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Second Anniversary
of the Sabra-Shatila Massacre

Massacres
Will Never Stop
the Palestinian
Liberation
Struggle



Democratic Palestine is an English language magazine published by the PFLP. It replaces the *PFLP Bulletin*, which was published monthly from March 1979 until the 1982 Zionist invasion of Lebanon (issues no. 25-62) and bimonthly through November 1983 (no. 63-69).

By changing the name we wish to signal our intent to engage a broader section of progressive forces around the world in dialogue and relations of mutual solidarity that will strengthen the struggle for a democratic Palestine in the context of the global struggle against imperialism and its allies.

Democratic Palestine is published 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 a forum and instrument 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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Box 12144, Damascus, Syria
Tel: 331664
Telex: «HADAFO» 411667 SY

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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.



Second anniversary of the Sabra-Shatila massacre

Table of Contents

Letters

In June, a friend in Paris wrote:

The French paper *Le Monde Diplomatique* has published a short article in its issue of June 1984 about your review, giving your address and conditions of subscription. Its few lines number among the rare good news one can pick up here in France.

Information about the actual situation of the Palestinian revolution is indeed so partial, if not sometimes doubtful, that it is very difficult to attain a clear idea of what is happening and argue for it objectively. Your review, as a direct link with the revolutionary Palestinian forces, is from that point of view a necessary complement of information.

Moreover, the most politically advanced positions here, greatly determining the subjective aspect of the mass media, are certainly progressive compared with what they were before the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, and even before the great American defeat in that country, but they still remain an imperialist point of view on the Palestinian and Arab cause: If the national rights of the Palestinian people are at last - and at what price - recognized, it is only in the bourgeois accept of what is a national cause and what is a people. So that everybody seems to be ready here for a big renewed Camp David farce, under the spotlights and high ceilings of some UNO's palace, consecrating in one way or another an internationally recognized partition of Palestine... Such a plan, if it does exist, represents the maximum imperialism can concede, and is far to be sure of success.

Finally, your struggle inside the PLO for a democratic work and clear strategic aims and means appears as the key to everything.

4 Editorial

Palestine

- 5 The Aden-Algiers Agreement (text)
- 8 Enthusiastic Palestinian Response
- 9 PF-DF Joint Leadership: Year of Success
- 10 Democratic Alliance Welcomes Soviet Proposal
- 11 Occupied Palestine - Repression and Resistance
- 13 Military Operations
- 14 Ghassan Kanafani - Lessons for the Revolution

Lebanon

- 16 Mass Movement to Return the Disappeared
- 17 «The Blackest Days of My Life»
- 19 Israel Out of Lebanon!

'Israel'

- 20 Elections
- 21 Socio-economic Base of the Right's Strength

World

- 23 Central America - US War Drive
- 25 Zionism's Global Role (study continued)

Culture

- 30 Fathi Gaben - Condemned for Colors
- 31 Palestinian Information - Tasks and Perspectives
- 34 Suleiman Mansour
- 36 Ghassan Kanafani Commemorated in Jordan and Palestine

Editor's Note

Sabra-Shatila Massacre

Our cover marks the second anniversary of the Sabra-Shatila massacre perpetrated by Zionist-fascist collaboration against Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in Beirut, September 1982. This horrendous crime climaxed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. It rendered a final proof of the enemy's ultimate cowardice: For almost three months the Zionist invaders mercilessly pounded West Beirut from the safety of their US-supplied bombers. Only with the departure of the PLO fighters did they dare to execute their plan for storming the city, directing the Phalangists to slaughter unarmed men, women, children and elderly. Through their terror, the Zionists and the Lebanese fascists aimed to induce a mass exodus of Palestinians. Yet our people remained. The most powerful tribute to the martyrs of Sabra-Shatila came with the mass movement mounted by Lebanese and Palestinian women to return the disappeared, i.e. those kidnapped by the Zionists, fascists and Lebanese Army. (See article in this issue.)

Sabra-Shatila is not only a memory. It is part of the ongoing reality of US-backed Zionist aggression, affecting our people under occupation whether in Palestine or Lebanon. While blatantly fascist Zionists are speaking of ridding the 'Land of Israel' of all Arabs, West Beirut has again become the target of frequent fascist-engineered car bombs. In occupied South Lebanon, mini-Sabra-Shatilas are a constant threat due to the presence of the Zionist occupation forces and their agents, the South Lebanon Army. This danger is on the rise with the increased presence of Shin Beth plainclothesmen who are kidnapping and murdering Palestinian and Lebanese patriots at will. Thus, commemorating Sabra-Shatila means renewing our pledge to protect the Palestinian and Lebanese masses. In the last analysis, this means continuing the struggle against occupation, whether in Palestine or Lebanon.

Editorial

Aden-Algiers agreement draws overwhelming popular support but still faces obstacles

All nationalist and progressive forces must be alert to the forewarnings of a new enemy offensive in the area. Right now US imperialism is using the minesweeping operation in the Gulf of Suez and Red Sea to increase its military presence in this strategic area. The results of the Israeli elections could herald a new Zionist onslaught. Already the Zionist occupiers and their fascist allies are stepping up provocations to sabotage the Lebanese government's security plan.

The most prominent gap in the regional alliance needed to confront the enemy's plans lies in the unresolved crisis of the PLO. In this context one can grasp the full importance of the agreement reached in Aden on June 27th, between the Democratic Alliance and Fatah's Central Committee, on a platform for reuniting the PLO. The agreement has since been ratified by the respective leaderships of the five signing organizations and ratified in Algiers on July 13th. This provides concrete evidence that by reaffirming the national line, the Palestinian revolution can reunite and reactivate its pivotal role in the Syrian-Lebanese nationalist-Palestinian triangle of steadfastness.

Despite this breakthrough, obstacles remain for the comprehensive national dialogue which should lay the basis for convening the PNC. The Democratic Alliance has had no leeway to sit back in satisfaction, but has engaged in a continuing political struggle to protect the agreement, expand it to encompass all Palestinian national forces and insure its implementation.

Response to the Aden-Algiers agreement served as a yardstick for gaging who is truly concerned with restoring Palestinian national unity on an anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist line. Our masses' response was immediate, enthusiastic, even jubilant, as can be seen in the sample of statements in the following pages. There was also positive response from the forces of the Arab national liberation movement and progressive forces internationally. The Soviet Union published its support in a special statement carried by Novosti. On the Palestinian level, the negative reaction came from two opposite poles: the hard-core rightists and the National Alliance. The first was expected, for the Aden-Algiers agreement condemns deviation and provides measures to inhibit it. The reaction of the National Alliance must be viewed differently, for failure to draw these organizations into the comprehensive national dialogue will detract from the struggle against rightist deviation.

Rightist sabotage

While respected national figures in the Fatah and PLO leadership, such as Farouq Qaddumi, termed the agreement «historic», Arafat and his immediate circle spoke out in direct contradiction of the basis for unity. Once again, they displayed their readiness to sacrifice Palestinian unity on the altar of keeping channels open to Arab reaction, which also is displeased with the new agreement. On July 17th, while visiting Amman, Arafat asserted his intention to revisit Cairo in the future, claiming that relations with Mubarak's regime are based on its having distanced itself from Camp David, thus negating the call for the regime to abandon Camp David as specified by the last PNC. Arafat also declared that relations with Jordan

have gone beyond cooperation to become joint work, challenging the conditions set by the PNC for these relations. In the same week, he was seconded by Hani Hassan who was quoted by *Jordan Times*, July 23rd, as speaking of a joint political program between Jordan and the PLO, and joint efforts to establish a confederal relationship, without qualifying that this should be between two independent states as decided by the PNC. These are only two examples of the right's verbal sabotage.

The Democratic Alliance was thus called upon to defend the Aden-Algiers agreement: In a series of communiques the Democratic Alliance pointed out that such statements not only violate the new agreement but also the decisions of the PNC's 16th session. Since those making these statements are members of Fatah's Central Committee, which signed the agreement, the Democratic Alliance called on them to honor their signatures and deal with instances of non-compliance. Fatah's Central Committee responded by declaring commitment to the letter and spirit of the agreement and took steps to promote support for it, especially on the mass level. Arafat himself publicly declared his commitment to the agreement. If this commitment is honored, it is a very positive development which will aid the efforts to restore unity on a nationalist basis.

The National Alliance

The Democratic Alliance also had to defend the Aden-Algiers agreement from the National Alliance's contention that it was a retreat and regression. The National Alliance still insists on Arafat's resignation as a precondition for dialogue with Fatah's Central Committee, or participating in the PLO framework at all. In contrast, the Democratic Alliance found this approach unrealistic, and determined to continue the struggle for Arafat's replacement through the democratic process in the PLO's legitimate bodies. The Aden-Algiers agreement provides for Arafat being called to account for his visit to Cairo, and the organizational points give unprecedented guarantees for collective leadership and stopping deviation. It is thus unfortunate that no agreement has been reached with the National Alliance, for its organizations could be an asset in implementing these provisions. We have earlier criticized the National Alliance's incorrect approach and methods for fighting the right in the Palestinian revolution. Today this approach persists in blocking the comprehensive national dialogue which is sorely needed to restore unity on a correct political basis. Objectively speaking this gives the right an excuse for their own reluctance to implement the Aden-Algiers agreement.

Meeting the challenge

The Democratic Alliance has made implementation of the Aden-Algiers agreement a primary duty. Certainly its terms are open to proposals for improvement in the course of comprehensive national dialogue and the PNC. Yet this requires that all national forces make serious efforts to promote the unity process on a correct political basis.

Based on concern for reviving the PLO's role, the Aden-Algiers agreement proposed that the PNC be convened by September 15th. Yet to date the prerequisite comprehensive

national dialogue has not been accomplished. We have deep hope that this timetable can be met, but this requires serious efforts and responsible thinking on the part of all Palestinian national forces. The time factor is not crucial if serious dialogue is underway to secure the inclusion of all forces. On the other hand, we cannot allow continued delay without good reason, for the Palestinian people will not accept the indefinite paralysis of their chosen representative.

Due to the importance of the Syrians' role in confronting the current imperialist-Zionist plans, the Democratic Alliance took the initiative to seek their cooperation in improving PLO-Syrian relations. The Syrians expressed understanding of the political points of the agreement. Syria's sincere concern for having the PLO's crisis resolved on a nationalist basis in order to confront the enemy alliance is a helpful factor. To meet the

challenge of the coming enemy offensive, whether it be in political or military form, it is imperative that Syria, the PLO and the Lebanese nationalist forces are alert and armed with a consolidated alliance. To this end, we in the Palestinian revolution, have the responsibility of resolving the PLO's crisis in favor of liberating Palestine, as part of the Arab people's anti-imperialist struggle. ●

Key

Democratic Alliance: DFLP, PFLP, Palestinian Communist Party, Palestinian Liberation Front

National Alliance: Fatah opposition, PFLP-General Command, Saiqa, Popular Struggle Front

See the following pages for the full text of the Aden-Algiers agreement.

CORRECTIONS FOR DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE NO.4

Unfortunately two significant technical mistakes were left uncorrected in our last issue. In the editorial, page 4, two lines fell out in the typesetting, running together two separate sentences and conveying an unintended meaning. This concerns the last sentence in the paragraph under the subtitle, Damascus Talks, which should have read as follows: *Prospects for a positive outcome are enhanced by the fact that the National Alliance recognizes the necessity of reforming and unifying the PLO within the legitimate structures. Moreover, there are many common points of agreement between the Democratic Alliance's proposed broad national front to fight deviation within the PLO, and the National Alliance's proposed national salvation front to the same end.*

Moreover, on page 2, we printed a poster commemorating the 19th anniversary of the Omani Revolution, but our caption incorrectly termed it the 14th anniversary. Our apologies.

PALESTINE

The Aden-Algiers Agreement

THE FULL TEXT OF THE ADEN ACCORDS BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF FATAH

Under the auspices of the Party of the Algerian National Liberation Front and the Yemeni Socialist Party, leading delegations representing the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), the Palestinian Communist Party (PCP) and the Palestinian Liberation Front (PLF) met in Aden and Algiers and adopted the political and organizational accords set out in this document as a basis for a comprehensive national dialogue and the preparation for the resolutions of the forthcoming PNC session.

THE POLITICAL DOCUMENT

First : The Occupied Territories

- To provide every kind of support to the struggle of our people in the occupied territories against Israeli occupation, its repressive, terrorist measures, and escalating attempts to expropriate the land, to build settlements and expel the population in preparation for annexing the occupied territories.

- To safeguard the unity of the national ranks and position, and avoid the reflection of problems and difficulties facing our people outside the occupied territories on those inside.

- To revive the Palestinian National Front in the occupied territories on the basis of the resolutions of the 16th PNC session and to authorize it to lead the political and mass struggle against Israeli occupation.

- Commitment to the policy of supporting the steadfastness of our people and the national forces in the occupied territories in accordance with the recommendations of the Palestinian National Front as regards the allocations of «Support for Steadfastness» funds.

- To exert serious efforts to unite the mass institutions, such as syndicates and other bodies, and to confront resolutely all attempts to split and divide their ranks.

- To confront all suspect attempts that aim at bypassing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and its containment. To confront all attempts to undermine national institutions in the occupied territories and the harassment employed to force our people into accepting surrendering schemes.

- To affirm the unity of all patriotic, democratic and pro-

gressive Palestinian forces in the territories occupied in 1948 and to provide them with all forms of support within the framework of the national unity of our people.

- To escalate armed struggle and mass struggle against the Zionist occupation for the liberation of our occupied territories and for achieving our national rights to return, self-determination, and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Second: The visit to Cairo and Palestinian-Egyptian relations

- a. To confirm that the visit represented an infringement of PNC resolutions; to confront its harmful effects, and to consider the PLO in no way obligated to any outcome or political commitments implicated by the visit, and to call to account as regards the visit within the framework of the PLO's legitimate institutions.

- b. To uphold the commitment of the PLO to Baghdad Arab Summit resolutions as regards relations with the Egyptian regime and isolating Camp David, and put an immediate end to all political contacts with the Egyptian regime.

- c. To reaffirm the resolutions of the 16th PNC session as regards relations with the Egyptian patriotic forces and to determine the relations with the Egyptian regime on the basis of its abandonment of the Camp David policy.

Third: Jordan

- To anchor relations between the PLO and the Jordanian regime on the basis of the conditions specified in PNC resolutions, in particular the resolutions of the 16th PNC session.

- To refrain from participating in any joint political moves with Jordan as regards seeking solutions for the Palestinian cause that undermine the role of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

- To reject any solution of the Palestinian cause based on the Reagan plan, the «territorial compromise solution» or «the Jordanian option» (the project of the Zionist Labor Party) or any other proposals that undermine the inalienable national rights of our people to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people, and to confront any Jordanian attempts to take part in any such solutions.

- To reject the Jordanian revival of the parliament since this represents an infringement of the Rabat Arab Summit Conference resolutions (1974), aiming at undermining and bypassing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Fourth: The blood-drenched events in the Palestinian arena during the past year

- In a spirit of patriotic responsibility, the participants discussed the dangerous, blood-drenched events that the national arena witnessed during the past year and the ensuing outcome and effects on the unity of the national struggle and the status and prestige of the PLO, and they affirmed the following:

- a. Any resort to arms and violence in order to impose compulsory solutions of differences within the ranks of the revolution is contrary to the PNC resolutions that established the principles of democratic dialogue. Furthermore, it undermines the march and unity of the Palestinian revolution.

- b. To reject all attempts that aim at splitting the PLO, frag-

menting its ranks, or fabricating an alternative leadership to it, and to affirm adherence to the unity of the PLO and the legitimacy of its institutions.

- c. This issue is to be discussed at the forthcoming PNC session on these bases.

Fifth: Palestinian-Syrian relations

- 1) To anchor relations between the PLO and Syria on patriotic and pan-Arab bases determined by the following:

- a. Joint action in the struggle against the Israeli enemy and imperialist and Zionist schemes, and for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories, and for achieving the rights of the Palestinian people to return, self-determination and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

- b. To reject US projects, first and foremost Camp David, the 'autonomy' project, the Reagan plan and all projects that undermine the right of the Palestinian people to return, self-determination and to establish their independent state; or to undermine the role of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; there should be no mandating, deputizing or participation in this representation.

- c. To adhere to Arab Summit resolutions concerning the bases for solving the Palestinian cause and the Arab-Zionist conflict in such a manner as to secure the national interests of the Palestinian people to return, self-determination and independent statehood, and to secure the pan-Arab interests of the Arab nation.

- d. To adhere to the Baghdad Summit resolutions as regards relations with the Egyptian regime and isolating Camp David.

- e. Mutual respect for the principles of independence, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of each party.

- f. To take the necessary measures that will lead to consolidating mutual confidence and enabling the Palestinian revolution, alongside with Syria and the Lebanese national forces, to take up their role in confrontation of the Zionist-imperialist enemy and solve all the pending problems that are hindering this process.

- 2) To regard the Soviet-Syrian communique that emphasized the unity of the PLO on national, progressive, anti-imperialist bases, and called for the necessity of an undelayed solution of the differences within the Palestinian revolution, as one of the principle bases for overcoming the crisis of the revolution and the PLO and for the rectification of its relations with Syria.

Sixth: Lebanon

- To consolidate the national Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian alliance and develop the relations with the Lebanese national and progressive forces, and support their struggle against Zionist occupation, US influence and the Phalangist hegemony plans, and for securing the independence, unity and Arab character of Lebanon and its democratic development.

- To organize relations with the Lebanese national forces in order to provide security for our masses and camps in Lebanon, to safeguard the civil and social rights of our people and to adhere to their national right to political organization and activity, to carry arms and join the ranks of the revolution, and to safeguard the rights of the PLO and its institutions in Lebanon.

- Joint action with the Lebanese national forces to esca-

late armed struggle against the Zionist occupation forces.

