiment of previous Jordanian practices and pressures". He also asserted that the people in the occupied territories would "foil these procedures through unity". Bassam Shakaa, commenting on the restrictions imposed on West Bank and Gaza Strip residents crossing the Jordan River bridges, pointed out that "These procedures cannot be adopted by Jordan single-handedly. If Jordan insists on doing so, why then do the Arab states receive steadfastness funds? Jordan hasn't the right to issue regulations affecting regional interests...I believe that...these procedures aim at striking the unity of our people."

Our masses' rejection of the Jordanian regime's plans and puppets is not only verbal: On May 10th, the two cars of Dr. Yaser Obeid, notorious for promoting Jordanian policy in the Ramallah area, were set on fire. He was preparing to leave for Jordan the next day. Nearby the cars was a note from the people: "This is the way we treat collaborators with Jordan".

Also the May 9th bomb attacks against two US companies in Amman demonstrate that Jordan's reactionary policy and alliances will not go unchallenged. The attacks against the American Life Insurance Company and the American Center for Training and Education Services were claimed by Moab - Military and Revolutionary Committee of Jordan. (Moab is the historical name for the region east of the Jordan River.) The Moab statement termed these operations, the first against US interests in Jordan since 1970, as "revolutionary answers to the conspiracies of the US and to Schultz's imperialist plans."

The PLO's responsibility

To confront the efforts of the Jordanian regime to put pressure on the Palestinian masses and the PLO, to lure us into the swamps of US 'solutions', it is imperative that the PLO review its policies, so that it is not limited to the dimensions drawn up by

the Jordanian and other reactionary regimes.

The first major step to be taken is the immediate revival and strengthening of the Palestinian National Front in the occupied territories, and the extension of its activities to cover every town, village and camp. This has long been a top priority and no more postponement can be tolerated in light of the escalated maneuvers of the Jordanian regime and its collaborators. The vacuum left by the absence of a strong united front provides the enemy elements with the opportunity to fill this space. The revival of the Palestinian National Front, as well as the National Guidance Committee, is the only way to improve this situation. Our people's rejection of Jordanian-imposed structures must be backed up by such a front functioning at top capacity as the leading force and coordinator of all the national organizations and institutions. A part of this task is strengthening the unity of each of these national organizations, especially the trade union movement.

Second, in all its dealings, the PLO must act in strict adherence to its own right as the sole, legitimate representative of our people. Tactical considerations do not justify any hedging on this matter. Experience has shown that any laxity regarding the PLO's representation is the opening most likely to threaten our national cause, for this gives the reactionary regimes a cover for their moves towards an imperialist 'solution' in the area. It is no secret that any form of mandate, direct or indirect, to the Jordanian regime to speak on our people's behalf, rules out an independent Palestinian state, substituting submission to the regime's oppression.

Third, the PLO has a responsibility to confront the regime's policy directly, exposing the regime's intentions with the Palestinian-Jordanian negotiations and with the new restriction imposed on our people. The ambiguous stand of the PLO leadership with regard to relations with Jordan offers a camouflage for the maneuvers of the pro-Jordanian figures among our people. The recent imposition of these restrictive measures shows that ambiguity and tactics cannot ward off the regime's attacks on our people, on the contrary. The PLO must review its position with regard to the Joint Committee and strive to halt the functioning of this committee if the controls agreed on by the PNC cannot be enforced. The dangers of Jordanian partnership in the affairs of our people under occupation will only increase in step with the US administration's determination to implement the Reagan plan. The gravity of the current situation demands immediate action to put these broad guidelines into practice.

Traitors Step Forward

The meeting of Beit Sahour mayor, Hanna Atrash, with the head of the Israeli 'civil' administration, Shlomo Elia, broke the national municipalities' 1½ year boycott of this administration. This fits into the pattern of escalated Zionist aggression against our people to break their adherence to the PLO, as expressed by the national institutions and municipalities. Moreover, this meeting was clearly in line with the Jordanian monarchy's efforts to eliminate the role of the PLO.

Two star puppets in the Jordanian regime's cast

In Beit Sahour on May 9th, Atrash along with four members of the municipality met with Elia and five senior Israeli military officers. The mere fact that such a meeting was held had great importance for the Zionists. An Israeli television crew was there to cover the event. Atrash's blatant violation of the Palestinian national stand can only be branded as treachery.

This meeting can on no account be considered a 'mistake' made in passing. Rather, it is the culmination of a series of acts confirming Atrash's capitulationist character: his collaboration with the head of the village league in the Bethlehem area; his repeated attacks on the PLO, describing its cadre as "hoodlums", etc.

At the meeting, Atrash made a number of requests: a license to build a hospital, free issuance of exit permits to Jordan, wage increases for teachers, and cancellation of the clause which forces young people to remain outside the country for 6 months. After turning all these requests down, Elia "graciously" announced that he has allowed the municipality

to purchase a garbage collection vehicle, and has given Atrash permission to travel to Jordan. He added, "I, the head of civil administration in Judea and Samaria, have come to improve your conditions and to listen to your individual demands."

Naturally, other collaborators took this meeting as a precedent. Soon afterwards, Bethlehem major, Elias Freij, met with Elia. Freij, historically known for his collaboration with the Jordanian regime, has no qualms about offering his services to the Israeli authorities, specifically the 'civil' administration without so much as expecting a garbage collection truck in return. He has conspired with the occupation authorities in the plot to have George Hazboun dismissed as head of the Workers Union in Bethlehem. Hazboun is also a member of the Executive Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions in the West Bank. Thus, Freij attempted to silence any dissenting voice to his treacherous policies. In the same vein, Atrash has given orders that no municipal services be extended to

those who rejected his meeting.

Atrash's many requests show that he needs certain privileges to sell his treachery to the people. Elia's answers, on the other hand, reaffirm the Zionists' refusal to compromise on even the details of their policies. Thus, in view of the irreconcilable contradictions between Zionism and our people, severe limits are put on the effectiveness such political traitors can attain.

The rights of our people cannot be so lightly bartered away. The national consensus to boycott the 'civil' administration still stands. Though the hopes of the Zionist officials may have been kindled by these meetings, they know well enough that such persons do not speak for our people. The potential danger of such meetings is not to be underestimated, but our people have learned how to deal with such situations. They condemned the meetings, distributing leaflets against them, even knowing that characters like Freij and Atrash would take measures to intimidate the people. It is now the duty of the PLO to take a clear position with regard to the likes of Freij and Atrash, since they have taken up permanent residence in the enemy camp.

Moslem Brotherhood Destruction

At a time when our people have braved all in defense of their national institutions, at a time when they were preparing to commemorate one year of Israeli occupation in Lebanon, gangs of the Moslem Brotherhood savagely attacked the Bir Zeit, Islamic and Najah universities.

At Bir Zeit University

On June 4th, as all students were gathered to mark one year after the Israeli invasion, gangs of the Moslem Brotherhood

started out from Bir Zeit mosque, shouting slogans against the PLO and national leaders in the occupied territories. Reaching the university, they beat the guards who tried to keep them from entering the campus. They broke in and attacked the student body with knives, sharp implements, chains and clubs. They used the mosque as a kind of operations room, blasting their reactionary message from its loudspeakers.

After a struggle, the stu-

dents were able to force this gang off the campus, but they held 30 of them so that the administration could investigate and take measures. Then the gang returned with reinforcements and armed with bottles. Attempting to calm the situation, the students released the 30. However, upon being released the 30 rejoined their gang in a new attack which destroyed university property. Once again, with the help of the families of Bir Zeit, the students managed to force them off campus.

The Islamic University

The same day in Gaza, the head of the Islamic University Mohammed al Saqr, himself a Moslem Brother, met with others of the Brotherhood. They were planning the storming of the Islamic University.

Dozens of members of the so-called Islamic Group (actually Moslem Brotherhood) were transported to the university grounds. There the students and employees were initiating a strike against unfair practices on the part of the university administration. Those of the Islamic Group, who had been hiding on campus, attacked the students, using knives and clubs. A fierce struggle ensued. Just at the point where the students had begun to overpower the attackers, an Israeli patrol, that had been watching from afar, began to move in to rescue the reactionary gangs. The Israelis overturned and burned vehicles used for transporting students, which were parked outside the campus.

