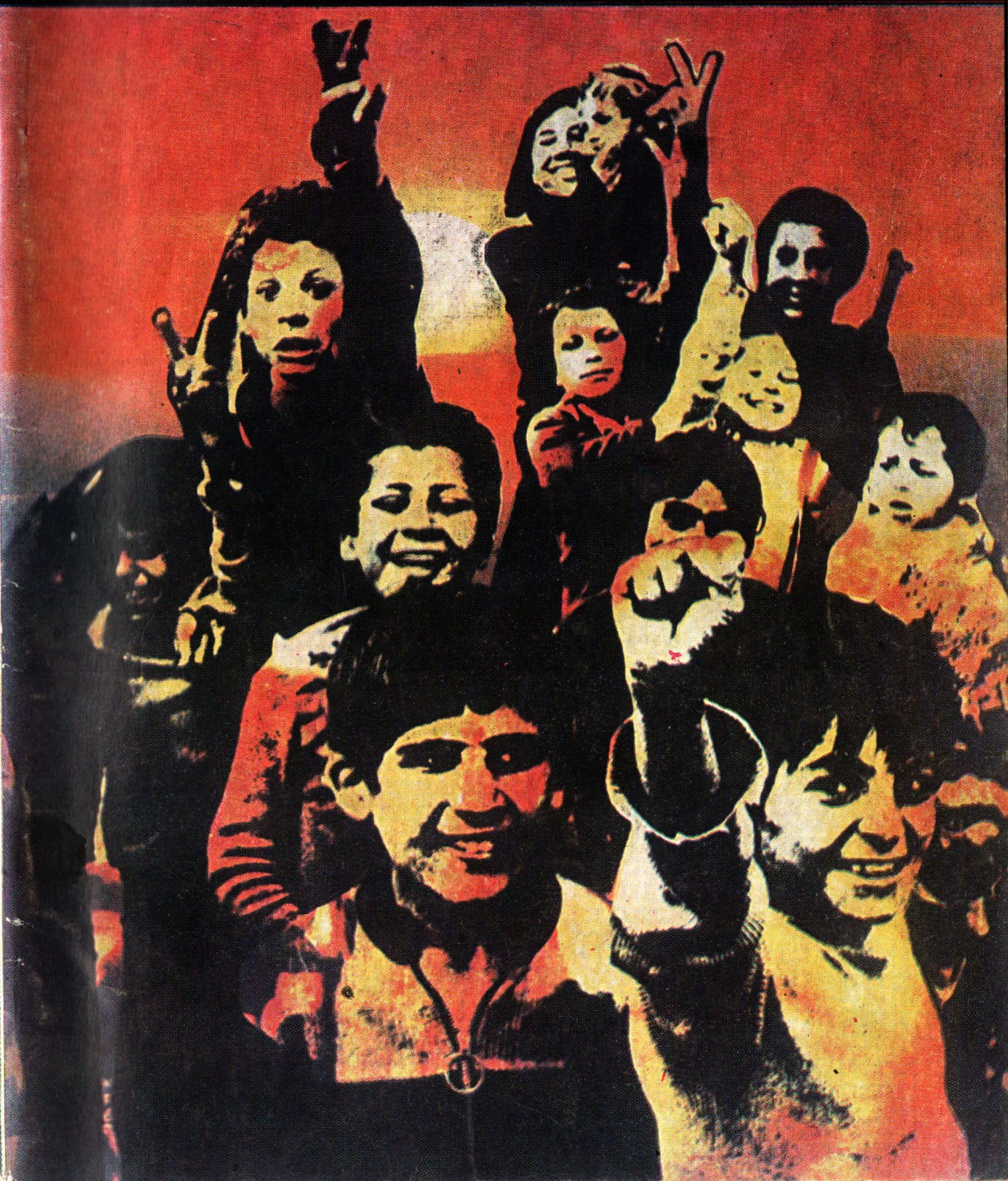




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## to the reader

*Tricontinental dedicates this edition of its Bulletin to the Arab peoples' struggle against aggressive Zionism. The main Arab problem — that of the Palestinian people — is described in the exclusive interviews granted Tricontinental by Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization — the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — and other Arab leaders.*

*The Lebanese situation is linked historically, politically, militarily and geographically with the Palestinian cause. Since Lebanon is the scene where the fate of the Arab world is being determined, we present several articles on that struggle.*

*Tricontinental wishes to thank journalist Mosés Saab for his cooperation in interviewing Yasser Arafat, Abu Sharar and Fawwaz Trabulsi.*

# The Reason for Internationalist Solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution

*Nazim Abu Nidal is President of the Union of Writers and Journalists of Palestine in Lebanon. He wrote the following article especially for Tricontinental.*

The victories of the peoples' struggles, both national and social, must be based, first and foremost, on the independent forces of those peoples. This, for us, is a primary and absolute truth. Another truth, equally absolute, is that, in our era, the peoples cannot be victorious without the basic support of true and effective internationalist solidarity.

Some say that these two logical truths are divergent or even contradictory and refuse to see the dialectical interrelation between them, in spite of dozens of concrete experiences that bear them out in our modern world: Vietnam, Cuba, China, Angola, Korea, socialist Europe, etc.

The holding in Lisbon of the World Conference of Solidarity with the Arab People, with Palestine its central issue,



reaffirms this truth: the principle of internationalist solidarity is a part of the all-out battle of the peoples against the enemies of mankind, with the aim of ending the era of oppression, plunder and exploitation and of arriving, with all mankind, in the era of freedom and socialism: man's happiness.

The people of Palestine began their armed revolution in 1965, basing themselves on their own forces and using rather primitive means: some old guns, a single grenade (which, because the pin was missing, was tied together with a piece of string) and a small number of other explosives. Moreover, a news blackout was clamped down against them, and

several campaigns were launched to discredit their actions.

After surviving those difficult years, the Palestinian Revolution now has an outstanding place among the main conflicts in the world — especially since the overwhelming victory of the Vietnamese Revolution.

Palestinian fighters now use the latest weapons, including Sam 7 missile launchers.

Because of the blockade, it would have been impossible for the Palestinian Revolution to have advanced from the use of old guns to AKMs and to the outstanding inter-

national position it now holds if it weren't for the dialectical complementing relationship between the internal forces and international solidarity.

The main characteristic of our era is the overthrow of the world capitalist system and the advance to socialism. Therefore, within the framework of this historic process, we should observe the main role played by the liberation movements at the international level.

The oppressed peoples' obtaining both economic and political independence signifies a breaking of the process of imperialist plunder and the end of the enormous profits that cushioned the imperialist system whenever its sharp internal crises hit and that were used to put down the class struggle in the capitalist societies.

Karl Marx expressed this very important historic truth when he spoke of the Irish "lever" — that is, of the need for Ireland to grasp its political and economic independence as a necessary, indispensable prerequisite for the victory of the English working class.

On the international scene, the conflicts clearly show the historic, decisive importance of the consolidation of all the forms of unity and solidarity among the international liberation forces, the community of socialist countries and the working class in the capitalist countries. It is absolutely necessary to give the liberation movements great and special importance. Among them, because of their leading political, strategic and geographic positions, the Palestinian and Arab liberation movements play the role of the Irish "lever" — in this case, not for the English working class, but for the world capitalist system, through whose main arteries Arab oil runs. As a result, the imperialist gendarme in

the Arab area — the State of Israel — maintains close watch over the strategic wells.

Internationalist solidarity with the Palestinian and Arab liberation movements and its participation alongside them in obtaining victories will deal mortal wounds to imperialism, even now reeling from sharp economic, social and political crises.

In this regard, the World Conference of Solidarity with the Arab People, with Palestine its central issue — held in Lisbon — is an important contribution to this long advance along the road to socialism and the victory of mankind.





**NOBODY  
LIVES TWICE  
TO SEE  
THE GLORY**

**Yasser Arafat**

Most of the offices of the organizations that belong to the progressive Palestinian front, a buttress against the isolationist strategy of the ultrareactionary Lebanese rightists, are in the heavily populated Arab University neighborhood, in the western part of Beirut, which they control.

Bustling, with an eminently Arab touch in spite of the European overlay that has made Lebanon unique in the Arab world, it shows the signs of the war that has been tearing this small country apart for the last five years. Refugees — Palestinians, who are now concentrated in Sabra Chatila, Bourj al Barahnej and the outskirts of Fakhani, plus some of the 600 000 Lebanese who have been forced to leave their homes — fill the main streets during the day.

From the minaret of the university at the hour of prayer, the muezzin cries forth his daily "Lah Alá ua Alá Mohammed Rasul Alá" ("There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is his prophet"), while, on the street corners, in living testimony of the state of things imposed by continual Israeli attacks and the acts of provocation of the paramilitary troops of the rightist militias, men in jeeps equipped with antiaircraft weapons remain on guard. Bearded and dressed in a wide range of uniforms and even civilian garb, they seem a motley crew — until you see their shining weapons.

These are the contrasts imposed by the war — or perhaps I should say by life itself. The idea of confrontations, of battle, is just as real as the agitated activity of the merchants and money changers and the heavy traffic that never ceases — punctuated every so often by the roar of a fighter bomber going past overhead which must be shot down.

There are many Samed (Resistance) workshops and factories here which turn out sweaters and uniforms for the Palestinian fighters and small arts and crafts items, many

(if not most) of which preserve the traditions, legends and customs of Palestine, whose normal way of life was so rudely interrupted by the Zionist military occupation. In the heart of this area inhabited by thousands of Palestinians, in Fakhani, is the office of Yasser Arafat, Abu Ammar, the living symbol of the war that the Palestinian people have been waging in an organized way for nearly 15 years against the fanatical hegemonism of Zionism — a war waged against overwhelming odds but in which death strikes both sides equally.

I had thought it would be quite complicated to get to Arafat's office. I had imagined that one of the guerrilla leader's bodyguards would come to the PLO's International Information Office to pick me up and take me all over town through a maze of streets so I wouldn't know exactly where his office was, after which I would have to wait a long time before finally getting to see Arafat — and then, only under the watchful eye of his fighters, for he is one of the Israeli Intelligence hit teams' most wanted men.

It was not that I had gone to too many thriller movies; my idea was based on the fact that Zuheir Mohsen, head of the PLO's Military Department, had been murdered in France just a few days earlier. In view of that situation, it would be normal to tighten precautions.

But, even so, it was all very simple: an official of the International Information Office drove me the 700 meters or so between the place where we'd met and Arafat's office.

A quick ascent in an elevator, during which we greeted PIO representatives who had come from abroad, fighters who had come to see their comrades, and an old friend whom I had met in Havana, and I was at Arafat's office.

Smiling, he waited at the door to give me the first "Salaam" ("Peace," the traditional Arab greeting). He was wearing a khaki uniform topped with a kufieh, traditional headgear of the peasants, that protects its wearer equally against heat and cold, sand storms and rain. The first thing he did was lay the ground rules for our talk: it would be in Arabic, without any time limit.

We went into the room next to his office and sat down by a table covered with a large number of gifts and souvenirs which he had been given on his trips or which artisans and fighters had sent him from the front. An emblem of the Al Fatah organization, pioneer of the last phase of the armed struggle against the occupation, hung on the wall behind him. Its slogan sums up the Palestinian people's attitude of the last 15 years: "Nobody lives twice to see the glory."

Passionate, emphatic, Arafat speaks unequivocally. He gesticulates and gives added force to his statements with his facial expressions and intonation. It is characteristic of him to stress the word horiya (the Arabic term for freedom, independence).

When the photographer, a fighter who lost a leg in the war and now takes pictures for Falastin Al Saura (Palestinian Revolution), the PLO organ, had finished his work, Arafat — a man whom the information transnationals have painted as a murderer — insisted on his sitting next to him.

I spent nearly two hours in that room filled with mementos, listening to Arafat speaking of the Palestinian war against crime and the history of the conspiracies.

Outside, in the street, the muezzin prepared to call the faithful to prayer; the fighters remained alert; and, farther south, on the front lines, the Palestinian people stood firm, loyal to the cause of liberation — that liberation of which Arafat spoke to me, expressing his confidence that, no matter how long it might take, the Palestinian people would win.





constitute our public political and military forces (our forces in the occupied territories are underground).

At present, alongside the Lebanese people, we are confronting the Israelis' attacks on southern Lebanon. They attack us by land, sea and air, using modern weapons from the United States, including plastic, napalm and fragmentation bombs and poison gases, many of which are banned by international conventions.

