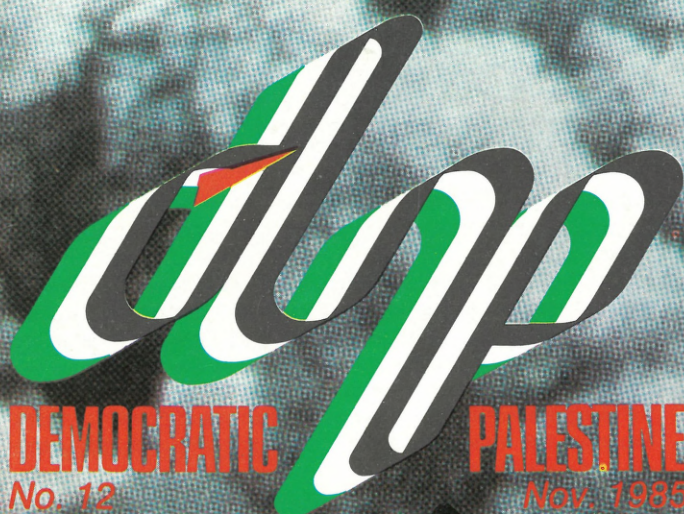




**DEMOCRATIC**  
No. 12

**PALESTINE**  
Nov. 1985

Palestinians' Future in Lebanon?

Johann  
T-O 4,50



# *Two Ways to Deal With the Imperialist and Zionist Enemy*



Arab statesmen are talking...



...the masses are demonstrating...





*Democratic Palestine* is an English language magazine published by the PFLP with the following aims:

- conveying the political line of the PFLP and other progressive Palestinian and Arab forces;
- providing current information and analysis pertinent to the Palestinian liberation struggle, as well as developments on the Arab and international levels;
- serving as forum for building relations of mutual solidarity between the Palestinian revolution and progressive organizations, parties, national liberation movements and countries around the world.

You can support these aims by subscribing to *Democratic Palestine*. Furthermore, we hope that you will encourage friends and comrades to read and subscribe to *Democratic Palestine*. We also urge you to send us comments, criticisms and proposals concerning the magazine's contents.

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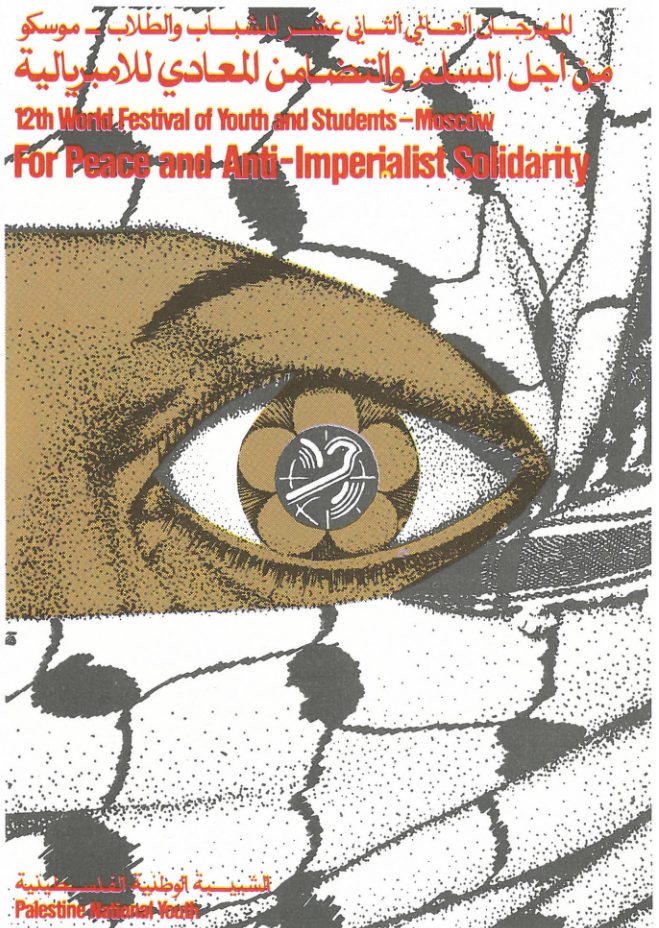
The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a Marxist-Leninist organization and an integral component of the Palestine Liberation Organization. A primary motive for establishing the PFLP was to inject a clear class perspective in the Palestinian national liberation struggle. Experience shows that the most oppressed classes—the workers, peasants, sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, the camp Palestinians—are those most in contradiction with imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. It is they who carve history with determination that can persevere in a protracted war against the enemy alliance.

The PFLP is deeply committed to the unity and independent, national decision-making of the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO. To this end, we work for strengthening the role of the Palestinian left, thereby accentuating the PLO's anti-imperialist line in common struggle with the Arab national liberation movement.

The process of liberating Palestine relies on radical, national democratic change or development in one or more of the surrounding

Arab countries. This will provide the PLO with a strong base for liberating Palestine. Thus the struggle for a democratic Palestine is linked to the creation of a united, democratic, and ultimately socialist, Arab society. This will provide the objective basis for eradicating the poverty, exploitation, oppression and the problem of minorities, from which the people of the area suffer.

As a cornerstone in this process, the establishment of a democratic, secular state in Palestine will provide a democratic solution for the Jewish question in this area, while simultaneously restoring the national rights of the Palestinian people. After liberation, Jews in Palestine, like all citizens, will enjoy equal rights and duties. The decision of the PLO to establish an independent Palestinian state on any liberated part of the national soil is a step in this direction. It is the sincere hope of all Palestinian revolutionaries that more and more Israelis will recognize that they, too, have become victims of Zionism's racism, expansionism, exploitation and militarism, and will join us in the struggle for a democratic Palestine.



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# Letters

**By printing this letter, we want to thank the comrades of the New Communist Party of Britain for their hard work to increase circulation of «Democratic Palestine» in their country.**

2nd October 1985

To the staff of *Democratic Palestine*  
Dear Comrades,

Thank you very much for your letter which we received today and for the copies of *Democratic Palestine*... There is considerable interest among our members in the sample copies we have distributed. We believe that we could easily place 100 copies of each edition and we would be grateful if you could let us have this many. Certainly we have had a number of definite requests for subscriptions from branches, and one or two comrades have said that they could probably sell as many as we could let them have. So if 100 copies disappear as quickly as the 50 you have sent us up to now, perhaps we may ask for more increases in the future.

Yours fraternally,

New Communist Party of Britain

*Workers of all countries, unite!*  
*Internationalism-Peace-Socialism*

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## «Garrison State»

# «Garrison State»

Some of you will remember a study entitled «The Israeli Role in United States' Global Strategy» written by Steve Goldfield. We printed it in serial form in *Democratic Palestine* nos. 3,4,5 and 6. At the time we received many positive responses from our readers to this series. We are therefore eager to inform you that Steve Goldfield has updated and reworked his study into a book entitled *Garrison State*, published by *Palestine Focus Publications*. Even for those who have the study from *Democratic Palestine*'s pages, this book will be useful. (We were forced by space considerations to omit some sections and footnotes.) In addition to containing all the material together, *Garrison State* has appendices containing interviews with ANC, Nicaraguan and FDR/FMLN officials on what Israeli involvement

means for the struggle in southern Africa and Central America.

*Garrison State* provides a wealth of concrete data on the Israeli military industry and exports. These facts and figures are analyzed in terms of the Israeli role as proxy for US imperialism around the globe. Goldfield also draws significant conclusions for the movement against US intervention:

«Inescapably, work to stop US aid to dictatorships in Central America and ties to South Africa will have little effect if Israeli arms sales are not cut off. The American people have only one lever to use against Israel: cutting off US aid. Consider that the Israelis actually oppose full-scale resumption of US shipments of arms to Central America since this directly competes with Israeli sales. If the goal is to actually deny weapons to

Alvarez and his counterparts in Honduras and El Salvador, and to genuinely cut South Africa off from the United States and not merely to wipe the blood from the hands of the United States, Israel will have to become a prime target of the Central America solidarity movement and of the growing movement against apartheid.»

This invaluable handbook for solidarity activists costs US \$ 5 and can be obtained from:

*Palestine Focus Publications*  
P.O.Box 27462  
San Francisco, CA 94127  
or from:  
EAFORD  
Agriculture House  
Knightsbridge  
London SW1



# Editorial

## Let No One Fall into an Enemy Trap

In the last few weeks, rumors, articles, declarations and propaganda about expected fighting in West Beirut have spread rapidly. This news reminded us of the atmosphere that preceded the Amal Movement's unholy war against the Palestinian camps of Beirut last summer. The main rationale for the new war, according to those who predicted, is the necessity of «cleaning» West Beirut of «armed gangs», aborting Arafat's efforts to ignite violence, and providing the prerequisites for national security.

In the light of what is going on, the PFLP would like to again stress the following basic points:

**One:** The nationalist and progressive Palestinian organizations continue to support the Lebanese nationalist forces in their efforts to control the security situation in West Beirut. We place all our resources at their disposal in order to uproot any group that tries to endanger the security of the Lebanese masses and nationalist forces.

**Two:** The nationalist and progressive Palestinian organizations continue to support efforts to solve the Lebanese crisis on a national democratic basis, preserving the unity, independence, Arab identity and democratic development of Lebanon.

**Three:** The nationalist and progressive Palestinian organizations, that signed and abided by the Damascus agreement to end the camp war, have tried throughout the previous months to reorganize Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist relations on a clearer and stronger basis. We have persisted in these efforts despite Amal's continued violations of the Damascus agreement. In these efforts, the Palestinian nationalist and progressive forces are motivated by a great feeling of responsibility for consolidating the Syrian-Lebanese-Palestinian nationalist alliance.

### Distinguishing between principled and tactical changes

The propaganda campaign about «cleaning» West Beirut,

runs parallel to the talks in Damascus, between the various Lebanese leaders, to find a solution to the Lebanese crisis and end more than ten years of civil war. The fact that the Lebanese Forces, led by Elie Hobeika, have entered into drafting plans for reforming the sectarian system, does indeed signal a retreat for the fascist program. However, this retreat, like Hobeika's advocating the Syrian option, does not mark a change in principle for the fascists. It is rather a tactical move designed to buy time in the context of the current balance of forces which rules out imposition of the fascists' program.

Thus, we warn that the Lebanese Forces are engaging in tactical maneuvers, aimed at aborting the achievements of the Syrian-Lebanese-Palestinian nationalist alliance. The fascists, moreover, are secretly retaining their own forces and program, as well as their option of returning to alliance with Zionism, if they later see the chance to block democratic reform in Lebanon. These facts should be kept in mind when evaluating the motives and anticipated results of the talked-about «clean-up» in nationalist West Beirut and the Palestinian camps.

Needless to say, striking the Palestinian nationalist armed presence in Lebanon remains to be one of the main aims of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance, as a prelude to crushing the Palestinian revolution all together. The results of weakening Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon will not be limited to the Palestinian arena. We are deeply convinced that this would directly and negatively affect the Lebanese nationalist and progressive forces, as well as all contingents of the Arab national liberation movement. Proceeding from this, we stress our legitimate right to defend our masses and revolution. At the same time, we warn all nationalist forces from falling into an enemy trap.

## Two Ways to Deal with the Imperialist and Zionist Enemy

*At a time when imperialism and Zionism have escalated their aggressiveness against the Arab people, the two ways to deal with the imperialist and Zionist enemy emerge with increasing clarity. One is the way of Arab reaction, together with the right-wing PLO leadership headed by Yasir Arafat. This path leads to offering concession after concession to imperialism, every time the enemy escalates its aggression.*

*In stark contrast, there is the way of the masses and the progressive and patriotic forces which insist on confronting imperialist and Zionist aggression. This means responding to aggression by striking imperialism's interests and confronting it in the way it deserves.*

On September 26th, Yasir Arafat, in an interview with *Al Jumhuriyah* newspaper (Cairo), called for negotiations between the PLO and 'Israel' on the basis of «land in exchange for peace» as mentioned in the Amman accord of February of this year. In the same interview, he praised Thatcher's decision to meet

with the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. In another interview with the Saudi newspaper *Shark al Awsat* (Paris), Arafat says that Thatcher's decision gave a boost to the Amman accord.

On September 27th, King Hussein made a speech at the UN General Assembly, clearly indicating the extent

to which Arab reaction places its hopes on US imperialism. He said that after the signing of the Amman accord between the PLO and Jordan, the two began contacting many of the major capitals (imperialist capitals) in order to revive the peace process, in light of the special relations binding the US and 'Israel' - the





Cairo demonstration: «Change comes by people's struggle, not through Mubarak and the guards.»

latter having so far hindered all peace efforts. Jordan has made concentrated efforts in Washington, hoping that the US will shoulder its responsibility as a «super power» desiring to preserve international peace. Hussein made no attempt to conceal his willingness to make concessions to imperialist and Zionist pressure. Moreover, he announced his readiness to enter into «direct and immediate negotiations with Israel» on the basis of UN resolutions which make no mention of the political rights of the Palestinian people: «We are ready to begin negotiations with Israel under the auspices of a suitable and acceptable party as soon as possible, according to UN resolutions 242 and 338...»

On September 29th, Mubarak described Peres as being «flexible» and said: «We can come to an understanding with him on peace.»

### Concessions meet violence

US imperialism and 'Israel' lost no time in responding to the concessions made by Arafat and King Hussein. A few days after Arafat and Hussein made their statements, Israeli Phantoms bombed the PLO headquarters in Tunis, causing devastating losses, 60 Tunisian and Palestinian martyrs and hundreds of wounded. Then Peres and Rabin levelled a direct warning at countries which harbor Palestinians, meaning Jordan in particular. They stressed that the arm of 'Israel' is long, and there is no safe

refuge for the PLO. They presented the raid on Tunis as a lesson and a warning.

Of course, the US did not delay in making a statement on the Israeli terrorism, describing it as a justifiable act and expressing understanding. Richard Murphy, US envoy to the Middle East, commented on the results of the raid, saying that it will not slow down the peace process in the Middle East. He added that he thought there was a possibility that the PLO would reconsider its policy with regard to armed struggle.