As a result of the attack, dozens of students were injured and hospitalized. The university's maintenance section, the physics and chemistry labs and the cafeteria were destroyed; the girls' dormitory was broken into and their things thrown out of the windows; a number of lecturers were beaten up off campus.

After the situation had

calmed down, the Israeli police stormed the university campus, forcing all students and employees off the premises and closing off the area to traffic to prevent protest demonstrations by the residents.

Al Najah University

In a similar act of violence on the same day, Moslem 'Brothers' also stormed Najah University in Nablus and beat students. To describe all that happened would be repetitious.

The fact that three national institutions were attacked on the very same day indicates the synchronization of the reactionary forces' activities and their coordination with the Zionist authorities, who facilitated and protected the attackers. We have seen the lengths to which the Zionists go to disperse the gatherings of our people and to limit the movement of political activists. Yet these gangs moved freely with the Israelis waiting in the background while others did their work, then intervening when needed.

Our people's reaction

These attacks have been condemned by all national and progressive forces. In Ramallah and Al Bireh, the national institutions issued a statement against these acts of violence, emphasizing that "our

people are well aware of these unpatriotic figures, who masquerade in pious clothes and strike pious poses, while striking the national cause." A statement signed by all national institutions in the West Bank, and by the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah, Anabta, el Bireh, Qalqilia, Jenin and Araba, condemned these attacks. The students' National Unity Bloc and the employees' union at Bir Zeit issued statements of a similar nature.

In a joint statement on June 13th, the PFLP and DFPLP denounced the unpatriotic practices of the Brotherhood in the occupied territories. The communique called for:

1. Dismissal of the president of the Islamic University for his obvious collaboration with the Israeli authorities and for facilitating attacks on the student body and employees.
2. Immediate recognition of the elected employees' committee at the Islamic University; cancellation of any measures taken against its members.
3. Bir Zeit University administration's taking immediate steps to enforce measures against the students who are Moslem Brotherhood members and responsible for instigating these attacks.
4. All our masses and national institutions to boycott all Moslem Brotherhood organs, institutions and activities.

Camps Attacked

The refugee camps in the occupied territories, as well as in any Arab country, embody the Palestinian cause. Their mere presence is an eyesore to the Zionists - a constant reminder to them and to the world at large that the Palestinians are a people that do exist no matter how great a Judaization campaign is launched. For our people, this is

the one asset in the bleak situation of the camp residents: They have contributed greatly to preserving the Palestinian identity, preventing it from being swallowed in the fraudulent Israeli society being created all around them.

Plans for obliterating the refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have existed for some time. Last year, the

Israeli government formed the Ministerial Committee for the Affairs of Settlement of Refugees. This committee submitted a complete report of a plan to tear down Ein al Sultan camp near Arieha (Jericho). Typically, this report was not lacking in phrases of intimidation; one clause mentioned "resorting to severe measures" to evacuate the camps. This is no surprise as force was used in the 70's by Ariel Sharon in Khan Younis and Deir al Balah (Gaza Strip)

In April, based on the report that had been submitted, the Zionist government announ-

ced its decision to tear down Ein al Sultan and Deir al Balah camps, dispersing their inhabitants to the four neighboring villages. Fifty dunams were confiscated from the western part of Nusseirat camp and merged with the housing area in Tel al Sultan near Rafah. Moreover, a plan has been drawn up for demolishing the refugee camp Sweidiyeh, near the line dividing Palestinian and Egyptian Rafah.

In addition, the military governor of the Gaza Strip has distributed a directive signed by the head of social affairs

for refugees, forbidding the inhabitants of all camps to buy, sell or give away their houses. Both parties are liable to confiscation without compensation if they so do. Camp residents are also forbidden to build new homes or annexes to their houses, or to move from one camp to another.

Together, these measures denote the essence of the Zionist "settlement" policy for the Palestinian refugees, which is one prong in the offensive to eliminate the national identity of our people.

The Zionist plan for the camps met with no opposition from UNRWA. In fact, it coincides with UNRWA's cut-backs in aid and services to the refugees. This may be a prelude to UNRWA's eventually detaching itself from its commitment towards the refugees, leaving the reigns of power in Zionist hands. When civil administrator Shlomo Elias called on UNRWA to "lift its hands from the Palestinian camps", there was no response from the agency.

Late last year, Dheisheh camp was fenced in to keep the youth from throwing stones. The 300m long and 4m high fence was built by UNRWA after Israeli prodding



Anti-People Contraption

Having experienced fighter bombers and a wide variety of explosives, it seems almost ludicrous that our people are now faced with yet another Israeli innovation: the demonstration-resistant vehicle, especially designed to quell the resistance of our people under occupation.

This ingenious invention consists of a built-in movie camera to photograph demonstrators, an automatic fire extinguisher, a device which can spray tear gas for four consecutive minutes, and water canons. Needless to say, all the windows are bullet-proof.

Despite the awesome qualities of this new contraption, we are positive our people will find a means of overcoming yet another obstacle in the path of struggle.

Military Operations

The Zionists' refrain of "no casualties suffered", despite the severity of any military operation against them, has begun to wear thin. The dead and wounded, however, must be accounted for. It is no secret that the Israeli authorities have resorted to the ingenious procedure of classifying some of these casualties as "road accidents".

In a recent report released by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, covering the first 4 months of 1983, a 13% increase in casualties was noted, as compared to the same period in 1982. A total of 129 killed and 6100 wounded was

reported. In April alone, a total of 1,000 road accidents was registered with a total of 1450 wounded.

The following are some of the recent military operations in occupied Palestine:

May

- May 1: Molotov cocktails thrown at an enemy patrol car near Balata camp (near Nablus).
- Two Zionist soldiers wounded when a bus load of them came under another attack by molotov cocktails.
- May 10: Zionist shot and killed in Gaza.
- May 22: Refineries in Haifa came under missile attack. An investigation disclosed that the missiles (of US make) were from Israeli arsenals and came into the possession of guerrillas due to the cooperation of sympathizers.

June

- A devastating fire raged in a Zionist military camp east of Nablus. AFP reported dense columns of smoke rising from the camp. Scores of ambulances and fire engines were seen rushing to the site.
- A patrol car came under hand grenade attack on the road to Qalqilia. Three grenades were thrown at the car, but no casualties were reported.
- June 10: An explosion shook Kiryat Shmona settlement in the Galilee, destroying an Israeli arsenal in the area. A fire raged for 3 hours before being brought under control, during which time a series of explosions were heard. Israeli radio attributed the fire to "a rise in temperature in the summer"! These explosions are similar to those which took place in Tabariyah last summer.

Interview with Comrade Habash

On May 26th, the US network NBC conducted the following interview with Comrade George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP.

What is your position on the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, as leader of the PFLP?

We are fully against it, and we believe that the Arab stand should be the same stand that was taken against Sadat when he signed the treaty of Camp David, because this is almost the same treaty.

Suppose the agreement is allowed to stand. What will you do then?

The Lebanese people will fight against it, and we will back them to our utmost ability.

There is a lot of diplomatic maneuvering going on to try and find a compromise that the Syrians can accept. What happens if the Syrians come to a deal whereby they agree to pull their forces out of Lebanon? What happens to your troops?

The Syrians are saying repeatedly that their stand towards this agreement is fixed, and they will not change.

But if they did, what would happen to you?

We will still be backing the Lebanese national, progressive movement.

You've just come back from Moscow, and you said to me earlier that the Russians were very serious. What did you mean by that? What are the Russians planning to do about this part of the world?

We felt that the Soviets reassured us of their full solidarity with us by all means, and we understood that they will not leave our Palestinian people at the mercy of the Israeli and imperialist plans.