This bitter war of attrition against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples has already gone on for more than 100 days. The attacks are directed against Palestinian civilians and Lebanese hamlets. The United States provided arms for the massacre that is being carried out in southern Lebanon and expressed its approval for such an action when it gave Israel the green light with the Camp David agreements. Thousands of men, women and children have been killed in these attacks.

\*\*\*\*\*

I recall that, in a press conference in Havana during your first visit to Cuba, you said something that turned out to be a key for understanding US policy on the Middle East. At that time, you quoted Gerald Ford, then President of the United States, who had stated that Israel was a continuation of the United States.

\*\*\*\*\*

That's right, and what he said is true: Israel is a continuation of US imperialism in our area. The Pentagon considers the Israeli Army to be a part of the US Army.

\*\*\*\*\*

What weight do you give the statements by US government spokesmen concerning the possibility of "holding informal talks" between US officials and the PLO?

\*\*\*\*\*

I don't think they are serious yet. One day they say one thing, and the next day, something quite different. For example, just today, US Vice-President Walter Mondale contradicted what James Carter had said. State Department spokesman Hodding Carter may say one thing today, and a State Department official will say the opposite tomorrow. In short, the US position may be summed up as a zigzag course of statements and denials. With this, it seeks to gain time and try to propitiate some of its Arab friends.





الى ارفات في مدينة اسبانيا / دكتور الطاهر بلال

منه ما ربه نامي حمد واحد  
ضد اليهودية واليهودية والاستعمار  
سقطت تقريبا فيه اجيالنا الحقة بعد ان  
انقلم والاصطدام الاضغاث العالم بعدا  
منه لا سكار ولا سكار

سقطت له من ربه

والله لنوره من الله

1974/10/14  
بسرعات

Greetings from Yasser Arafat, through Tricontinental Bulletin.

We fight together in the same trench, against Zionism, imperialism, colonialism; for a future in which our children will know no injustice, oppression, international monopolies, colonialism or slavery.

For a free, progressive and honorable future!

Revolution, until victory!

Yasser Arafat



Now, I'd like to ask a question — or, rather, three — about the future of the people you lead: What perspectives, plans and activities do the Palestinians have?

As I've already said, the Palestinian cipher is the most important one in the Middle Eastern equation. We have been waging a continuous armed revolution for 15 years and have turned our people from refugees into fighters. Therefore, there will be no tranquillity or security and no solution in the Middle East as long as the rights of the Palestinian people are ignored. We constitute a thorny problem in this equation, and nobody can push us aside. This is why I can see victory just as clearly as I see you now.

In spite of the many fronts on which we are fighting and in spite of the savagery of this war in which we are defending our people — and, at the same time, our Arab nation and all free and honest people all over the world — we are confident of victory. By waging our war, we are joining the struggle of all free, honest, progressive and democratic forces all over the world.

In spite of all our difficulties, I am confident that, sooner or later, our people will triumph — as did the Cuban people, the Vietnamese, the Algerians and all the other peoples that have fought and won.

The Palestinian people's victory will be an important landmark in the history of this area.



# Sketches of Lebanon, that Impossible Switzerland

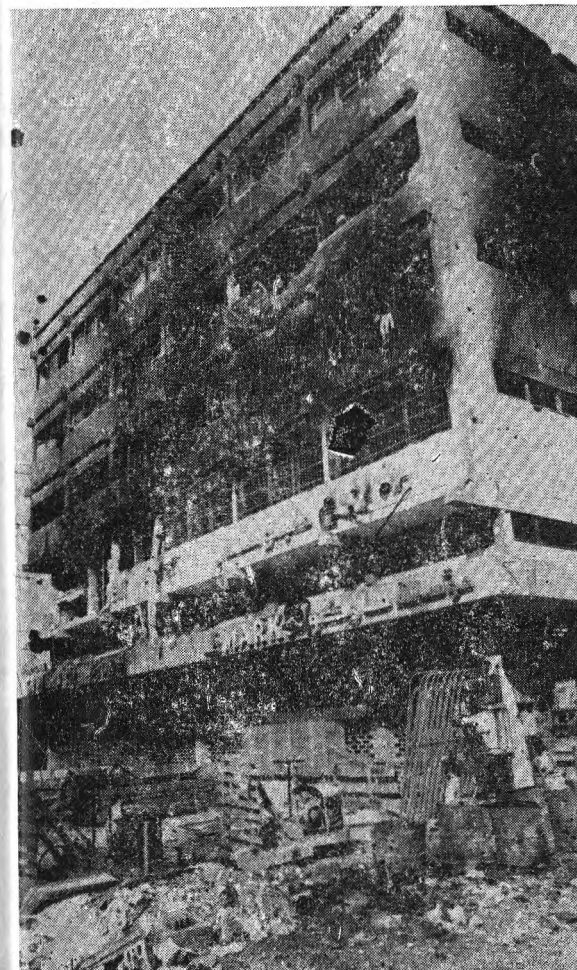
Moisés Saab

Beirut isn't all of Lebanon, though the war — that has been going on for nearly five years — has left its mark on the capital, too. Thousands have been killed, and many more have been wounded or have lost all their possessions. More tens of thousands have been hurt in other ways by the Israeli regular forces' attacks and by the splinter forces that serve as their cover in the south.

The mass media of the capitalist West have gone all out to make this war of extermination against the Lebanese people and the Palestinian refugees palatable.

It is already an everyday occurrence for Zionist planes to violate Lebanese airspace and drop tons of bombs (including kinds banned by international conventions) on the Palestinian refugee camps and civilian areas of that small country which, up until just a few years ago, the sectors that opposed Arab nationalist ideas insisted on calling the "Switzerland of the Middle East" (an impossible comparison, though there is class struggle even in the original).

How could they think that the deep contradictions of the Arab world, in which the forced expatriation of the Palestinians is a constant factor, would not affect the broad political sectors pledged to the



cause of the historic advance of their people and, even apart from their economic characteristics, tied closely to the rest of the nations in this convulsed strategic geographical area?

## CHAMPAGNE AND REFUGEES

Nevertheless, some sectors still hope to attain this political anesthetic. Beirut is now split in two. There is the eastern sector, controlled by the militias of the rightist political groups — mainly the Kataeb, or Lebanese Phalangist party — and there is the western sector, which, thus far, has been controlled by the Lebanese National Movement, composed of a wide range of leftist political groups, and the Palestinian resistance. The two are united by strong ties of ideological identification and combat solidarity.

In the western sector, life continues relatively normally. Checkpoints are manned by the Arab Deterrent Force, Palestinians and members of the Lebanese National Movement, controlling the flow of vehicles and handling all acts of provocation that may arise.

"I'll take you anywhere you want except east. I can't go there — and, besides, I

wouldn't dare," our taxi driver told us on the way in from the airport to Hamra, Beirut's commercial district.

More clearly than any rule, the driver's fear shows the arbitrariness with which the rightist elements act, and most of the people we asked agreed it would be dangerous for anyone who aroused the rightists' suspicions to go to the eastern sector.

As we drove along the Rauchi, the beautiful avenue that skirts the Mediterranean, life seemed to be going on as usual: loud and cunning merchants tended scores of tiny shops containing incredible amounts of the most diverse objects; the absence of traffic policemen meant that the timidity or aggressiveness of each driver determined the flow of traffic, with catastrophe averted thanks to a miracle; and sunbathers and swimmers lay on the beach or swam in the green water of the Mediterranean.

Suddenly we heard two, three, five loud reports from a sniper's gun, and a woman came running down the street, crying nervously. Ten minutes later, everything was back to normal.

This sort of thing happens all the time in Beirut.

Incidents, shootings, clashes between the opposing forces, criticisms in the newspapers and massacres coexist with everyday life, which adapts to this rhythm. While this is going on in the streets and, close to the Rauchi, tens of thousands of Lebanese refugees — most of whom have come from the south — live piled one on top of another in adobe huts, television programs advertise champagne and offer special programs filmed in the United States: Kojac, the cop who skates dangerously close to

crime to solve his cases; Shannon, a kind of nostalgic return to the '50s; etc.

Have the Lebanese forgotten — or do they want to forget — their own war?

Impossible, for that reality continues. This evidently is a line adopted by interested sectors that seek to calm the actors in that war, which seems to have no solution as long as the Palestinian prob-

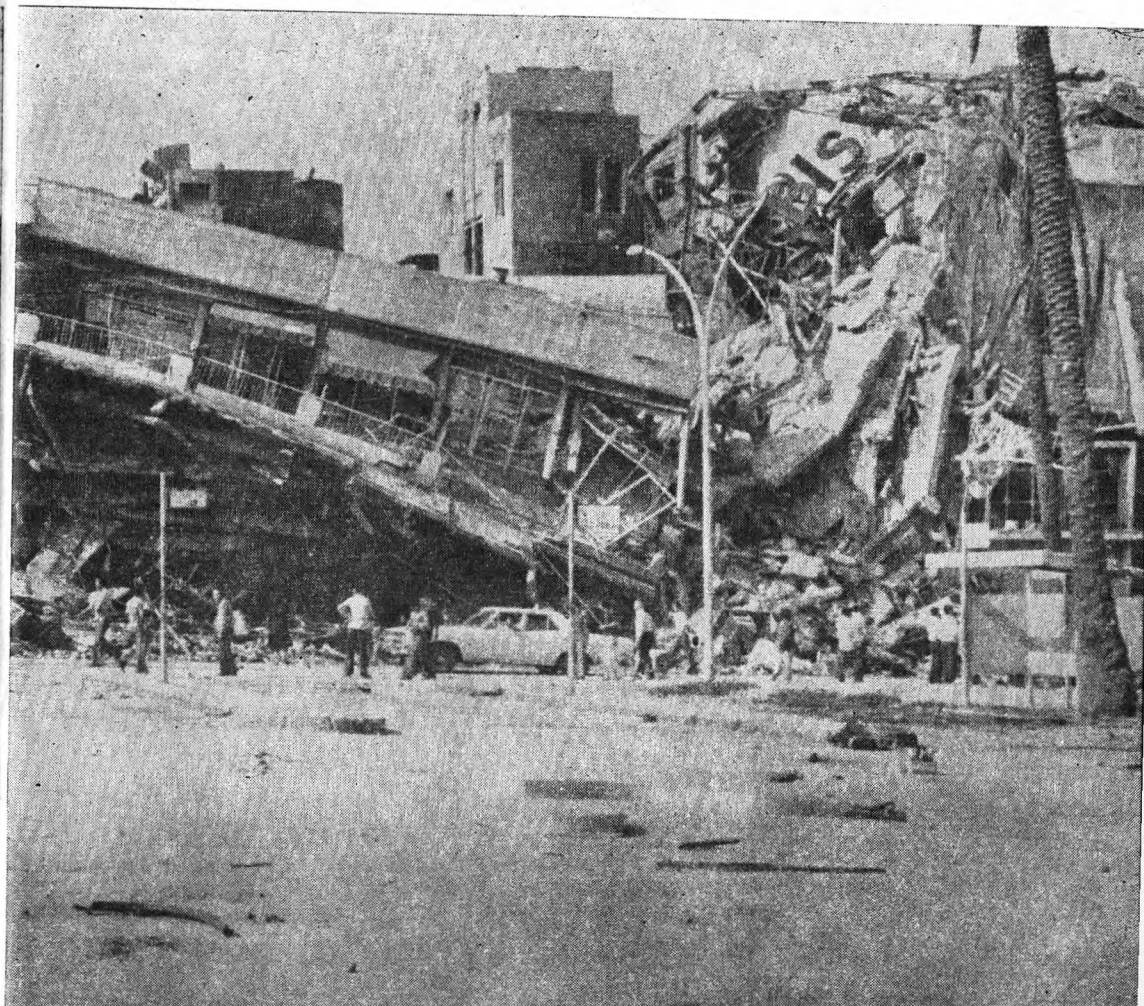


lem remains unsolved — and there is only one solution for that problem: the constitution of a democratic, secular Palestinian state.

## THE WAR IN THE SOUTH

In the capital, most of the destruction was in the eastern zone (though weapons

of all calibers had also damaged many buildings in the west), but, when we left Beirut heading south (*djanub* in Arabic, a word that comes up constantly in conversation) along the highway to Saida and Sour (the biblical Sidon and Tyre), we saw buildings whose roofs had fallen in, hotels that had been demolished and small houses that had been totally destroyed, a sorry contrast to the brilliant



green summer vegetation and the other earth.