- The abrogation of the May 17 agreement is an important victory for the struggle of the Lebanese people, and in support of the struggle of our people and all Arab peoples against the Camp David policy and against imperialist hegemony schemes in the region. It is an important landmark in the path of national resistance to defeat the Israeli occupation and presence in Lebanon.

- To undertake joint action between all Palestinian national forces in order to regulate the conditions of our camps, protect them from internal conflicts and safeguard their unity represented in popular committees and mass unions, and activate the other PLO institutions in Lebanon.

- To provide the support necessary to consolidate the steadfastness of the people in Lebanon through social and mass institutions, and also through the committee set up by the Executive Committee for this purpose.

Seventh: A general item

- To reaffirm the resolutions of the 16th PNC session, in particular as regards Camp David as a policy and trend and confront the Reagan plan and the 'autonomy' plan, to consolidate relations with the forces of the Arab National Liberation Movement and the friendly forces on the international level, in particular the Soviet Union, and to adhere to the bases for solving the Palestinian cause as stipulated by the resolutions of the PNC session held in Algiers.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DOCUMENT

First: The Palestinian National Council (PNC)

- 1) Expanding the PNC Secretariat
- 2) Recognition of the Palestinian Communist Party as an organization in the PNC; the number of its representatives will be determined through further consultations.
- 3) Amendment of the PLO Basic Statute to make it inclusive of all the reforms agreed upon.

Second: The Central Council

- 1) The Central Council is to be elected directly by the PNC, according to rules determining the basis of its formation.
- 2) The Council is to have decision-making powers.
- 3) The Council is to have the power to call the Executive Committee to account as regards the implementation of PNC resolutions; to have the power to suspend the membership of PLO Executive Committee members, not surpassing one-third of total membership.
- 4) The Council is to set up effective and permanent action committees from the ranks of PNC members and on a front basis.
- 5) Approving internal bylaws to organize Central Council functions, to be regarded as a part of the Basic Statute.

Third: The Executive Committee

- 1) All national organizations and forces recognized by the PNC are to take part in the Executive Committee.
- 2) The Executive Committee is to elect deputies to the Executive Committee Chairman. The internal rules of the Executive Committee is to determine their powers and tasks.
- 3) The formation of a General Secretariat, representing a collective action leadership responsible for daily decision-making in all organizational, political, financial and military affairs in the period falling between two meetings of the Executive Committee. The number of its members should not exceed one-third of Executive Committee members.

- 4) The Executive Committee forms from among its members specialized committees to supervise political affairs of the occupied homeland (including the policy of support for steadfastness) and Lebanon.

- 5) The PNC is to adopt internal rules and regulations to organize the Executive Committee activities, to be included in the Basic Statutes.

Fourth: Popular Unions

- 1) To safeguard the unity of the popular unions and activate their role in relation with their masses and commitment to the principles of front alliance within their ranks.
- 2) To restore the unity of the popular unions in accordance with their own statutes and regulations.

Fifth: PLO Departments and Institutions

- 1) To review the organization of PLO departments, bureaus and institutions, on the basis of the principles of front alliance and qualifications.
- 2) The Executive Committee is to set up a special committee to study the state of PLO departments, bureaus and institutions in such a manner as to insure developing their effectiveness and efficiency according to paragraph (1) above, and to present recommendations to the Executive Committee.

COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL DIALOGUE

The participant parties to the Algiers and Aden meetings call for a comprehensive national dialogue to consolidate and secure the PLO's unity and to activate its legitimate institutions, and consider the suitable framework for this national dialogue to be an undelayed meeting of the Executive Committee, the General Secretaries of the organizations of the revolution and the head of the PNC. The participant parties will present before this meeting the political and organizational agreement reached, welcoming at the same time any other ideas and proposals for the attainment of a final agreement securing the unity and the national line of the PLO and preparing the grounds for convening the 17th PNC session.

The participant parties affirm the necessity for the undelayed commencement of national dialogue in accordance with the above formula. Given the importance of this issue, the participant parties consider that the dialogue should commence as from the middle of July'84.

The Palestinian National Council

The participant parties suggest that the PNC be held at a date not later than September 15, 1984, and the comprehensive national dialogue meeting will determine and announce the date for the PNC session during the proposed period. If the dialogue meetings fail to reach agreement over the date, then the five parties will meet to implement this agreement.

PFLP

Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah)

Palestinian Liberation Front

DFLP

Palestinian Communist Party

- On behalf of the Yemeni Socialist Party, Comrade Mahmoud Al-Najashi, Deputy Secretary of the Party Central Committee
- On behalf of the Algerian National Liberation Front Party, Comrade Muhammed Qadri, Algerian Ambassador in Aden.

Enthusiastic Palestinian Response

After the signing of the Aden-Algiers agreement between the Democratic Alliance and Fatah's Central Committee, many Palestinian mass organizations and patriotic personalities publicly declared their support of the agreement. The following are samples of the response from the occupied territories, Jordan and Syria. (We thank the comrades of the DFLP who translated most of these statements which have been published in the DFLP Bulletin.)

Bassam Shaka'a, legitimate Mayor of Nablus:

«We hope that this agreement will be implemented as soon as possible. The agreement constitutes a landmark strengthening our unified national action, consolidating our Arab and international alliances.»

Ibrahim el-Tawil, legitimate Mayor of Bireh:

«Our people are in great need of this agreement. Such an agreement symbolizes the new state of upsurge in our people's spirit inside the occupied territories.»

Wahid Hamdallah, legitimate Mayor of A'nabta:

«The agreement is a new stemming point for the PLO to continue bearing its historical responsibility of defending the interests of our people and achieving its aims, especially that of building its independent state.

We appeal to all our brothers in other organizations to endorse this agreement.»

Azmi Al-Shua'ibi, member of Bireh Municipal Council:

«Our masses received the historical Aden agreement with joy and hope. We welcome what the agreement includes politically and organizationally.

We ask all other organizations, national forces and institutions of our people to provide all support for the agreement.»

Dr. Haidar Abdel Shaffi, head of the Palestinian Red Crescent Association in Gaza:

«Simply and briefly, there can be no better gift than this for our people inside and outside the occupied territories especially in the face of our enemies' insistence on splintering the PLO.»

Haj Amin al Nasir, Mayor of Qalqilya:

«This agreement is what our people have been waiting for. Our people appreciate this agreement and hope that the crisis and obstacles which hinder our unity will not take place again.»

Youssra Barbari, head of the Women's Federation in Gaza:

«We feel happy about the restoration of the unity of the Palestinian institutions on the basis of the PNC resolutions. I emphasize the importance of implementing what has been agreed upon.»

Akram Haniya President of the Arab Journalists' League:

«The agreement reached by the main Palestinian organizations through their democratic dialogue in Algiers and Aden constitutes an achievement of paramount importance.»

Ali Abu Hilal, Secretary of the Labor Unity League in Gaza and West Bank:

«The agreement is a victory for the realistic revolutionary policy of the Democratic Alliance and is a defeat for the adventurist policy.»

Zuhaira Kamal, Chairman of the Executive Council of Women Action Committees in West Bank:

«We consider the agreement as a great step to consolidate the unity of the PLO together with democratic practice within the institutions of the PLO. We call on all the organizations to support the agreement.»

Bashir el-Barghouthi, Editor-in-Chief of «Al Talia» in Jerusalem:

«Undoubtedly this agreement will contribute in the unity of the PLO and strengthen its Arab and international position as well as its patriotic role.»

Tawfiq Toubi, Polit-Bureau member of the Communist Party of Israel:

«The agreement is a historic step in the march of the Palestinian national

movement. It is an important step to overcome the difficulties that have risen and intensified in the aftermath of the Israeli-American aggression against Lebanon.

I express the joy and appreciation of all here for the success achieved by the Palestinian national movement in overcoming the difficulties and elements of division, and restoring the political and organizational unity of the PLO.

We hope that the agreement will be implemented soon in the interest of all the sympathizers with the just cause of our Palestinian Arab people.»

Palestinian masses support the Aden-Algiers agreement:

Palestinian masses inside and outside the occupied territories declared their support for the Aden-Algiers agreement. Telegrams and memoranda expressing the Palestinian masses' backing of the agreement were sent to the Chairman of the PNC, and the General Secretaries of the organizations of the Democratic Alliance. The messages stressed the importance of achieving national unity and safeguarding the PLO in this crucial period. They called on all other Palestinian patriotic organizations, forces and personalities to support this great step towards establishing the unity of the PLO on a patriotic line.

Palestinian masses in the camps in Syria (Yarmouk, Khan al Sheikh, Jeramane and Danoun) sent delegates who met with the Chairman of the PNC and General Secretaries of the organizations of the Democratic Alliance, and emphasized their support for the Aden agreement.

Palestinian masses in the camps in Homs, Aleppo, Hama and Lattakia acted likewise.

The Executive Committee of the General Union of Palestinian Students issued a statement in which it declared support to the Aden agreement for restoring the unity of the PLO on the basis of its patriotic line and PNC resolutions. The communique called on all the Palestinian organizations and patriotic personalities to work seriously for the success of comprehensive national dialogue.

In a telegram sent to the Chairman of the PNC and the leaders of the Palestinian organizations, 12 Palestinian and Arab youth and student organizations in

Damascus confirmed their support for the Aden agreement and demanded the continuation of the overall dialogue among all patriotic parties, to reach a final comprehensive political and organizational agreement. The organizations signing the telegram were:

Students' Federation in Syria
Egyptian Democratic Youth Union
Iraqi Democratic Youth Union
Democratic Front of Sudanese Students
Yemeni Democratic Youth Union
Palestinian Youth Organization
Palestinian Democratic Youth Organization
Palestinian Communist Youth Union
Student Bureaus of the Palestinian Communist Party, the Palestinian Liberation Front, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

37 syndicates and trade unions inside the occupied territories issued a statement in which they expressed their support for the Aden agreement.

Joint statement published in «Al Shaab» newspaper, Jerusalem:

We express our warm congratulations to the Palestinian masses inside and outside Palestine on the occasion of the declaration of the unity agreement in Aden, which attained the unity of the PLO and enables its legitimate institutions to regain their active role. On this occasion we salute the presidents, governments and people of Democratic Yemen and Algeria, for their constructive efforts that made the Palestinian dialogue in Aden and Algiers successful. Their role expresses the essence of Arab nationalism in support of our people's cause.

Student Council, Bir Zeit University; General Union of Youth Committees for Social Work in the occupied territories; Student Youth Movement, Najah University; Union of Women's Committees for Social Work in the occupied territories; Student Youth Movement, Bir Zeit University; Student Youth Movement, Hebron University; Student Youth Movement, Bethlehem University; Student Youth Movement in the Modern

Community Colleges in Ramallah; Student Youth Movement, Polytechnical Institute in Hebron; Health Services Workers' Union in Ramallah and Bireh.

PNC Members in Jordan

Forty-three members of the Palestinian National Council residing in Jordan signed a statement declaring full support to the Aden agreement of July 27th, terming it:

«An important achievement to regain the unity of the PLO on the basis of the national, anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist line and decisive adherence to its political program and consecutive PNC resolutions that aim to achieve the aspirations of our people to return, self-determination and an independent state and preserving the gains in struggle of our people and their principled allies.

We call upon all Palestinian national organizations, forces and personalities to respond by participating in the comprehensive national dialogue to consolidate the unity of the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of our Palestinian Arab people.»

PF-DF Joint Leadership

Year of Success

June 26th marked the first anniversary of the formation of the Joint Leadership of the Popular Front and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The formation of the Joint Leadership was the result of deep, thorough discussions between the two fronts which started in January 1979. These intensified afterwards in accordance with the decisions taken at the respective congresses of the PFLP and DFLP in 1981, on unifying the revolutionary democratic Palestinian forces as a step towards the strategic goal of forming a united Palestinian communist party.

When the Joint Leadership was declared, the following principles were emphasized:

1. The Joint Leadership is by no means a coordinating body only. Rather it is a joint leadership dealing with the political, military, informational and mass organizational levels. It is considered to be an important step in a long process that aims for total ideological, political, and organizational unity of the two fronts.

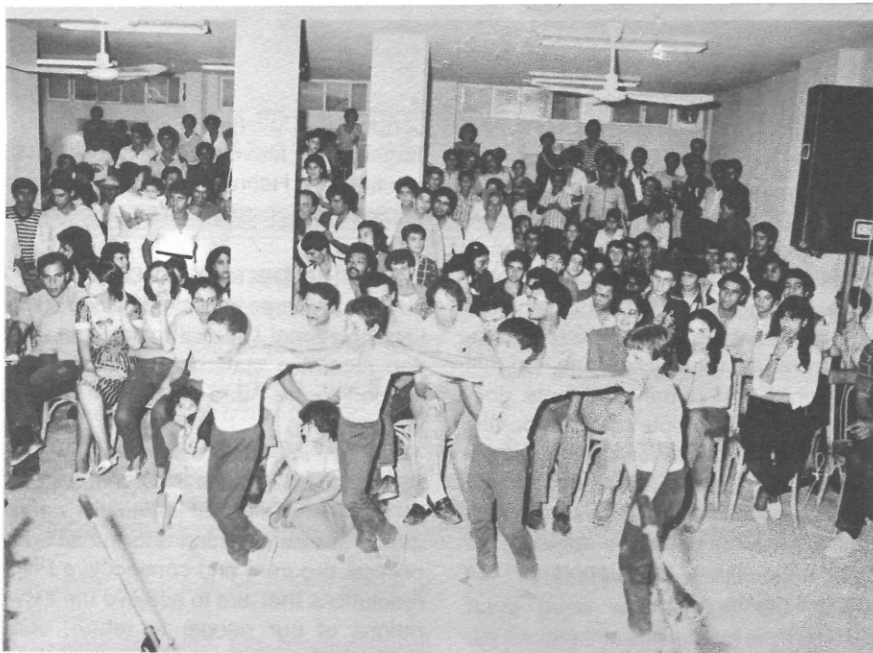
2. Unity between the two fronts should be viewed as part of joint comprehensive efforts to achieve the unity of all the Palestinian left organizations.

3. The unity of the two fronts should take place within the framework of the PLO; it should serve to strengthen Palestinian national unity and preserve the important national gains of the PLO in the past years of struggle. The Palestinian left organizations are those most concerned and most capable of

strengthening Palestinian national unity in the PLO on anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-reactionary principles, and of preserving its gains.

Political struggle

One year is a short period to give a full assessment of the experience of the Joint Leadership. Yet it is very important to emphasize its main achievements. The past year was full of major political developments in the Palestinian struggle, in which the Joint Leadership played a historic role. The Joint Leadership proved to be the main factor involved in preserving the unity of the Palestinian national struggle and the PLO. The Joint Leadership emerged in a period when the Palestinian revolution was facing the dangers of deviation and splits. Its correct policy in the face of these dangers increased its political importance and weight in the Palestinian arena. In the past year, the Joint Leadership has succeeded in playing a major role in tackling the problems and determining the political stands in the Palestinian arena, for



Festival on the occasion of the anniversary of the Joint Leadership. Music and dance groups from the youth of the PFLP and DFLP participated.

the sake of restoring the unity and retaining the weight of the Palestinian national struggle and the PLO. In this context, the Joint Leadership struggled along three main lines:

First: The struggle against the political deviation that emerged after the departure of the PLO forces from Beirut and crystallized with Arafat's visit to Cairo in December 1983. The aim of this struggle was to preserve and strengthen the anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist political line of the PLO, and to maintain the PLO as a vanguard force in the Arab national liberation movement, as well as part of the international anti-imperialist front.

Second: The struggle against adventurism and splits that has threatened the PLO and the Palestinian national struggle, especially when violence was used in 1983 to resolve internal contradictions.

These two dangers had to be confronted in order to restore and strengthen national unity in the PLO. The Joint Leadership exerted broad and intensive efforts in this direction that eventually led to the recent agreement between the Democratic Alliance and the Fatah Central Committee after tough negotiations in Algiers and Aden; this agreement provides a suitable basis for restoring Palestinian national unity within the PLO.

Third: The struggle for reform in the bodies and institutions of the PLO. In November 1983, the Joint Leadership proposed the program for unity and democratic reform in the PLO. This outlined concrete proposals for deepening national unity, enriching democracy and enacting collective leadership in the

PLO. Such reforms are clearly stipulated in the Aden agreement between the Democratic Alliance and the Central Committee of Fatah (see text elsewhere in this issue).

In these efforts the role of the Joint Leadership has been significantly increased by the emergence of the

Democratic Alliance which includes the Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestinian Liberation Front, in addition to the Joint Leadership. This is an indication of the correctness of forming the Joint Leadership as a means of drawing other forces on the Palestinian left into closer cooperation.

Growing influence of the democratic forces

The formation of the Joint Leadership was enthusiastically welcomed by broad sectors of the Palestinian masses everywhere. This was a clear expression of the masses' attitude towards national unity in general and the unity of the left in particular. The Palestinian masses have given strong support to the efforts made by the Joint Leadership to preserve the PLO's anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist line and restore its unity. Mass support has been expressed in statements signed by dozens of national personalities, trade unions, mass organizations, mayors and social institutions, when initiatives were launched by the

Democratic Alliance Welcomes Soviet Proposal

On August 5th, the Democratic Alliance met on the leadership level to discuss the latest proposals of the Soviet Union for a solution of the Middle East problem. The following statement was issued:

With welcome and support, the Democratic Alliance received the latest Soviet proposals for a just solution of the Middle East crisis, which affirmed the necessity of responding to our Palestinian people's rights including their right to return to their homeland, self-determination and establishing an independent state on their national land, and which reaccentuated the role of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative and spokesman of our people.

The Democratic Alliance views this initiative as a new expression of the firm and decisive position of the Soviet Union, as seen in its active, principled support to the just struggle of our Palestinian people and all peoples of the Arab nation, in the political and diplomatic field and in all fields of struggle, against imperialist-Zionist aggression.