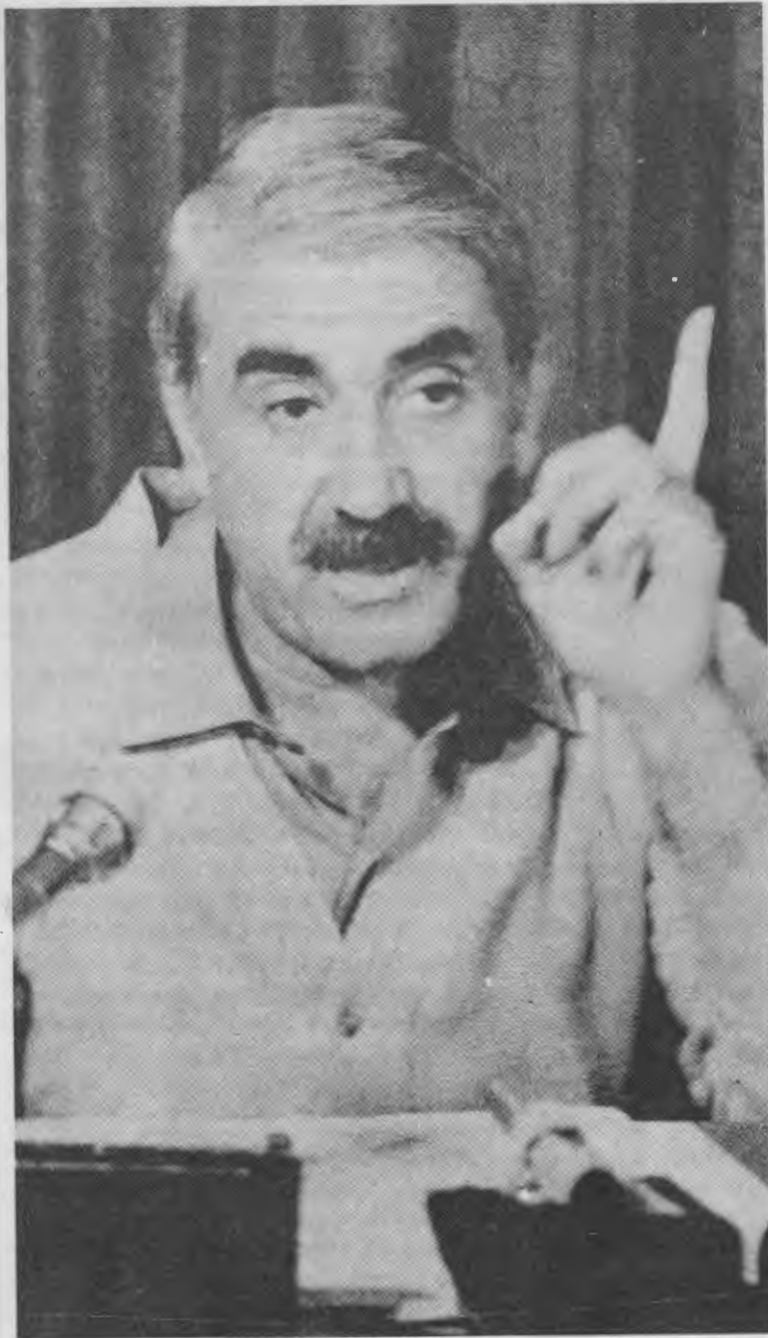
Did they promise anything specific in the way of assistance to you?

I cannot say anything specific, but they promised full solidarity.

You were promised full solidarity last summer and the PLO was left to face the Israelis

alone, by the Arabs, by the Soviets, by everyone. What makes you think they have changed their stands?

They were actually trying their best to help us even during the last summer, but you know we do not have a land as Palestinians,



and the Lebanese government did not ask the Soviets for any assistance against the Israeli invasion. What can they do?

If you asked them for assistance now, what would they give you?

Full solidarity by all means.

"All means" - does that mean troops? Does that mean weapons?

Excuse me if I do not answer this question.

What about the negotiations to solve the Lebanese problem from the Palestinian point of view? Would you enter into negotiations with the Lebanese government if they asked you to, to talk about removing your forces from Lebanon?

After this treaty, the way is blocked, and that is why we will arrange our stand - not together with the Lebanese government, but together with the nationalist figures and the nationalist, progressive forces. We will do anything that Walid Jumblatt or George Hawi or Rashid Karami will ask of us, but we are not ready to do what the Phalangists ask of us.

So you are basically saying that the Lebanese government is your enemy...

Our main enemy is 'Israel' and those who are backing Israel - I mean the US officials, but we will take the same stand towards the Lebanese government that we took against the Egyptian regime. We took this position against the Egyptian regime at the same time we were deepening our solidarity with the Egyptian people. We will do the same in Lebanon.

What about in a broader sense in the Middle East, is there any possibility for a negotiated settlement to the Palestinian problem?

Well, the American plans are not leaving any space at all for any reasonable or just settlement. For example, the last American plan was Reagan's plan. Reagan's plan says: no to the PLO, no to the Palestinian state, etc. What can we say when this is the proposal? It is very natural to say no to Reagan.

If the proposals were changed - if they did recognize your right to a homeland if they recognized the PLO as a legitimate entity - would you then begin to talk? Is that the only stumbling block?

We are not ready to talk only with the Americans, because we are not sure that we will have our aims fulfilled through talking only with the Americans. But if the Americans are serious in recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people, let them say this in the United Nations, in the Security Council or in the UN organizations, and then let this problem be settled through the UN.

One of the problems with that is that the PLO is supposed to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, but the

PLO has got its own problems. Their Fatah has differences. For example, you've got the split between Abu Saleh, Abu Musa and Abu Ammar. Where does your organization stand on that particular problem?

First of all, allow me to stress that in spite of all differences, all of us, all the Palestinian people, except those who are cooperating with the enemy, regard the PLO as their sole representative. There is no doubt about this, and the Americans should understand this very well. Not only us, but world opinion in general now recognizes that the PLO is the sole representative.

Regarding the differences in the Palestinian arena, of course there are differences, and we were always having differences. I cannot imagine a time when differences will disappear; this would be very unnatural. Regarding the last problem in Fatah, our stand is very clear. It consists of three main points:

One: the political and organizational demands of Abu Saleh and Abu Musa are justified demands, and Fatah should seriously consider these just and correct demands. I spoke in the national council about the political line of the PLO, and my colleague Abu Maher talked about the organizational line of the PLO, so when Abu Musa and Abu Saleh raise the same issues, it is only natural that we agree with them, but this is only one point...

The second point is that we should all fight for Fatah's unity. Fatah's unity is important. That is why Abu Saleh and Abu Musa should continue their struggle; they have a right to their struggle, but they should be keen on preserving the unity of Fatah, for at present the unity of Fatah is so badly needed for the unity of the PLO generally.

To accomplish these two points, we should raise a third point: We should encourage a comradely and democratic dialogue between the two sides. A major dialogue should be opened between the cadres of Fatah to arrive at a correct stand about the issues raised.

There's been some suggestion that some of the problems in Fatah have been partly instigated by Libya, and that other Arab states are perhaps interfering, again Libya specifically, in the workings of the PLO. Do you see any justification for these accusations?

We know the different organizations from 1965, and I personally know that there have always been contradictions, and sometimes keen contradictions, inside Fatah. That is why I feel the main factor in these contradictions is the internal one. I remember very well that in 1977-78, Fatah had such problems...But at that time we were not in Syria, and

at that time Libya used not to have any stand regarding such contradictions in Fatah. That is why the main factor is the internal contradiction...

There are people who would say that the Palestinians are their own worst enemy, because you spend as much time fighting each other or having ideological differences as you do fighting the Israelis.

No, this is not correct. We always differentiate between minor contradictions and major contradictions. We are fighting the Israelis first, and they know this very well.

How do you see the next few months of this particular struggle? What's going to happen in Lebanon and Syria against the Israelis in the coming months?

In the region, the Israeli-American imperialist aims of the aggression were not fulfilled 100%. One of the aims of the invasion was to finish off the PLO; another aim was to make Syria adopt the American line; another was to totally dismiss the Soviet Union from the region. Were these aims fulfilled? Certain aims were fulfilled, especially regarding part of Lebanon, but what about the PLO? The PLO is not finished; it's stronger - that's what I feel, that we are stronger than in June 1982. Syria also is now following a very definite and serious political line. The Soviets are not out of the region. That is why we have to expect another aggression as a possibility, or serious political and diplomatic trials to reach these aims...I think that this will be the background for the situation in the region in the coming year.

You don't see a war coming?

War is a possibility, but of course, this period will witness serious diplomatic trials to deviate the PLO from the correct political line. All the reactionary powers are trying to achieve the aims of the 1982 aggression on the PLO by political means, after they failed to achieve their aims by military means.

Do you think you will be building up your forces in Lebanon, or will you be leaving them as they are and consolidating them somewhere else?