In Saida, we turned east to get to Nabatiye, another of Lebanon's martyred cities. There, the silence was nearly complete, broken only occasionally by the sound of a Land Rover taking fighters to

their guard posts. Above us, however, Israeli fighter bombers roared by on bombing raids or observation flights almost constantly.

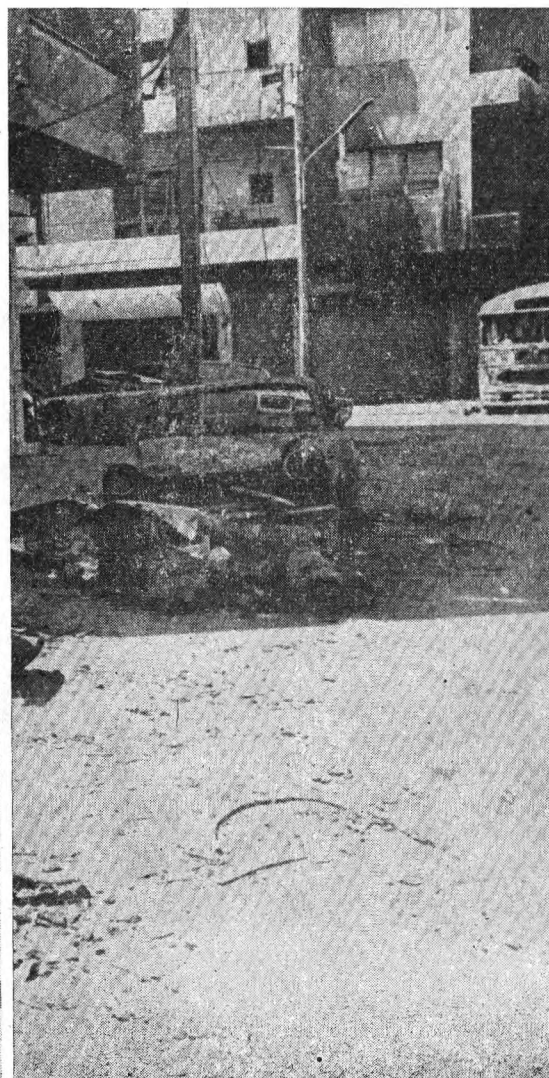
Almost all the people had fled north, either to Beirut or to other, less beleaguered places. Individual death isn't the

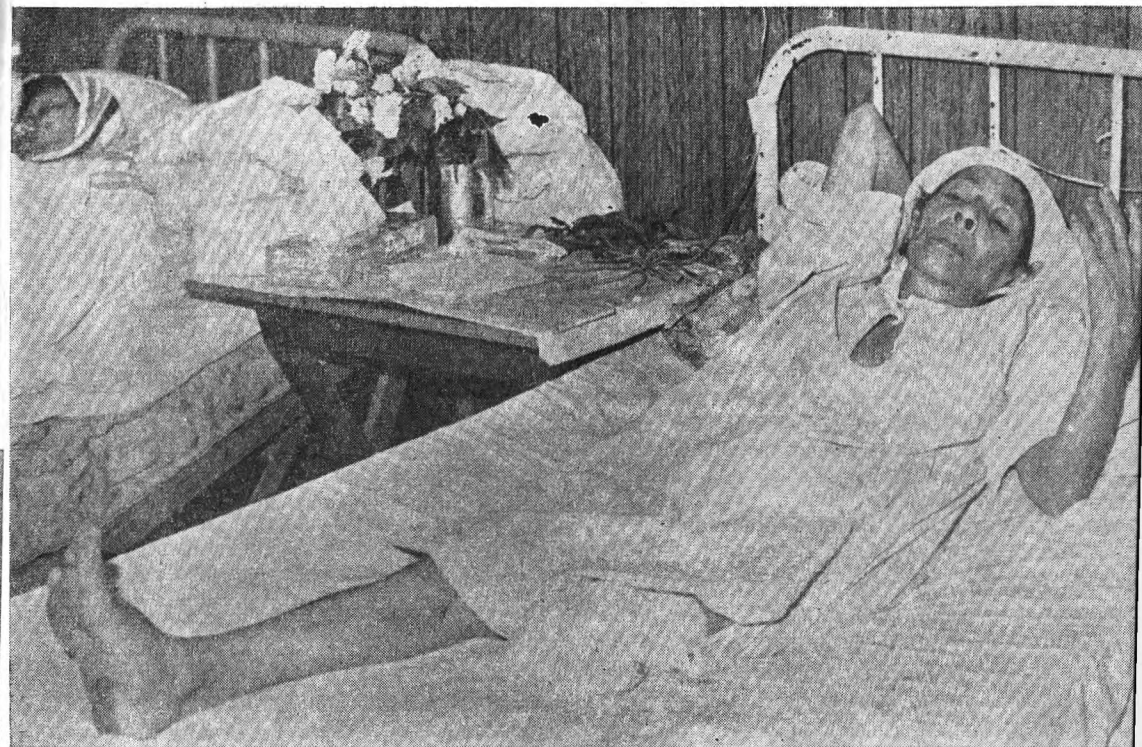
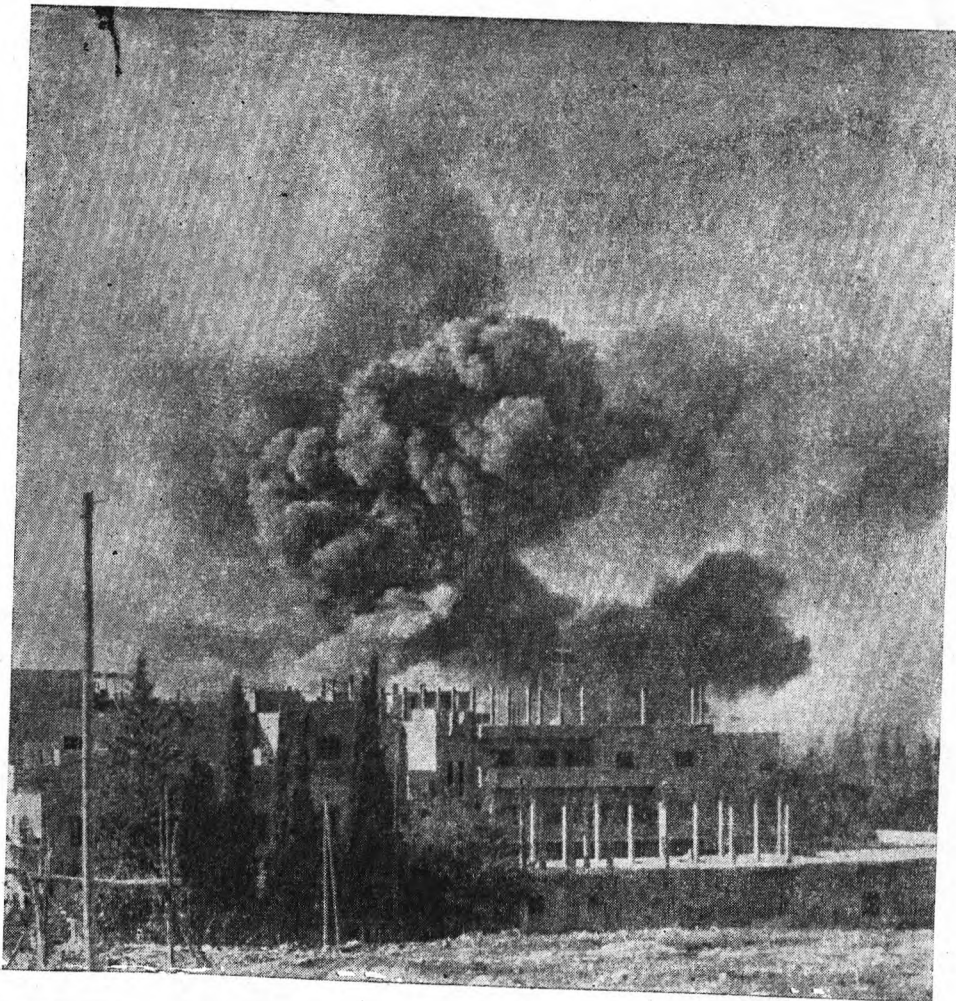
same as genocide. Nobody gets used to this constant massacre.

"So far, the Israelis have been content with this strip ten kilometers wide, but I wouldn't be at all surprised if they tried to increase it," Abu Halil, second in command of the Palestinian forces in

Nabatiye, told us. Though not yet 30, he is already a veteran of one war and now in the first line of this one.

For him, the enemy is the Zionists. But what about Saad Haddad and his army? Why doesn't Abu Halil mention them?





"Saad Haddad is a nobody. He is completely incapable of holding the positions given him by the Israelis. He is in a precarious situation, and neither his own men nor the Israelis have any confidence in him.

"We even know that Israeli forces are holding the most strategic positions of the line between Marjayoun and Taibeh, where we have attacked with our commandos several times. That is why I always say the enemy is the Zionists," he answered.

This truth was repeated in Arnoun, in the famous Beaufort Castle, where we arrived a few hours later.

The castle, that dates from the Crusades, stands on a hill from which you can see El Kuneitra, in Syria; occupied Palestine on the right; and, on the left, Marjayoun, Qliaa, Deir Mimas and the area which, contrary to even the most elementary political logic, Saad Haddad proclaimed a "republic."

Most of the people in this area are Muslims, while Haddad is a Catholic — which

shows the flimsiness of the argument of those who say the Lebanese conflict is a religious one.

For those of us who, as children, grew up on pictures of Bible stories, the scene seemed familiar, except that nearly 2000 years have passed since the time of the first Christians, and, instead of Roman quadrigae pursuing newborn Messiahs, now the oppressors pilot US-made Phantoms to drop US-made fragmentation bombs.

Just below the castle, which was also used by Salah Ed Dinne (Saladin), runs the Litani River, the red line that has hypothetically separated the Arab Deterrent Force from the Israeli troops since March, 1978, when the Israelis invaded southern Lebanon because the rightists couldn't wipe out the Palestinian resistance.

"This is the first line. They are over there; we can see them from here, and we fight and harass them. They have the resources that the United States sends them; we have the thought of our wounds, of our stolen land, of our hatred."

Abu Yamil is in charge of this position. His parents were forced to leave their land in '48, when the Zionist state was created, and they moved to a place where the Israelis weren't in control yet. Nineteen years later, in '67, when Abu Yamil was 14, they were forced to move again, and he joined the self-defense forces that are fighting the expansionists, contesting them every inch of the way.

Inside the castle, there was a relaxed atmosphere. All the fighters except Abu Yamil, who is nearly 27, were between 18 and 24. One of them, a medical student in Kuwait, was spending his vacation there.

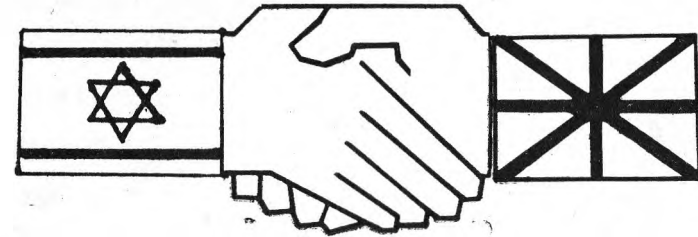
"He wants to be a doctor so he can make a lot of money and go to Europe for his vacations," one of the fighters teased him when the conversation became more general.

The medical student took the joshing in stride, only commenting. "I know where my place is, as I've shown several times already."

Abu Yamil, smiling, said, "Lots of people used to think that way. Now, though, with the war, this brother isn't the only one who has come to fight beside us during his vacation. Others, too, are thinking about the future and the present."

The Israelis and the rightists are finding it a well nigh impossible task to take Arnoun, for it lies on a very steep hill in a practically impregnable position. The Palestinian fighters told us that they had "the means to repel them if they attack us by air. As for artillery fire, when they fire at us, we reply, and, generally, they leave it at that. We know that the Israelis are holding the most important points, because last night [August 3] we sent a commando over that blew up an arms cache they thought we didn't know about. The next day, they attacked us, but they never got this far."

Standing on one of the castle walls, Abu Yamil pointed toward the area occupied by the rightists. "We fought there." Then to El Kuneitra, in Syrian territory, and, sadly, to occupied Palestine: "You know, it is hard to be here in the first line, but I don't want to leave it. For those of us who fight here, it is sweet to think that, when the day comes for us to return to our homeland, we may be the first to get there."