At this time of very crucial conditions for our people's struggle, this initiative was put forth to block the attempts of the US-Zionist-Arab reactionary alliance

to impose liquidationist, capitulationist solutions at the expense of our people's rights, independence and sacred national cause.

The contents of the initiative emphasize that the Palestinian cause is the essence of the conflict in the Middle East, and there will be no solution to this conflict unless the rights of our Palestinian people and the PLO's sole right of representation are recognized. On this basis, the Democratic Alliance calls upon all Palestinian and Arab national forces to grasp the Soviet initiative as a weapon for struggle against the Camp David course and accords, and against all liquidationist and capitulationist solutions including the Reagan plan, 'autonomy' and the so-called Jordanian option.

- PFLP
- DFLP
- Palestinian Communist Party
- Palestinian Liberation Front

Joint Leadership. As examples we can cite the positive response to the program for unity and democratic reform, the initiative of the Democratic Alliance for restoring the PLO's unity, and the agreement between it and the Fatah Central Committee. Similarly, there was positive support on the part of the Arab masses and their national and progressive organizations, and from the international friends and allies of the Palestinian people.

In general, the past year's experience of the Joint Leadership has been successful. This experience lays the foundation for more steps forward in the process of cooperation with the aim of total unity. In this process, the Joint Leadership's work is not limited to the

leading bodies of the respective fronts. Rather there was participation by the cadres and members of both fronts through the creation of joint leaderships in organizational, political, mass and informational fields. The necessary working papers have been adopted for each of these fields.

This year's experience proved that conviction in the unity of the left is strong among the members of both fronts. The overcoming of difficulties and differences between the two fronts in the last year shows solid determination to continue this process to its ultimate goal. This is the subjective factor that is needed to provide solid ground for the success of the overall unity process, which is accompanied by the masses'

support and the need of our people for such unity.

Moreover, the past year's experience has proven the viability of resolving internal differences through principles of comradely, democratic dialogue, taking existing agreement as the point of departure, and finding solutions for secondary differences on the basis of the actual political development. It would not be scientific to say that the experience of the Joint Leadership will not face difficulties in the future whether due to objective conditions, existing differences, or problems created by other forces. Yet we can scientifically say that experience so far has provided a firm basis for making this experience successful and overcoming all obstacles. ●

Occupied Palestine

Repression and Resistance

Our Palestinian masses in the occupied homeland continue their heroic resistance against the occupation and its armed gangs. Mid-July witnessed an escalation of military operations, highlighted by two successful attacks in the space of less than an hour in Jabalia camp in the occupied Gaza Strip. Also hand grenades were thrown at an Israeli patrol in Nablus in the West Bank. In Duheisha camp, there was courageous mass confrontation of a group of Zionist-backed thugs. Also in this period, the National Guidance Committee was reactivated in the West Bank.

Popular solidarity in Duheisha

Duheisha, near Bethlehem, was placed under curfew, and the occupation forces carried out an extensive arrest campaign after clashes between the camp residents and a group of thugs which lasted throughout the night of July 14th. The fight began when three thugs attacked 65 year old Hassan Jibril Manaa, who is secretary of the Progressive Workers Bloc in the camp. He was critically wounded by repeated stabblings and almost paralyzed from blows by an iron rod. Alerted by the commotion, camp residents poured into the streets. Defying the thugs who shot wildly about to prevent anyone from aiding Manaa, they picked up stones, sticks and metal rods and encircled the attackers, preventing them from fleeing. The houses and cars of the thugs were set ablaze.

Units of the Zionist army and border guards were rushed to the scene. They cut off electricity in the camp and started firing their rifles. This led to continued clashes which lasted throughout the night. The army clamped a curfew on the camp and surrounding area, and broke the encirclement of the thugs. Twenty camp residents were arrested in the initial sweep of an extensive arrest campaign. In another act of collective punishment, the Zionist troops cut off the camp's water supply.

The facts of the incident combine to indicate that the attackers are collaborators. How else can one interpret the fact that they had pistols, or that they gave the Zionist forces such a golden opportunity to harass the camp and actually received protection from the enemy? Adding to the seriousness of the situation was the fact that there had

been a series of destructive acts against nationalists' homes and institutions in the preceding weeks.

In response the people of Duheisha banded together and took their own measures. *Al Fajr* reports the details of how they used the traditional form of *sulha* (reconciliation). Five hundred residents attended negotiations between representatives of the attackers and their families, and the representatives of the Manaa family. Monetary compensation, the usual peace offering, was refused by the Manaa family. Instead it was decided that the three attackers should be totally banned from the camp. Thus a measure was taken to preserve the solidarity of Duheisha which is known for resistance to occupation.

The National Guidance Committee

The National Guidance Committee is now being reactivated after having been banned by the Zionist authorities in the spring of 1982. Reports from the occupied homeland tell that the Zionists have recently adopted new measures against National Guidance Committee members, aiming at finishing the committee once and for all. Angered by the renewal of the committee's activities, the 'civil administration' is planning more stringent measures: Besides imposing house arrest on members, they are considering deporting them away from population centers into deserted areas ►



Children in Fawara camp

of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It is to be remembered that the Zionist authorities previously deported two of the committee's members, the mayors of Al Khalil (Hebron) and Halhoul, to Lebanon in the summer of 1979.

Protesting prison conditions

In mid-June the Zionists opened a new prison called Rafeedyah in Nabulus, filling it with new detainees as well as those transferred from other jails. The new prison is divided into four parts with

a total capacity of about 1,500. Each part is isolated from the others and has a separate administration. The prison now contains 250 inmates with an average of fourteen in a single cell 4.5m. x 4.5m. It is equipped with modern torture and spying equipment such as television cameras in the cells.

Almost immediately the conditions in Rafeedyah sparked protest. On July 9th, there was a confrontation between prisoners' families and the guards when

mothers complained of the treatment their sons were getting. The prisoners began a protest inside and refused food; they were accosted by the guards who used tear gas and clubs against them. The families then took the protest to the offices of the International Red Cross where they staged a sit-in for the following demands:

- Medical treatment for all those with contagious diseases, and that specialist doctors be allowed to enter the jail.
- Improvement in the food, and cash payment for prison work.
- For the prison administration to deal with the prisoners' representative as a liaison.
- Providing beds rather than prisoners' sleeping on the floor.
- Allowing the purchase of a transistor radio.
- Allowing the prisoners to get the leaflets, magazines and newspapers that are distributed in occupied Palestine.
- Increasing the amount of money prisoners may receive from outside for canteen expenses.
- Allowing longer sunbreaks for the prisoners who now spend over 22 hours daily inside.
- Allowing more freedom for the prisoner to choose his cell.

On July 20th, there was another clash between the prison guards and the detainees' family members who continue to press for better treatment of the prisoners.

Entrance to Duheisha as it was blocked by the Israelis last year



Striking Palestinian education

The Zionist authorities have once again ordered the closure of Najah University in Nablus, this time for four months. The order was issued with the excuse that the university houses publications and art work which oppose the occupation. The closure order came after Israeli army forces stormed the university and confiscated Palestinian national art work and publications that were exhibited as part of the university's Palestine Week celebration. The Zionists conducted a thorough search of the university and the offices of student committees. Many of the books confiscated concerned the history of Palestine. While the search was in progress, not only the university campus but the whole area were encircled by Zionist troops who blocked off the main roads. More than twenty students were arrested.

Arrests and trials

In another incident the Zionist occupation forces arrested the Palestinian citizen, Saed Farid Abu Rub as he was returning from Jordan via the Amir Muhammad Bridge on July 17th. He was accused of making contact with the PLO office in Amman. Also three youth from the village of Maghir in the Ramallah area were arrested on the charge of «de-meaning and belittling the Israeli flag». Collective punishment was imposed on both Kalandia and Fawara camps near Nablus, whereby the residents were denied their right to travel.

In a trial by the Zionist military court in Lod (Lydda), Redda Hussein Qadoura, age 18, was sentenced to thirty years imprisonment on charges of conducting the military operation in Jerusalem on February 18th, attempting

Military Operations

The following military operations were carried out in occupied Palestine by the PFLP in July:

- On July 20, a PFLP commando group working inside occupied Palestine attacked an Israeli patrol in Nablus in the West Bank. An armored vehicle carrying eight Israeli soldiers was hit by hand grenades. The Zionists admitted only one injury. The occupation forces converged on the area shooting in all directions and injuring five Palestinian citizens, including a 13 year old boy and a 60 year old man. A curfew was imposed and close to 100 persons were rounded up for questioning.

- On July 22, a two-step attack was carried out against Israeli soldiers patrolling near Jabalia refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. One commando group of the PFLP unit named after the martyr Ghasan Kanafani, threw hand grenades against a patrol, hitting several Israeli soldiers. When Israeli reinforcements arrived to search the area, a second group of the same unit attacked the soldiers with hand grenades.

- On July 31, hand grenades were again thrown against an Israeli patrol near Jabalia by a PFLP military unit.

Immediately the camp and nearby Gaza city were surrounded by the occupation troops.

Clearly Jabalia camp is a persistent irritation to the occupiers due to the ongoing resistance of its militant youth. This was also evidenced in the sentence handed down in mid-July by an Israeli military court against seven youth of the camp, charged with carrying out eight separate military attacks on the occupiers.

DFLP executes Zionist soldier

In early August, heroic fighters of the DFLP captured an Israeli soldier in occupied Palestine. They took possession of his gun and executed him. On August 10th, the Israelis found the body of the soldier near Mevo Dotan settlement in the northern West Bank, and identified him as Corporal Moshe Taman. It is to be remembered that earlier this year, DFLP commandos also succeeded in capturing another Zionist soldier on the road between Natania and Tiberius in the Zionist entity. He was executed and found near the village of Tulkarm. The Israelis also confirmed the death of this soldier, David Bokar from Natania.

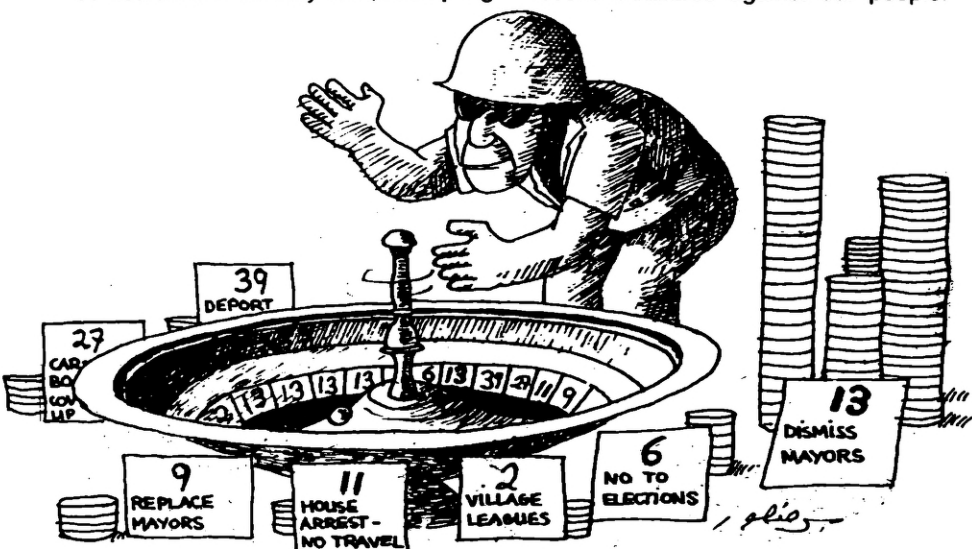
another operation and DFLP membership. Qadoura was tried in absentia, having been dismissed from the courtroom when he refused to stand for the military judge's entry.

Racism on the rise

The above mentioned acts of repression are only some of the more recent measures against our people.

They bear evidence to the escalation of Zionism's racist practices in line with Zionism's steady march rightwards. In recent years Zionist aggression and racism have become more blatant with the increased prominence of ultra-right tendencies. The increased terrorist activities of extreme right groups and the acts of the official forces, like the murder of the two Palestinian commandos after the Askelon bus operation are no coincidence but true expressions of Zionism and its strategy.

The Israeli elections showed that the Zionist entity's move towards the right is not a passing phenomenon, but a deeply entrenched trend. This enabled the relatively small rightist religious parties to attain a decisive position in the formation of the new government. This also enabled the openly fascist terrorist Meir Kahane to gain a Knesset seat. After his election, Kahane declared that he will establish a bureau to kick all Palestinians out of Palestine. The ongoing repression of the official terrorists, i.e. the Zionist army, provides fertile ground for such attempts.



Ghassan Kanafani

Lessons for the Revolution

Twelve years ago, on July 8, 1972, Ghassan Kanafani was killed by Israeli agents in Beirut, but his life and works had already deeply influenced not only the Palestinian revolution, but revolutionaries, nationalists and humanists all over the Arab world and abroad.

Writer, journalist, Palestinian leader and militant, Ghassan Kanafani was born in Acre in the North of Palestine on the 9th of April, 1936. He lived in Jaffa until he had to emigrate with his family in 1948. He then lived in several Arab cities like Damascus, Kuwait and Beirut, where he finally settled down in 1960 and remained until assassinated.

For a while Ghassan worked as a teacher, both in Damascus and Kuwait, and then entered the field of journalism at an early age. In 1963, he became the editor-in-chief of one of the Lebanese daily papers, but he continued to contribute articles to several weekly and daily publications.

Ghassan joined the Arab Nationalist Movement in 1954, and from that time on he was involved in the Arab-Palestinian struggle, both in his commitment and his practice. When the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was formed, Ghassan was among its leading cadres. In 1969, he became the founding editor of its weekly paper, *Al Hadaf*. Later he was elected a member of the Front's politbureau and became its official spokesman.

A proficient novelist, successful journalist and political commentator, Ghassan was also a stimulating lecturer and debator, as well as a sharp influential critic and a strong, progressive militant. He was also engaged in the art of painting, which he taught in his early working life. He left quite a number of well known water colors, oil paintings and posters, as well as pencil and crayon sketches, which were later exhibited.

Ghassan was a very warm, likeable person with a bright sense of humour and a straightforward and humble personality. He was loved and is remembered as a brilliant revolutionary comrade who never lost sight of the main goals and priorities in spite of all the fields in which he was active.

His works are still alive, not only as a source of inspiration but as documented Palestinian history, art and political analysis from a period now ended. His short stories and theater focus on Palestinian experience of life under occupation and in exile and the immense suffering caused by this situation. However he never appeals to the pity of bourgeois 'good-doers', but carries this situation to its logical consequence: through revolutionary struggle the Palestinian people reconquer their pride and identity. His political analyses focus on issues which are not less central for the Palestinian revolution today, than when he wrote them.

Political Analysis

In «The 1936-1939 Revolt in Palestine» Ghassan analyzes a period which is central for understanding the problems and possibilities of the Palestinian revolution. As he states, «In the whole history of Palestinian struggle the armed

popular revolt was never closer to victory than in the months between the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1939.» This revolt was defeated, and Ghassan analyzes the reason for this defeat. As Marx analyzed the reasons for the defeat of the Paris Commune and Lenin analyzed the reason for the defeat of the 1905 revolution, Ghassan clearly saw that the same approach was necessary in order to strengthen the revolution, by learning from experience.

Ghassan analyzes the class composition of the Palestinian nationalist resistance, of its leadership and of the mass movement. He finds that the mass movement mainly consists of poor peasants, workers and beduins, while the leadership is dominated by feudal landlords, bourgeois and petit bourgeois forces. All these forces do have conflicting interests with Zionism and British imperialism, but «... the main outlines of the fundamental role that the feudal-clerical leadership was to play were established - it was to be a 'struggle' for a better position in the colonialist regime. But they could not engage in this 'struggle' without rallying around their support, the classes that were eager to free themselves from the yoke of colonisation. With this end in view, they drew up a programme that was clearly progressive, adopted mass slogans, which they were neither willing nor able to push to their logical conclusion, and followed a pattern of struggle which was quite out of character.»(p.10) The leadership found its allies in the Arab rulers especially in Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, but as Ghassan points out, the Arab ruling classes were forced to support British imperialism against their counterpart in Palestine, which was in effect leading the Palestinian nationalist movement. The Brits managed to crush the revolt, mainly by «striking at the poor peasant revolutionaries with unprecedented violence, and employing their extensive influence with the Arab regimes which played a major role in liquidating the revolt.» At the height of the revolt the Arab rulers were able to make the Palestinian nationalist leadership stop the revolt: «In obedience to the orders of the kings and emirs, the strike was called off, and the activities of the revolt came to an end within two hours of the call being published.»(p.20) The Brits had been confident that Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Transjordan «were prepared to use their influence with the Palestinian leaders and put an end to the revolt» (p.20) - and they were, as Ghassan shows, completely right in estimating that the Arab rulers would give priority to their alliance with imperialism, not to the Palestinian nationalists. At this early stage of the Palestinian nationalist movement, Ghassan demonstrates how the Palestinian bourgeois cannot lead the revolt to success; whatever their intentions, their strategy leads to defeat because of their dependence on their alliance with imperialism.

Analyzing the relation between Zionism and British imperialism, Ghassan concludes that without the support of imperialism in this stage Zionism could not have succeeded in usurping Palestine after the Second World War. The British slaughter of the revolt destroyed the leadership of the Palestinian nationalist movement and inflicted heavy losses upon the masses. Thus, «the period taken to complete the second chapter of the Palestinian defeat - from the end of 1947 to the middle of 1948 - was amazingly short, because it was only the conclusion of a long and bloody chapter which had lasted from April 1936 to September 1939» (p.27).

In the period of the revolt, Ghassan points out that the depth of the alliance between Zionism and British imperialism clearly can be seen from the fact that British as well as Zionist tactics and strategy were based on the existence of an alliance. The Palestinian leadership, however was not able to

out the task of mobilizing Palestinian Arabs. But despite their small number, their relative isolation and their failure to reach the Palestinian Arab masses, the communists threw all their weight into the 1936 uprising.