This is on the level of statements. On the practical level, the US Administration, a few days after the raid, gave orders to its planes on the US warships in the Mediterranean, to hijack an Egyptian civilian plane which carried the hijackers of the Italian ship, Achille Lauro. By this, the Reagan Administration aimed at achieving more than one goal:

- 1) To draw the attention of international public opinion away from the Israeli crime in Tunis, and to justify this as «a legitimate act against terrorism» as Reagan put it.
- 2) To indicate to Hussein and Arafat that they have no choice but to accept the US-Israeli conditions for a settlement in the Middle East.
- 3) To revive the confidence of imperialism's reactionary allies in the region by showing that the US is ready to use force to implement White House policy.
- 4) To demoralize the Palestinians into giving up armed struggle, attempting to

show that it results in nothing but devastating those who adopt it.

5) To weaken the Soviet position in the Middle East especially before the Gorbachev-Reagan summit, showing that the US can flex its muscles in the region without affecting its relations with the reactionary regimes, flaunting its privilege over the Soviet Union.

The Reagan Administration was not content with hijacking the civilian plane, but also used the incident of the Achille Lauro to pressure the British government into refusing to meet with the Palestinian members of the joint delegation, unless they agreed to sign a statement including the US-Zionist conditions for solving the Palestinian cause. Thatcher's government complied with the US pressure, and Foreign Secretary Howe refused to meet with the Palestinian delegates.

### The right's response to US and Israeli insults

Yasir Arafat declared that «US and Israeli terrorism and piracy are conspiring to destroy the Palestinian and Jordanian peace initiative in the Middle East.» Arafat went on to underscore his determination to continue with Hussein in chasing after the US solution, despite the fact that the US Administration shows no intention of solving the Palestinian cause.

Abu Iyad, member of Arafat's Central Committee, stressed that the reason for the Israeli raid was «Israel's finding



itself surrounded by peace which it always rejects.» He said that the relations between King Hussein and the PLO will not be affected by the US-Israeli conspiracies.

King Hussein tried to justify the criminal Zionist act in Tunis, when he stated to reporters in Washington D.C. that «We should be aware that violence breeds violence.» In another interview with CBS television, Hussein stressed that he will pursue 'Israel' and US imperialism despite their aggressiveness. He denied that the peace process in the Middle East had gone back to square one after the recent events in the region. Hussein went even further, comparing the imperialist and Zionist attacks on the Arabs with the Arab peoples' legitimate struggle to gain their rights. He said: «All extremists on all sides try to cancel any opportunity available for realizing a just and lasting peace, awaited for so long.»

After the Israeli raid and the shooting of 7 Zionist settlers in the Sinai by an Egyptian soldier, Husni Mubarak sent a letter of reassurance to the Israeli ministers, stressing that he still sticks to the peace path and that the Egyptian authorities are doing everything in their power to complete the investigation into the killings in the Sinai. Moreover, Mubarak

reassured Peres by saying that he personally is following up the case. Then the US Administration dealt the final insult by hijacking the Egyptian civilian plane. Mubarak, worried by the masses' indignation, initially denounced the US piracy. However, his rhetoric soon subsided into submission, as when he remarked: «I hope that the dark cloud will blow over... I hope that we will reach a point where matters will be clarified.» Thus to him, things are not clear enough, and he needs to be insulted even more to see more clearly. Instead of taking a practical stand against US and Zionist interests in Egypt, the authorities arrested over 15 Egyptians who were demonstrating against the US on October 18th.

The reaction of these regimes can only be described as humiliating, not once going further than verbal pussy-footing.

### **The Arab masses respond to US-Zionist piracy**

Contrary to the response of the reactionary Arab regimes and their reassurances that relations with imperialism would not be marred by these events, the Arab masses rose in indignation at the aggression.

In Tunis, the masses turned the funerals of the victims of the Israeli raid

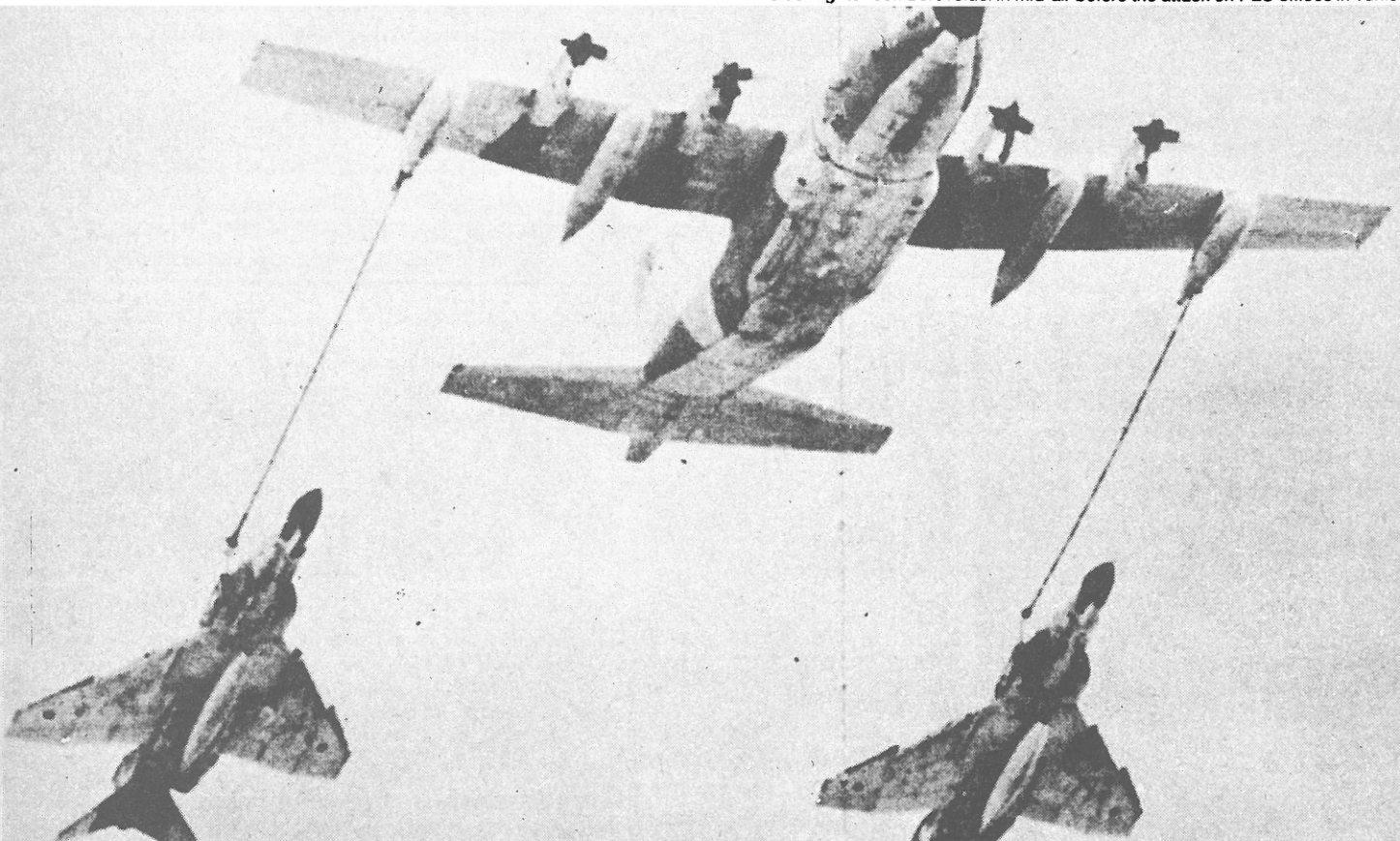
## ***On the Israeli Raid***

Following the barbarian bombing launched by Israeli fighter jets against Palestinian offices in Tunisia, a PFLP Politbureau spokesman declared the following:

This barbarian attack is a new act in the aggressive Israeli policy against our people inside and outside occupied Palestine. This new attack proves once again that the continuing political concessions, offered by the rightist leadership in the PLO, will meet only more aggression from the Israeli enemy. The PFLP condemns this aggressive attack and calls on all the friends of the Palestinian people to do likewise. At the same time, the PFLP confirms that the Palestinian people will continue their just struggle despite all obstacles and difficulties.

into demonstrations. The demonstrators denounced US imperialism and its complicity with Zionism. They shouted slogans calling for revenge on 'Israel' and declaring their support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and their legitimate right to armed struggle. Moreover, opposition parties demanded that the Tunisian government sever relations with the US, due to its support of Israeli

*Israeli fighter bombers refuel in mid-air before the attack on PLO offices in Tunis*







*PLO offices after the Israeli raid on Tunis*

terrorism. Among the parties which signed the communique to this effect were: The Democratic Socialist Movement, the Tunisian Communist Party, the Popular Unity Party and the Muslim Leadership Movement. On October 5th, Tunisian security police arrested four of those demonstrating against the Israeli raid; this occurred during a women's demonstration in the center of the capital.

In Egypt, 5,000 demonstrators shouted slogans and burnt the US and Israeli flags. This was on October 4th. On the 5th of October, an Egyptian soldier shot dead 7 Zionist settlers and wounded 12 in the Sinai. Mubarak's regime considered this to be the act of someone suffering from «temporary insanity», not an act expressing the Egyptian soldier's wish to preserve his honor as a patriot.

Demonstrations in Egypt were daily. The masses demanded that the Egyptian government sever relations with the US, expel the Israeli ambassador and abrogate the Camp David agreement. The security forces arrested a number of students trying to reach the Israeli embassy.

In occupied Palestine, our people demonstrated for days against the US and Israeli aggression. Demonstrations broke out in Jalazoun, Amari and Duheishah camps, as well as in Anabta, Aizariyeh and Qabatiya. The Zionist authorities arrested 216 Palestinians, 9 of whom were women. Our Palestinian masses and their nationalist forces not only denounced these acts of piracy, but escalated the armed struggle as well

(see military operations).

The quick pace of events in the region over the past weeks shows without a doubt how Zionism and imperialism deal with Arab reaction. In contrast, it emphasizes how the Arab masses and

## **PFLP Condemns Reagan's Hijacking**

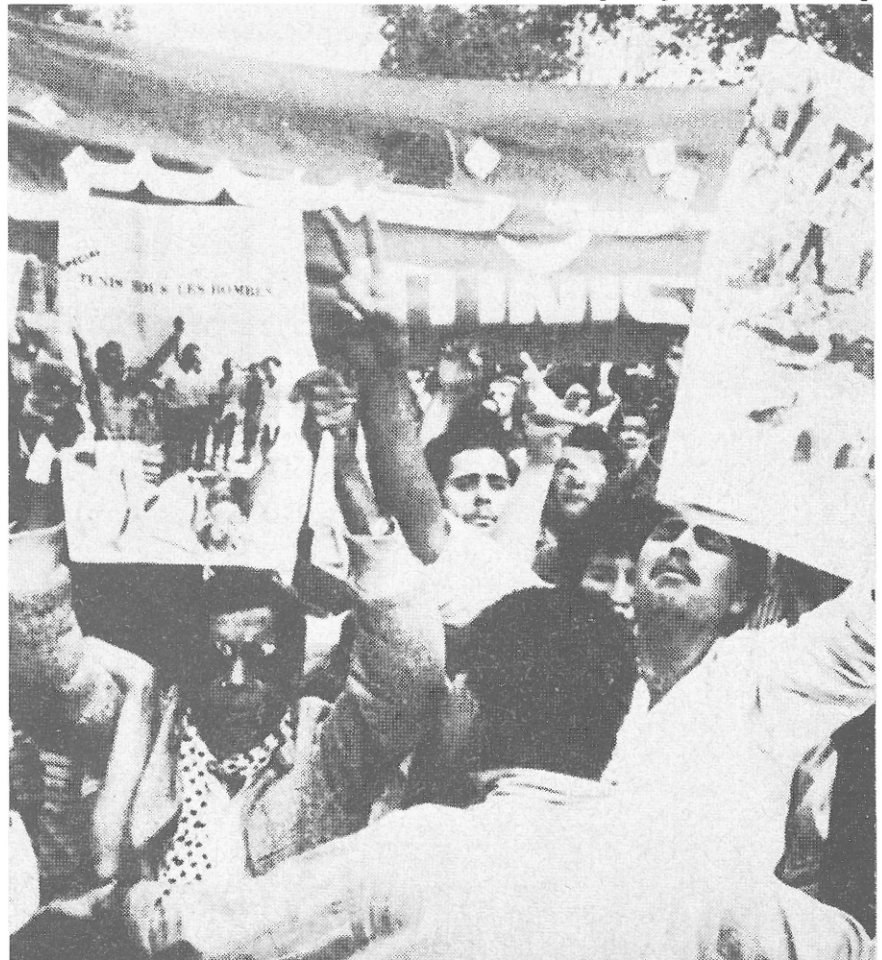
*PFLP Politbureau Statement  
Damascus, October 11, 1985*

The hijacking of an Egyptian airplane by the US Air Force is a new aggression against the Arab nation. It is a violation of Egyptian sovereignty. It is an act of piracy and an addition to the USA's terrorist record. This aggression once again exposes the fact that Washington, which claims to fight terrorism, is the main centre for international terrorism...

We call on all Arab regimes, those who have some remaining dignity, to review their policies towards the progressive and nationalist forces, and to escalate their struggle against US interests in the Arab homeland, so that this crime does not go unpunished.

nationalist and progressive forces have chosen a path of retaliation, as opposed to the humiliating path of the Arab reactionary regimes.

*Tunisian students in Paris demonstrate, demanding revenge for the Israeli bombing*





## On Thatcher's Invitation

*Damascus, September 29, 1985*

A spokesman for the PFLP's Politbureau commented on Mrs. Thatcher's invitation to a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to confer with the British Foreign Minister. Following are excerpts from his press release:

«This decision is meant to give a push of continuity for the joint, capitulationist moves of the Jordanian regime and the right-wing PLO leadership, based on the Amman accord of February 11, 1985. Mrs. Thatcher's reasoning is that the two Palestinian members of the delegation (Mohamad Milhem and Elia Khoury) accept Security Council resolutions, especially nos. 242 and 338. This shows the real nature of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian moves and proves the fallacy of their allegations.