As PFLP, all our forces are at the site of the battle. Why should they be in Tunisia, Sudan or North Yemen? All the forces should be in this part of the world surrounding Palestine.

Book Review

«Zionism in the Age of the Dictators»

by Lenni Brenner

The newly-published book, "Zionism in the Age of the Dictators", is of great importance for the high quality of research it exhibits, as well as for its political perspective. Other pieces have been written about relations between the Zionist movement and fascism, but this is the first attempt to examine these in a global context throughout the period from the first to the second world war.

The author is not content to simply expose the most scandalous aspects of these relations. Each Zionist contact, agreement and stand vis-a-vis fascism is not only carefully documented, but also thoughtfully evaluated. The standard for judging Zionism is clear-cut and tangible: Did the movement's policy defend the interests of the Jewish masses in Europe, whose very existence was threatened by anti-Semitism and fascism in its various forms?

The answer is a resounding "no", and a wealth of historical data and concrete analysis is presented to substantiate this conclusion:

-how Zionist attempts at conciliation and even outright collaboration with reactionary anti-Semitic and fascist powers failed to halt pogroms and later the holocaust...
-how European Zionists con-



Nazi concentration camp inmates

sciously refrained from fighting for the civil rights of Jews in their respective countries...

-how the WZO's selective immigration policy not only separated it from the Jewish masses, but in effect sacrificed the majority in favor of the 'higher' goal of turning Palestine into a Zionist state -the negative role played by US Zionists in the moves to boycott Nazi Germany, their suppression of the first news of the holocaust, and their refusal to press for a revision of US immigration laws to provide a refuge for imperiled European Jews, etc.

The Kasztner affair, whereby 450,000 Jews went unknowingly

to their death in Hungary in exchange for free passage for a trainload of Zionists bound for Palestine, has already been exposed by the Israelis themselves. Brenner's contribution is showing that the treachery of this particular Labor Zionist leader, Kasztner, was a logical extension of the prevailing Zionist policy. Aptly, the chapter dealing with this is entitled, "Hungary, the Crime within a Crime".

Throughout the book, the cruel logic behind Zionism's policies is elucidated by quotations from its influential leaders of all political shades. One, in particular, graphically illustrates that Zionist failure to even try to save the Jews of Europe en masse was not due so much to weakness as to well-defined political priorities. Rabbi Michael Dov-Ber Weissmandel, who from fascist-controlled Slovakia himself engaged in serious rescue attempts, had a plan in 1942, to buy free all Jews in western Europe and the Balkans. He was refused money for this project from Zionist sources, and was told why in a letter from the Switzerland representative of HeChalutz (Pioneers-Labor Zionist youth movement). Brenner quotes Weissmandel's summary of the contents: "...About the cries coming from your country, we

should know that all the Allied nations are spilling much of their blood, and if we do not sacrifice any blood, by what right shall we merit coming before the bargaining table when they divide nations and lands at the war's end? Therefore it is silly, even impudent, on our part to ask these nations who are spilling their blood to permit their money into enemy countries in order to protect our blood-for only with blood shall we get the land." (p.237) As the bitterness of history was to show, the blood of Jews here referred to was not that spilled in combat, but that offered by the victims of the Nazis' mass extermination.

Current relevance

It is well known that Palestine was colonized by blood, overwhelmingly that of its native inhabitants. The significance of Brenner's book is its documentation that Zionism's disregard for human life is intrinsic; it was first exhibited in Europe at the expense of Jewish lives. Closely related to this is Brenner's thesis that Zionism's racism, usually associated with maltreatment of the Palestinians, is a priori: "Blut (blood) Zionism would have evolved even if Palestine were to have been completely empty." (p.25) This is in turn related to Zionist failure to combat anti-Semitism: "If one believes in the validity of racial discrimination, it is difficult to object to anyone else's racism" (p.25). Moreover, the author applies a class criterion when making his evaluations. The book's analysis of the events of the period confirms that Zionism arose from and consequently served the needs of the Jewish bourgeoisie and very select sectors (by no means the majority) of the petit bourgeoisie, decidedly not the working class.

These characteristics of

Zionism form the underpinnings of its relations with fascism, which ranged from tacit collusion, based on shared anti-communism and anti-liberalism, to outright collaboration; in the case of the Zionist Revisionists, it took the form of identifying themselves as fascists (Mussolini-style).

Because of the clear analysis on these points, the book is of more than historical value; parallels to Zionism today are striking. The 1982 invasion of Lebanon, while confirming Zionism's genocidal intentions towards the Palestinian people, also once again brought to the fore the Zionist leadership's willingness to sacrifice Jewish lives for its own political purposes. In recent years, there has been more media coverage of the brutality of Israeli occupation, of Israeli cooperation with the Lebanese fascists and the Latin American dictatorships, of the escalating activities of ultraright Zionist groups operating with official collusion. All this has left 'Israel' open to accusations of growing fascist tendencies and practices, which have long been apparent to the Palestinian people, but are now being raised in international and even Israeli circles.

However, in much of this recent criticism, one detects the fallacious assumption that these practices represent a new tendency, or that they are excesses of this particular Likud government. Brenner's book, while not dealing with the present, provides a sound basis for determining quite the opposite: Current Zionist practice, from the Sabra-Shatila massacre to the fascist settlers' violence, has its roots in characteristics inherent in the Zionist movement as a whole. "Zionism in the Age of the Dictators" is a timely intervention in the debate on Zionism, an outstanding contribution to anti-Zionist literature. The fact that it

was written by an anti-Zionist Jew gives it a special status.

Political implications

Though written in a scholarly and not propagandistic style, this book represents a distinct political standpoint. This is implicit in the analysis itself. While evaluating Zionist policy as it was, Brenner recurringly poses the question of what could have been, had a different approach been adopted vis-a-vis fascism - what could have resulted from active combat in alliance with other anti-fascist forces?

This is in line with the political purpose of the book, which can be surmised from the preface. Noting the unerasable distinction between Judaism and Zionism, and thus between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, Brenner writes: "Neither nationality nor theology nor social theory can, in any way, be allowed to become a stumbling block before the feet of those Jews, in Israel or elsewhere, who are determined to walk with the Palestinian people against injustice and racism. It can be said, with scientific certainty, that, without the unbreakable unity of Arab and Jewish progressives, victory over Zionism is not merely difficult, it is impossible."

"Zionism in the Age of the Dictators" is more than an appeal for such unity; it is a theoretical contribution to understanding the common interests that could make such a unity feasible. To Jewish forces, it presents powerful arguments for a complete break with Zionism, which is a major prerequisite for progressive Arab-Jewish alliance. To the Palestinian people, it is another affirmation that there are Jews prepared to combat Zionism, and that there is an objective basis for entering into alliance. All those committed to a free and democratic Palestine should welcome this book.

Verdict Against Zionism

The International Commission of Inquiry into Israeli Crimes Against the Lebanese and Palestinian Peoples

Even before the end of last summer's war, the International Commission of Inquiry was established. It has since undertaken continuous efforts to document and expose Israeli war crimes in Lebanon. We in the Palestinian Revolution greatly respect and appreciate the work of this commission, which has made an important contribution to strengthening the network of solidarity with our people's struggle. Accordingly, the Bulletin solicited the following overview from a Cypriot friend who is actively involved in the commission's work. We call special attention to the commission's conclusions, inter alia that the Israeli state should pay war reparations. These provide a yardstick of justice, against which public opinion can measure the new US-Israeli-Lebanese accord, which provides an escape route for the Zionist aggressors.

On August 15-16, 1982, an independent international commission, composed of prominent world figures, met in Nicosia, Cyprus, to investigate the crimes committed by Israel against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, during its invasion of Lebanon. The initiative for convening this commission was taken by the British barrister, John Platt-Mills. The Commission comprises lawyers, professors, scientists, political leaders, doctors, a Nobel Prize laureate, a supreme court justice and the progressive Greek composer, Mikis Theodorakis. Coming from 16 different countries, the members take part in the Commission as individuals, not representing any country or organization.