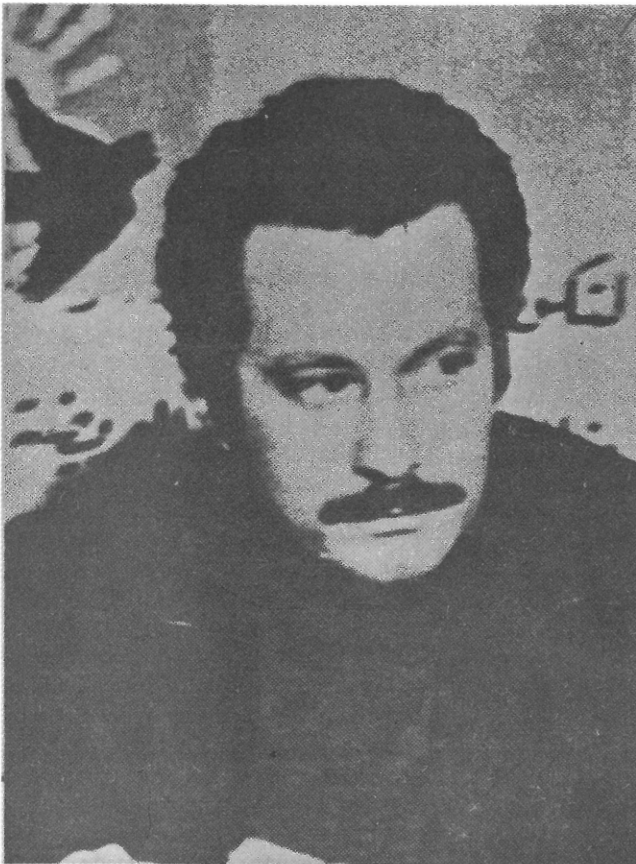
The aim of this analysis is of course not to minimize the heroic struggle of the Palestinian nationalists, or to minimize the immense brutality with which the revolt was crushed. On the contrary, through the history of the world, it has so many times been demonstrated that imperialism is prepared to use the most horrendous weapons at its disposal, when threatened by a strong, popular anti-imperialist or socialist movement: the Paris Commune, the Spanish Civil War, the Greek Civil War, Chile etc. However the world history also shows that a strong revolutionary movement, which learns from its mistakes, can achieve victory although having to fight the strongest power in the world: the experience of the Russian Revolution, Cuba, Vietnam, Democratic Yemen, etc.

Learning from history

In this way the studies of Ghassan Kanafani provide necessary lessons for the Palestinian revolution of today. True, the class composition of the Palestinian revolution has changed, and the main imperialist force in this area is no longer Britain but the USA. Yet because Ghassan analyzes the class forces of the revolution and its strategy when fighting Zionism and necessarily imperialism and Arab reaction, his conclusion is as central now as it was then. Though the Palestinian bourgeoisie truly is fighting for the national cause and has a role to play in the revolution, it cannot lead the revolution to victory. Also, as Ghassan never ceased to point out, the network of imperialism clearly puts Arab reaction on the enemy side. Therefore understanding and fighting imperialism becomes as central for Ghassan as it was for Lenin, when he pointed out the consequences of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. Therefore Ghassan's works are not only important for understanding the conditions for the Palestinian revolutionary struggle, but also a contribution to the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle.

Continuously Ghassan showed that imperialism is not a myth or a word of the mass media, it is a mobile body, an octopus which colonizes and exploits, spreading itself through western monopolies. Addressing himself to a group of students, Ghassan said, «The goal of education is to correct the march of history. For this reason we need to study history and apprehend its dialectics, in order to build a new historical era, in which the oppressed will live, after their liberation by revolutionary violence, from the contradiction which captivated them.» Ghassan had not only achieved the knowledge of dialectical materialism, but applied it in his work. The concept that he believed in and lived for was distinct in what he said and wrote. As the primary contradiction, the one with imperialism, Zionism and racism, is an international contradiction, and the only solution is to destroy these threats by a united and steadfast armed struggle, he encouraged and raised the spirit of internationalism among all the people he addressed or knew. This belief made him reject all compromises, all bourgeois and deviating solutions, which do not encompass or apply the thesis and development of the revolution and its long path towards liberation, striking the interests of imperialism and consolidating with the masses.

Ghassan Kanafani's commitment remains, as does his deep love for the cause of the oppressed masses and their struggle, and the results of his work with them, for which he was martyred.



see or draw the political consequence of this fact, but believed that British imperialism would give them concessions. This was the only reason for them to stop the revolt in a situation where British imperialism had taken a clear position for the Zionist bourgeoisie, and only the force of the revolt itself objectively served the interests of the Palestinian nationalist movement, including its leadership.

Turning to the main Palestinian left-wing organization, the Palestine Communist Party, Ghassan explains that already in the early 20s and 30s, the progressive labor movement - Arab as well as Jewish - had suffered crushing blows. The Zionist movement sought to isolate and destroy the CP, most of whose leaders were Jews who resisted being contained by Zionist labor organizations. In 1930, the party admitted that it had «adopted an erroneous attitude towards Palestinian nationalism». However, the party proved incapable of carrying

Mass Movement to Return the Disappeared

Hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinian women shut down Beirut in a general strike on July 9 to protest government inaction on returning over 3,000 kidnap victims to their families. What has mushroomed into one of the most important mass movements ever in Beirut, had its origins in the spontaneous demonstrations mounted by women in the wake of the 1982 Sabra-Shatila massacre.

An estimated 3,000 Lebanese and Palestinians were slaughtered by Israeli-backed Phalangist militiamen during the three-day massacre ending on September 18, 1982. While the massacre was in progress, the Israeli army rounded up thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian men from both Sabra-Shatila and surrounding Beirut neighborhoods. Some of those abducted later turned up in the Ansar concentration camp near Nabatiyeh, but hundreds of others were handed over to the Phalange and have since disappeared.

Within days of the massacre, rumors spread through West Beirut that the Phalangist butchers were returning in force to the camps. Hundreds of women clutching their babies in their arms, gathered at an office of the International Red Cross to register their names in case they too disappeared. Others gathered at the residence of former Prime Minister Saeb Salam demanding protection from continued Phalangist outrages. Their protestations went unheeded, the kidnappings continued on a massive scale and the movement for the disappeared took on a militant momentum.

Forty days after the massacre, 2,000 Lebanese and Palestinian women mounted a demonstration in Shatila camp in defiance of the Lebanese Army. The women carried Palestinian and Lebanese flags as well as enlarged photographs draped in black of family members who had been massacred. The women moved en masse out of Shatila, hurdling the rubble and stagnant pools of water left by two months of Israeli aerial bombardment of the camp

during the summer. They marched to the Gaza Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital where over 1,000 of the massacre victims had been herded off to their deaths by the right-wing Lebanese death squads. The women's screams broke the silence in the streets: «We will redeem you with our blood and souls;» «Sabra and Shatila could only be destroyed after the revolutionaries left.» The demonstration ended at one of the mass graves of the massacre victims with the laying of a single wreath. The wreath read: «We salute the blood of the martyred men, women and children of Sabra and Shatila. Your blood has not been spent in vain.» Since that day the mothers, wives and sisters of the disappeared have carried out weekly demonstrations explicitly modelled after the Mothers of the Disappeared in Argentina.

How many disappeared?

In addition to the hundreds of persons who disappeared during the massacre, thousands of other Lebanese and Palestinians disappeared in the following two months when the rightist-controlled Lebanese Army entered West Beirut after the departure of the Israeli army. The first act of the newly installed government of Phalangist President Amin Gemayel and Prime Minister Shafiq Wazzan was to launch a massive «security sweep» of West Beirut and the southern suburbs. While the Israeli army orchestrated the Sabra-Shatila massacre, this time thousands disappeared while US Marines and the rest of the multinational force were allegedly protecting the refugee camps and Lebanese civilians.

The Lebanese Army arrest campaign began on September 26, 1982, less than one week after the massacre. The Amin Gemayel government was said at the time to have a secret plan to expel 50,000 Palestinians from the zone under its control. Even Western press accounts of the «security sweep» list the number of the disappeared in the thousands. Richard Ben Cramer wrote in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on September 30, 1982:

Since Monday, Lebanese soldiers and secret policemen have stormed and searched thousands of homes, offices and shops in the camps of Sabra, Shatila, Bourj el-Barajneh. The soldiers and plainclothesmen took away the young men. Anyone could be seized and held in this great roundup. More than 1,500 prisoners, mostly Palestinian men, are being held in an East Beirut prison, where - according to a man who said he had been there - they are packed too closely to lie down, denied food, forced to live amid their own excrement and beaten during «interrogation».

The *New York Times* reported on October 3, 1982 that «some officials said that up to 2,000 civilians had been picked up during this week for identity checks». David Ottaway in the *Washington Post* on the same day reported that «the Lebanese Army has been rounding up hundreds of Palestinians, spreading new terror in the camps where the massacres took place last month, in what appears to be a government effort to reduce the number of Palestinians here by about 90 percent...The roundup of Palestinians is also taking place in camps around Sidon. There it is the Israelis rather than the Lebanese Army making most of the arrests.» Finally, the *New York Times* reported on October 7, 1982, that «soldiers of the Lebanese Army today made their first intensive search of downtown West Beirut...Some unofficial estimates put the number of people detained at more than 400...The searches paralleled others in the last 10 days, with unofficial estimates that up to 3,000,

«The Blackest Days of My Life»

Testimony of a Survivor of a Phalangist Prison

The International Federation of the Rights of Man based in Paris has compiled statistics and taken testimonies of Lebanese and Palestinians who have been abducted by the Phalange and Lebanese Army in the wake of the Sabra-Shatila massacre in October, 1982. Karim X was detained by the Phalange from September 26, 1983, until March 2, 1984. His testimony was published in Le Monde on July 3, 1984:

While visiting a sick friend in Baabda, a southeastern suburb of Beirut, I was unable to return to my home in West Beirut due to the fighting which worsened on that day. After a month of staying in the suburb, two Phalangist militiamen came to take me to the Phalangist general headquarters in Hadath. I was subjected to numerous forms of torture. The militiamen blindfolded me and bound my hands. At first they began to beat me all over my body with their fists. They continued to beat me with whips and threw boiling water on me until I lost consciousness for almost half an hour. When I regained consciousness they forced me to walk on barbs and broken glass. Next they put me in the trunk of a car and took me

to the Phalangist security headquarters in Karantina. I was not well at all and was not allowed to get out of the trunk of the car.

I was put in isolation and subjected to interrogation that lasted for 9 days. These were certainly the blackest days of my life. Then I was transferred to another tiny cell which held 15 other persons. We were not allowed to leave the cell except to take a cold bath for only one minute. We were only fed once a day and received only 2 liters of water for a 24 hour period.

Two and a half months later, a new inmate named Farid was introduced into the cell, a young person who was almost paralyzed. He was gravely ill and unable to eat. Our protests forced the guards to bring him to a doctor, but we did not escape their whips after our protest. They brought Farid back to the cell in a worse condition than when he left. We were categorically forbidden to give him anything to drink even though water was the only thing that he could ingest. Our incessant protests could not bend the cruelty of the guards and he died before our eyes.

In preparation for a visit by the International Committee of the Red Cross, they took us to Adonis in a large truck flanked by four jeeps. Our new cell was in a basement near a convent. Four

young bearded men were present in the basement when we arrived, waiting their turn to be presented to the ICRC representatives. We could hear their moaning voices without knowing what kind of state they were in. Abu Michel, the head of the prison, made us shave our beards and cut our hair. For the first time since our detention, we were allowed to take a bath with warm water and soap. We also received cigarettes.

Then Abu Michel gave us orders to furnish testimony favorable to the Lebanese Forces under the pain of death. After assuring us that these orders would be executed, he sent us to see the two ICRC representatives whom we subsequently discovered were imposters. The next day the real representatives arrived. They were assisted by Dr. Hayatem who was accompanied by a young woman. The visit took place in the presence of a Phalangist. The doctor asked us about the case of Farid, but we were afraid to respond openly and only said that he died after «falling down some stairs». We engaged in a superficial conversation with the doctor concerning the conditions of our detention. We assured him that we had arrived at Karantina the day before where the conditions had improved (this was not the case at all). The doctor understood that we were lying to him. We had all stated that we had not been subjected to torture. With this, the ICRC delegates left and we were taken again to Karantina the next day.

many of them Palestinians, had been taken in for interrogation.» Most of the men arrested in the Lebanese Army sweep of Beirut have never been heard of since.

In 1983, the kidnappings in West Beirut continued and reached a peak in the months just prior to the liberation of West Beirut in February 1984. The victims included many Lebanese patriots abducted by Phalangists. This wave of disappearances forever shattered fascist propaganda contentions that Palestinians were to blame for insecurity in Beirut.

On July 2, 1984, the International Federation for the Rights of Man held a press conference in Paris to publicize the plight of the disappeared in Lebanon. The organization acts as a clearing-house for collating statistics on the missing, and representatives stated that 2,011 Palestinians and Lebanese are

currently missing due to abduction by the Israeli-backed Phalangist militia. More than 1,000 others are still missing after the Lebanese Army sweep of West Beirut. By comparison, the Federation said that the Shiite Amal Movement was thought to be holding 47 Phalangist combatants and that the Druze Progressive Socialist Party of Walid Jumblatt was thought to be holding only «several dozen Christian militiamen». Jumblatt stated at the end of July that none of the disappeared from the mountain war in the Shouf last winter are still alive due to the intensity of the combat.

With 6,000 West Beirutis killed in the 1982 Israeli siege, 3,000 killed in the Sabra-Shatila massacre, and thousands more disappeared and wounded during the past two years of continuous war against West Beirut, there is hardly a family in the national areas which has not lost a member or now has someone

disabled. This then forms the base for the movement of the Families of the Disappeared.

No political reconciliation without the guilty brought to justice

The Families of the Disappeared escalated their protest movement in July, just as the government of Prime Minister Karami announced the implementation of a new security plan in Beirut which sought to abolish the green line dividing fascist and leftist controlled areas of the city, opening all crossing points between the two sectors and opening the port and airport. The government was set to go ahead with the plan while totally ignoring the culpability of the Phalange for the massive destruction wrought in West Beirut and the southern suburbs since the 1982 Israeli invasion. Not surprisingly, the Amin

Gemayel administration has extended even less effort in accounting for the slaughter and disappearance of thousands of West Beirutis.

On July 7, middle-aged and elderly women, women carrying small children, began blocking all the crossing points to East Beirut with barricades of burning tires, barbed wire and stones. The women armed themselves with sticks to prevent all vehicles and pedestrians from passing. The women expressed the general outrage felt on the mass level in all of West Beirut, and when the official date for opening all the crossing points and the airport came on July 9, the whole western sector of the city joined in solidarity with the Families of the Disappeared in a general strike. Besides blocking all the crossing points for the third straight day with greater numbers than ever, the women blocked the main road to the airport as well as all side roads leading to it. No flights were able to leave. The Lebanese cabinet was forced to place the issue of the disappeared on the top of the agenda if the new security plan was going to be implemented.

The Committee of the Families of the Disappeared issued several communiques during the three days of protests which were published in the progressive Arabic daily *Al Safir* on July 8.* The Committee stated in part:

Our motto is the return of all disappeared and detained immediately and unconditionally wherever they are. Because our suffering is continuous, we welcome the liberation of any of the disappeared. Because of our wounds of grief and long waiting, we are not going to stand as an obstacle to liberating the disappeared...However, we are not willing to accept even in the last moment in our lives, that hundreds of our relatives be detained in a country whose civilization and tradition is known for its freedom and democracy. Therefore, we cannot accept a piece of theater entitled «Let's End the Question of the Missing» in which the players and heroes of this play turn out to be the executioners of the largest massacre in Lebanese history. We will not let the curtain go down on the hundreds and hundreds of our relatives who are missing and detained. We will not accept...a political cover-up. We will only accept a clear answer for every single one of the disappeared...

Those who are able to open the airport, the port and all the crossing points should be able to liberate all those who

have been abducted...There will be no implementation of any security plan as long as the question of the abducted remains and as long as there is any compromise with the kidnappers...The families of those abducted declare that the Phalangist Party and the Lebanese Forces kidnapped thousands and demand that the Lebanese authorities follow up this question with those who are responsible for the abductions and in particular Elias Hobeika and Adib Anastas.

Elias Hobeika is the chief of the Phalangist military intelligence. He is one of those who met with Ariel Sharon in the night before Phalangist militiamen entered Sabra-Shatila in cooperation with the Israeli army. In the wake of the massacre, the Phalangist Party appointed Hobeika responsible for investigating the party's role in the massacre. David Ottaway wrote in the *Washington Post* on September 30, 1982, that the «most important figures in the Lebanese Forces command are the heads of units that witnesses say were identified as being in or around Shatila and Sabra at the time of the massacres. They include Adib Anastas, the head of the military police, and Joseph Edde, the commander of the militia's special black bereted commandos of all Lebanese Forces' units south of Beirut. Anastas played a prominent role during the civil war siege by the Lebanese Forces of the Palestinian refugee camp of Tal Zaatar where several thousand civilians died in 1976.»