«The PFLP considers this step to be a great and dangerous escalation of the imperialist attempt to end the Palestinian cause through a unilateral solution. Such a solution ignores the rights of our people: their right to return to their homeland, exercise self-determination and establish an independent Palestinian state.»

## Nationalist Forces Reject Royal Concessions

*The nationalist parties and forces in Jordan held several meetings to discuss their militant cooperation. At the close of these meetings, they issued a joint communique on the current political situation. Below are excerpts:*

*October 8, 1985*

The immense concessions offered by King Hussein of Jordan, during his last visit to the UN and Washington, clearly proved his ongoing policy of participation in the capitulationist settlement with the Zionist enemy, under US auspices and conditions. King Hussein has retreated from his previous position of rejecting direct negotiations and insisting on convening an international conference. Now he is ready for direct, prompt negotiations with the Zionist enemy under suitable international auspices...

When meeting with US Congressmen, King Hussein declared that Jordan is no longer in a state of war with Israel...

King Hussein has sold out his partner in the capitulationist settlement, the

deviating Palestinian right wing. The king did not even mention his partner's name in any of his speeches or statements...

The Zionists' criminal air strike on the PLO offices in Tunisia, is a blow to all regimes and forces who are running after the US capitulationist solutions. In particular, the air strike dealt a blow to the proponents of the so-called Jordanian option, despite all the concessions they had already given. The air strike also caused the death of scores of honest, nationalist militants...

- The Communist Party of Jordan
- The Arab Socialist Baath Party, Jordan
- PFLP
- DFLP
- The Jordanian Popular Movement

## On Hussein's UN Speech

*Press Release concerning King Hussein's speech at the UN General Assembly*

*Damascus, September 28, 1985*

A spokesman for the PFLP's Politbureau commented on King Hussein's speech at the UN General Assembly. Here are excerpts from a press release issued on this subject:

«King Hussein's readiness to enter into direct, prompt negotiations with the Zionist enemy, on the basis of Security Council resolution 242, expresses once again the enthusiasm of the Jordanian regime and the Arab reactionaries for the capitulationist solutions...Despite the adamant position of the US Administration, King Hussein still considers the Amman accord as a suitable and historic chance to achieve peace. He is still begging Washington not to lose this chance as it did before...»

*Arafat with Jordanian Prime Minister Rifai - relations still going strong*





# PALESTINE

## Interview with Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa

*Early in October, Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary of the PFLP, was interviewed by a delegation of the most widely known Japanese newspapers and television networks. Comrade Abu Ali answered questions on recent developments in the region and explained the PFLP's position on a number of issues. The following are excerpts from the interview.*

On Mrs. Thatcher's visit and her last initiative in the region, Abu Ali commented: «We consider that Mrs. Thatcher's initiative comes in the context of the US plans. She confirmed this in her statement on arriving at Cairo airport - 'We support the US concept for resolving the Middle East crisis.' This means the denial of Palestinian national rights at the same time lending support to the Reagan plan. On the other hand, the British government is not exactly a suitable choice for the providing of a patriotic solution for the Palestinian cause since it is held primarily and historically responsible for the catastrophe of the Palestinian people. It was the British government which issued the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and supported Zionist immigration to Palestine at the expense of the Palestinian people. When Thatcher visited a Palestinian camp on the outskirts of Amman, a Palestinian woman of al Baqa'a camp asked her: 'Do you know, Mrs. Thatcher, why we are here in this miserable camp?' She shook her head questioningly. The Palestinian woman said: 'Britain is the cause of our expulsion from Palestine...'

### **Our masses are our weapons**

In response to a question concerning the weapons we possess to confront liquidation solutions, comrade Abu Ali replied: «We have a people that believes in its national cause; a people that has been resisting occupation since 1937; this is one of our most important strengths. In addition to this, we possess clarity of political view with regard to our national cause in the conflict with Zionism and imperialism. Moreover, we rely on our alliances with Arab national and progressive forces as well as those with our international allies, first and foremost of which are the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. As for confrontation, it takes on different forms: military, political and on the mass level.



We are determined to continue our struggle till the achievement of our national program.

### **Cancelling the Amman accord**

Regarding the Amman accord Abu Ali said: «The Amman accord, in its essence, is a program which is the antithesis of the Palestinian national program and the Arab summit resolutions - both of which consider the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. At the same time, the Amman accord paves the way for consolidation of American influence on the way to a second Camp David in the region. We, therefore, consider this accord to be a distinctive turning point as well as being a deviation from the trend of Palestinian national struggle. In short, our policy is to work to cancel this accord in cooperation with our local, national and international allies.

### **National unity**

With regard to the unity of the PLO comrade Abu Ali continued: «Our endeavors to restore unity among the ranks of the PLO is based on the necessity of adhering to the legitimate PNC resolutions, especially those of the 16th session in Algiers. For us, abiding by this

program constitutes the basis for restoring PLO unity...»

### **Land in exchange for peace results in a new Camp David**

In response to a question on the idea of land in exchange for peace, Abu Ali says: «This idea stemmed originally from Sadat's propositions, ultimately ending at Camp David, where Sadat made all the concessions concerning the Palestinian national cause.» He added: «'Israel' is aware that this formula does not allow for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Then again the US could interpret it to mean peace in exchange for autonomy or in exchange for a confederation with Jordan, but by no means will it lead to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. This is the essence of the matter for us because we are a people who have the right to establish an independent Palestinian state. The danger of this 'peace for land' formula lies in the fact that it is the antithesis of the Palestinian national program and a capitulation to the US and Zionist plans.

### **The international conference**

On the Soviet position and its call for an international conference, Abu Ali ►

said: «We look upon the Soviet position in calling for an international conference to resolve the Middle East crisis, namely the Palestinian cause, as a sound means for confronting US hegemony in the region. This is so because the Soviet Union is committed, in principle, to supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people on the basis of their national program...»

To the question: «Will you cease your resistance if 'Israel' returned the West Bank and Gaza Strip», comrade Abu Ali said: «No, we have full rights to Palestine. The majority of the Palestinian people who now live in exile did not live only in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Will they be allowed to return? Should they be allowed, that would throw a different light on the matter - but if they remain in exile then they reserve the right to return to their homeland - as stated in the UN resolutions. Let the UN, therefore, effectuate its resolutions. We

accept the UN resolutions but does 'Israel' accept them, too? We realize that 'Israel' fears the return of the Palestinian people to its homeland, because they would then constitute the majority within the occupied homeland. If this happened, we would establish a democratic state for all inhabitants.

### The war of the camps

Comrade Abu Ali then answered a question about the Palestinian condition in Lebanon and the war of the camps. He said: «Over the past three years great developments have taken form in the Lebanese arena. Numerous contradictions were touched off, some of which regrettably were within the national ranks. Because the Palestinian masses do not live isolated from the political, social and security situation, they are inevitably involved in these contradictions. However, the main aim of our people in Lebanon is the realization of the PLO

national program. All the barriers and impediments arising in Lebanon as a result of internal or external influences will not preclude the right of our people in their struggle.»

As for the war waged by Amal against the Palestinians, comrade Abu Ali said: «We repelled Amal's encroachment on the camps. We were on the defensive because we did not wish to enter into such a war, especially since it meant fighting within the national ranks. We stated our position with regard to this war, politically and through mass media channels. Our efforts finally culminated in the Damascus agreement. We are still making efforts to overcome contradictions within the national ranks. We demand that all abide by this agreement... Nevertheless, we condemn those in Amal who breach this agreement and demand of its political leadership to enforce commitment to the Damascus agreement on all its forces.»

## For a Palestinian People's Conference

*In an interview excerpted below, PFLP Politbureau member, Abdul Rahim Mallouh, explains the PFLP's call for a Palestinian people's conference as it was announced by General Secretary George Habash in August.*

«The main goal of the Palestinian people's conference is to try to unify the efforts and work of all Palestinian organizations, forces, institutions and nationalist personalities. This means those who are opposing and confronting the US solution and the deviationist line; those who are working to abrogate the Amman accord which was signed on February 11, 1985, by King Hussein of Jordan and Yasir Arafat.

«The convening of the conference has to be preceded by sufficient preparations. Regional conferences should be convened in the homeland and in the diaspora. This will facilitate the masses' participation which is vital. A prerequisite for such a conference is a dialogue among all Palestinian nationalist organizations, forces, institutions and personalities...

«It is of utmost importance to pinpoint the fact that such a conference will not lead to an alternative to the PLO, or to parallel structures to its institutions. The people's conference will in no way contradict the PLO's sole representation of the Palestinian people. Rather it will reaffirm the PLO's sole representation. It will return the PLO to the correct line...



«The people's conference is open to all nationalist forces, institutions and personalities... It is open to the nationalist cadres and elements of Fatah (Central Committee) - those who are opposed to the US solution and the deviationist line; those who reject the Amman accord...

«The idea of a people's conference is being discussed in the Palestine

National Salvation Front (PNSF). I can say that it received preliminary acceptance... The Palestinian Communist Party welcomed the idea. In a joint communique between the PFLP and the PCP, issued on August 7, 1985, agreement on convening a people's conference was noted... The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) does not object to the idea. The DFLP raised some questions aimed at making the conference a success... We are contacting other forces and trying to reach a common understanding of this idea...

«The PFLP delegation which visited Moscow recently discussed the idea with the Soviet comrades. They welcomed and supported it. They consider such a move as a form of confronting the US solution and the Hussein-Arafat accord... They stressed the point that all forces and political orientations have to participate in such a conference. They mentioned the importance of preserving the unity of the PLO and safeguarding the Palestinian national program which calls for the rights of the Palestinian people - to return to their homeland, exercise self-determination and establish an independent Palestinian state...»



# Views on a Palestinian People's Conference

*In September, the PFLP solicited the views of prominent Palestinian nationalists in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, on the idea of a Palestinian people's conference. The opinion of prominent Palestinian unionists was also sought. Below is a sample of their responses.*

**Bassam Shakaa, legal mayor of Nablus, West Bank:**

«The Amman accord is being implemented daily, inside and outside the occupied territories. The PLO leadership claims that the British initiative (Mrs. Thatcher's invitation of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to London) is positive - a new development in the British position and a step in the thousand-mile journey. This claim is only proof that this leadership is determined to pursue its policy of depending on the US plan. Therefore, it is important to confront this policy with total awareness. To make the idea of a people's conference succeed, it is necessary to conduct broad and deep consultations. This will make the conference more effective, stronger and more influential.»

**Dr. Haider Abdul Shafi, President of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society in the Gaza Strip:**

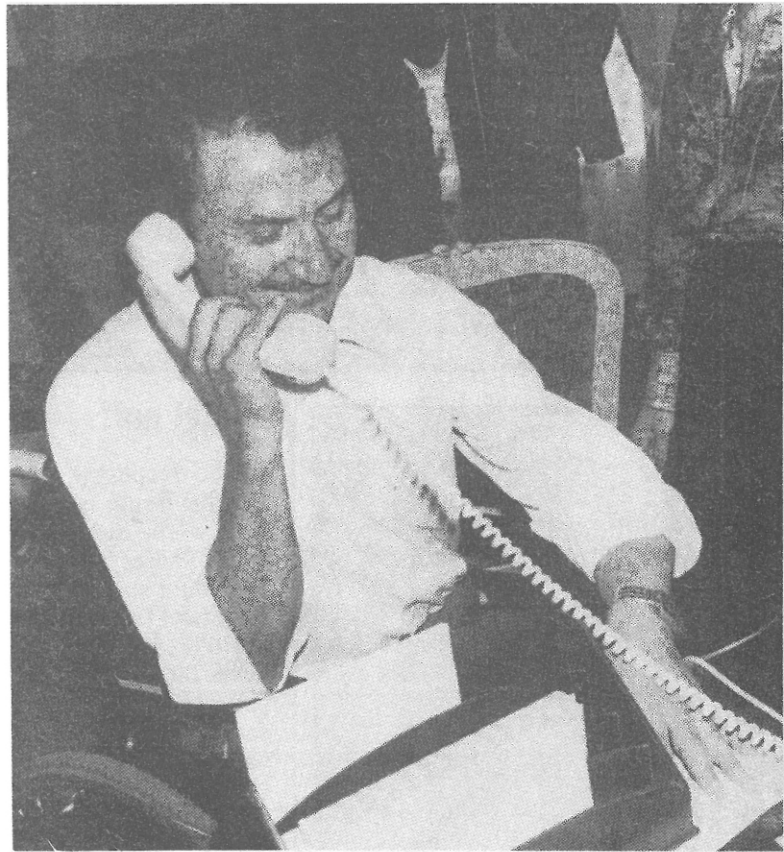
«There is no doubt that the call for such a conference aims to reach a positive solution to the crisis of the Palestinian situation, and to confront the threats brought about by the Amman accord. To guarantee success for this positive step, the prerequisites should be created. There should be informational efforts to illustrate the idea and the goal. Answers should be given to all possible questions involved in this matter.

«The Amman accord has had a negative impact on the situation in the occupied territories. The reasons behind the sufferings of our Palestinian people at the hands of the Zionist enemy, do not alone stem from the racist nature of the Zionist enemy's policy. They also stem from the fact that the Zionist settlers are now feeling that the Palestinians are about to surrender. The clauses in the Amman accord give evidence of that surrender. The Zionist settlers thought that they should finish off the Palestinians as long as we are in such a deteriorating situation. However, our Palestinian masses are still able to continue the confrontation and give sacrifices despite the Amman accord and its implications.»

**Abdul Rahman Natshe, Association of University Graduates, Hebron, West Bank:**

«It is a beautiful idea. It will put things in the right direction. The people are the real authority. Convening such a conference would be a truthful expression of the opinion of the Palestinian people. It would be an affirmation of concern for the goals of the Palestinian revolution: the goal of self-determination and establishing an independent Palestinian state.