As defined in its statutes, the Commission has the following objective: "to collect, elucidate and evaluate facts and events within the scope of (its) inquiry." The Commission should not be regarded as a court, for it has neither that power nor competence. The only sanctions at its disposal are the moral judgement of humanity to whose verdict it submits its work. In its preparations and sessions, the Commission has adopted a thorough, investigative approach. Its hearings have been public and in accordance with usual democratic procedure, so that the general public and the press are able to scrutinize the quality of the evidence and report on it.

Prior to the first session, the commission sent a three-member delegation to Lebanon and Syria to study the situation, collect evidence and report back. It also contacted scores of persons of different professions and nationalities, who either worked in or visited Lebanon during the invasion, inviting them to appear before the Commission. Many of them responded positively and journeyed to Cyprus



John Platt-Mills opens the first session of the International Commission of Inquiry

to present their evidence. The Commission also contacted the Lebanese authorities, the Lebanese National Movement, the PLO, the Israeli anti-war movement, and acquainted itself with the position of the Israeli government. Only after time-consuming, thorough examination of the overwhelming evidence compiled from all the sources at its disposal was the Commission able to arrive at its conclusions and a plan of action.

First session

The Commission met at a time when events of extraordinary gravity, violating all rules

of international law to the point of upsetting the human conscience, were taking place in Lebanon, due to the war of aggression and extermination waged by Israel against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. It heard the evidence of a wide range of witnesses, many of whom had directly observed events in Lebanon. These included: the three members of the Commission itself, who were sent to Lebanon prior to the session; members of Scandinavian, Greek, Dutch, Canadian, Finnish and French medical teams; social workers and journalists who had worked in or visited West Beirut; experts on military matters and the lethal effects of the sophisticated weapons used by the Israelis in Lebanon; witnesses from inside Israel. The most detailed account of the effects of the invasion in South Lebanon came from the doctors and social helpers who had worked in Nabatiyeh, Sidon and the refugee camp, Ain Al Hilweh. They described the terrible conditions of the Palestinian and Lebanese people who fled when their homes were destroyed, only to be further bombed where they had taken refuge. The doctors enumerated the effects of different kinds of bombs, particularly cluster and phosphorous bombs, on men, women and children, and the total destruction of the livelihood of people, already living near the edge of existence.

From the Commission members who visited West Beirut, and from doctors and journalists who entered the city in the last few weeks (July and August), came detailed evidence of the bombing of the city. The widespread, indiscriminate character of the destruction was shown by many slides. Examples of the different kinds of bombs used had been photographed or brought to the Commission. Slides were also shown of the terrible wounds inflicted by phosphorous and cluster bombs. Doctors described the difficulties of treating the wounds. It was clear that the large majority of dead and wounded were civilians. A feature of the destruction was the high death ratio. Slides also showed the difficulties of living in a city arbitrarily deprived at intervals of food, water and electricity - long queues for water, children filling vessels from polluted pools.

Conclusions

The International Commission demands the immediate ending of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, the ending of the siege and the blockade of West Beirut, and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanon. We demand an end to genocide against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, and further demand the immediate release of all prisoners of war.

The International Commission denounces and condemns the crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, war crimes, violations of international law, and actions aimed at denying the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people, by Israel.

The International Commission warns that all those guilty, directly or indirectly, of transgressions and violations of international law and crimes against humanity will have to answer for them before the bar of international justice.

The International Commission, consistent with the well-known rule that a criminal must repair the damage he has done, also demands that Israel should be made to pay full reparations.

The International Commission appeals to all governments and their leaders, to non-governmental organizations, to all religions of the world, to the parliaments of the world, to the trade unions and to all peoples to express their solidarity and render material, diplomatic, political and moral support to the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. The Commission in particular appeals for urgent medical aid and supplies, and humanitarian aid for the victims of aggression.

The International Commission declares that no just and permanent peace can be achieved in the Middle East unless Israel withdraws totally and unconditionally from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, and unless the Palestinian people are granted their inalienable right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state and the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and guarantees for the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon.

Plan of action

The Commission also adopted a plan of action for continuing documentation, cooperation with other organizations and commissions relevant to its tasks, and dissemination of its conclusions to the media. It was decided to hold a second session as soon as circumstances permit. Subcommittees were established in the following fields: legal, medical, cultural and information. Among the series of practical measures decided upon for further declaring solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, was the holding of the International Medical Forum with the participation of persons prominent in this field and representatives of medical associations of various countries.

The International Medical Forum was organized in conjunction with 10 Greek mass orga-

nizations which had actively expressed their solidarity with the cause of Lebanon throughout this period. Prior to the forum, an investigation committee, representing Greek public opinion, visited Lebanon from October 7-14th. Their aim was to investigate the massacres in Sabra and Shatila camps, the violation of the human rights of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the conditions of detention for prisoners of war in the prisons and concentration camps, and the living conditions of the thousands of refugees, and the Lebanese and Palestinian population generally. At the same time, the committee aimed to establish and evaluate the consequences and effects of the savage Israeli invasion, and to mobilize Greek and world opinion to offer more effective material assistance and moral support to meet the people's most urgent needs.

In the tragic city of Beirut, an atmosphere of military terrorism prevailed. This, coupled with the destruction of its residential areas by the bombardments, the stink of dead bodies and thousands of homeless, the searches and arrest of citizens, and the misery of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, gave a picture of hell. The committee members were horrified by what they saw at the Sabra and Shatila camps. The joint Israeli-Phalangist plan for the massacres there in September was made apparent to them.

International Medical Forum

In Athens, from November 20 to 21, 1982, 58 delegates from 17 countries examined evidence by eyewitnesses who had participated in medical missions to Lebanon, and discussed the consequences of the weapons used against the population from a humanitarian and medical viewpoint, leading them to adopt the following conclusions:



1. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, carried out with the full support of the USA, constitutes a flagrant violation of international law.
2. The atrocities and indiscriminate bombings against the civilian population took on dimensions surpassing the limits of real genocide.
3. The cutting off of such basic supplies as water, electricity, foodstuffs and even blood from the besieged part of Beirut and the siege of a city with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants constitute a violation of fundamental human rights and human values.
4. Also the violation of every basic human right is being proven by the ruthless bombardment from the air, the sea and land, of residential areas, refugee camps and other non-military targets such as hospitals and even cemeteries.
5. The witnesses at the Forum proved the use of napalm, phosphorous, fragmentation, different types of cluster bombs, toy and vacuum bombs, all banned by international conventions. Their use resulted in a greater number of victims among the civilian population, and even among infants and children under the age of seven. The Forum is convinced that both the country of Lebanon and its people have been used to test and verify the efficiency and effectiveness of the most sophisticated and modern US weapons. This constitutes a most flagrant violation of the provisions of the St. Petersburg Declaration (1868), the Hague Convention (1907), and the First Additional Protocol (June 10, 1977) of the Four Geneva Conventions on the Protection of War Victims (August 12, 1949).
6. The siege and blockade of the city, the explosions, the pseudobombings, the dropping of threatening leaflets and the booby traps completed the aggressor's psychological warfare, resulting in the creation of many psychological problems, especially among children.
7. The planned, systematic and mass bombardment of hospitals and other buildings bearing the emblems of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, is an utter violation of several international conventions including the Four Geneva Conventions (August 12, 1949) regarding the protection of civilians. The witnesses at the Forum referred in their testimonies to specific cases of destruction of hospitals and clinics, of arrests and murders of doctors and other medical staff, as well as murders and repeated injuries of hospitalized patients, both civilian and combatants, destruction of first-aid centers, medical vehicles and medical equipment in general.
8. Hospital conditions for the injured were appalling, because hospitals were being bombed and could provide no security. Lack of medical

supplies and equipment, the reduced numbers of medical and paramedical personnel, lack of electricity, water and even blood, caused insurmountable difficulties, resulting in:

(a) a high rate of mortality, and (b) a high percentage of postoperative complications.

9. The mass destruction of medical establishments such as Barbir, Akka, Gaza, Makkassed, and many other hospitals and clinics in South Lebanon, as well as the creation of obstacles and the prevention of medical personnel and the official health bodies from carrying out their duties resulted in the full paralysis of the health care system in the occupied regions, even occupation of the Lebanese Ministry of Health, violating thus the Geneva Convention of the Protection of Civilian Population, which forbids the occupying power to modify the status of officials (article 54).

10. We must say that the position of the International Red Cross has been peculiar and negative. Its stand throughout the war in Lebanon fulfills neither its potential for action nor the goals for which it was founded.