After the general strike in West Beirut, the Lebanese cabinet was forced to create a special commission to investigate the cases of the disappeared. But the commission was not likely to come up with any satisfactory results. It is composed of Lebanese Army officers and members of the Beirut police - two groups which participated in the abductions to begin with. The commission was given a mandate to report its findings on July 27 and to coordinate the release of those still detained. To further sabotage the work of the commission, the Phalange has hastily set up its own committee for the disappeared, demanding the return of an alleged 1,400 party members who have vanished since 1975. Anyone missing since 1975 is presumably now dead. At issue for the Families of the Disappeared in West Beirut is the fate of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians abducted in the recent period who may still be alive. Eyewitness accounts by persons

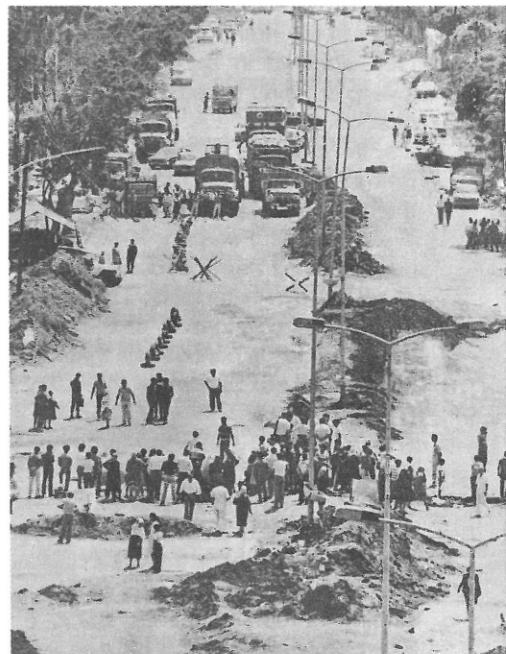


Demonstration for the return of the disappeared

released within the past six months testify to the fact that large numbers of the disappeared from West Beirut are still being held at the Phalangist headquarters in the Karantina district of East Beirut and in a basement near a convent in Adonis, among other Phalangist detention centers.

Finally on August 11, the Lebanese government commission charged with investigating the disappeared released its results. The official report was a whitewash designed to cleanse the Lebanese government and its security apparatus of any responsibility for the disappeared. 761 names were released

Families of the disappeared block the east-west crossing in Beirut.





Women show pictures of missing relatives

of persons alive and still being held in government torture centers. All the names were neatly categorized with criminal charges beside each one: drug related offenses, murder, theft, rape, sexual molestation, etc. The Lebanese Communist Party newspaper *Al Nida* commented on August 12 that one gleaned from the commission report that Lebanon had a completely depraved society. Missing from the report were thousands of Palestinians and Syrians abducted by the government and the Phalange because of their religion, political beliefs, nationality or by whim. The Committee of the Families of the Disap-

peared charged that the list did not account for at least 100 of the Lebanese missing. With the report, the Gemayel government is now contending that it is holding no political prisoners and is defending continued detention of those on the list as common criminals. Worst of all, the government is using the report to stop any further investigation of the disappeared. *Al Nida*, for one, was expecting general outrage at the continuation of this masive crime.

* On July 14, the publisher and editor-in-chief of *Al Safir*, Talal Salman, was the target of an assassination attempt. He was shot in the neck and jaw, but fortunately survived. ●



Israel Out of Lebanon!

By far the most decisive Arab response to the Israeli elections was the Lebanese National Resistance Front's (LNR) escalation of military operations in the occupied South. Two weeks prior to the Israeli elections, the LNR escalated attacks against the Israeli occupation troops at an unprecedented level. Radio Israel reported on August 6 that there had been 250 resistance attacks in the South between April and July.

Israeli desperation over the military attacks led to a new policy in July where three Lebanese religious leaders were expelled across the occupation lines. The most high-ranking of these was Saida's Shiite Islamic judge who was abducted from his home in the middle of the night by Lahad's South Lebanon Army. He was taken to the occupation

lines, where the Israeli forces expelled him from the South. Protesting against the Israeli deportation policy, a general strike closed down West Beirut along with southern towns and villages on July 18th.

In the first five days of August, there were 20 resistance attacks. On August 5, an Israeli armored personnel carrier was blown up by a land mine in the Beqaa valley, killing one Israeli soldier and wounding two others. Many of the attacks in August have been concentrated far to the south, in the Sour area. In one of these attacks on August 6, Lebanese fighters triggered a remote-controlled explosive device as an Israeli patrol was passing, wounding three.

Also in the first week of August, Israeli military positions in the Sour area

were hit twice by Katyusha rockets. The expressed purpose of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon to begin with, was to rid the south of Katyusha rockets. The Lebanese Resistance has demonstrated that it still has the ability to target Israeli settlements in the northern Galilee. Since the war began in June 1982, the Israelis have admitted that 589 of their soldiers have been killed and over 3,000 wounded in Lebanon.

Radio Israel has blamed the upsurge in attacks on Shiite religious leaders in the Sour area and said that they have called for a holy war. With this as a pretext, the Israeli army in the first week of August laid siege to several villages in the Sour area, and Adloun near Saida. Residents have been prevented from receiving food and medical supplies. Despite these forms of collective punishment, the Lebanese resistance attacks are continuing at a rate of 4-5 per day.

Elections

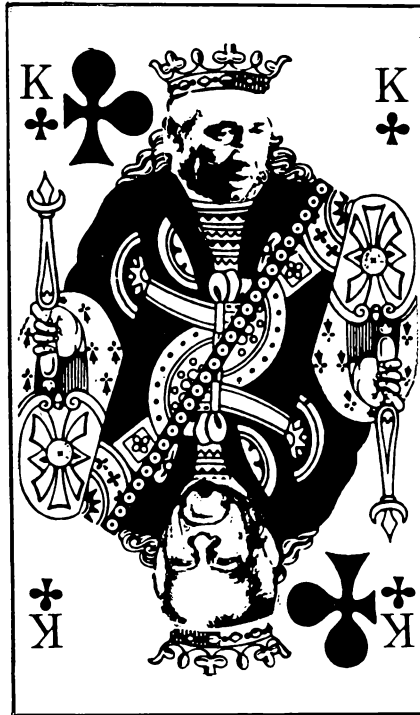
New proof of Zionism's ability to contain social discontent, and possibly the prelude to new aggression

The outcome of the July 23rd elections ruffled the consolidation of the right which has been the dominant trend in Israeli society in recent years. Yet it did not reverse or seriously disrupt this trend. Despite Likud's disastrous economic policy and the unprecedented dissent raised by the war in Lebanon, the Labor Alignment did not obtain a clear electoral mandate for an alternative course.

Given the underlying sameness of Likud and Labor concerning expansion and colonialization - the hallmarks of Zionism, there was no rational reason to expect meaningful change in Israeli policy towards the Palestinian question, withdrawal from Lebanon, etc. There were, however, widespread predictions that Labor would get sufficient votes to form a government in view of the economic situation. On the contrary, the elections affirmed that social discontent in 'Israel' is still easily absorbed. Despite Likud's having presided over the steady worsening of the crisis, social discontent did not merge into a massive shift away from the extreme right.

Discontent was instead reflected in a relative fragmentation of votes as compared with the 1981 elections, when Likud and Labor together accounted for 80% of the votes. This time the figure was 70%, giving Labor 44 Knesset seats and Likud 42. Fifteen lists gained representation as opposed to ten in 1981. With few exceptions, this spreading of voting was between lists whose political differences are so small as to be almost irrelevant if one is not a Zionist. Yet the added leverage of the small parties make the formation of a new government even more difficult than in 1981 when this process took over a month. This is especially true because the gains of the smaller parties were roughly divided between the far left and right. (Except for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, whose main component Rakah is a genuine left force, our use of the terms *left* and *right* are relative to the spectrum of Zionist politics.)

To the left of Labor, the new Arab-Jewish Progressive List for Peace



acquired two Knesset seats without this reducing the representation of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality which retained its four seats. The Citizens' Rights Movement, which advocates immediate withdrawal from Lebanon and some vague form of Palestinian self-determination (without the PLO of course), rose from one seat to three, having formed a common list with Baron of Peace Now and Ran Cohen of Sheli. Shinui, also considered dovish, gained three seats as opposed to two last time.

To the right of Likud, Tehiya, which opposed returning the Sinai, got five seats as compared to three in 1981, having consolidated itself by joining forces with Tzomet of General Eitan, the butcher of Lebanon. The blatantly fascist tendency within Zionism gained an official place and thus added immunity in the Israeli system, as Rabbi Kahane's KACH list gained a seat for the first time. Kahane celebrated by leading his gang on a rampage through Arab East Jerusalem. KACH now plans to escalate its presence in the Galilee and Triangle and has vowed to stage a similar "march" through Um al Fahm, known as

a center for Palestinian social and cultural activities.

In view of the lack of clear-cut plurality for either Labor or Likud, the religious parties, whose composite weight remained the same, and the three seats gained by former Defense Minister Weizman are pivotal in forming a new government.

This is the background for the current negotiations where Likud and Labor are both scrambling to form their own government or at least preempt the other from doing so. The complexity of this process and its possible failure have raised the prospect of national unity government. There are also speculations about holding new elections after three months. Whatever the final results in terms of a government, the election results made a mockery of the illusions of Arab and Palestinian right-wingers who banked on Labor's return to edge their way into the imperialist settlement. In addition to the ultimate fallacy of expecting real concessions from Labor, the election results rule out the possibility of a strong Labor government which could implement its own policy unilaterally. Yet one should not be deceived by the seeming fragmentation on the Israeli political scene. In reality it masks a deeper unity between Zionism's main currents and the consistent rightwards march of Israeli politics, accentuated in times of crisis.

The campaign

The campaign itself reflected the higher unity in Zionism and the continued strength of the right. There was a kind of non-aggression pact between the Likud and the Labor to avoid the violence that plagued the 1981 campaign. Both were aware of the disastrous consequences of real division in the colonial-settler state. Labor in particular is afraid of the extreme right which has demonstrated its capacity for using violence even against fellow Jews. Labor's campaign was not a frontal attack on the Likud; the latter's policies were not emphasized as being wrong but as not having worked. Labor's most publicized

slogans did not argue powerfully for stopping settlements or exchanging territory for peace, the points on which Labor distinguishes itself from the Likud. Rather its slogans were designed to compete with the Likud's maximalism: «The Alignment says no! No to a return to the 1967 borders. No to the uprooting of settlements. No to negotiations with the PLO. No to a Palestinian state. Yes! Yes to a democratic Jewish state. Yes to defensible borders. Yes to responsible Zionism. Yes to peace and security. The Alignment is the only hope.»

Likud, for its part, conducted its main campaign on the ground, taking advantage of its governmental power to demonstrate its policies. Ten new settlements were officially inaugurated in the week before the elections, in addition to other outposts created by energetic settlers with IDF collaboration. In the month prior to the elections, there was a massive military build up along the frontlines in the Beqaa, tripling the number of Israeli soldiers, bringing in more tanks and other armed vehicles and building new fortifications. In the same period, 'Israel' conducted a sea war against Lebanon: bombing an island off the northern coast, highjacking a Cypriot passenger ferry bound for Beirut and later a Lebanese freighter, and blockading Lebanon's southern coast for a week. While these acts are in line with Zionism's aggressive aims in Lebanon, they were also used to justify continuing occupation, telling the Israeli public that there is indeed a threat from Syria and the «terrorists» but this can be dealt with without risking Israeli lives too much.

Unity through aggression

Labor's fight against the extreme right was only sharp on the question of democracy (for Jews of course). Yet this is not without connections to Israeli policies towards the Palestinian question where the underlying unity between Zionism's main factions emerges. As is known, Labor's main objection to annexing the West Bank is that this would mar the Jewish state's demographic purity, i.e., the problem is not that 'Israel' is an occupier, for after all Labor initiated the 1967 war and occupation; the problem is the steadfastness of the Palestinians on their land. We can compare this with Tehiya's more straightforward platform: annexation of the 1967 occupied territories with second class citizenship for Arabs in the future expanded state. On behalf of Likud, War Minister Arens suggested another version of the same:

If the territories should be annexed, the inhabitants could be offered Israeli citizenship without voting rights. Kahane's KACH has the answer for resolving these different possibilities: forcible expulsion of the Palestinians.

Given the past experience, it is not totally hypothetical to imagine a new assault on the Palestinians of the West Bank, or some other new military adventure. Such a move might be spearheaded by the extreme right to provoke a new regional situation and internal balance of power in 'Israel' to consolidate the Zionist right and its state. It is not unknown for Labor to capitalize on the extreme right's terror. There are many historical examples: The first Labor government presided over an 'Israel' larger than allotted by the UN partition plan, for which much credit

goes to the extreme right's terror, as at Deir Yassin. Labor's support to the invasion of Lebanon provides a more recent example. Israeli history is a cycle of crises resolved through aggression. The deep right-wing tendency in the settler population supports such an option in the present situation. A recent poll revealed that 54% of Israelis would prefer no Arabs in their country; another revealed that 30% view with favor replacing the parliamentary system with something that works better.

Also in view of historical experience, imperialist support can be expected for Zionist military adventures. With the talk of a military defense pact to be concluded between 'Israel' and the US after the elections, a new green light may already be in the offing.

Socio-economic Base of the Right's Strength

On June 23rd, as Israelis were going to the polls, an article appeared in the Lebanese daily Al Safir entitled «Whatever the results, the transformation is deep in the Zionist society». The author, Hussein Abu Nimal did not aim to predict the election outcome, but to give a picture of the Israeli socio-economic structure which would determine the political results. His main thesis is that the consolidation of the right in 'Israel' is an abiding phenomenon with deep material roots. The following is a synopsis.

Much of the media focuses on political, social and ethnic divisions in 'Israel', giving an impression that there are sharp class and ethnic contradictions. The term *civil war* has become commonplace in Arab circles when referring to 'Israel'. Unfortunately the 'Israel' that is going to the polls has nothing to do with this. Many ideas presented about the enemy do not stand up to serious scientific scrutiny. One cannot question the existence of problems in 'Israel', but are their nature and extent as has been depicted? Concerning divisions between Jews of eastern and western origin for example, it is known that eastern Jews constitute 60% of the Israeli population. But does that mean that the size of the problem equals 60%? Similarly, does the culmination of economic and social problems in 'Israel' mean the culmination of social struggle?

Much of the talk about the problems in 'Israel' overlooks the reality of the

deep transformation of Israeli society over the last quarter of a century and especially the last ten years. The political changes that have occurred are not without an objective base.

Setting aside the objections to applying the terms *left* and *right* within Zionism, we can examine the causes of the Zionist right's having attained power and the overall rightwards shift of Israeli political life. A corollary of this was the Zionist left moving towards the positions of the right. Accordingly, Begin's 1977 victory was no coincidence. Many of the reasons given for this victory at the time were related to subjective rather than objective factors. It is a great mistake to view the surface phenomena without evaluating the underlying causes.

Ethnic and/or class divisions?

The extent of the problem of eastern and western Jews has been examined in terms of its political expres-

sions, based on the percentage of eastern Jews in the total population. In reality, this is the political expression of a class question; it is not related to the number of eastern Jews, but to the emergence and growth of a class force in the society.

The Tami party, claiming to represent the eastern Jews, obtained only 2.3% of the 1981 vote. This is one indication that the immigrants' origin does not necessarily dictate their political choice. Other, more decisive forces govern Israeli voting patterns. Moreover, the Jewish population of 'Israel' is not only composed of immigrants from east or west. By 1981, 58% were born in 'Israel' as opposed to 26.3% in 1950. Of the remainder in 1981, 19.1% had immigrated from Asia or Africa, and 23.9% from Europe or America. This means that the majority are more a product of the new society than of the one from which they came.

Without denying that there is an ethnic problem in 'Israel', one must determine its true extent and whether it is growing or receding. Given that there is material discrimination against eastern Jews, there can be two alternatives: (1) joining a political institution with an ethnic character, or (2) joining an institution that rejects the basis of this discrimination. The first alternative is represented by the Tami, whose limited size we have noted. The second is represented by the Israeli Communist Party, today Rakah. Without going into the details of this party's development, it is known that its main base of support is among Palestinian Arabs, and that it has proved difficult to expand its base among the Jewish population despite various efforts.

In summary, the great majority of eastern Jews opted for neither of these alternatives. The size of the ethnic and class problem was so small as to keep the door open for a political alternative based on the programs of the major parties which deal with the major problems of the society as a whole.

Political division or active political life?

'Israel' has an active political life, facilitated by an electoral system of proportional representation whereby a party needs only one percent of the vote to gain Knesset representation. This gives the appearance of political division: many election lists, splits and shifting alliances. We must go behind these surface phenomena to discover the logic

which guides Israeli political life. This can be summarized as follows:

1. Divisions and shifts in Israeli parties to the right... This is an experience shared by the Marxist left as well as the Zionist left and the right. For example, Mapam, the Labor Party's partner in the Alignment coalition, presented itself as Marxist for many years until eventually denying this identity. When the Israeli Communist Party split in 1965, the Jewish majority separated in an attempt to create a synthesis between Zionism and Marxism, then departed from Marxism altogether and eventually disappeared. Mapai, the Labor Party, experienced a division led by Ben Gurion who participated in the 1965 elections as Rafi, along with Peres, Horowitz, Dayan, etc. Later some of Rafi's figures returned to Labor, while others joined other parties to the right. Mapai also experienced the advance of its hawkish wing at the expense of doves.

On the Zionist right, there was growing inclination towards unity. This resulted in the formation of the Gahal coalition and later the Likud, which came to power in 1977. Similar to the development in Mapai, the hawkish wing gained strength. Those to the right of Begin in terms of rejecting Camp David, gained the initiative: Shamir, Arens, Orgad. New rightist formations gained Knesset representation: Tehiya.

2. The gravitation of Israeli voters towards the big coalitions... Despite the many electoral lists and the emergence of new ones, the proportion of votes to these lists decreased in favor of the two main coalitions. Lists based on individuals gained little weight even when headed by prominent figures. Also, the traditional religious parties gravitated towards the Likud which attracted an increasing number of their voters.