«Such a conference would bypass those who put themselves in contradiction with the Palestinian march. I believe to make this step a success, the call should be extended to all who have proven their loyalty to the Palestinian cause, and are really committed to the Palestinian people and revolution - those who are really concerned about rectifying the errors of



**Bassam Shakaa**

the Palestinian movement. The call to such a conference should be based on a clear agenda and clear slogans which cannot be violated. I suggest such a slogan, to express rejection of capitulation, squandering or authorization (of another to speak for the PLO).»

**Mamoun al Sayed, Chief editor of «Al Fajr» newspaper, Jerusalem:**

«The present Palestinian situation necessitates that all Palestinian nationalist organizations, forces and personalities, who are against the Amman accord and concerned about the unity of the PLO on a clear-cut militant basis, meet as soon as possible to crystallize the basis for abrogating the Amman accord, the line of deviation and all attempts to sell out our national cause at a cheap price.

«The Amman accord is being implemented, particularly after the British initiative. Therefore, the responsibility of nationalist organizations, forces and personalities is doubled. Such a step (the people's conference) should be taken seriously and without hesitation.»

***Ibrahim Dakak, Secretary of the Engineers Union:***

«It is better not to hurry in implementing this idea. I am not against it in principle, but I would prefer to wait lest the enemies make use of this conference. I believe that the Amman accord is facing a deadlock, so why not wait until it is in this deadlock?»

***Mahmoud Khatib, Chief editor of «Al Mithaq» newspaper, Jerusalem:***

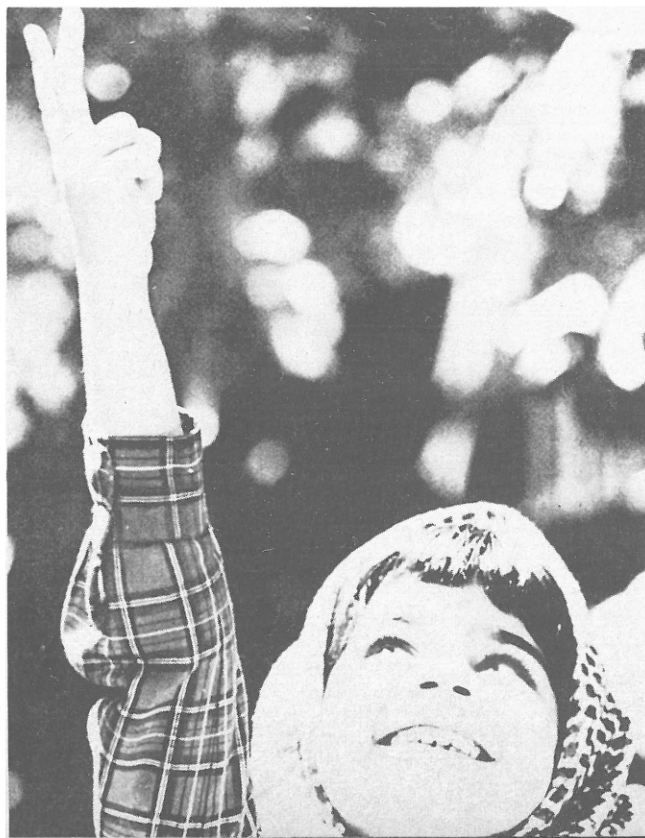
«It is impossible for any nationalist who is concerned about the inalienable rights of our people, to object this idea. It is a qualitative new step towards effectively confronting the line of deviation, squander and capitulation...Such a conference will bring together all the Palestinian nationalist capabilities. It will declare publicly that the line of deviation absolutely does not represent the will of the Palestinian people...We have to uphold this idea and implement it. It is important to provide certain prerequisites to make this idea a success.»

***Mahmoud Abu Lybda, journalist for «Al Mithaq» newspaper, Jerusalem:***

«The idea of convening a Palestinian people's conference, composed of all nationalist organizations, forces and personalities opposed to the line of deviation and squander, is a correct and pioneering idea.»

***Bashir Barghouthi, Chief editor of «Al Talia» newspaper, Jerusalem, and Secretary General of the Palestinian Communist Party:***

«I welcome any effort provided that it is agreed upon by the broadest Palestinian nationalist circles; any effort which aims to abrogate the Amman accord and reunify the PLO on a nationalist, anti-imperialist basis. I think that the common denominator must be abrogation of the Amman accord. To put any other conditions would isolate many forces...There are Palestinian forces in Kuwait, Jordan, Syria and other countries, who are ready to reunify the PLO and who are concerned to free the PLO from its crisis. I think it is necessary to neutralize these forces by allowing them to participate in the people's conference.»



Other persons interviewed include:

- Fuad Qassis
- Mohamad Naameh, lawyer
- Salah Bustani
- Musa Hujair
- Sameiha Khalil, Family Welfare Society Ramallah,

**Palestinian Unionists**

***Yahya Yakhlef, Secretary General of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists***

«It is becoming most necessary to conduct a broad dialogue among all nationalist forces, organizations and personalities... It is important to hear the Palestinian masses' opinion. This necessitates the formation of preparatory committees to contact the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories and in the diaspora...This is the correct beginning for the people's conference. All forces must be invited. The main task is to preserve the achievements of the Palestinian people and to find the best way to abrogate the Amman accord.»

***Jamil Hilal, member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists***

«It is necessary for all Palestinian democratic and nationalist forces, institutions and personalities to agree on a common nationalist program. This program will guarantee the mobilization of the broadest possible sectors and forces to abrogate the Amman accord and reunify the PLO. This unity should be based on a clear position against imperialism, Zionism and reaction; it should be based on a position against all projects aiming to liquidate the national rights of the Palestinian people. In order to abrogate the Amman accord, it is necessary to mobilize the broadest sectors of the Palestinian people, particularly the influential forces in the places where there are large Palestinian communities. Their participation should be guaranteed. Consultations and dialogue shall lead to the best organizational framework.»

***Fuad Abdullah Yousef, member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Workers***

«There is no doubt that the idea of convening a Palestinian people's conference is very important due to the current critical situation of the Palestinian revolution, particularly after the signing of the Amman accord between Hussein and Arafat...It is important to choose the right slogan for this conference. This will enable the broadest sector of nationalist forces, institutions and personalities to participate in the conference. I think that the correct slogan is abrogation of the Amman accord and unifying the PLO on a nationalist line against imperialism, Zionism and reaction...»

***Omar Saadeh, member of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society Committee in Syria, and editor-in-chief of «Balsam» published by the PRCS***

«I support the idea of convening a people's conference that includes all Palestinian nationalists. The common denominator for the conference should be rejection of the Amman accord and reunification of the PLO on a militant nationalist basis. This will enable the PLO to resume its role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.» ●



# Palestinian National Resistance

*The tightening of Zionism's terrorist grip in occupied Palestine has not lessened the frequency of the operations carried out by Palestinian revolutionaries. The escalation of military activity is the only appropriate response to the Zionist challenge.*

The increase of Palestinian national resistance is not merely a claim made by Palestinian revolutionaries. It is a fact which is also admitted by official Zionist circles. The Israeli general, Yahuda Barak, head of military intelligence, conceded that Palestinian revolutionaries have hit over 660 Zionist targets this year, resulting in 81 killed and 150 injured. This is in comparison to 343 operations last year, with 10 killed and 136 wounded, making this year's escalation dramatic. On more than one occasion, Zionist military spokesman and correspondents have acknowledged that there is a «new generation of radical Palestinians,» more determined to resist occupation.

The qualitative escalation of resistance is due to continuous development of homemade weapons and the acquisition of more advanced weaponry, either smuggled to the fedayeen, or taken from enemy arsenals. The latter fact is a source of increasing fear for the Zionists. They themselves have information that «large quantities of arms have been stolen from the Israeli arsenals» and are thought to be in the hands of Palestinian citizens of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In addition, the Zionist newspaper *Hamishmar* reported that Israeli government circles are worried about «large quantities of arms in the Arab villages of the Galilee area,» indicating the spread of armed struggle in the area of Palestine occupied in 1948.

The following is an account of the main military operations during September and October. Needless to say, each operation, even incidents of stonethrowing, is followed by curfew, vicious searches and the detention of scores of citizens.

## September

In Ramallah, on September 10th, Palestinian revolutionaries attacked a Zionist military patrol car with a fire bomb, near the public hospital. In the village of Sarah near Nablus, revolutionaries

attacked a Zionist patrol car with flammable material. A Zionist military spokesman admitted the operation occurred, but made no mention of casualties. He noted the new form of resistance being used against Zionist patrol cars, and termed this «burning parachutes». Palestinian revolutionaries throw burning pieces of material formed like parachutes. On September 10th, this method was used in seven places in the occupied territories: Ramallah, Gaza, Sair near Al Khalil (Hebron), Sarah and Barqa near Nablus, Aroub camp near Al Khalil and in Shufat. The residents of Aroub camp attacked and injured a Zionist soldier. In Shufat, an Egged bus was attacked. South of Gaza, a border patrol was attacked with fire bombs.

On September 12th, 5 Zionists were wounded when a bus was attacked by stonethrowers on the road from Jerusalem to Ramallah. This occurred 5 hours after 5 Palestinians had been wounded on the same road by a Zionist settler who said that he «suspected» that he was going to be attacked. He thus fired his machinegun at five unarmed Palestinian men.

On September 18th, a fire bomb was thrown at an Israeli bus near Bethlehem. On September 19th, the anniversary of the Sabra-Shatila massacres, two molotov cocktails were thrown at a bus on the road between Kafr Saba and Eiyl settlement. The bus caught fire. Fire bombs were thrown at patrol cars on Mount Zion in Jerusalem and in Nablus.

In Al Khalil and Halhoul, a curfew was imposed and Israeli search parties set out after a wave of military operations, looking for those who threw a hand grenade at a Zionist patrol car on September 28th. After stones were thrown at a Zionist bus at Halhoul, Geula Cohen, Knesset member, demanded the evacuation of all the citizens of Halhoul, saying «This city has been a source of trouble for over 60 years.»

On September 29th, Palestinian revolutionaries set off two bombs in Haifa. One exploded in the Turkish market, injuring 7 Zionists as acknowledged by Israeli reports. The second went off in a park in the city center, but no casualties were mentioned. Fifty-seven Palestinians in the area were arrested. The same day, Palestinians threw bombs at a tractor driven by two Zionist settlers near Eydan settlement near the Jordanian border.

On September 30th, Israeli radio reported that a Zionist soldier had been stabbed in Rishoun Leetsyoun settlement which is built on the site of Oyoun Mara village, northwest of Ramallah. Elementary school children in Jabalia camp attacked a military patrol car with stones, whereupon the soldiers fired with machineguns.

## October

On the night of October 1st, revolutionaries attacked a military car with hand grenades on the road between Nuseirat camp and Gaza city.

Zionist forces surrounded Ein Beit Elma and Balata camps near Nablus, for 8 days, after a series of attacks on patrol cars. The Zionists also rushed to Rafah to remove slogans on the walls, calling for escalated resistance against the occupation.

A Zionist patrol car was attacked in Sair village near Al Khalil with machineguns. The Zionists reported many petrol bomb attacks in the same area. Also on October 1st, petrol bombs were thrown at a restaurant frequented by Zionists near Jebal Mukaber in Jerusalem. The Israelis admitted heavy material damage but no casualties.

On October 2nd, a bomb exploded on a road leading to Al Khalil, as a Zionist patrol car passed. Israeli reports admitted the destruction of the vehicle and casualties. A similar attack occurred in Qalqilia.

On October 3rd, a Zionist military spokesman reported that an Israeli police station in Toubas was attacked with petrol bombs. There were machinegun and molotov attacks on Zionist buses in Qalqilia and Arraba, destroying both vehicles. A similar attack occurred near Beit Sourif; the injury of one settler was reported. In the woods near Jerusalem, two settlers were found shot to death. A kibbutz settler was found shot to death near Nazareth.

On October 6th, a commando group operating in the occupied ter-

ritories clashed with the occupation forces in Al Khalil. Zionist military spokesman reported that four Palestinians were killed in this clash. Other reports indicated that two Zionist soldiers were killed and seven wounded.

On October 7th, an explosion destroyed two storeys of a building in the Katamoun area of Jerusalem. According to an Israeli report, one was killed and 11 injured. Another report spoke of the death or injury of 20 persons linked to the Mossad. An Israeli police spokesman held Palestinian commandos responsible for the explosion. The mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kolleck visited the site of the explosion which occurred one day after 7 Zionist settlers were shot in the Sinai.

On October 8th, a bomb exploded in a restaurant opposite the military government's headquarters in Beit El near Ramallah. A military vehicle was attacked with machineguns on road between Jerusalem and Maaleh Adumim settlement. In Ramallah, an armed patrol car was attacked; 5 Zionists were wounded and the vehicle destroyed.

On October 9th, two army vehicles were attacked with molotovs in Gaza and Bethlehem. On October 10th in Jerusalem, a military transport station was destroyed with bombs, and a number of soldiers killed or wounded. The Zionists released no details of the explosion. On October 11th, an explosion destroyed a restaurant in Tel Aviv, which was frequented by Israeli soldiers. The restaurant was destroyed and nearby stores and vehicles damaged. The number of casualties was unknown. On October 13th, the house of a settler was destroyed near Nablus. In Khan Younis, in the Gaza Strip, a Zionist settler was stabbed.

On October 16th, military vehicles were attacked and damaged with fire bombs in two separate attacks, one east of Gaza and the other on the road between Jerusalem and Al Khalil. The next day a patrol car was attacked with explosives near Ramallah; one soldier was killed and several wounded. On October 18th, a fire bomb was thrown at a military vehicle near Yabat settlement. The next day there was an explosion in the Beer Sheeba market, and a Zionist settler was stabbed in Gaza.