11. The refusal of Israel to assign prisoner of war status to Palestinian and Lebanese fighters, the torture and cruel treatment of civilians captured by the occupation forces, their detention in prisons and concentration camps constitute a violation of the basic provisions of the said Geneva Conventions.

The violation of the privacy of the home, the repression of all trade union and political activity, the paralysis of economic activity, as well as the silencing of every democratic expression, violate the sovereign rights of the Lebanese people.

12. The continuing occupation of the sovereign territory of Lebanon by Israeli troops and their efforts to conceal the fact and nature of their crimes against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, impede the full and detailed investigation of the true dimensions of the crimes committed against humanity and human rights.

13. We express our concern at the attitude of the tripartite peace-keeping military force in Lebanon towards the Palestinian and Lebanese patriots, following the massacre at the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.

14. The Israeli aggression in Lebanon can be termed as a highly complex international crime violating established international conventions and law, causing unnecessary human suffering to fighters as well as to the civilian population.

15. All the above demonstrate Zionist expansionism which serves the intention of American imperialism to control the region.

16. The Forum expresses the conviction that a just solution in the Middle East cannot be found without the realisation of the inalien-

able rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of its own national, independent state on its own territory.

17. The Medical Subcommittee stresses the necessity for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon. The continuing occupation of the country seriously aggravates its domestic situation, preventing the exercise of democratic liberties and human rights.

18. The Medical Subcommittee denounces the policy of genocide pursued by the Israeli authorities, the creation of concentration camps (Ansar, Sarafand, Safar) in South Lebanon, where Palestinians and Lebanese are under inhuman conditions which jeopardize their lives.

19. The delegates to the Forum believe that the activities of the International Inquiry Commission and the UN and other international organizations must be continued in order to achieve positive results on the situation in Lebanon, which now bears the seeds of the outbreak of a new war in the immediate future.

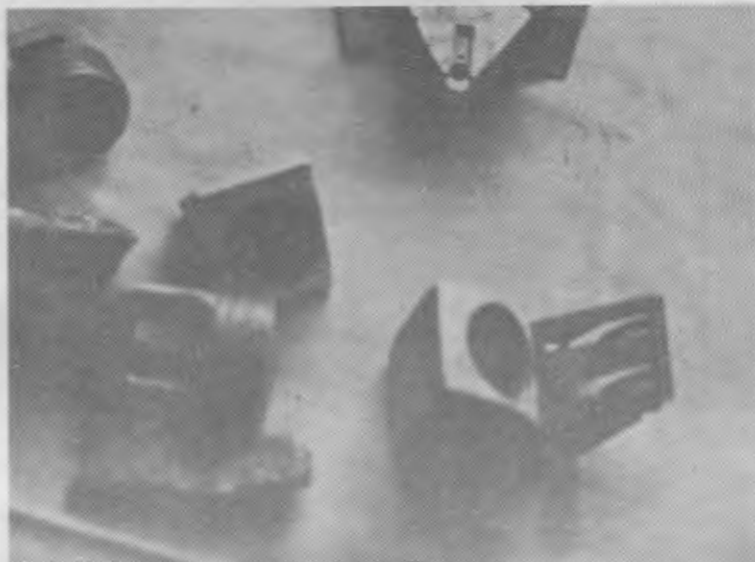
20. As a Medical Subcommittee we call for the further mobilization of people and governments so that concrete measures are taken to put an end to the crimes in Lebanon and to preserve world peace.

The Medical Forum also adopted a plan of action including efforts in the informational field, sending teams of specialists to meet the immediate needs of people in Lebanon, increasing medical assistance to the Palestinian people through the Palestinian Red Crescent and to Lebanese victims of Israeli aggression particularly through "Secours Populaire Libanais", and the convening of an international tribunal to try Israel as a war criminal.

Second Session

The second session of the International Commission of Inquiry was held in Geneva on February 27-28, 1983, with the participation

Cluster bombs on display





3 year old girl, whose right hand was severed by a bomb, learning to use her left hand

of more than 100 persons, including besides its own members, parliamentarians, jurists, diplomats, journalists, trade union leaders, youth and others.

The session examined the constantly reported violations of the human rights of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples by the Israeli occupation forces. It considered the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. It also dealt with the continued Israeli occupation of Lebanon, as well as with the deprivation of the Palestinian people of their national rights - the right of self-determination in particular - in light of international law and the Declaration of Human Rights. The session based its discussions on eyewitness reports and factual data; it examined more than 20 expert reports.

At the end of the hearing, followed by lengthy discussion, the session adopted the main document: Findings and Conclusions, together with a number of appeals and messages addressed to the 7th Non-Aligned Summit, the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Secretary General of the League of Arab States, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, and others.

Conclusions

The members of the Commission declare:

1. that the criminal situation created by the occupation can only come to an end with immediate, unconditional and total retreat of Israeli troops from Lebanese territory, according to resolutions 508 and 509 of the Security Council, an indispensable condition to the reestablishment of sovereignty in Lebanon and

a normalization of its political and social life.

2. that Israel, as an occupying state, is wholly responsible for all criminal acts committed by its forces and collaborators on the territory it occupies and controls. The facts disclosed by the Israeli Commission of Inquiry on the massacres in Palestinian camps, added to the testimony gathered by our Commission, underline the principle of individual penal responsibility, whether on an internal or international basis, of all persons guilty of war crimes, of crimes against humanity and crimes against peace.

Our International Commission of Inquiry is backing up the efforts of all those who are struggling in Israel to put an end to the crimes committed by their leaders in the name of the Israeli people. The Commission wants to stress once more the fact that in conformity with the international law, such crimes are not subjected to prescription and that the punishment incurred is irrevocable (Convention of 1968 on non-prescription of war crimes and of crimes against humanity).

Destruction of hospitals



The Commission recalls the practices of the Nuremberg Tribunal which passed judgement on the main war criminals of the second world war. It calls attention to the possibilities of reverting to article 90 of the Additional Protocol to the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of war victims, in order to create an inter-governmental commission on crimes committed by Israel on Lebanese territory, with the help of its accomplices.

The commission is prepared to communicate all of its documents to such a jurisdictional group.

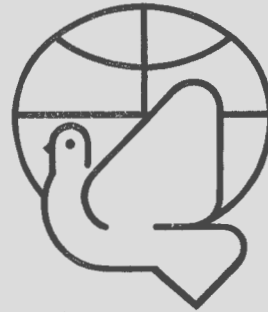
3. that the situation persisting in Lebanon puts to the fore the fundamental role in this war of the United States, engaging their responsibility both with regard to occupation and the crimes for which Israel is the guilty party.

4. that persistent occupation, brutal violence, the negation by Israel of the principles and norms of international law are serious obstacles to an equitable and global settlement of the crisis in the Middle East, taking into account the legitimate interests of all States and all peoples of the area and in particular the need to vouchsafe the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to create its own state and to decide in all independence on its relations with the other states.

5. The persisting aggression and Israeli occupation, and the ensuing crimes are also a danger to world peace. This is why the Commission deems it necessary to alert and call on world public opinion, political parties, social and religious movements, governments and parliaments, international and intergovernmental organizations to raise their voices and to act so as to guarantee and ensure protection of the Lebanese and Palestinian populations, by using all means in their possession to put a halt without delay to the crimes of the Israeli government clique and to the criminal occupation it exerts; and to achieve the retreat of all Israeli armed forces from Lebanon and the liberation of all its prisoners.

The Commission wishes to commend the courageous behaviour of the troops and officers of the Israeli army who refused to take part in the criminal ventures decided on by the Begin government on Lebanese soil. It has noted with satisfaction the development of the steps taken by political and social forces, by leaders who in Israel denounced the criminal character of the aggression and annexation policy of the Begin government and which call for rapid achievement of a peace based on recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people for their auto-determination and the creation of their own state.

Prague 1983



The World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War, held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, from June 21st to 27th, was one of the most significant expressions of protest raised against the nuclear arms race. The 3,000 delegates, representing 132 countries, unanimously denounced the US plans for deployment of new nuclear weapons, especially those of first-strike capacity, like the Cruise, Trident II, Pershing II, and MX. Moreover, the majority of delegates condemned the US policy of deploying these weapons in Europe, as this would trigger an escalation of the arms race. No less denounced was the US refusal to accept a no first-use policy, and the utterly incredible idea of a "limited, winnable" nuclear war.