## ISRAEL'S AND ITS ALLIES'

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## VIOLATIONS

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## OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

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Virgilio Calvo

The Arab-Israeli conflict has held the attention of the international community for more than three decades and has been the subject of a tremendous number of declarations, recommendations and resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the main UN agencies — declarations, recommendations and resolutions which are systematically boycotted, ignored and violated by Israel and its mainstay: US imperialism.

Right from the beginning of the crisis — which began with the appearance in Palestine of the first Zionists, whose aim was always the theft of lands the Arabs had lived on for centuries — the Israeli authorities dedicated themselves to a campaign of expansionism and annexation that still continues and that makes it impossible to solve the conflict.

Leaving aside analyses of the well-known events that preceded the General Assembly's Resolution 181 (II), of 1947, which laid down the details of the partition of Palestine and the rights which each ethnic group would have, we see clearly that, ever since 1948, Israel's ac-

tions have been aimed at creating a Great Israel of the so-called biblical homeland, a state based on expansion, plunder and crime.

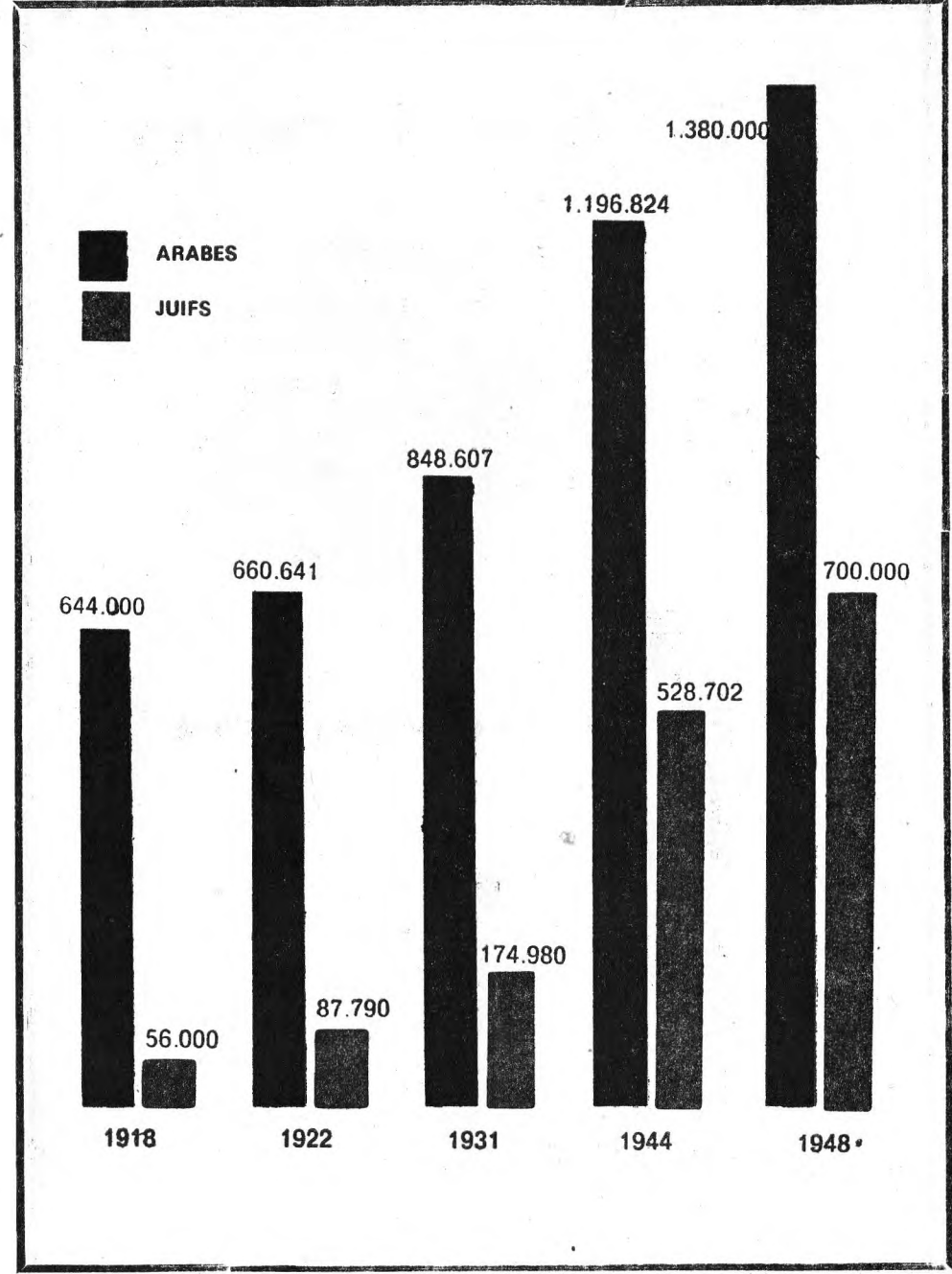
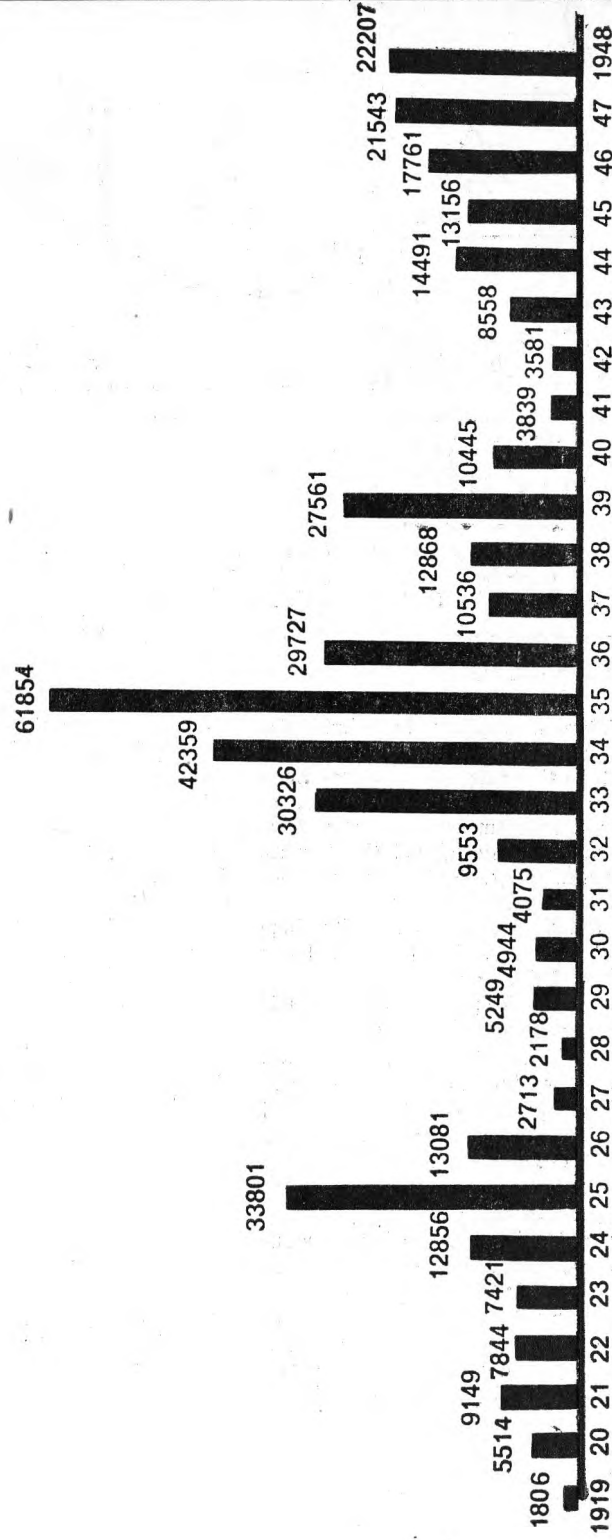
Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention that the aggression against the Palestinian Arabs really dates back to the beginning of the century and that Great Britain has been seriously compromised in the affair ever since World War I and even before.

Nor could we correctly analyze the development of later events if we failed to take note of the fact that international Zionism prepared the occupation of Palestine in the greatest detail several decades prior to the UN decision — especially through the Jewish Agency\* in the United States and Europe.

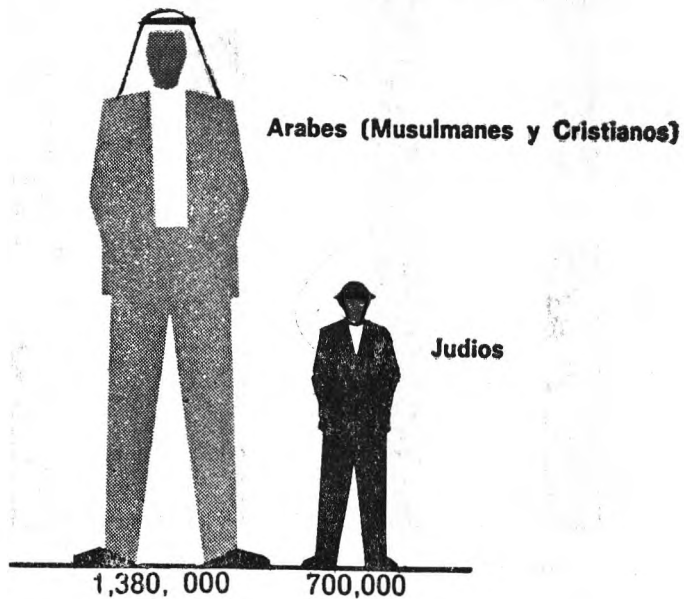
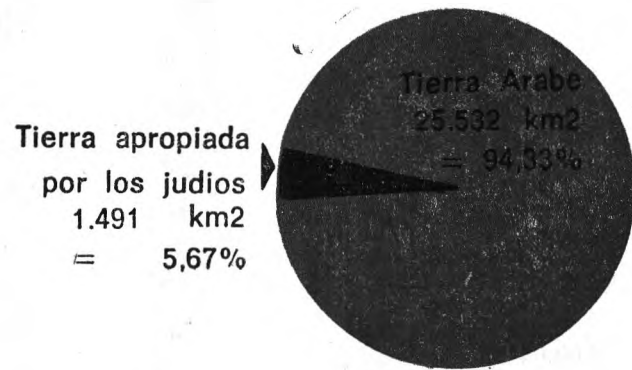
\* The Jewish Agency was founded in 1897 as a tool with which international Judaism could establish a national homeland. It is the executive arm of the World Zionist Organization; its membership consists of the Zionist Federations of 61 countries.

The Jewish Agency is headed by a 40-member Board of Directors, which, in turn, is guided by a steering committee composed of 14 people — generally selected on the recommendation of the most important Jewish capitalists.

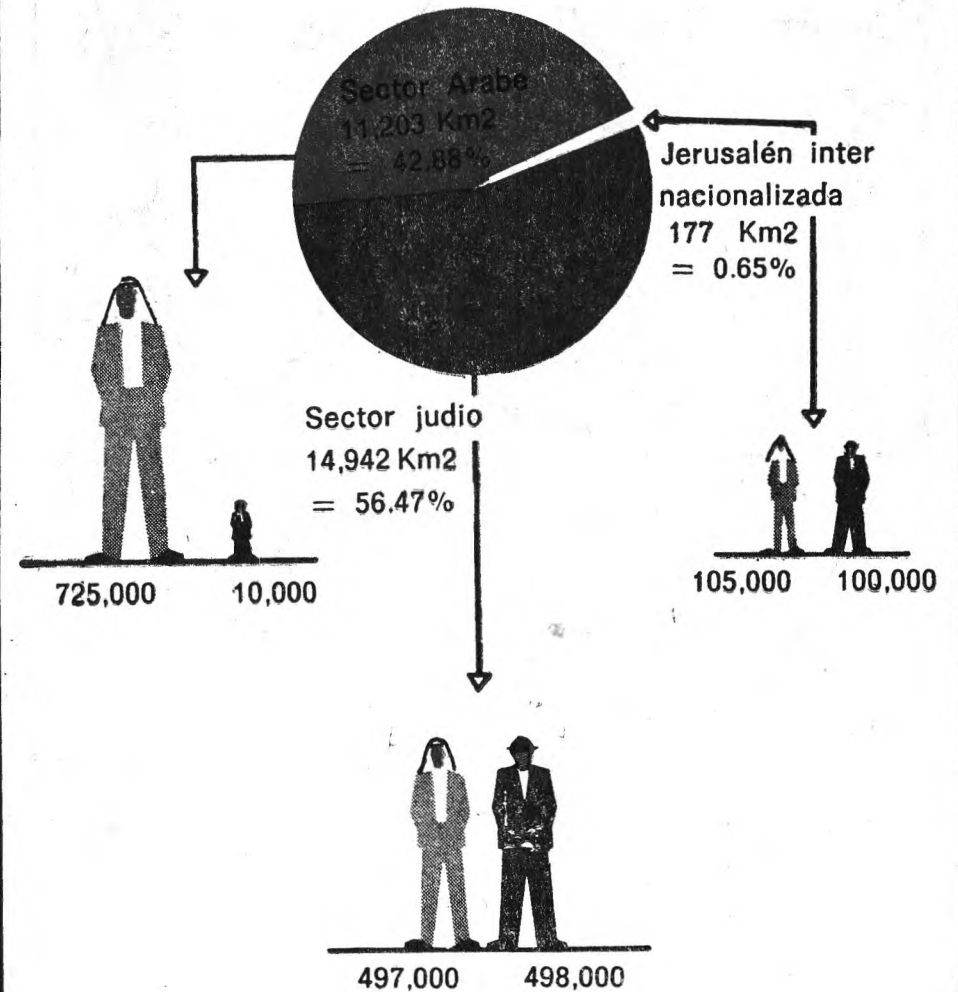
IMMIGRATION OF JEWS TO PALESTINE BETWEEN 1918 AND 1948.