3. The basis for polarization is political as opposed to ethnic or social factors.

The material base for the right's entrenchment

The general direction of political development in 'Israel' is to the right. We do not expect dramatic results in this election that will reverse this trend, for it has deep material causes. The shift to the right can be traced to political and social conditions in 'Israel'; especially since 1970, there has been a qualitative shift that has moved increasing strata of the population to new class positions. The era is past when the state and Histadrut controlled everything through the

Labor Party and the economic, social and political absorption of new immigrants. The Israeli economy has been transformed in a way that the industrial sector gained dominance; within it, modern technological industry became the base.

The Israeli economy absorbs over 200,000 Arab workers in a total labor force of 1.5 million. This allows a sizeable portion of the Jewish labor force to leave its former position in production for 'superior' work. This is not primarily a question of moving to the service sector, but of rising to the position of professionals and experts. This has augmented the labor aristocracy and given the right a new reserve force.

As an example of this trend: In 1960 there were 98,800 Israeli Jews working in agriculture, among them 36,100 wage laborers. By 1981, despite the Jewish population's increase from 1.9 million to 3.2 million, the number of Jewish agricultural workers was only 61,200, among them 15,700 wage laborers.

The economic transformation of the Jewish labor force has had its social consequences. Statistics on private car ownership and housing provide indications of this. Of wage laborers (heads of families), 3.6% owned a car in 1962. By 1981, this figure was 38.5%. This is not far from the 45.7% of self-employed who owned a car in the same year. The above figures also include Palestinian Arabs, of whom in 1981, 13.3% owned a car. Taking their percentage into account and also accounting for recent developments, we can project that approximately one-half of Jewish wage laborers own a car today.

Concerning housing: In 1967, 41.4% of families resided in houses with an average of one per room. In 1981, the figure was 54.6%. In the same period, the number of families with two or more per room fell from 31.3% to 11.9%; those with three or more per room fell from 10.2% to 1.4%.

In this context, it is important to point out that: (1) Social comfort did not begin with the Likud; and (2) There is a deep link between the socio-economic development and the 1967 war which gave 'Israel' and its economy a vital opportunity for expansion. The occupied territories are not only a religious or political affair but have become a direct interest for an increasing number of Jewish citizens. This is among the basic material causes of the transition to the right, which began almost two decades ago. ●

Central America US War Drive

The Reagan Administration plans air strikes against Salvadorean freedom fighters who are thwarting US ambitions for strategic control.

In the May 7th edition, *Barricada International* commented: «The war against Nicaragua continues its course and the Contadora group has not been able to obtain a position in support of peace from Washington. So to speak of 'elections' in El Salvador is to speak of war, and of the dangers that the war may widen now with an 'elected' mask.»

This prediction has been amply substantiated: Clearly, the Reagan Administration sponsored the election of the relatively moderate Duarte as El Salvador's president in order to further its own regional military plans. Under the guise of checking the death squads, provisions are being made for yet more massive and systematic terror against the people of Central America. The proposals of Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) for dialogue with Duarte were swept aside. In mid-June, El Salvador's army, backed by the US and Honduras, launched a new offensive against the FMLN in the north of the country as an extension of the joint military maneuvers Grenadier I. Their counterinsurgency bogged down however; half the troops had to be diverted southwards as the FMLN attacked government forces close to the capital and took control of two strategic highways.

The Reagan Administration's latest remedy for the Salvadorean army's chronic failure is ordering the Pentagon to develop plans for US bombers to strike the FMLN as part of a new range of military and covert operations. Also the State and Defense Departments were instructed to devise ways of aiding Duarte's army if the US Congress fails to allocate the requested \$117 million. These measures are supposedly necessitated by US intelligence that there will be a new FMLN offensive this summer. Given the revolutionaries' steady advance, this would be natural. Yet there is more to the story than that. Reagan doesn't want his reelection campaign marred by FMLN victories.

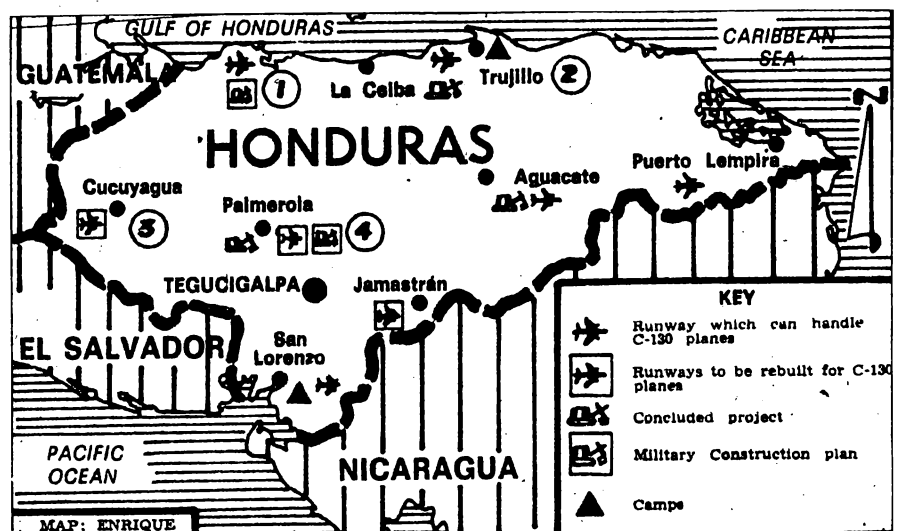
The US administration is using the spectre of a communist victory in El Salvador to garner domestic support for strategic military presence in Central America. Concurrently, the June dispatch of the John F. Kennedy aircraft carrier off Nicaragua's coast, to remain until November, symbolizes the big stick Reagan is waving over the heads of the people of Central America. In short, imperialist blackmail similar to that used against the Soviet Union on the nuclear question is being enacted vis-a-vis Central America.

Permanent US military presence

Plans for using US bombers to stop the people's war in El Salvador are closely linked in aim and logistics to the efforts to undermine revolutionary Nicaragua. For both, the launching pad is Honduras where US military presence has become a permanent reality under the shadow of perpetual military maneuvers. The latest of these, Grenadier I, started in April with US Army engineers upgrading airstrips with 3,500 foot runways in Jamastrán, close to Nicaragua, and Cucuyagua, close to El Salvador.

These are part of a chain of military airports/bases created or planned, which can handle the big transport and fighter planes used by the US armed forces. The first phase of Grenadier I involved 2,800 US and Honduran troops in May. The second, staged on the borders with Guatemala and El Salvador in June, involved over 5,000, including for the first time Salvadorean troops. In the third phase, 750 paratroopers simulated seizure of an «enemy occupied airfield». After the US invasion of Grenada, this can only be interpreted as preparations for invading Nicaragua, or even Cuba.

The emphasis on constructing infrastructure makes these maneuvers synonymous with US bases. Today 1,700 troops are at Palmerola, where there has been US presence since the Big Pine maneuvers of February 1983. There are 1,000 US personnel at the regional military training center of Puerto Castillo, site of the bulk of counterinsurgency training for the Salvadorean army and other reactionary forces. There are also reports that the US army is constructing a base for 2,500 troops and an arsenal including highly toxic chemical weapons. Not surprisingly, the





US special forces adviser training Salvadorean troops in Honduras.

Pentagon is considering Honduras as the future site for the Southern Command of the US Armed Forces, now situated in Panama.

In view of this infrastructure, plans to use the US airforce in Salvador or to invade Nicaragua are practical possibilities as part of US designs for strategic control in the area. Top officials have said the military maneuvers will continue throughout this century. Last year, the third man in the Pentagon hierarchy advocated «permanent forward positions» in a Central America which would be «partitioned» like Korea and Germany. Moreover, according to the *New York Times*, US covert operations have risen fivefold under Reagan; 50 are underway, half of them in Central America.

Imperialist war or people's war?

Indications are plentiful that the US is preparing a major war in Central America. Yet massive and sophisticated as it is, the US military presence is not irreversible. It will eventually be revealed as a futile, though costly attempt to reverse the tide of popular struggle for freedom, democracy, social justice and

progress. The FMLN guerillas continue their armed struggle undaunted, while popular mobilization in Nicaragua had exposed the CIA-directed contras as factionalized mercenaries. Recent developments in Honduras indicate that the US's chosen base may itself become a powder keg. This spring witnessed the largest demonstration in ten years, demanding withdrawal of foreign troops and closure of the regional counterinsurgency training center. Even within the reactionary army, there is growing resentment of the infringements on Honduran sovereignty caused by the US military presence. This presence also highlights the social contradictions in Honduras, the second poorest country in Latin America. An article in *Granma*, June 3rd, was aptly titled «Militarization of the Beggar», for the US is sending millions in arms to a country where 72% of the population suffers from malnutrition. With the advance of revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and Guatemala, the mass base of the anti-imperialist forces in Honduras is bound to broaden.

Most important in countering the US war plans for Central America is the correct political orientation and close

alliance between the revolutionary forces, especially in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Cuba. All these forces have pledged readiness to find peaceful solutions to the conflict in the region in order to avert a disastrous US invasion. Yet knowing the nature of imperialism and its local reactionary allies, all are equally committed to defending the people and continuing the struggle to fulfill their aspirations. In early June, Comrade Fidel Castro summarized the Cuban position as follows. «We reassert our positions of peace... But we refuse to accept dishonorable concessions contrary to our principles on the basis of military superiority; thus we are forced to strengthen our defense system and make preparations in the event it were necessary to carry out a popular national defense, a war of all the people against the invaders.»

For the material in this article we are indebted to *Barricada International* published by the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, and to *Granma* published in Cuba.

Zionism's Global Role

In our last issue we printed the first part of a study written by Steve Goldfield and entitled «The Israeli Role in United States Global Strategy». This is a continuation of the study. (The study also includes a section on Israeli arms sales in Africa; the part dealing with South Africa was printed in «Democratic Palestine» no. 3 and we are omitting the section on Israeli relations with other African countries as it coincided roughly with an article we wrote in no. 2. For this reason you will see a jump in the footnote numbers.)

As domestic demand for military supplies increased (i.e. Israel was fighting more wars), the attraction of selling to foreign markets to pay the huge costs of the Israeli military

grew apace. Because the major industrial powers produce their own arms, the primary Israeli market has been in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Israel's Arms Customers

When he was first appointed defense minister in mid-1981, Ariel Sharon moved to take «control of all aspects of Israeli arms sales and purchases apparently because he wants to gain political benefit for Israel from its sales policy», according to the *Financial Times*.⁷⁶

Asia

The Israelis shipped 20,000 Galil rifles and an unknown number of Uzis to Thailand just after the army reimposed a bloody dictatorship in 1976.⁷⁷ Since that time Israelis have also been training the Thai army. One Israeli involved in the arms industry reported, «When I went past the Thai King's palace recently, I was pleased to see that his majesty's body guards were carrying them [Uzis]». Thailand has also bought small transport aircraft and 155 mm artillery along with training. Since at least 1970, Israeli trainers have operated in Singapore, especially with the armored corps.⁷⁸ Singapore was the first Asian purchaser of the Gabriel missile.⁷⁹ In 1979, the U.S. reportedly arranged the Israeli sale of fourteen Skyhawk attack planes to Indonesia.⁸⁰ Similar arrangements with South Korea and the Philippines have been reported.⁸¹ *The Christian Science Monitor* quoted a source estimating at least 100 million dollars in Israeli arms sales to Southeast Asia in 1981.⁸²

The oldest and closest Israeli ally in eastern Asia is Taiwan. Not only has Taiwan bought millions of dollars of Israeli weapons, such as Gabriel naval rockets, Shafrir missiles, and light weapons,⁸³ but Israel and Taiwan have cooperated in developing new weapons, not least nuclear weapons with South Africa.

Israeli arms, including Sherman tanks, have been flowing to the Lebanese Phalangists for many years. Unlike most worldwide sales, aid to the Phalangists has been a gift. The Phalangists, in turn, held training camps for a German neo-Nazi group responsible for the September 1980 Oktoberfest

massacre in Munich, where 53 were killed and 215 wounded by a bomb.⁸⁴ A former Red Brigades leader in Italy, Petrizio Peci, charges his group was offered but refused arms by Israeli intelligence in return for information on PLO activities in Italy.⁸⁵

In Iran, Israeli advisers counseled the Shah to use «tanks and machine guns against the people» in 1978.⁸⁶ Later *Ha'aretz* reported that the loss of the Iranian military purchases cost the Israelis \$225 million in 1978 and a similar amount in 1979.⁸⁷ Two thousand workers were dismissed from the artillery manufacturer Sultam in Yaken'am «because of the Iranian revolution».⁸⁸

The Israeli arms manufacturers managed to recoup this loss, however. Israeli hostility to Iraq has stimulated a resumption of sales to Iran.⁸⁹ Teheran requested \$200 million worth of equipment after the war with Iraq began.⁹⁰ The Iranians stuck with U.S. weapons and no spare parts, apparently had nowhere else to go. The Carter administration asked the Israelis «to please hold off» until the hostages were released, but the Israelis had already provided 250 spare tires for Iran's U.S.-made F-4 Phantom jets in October 1980.⁹¹ Pierre Salinger, Paris bureau chief for ABC News, showed documentation for the \$330,000 deal, «including copies of the Iranian bank transfers to the Israeli defense ministry's buying mission at the Bank Hapoalim [«Workers' Bank»] in Zurich», according to the *Village Voice*.⁹² ABC News also reported Israeli sales of 106mm recoilless rifles to Iran.⁹³ On July 18, 1981, a CL 44 turbo-prop, hired from a small Argentine air firm named Transporte Aereo Rioplatense to carry 360 tons of U.S. arms from Tel Aviv to Teheran, strayed off course over the Turkish border and crashed in Soviet Armenia.⁹⁴ The cargo plane, using the code name «Tango November», was returning from the third of twelve scheduled missions when it was intercepted by two MIG-25's. The *Sunday Times* of London reported this was a part of a \$27.9 million Israeli deal with Iran to supply spare parts for American-made tanks.⁹⁵

South America

Israeli arms exporters sell to every South American country except Brazil, which produces and exports its own arms. The Israeli military attaché in Buenos Aires coordinates the activities of more than twenty Israeli arms merchants, one-third of the entire overseas staff, who traffic in weapons in Latin America.¹⁵⁸ *Davar* estimated Israeli arms exports to South America, mostly to Argentina and Peru, at \$150 million in 1982.¹⁵⁹ However, in 1980, Argentina and El Salvador accounted for 35 percent of \$1.2 billion in Israeli arms exports, or \$420 million.¹⁶⁰ Ecuador's twelve Kfirs cost \$196 million and the U.S. Government Accounting Office estimates a possible \$800 million in Latin American sales for Israeli aircraft alone.¹⁶¹

As in Malawi, Africa, the Israelis have helped set up military youth movements like the Nahal in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, El Salvador, Panama, and elsewhere.¹⁶²

Argentina

Argentina is Israel's second largest customer worldwide,¹⁶³ accounting for about 29 percent of Israeli sales in the seventies;¹⁶⁴ its air force bought fifty supersonic jet fighters before 1982, making Argentina the single largest purchaser of Israeli combat fighters.¹⁶⁵ During Argentina's 1978 dispute with Chile over the Beagle Channel, Israeli arms salesmen, supposedly neutral, shuttled back and forth selling both sides as much as they wanted in planes, boats, and missiles, such as the Shafir which was sold to both sides and contains components made in the U.S.¹⁶⁶ General Mordechai Mota Gur, former head of the Israeli armed forces, told General Pinochet, «the Chilean army is accustomed to victories and hungry for more». Gur went on to Argentina where he sold \$250 million in the form of 26 Nesher fighter-bombers (Nesher is the Hebrew word for «dagger»; the Nesher is a Mirage), four Dabur patrol boats, and 18 sea-to-sea Gabriel MK missiles and arranged for delivery of \$1.5 million in antiaircraft shells.¹⁶⁷ To satisfy their neutrality, the Israelis sent the deputy defense minister to Santiago. Pinochet bought spare parts and service for his C-130 transport planes and 150 Shafir infrared missiles. The U.S. had refused to sell Chile the U.S. missiles after which the Shafir is designed.¹⁶⁸

Israel had done the same during the 1969 Honduras-El Salvador soccer war.¹⁶⁹ During the Malvinas/Falklands War, when the U.S. stopped its own shipments to Argentina, Israel got into hot water by illegally shipping arms to Argentina via New York.¹⁷⁰ The Israelis sold Argentina 32 rebuilt aircraft from the Israeli air force, Gabriel and Shafir missiles, and spare parts for Argentinian Mirages and Skyhawks during the war.¹⁷¹ Since the Malvinas/Falklands War,¹⁷² Israel has sold the Argentinian junta 22 U.S.-made A-4 Skyhawks and has agreed to ship 22 more Kfir fighters.¹⁷³

A CIA report, captured in the U.S. embassy in Teheran, states that the Israeli secret service, the Mossad, has close

links with the Argentine army. The document asserts that Mossad officers, based in Rio de Janeiro and responsible for operations in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay went to Uruguay to «train the Argentinians. Based on these contacts, the Israelis have recommended the development of joint antiterrorist operations».¹⁷⁴ Israeli arms business with Argentina sharply increased after the military seized power in 1976. The anti-Semitic practices of Argentina's military junta, documented by the U.S. House of Representatives, the Catholic church, and the American Jewish Committee, are well-known. Jacobo Kovadloff, the AJC representative in Argentina, was forced to flee the country because of threats to his life. Yet Nazi war criminals like Edward Roschmann, the «Butcher of Riga», get official protection.¹⁷⁵ In December 1982, in Buenos Aires, Israeli Foreign Minister Itzhak Shamir expressed concern to Argentina's president and foreign minister about one thousand Jewish-Argentinian disappearances from the five-year reign of terror. Then, in the same meeting, he went on to discuss further arms sales.¹⁷⁶