The assembly was of an extremely broad nature, including national and international organizations and institutions, peace movements, unions, student, youth and women's organizations, and religious groups. 80% of the participants were from western Europe, the US or the three continents (the latter constitu-

ting 40%), while 20% of the delegates were from socialist countries. Of particular significance was the relatively large number of delegates from the US (around 200).

Sectors of the western media waged a campaign against this conference, trying to belittle its broadly representative character

and misrepresent its aims. The final report of the journalists' dialogue at the assembly retorted to this campaign: "Bitter complaints were voiced by the representatives from the US and Europe and other parts of the world about the biased and frequently blatant anti-peace attitude of too many western media... which tends - as some put it - to become a new kind of psychological warfare."

Cooperation for peace

Although the assembly represented a diversity of political and ideological convictions, a highly favorable democratic atmosphere prevailed. Ideological criticism was tolerated,



and democratic proceedings allowed problems between competing organizations to be solved in a favorable manner. For example, the government-backed Iraqi peace movement objected to the presence of the Committee for Peace and Solidarity in Iraq, which represents the progressive forces. The former was

trying to capitalize on the assembly's broad representation to steer it towards advocating a solution to the Iraq-Iran war in the name of peace, but actually advantageous to the Iraqi regime. However, the objection to the presence of the Committee for Peace and Solidarity was voted down. Many voices were raised in condemnation of the Iraq-Iran war and those responsible for it. Many were of the opinion that the only solution lies in the establishment of a democratic government in Iraq.

Moreover, there was general denunciation of the recent Turkish military incursion into Iraq, which occurred with the Iraqi government's full approval. The Turkish delegate to the conference pointed out that this move was directed against the Kurdish movement and also against all anti-fascist movements in Iraq and Turkey.

Vs. the US-imposed arms race

The tolerance and democratic procedures exhibited at the assembly reflected the participants determination to secure closer contact and cooperation between peace forces in all parts of the world. Thus, despite the broad array of opinions and ideas, all converged at one point: the reason for the nuclear arms race and the way to prevent a nuclear war.

Bilischitin, the Soviet delegate, stated, "The main reason behind growing world tension is the striving of western military forces to impose upon the world a new phase...of the arms race." He continued, "Putting into practice the Soviet government's suggestions on a nuclear arms freeze diminishes the danger of such a nuclear catastrophe."

The Nicaraguan representative pointed out: "The US offensives oblige us to spend much on defense - funds sorely needed to develop our economy and national culture."

The results of the numerous discussions and sessions was the adoption of clear-cut resolutions and plans of future action. In the dialogue entitled "Dangers of Nuclear War, the Threat to Life and How to prevent it", the delegates in their final report expressed "deep anxiety about the policies of the US government, which have caused the arms race", and called on the US to respond constructively to the various initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union over the years". Moreover, they "urged the governments of the US, Britain and France to pledge a no-first-use of nuclear weapons and the creation of nuclear-free zones throughout the world."

Special emphasis was put on the need to prevent the deployment by the US of 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles, which would

trigger a new round in the arms race and increase world tension. The report pointed out that 600 billion US dollars were spent yearly on weapons - money which could better be put to use to do away with widespread poverty.

The report from another dialogue "The arms race: How to stop and reverse it" stated that: "1983 is a crucial year because the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles would result in formidable destabilization" and "Public opinion has assumed new importance, the more so as an increasing number of its sectors are becoming aware of its power. Public opinion can exercise its influence not only by expressing its will, but also by becoming a decisive political factor which governments and international bodies must take into account."

In yet another report, entitled "The exchange of experiences and ideas of peace movements in support of disarmament", the practical aspects were dealt with, stressing: "The necessity of strengthening common activities on national and international levels and involving wider forces...the trade union movements, the churches, political parties and mass organizations." The report goes on to say, "It is a great encouragement that in all countries, preparations have begun for new world-wide coordinated peace actions for October 1983. Bigger demonstrations than ever before are planned in FRG, Britain Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium - the countries in which the missiles are supposed to be deployed. For the first time in its history the US peace movement will also organize mass action against the deployment of missiles in western Europe." The same report put forth a number of points on how to halt the nuclear arms race, including the following:

1. a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries
2. renunciation of the first-use of nuclear weapons
3. establishment of nuclear-free zones
4. stoppage of all exports of uranium
5. immediate freeze on all nuclear arsenals

Peace and liberation linked

It was the view of the majority that their common struggle for peace is closely related to the struggle for democracy human rights social and economic progress and national liberation. As a result, support was expressed to many national liberation movements and other progressive organizations. In light of the Moroccan regime's position in the OAU against admitting POLISARIO, it is of special note that several progressive African delegations, particularly the ANC expressed support to POLISARIO.



PLO Chairman Yaser Arafat received a very warm welcome at the assembly and his speech was widely applauded. He clearly denounced US policies especially the Reagan plan and praised the Soviet Union's role as the main pillar of support for all liberation movements of the world. In a final word he said "Despite the bloodbath in which imperialism and the Zionist aggressors want to drown our people, we will always raise the olive branch".

Mrs. Ortensia Allende widow of the late Chilean president and honorary head of the World Peace Council and World Democratic Women's Federation, communicated the following: "I am well aware that international peace cannot be guaranteed as long as the tense situation prevails in Central America and other parts of the world." She added, "The political, social and economic crisis in Chile is deepening due to the fascist practices of Pinochet."

Peace demonstration

The public demonstration for peace, held in the old town square of Prague, brought the participants in the assembly together with the Working People of Prague and the Youth of Prague. As such, it was a resounding mass call to stop the arms race and instead seek to promote life and peace. It served as an encouragement to all to rally their forces to prevent a potential nuclear catastrophe, reflecting deepening awareness that there are no limited or winnable nuclear alternatives.

To Ghassan Kanafani

Ghassan Kanafani, Palestinian writer and artist, PFLP Politbureau member, official spokesman and founding editor of "Al Hadaf", was martyred in Beirut, July 8, 1972, when Israeli agents rigged a bomb in his car. The following message to Ghassan was written by Bassam Abu Sharif, member of the PFLP's Politbureau and currently editor of "Al Hadaf".

To my beloved comrade, Ghassan,

I had not yet slept, nor even stolen a few minutes to rest from the fatigue of the bombardment, or to brush off the dust of the battles. It was striking five in the morning as I passed through the narrow paths of Shatila towards the back alleyways leading to the martyrs' cemetery.



I wove my way through the tombstones, which resembled strongholds, to reach my destination. We had shown you this soil ten years ago. On that day, the earth under the pine trees was adorned only by your tombstone and those of three of your comrades-in-arms and your niece, Lamis.

It was a time of rare quiet in the tumult of 1982 in Beirut. I gazed at your eyes - eyes with a faraway look, eyes which it seems could see ten years ahead - the ten years in the life of the revolution when you were not present.

Your picture is much the same. The shells have not torn it; nor have the bullets destroyed it completely; nor has the explosion distorted your handsome face. I smiled into your face. It was as if I was repeating something we had always said to each other: "We are stronger than their shells." Um Saad's (1) palms, cracked by time and poverty, are the palms of all our fighters, cracked by the wooden butt of the Klashinkov and the RPG. All are palms facing what we expected them to face. They will confront what we expect them to confront.

Today is the 8th of July, 1982. The long siege of Beirut continues, as does the roar of the enemy's planes overhead, declaring its unending appetite for killing and destruction. Even the graves of the martyrs, as you can see around you, have not escaped the Zionist thirst for killing. Look around you! Things have changed as has the form of the earth all about you: Every tombstone is now a stronghold, and there are hundreds around you.

Ten years have passed since you left, and our people have continued to fight with a rare heroism despite all tragedies and sacrifices - despite all, they climbed the tree. The number of those who have climbed Um Saad's tree has multiplied (2), as has the number of those calling to ride the pony when it has grown into a stallion (3).

The fighting has continued, however. The enemy surrounds us on all sides - the desert, the sea and the mountain. All of them want our heads.

Look around you... They have fallen in defense of what remains for us. They have fallen in defense of hope... They planted their bodies to be strongholds for those fighters who raised the torch and the banner and continued.