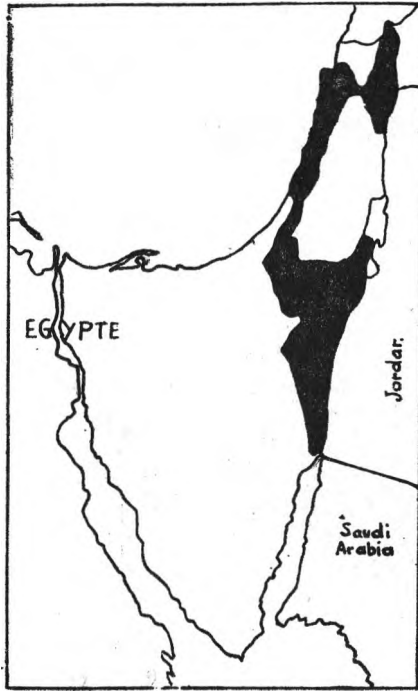
## REALIDAD PALESTINA - 1948



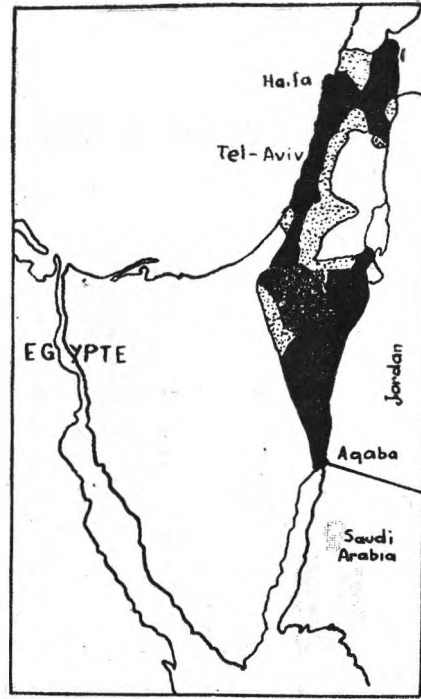
## PLAN DE REPARTO DE LA ONU







Regions granted to Israel by the United Nations, according to the 1947 plan.



Areas seized by Israel in addition to those granted it by the UN (1949).

That is why, in 1947, just after the end of World War II, when the world was still reeling from the crimes of Nazism and wanted to make up for past mistakes, the international community approved a decision that created a separate state for the Jews, one of the main victims of fascist barbarism — without thinking that this would entail the sacrifice of another people, that, over the years, would suffer from the same persecution, mistreatment and crimes as the “children of Israel” did under Nazism.

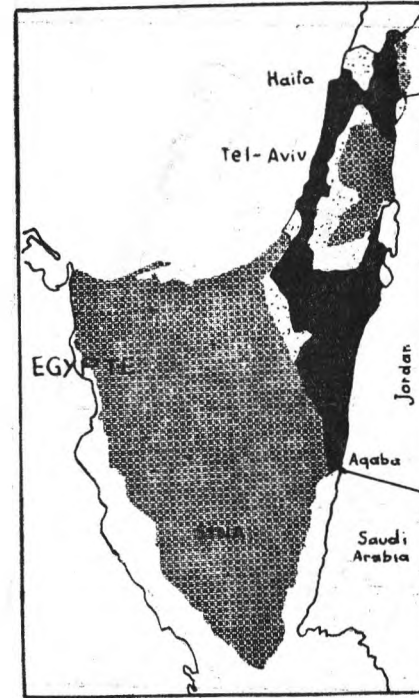
Thus, the Zionist entity was engendered in the Arab lands of Palestine — and thus began a long history of violations, abuses and outrages that go counter to the main UN resolutions on human rights, international law and peace.

### THE FIRST VIOLATIONS

Israel's first violation of the United Nations agreements consisted in its creation.

The State of Israel was proclaimed unilaterally on May 14, 1948, behind the back of the international community and with the evident aim of occupying more territory than that stipulated in Resolution 181 (II), of November 29, 1947. No UN resolutions supported this action.

The territorial repartition approved by the United Nations was far from wise, and the Zionists' actions reflected their expansionist and colonialist aims, for the State of Israel resorted to the use of arms just as soon as the United Nations proclaimed it an international entity, and — as we have already pointed out — vio-



Regions occupied by Israel following the 1967 aggression.



On May 15, 1948, Ben-Gurion proclaimed the creation of the State of Israel.

lence has characterized the Zionist presence in Palestine ever since.

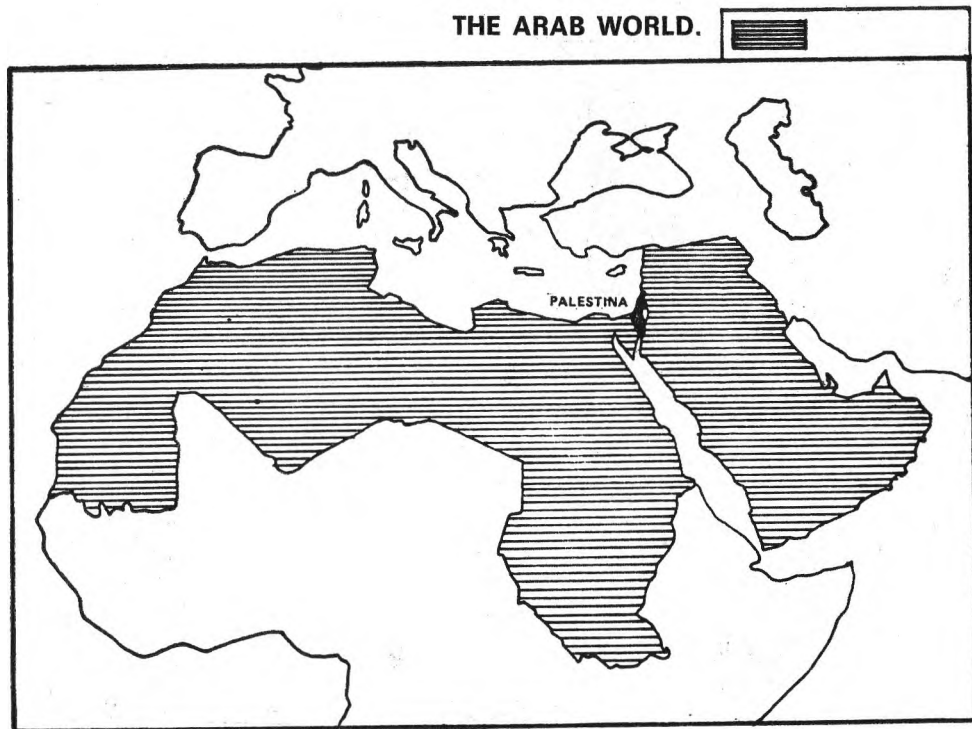
The Israeli authorities openly violated the UN resolution on Palestine; launched a war of rapine and territorial expansion; massacred defenseless civilians; forced thousands of Arabs to leave their homes; and began a conflict in the Middle East that, since then, has involved almost all of mankind in one way or another.

Israel's scorn for the international community's decisions may be seen by comparing its actions with Resolution 181 (II), whose Chapter III, Article 1, states that all Palestinian citizens, both Arabs and Jews, will be citizens of the state in which they reside and will have full civil and political rights from the moment of the recognition of independence on.

Israel never respected this. As soon as the Zionists proclaimed their independence, they went about the criminal task of expelling the Arabs and seizing their land and belongings, causing an exodus of thousands of people, the first nucleus of Palestinians in the new Diaspora.

Chapter II, Article 2, of the same resolution states that there will be no discrimination of any kind — based on race, religion, language, sex or anything else — among the inhabitants of the new state. Nevertheless, the Zionists have discriminated against the few Arabs who stayed on their land at the end of the first Arab-Israeli war, denying them the right to work, to education and to the free exercise of their most basic rights.

## THE ARAB WORLD.



The Zionists' restrictive measures concerning access to sacred places that were placed under their mandate at the end of the 1948 confrontation were no less illegal, because Resolution 181 specifically states in its Chapter I, Article 1, that existing rights concerning sacred places and religious buildings and sanctuaries must not be denied or infringed upon.

Israel violated the measures on Jerusalem; disregarded the Security Council resolutions that ordered the cease-fires in 1948 in both the first and second armistices; and adopted a policy of aggression and expansion, evidenced by its penetration in the Negev on October 15, 1948, in open contravention of the Security Council resolutions that ordered the withdrawal of its forces to the positions held prior to the aggression.

Five months later, on March 2, 1949, Israeli troops occupied Um Rashrashat —

where the present port of Elath was built — and Deir Qatar in flagrant violation of the armistice agreement signed by the belligerent states on February 24 of the same year.

In March, 1959, Israeli forces occupied another part of the demilitarized zone of El 'Auja. (Even Israel's representatives on the Egyptian-Israeli armistice commission recognized that this was in violation of the earlier agreements.) On November 13 of that same year, the chief observer from the United Nations confirmed that Israel had not withdrawn its troops from the area, and the Security Council issued Resolution 89, of November 17, 1950, in which it stated that the Israeli government had announced its intention to withdraw. Nevertheless, the withdrawal was never effected.

On April 5, 1951, the Syrian region of Al Hemma was heavily bombarded by

Israeli artillery, which thus once more violated the armistice agreements and Security Council Resolution 54, of 1948, which established a cease-fire between the belligerents.

The Arab town of Qibya, in Jordan, was savagely attacked and its inhabitants massacred on October 24, 1953, by a detachment of Israeli infantry supported by artillery.

This small hamlet, of no military interest whatsoever and with no weapons of any kind, was attacked by regular forces of the Israeli Army. Forty-one of its houses were demolished, its water system was destroyed and 42 of its inhabitants — men, women and children — were murdered.

Clearly, this attack was carried out with detailed preparation, for all the access roads were cut off, neighboring towns were isolated and the artillery fire was concentrated against it.

This crime was committed in order to terrify the Arabs and force them to flee, thus facilitating Israel's expansion and the annexation of their land.

It was yet another scandalous violation of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the many resolutions that the Security Council and the General Assembly had issued and the Geneva Convention of August, 1949.

Suffice it to recall that General Assembly Resolution 194 (III), of 1948, in its Article 11, supported the repatriation, resettling and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and provided for the payment of indemnity — with none of which the Israeli authorities complied, rather concentrating their efforts on pursuing a policy of terror against the Arabs and the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes.

In its Resolution 101, of 1953, the Security Council denounced Israel for this

attack. Two years later, on February 28, 1955, an Israeli military detachment crossed the armistice line in the Gaza Strip; penetrated three kilometers into the Arab sector; and destroyed a water system, mined roads and attacked an Egyptian camp.

That same year, on the night of December 11-12, Israel launched a large-scale attack against the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, in Syria, and occupied four observation posts along the Syrian coast.