Chile

In Chile Israeli arms are used to assassinate those who resist the Pinochet regime. A special agency of the Israeli ministry of defense, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, aids the Chilean junta in counterinsurgency. Chile has also bought a radar system and two patrol boats. Many such transactions are shrouded in secrecy. In 1982, the Chilean popular resistance denounced the secret unloading of a shipment of Israeli arms at the port of Talcahuano, near Concepcion. In 1977 Chile bought 150 Shafir missiles.¹⁷⁷ Then chief of the Israeli Air Force, General David Ivri, visited Chile in late 1982, presumably to induce them to buy aircraft.¹⁷⁸ In January 1983 the general director for Latin American affairs of the Israeli foreign ministry declared in Santiago that his country will increase relations with Chile «in all ways». When asked about the sale of arms, he stated, «It would be much nicer for us to sell textile products. But we are forced to produce arms for reasons of security and defense».¹⁷⁹

Another close ally of the Israelis is the Duvalier regime in Haiti.¹⁸⁰ Perhaps the most outrageous Israeli sales in South America are those to Paraguay, unrepentant haven for Nazi war criminals.¹⁸¹ Richard Arens, the older brother of the Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, says he broke with his brother when he was working to stop the extermination of indigenous peoples in Paraguay. The elder Arens asked his brother to try to stop Israeli arms sales to Paraguay. Moshe responded that he wasn't interested.¹⁸²

Central America

In the seventies, Israel became «the major source of arms for the conflicts in Central America», according to the *Los Angeles Times*.¹⁸³ Joav Karni, of the progovernment *Yediot*

Ahronot, stated, «The Israelis may be seen as American proxies in Honduras and Guatemala».¹⁸⁴ Estimates of Israeli arms sales to Central America vary widely. One source reports 1981 sales to Central America of \$1.2 billion.¹⁸⁵ Others report only \$20 million in 1982 with increases to \$50 million expected.¹⁸⁶ The *New York Times* reported Reagan administration officials saying, «Israel was assisting the United States in Central America...to oppose the Soviet Union, to combat reported PLO support for Nicaragua, and to expand the market for Israeli arms».¹⁸⁷ In January 1983, a special meeting of the Nonaligned Nations in Managua denounced the increasing support provided by Israel to the American policy of intervention in Central America.¹⁸⁸

Nicaragua

During dictator Anastasio Somoza's last year in power in Nicaragua, U.S. President Carter cut off overt aid to his regime. Six months before Somoza's fall, the Israeli government promised the U.S. government to cease arms sales to Nicaragua.¹⁸⁹ But Israel took up the slack and supplied 98 percent of Somoza's arms.¹⁹⁰ The Carter administration decided not to try to stop Israeli arms going to Somoza¹⁹¹ until two weeks before he fell.¹⁹² A man who described himself as a commander in the Israeli army lived in the bunker of Somoza's army commander and was employed by the local agent for an Israeli arms export firm.¹⁹³ The Israelis even bought \$75 million in Nicaraguan cotton which Somoza was unable to sell. Later they claimed they were repaying an old debt;¹⁹⁴ Somoza's father had sent them arms in 1948.¹⁹⁵

In his last two years, Somoza's national guard killed 50,000 people, bombing the slums of Managua primarily with Israeli-made Arava and Westwind planes.¹⁹⁶ At the symbolic moment of Sandinista victory, a guerilla held his captured Galil assault rifle high. The Sandinista government assumed all Somoza's debts to foreign banks except \$5.1 million due Israel and Argentina for arms.¹⁹⁷

Jaime Wheelock, the Sandinista government's minister of agrarian reform, accused the United States of wanting «Israel to intervene in Central America as the right arm of the United States». Opposition sources in Honduras, including Christian Democrat Moises Velazquez Nazzar, share this view point and see a «tight link» between the Reagan and Sharon visits to Honduras in December 1982, visits serving to tighten the clamps on Nicaragua.¹⁹⁸

Now that the Nicaraguan people are again under armed attack, the Israelis are back supplying the attackers with arms seized from the PLO and Lebanese resistance in Lebanon. The United States has offered to pay the shipping costs. Reagan administration officials were reported as saying, in the *New York Times*, that «the administration wanted to establish new lines of support to Nicaraguan rebels in case Congress approved legislation that would cut off covert support for the insurgents».¹⁹⁹

El Salvador

In the 1960s, high officials from thirteen countries in Latin America, including El Salvador and Guatemala, were given specialized instruction in paramilitary programs intended for youth. These «civic action» programs were funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development and were intended to counterbalance Cuban influence.²⁰⁰ From 1970 to 1979, El Salvador purchased 6 percent of Israel's worldwide arms sales which put it in third place after South Africa and Argentina. The air force includes 18 Dassault fighters, 17 Arava transports,²⁰¹ and 6 Fouga Magister Trainers, all purchased from Israel.²⁰² Some Salvadoran soldiers are armed with Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault rifles. The PLO's ambassador in Nicaragua, Marwan Tahbub, reported about one hundred Israeli advisers stationed at a secret base near San Salvador and instructing Salvadoran officers in counterinsurgency tactics.²⁰³ In 1979, the *New York Times* had reported an earlier charge by Shafik Handal, General Secretary of the El Salvador Communist Party, that Salvadorans had been sent to Israel for training with Israeli military advisers also arriving in El Salvador.²⁰⁴ In 1981 President Reagan wanted to send 21 million dollars to El Salvador but the funds in his foreign aid budget had been used up. Israel loaned the United States the money from its own aid funds. In 1982 the 21 million was tacked onto another U.S. aid to Israel.²⁰⁵

In the 1970s Israeli advisors trained the secret police (AN-SESAL). Roberto D'Aubisson, now president of the Constituent Assembly, served as a minor ANSESAL officer. His friend Colonel Ochoa, also from ANSESAL, staged a rebellion against former Defense Minister Garcia in early 1983. Ochoa credits his training in Israel for his prominent advancement in the ranks.²⁰⁶ Arnaldo Ramos, U.S. representative of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), reports that an Israeli-installed computer system has been installed in San Salvador, an allegation confirmed by Rene Guerra y Guerra, deputy interior minister in the first junta in 1979.²⁰⁷ Between 1972 and 1980, when the United States was not shipping arms to El Salvador, 83 percent of El Salvador's arms came from Israel.²⁰⁸ In August 1983 the Salvadorean government announced it intends to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem around September 15. At the same time the Israeli embassy in San Salvador, closed since 1979 for security reasons, will be reopened.²⁰⁹

Guatemala

Guatemalan-Israeli relations date back to 1948; one of the three United Nations commissioners who have helped set up the Israeli state was Guatemalan.²¹⁰ Guatemala received all its arms (including Aravas)²¹¹ from Israel between 1977 and 1981, again at a time when the U.S. stopped all arms transfers.²¹² In 1980, the Guatemalan army was fully reequipped with Galil rifles costing \$6 million.²¹³

Guatemala also has an Israeli-installed computer which monitors electricity and telephone usage and records data on individual movements taken from police checkpoints. A Guatemalan with abnormal power or phone usage is suspected as running a safe house or as an activist. Such suspicion is likely to bring a death squad to the door.²¹⁴ «Israeli advisers work closely with Guatemala's police intelligence (G-2)», according to George Black.²¹⁵

Former junta chief Lucas Garcia, who organized the death squads, said, «We appreciate Israel. We see the Israeli soldier as the best soldier in the world today, and we look to him as a model and an example for us».²¹⁶ However, young Guatemalan officers were reported disgusted at corruption in which their superiors shared arms sales commissions with Israelis.²¹⁷

The Army Transmissions and Electronics School was opened in 1981 by President Lucas Garcia. George Black reports it is «designed, staffed, and funded by Israelis, its sophisticated systems are unprecedented in Central America. At the opening, Moshe Dayan, former Israeli ambassador to Guatemala (no relation to the former defense minister), called Guatemala «one of our best friends».²¹⁸

According to *Time*, the Israelis have sold the Guatemalans «everything from antiterrorism equipment to transport planes. Army outposts in the jungle have become near replicas of Israeli army field camps». Colonel Gustavo Menendez Herrera, based in Huehuetenango, told *Time* his troops «are using Israeli communications equipment, mortars, submachine guns, battle gear, and helmets».²¹⁹ President Efraim Rios Montt told ABC-TV that the coup which brought him into power was so successful «because many of our soldiers were trained by the Israelis».²²⁰

An Israeli military training team is assigned to Guatemala. Guatemalan military police were taught by Israeli advisors in a two-week counterinsurgency course.²²¹

Israelis advised former President Rios Montt in agrarian counterinsurgency, based on Israeli experience in the West Bank.²²² In March 1983, Col. Eduardo Wohlers, director of the «Plan of Assistance to Conflict Areas», pointed to the Israelis as his main source of inspiration: «Many of our technicians are Israeli trained. The model of the kibbutz and the moshav is planted firmly in their minds. And personally I think it would be fascinating to turn our highlands [the home of Guatemala's indigenous people] into that kind of system».²²³

A Catholic priest interviewed by George Black in Guatemala in March 1983, «believes that even the promotion of Catholic-evangelical factionalism in an effort to divide and conquer communities is the result of Israeli advice, based on the successful exploitation of rivalries between Christian, Moslem, and Druze communities in Lebanon».²²⁴

Honduras

Honduras, too, has a computer, but here Israel contributes most directly to the U.S. strategy of regionalizing the war in

Central America. Israeli planes and U.S.-financed runways have made Honduras Central America's main air power threatening FMLN control zones in El Salvador and now the people of Nicaragua as well.²²⁵ In 1981, Israeli military personnel were spotted training pilots at a Honduran base.²²⁶

In July 1982, the Honduran army commander, General Gustavo Alvarez, made a quasi-secret visit to Israel seeking alternatives to American aircraft in case Congress refused to sell them.²²⁷ In December 1982, former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon returned the visit in Honduras at about the same time as President Reagan was there. A high-level Honduran officer told the *Christian Science Monitor*, «Sharon's trip was more positive. He sold us arms. Reagan only uttered platitudes explaining that Congress was preventing him from doing more». The same officer reported that the sales included advanced fighter planes, training, and missiles.²²⁸

Sharon was accompanied by then Air Force chief General David Ivry, who became president of Israel Aircraft Industries on January 1, 1983, and then deputy chief of staff when General Eitan retired in the aftermath of Sabra and Shatila.²²⁹ In May, Honduran General Alvarez made a «semiclandestine» visit to Tel Aviv to purchase «a large quantity» of Kfir jets and electronics devices.²³⁰ Alvarez was recently quoted saying, in relation to Nicaragua and his support for the contras, «Everything you do to destroy a Marxist regime is moral».²³¹ Israeli combat pilots and military instructors are already in Honduras and «everything is paid for by the U.S.A.».²³²

The Honduran Christian Commission for Human Rights published a communique indicating the Israeli-Honduran agreement included \$25 million in military hardware (including twelve Kfirs) and fifty advisers.²³³ Edgardo Paz Barnica, Honduran foreign minister, denied the deal.²³⁴ A Honduran official explained this official silence. «We don't want Nicaragua to react violently as it did on other occasions for less important reasons».²³⁵

The U.S. State Department claims it did not know beforehand that Sharon was going to Honduras, even though Sharon went directly from Washington to Tegucigalpa. However, a high State Department official told the *New York Times*, when asked if the Reagan administration approved of Israeli activities in Central America, «Absolutely. We've indicated we're not unhappy they are helping out. But I wouldn't say we and the Israelis have figured out together what to do».²³⁶

Israeli advisers are serving in Honduras and are involved in the U.S.-sponsored covert operations against Nicaragua's Sandinista government. The Israelis have donated captured PLO weapons to the contras, based in Honduras, with transport paid for by the United States.²³⁷

To be continued....

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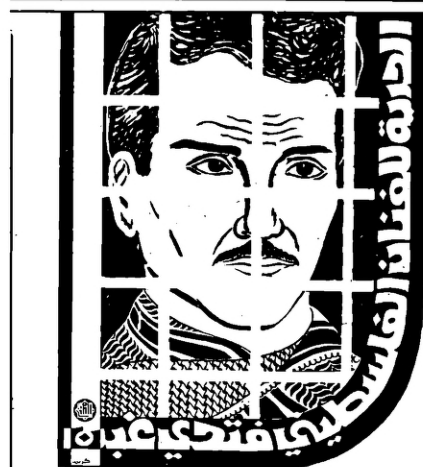


Fathi Gaben

Condemned for Colors

In one of the most fascist sentences ever against a Palestinian artist, Fathi Gaben from Jabaliya camp in Gaza Strip was imprisoned for 6 months on May 10 by an Israeli military court for «incitement against Israel». The main evidence presented against Gaben by the military prosecutor was his painting «Al Amal» (hope). The upper part of the painting employs the four colors of the Palestinian flag. Gaben was also condemned for painting a picture of his young nephew who was shot dead by Israeli soldiers in Jabaliya camp. In addition to the prison sentence, Gaben was slapped with a 30,000 shekel fine. He is the father of seven children and one of the most famous Palestinian artists in the occupied territories. An international campaign has been launched to secure his release.

FREE FATHI GABEN



Gaben's painting «Nationality» for which he was sentenced. Unfortunately we do not have a color print, but the «offending» colors are in the upper corner.

Palestinian Information

Tasks and Perspectives

This is a continuation of the essay by Bassam Abu Sharif which we began publishing in «Democratic Palestine» no. 4. The entire essay has been published as a booklet by the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ).

3) Information in the Arab World

As regards relations to governments and official institutions, all Palestinian information workers have before them two basic tasks from which secondary tasks follow:

The first task is to counter official reactionary information which disorients the Arab masses. Such information media are either linked with the imperialist information machinery or are joined to it on the level of political programs. Palestinian information employees come up in this instance against certain difficulties in view of the official attitude of the Palestine Liberation Organization towards these regimes clearly allied to Washington. In this instance there is the danger that the Arab masses will become the victims of disinformation because some of these regimes set up institutions which speak, issue newspapers and programs in the name of the Palestinians.

The second task in this field is to strengthen the official patriotic Arab attitude supporting the rights of the Palestinians and the Palestinian revolutionary struggle. This is a sensitive task because it reflects an alliance of the revolution - which is leading an armed struggle against the enemy - with the patrio-

tic regimes preparing for armed struggle against the enemy.

In relation to the Arab people, Palestinian information workers have more extensive tasks before them than those they came across on the national scale. This is because of the existence of the Arab liberation movement and the turbulent mass current which supports the Palestinian revolution. Concentrating the masses for support of the Palestinian cause must be regarded as one of the fundamental tasks.

Besides circulating basic information about the Palestinian cause and spreading Palestinian national culture in all its forms, Palestinian information workers have the job of fighting side by side with the Arab liberation movements, in each individual country, to counter all attempts at political disorientation which the imperialist information machinery is trying to spread, together with local circles that collaborate with it.

At the same time, Palestinian information workers have the daily job of inculcating a spirit of determination to actively participate in the fight for the liberation of Palestine on the basis of an unshakable faith in final victory.

4) Information on a Worldwide Scale

Palestinian information cadres have before them the most complicated battle when it comes to a worldwide scale. Their opponent is the imperialist-Zionist machinery whose tentacles spread into various parts of the world and whose products are distributed throughout the world, even to the most remote areas. Our information workers also have the task of informing the camp of their friends about events. This, too, is a complicated assignment, but it can rely on the help of our allies.

Camp of Friends

On a worldwide scale, standing at the side of the just fight of the Arab Palestinian people is the socialist community with all its authority, and also the world liberation movement and the democratic forces in the capitalist countries.

But this position at the side of the just fight of the Arab Palestinian people is not to say that the facts concerning the struggle have been fully absorbed by the broad masses in these countries. We can even say that for the most part, in the

capitalist countries, the Zionist forces try to distort the reality in the minds of the masses while attacking the socialist regimes and the liberation movement. The socialist states and the liberation movement offer much room for information about the Palestinian revolution. The task of Palestinian workers of communication media is to use as best as possible the opportunities which exist so that both official and popular support of our people's fight grows stronger. Information workers, in this regard, have a large number of broad channels available and it is essential to constantly make use of these possibilities.

Literature and Political Analysis

The first obligation resting on the shoulders of Palestinian information workers is to translate a great deal of Palestinian literature and information into the languages spoken by the nations of the socialist countries and the masses fighting for freedom and justice.

If Palestinian literary works are translated into these lan-

guages, the nations of these countries will have a chance to become acquainted with the literature and culture of our people.

This can be achieved through the direct activities of Palestinian information workers or by cooperation between writers in those countries and organizations of our writers.

Moreover, translation of books dealing with economic and political analyses touching on our cause and questions of the Middle East give the nations of these countries an opportunity to understand the material reasons for the struggle in this region.

Art

Despite all the strategic importance of translations of Palestinian literature, Palestinian poetry and Palestinian political and economic works into the languages of these nations, it is still not enough. Palestinian information workers have the duty to actively advance this goal in order to show the diversity of culture of our people, to acquaint the public with their cultural heritage and their creative contribution to human civilization.

Palestinian folk art is one of the expressions of the Palestinian creative contribution to mankind's culture.

Furthermore, it is the duty of Palestinian information workers to show these nations how this rich cultural-artistic legacy combines with modern creation in the field of graphics, the theatre, the art of film, and in other areas.

The Enemy On a Worldwide Scale

If we look at the international field from the other side, we see that our revolution and our information workers are facing an enemy that controls the most powerful information machinery the world has ever known. It consists of a long list of capitalist information enterprises and institutions - official and unofficial - and the machinery of the world Zionist movement which controls comprehensive and vast networks covering the whole world.

The production of these imperialist and Zionist institutions, which Palestinian information workers must counter, have their strategic and technical designs. They have a tremendous breadth, ranging from books published in capitalist countries to radio stations transmitting news and commentaries in a way that poisons the minds of citizens of these countries.