Today we are besieged by the US and by 'Israel', who are blitzing us. I will not

describe the situation. However, I will tell you a secret of which the enemy knows nothing: Do you know, Ghassan, that we feel free in the siege? I have never felt as free as I do now. The siege actually besieges all outside its boundaries. It besieges all who try to impose an opinion or stand on us. The siege gives us the freedom of choice...to fight. It also gives us the chance to fight - a chance we have for so long been deprived of under a variety of excuses. Above all, it gives us the chance to prove that it is possible to fight the enemy and, moreover, to defeat it. There is the enemy with all its might and the might of the US - both rendered ineffective in the face of the guns of our revolutionaries...Revolutionaries determined to fight, not fearing their fighter planes, their warships or their vacuum bombs.

Look around you...The pieces of shattered pine tree which you planted are guarding the strongholds; it is as if they were protecting them from the enemy's eyes.

I must return to my base. We must fight so that the men will not die in the sun as they used to.(4)

July 8, 1983

We left Beirut, oh Ghassan, after our horizons had been narrowed, after children had died of hunger and thirst. We left so as to spare those who remained more martyrs and wounded. We left so that Beirut would not be converted, as the enemy had wished, into our last battle. We left, however, with our heads raised. We left after preventing the enemy from storming into the first Arab capital ever to be besieged.

However, the bombardment continued - this time, political bombardment. They thought that the battles in Lebanon had destroyed us, destroyed our will to fight, rendering us lost and submissive. They targeted us politically with bombs of every size and weight. They want to finish us - as a people, as a cause and as a revolution. To them, we are a disease spreading through the desert, undaunted by the robes of the sheikhs. Our gun, which imposed itself for 18 years transmitting its ideas like a lighthouse shining from the gulf to the ocean, is now wanted.

Do not ask about the armed struggle...They are trying to kill it...in the Gulf, in Saudi Arabia, in Palestine. Dayan tried his luck and failed. Arab reaction tried their luck in Jordan and in Lebanon, and failed. Sharon tried his luck and failed. However, they continue bombarding! They want the head of the revolution.

The US says "no" to the PLO and to the right of self-determination. Carter says, "The Arabs don't want a Palestinian state." Reagan

says "King Hussein is the sole representative of the Palestinians." Mubarak arrests Palestinians, telling them: "Recognize your murderers!" Amin Gemayel arrests and oppresses the Palestinians and signs a new agreement of humiliation with the enemy. The collaborators start to show their heads in the occupied territories and call for 'autonomy'.

All of these are bombs.

But as I told you before among the strongholds of July 8th, 1982, our people are fighting...generation after generation...The enemy spread over the land of Lebanon is being subjected to daily hot fire. Our children in occupied Palestine spray the enemy with stones every other minute. Our people cry out in the loudest of voices and with all the bullets they possess: "We will continue our struggle no matter what the cost. The PLO is our sole, legitimate representative. We will protect the unity of the organization and its independence."

We will not succumb to the plans of imperialism. We will answer Schultz, who asked the PLO to make a bold decision to let the Arabs speak on our behalf: "Yes, we will make a bold decision. We will continue to fight them and their plans." There is still much that remains for us - our people.

The sea will overflow into another sea, and all the foam will end on our rocks, wave upon wave. All the waves will break at our sands; our fortress is our people - the new generation. In their tears, there is unrelenting determination and in their eyes, the light of the coming sunrise. Don't close your eyes... Look with us...All pain will be followed by the joy of victory...It is coming...

(1) Um Saad, a middle-aged Palestinian woman who lives in a refugee camp, is the central character in one of Ghassan Kanafani's novels which bears her name. Through her personality the everyday life, the sorrows and hopes of the Palestinian people are conveyed.

(2) Reference to the novel "Um Saad". In the story, she plants a dried-out branch of a grape vine (tree), convinced that it will grow, despite others saying that it is useless. Her tree symbolizes the belief in the certainty of victory despite prevailing hardships.

(3) In the Arab tradition, and as used in Kanafani's stories, the horse symbolizes courage.

(4) This is a reference to Kanafani's novel "Men in the Sun" wherein three Palestinians die in the heat of the desert while journeying to find work in the Gulf states. The novel is a metaphor for the futility of finding an individual escape route from the Palestinian situation.

Recently we had the opportunity to view this new documentary on the Palestinian revolution, made by a Japanese film crew as a result of several different trips to the area. Below is some excerpts from the film brochure, wherein the director Tetsuro Nunokawa tells something of how the film came into being.

PALESTINE, 1976—1983

●What we have learned from the Palestinian revolution●

Story

There was a liberated area in Lebanon up to June 1982, when the Israeli forces started to invade. The area was the one which the Palestinian masses, together with the Lebanese masses, liberated by using stones and molotov cocktails against the Lebanese authorities in the sixties. In Shatila camp, the Palestinians could repair sewage and the roads without getting permission from the Lebanese authorities.

After the war in 1982, our camera crew went to Lebanon through the Beqaa Valley. A Palestinian fighter, who was about to leave for Algeria, said, "We are not going anywhere but Palestine." In Beirut, "maintenance of peace" was broken a few days after the PLO forces left. The Israeli tanks invaded West Beirut, firing shells towards the Palestinian camps. In the early morning of September 18th, our camera found a dead body in Shatila camp. Another dead body. The massacred. The massacre which happened to the Palestinians many times in their history.

In March 1983, the 16th session of the PNC was held in Algiers. This PNC confirmed their anti-imperialist, armed struggle. The Palestinians who are again scattered in Arab countries are struggling under hard conditions after the war for the liberation of their land. They are ready to give their blood and soul to the revolution.

Message from the director

In September 1982, the month of massacre in Lebanon, we were in Palestinian camps there. Our filming tour covered the Beqaa Valley. On the 18th of the month, one of us happened to be a witness to the massacre in Sabra and Shatila camps in West Beirut.

After coming back to Japan, the films taken were edited into a film with the title of "Beirut 1982", in order to show what we saw in Lebanon to the people of the world with an urgent desire to stop another massacre...

At the 16th session of the PNC held in Algiers this year, we were fortunate to meet among the participants our friends whom we had

seen in Lebanon before the war. This reunion encouraged us to visit the Beqaa Valley...

During our journey, this time from Algiers to Syria to the Beqaa Valley, we were deeply impressed by the fact that the struggle of the Palestinians can never halt, and instead, is continuing steadily even under the hardships after the 1982 war. This fact is really encouraging to us who have repeatedly visited Palestinian camps with hopes of consolidating the solidarity with the aspirations for the victory of peace and justice.


The Palestinians have managed to maintain their forces even during this period of genocidal war against them. Now a new strategy is being formed which stems from the lessons they have learned from their historical experience. The PLO maintained the National Charter and confirmed the continuation of armed, anti-imperialist struggle.

There is no such example of continuing to maintain the same national policy and platform after having experienced such a war, either on the side of the victor or the defeated. You can find this true in the history of World War II between the Axes and Allied forces.

It symbolizes the inability of the imperialist states to solve their own contradictions that the state of Israel was established on the land of Palestine in 1948. This state represents the guilt complex of those who committed the discrimination, the persecution and the genocide against the Jews. The state has not only been unable to liberate the Jews, but its very existence has resulted in functioning as a reserve for the existing contradictions between the states.

The Palestinian liberation struggle is defying this contradiction. This historically unique existence acquired by the Palestinians as a victim and a liberator has become a substance which interconnects the minds of people aspiring for justice and peace in the world.

Nunokawa Productions
5-27-6 Shimomeguro Meguro-ku
Tokyo Japan
Tel: 03-713-1405



For the Palestinian People

On what map are the footsteps
of the Palestinian people?
People of the new diaspora:
Where are your armaments now?

Our footsteps are the earth of Palestine.
Our armaments are our sturdy hearts.

Where are the poems
for the Palestinian people?
Poems like rocks from the fractured plateau?
Poems like cool water from a goatskin bag?

Our poetry is breath
like the wind from Gaza to Jordan
from the sea to the Golan Heights
breath that is constant as
a prayer traveling to the stars.

Where are your monuments, O Palestinian people?
Do they lie in the rubble of Beirut?

We take our monuments with us, friend.
We are the monuments, now.

- D.H. Mehem, 1982