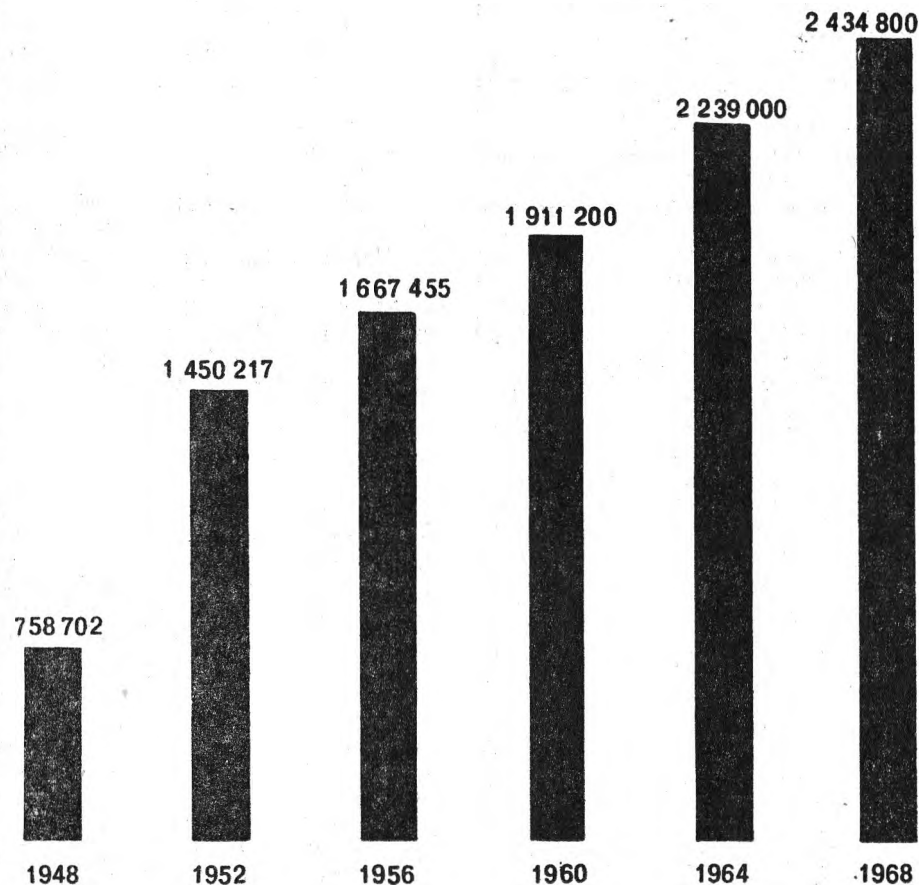
Around 50 people were killed and many houses destroyed in this action, which violated the UN agreements.

All these Israeli actions were committed with the consent and backing of the United States and other capitalist countries, which gave the still weak Zionist state the political and material support it needed to make these military expenditures and withstand the condemnation of world public opinion.

This is the only possible explanation for the fact that, eight years after its founding, Israel joined Great Britain and France in attacking Egypt because of its nationalization of the Suez Canal — a thing which clearly posed no threat to the Zionist state and whose connotations were fundamentally of a nationalist character, marking a landmark in the rights of states to nationalize industries, public service installations and natural resources that were held by private national or foreign companies.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal hurt the interests of imperialism, and, since it was the power behind the Zionist entity, Israel joined Great Britain and France in their attack on the Egyptian people, clearly and for the first time showing what its role would be in the Middle East.

## JEWISH IMMIGRATION



At that time, the Israeli authorities occupied the Gaza Strip, leaving death and destruction in their path. It has been estimated that 1500 civilians were murdered in the four months that the Israelis controlled the area.

### EXPANSIONISM STEPPED UP

Right from the beginning, the State of Israel had dedicated its energies to occupying and annexing as many Palestinian territories as possible, but it wasn't until the late '50s, when the United States gave new proof of its arrogance by landing its Marines in Lebanon and manifesting its interest in the area with a coup against Mossadeh in Iran and support for the Saudi monarchy in Arabia, that the Zionist authorities really got into stride.

In 1957, Israel was strong enough to harass its Arab neighbors and to maintain a state of latent war in the area, which made it possible for imperialism to engage in maneuvers to seize the natural resources of the subsoil — oil — in the area.

Israel engaged in diversionary action, distracting the Arab countries' attention from their real problems and keeping them busy with military preparations to repel the Zionist aggression, not leaving them time to notice the imperialist economic aggression, which would break out years later in the Ramadan war.

Meanwhile, Israel continued systematically to violate international law.

Disregarding General Assembly Resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) in their references to Jerusalem, the Zionist authorities announced in March, 1961, that a military parade would be held in the holy city (holy to three religions: Muhammadan, Christian and Jewish).

At the same time, they tried to change the appearance of the city, destroying

some places considered sacred by the Arabs. This provoked an international protest, which was supported by a Security Council resolution in 1961.

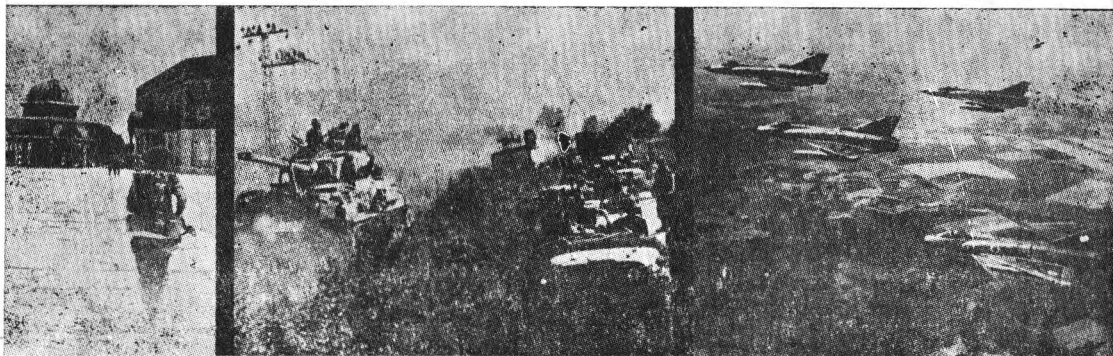
In 1962, to cite only the most notorious of the events in its policy of aggression against its Arab neighbors, Israel once more attacked the Syrian part of the Sea of Galilee, launching an attack against Ein Jeef with the aim of occupying that region and seizing the waters of the River Jordan.

A few months before launching their June, 1967, aggression against the Arab peoples, Israeli forces crossed the Jordanian border and attacked the town of Samua and some neighboring hamlets, destroying 125 houses and various other buildings and killing 18 people.

At the same time, the "mop-up" campaign in the territories forcibly taken from their rightful owners continued. Israeli soldiers confined the Arabs in "limited territories"; arrested them for no reason whatsoever, not even lodging charges against them; restricted their freedom of movement; and denied them equal rights.

These actions constituted a gross violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that was adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly Resolution 217-A (III), of December 10, 1948. In its Articles 3, 5, 9 and 13, to cite only a few, it states that "Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person," that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment," that "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile" and that "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State."

The most telling item in Israel's policy during this stage, however, was its June 6, 1967, attack on Egypt, Syria and Jordan,



The Israel aggression in June, 1967.

without any prior warning of a state of belligerency — though the situation was very tense — and without being at all bothered by the enormous losses in human lives and material goods this would occasion, must less the danger that the outbreak of a new war in the Middle East constituted for world peace.

On June 6, 1967, once more plainly violating the most sacred precepts of the international community, the Zionist authorities of Israel unleashed an expansionist war that ended by tripling the territory of the Zionist entity and forcing the exodus of hundreds of thousands of people who were robbed of their land, homes and belongings by the same people who, 25 years earlier, were subjected to similar horrors at the hands of Hitler's hordes.

Five Security Council resolutions — numbers 233, 234, 235, 236 and 237 — issued during the hostilities urged Israel to suspend its aggressive actions; to guarantee the protection, well-being and security of the inhabitants in the areas in which new military operations had been carried out; and to provide facilities for the return of those inhabitants who had fled from those areas after the hostilities began.

Another Security Council resolution, the disputed number 242, of November 11, 1967, called for the withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from the occupied territories; an end to the state of belligerency; and respect for and recognition

of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all the states in the area.

Israel complied with none of this.

The Zionist authorities did not suspend the hostilities in June and July, 1967, nor could it be said even by the end of that year that the state of belligerency had ended, because the Israelis engaged in constant attacks on neighboring countries. A deaf ear was turned to the request that goods and lives be protected, and everything possible was done to prevent those who had fled the areas of military operations from returning. The Zionist armed forces have not withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories even yet, and their "respect" for neighboring countries may be judged by their recent incursions against Lebanon.

### ANNEXATION AS A POLICY

After the Ramadan war, Israel began a new stage in its expansionist and annexationist strategy by placing greater emphasis on the latter aspect. It therefore reoriented its actions toward expelling the Arabs who lived in the recently occupied territories and toward establishing Jewish colonies in their place.

At the same time, its harassment of its Arab neighbors continued. On March 21, 1968, Israeli forces crossed the River Jordan and attacked the Jordanian region of

Al Karama, sowing death and destruction in that peaceful town.

In its Resolution 248, on March 24, 1968, the Security Council denounced that action, considering it a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, which states (Chapter I, Article 2, paragraph 3) that "All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, security, and justice are not endangered."

Later on, Israel tried to change the legal status of Jerusalem, and another Security Council resolution — this time, number 252, of May, 1968 — denounced these attempts. But, as on earlier occasions, the Zionist authorities disregarded the UN's measures and engaged in a series of actions that have provoked the international community.

In 1968, the Israelis repeated their attacks on neighboring Arab countries. Zionist planes attacked Jordan in August, and the capital of Lebanon was attacked on the night of December 28 — an action denounced by Security Council Resolution 262.

Israeli aggression against the Arab countries continued in the succeeding years, and new Jewish settlements were established in the occupied Arab territories — especially the West Bank and the Syrian Golan Heights. Moreover, Zionist oil companies financed with US capital began to exploit the oil reserves in the Sinai.

In addition, the Al Aksa mosque, in Jerusalem, which the Muslims held sacred, was burned in August, 1969.

This action, which may be attributed to the Zionist occupiers of the holy city, who had already violated scores of resolutions and agreements of the United Nations and the international community, showed Israel's real intentions concerning the future of the occupied territories

— aims which were set forth publicly by Golda Meir when, in the course of a visit to the United States, she said that Israel would never evacuate even a part of the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war.

This was how things stood when the fourth (Yom Kippur) Arab-Israeli war broke out. Earlier, Lebanon had once again been attacked — and the attack was yet again denounced by the international community, in Security Council Resolution 332, of April 21, 1973, which condemned Israel's repeated military attacks on and violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon, in contravention of the United Nations Charter, the armistice agreement between Israel and Lebanon and the Security Council resolutions relative to the cease-fire.

The hostilities between Israel and the Arab countries developed in a new way in the 1973 war — one that was surprising to world public opinion. For the first time, the aggressive Zionist state appeared to be vulnerable, for it was defeated by the Arab armies.

An airlift was immediately set up between the United States and Israel to supply it with food and war matériel.

The whole world thus learned who was behind the Israeli Zionist attacks. The cat was out of the bag.

Even so, the Arab armies' initial victory didn't achieve any impressive results in terms of recovering the Arab territories Israel had occupied in 1967, and the situation at the end of the war continued more or less as it had been at its beginning, except that the repression in the areas under Israeli control was stepped up considerably.

The 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the fourth in 25 years of conflict, had many consequences, but we will not go into them here. Rather, we will limit ourselves to analyzing

Israel's behavior concerning the norms of international law, which have been violated even more seriously and frequently since the Yom Kippur war.

After showing its weakness in October, 1973, Israel turned to harshly oppressing the Arabs who remained in the occupied territories.

The first manifestations of this new phase consisted of Israel's official declaration of its intention to annex the West Bank, the Syrian Golan Heights and vital parts of the Sinai Peninsula.

The thing that most alarmed the international community and the Arab peoples, however, was the growing establishment of Jewish colonies in the occupied Arab territories and the way Jewish civilians were systematically moved into these territories (after their rightful inhabitants were deported).

The Israeli authorities have spent the last five years destroying hamlets, demolishing neighborhoods, razing homes and confiscating and expropriating the land and buildings of the Palestinian and other Arabs in the occupied territories.

They have also refused to permit the refugees and other displaced persons to return to their homes.

Collective punishment and mistreatment of prisoners and those who have been arrested are daily occurrences in Gaza, the West Bank and the Syrian Golan Heights. Prisoners in these regions that are controlled by the Zionist occupiers are often arrested and held incommunicado.