On October 21st, the military governor's headquarters in Gaza was attacked with fire bombs. On October 23rd, two bombs exploded in the market of Afouleh in the West Bank, wounding four Israeli soldiers. ●

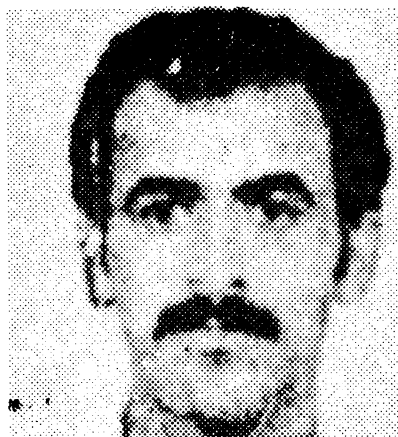
## Confrontation in Al Khalil

The armed confrontation in Al Khalil, between the Zionist forces and five Palestinian revolutionaries, is evidence of the transformation of the nature and level of Palestinian armed resistance. According to Zionist military officials, these five were responsible for the killing of five Zionists and the wounding

of eighteen others in a series of attacks over a period of eighteen months preceding the confrontation. The Zionists also said that the fedayeen were heavily armed with stolen Israeli weapons and that they hid out in forests and rugged terrain surrounding Al Khalil, Bethlehem and Ramallah.

Of the five revolutionaries, the four who were martyred were Mohammad Hussein Ghunaymat, Mohammad Ahmed Mustafa Ghunaymat, Mohammad Ahmed Hamid and Mohammad Ahmed Adnan. The fifth, Ali Mohammad Khalayleh, was captured. The family homes of all five were dynamited by the occupation forces who also embarked on a large-scale, house-to-house search for stolen Israeli weapons in all areas of Palestine. Eight hundred Israeli soldiers, in addition to the police and border patrol, took part in this search. The size of this force and the vicious methods used reflect the enemy's deep-seated fear of our masses and their determination to resist occupation. ●

*The five Palestinian militants*





# Palestinian Agriculture Under Occupation

*The Palestinian Agricultural Engineers Union sent a memorandum to the Federation of Arab Agricultural Engineers, about the state of agriculture in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.*

The memo pointed out that the area of the West Bank is approximately 5000 km<sup>2</sup>. The area fit for agriculture is 70% of this, while only 40% of the 5000 km<sup>2</sup> is actually cultivated, i.e., 2 million dunums. However, before occupation the total land cultivated was 2.7 million dunums. This obvious drop of about 26% is an inevitable result of the nature of the situation imposed by the Zionist occupation forces «who from the beginning of occupation intentionally concentrated on the land and the people» to force the citizens to leave their land and replace them with Zionist settlers.

When the Zionist military forces took over the responsibility of administration of the agricultural sectors in the West Bank, it set to intentionally destroying the agricultural system followed by the Arab farmers (planting melons), forcing them to plant crops which were essential to Zionist industry e.g. sesame seed, onions, etc. after all the land was cultivated according to this demand, the Zionists would refuse to buy the crops cultivated, making excuses about the bad quality of the products, at the same time trying to persuade the farmers to leave this unprofitable way of earning a living, and to work in Zionist factories which would provide them with a better income.

The memo underscored the fact that the Zionist authorities confiscated 50% of the non-agricultural land and of agricultural land not yet cultivated. It also imposed stricter measures on the use of water for irrigation whereby it prohibited the digging of wells and limited the quantity of water used for agricultural purposes. These measures drove the farmers to plant fruit bearing trees (such as olives, grapes, almonds, etc.) which need minimum quantities of water.

This resulted in increasing the area planted with olive trees from 600,000 dunums to 750,000 in 1984. Farmers also went back to planting melons (muskmelon and watermelon) bringing the total area used for this purpose to



*Zionist settlements thrive on confiscated Palestinian land*

35,000 dunums, keeping in mind it had dropped to zero within the first few years of occupation. The memo also pointed out that the measures imposed by the Zionists resulted in the Palestinian farmers' facing the challenge of limited means of irrigation, production, etc., by resorting to modern techniques of agriculture (irrigation sprinklers and greenhouses) in order to raise production rates while decreasing costs. Production rates reached an all time high after applying these techniques, thus making up for the inability to use greater

areas of land for agriculture. One dunum of land produced 5-6 tons of watermelons; about 6 tons of tomatoes; and about 4 tons of muskmelons.

## The Gaza Strip

In the Gaza Strip, the area of land utilized for agriculture is now 632,000 dunums which is 50% of the overall area of the region. Only 56% of the above mentioned area is irrigated, although the Gaza Strip depends primarily on the production of citrus fruits: 300,000 tons of crop from a total of 71,579 dunums of land.

Other crops of the Gaza Strip are guava and dates, in addition to citrus fruits. Ninety percent of the income in this region is from agriculture. A major problem faced by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is how to market the surplus of agricultural production which is much higher than needed to cover local needs. The memo goes on to explain that the surplus is allowed to be sent to Jordan upon obtaining special permits from the Jordanian authorities...

However, the time limit for farmers who want to send their crop from the West Bank to Jordan is set before the actual harvest; moreover due to sudden unexpected changes of weather (e.g.

*Voluntary work at Beit Amr: Collective efforts to counter Zionist attacks on Palestinian agriculture*





*Zionist settlers swarm to the West Bank*

heat wave) crops may mature before the time limit, thus resulting in a pile-up of matured fruits and vegetables the farmers are unable to market.

In addition to this, according to Jordanian law, only 50% of the produce of the occupied territories is allowed to enter Jordan. Added to this is the fact that the produce of the 1967 occupied territories is not allowed to be marketed in the areas occupied in 1948, while the produce of Zionists' agriculture is allowed to be marketed in the 1967 areas as well as 1948 areas.

As was mentioned earlier, 90% of the Gaza Strip's export depends on the citrus fruit crop. Thus it is just at the

major source of income that the Zionists have begun to tighten the noose imposing a series of measures on the Palestinian farmer of the Gaza Strip:

1. Prohibition of digging new irrigation wells and restrictions of the quantities of water specified for irrigation of citrus fruits.
2. The issue of a military command prohibiting the planting of citrus fruits without a permit from the military authorities.
3. The payment of bank loans is made only in local currency and must be repaid in dollars, this if the farmer is able to obtain a bank loan in the first place.
4. Monopoly of wrapping and packaging material and raising their cost which

increases the cost of produce.

5. Depriving the Gaza Strip of its traditional markets - countries of East Asia, Britain, Holland and West Germany where upon the Zionist authorities demanded that the Strip's marketing should go through the channels of the Council of Citrus Fruits which in turn considers a large proportion of the Gaza Strip's produce not up to export standards.

And finally as is the case with the West Bank, the Gaza Strip market is flooded with competitive Zionist produce on the other hand forbidding the marketing of the Gaza Strip's produce outside its locality.

## Palestinian Wedding

This is a wedding invitation from the occupied territories. The map of Palestine is depicted to the left and right on the card behind the profiles of the bride and groom in their national headdress.

This card is yet another form of the cultural struggle of our masses, part of their resistance against Zionist attempts to eradicate Palestinian national identity. The songs sung during weddings, graduations and other happy occasions, not to mention the words of wailings at funerals, have been transformed to popular slogans of support for the Palestinian revolution. This simple card heralds the foundation of another Palestinian family and the potential addition to a generation of Palestinians who will continue to carry the banner of resistance in the face of the enemy.





## The Budget Crisis

### Reality and Prospects

*In the context of analyzing the Israeli economy and its crisis, this article deals specifically with the state budget. In coming issues, we will explore other aspects of the Israeli economy, especially its dependence on US imperialism. Please note that in the article below, the revenues referred to do not include foreign aid, i.e., the massive injections, mainly from the US, without which the Zionist state could not survive.*

The Israeli government plays an influential role in the economic and financial activity of the Zionist state. During the past 5 years, state revenues have reached 72% of the gross national product (GNP), while expenditures have reached 47% of the GNP. As a result of government activity, the deficit has enlarged to a great extent, reaching 16% of the GNP in the budgets of 1980/81 - 1984/85.

#### The 1984/85 budget

As was the case with previous budgets, the 1984/85 budget was prepared in an atmosphere of increasing doubts about revenues, in view of high inflation. The 1984/85 budget planned to decrease the deficit by 4% of the GNP by decreasing expenditures and revenues by 6% and 2%, respectively. The primary results of the implementation of the 1984/85 budget indicate deterioration. The financial activities of the government show that the deficit is much greater than was expected, reaching its highest peak since the budget of 1973/74, and 6% higher than the planned deficit. Expenditure has increased by 8% in real terms and has passed the planned amount by 15%.

#### The 1985/86 budget

This budget was planned under circumstances of continuing economic and financial crisis and high inflation. The main aims of this budget were: (1) to improve the balance of payments; (2) to decrease inflation by decreasing the surplus demand and the amount of money printed. To achieve those aims, many measures were taken in the way of collecting taxes and avoiding waste. These measures included:

1) Imposing a one-time tax on commercial assets like buildings, stores, machines and private cars. (The



revenue from this is expected to reach \$ 250 million.)

2) Enforcing stricter measures with regard to tax-collecting from companies, cancelling privileges formerly granted, e.g., the law of taxation under inflation. (Expected revenue from this source is \$ 350 million.)

3) Taxation of the welfare money of families with more than three children.

4) Imposing new taxes on people travelling abroad.

5) Increasing the rates of other taxes.

#### General trends of revenues

Revenues ranged from 45 to 50% of the GNP in the last five years. The 1967 occupation only served to necessitate the increase of taxation, a burden whose signs are obvious. The revenues - steadily rising since the early 1970s - reached a peak in the year 1982/83, comprising 51% of the GNP - a negative sign since the bulk of the revenue is from taxes. This later dropped to 45% of the GNP during 1984/85. Experts estimate that the revenues are to comprise 48% of the GNP during 1985/86 period.

#### General trends of expenditure

The amount of government expenditure in the Zionist state is very high. It has increased sharply since 1980/81, jumping from 65% to 72% of the GNP in two years. The budget of 1985/86 proposes to reduce expenditure by 10%.

The most important item on the agenda of government expenditure in the

Zionist state is military expenditure. The military budget ranged from 20 to 26% of the GNP during the past five years. This rate is 3-10 times the rate of military expenditure in the industrialized capitalist countries.

The deficit which has accumulated over the years has forced the government to borrow large sums of money from various sources. The government's domestic debt in the Zionist state is estimated to be 144% of the GNP for the year 1983/84, while the external debt has increased to 77% of the GNP for the same year.

So far, the many attempts to lighten the burden of the Israeli economy have failed. Nor can they be expected to succeed as long as this economy is based on directing a great proportion of its means to war and aggression. When planning the 1985/86 budget, the government reached the conclusion that reduction of the budget deficit is a precondition for (a) reducing inflation, (b) reducing debt services, (c) reducing current credit by reduction of local demand.

Another way the Zionist government will try to lighten the economic burden is by reducing the real value of wages through increased taxation and cutting subsidies. This aims to increase the market competitiveness of Israeli goods and improve the condition of the budget. Moreover, an increase in the rate of unemployment is also expected during 1985/86.

In short, the Zionist entity will continue to suffer from economic crisis. Any attempt to solve its economic problems will be at the expense of the Palestinian masses under occupation, who will suffer the brunt of Zionist economic solutions. Added to this, the Israeli economy also seeks refuge in the huge monetary aid offered by the USA at the expense of US taxpayers.

## War of Attrition on Beirut Camps

The Amal Movement has not let up its attempts to destroy the security situation in the Palestinian camps near Beirut. After instigating a near war in the Burj al Barajneh camp in September, it also sparked clashes in the Sabra and Shatila camps. At exactly 1:30 pm on the 7th of October 1985, Amal killed a Palestinian in Shatila camp which inevitably sparked off serious fighting, the intensity of which spread also to the Sabra camp. The Amal Movement used heavy artillery: B 7 missiles, mortars (60 mm) and heavy machineguns. Although a ceasefire was agreed to at 3 p.m. on the same day, Amal did not abide by it. Efforts to stop the fighting did not cease, however, and 6 hours later another ceasefire was agreed to, after the camps suffered two martyrs and 26 wounded.

The tenseness of the atmosphere was not diminished on the following day. Amal militiamen prohibited anyone from entering or leaving the camps and set up checkpoints in Sabra and the Da'ouk area. Homes of civilians in the Farhat and Hoursh areas were burned.

The continuous violations of agreements on the part of Amal plus their constant instigation of clashes only goes to cast doubt on how serious they are about abiding by the Damascus agreement with regard to the camp question. Ever since the signing of the Damascus agreement on June 17th, the Amal Movement has continually tried to hinder rebuilding the camps. Sparking off clashes is one of the ways it reverts to, to discourage rebuilding, hoping that the Palestinians will be demoralized by the hardships and leave the camps. This would facilitate the defeat of the Palestinian camps in a forthcoming attack being prepared for.

In this context, the claims that Amal makes every time it instigates a clash are only a repetition of former ones and an underscoring of its intentions to continue in the same trend. Amal claimed that the massacres of Haret Hreik and clashes in Bourj al Barajneh were isolated incidents. However, it took no step to put an end to these violations. Amal also claimed that the fighting in Shatila and Sabra was caused by internal Palestinian differences despite the fact that its role in the conflict was common knowledge. In addition to this, Amal has

created a ceasefire line around the Palestinian camps from which it continually initiates its attacks on the inhabitants.

All of Amal's violations of the Damascus agreement jeopardize this agreement and threaten to increase Lebanese and Palestinian bloodshed. Moreover, this only goes to intensify the crisis of the Lebanese and Palestinian

liberation movements, wasting potentials which would be better used directed against the Zionist enemy and imperialism and Lebanese fascism as well as the deviationist trend in the Palestinian arena. We are justified, therefore, in doubting the slogans raised by many of the forces who call for the necessity of fighting the Arafat trend, because confrontation of this trend does not come about by striking the Palestinian forces who oppose it. ●



Shatila camp after an Amal attack in early October

## Who Will «Clean» West Beirut?

After the fighting ended in Tripoli, North Lebanon, news began to circulate about a forthcoming military campaign in West Beirut, its southern quarters and the adjacent Palestinian refugee camps. According to the right-wing Beirut daily *Al Nahar* on October 19th, the purpose of this campaign is «cleaning West Beirut of the chaos of arms and fighters and establishing the basis for a stable security situation... This task will be carried out by the fighters of the National Unity Front, according to a studied military plan. This is the front which was formed from most of the Lebanese left-wing and nationalist parties and the Amal Movement under the guardianship of Syria.» *Al Nahar* emphasized that according to well-informed political sources, this campaign will certainly include the Palestinian camps and might be carried out by «some Palestinian and Lebanese forces if the situation so requires.» The article goes on to say: «In any case, the plans

for this campaign have already been approved whether they are to be implemented now or in the future.»