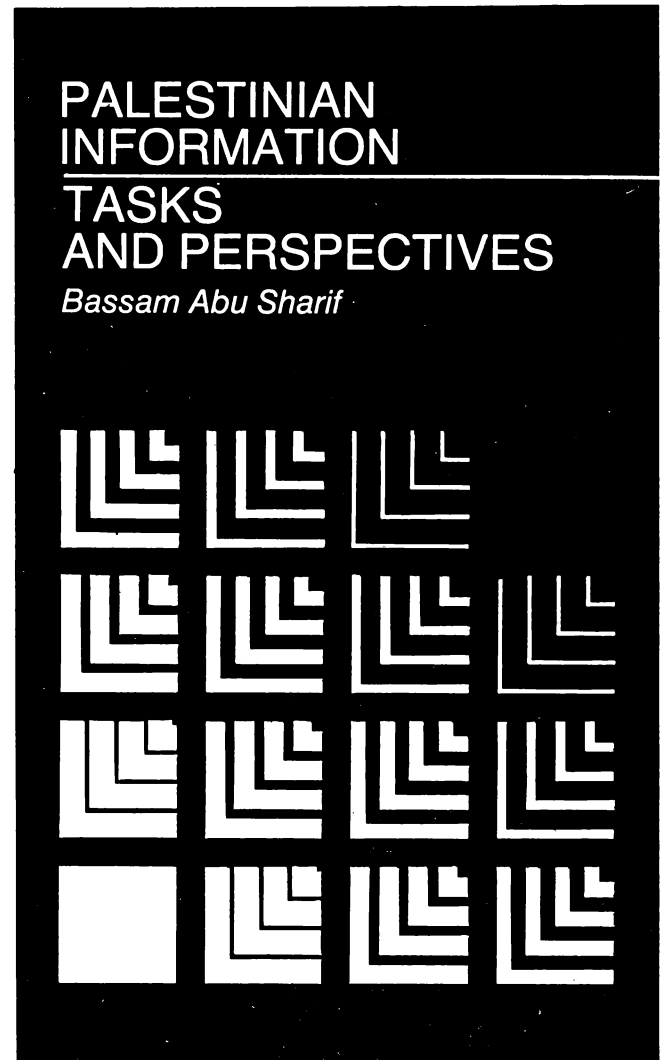
If the information confrontation will continue in the way it has been going, we will not be successful. At the present time we are squandering many good efforts in too many directions, thereby reducing their effectiveness and influence. Besides, these efforts are based mainly on the industriousness of those who expend them, and not on a clearly formulated plan of action with precise goals.

That is why we say that the time has come to work out a unified plan of confrontation with the enemy's information activities, a plan from which all our activities would stem and in the frame of which all our efforts would be united.

The details of this plan are not a subject for this paper. Let me only point out its general needs and features.

Strategic aspects

Since 1967 Palestinian information activities have been based on the idea of enhancing the name of Palestine and having the voice of Palestine reach the ears of public opinion so that world attention is directed to the just cause of our people. These efforts on the whole have produced results. They were based on the sacrifices of our people and the heroism of our fighters. But this type of activity no longer suffices to achieve



the desired ends. It is essential to work out a strategic, long-term action plan whose aim will be to intensify knowledge about our struggle among people living in capitalist countries and who are under the daily influence of imperialist communication media.

Another aim will be to unmask the distortions and untruths about our people and their cause, which have been sown by the mass media in the minds of the citizens of these countries.

Think how many have read in novels and detective stories, distributed in millions of copies to the citizens of these

countries, about the immorality of the Palestinian Arab, about what a blackguard he is, etc. And how many have seen monster films which inculcate such ideas in the minds of film-goers. And how many have seen a picture whose purpose is to arouse sympathy for the Zionists who have usurped our homeland.

Two main strategic aims can be achieved through a long-term plan, during whose implementation we will put in the hands of citizens of capitalist countries our literature, our stories and our poetry in translation to their languages and, at the same time, we will encourage the authors of these countries to write about our homeland, about our people and about our struggle objectively, without any distortion.

The strategic plan I am proposing must include the production of full-length feature films showing in a skillful and acceptable manner the real facts in such a way as to interest the public in those countries which are controlled by imperialist communication media.

Such a desirable plan must endeavour to mobilize the hidden reserves of our authors, artists and film-makers, to creatively approach further production that has long-lasting influence. We do not expect that the effect will be immediately visible in the near future.

Palestinian information workers carry on their shoulders responsibility for having this strategic program linked with the phased plan of the revolution on the one hand and the information actions of the enemy on the other.

Phased Information Program

We are a national liberation movement and we have our strategic and phased goals. We must therefore draw up a phased information plan combining our activities for the implementation of our strategic information aims with our practical, everyday activities.

The Palestinian cause has been presented from the time of the defeat in 1967 to the present day so as to call attention to the situation of our people and their tragedy and to bring about a change in the earlier general attitude which did not recognize any rights for our people.

Palestinian information activities attained success in carrying out these aims:

- The name of Palestine has become universally known on a worldwide scale in connection with the cause of a people exiled from their own country.
- The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is recognized on a worldwide scale as the representative of this people.
- Everybody, including the enemy, recognizes today that the Palestinians have «rights» that must be obtained.
- It is generally recognized in the world that there is a need to solve the problem of the Middle East whose core is the Palestinian cause.

But this development, achieved thanks to struggle and many sacrifices, must once again undergo a qualitative change. Once again it will be necessary for our people to fight and to make sacrifices, but this time in tandem with information

efforts on a qualitatively different level from the previous ones. For Palestinian workers of communication media a great responsibility devolves from this.

Our decisive duty now is to draw up this phased information plan in two directions: defensive and offensive.

Defensive Direction

Palestinian information workers have the task of drawing up a phased plan on how to counter the Zionist enemy which is trying in different ways to distort the picture of our people's struggle. If the basic stage of the information line of the imperialist-Zionist enemy is to describe the Palestinian struggle as terrorism, then the Palestinian plan to confront this line must show the liberating and cultural face of our people's fight. This means using basic facts and information which no thinking person or objective observer can refute.

Offensive Direction

In this regard the plan must be based on everything that is positive, on everything that has been achieved, and on everything that has brought world public opinion to the view that the Palestinian cause must be solved and that the Palestinians must have their inalienable rights. The most marked point of this offensive aspect of the plan is to clearly and intensively express «how our people understand their right to self-determination».

No democratic or liberal thinking person can oppose the slogan «Support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination». Therefore it is necessary to stress this slogan and give it a scientific content from which, naturally, stems the demand to establish an independent state without any conditions.

Daily Information Work

But it is not enough just to draw up a strategic and a phased plan and to set out their aims and manner of realization. It is the daily information work that fills the gaps and permits implementation of the goals of both plans.

The Palestinian cause is in the first place a liberation cause in the world and is, moreover, the core of struggle in the Middle East, which is to say in a region floating on the most powerful sea of oil in the world. The great strategic importance of this region is also the reason why the Palestinian cause has won the attention of the whole world. That is why it has resulted in endless commentaries and daily arguments on a worldwide scale and also among the Arab countries.

This likewise explains the significance of daily information work, the need to constantly follow the information flow and the attitudes of friends and enemies, the need to counter negative attempts and to support positive efforts. This type of work assumes various forms in practice. It means constantly stressing resistance to disinformation by the enemy and a daily information drive to strengthen truth in public opinion.

To be continued...



Suleiman Mansour

Suleiman Mansour

Suleiman Mansour, one of the most prominent Palestinian artists in the occupied territories, was born in Ramallah in 1947. He studied art at the Fine Arts College in Bezallal in Jerusalem. He left the college in his third year, dissatisfied with the preference of Israeli teachers for abstract art and alienated by increasingly serious political clashes with his fellow students.

Symbolism is a key factor in Mansour's art, a symbolism which unites historical and present Palestinian history, but the symbols are simple and understandable. The cultural history of the Palestinian people, deeply rooted in love for the land, is a recurring theme in Mansour's art - in flowers, fruits, fish and trees. History and identity are reflected in the patterns of Palestinian national dresses, handicraft and cultivating the land. The ongoing struggle of everyday Palestinian life forges the determination, dedication and seriousness of the Palestinian people as well as the art of Suleiman Mansour. Mansour calls himself a political artist «not because I want to be, but because anyone who has feel-

ings here, cannot be anything but political.»

As dramatic political developments suddenly became everyday life for ordinary people on the West Bank, political developments deeply influenced Mansour. The defeat of the Arab armies in 1967, the occupation of the West Bank, Nasser's death, the growing strength of the Palestinian guerillas and the formation of the PLO meant a lot of changes - days of hardship, but also hope. «The pressure on people increased especially from the land confiscations, and I began to make paintings which expressed this stress, and yet were hopeful.»

Yet awareness about using art in a political context was still in its early stage. It was between 1975 and 1982 that the plastic art form developed artistically as well as politically. This was also reflected by the policy of circulating art. In 1980, Palestinian artists in the occupied territories joined to form a league for plastic art. Five exhibitions were held during this period in which almost every artist showed several paintings. In 1976, the artists sought an

international audience by holding an exhibition in London, and in 1977 exhibitions in the USA. Due to this, hundreds of people abroad became familiar with Palestinian art and life.

Mansour's art cannot be separated from the daily reality of oppression, exploitation and war; neither can it be separated from the reality of the people's unquenchable will to fight on. It is definitely not in line with the bourgeois ideal of art - 'art for the sake of art', where the intention of the artist is to create a perfect harmony of dreams and beauty - a world to escape into, a drug or a painkiller to make people forget their worries and the reason for them, so they will not so easily start to fight the conditions of reality. Like the most shining examples of political art, Mansour's works expose the reality of suffering and the reasons for the suffering. Also they point the way forward. So it is not surprising that official institutions abroad, such as museums and banks in Europe, have ignored this art, as the states and capitalist circles behind them are not in the habit of supporting the struggle

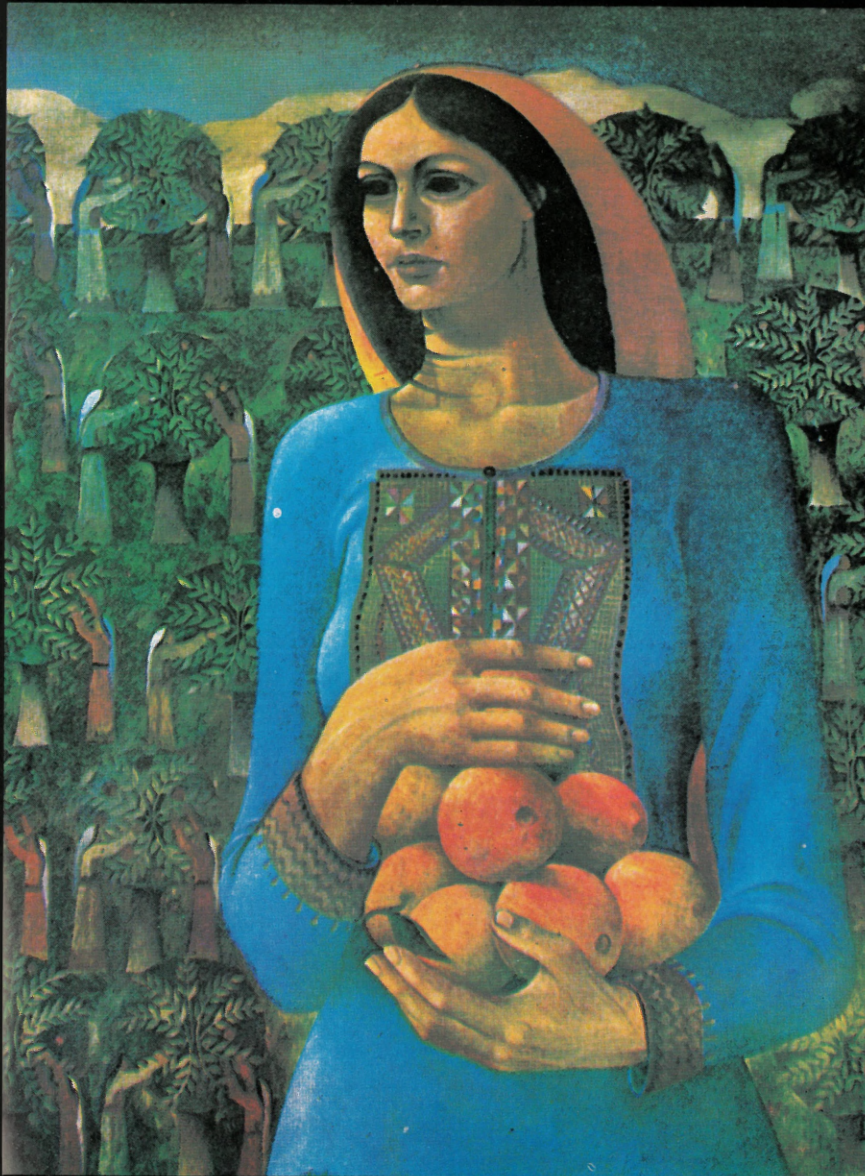
against fascism and exploitation - for liberation. Historically this is a well-known pattern, exposed not only by Palestinian experience; Europe's history itself provides clear evidence. Today banks in Europe might well want to buy Picasso's famous 'Guernica', the picture of the fascist slaughter of the Spanish population during the civil war in 1936, but it was most certainly not those forces who supported Picasso in 1936. At the best they closed their eyes to the growth of fascism; in all too many cases, they directly supported. This is not an exceptional example; the history of the world is virtually littered with examples like this.

It is not in American or European banks you find the art of Mansour, but in



Suleiman Mansour's painting "Jamal al Mahamel" - the old man carrying Jerusalem, symbolizing the Palestinian problem.

"Palestine" - Suleiman Mansour



almost every Palestinian home. The Palestinian people have no patience with an artist whose work is marginal to their struggle, but find their reality and encouragement in works like those of Mansour.

As the fascists fought Picasso and his art, as they relentlessly persecuted other artists who are today among the most respected and known, 'Israel' is constantly persecuting Mansour and his art, along with other Palestinian artists. As the fascists of Europe during the 30s and 40s, the Zionists know very well that the power of art is strong, and speaks very directly to the oppressed masses. Again and again, the Zionists have raided Mansour's home, destroyed his paintings, put him under house arrest; they have confiscated his pictures on exhibition, and hundreds of posters, and even arrested booksellers who sold them. Others are quite simply threatened by frequent raids of their bookshops. Mansour has been imprisoned, and always been denied an exit permit when he tried to travel abroad. Is this any better than the cultural policy of Hitler's Germany? True, the Israelis never used gas chambers to kill thousands of people; in Lebanon they used cluster bombs and carpet bombings. In the process, they completely demolished the Palestinian Plastic Arts Centre in Beirut, destroying 12 of Mansour's pictures among many others. Unlike Hitler, they did not have to burn pieces of art one by one. However, as the European fascists, they destroy art, aiming to destroy the will to fight, to live freely in proud independence. Yet they have not succeeded in reaching this aim, for they are not able to understand the strength of a people who want to be free.

Already in 1980, Mansour became a regular cartoonist for the English weekly edition of the Jerusalem newspaper *Al Fajr*. Mansour says: "Cartoons are an outlet for my political thoughts. Since the invasion of Lebanon, I have been doing nothing but political cartoons. But a cartoon is not enough. The colour, texture, vastness of a painting - you can put more anger into it." Yet the cartoons have a different effect. Mansour's cartoons are precise political analysis. With a few lines, they point out not only the brutality of oppression, but also the weaknesses of the liberation movement itself, the weaknesses we must face in order to overcome and ultimately win what we are struggling for: liberation, identity and pride.



Ghassan Kanafani's oil painting «Antar», the desert warrior from Arab mythology

Political Prisoners in Jordan Remember Ghassan

In spite of their conditions of imprisonment, the political prisoners in Jordan did not let the 12th anniversary of Ghassan Kanafani's martyrdom go unacknowledged. The prisoners are obviously in jail for the same principles that Ghassan lived and died for. They commemorated his death with the spirit he instilled in them. They live with the challenge of conquering their prison conditions just as Ghassan conquered death through his contribution that has remained for us.

The celebration was held on July 11th, in Al Mahatta prison, Amman. It was attended by the political prisoners and a group of their visitors. The program started with a moment of silence in memory of Ghassan and all the martyrs of the revolution. The event included speeches, poems and other literary readings. The main speech was delivered on behalf of the Palestinian revolution in which the prisoners affirmed their determination to continue their steadfastness and struggle against the plots of US imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

The prevailing spirit of the event can be summed up by a quote from one of the speeches delivered: «Had you, Ghassan, feared the trembling sea, you would not have stood on its shores; had you feared the fire of the revolution, you would not have been eaten by its flames; and had we feared the path of our struggle, we would not have been here (in jail). We salute the mighty fortress, the son of Acre who entrusted us with his blood to pass on to the coming generations. We will repeat his revolutionary words and follow his revolutionary path for which he dedicated his pen and spirit, and sacrificed his youth.»

Kanafani Commemorated in Palestine

The first annual book fair organized by the Latin Convent Club was successfully concluded in the club's headquarters in Beit Sahour, July 9. The book fair, the first one of its kind to be held in the city, was organized in memory of Palestinian author Ghassan Kanafani, who was assassinated in Beirut 12 years ago.

The book fair was held for four days during which hundreds of Palestinian residents from Beit Sahour and neighbouring villages visited and bought many of the exhibited books. The exhibition contained books dealing with politics, economics, philosophy and literature. The fair contained a number of books by Ghassan Kanafani.

In another related event, the Student Work Front at Bethlehem University issued a statement July 8, commemorating the twelfth anniversary of Kanafani's death. The statement recalled the achievements of the Palestinian author and his role in developing the Palestinian literary movement.

Translation from *Al Mithaq*, July 11, 1984, as printed by *Al Fajr*, July 13, 1984.

Cover of «Al Hadaf» special issue in 1983, commemorating Ghassan Kanafani