All these acts constitute flagrant violations of UN resolutions, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 — to mention but a few of the documents that should guide the actions of states in their international relations.

Moreover, the Statute of the International Military Tribunal, confirmed by General Assembly Resolutions 3 (I), of Febru-

ary 13, 1946, and 95 (I), of December 11 of the same year, describes the serious actions listed in the preceding paragraphs to be war crimes.

For example, the fourth Geneva agreement considers that the unlawful deportation or transfer of persons, illegal confinement, nonrecognition of a person's right to a fair and normal trial, the taking of hostages and the destruction and/or appropriation of property are punishable acts.

And, as if this weren't enough, in its Resolution 5/B, approved during its 26th session, the General Assembly of the United Nations — in which 132 nations participate — considered that infractions of the Geneva agreements constituted war crimes and an affront to mankind.

More General Assembly resolutions have been approved since then denouncing Israel's policies and practices in the occupied Arab territories. Thus, Resolution 33/113 A, which reaffirms the applicability of the Geneva Convention to the occupied territories, was adopted in December, 1978, with a vote of 140 in favor, 1 (Israel) against and 1 abstention. In that resolution the General Assembly confirmed that the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949, on the protection of civilians in time of war, was applicable to all the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

In December, 1978, the General Assembly also approved Resolution 33/113 B, which states that none of Israel's measures and actions in Palestine and the other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have any legal validity and that they constitute a serious obstruction to the efforts that are being made to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that, within the United Nations, Israel has always had powerful allies and protectors that have obstructed the application of severe sanctions against the Zion-

ist state. For example, on December 8, 1975, the United States vetoed a draft resolution in the Security Council that energetically denounced the government of Israel for its premeditated air attacks against Lebanon.

Security Council Resolution 242, itself, has been opposed by the Arab states, because it makes no mention of Palestine. Meanwhile, the United States' maneuvers resulted in the signing of the onerous Camp David agreements and the treaties between the traitorous government of Egypt and the Zionist authorities of Tel Aviv.

### THE MOST RECENT VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The Camp David agreements constitute the most recent violation of international law in the context of the Middle East conflict.

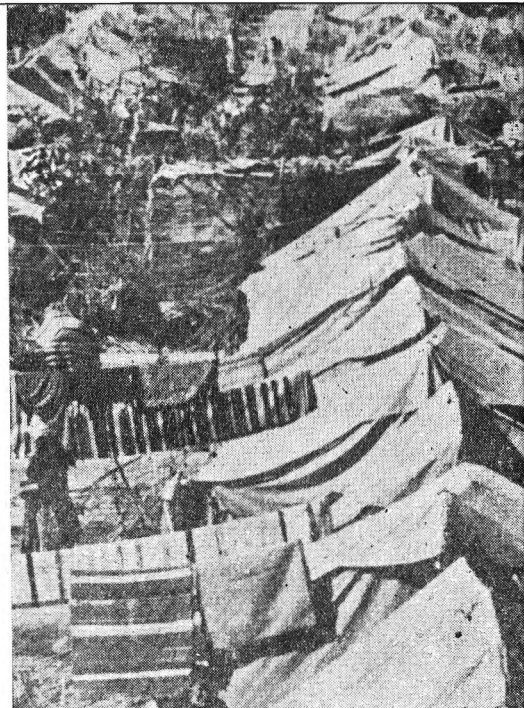
These treaties violate practically all the United Nations resolutions in some of their aspects and deny the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination, in-

dependence and the creation of a national state.

Essentially, the agreements constitute a settlement outside the Geneva Conference. Not only do they pay no attention to one of the nations that chaired that international conference; they also ignore the most important part of the whole Middle East problem: the Arab people of Palestine, whose rights were recognized by General Assembly Resolution 3236 (XXIX). Moreover, Security Council Resolution 338 clearly defines the outlines on the basis of which Resolution 242 of the same UN body should be implemented, with the participation of all the interested parties in the Geneva Conference.

Another aspect of the agreements is that they ignore the existence of the Palestine Liberation Organization and its role as legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — a role which was recognized by General Assembly Resolution 3237 (XXIX) — and even deny the existence of the Palestinian people as a nation, arbitrarily dividing them in order to deal only with the Arabs who live in





the occupied territories, paying no attention to the one and a half million refugees in the Middle East (people made refugees as a result of Israel's expansionist policy).

The Camp David agreements deny the right of these Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and, what is even more insulting and contrary to the UN resolutions in this regard, grant the Israeli authorities the right to keep anyone who was deported after the 1967 Zionist occupation from returning.

These observations suffice to show clearly, beyond any shadow of a doubt, that the Camp David agreements constitute a very serious violation of the UN resolutions and run counter to the normal development of international relations. They go far beyond the implications of the moment, for they establish an unacceptable precedent of trying to legalize illegality behind the back of the international community and in opposition to its decisions, which should be considered juridical norms binding on its members.

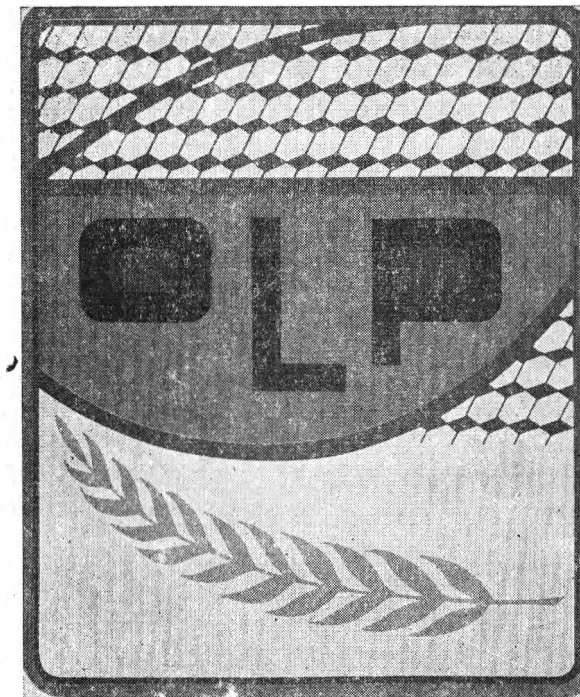
The Camp David agreements constitute a gross violation of the principles that govern the normal development of international relations, and their real meaning may be found in Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon, the escalation of its attacks on the Palestinian people and its growing militarism.

Ever since its illegal proclamation in 1948, the Zionist state has systematically violated the rules established by the international community for the normal development of its relations and has been a factor promoting instability in the Middle East and a constant threat to peace in the area and in the world.

As a product of imperialism, it is an illegal entity that, with time, has become a disagreeable reality that we must accept — but that should be energetically curbed so that peace in the Middle East will not be destroyed and so the Arab peoples may continue their development free of the threat of a new war, of a forced exodus and of extermination.

WE  
ARE  
STRONGER  
POLITICALLY  
AND  
MILITARILY

Abu Sharar



Of all the papers presented in the Jamal Joumblatt Seminar held in Beirut in 1978, that of Abu Sharar, head of the International Information Office of the Palestine Liberation Organization, caught our attention with particular force because of its class substance and the accuracy of its analysis of the phenomenon of Zionism as a manifestation of a hackneyed racism.

Moreover, our desire to learn more about the organization that, in spite of difficult conditions, has kept the world informed of the progress of the Palestinian revolution was another reason for interviewing this Palestinian fighter.

Stocky and tanned, Abu Sharar is not the prototype of the man of letters, yet he possesses singular penetration in important aspects of the present historic situation of his people, and he gave us many insights into the theoretical concepts that underlie the struggle against the Zionist enemy, the specific characteristics of his own work and the special conditions of this battle which has been going on for several years.



Do you think that Israel, backed by Saad Haddad's aggressive bands, has failed in its plan against southern Lebanon?

The Israeli operation in March, 1978, against the Palestinians in southern Lebanon — which we call the Eight Days' War — had two aims: political and military.

At the military level, it proceeded to smash the fedayeen and to kill the highest-ranking members it could in order to weaken the fedayeen as a real force in the area. Nevertheless, the military tactic we applied during this war — the use of small groups of fighters, a guerrilla tactic — was successful. We proved that we could fight against an army which was bigger than ours and had powerful military equipment and installations — which we do not have — such as jet planes and warships. We proved that we could stand up in the face of that strong military force and harm it.

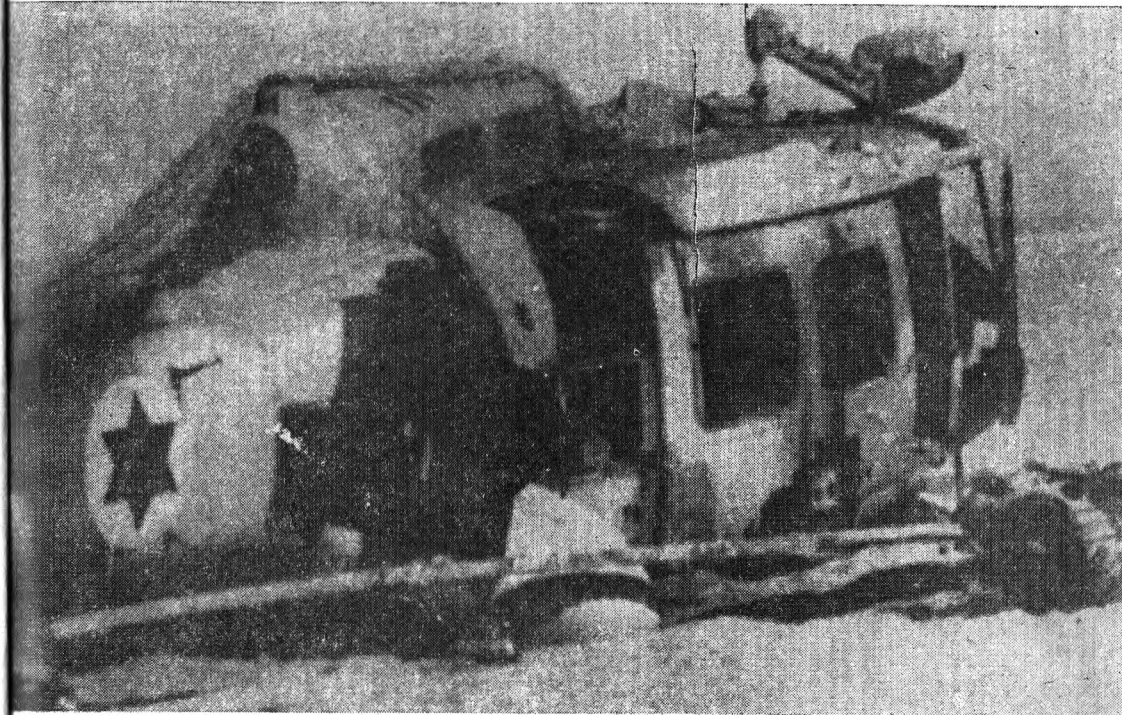


During that war, in one day, the fedayeen stopped 35 Israeli tanks and damaged 6 of them. For the first time, I can say that, during this Eight Days' War, we lost only 46 fedayeen. So we can say that Israel failed at the political and military levels.

We should also point out that many military operations have been carried out by Palestinian guerrillas inside Israel, in our occupied country. This is proof that the Zionists have failed to defend themselves from the attacks of the fedayeen.

At the political level, the Israelis' main aim was to weaken the Palestinian resistance politically so the US and Arab reactionary forces could place the Palestinians under their full control and push them in the end to agree to the US policy and "solution" in the area. We are struggling against this policy and this "solution," and we will continue our struggle until we have achieved our own target — not Israel's or the United States' or the Arab reactionaries'. So, it is an open war between us and our enemies, the Zionist Israeli, US and Arab reactionary forces. It is an open war at the political and military levels.

In 1979, more than a year after the Eight Days' War, we are stronger, both politically and militarily. We can reach our military targets in our occupied territories and carry out successful operations. We are proving, day after day, that, on the basis of our just cause — on the basis of the fact that we are fighters for our right to our country, to self-determination and to establish a Palestinian independent state — we are not alone in our struggle. We are well supported by the Arab people, by our masses, by the socialist countries and by many other democratic and independent forces all around the world. We are firmly convinced that we are very strong; that we can continue our struggle; and that, in the end, we will achieve our aim and our victory.