On the timing of the «clean-up campaign», the newspaper said: «In addition to the rumors spreading, the information circulating indicates that the coming days will witness the beginning of this campaign.» Another question is raised dealing with the timing of the entry of the Syrian army into the areas which are to be «cleaned»: «Will the Syrian army enter after the campaign has been completed or shortly before?» On the goal and place of entry of the Syrian forces, *Al Nahar* of October 20th, quotes a member of the tripartite meetings between the Lebanese Forces, Amal Movement, and the Progressive Socialist Party as saying, «It is limited to the areas whose complicated security situation requires (such entry)...» The aim of this entry is to gather arms from the Palestinians because «collecting (arms) from



them will only be accomplished in the presence of the Syrian forces.» The request for Syrian forces is expressedly for this purpose, because if the Lebanese Forces take up this task they will be faced with difficulty and repercussions.

It is not unusual that *Al Nahar* should talk about «cleaning» West Beirut and the Palestinian camps. However, it is unusual that the newspaper should talk about a well-contrived plan and a complete scenario for the opera-

tion. There is no doubt that those targeted are armed Palestinian and Lebanese groups which refuse to resolve the Lebanese crises on the basis of cancelling Lebanon as an area for military struggle against the Zionist enemy.

The danger of this plan is not whether it can be carried out. The danger is that there is a prior decision to execute such a plan. This means that if the plan is not implemented now because of local, regional or interna-

tional factors, it will be implemented when the situation allows.

Initiating the battle of West Beirut and the Palestinian camps a second time will lead to a new situation where the only losers will be the nationalist forces, irrespective of who wins the battle. The only winners will be the Lebanese fascist forces which cooperate with Zionism, accepting the Syrian option only temporarily until they once again see an opportunity to declare their alliance with Zionism and imperialism. ●

## The Kidnapping of Soviet Diplomats

*Since we wrote the article below, 3 Soviet diplomats have been released in West Beirut, a source of great rejoicing for all progressive forces. However, we still find it relevant to comment on the kidnapping, for regardless of their identity or intentions, the kidnappers acted against the interests of Lebanon and its people.*

In late September, four Soviet diplomats were kidnapped in West Beirut; one was murdered in cold blood, and there were threats to kill the other three and blow up the Soviet embassy. Allegedly, this was intended to force the Soviet Union to pressure Syria to impose a ceasefire in Tripoli. Though allegedly carried out in defense of the Muslims and Islam, this act, whether intentionally or not, ultimately serves the enemies of Muslims and all Lebanese patriots.

We need not discuss the identity of the kidnappers or their real motives for carrying out this crime, except to say that their hatred of the Soviet Union, based on their religious sentiments, rendered them politically color-blind. Rather we will discuss three basic observations.

First of all, if the kidnappers' main aim was to pressure the Soviet Union to actively seek and achieve a ceasefire in Tripoli, then they had miscalculated matters. Considering the nature of the battle of Tripoli, the Soviet Union did not have the means to achieve an immediate ceasefire. Moreover, the Soviet Union has historically been an ally of the patriotic and Muslim forces in Lebanon. It is thus one of the parties to be negatively affected by the continuation of this battle and its anticipated long-term effects. This is true regardless of any specific considerations which determine the Soviet position on the war in Tripoli. Rather than such fighting, the Soviet Union has a definite interest in the continued unity of all Lebanese forces not tied to 'Israel'. Moreover, the Soviet



Nationalist Beirut celebrates the return of the Soviet diplomats

Union joins with the Lebanese patriotic forces in opposing the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary strategy in Lebanon, for the success of this strategy will transform Lebanon into a hostile base, similar to 'Israel', Turkey, etc.

Secondly, the Lebanese conflict is today distinguished by the unusually large number of forces involved. Some have widely varying reasons for their actions and change their practice from one political moment to the next. Under such circumstances, the Soviet Union - even if it had the ability to fulfill the kidnappers' demands - cannot give in to these demands, no matter how much they value the lives of their diplomats. If the Soviet Union were to submit to this case of blackmail, it would bring upon itself a series of such acts. In this respect, its attitude to this sensitive

issue does not differ from that of other countries with responsibilities and interests around the world.

Thirdly, the kidnappers hoped that practicing such crimes would create the sort of environment that would encourage other groups to resort to violence to settle old scores, motivated by religious chauvinism. The recent killing of a Lebanese communist, by a group claiming to defend Islam, is another case in point.

As was clear in the communiques issued by various organizations claiming responsibility for the kidnapping, the true motive for choosing Soviet diplomats was religious chauvinism, not objective political contradictions. Such actions further complicate the Lebanese conflict, deepening the sectarian aspect by simplistically dividing the world into faithful Muslims and atheists. Political blindness and failure to see where the interests of Lebanon and Muslims lie, leads these alleged defenders of Islam to carry out such crimes. Such simplistic religious outlooks cloud the picture and overlook basic political realities, leading these forces to resort to hostility against the Soviet Union, without whom they could never mount a serious opposition to imperialism.

This crime should be condemned by all those concerned about Lebanon and its future. It is the duty of every Lebanese and Arab patriot to demand the immediate release of the three remaining Soviet diplomats, and firm punishment for the kidnappers and murderers of their comrade. ●

# Tripoli

## A War Out of Context

*Over two weeks of murderous battles in Tripoli, North Lebanon, ended in early October with an agreement signed in Damascus, under Syrian auspices, between the warring parties. The nationalist forces and the Islamic Unification Movement thereby agreed on the removal of all heavy weapons and the right of all parties to political activity in Tripoli. Though the terms of this agreement sound reasonable enough, there are grounds for questioning the motives of this battle and the implications of its outcome.*

There are two distinguishing features of the Tripoli war which make it the first of its kind: For one, it was the first internal Lebanese conflict where the nationalist forces were mobilized against patriotic Islamic forces who, in principle, oppose the Lebanese fascists, Zionism and imperialism. From an objective point of view, these patriotic Islamic forces should be allies, although their undemocratic positions have made cooperation extremely difficult. (The Islamic Unification Movement had previously attacked progressive forces and enforced a ban on all others' political activities in Tripoli.)

The second distinguishing feature of the Tripoli war was that the belligerents displayed unconditional determination to wipe each other out, militarily and politically. This is an unprecedented phenomenon which did not even occur in 1976, when the Lebanese National Movement was very close to decisively defeating the Lebanese fascists.

Before the decisive phase of the battles, Syria broke off mediation efforts, and the nationalists reinforced their ranks militarily. Some nationalists thought this signalled a decision to totally eliminate the Islamic Unification Movement after it had rejected disarmament and the deployment of Syrian troops in Tripoli. (The Movement's conditions were that all parties should be disarmed simultaneously within the framework of a comprehensive settlement.) Others had previously thought that if a war erupted in Tripoli, it would be a limited, passing battle to pressure the Islamic Unification Movement to accept negotiations.

The actual events disproved both these suppositions. Militarily, the Lebanese nationalist parties succeeded in taking control of sufficient positions to

enable them to exert pressure for negotiations. Yet the fighting continued without any political efforts being made. It became a battle of «life and death» on the part of the Islamic Unification Movement and one of martyrdom and political heroism for the nationalist forces, totally out of context with reality. Then, in the end, a settlement was reached which preserved the Movement.

### Why the escalation?

In the past, there have been recurring battles between the Arab Democratic Party and the Islamic Unification Movement. This time, however, the majority of Lebanese nationalist parties entered the battle against the Move-



Devastation in Tripoli

ment. This raises questions about the motives and results of such escalation, especially if one contrasts with other developments in Lebanon. When the war erupted in Tripoli, political efforts were already well underway for the National Unity Front to find a political solution with the Lebanese Forces led by Elie Hobeika, through Syrian mediation.

Why then was it necessary to sacrifice scores of lives and inflict extensive damage on Tripoli which has historically been a nationalist stronghold?

If the aim was to eliminate the Islamic Unification Movement militarily, in order to eliminate it politically, due to its past wrongdoings, then this was not in line with the present balance of forces. If, however, the aim was to contain the Movement so that it could not hamper implementation of security measures, such a military escalation would only produce the opposite results. Even if the fighting ceased, the least incident could spark a new eruption, as is the case between the opposing sides in East and West Beirut. In Tripoli, such a situation would only serve to distract both sides from the main battle for abolishing confessional privileges and the lingering Israeli occupation in the South. The only beneficiaries would be the Lebanese fascists and their regional and international allies.

In any case, the expectations that preceded the battles of Tripoli were overturned. Furthermore, the implications of this war are not limited to Tripoli, or to the Islamic Unification Movement in particular. Notice has now been served as to what will happen to any force that does not concede to the plan that has now been determined for Lebanon, in accordance with the regional balance.

In contrast, a political solution is being persistently pursued with the Lebanese Forces who are steeped in anti-patriotic policies, fascist terror against the masses and collaboration with Zionism. So why was it considered futile to find a non-violent solution with forces that are, at least, not pro-Israeli? Continuing antagonisms and internal battles within the nationalist-Islamic ranks will weaken the role of the nationalist forces and have a negative impact on the situation throughout Lebanon. Unrest in any area will reflect on another. The Lebanese nationalist forces have for a long time been defending the principle that a political solution should take priority. It would seem logical that this was the appropriate time to put this principle into practice. A political campaign should have been launched first, to end the negative role played by the Islamic Unification Movement. This would have been in line with resolving contradictions in the anti-fascist, anti-Zionist ranks, in order to pool all efforts in the struggle for a democratic Lebanon, free of confessionalism, Israeli occupation and imperialist interference. ●



## Yemeni Socialist Party Third Congress

*On Friday, October 11th, at 5 p.m., the bells tolled in Aden, announcing the opening session of the third congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP). The bells signalled the appointment of the delegates from the different local organizations of the party, at the congress hall. The slogan of the congress, which embodies the interests of the millions of Yemeni masses, was: Defend the Yemeni revolution, implement the 5-year plan and strive for the unity of North and South Yemen.*



Comrade Habash (third from left) at YSP congress

Guests took their places among the congress delegates, as an expression of solidarity with the just cause of the Yemeni people and their party. Prominent among the guests was Comrade George Habash, PFLP General Secretary. Comrade Habash had been invited by the government and Yemeni Socialist Party to visit Aden on October 4th. Before attending the congress, he had held a series of important meetings with the Yemeni leadership.

### Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad opens the congress

When Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad, the Secretary General of the Party and Chairman of the congress, entered the hall, he was warmly applauded. From the presidium, he addressed the guests and delegates, announcing the beginning of the congress. He declared: «Our congress is attracting the attention of our people and

our party members in the country and abroad. It also attracts the attention of the supporters and friends of our revolution who are looking forward to our success.»

About the aspirations of the enemies of the revolution, Comrade Ali Nasser stressed the fact that these have failed and that the YSP has proved that it

is stronger than all conspiracies. Comrade Ali Nasser pointed out the extensive preparations that had preceded the congress, and emphasized the important and progressive changes that were implemented nationwide over the past five years. He also mentioned the important evolution that took place in the internal life of the party, as well as the popular democratic nature of the government. Of particular importance, he added, is the increased participation of the masses in the political activity of the country.

About the unity of North and South Yemen, President Ali Nasser stressed that this task requires unifying all the peaceful efforts of the people of Yemen, in order to rebuild the country and achieve their aspirations for a free, united and prosperous Yemen.

President Ali Nasser talked about the tense international situation and attributed this to the fanatical, reactionary policies of certain imperialist forces, especially US imperialism. He also mentioned the struggle of the



Yemeni Vanguard

oppressed people against imperialism and reactionary forces. In addition, he discussed the victories that were achieved in different parts of the world. In his speech, the Secretary General thanked all brothers, friends, strategic allies and ideological comrades in the Arab and international revolutionary movement, first and foremost the USSR.

Ali Nasser Mohammad (left) chairing YSP congress



After the opening speech, the delegates to the congress approved the program proposed and elected the presidium and the secretariat which consists of Comrades Ali Asa'ad Muthanna, Riyad Akbari, Salim Bakir, Farouk Ali Ahmed. Elected to the information committee were Comrades Salim Saleh Mohammad, Zaki Barakat, Mohammad Abdul Qawwi, Abed al Razzaq Shaif, Ahmed Abdul Rahman Bishr.

After that, members of the Yemeni Vanguard Organization for Youth entered the hall carrying flowers, flags and printed slogans. They distributed these among the guests and delegates of the congress. Afterwards, they sang the anthem of the vanguards. At the end, a little boy and girl presented the Vanguard's speech. Speaking in the name of sixty thousand vanguards, they joined the delegation of the Yemeni Vanguard Organization to the congress, in praising the concern and sponsorship of the party toward them. They asserted their continued struggle in the ranks of their

organization, and emphasized their determination to succeed in their academic efforts. In addition, the two children declared to the congress:

- Remember the 29th of September, the day the revolution presented a gift to the children of South Yemen, the day of the establishment of the Vanguard Organization.
- Without acquiring scientific knowledge, it will be impossible for us to become the builders of the new society.
- Your vision, the vision of the Yemeni Socialist Party, will always light the skies of our homeland.
- We pledge to you, and to Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad, that we will begin our path of education with great enthusiasm.

At this point, they presented a gift to Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad, who then promised them and the Yemeni Vanguards Organization, the continued support, sponsorship and concern of the Yemeni Socialist Party. ●

firms the importance and actuality of the Soviet proposals of July 1984, including the call for an international conference with the participation of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The committee discussed the Iraq-Iran war. It pinpointed the threats that continuation of this war poses to the two peoples and countries, and to the united struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The committee called for the cessation of the war.

Discussing the situation in Lebanon, the committee supported the efforts of the Lebanese national and progressive forces to end the civil war, and reach agreements that preserve the unity, independence and Arab identity of Lebanon, and that provide political justice for the sons of Lebanon. The committee hailed the Lebanese National Resistance and its heroic struggle against Israeli occupation. The committee hailed the martyrs of Lebanon, who sacrificed their lives for the honorable national battle.

The coordinating committee appreciated the role of Syria, its people and leadership in all these battles. It hailed Syria's steadfastness in the face of the plans which aim to liquidate the Palestinian cause. The committee hailed the ongoing efforts of Syria to achieve anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, Arab solidarity. It also hailed Syria's ongoing struggle to liberate the occupied Arab territories.

The committee noted the international situation with alarm. It noted the US administration's ongoing rejection of the Soviet peace initiatives, particularly the latest one for halting nuclear testing, prohibiting the nuclear arms race in space, and decreasing tests on earth. The committee calls on all Arab peace-loving people to raise their voices against the US's so-called «Star Wars» policy, and to contribute to the people's determination to preserve world peace.

## ***Coordination Committee for Arab Progressive Forces***

*The Coordination and Follow-up Committee of the Progressive Parties and Forces of the Arab Homeland (CFCPPFAH)<sup>1</sup> held its first meeting in Damascus on July 26th. After discussing the agenda, the committee took decisions concerning its organizational framework. The committee called on Arab progressive parties and forces to participate in its activities. The committee also agreed on other matters concerning finance and administration. On September 26th, the committee issued the following communique:*

The Arab homeland is passing through a most dangerous and sensitive stage. US imperialism is pursuing its fervent efforts to enforce total political, military and economic domination on the region. US imperialism is attempting to make the region a launching pad for its forthcoming all-out nuclear war aimed at the peoples of the region and of the world. The central point in the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plan is liquidation of the Palestinian cause and rights to self-determination and establishing an independent Palestinian state. The Amman accord is but one of the means being manipulated by the imperialists and Zionists to reach their goals. With this understanding, all different Arab national and progressive

forces have declared that the abrogation of the Amman accord, and the preservation of the Palestinian national program, is a prerequisite for preventing the liquidation of the Palestinian cause and regaining the PLO's unity on an anti-imperialist basis.<sup>2</sup>

The coordinating committee hails the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, particularly in the occupied territories; it hails their heroic confrontation of the repressive Zionist plans and measures.

The committee calls upon all to support the Arab efforts opposing any unilateral solution and to reaffirm once again the resolutions of Arab consensus, particularly the Fez Summit resolutions. Once again, the committee reaf-

<sup>1</sup> The CFCPPFAH includes representatives of «Al Nahj» journal, the Arab Socialist Baath Party, the Yemeni Socialist Party, the Egyptian National Progressive Unionist Party, the National Democratic Front of Lebanon, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Communist Party of Sudan and the Communist Party of Tunisia. The committee was formed after a symposium organized by «Al Nahj» in Damascus, on the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism. The symposium was attended by Arab and international communist workers parties and Marxist-Leninist organizations.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian National Progressive Unionist Party did not agree to the paragraph on the Amman accord. ●



# Sudan

## Tug-of-War



*Sudan's army -  
For or against the people's movement?*

The mass struggle which overthrew Numeiri in Sudan has not yet been calmed; the popular movement continues. The main reasons for this are that: (1) The demands of the masses have not been fulfilled. (2) The remnants of the reactionary elements who were in power during Numeiri's rule have not been eliminated. (3) Internal reaction (the Moslem Brotherhood) and the external reactionary and imperialist forces, especially Mubarak's regime, are still trying to reinstate the Numeiri era.

In this context, the reactionary forces continually try to fabricate events or take advantage of every incident to undermine the achievements of the Sudanese masses. As mentioned in previous issues of *Democratic Palestine*, the government of Sudan is being subjected to two kinds of pressures: (a) the pressure of the Sudanese masses and democratic forces who strive for democratic development, unhindered by political or economic links with imperialism; (b) the pressure of reactionary elements that still exercise influence in Sudan and aim at returning the country to imperialism's orbit.

The dangerous developments that occurred the past weeks clearly indicate that reactionary forces persistently seek to undermine any possibility of solving Sudan's problems democratically. They are constantly pushing for military solutions to the crisis.

### The truth about what happened

In late September, rumors of an expected coup spread rapidly in Sudan. This coincided with news about a big military offensive led by the Sudanese

People's Liberation Army (SPLA) against the cities of Bor and Nasir. This rumor stems from the time a clash took place in the beginning of July in the city of Kardod. A couple of weeks later, a group of people marched in the name of the tribes of southern Kordofan and Darfur, and were received by a member of the Military Council. This group demanded that the government arm the people of southern Kordofan to enable them to confront «the aggressors» of the SPLA, although there was no evidence that the SPLA was involved in the fighting. Aware of the imminent danger behind this escalation of tribal and sectarian antagonism, the democratic forces of Sudan intervened, demanding that a solution for the problems of the South be achieved through democratic dialogue rather than by use of force. This demand was received positively both by the government and the SPLA. General Swareddahab made a secret visit to Kenya to pave the way for negotiations with SPLA leader Dr. John Garang. The latter sent an envoy to Nasir city to deliver his acceptance of the government's overtures. Of course, these positive developments were not welcomed by the internal and external reactionary forces. The Moslem Brotherhood, led by Hassan Turabi (Numeiri's former advisor), certainly had a hand in undermining this democratic process, as did other pro-Numeiri elements. The series of events which unfolded thereafter confirms this reasoning.

### The development of events

On the 19th of September, the Sudanese defense minister reported that the city of Bor, 1100 km. south of Khartoum, was about to fall to the SPLA. He also added that the army and police had aborted a conspiracy aimed at assassinating political figures in Khartoum and creating a state of chaos in the capital. On the same day, the general command of the armed forces issued a communique which stated that the SPLA had launched an attack against the city of Nasir, near the Ethiopian border. The communique claimed that the refusal of the SPLA to withdraw from around the city prevented the army from conveying Garang's message to the Sudanese government in Khartoum! On the same day, the National Alliance of trade unions and parties in Sudan demanded an explanation from the Minister of Defense regarding a «political communique» issued by the leadership of the army on the problem of the

South. The National Alliance (which includes trade unions and political parties which played a key role in overthrowing Numeiri) expressed surprise at the communique which attacked Dr. Garang and his supposed supporters in Khartoum. The head of the National Alliance, Mr. Salah Abdu Salam, said: «It is unusual for the army to issue such communiqués.» He also described the tone of the communique as being in contradiction with the thinking of the civilian cabinet.

In another communique broadcast from radio Um Durman, the Minister of Housing, Amin Madani, stated that the army had disregarded the efforts of the cabinet which had intended to involve Dr. John Garang in peaceful negotiations.

On the 21st of September, the Moslem Brotherhood, supported by fanatical religious groups and a faction that split from the Umma party, organized a march which they called «the march for the security of Sudan.» In that march they protested against the SPLA, asking the government to take revenge on Garang, «using bullets», and describing Garang as a communist agent.

On the 22nd of September, the Sudanese government prohibited all demonstrations which had so far been an effective way for the masses to voice their opinion. On the 26th of September, orders were given to two military units to go south and fight the SPLA. These units, comprised mostly of southern Sudanese, refused to carry out orders and clashed with government troops. On the 28th of the same month, Prime Minister Jazoli Dafalla declared that the government had imposed a curfew on Khartoum, after the abortion of an attempted coup; he added that military elements from inside and outside the armed forces had participated in this «attempted coup».

What is happening in Sudan clearly points to the fact that the country is still subject to attempts to reinstate the Numeiri era. Moreover, it is obvious that internal and external reactionary forces will not give up easily. A democratic solution to all of the country's internal problems is the only way to avoid further losses and suffering, and to attain results acceptable by all parties. We believe that democratic dialogue is the best way to solve the question of the South of Sudan; accusations and preconceived judgements only serve the interests of reactionary forces which want to turn Sudan back into an imperialist satellite. ●



# Gulf Cooperation Council

## Survival Plan for Reactionary Dynasties

*The following is an article contributed to «Democratic Palestine» by the Committee for the Revolution in Oman and the Arab Gulf (KROAG) in Denmark, an anti-imperialist organization supporting the revolutionary forces in the Gulf, especially the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman. We thank these comrades for their active interest and contribution, and publish the article in their name.*

Since its formation in 1981, the Gulf Cooperation Council has emphasized «self-reliance» as its main characteristic. However, reality proves that the GCC is merely part of the aggressive strategy of the US imperialism in the Gulf area.

«Gulf security should be shouldered by the people of the Gulf alone, and foreign troops, no matter how friendly they could be, no matter what pretext they may use, are not in line with the interests of the Gulf» (1). This statement was made in 1983 by Abdullah Bishara, General Secretary of the GCC. The six member countries - Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, the Emirates and Kuwait - have often repeated these words, but what does it mean in practice?

The idea of uniting the Gulf states in a military pact is not new. The regimes' fundamental common interest in keeping each other in power is the basis for their close cooperation which must also be seen in light of US interests in the Gulf. To maintain the political status quo is of vital importance for the imperialist countries because of their need for oil. In addition, the area has become a cornerstone in the military strategy of the US to control the whole Middle East. Thus imperialism and Gulf regimes share a common goal in crushing any possible threat to «stability» in the area.

### The «Carter Doctrine»

Following the Iranian revolution, Carter, US President at the time, formulated a new strategy for US policy to replace the so-called «Nixon doctrine». The Gulf was declared a «vital zone» to be protected by all means, including military intervention. Consequently it was decided to build a giant intervention unit, the Rapid Deployment Force, now also known as the US Central Command. RDF counts more than 300,000 men primarily based in the USA. Within a week all of these troops can be transferred to the Gulf and brought into action.

This plan depends on US access to local military bases from where the RDF can operate. Since 1980, the US has built a

large network of bases and other military facilities in the Gulf. Oman, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain have become centres for sophisticated American weapons and smaller units of RDF. Especially Sultan Qaboos in Oman has shown his hospitality by allowing US bases on Masirah Island, in Dhofar and the Mussandam province.

Direct US intervention will however be decided as the last resort. In the first place the Gulf states will try to take care of their own security. To postpone the necessity of imperialist intervention it is therefore crucial to strengthen the military cooperation between the US Arabs in the area. It is within this context the formation of the Gulf Cooperation Council and its proclaimed «self-reliance» should be analyzed.

GCC became a reality in 1981 and from the very beginning «security» was the main issue of the Council. At a meeting between the foreign ministers of the member states in August 1981 Saudi Arabia presented a secret report on military cooperation saying that: «Any threats to any state threaten the security and safety of the other states. The responsibility of safeguarding the security and stability of the Gulf is shouldered not by each state separately, but by all six states» (2). This one for all and all for one philosophy has several times been emphasized as the label of the GCC.

«Self-reliance» has clearly been used to legitimize a military build-up in the Gulf states, explained this way in the Saudi report: «We must set up a Gulf force which will enable us to rely on our own strength...The establishment of such a force requires an increasing capacity of the armed defence forces» (3).

### Modified «self-reliance»

All member states have agreed to the Saudi document and its opposition towards foreign military presence. As mentioned, this is for sure a qualified truth concerning Oman, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia itself.



Apart from Oman, the Gulf states however are not happy to admit the US connection, and Kuwait has, as the only real advocate of non-alignment, often expressed dissatisfaction with the policy of Sultan Qaboos. Nevertheless, the General Secretary of the GCC in 1983 made this comment to the yearly Omani-American military exercises on Omani soil: «I would not say that it really undermines our collective approach» (4)!!

The dependence on and alliance with US imperialism becomes further clearcut when one takes a closer look at some details in the GCC «Security Pact»:

### 1. Formation of a joint military unit - the Gulf Deployment Force

The preparations to establish a joint military force within the GCC have practically been going on since 1982. The unit consists of smaller units from all member states and is stationed in Saudi Arabia. A Saudi officer is head of the Gulf Deployment Force.

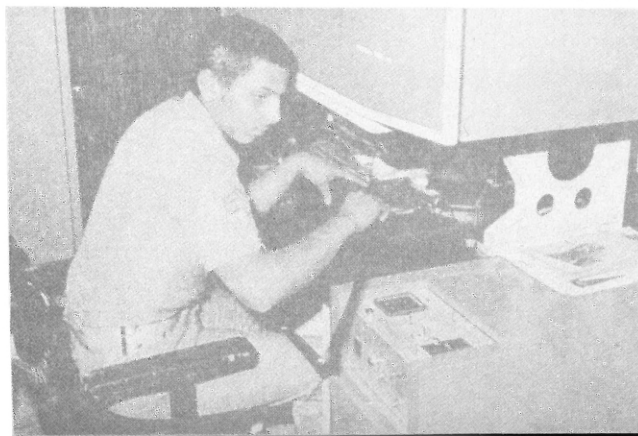
In November 1983 the first joint military exercises were conducted in the United Arab Emirates under the codename of «Peninsula Shield». Every year the GCC carries out these maneuvers including both defensive and offensive weaponry, and every time the leading officers claim the ability of the Gulf states to defend themselves. After «Peninsula Shield no.1» a US military advisor had this comment: «The maneuvers showed us how far the Gulf states have come, but also how badly they need us» (5)!!

Besides the dependence on US support, the reactionary monarchies face a common problem, namely the bad qualifications of their national armies. Most of them depend on military support from other reactionary states such as Egypt, Jordan and Pakistan. Thus between 20,000 and 30,000 Pakistani security troops are stationed in Saudi Arabia. In Oman several Egyptian officers serve in the Sultan's army which is under the command of more than 500 British officers. The Omani intelligence network at large is commanded by Jordanians.

### 2. Development of sophisticated weapons

Another central aspect of the Gulf Security Pact is the build-up of an advanced anti-aircraft missile system and supervision and communication equipment which runs to \$ 6 billion for 1984-86 alone. One of the key parts is the Saudi AWACS aircrafts. However, the Saudis are not able to use these sophisticated planes without assistance from American advisors. According to a report published by the US Defence Department «...the nature of the AWACS is so complex that US personnel will be required to maintain key elements of the system for its entire life...The withdrawal of US support for the Saudi AWACS would quickly result in the system becoming non-operational» (6)!

*New electronic equipment supplied by imperialist countries for the Saudi security forces*



With such information one must surely question the ability of the Gulf regimes to manage on their own. It is also well-known that American advisors are the chief architects behind the modernization of the Saudi armed forces. Not even 1000 declarations about «self-reliance» can remove these facts.

### 3. Standardization of weaponry

The GCC efforts to integrate also include standardization of weapons and a joint arms industry. So far \$ 1.5 billion have been invested in this project. At the same time, the US Administration has launched a major sales campaign for US weapons arguing that they would make it easier for US allies to fight together with the US army against common enemies!

Ironically, Washington has often been forced to cancel valuable deals due to pressure from the powerful Zionist lobby. For example it succeeded in preventing a delivery of Stinger missiles to Kuwait last year. This case among others reflects the US dilemma in the Middle East of protecting the Zionist state and simultaneously being a loyal friend to the pro-western Arab regimes.

### Who are they afraid of?

No other conclusion can be drawn than that the claimed «self-reliance» is a fraud. As a whole, the GCC must be considered as an instrument for imperialist interests in the Gulf within the context of the «Carter/Reagan Doctrine». The reason behind the efforts to hide the American presence in the area is simply that most Gulf regimes fear a popular resistance as it occurred in Iran.

However, one question remains: Who are they afraid of? What forces are the dynasties and US imperialism investing billions of dollars to protect themselves against? The answer is given in the above mentioned Saudi document from 1981, in which various «aggressors» are described.

One is characterized as «extremist Arab organizations», that is the national liberation movements, such as the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Popular Front and National Liberation Front in Bahrain. The category probably also includes various pro-Iranian Islamic groups which, for example, were claimed responsible for a coup attempt in Bahrain in 1981.

Membership in a political organization is enough to be considered «subversive». In its report for 1984, Amnesty International verifies 16 of such cases in Bahrain alone, where the activists were sentenced to prison for 7 years (7).

Besides the progressive national forces, Saudi Arabia mentions «the adventurous foreign policy of certain Arab states».

Also the USSR is mentioned as a threat in case of super-power confrontation. However, President Reagan's paranoia about «Soviet aggression» behind every local or regional conflict is not shared by the majority of GCC members. The main threat for them is the internal opposition forces and then, of course, the war between Iran and Iraq.

### GCC and the Gulf war

Today an escalation of the Gulf war constitutes the greatest danger for an imperialist invasion. The US policy was clearly stated by Mr. Reagan in 1983 when he declared that: «...the free world could not stand by and allow anyone to close the Strait of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf» (8).

According to official statements the GCC takes a neutral stand to the war, but in reality Iraq is supported heavily. The

Gulf monarchies seem to have nightmares of the possibility of an Iranian victory that might overthrow the Saddam Hussein regime and bring radical pro-Iranian forces to power.

Also the US fears such a development. In the past, Washington characterized Iraq as «the terrorist government no. 1» in the Middle East. The recent reestablishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries reflects new alliances and the strengthening of reactionary factions within the Iraqi regime.

For the US the war has provided a convenient opportunity to enlarge its military expansion in the area. More than 60 American warships are waiting outside the Gulf to intervene if necessary. To bring the Rapid Deployment Force into action the US is dependent on access to their local military bases. In order to manifest the «self-reliance» of the Gulf regimes, Washington has stressed that they will use the bases if they get an official invitation from the countries concerned. However, there is not much doubt they will get it. Following the visit of Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy in the Gulf in April 1984, he declared that: «The Arab Gulf states gave the impression that they wanted US intervention, but they were not yet prepared to say so» (9)!!

### The progressive forces

The Gulf area is for sure «a vital zone». There is widespread feeling in the rich capitalist countries that in the Gulf the right of sovereignty has to be limited for the sake of their own economies. Military bases, sophisticatedly equipped interven-

tion forces, large-scale military maneuvers - more than ever imperialist power policy is conducted in this way.

But in Oman, as in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, this policy stands against the popular desire for independence and democracy. Therefore it is of essential importance that the progressive forces, the national liberation movements, are strengthened as an alternative to the ruling dynasties.

All over the Gulf the revolutionary struggle takes place under very difficult circumstances due to lack of democracy and the huge military build-up. However, the example of Iran proves that even the strongest and most brutal regime can be overthrown when the masses rise in revolt.

In the long run, the reactionary Gulf monarchies are doomed and their desperate efforts to stay in power through their alliance with imperialism could very well become the spark that lights the fire. A progressive development in the Gulf would be a big leap forward in the struggle of the whole Arab liberation movement against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

1. The Middle East, November 1983, p. 13
2. Saut al-Thawra, No. 16, March 1982, p. 4
3. Ibid, p. 5
4. The Middle East, November 1983, p. 14
5. Merip Reports, No. 125-26, July 1984, p. 47
6. The Middle East, September 1984, p. 18
7. Amnesty International: Report 1984, p. 345
8. Merip Reports, No. 125-26, July 1984, p. 46
9. Middle East Economic Digest, June 1st, 1984, p. 20

# WORLD

## Solidarity with the Prisoners of Apartheid

# The Story of Nelson Mandela

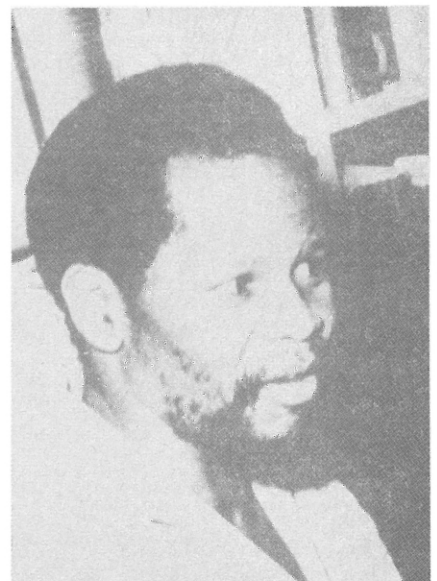
*October 11th is the day of solidarity with political prisoners in South Africa. On this day, the voices of millions in the African continent and worldwide are raised, demanding the release of those imprisoned in the horrible jails of the racist white minority regime in Pretoria.*

As part of the campaign to release the political prisoners of South Africa, *Democratic Palestine* publishes the story of the most prominent of them: Nelson Mandela, who has served 20 years of a life sentence. Even from behind the bars, he is a challenge to the apartheid regime and a leader of his people's struggle in the face of bloody oppression and state terror. We present Nelson Mandela's experience in the context of the struggle of the African National Congress (ANC), benefitting from the lessons of this struggle and its development from non-violent resistance to revolutionary violence.

Nelson Mandela was born in 1918. His father was chief of a tribe, which

gave him the privilege of being one of the few South African Blacks to get a higher education and earn a degree in law. After this, he joined the ANC and helped form its youth organization. Through the influence of Mandela and his comrades, the ANC in 1943 adopted a more radical, non-violent program. Mandela was elected vice-president of the ANC, which made him increasingly popular. This worried the racist regime, and in retaliation it prohibited him from meetings, deprived him of his civil rights, and ordered him out of Johannesburg.

The popularity of the ANC increased; it received support from the Indian Congress of South Africa, the Congress of South African Trade



Unions, the Organization of Colored People and the Democratic Congress. On this basis, a decision was taken to hold a congress of the people of South Africa. On the 26th of June 1955, in



Johannesburg, 3,000 delegates assembled from all over the world. This was a turning point in the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. The regime's answer to the Freedom Char-

ter, issued by the congress, was increased oppression and the arrest of 156 leaders, amongst them Nelson Mandela who was accused of high treason.

South Africa 85. Graphic by Jurg Wehren, political prisoner in Switzerland, in solidarity with the struggle



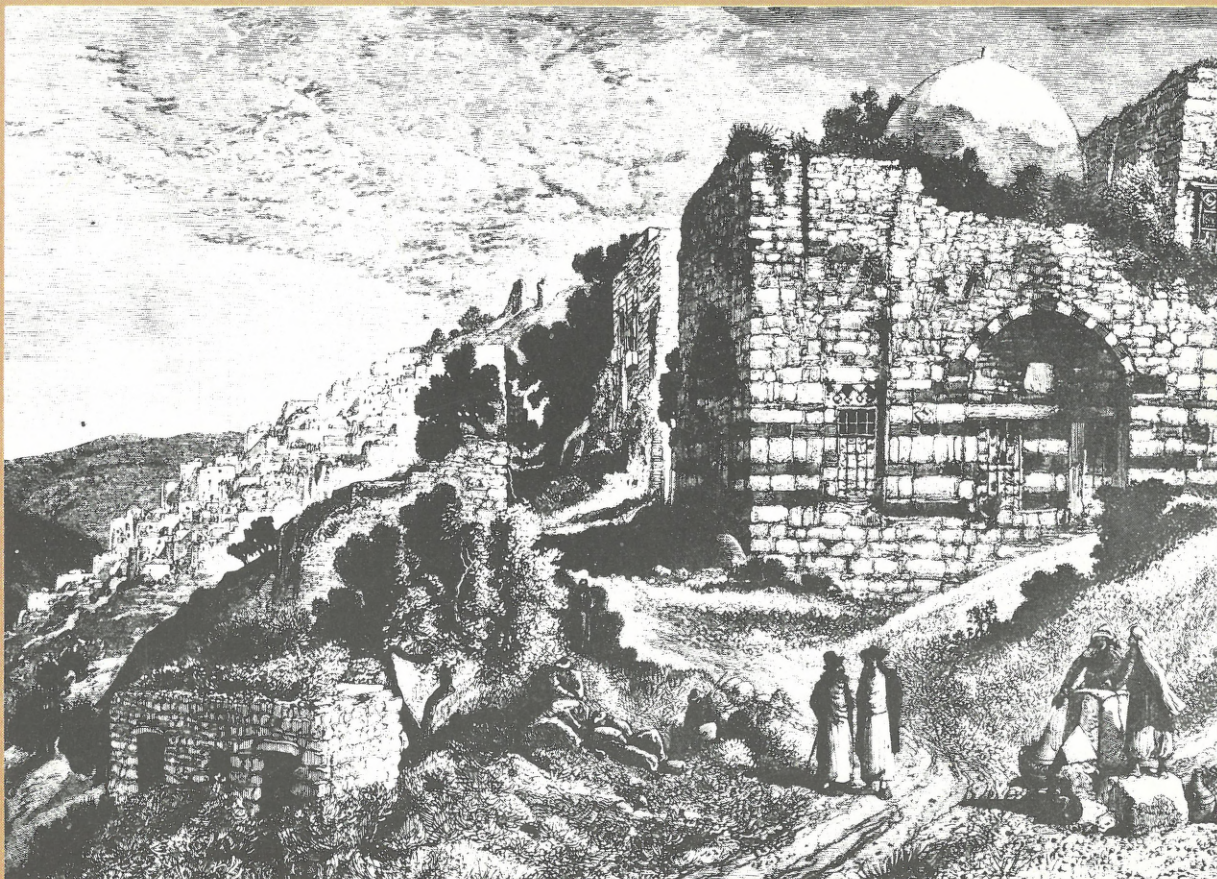
After the 21st of March 1960, when 60 people were killed and 200 others wounded in the horrible massacre of Sharpeville, Nelson Mandela decided that peaceful means were not enough to continue the struggle. In July of 1961, the leaders of the ANC decided to form a military wing. In November of the same year, the first operations in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban were being planned. Nelson Mandela went underground and led the military wing. Together with Alfred Nzo, the leader of the ANC, Mandela contributed to reorganizing affairs on both the theoretical and practical level. He also worked hard to support the alliance between the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa.

In 1963, the South African intelligence service discovered the documents of the ANC, including the transitional plan of armed struggle, and linked Mandela and others to the preparation of the revolution. The attorney general requested that Mandela be hanged, but the regime did not hang him; on the 11th of June 1964, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. His last words in the court were: "Our struggle is the struggle of the African people. It is a struggle for the right to live and, if needed, I am willing to die for my principles."

In 1969, the chief of the office of security demanded Mandela's execution for an attempted escape, but the demand was not met. In the spring of 1982, Mandela was secretly moved to Pollsmoor prison, to isolate him even more, and the government promised to release him if he denounced violence. Mandela, however, refused. The government kept repeating its offer and Mandela kept rejecting it. He demanded that the government quit violence, cancel its racist policy, lift the ban on the ANC and guarantee free political activities, so the people could decide their future.

This is the heroic story of Nelson Mandela whose pictures are not permitted to be circulated and whose teachings are banned. Yet Mandela is known by all; his pictures are everywhere; they appear in demonstrations and on the walls. He is one of the most popular leaders of the national liberation movement of South Africa. He deserves to hold a prominent position among well-known revolutionaries, not only in the African liberation movement, but in the international liberation movement as a whole.





*Father, come, tell me, speak,  
What is this country I'm fighting for?  
What hill or warm valley knew you  
And, loving it, remember still?*

*On what lands did your bare feet walk?  
What is this city Jerusalem?  
This village Tarsheha?<sup>1</sup>*

*Of what substance is your blood?  
Is mine the same?  
Father do your shrouded memories fade?*

*Are you telling me of the Eastern sun  
That touched you on Jordan's shore?  
Or was it in Lebanon that the night wind  
Tore at you and made you sway?*

*Whose pious hand father, come, tell me  
bore you to these remote and foreign lands?*

*Father wait! Speak to me!  
Your words stir something deep in my heart.  
They are my mirror, and in them  
I see our country, father!*

*My feet may walk on alien soil,  
but in my dreams, I live in Palestine,  
My soul resides there,  
My body fights for our country, father.*

*Father, come, tell me, speak,  
What is this country called Israel?*

*I see Mount Masada<sup>2</sup>  
I am standing upon it,  
I am standing there with my people father  
And we will stand there until victory!*

Miss Marianne Clark  
British ELF Teacher in China

<sup>1</sup> Tarsheha: a small village in North Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> Masada: In ancient days, this mountain was attacked and surrounded by enemies. The people on the mountain resisted and kept the enemy at bay. After the food supply to the fortress was cut, their resistance was weakened and eventually overpowered. Instead of falling into the hands of the enemy, the people committed mass suicide before the enemy forces actually entered the fortress.