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**How do you analyze the Zionists' military actions against the PLO since the "Eight Days' War"?**  
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We have to go back a year, to when the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, gave its approval to Begin's plan to initiate an open war against the Palestinians everywhere, without any reason or justification. Begin himself started to develop this plan. They launched two military operations. One was to kill Comrade Zuheir Mohsen, in France, followed within 24 hours by the operation in southern Lebanon against the bases of the Palestinians and the Lebanese progressive forces. It was a big battle between us and the Israelis, in which we lost seven of our fighters, while the Zionists had many losses.

Every day we expect more operations and more attacks from the Israelis against our people, so every day we also try to protect ourselves against those attacks and operations, while also making our plans and preparations against our enemy.



As I have said, it is an open war. We believe that the Israeli policy is very careful to keep up the conditions of war, not only between Israel and the Palestinians but also between Israel and the rest of the Arab peoples. From this point of view, we don't consider what happened at Camp David as a peace agreement. It is a separate agreement whose aim is not to achieve peace but to isolate Egypt from the Arabs; weaken it; and, in the end, lead it to surrender to the United States and Israel.

As Palestinians, we understand clearly that we seek peace — but a real peace — which is why we will continue our armed struggle against the enemy that is occupying our land. I am very sure that all the progressive, democratic forces of the world are against war. They are against bloodshed in the area, but, at the same time, they are with the Palestinians and their just cause. Those who are fighting are not happy to be in a daily war; they are fighting to attain peace as soon as possible. Does Israel do this? I don't think so.

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**How can this fascist-expansionist trend of the Zionists be stopped?**  
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It is well known that we Palestinians have been announcing every day that Jews are not our enemies; our enemy is Zionism. We know that not all the Jews are Zionists, that there are progressive forces among the Jews, forces that are against Zionism. We have strong relationships with these Israeli progressive forces. For example, less than a year ago, in Prague, we had our first official contact with the Israeli Communist Party; I myself was the head of the Palestinian delegation. This shows our position on the Jews: not all the Jews are our enemies; our enemy is Zionism.

For hundreds of years, we have lived in Palestine along with the Jews without any problems. All of us are Palestinians: Arab Palestinians, Jewish Palestinians, etc. The problems began when the Zionist movement began to spread among the Jews all over the world. The Palestinian Jews began to face problems, because it wasn't easy to convince them that the Arab Palestinians were their enemy. Therefore, the Zionist movement failed to have any real force among the Palestinian Jews. As a result, the Zionists began to send in Jews from Europe in large numbers, and those Jews who came from Europe began to cause trouble between the Palestinian Arabs and the Palestinian Jews. After that, the problem grew worse and became very dangerous.

I'm not going to talk about all the period from 1947 until the present, but I think that, during this period, those who were not under the influence of the Zionist movement could see and be convinced that this racist movement is expansionist and that it has the aim of occupying more and more Arab lands. Now they are occupying a part of the Sinai, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and all Palestine. Their aim, as we are convinced, is to occupy more and more Arab countries, either by means of an open war or by pushing the Arab countries to surrender and yield to the Zionist policy, as they are doing now with Sadat and Egypt.

I myself believe that there is no difference between political and military occupation, though I think that the former is more dangerous than the latter. Israel is planning to launch a new kind of military and economic occupation of the Arab world. This means putting this area under its control without sending in troops.

Who is waging the strongest battles against Israel? We have told the Arabs many times that the Palestinians are waging this strong war against Israel. If the Palestinians



had lost or yielded, Israel would have obtained its objective, and all this area would be under the real and full control of Zionism. The Palestinians are opposing the Zionist aims in the area — but, as I said before, we are not alone in our struggle. We are well supported by many progressive, democratic forces all over the world.

And not only the Palestinians are losing their lands. The other Arab countries are also confronted with the danger of political and economic Israeli occupation and must put up resistance against that situation. We Palestinians will continue our struggle to stop the Israelis and to return to our homeland.



♦♦♦♦♦  
**How would you describe Israel's use of the fascist forces in southern Lebanon?**  
 ♦♦♦♦♦

I have to go back to the last two or three years and talk about the civil war in Lebanon, a war that the fascist forces began, in which we always maintained a defensive position. We did everything we could to stop it, because we knew that it was not only against us; it was against all the Arabs, against all the progressive forces in the Arab world. We failed to stop this war, because it wasn't only a war of the Lebanese fascist forces; it was also a war waged by US imperialism, the Israeli Zionists and the Arab reactionary forces — not only against the Palestinians and the Lebanese progressive forces but also against all the Arab national movement.

So, we always say that the war in Lebanon was between two fronts: the progressive front and the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary front.

Has this war ended? We cannot say that it has. I myself don't believe that it will be ended until we reach a just and final settlement for the Middle East problem, because

the Lebanese problem has now become a part of the Middle East problem, and we cannot accept a separate solution to the Lebanese problem without the full solution of the problem of the area.

I would like to ask again: Has this war ended? No, it has not ended, but it is frozen. Israel is against any kind of calm in Lebanon and has its tools there — not only Saad Haddad but also the "Lebanese" Front and the fascist forces, that are well supported by Israel and are, at the same time, the major tool of Zionism. Through these forces, Israel is not only interfering in the internal affairs of Lebanon; it is interfering in Arab internal affairs, because the Arabs cannot obtain any kind of solution in Lebanon without the agreement of Israel. We have had many chances to obtain a solution in Lebanon, but every time Israel has prevented the solution by using its tools, the fascist Lebanese forces, to make trouble, either in Beirut or in the south. Thus far, Israel has succeeded in preventing any kind of solution.

Therefore, the Lebanese fascist forces are dangerous for us and for the Arabs in general, not as a military or political force but because they are the tools of Israel against the Palestinians and against all the Arabs.

We must stand up against the Israelis' plans; struggle against them; and cause them to fail in all their plans against the unity of Lebanon, against the Palestinian revolution and against the Arab cause.

♦♦♦♦♦  
**Can it be said that there are differences within the Zionist government on the situation in the Middle East?**  
 ♦♦♦♦♦

At the tactical level, I believe that there are many differences among the Zionist forces in Israel, between the Likud and the Labor Party. But, at the strategic level, they have the same policy, the same plan, the same ideology. So, they don't have any real differences in this regard. For example, the Likud and the Labor Party have the same policy toward the Palestinians, but, on treating with the Arabs, dealing with the Arabs, they have two policies. On how to deal with the Palestinians, they have only one policy: they are against the Palestinians' existence as a people; they are against the return of the Palestinians to their homeland; they are against the Palestinians' right to self-determination; they are against the establishment of a Palestinian independent state. The Likud and the Labor Party have the same policy on this.

But can this be continued to the end? I think it depends on us and our friends, the progressive forces of Israel, which are against the Zionist ideology. If, during the coming years, we succeed in strengthening our relationship with these progressive forces in Israel, I think that, in the end, this will lead to a weakening of the position of the Likud and the Labor Party.

It is a very long struggle against the Zionist ideology. We are against the Zionist ideology, but we have to push the Jews themselves to take a position against Zionism. This will take a long time and require a very severe struggle.



What does Tel Aviv seek with its policy of establishing new settlements?

The Israeli policy of establishing new settlements in the Arab occupied territories is very clear. It stems from a well-known Israeli slogan: "We should establish a settlement wherever we can obtain food." This is based on the belief that all this land is the Israeli historical land — completely ignoring, of course, the Arabs who have been living in these lands for more than a thousand years.

In this regard, the Israelis' policy may be summed up as one of establishing new settlements wherever they manage to get. Naturally, they pay no attention to the rights of anyone except the Jews. The Arabs who have been living under the Israeli occupation for the last 30 years know that the Jews think they are the only ones who have any rights and that they will never be convinced that anyone else — whether Arab or not — has any rights. This is the Zionist ideology.

The Western media sometimes talk of differences between Washington and Tel Aviv. Does the PLO share this view?

We don't believe that there is any kind of real difference between Israel and the United States, but neither do we believe that the Zionist movement in the United States is the force behind US policy. By this, I mean that the State Department is not influenced by the Zionist party, as the Arab reactionaries claim. The Arab reactionaries say that the United States is a good country, that it is very sincere and loyal to our cause, but that the Zionist lobby is very powerful and exerts pressure on President Carter, who cannot do what he wants, because he is afraid of the Zionists.

This is what they say, but we know that Israel cannot afford to have any differences with the United States, because it was the United States that created Israel, is supporting Israel and has put Israel in the area for its own benefit — not to benefit the Jews. Israel is there to defend US interests in the area, and it will do precisely that. The United States makes the decisions, and Israel has to do what it wants.

# LEBANON; Advance Post in the Arab Nation's Struggle



Fawwaz Trabulsi

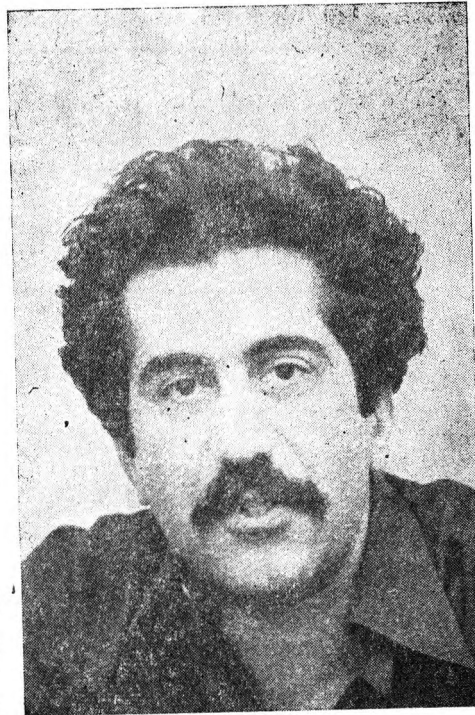
The Lebanese National Movement (MNL) is the grouping of leftist parties and organizations that, along with the Palestinian resistance, is opposing the expansionist designs of the Zionist troops. Within Lebanon, the MNL works in opposition to the reactionary tendency that has, throughout history, championed Lebanon's political isolation from the rest of the Arab world, seeking to turn it into an enclave that may serve as a base of operations for the subversive bodies of the Western powers in their undercover war against the progressive, revolutionary regimes in the area.

These forces include the Communists, the Nasserists (Morabitun), the Progressive Socialists' Party and the Organization for Communist Action in Lebanon, whose fighters belong to this people's army created in response to the vital needs of the Lebanese people.

Fawwaz Trabulsi, member of the Political Bureau of the Organization for Communist Action in Lebanon, talked extensively with this Tricontinental reporter, covering a wide range of topics related to the situation in his country.

The conversation took place in his office on the afternoon of the day following one of the most recent Zionist punitive incursions into southern Lebanon. Even though the atmosphere was tense, this didn't impair the young Lebanese leader's analytical ability in the slightest.

A deep thinker, sure of himself and of his convictions, Trabulsi was especially critical of the activities of the United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in the course of his analysis of a whole series of problems basic for understanding the Lebanese situation, the reasons why the hegemonistic ambitions of imperialism are aroused and the valiant — there is no other way to describe it — resistance put up by the Lebanese fighters.



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**Do you foresee a political solution for the  
Lebanese crisis?**  
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There's always been a political solution for the Lebanese crisis. The question is whether we can be successful in implementing it or not. We did not wish to engage in a civil war; we did not take the initiative to resort to arms. Our organization, the Organization for Communist Action in Lebanon, and the Lebanese National Movement have always called for a democratic choice, for a democratic future in which to settle the enormous problems facing our country. Nevertheless, the fascist challenge forced us to respond in a revolutionary way to its violence.

We believe, however, that there is a radical solution to counteract the civil war. It can be summarized in three main points:

First, we believe in the abolition of the religious political system — that is, in restoring the political and legal equality of all Lebanese citizens. This is the first and perhaps the most important aspect and offers a real solution to our problems.

Second, we have always called for democratic institutions, for a reform of the institutions of this country so they can represent the life forces of Lebanese society: the masses of peasants, workers and popular masses who have been severely crushed by the crisis of Lebanese capitalism. We believe that democracy will always give priority to the forces of the left, to the forces of the popular masses.

Third, we emphasize the Arab identity of this country vis-à-vis the constant attempts by the fascist forces to link up this country to Israel, to transform the Arab identity of this

country and to impose a fascist and religious regime on Lebanon and transform the country into a satellite of Israel.

So, these three platforms, the third of which of course involves defending the rights of the Palestinian people and their armed revolution on Lebanese territory, are what we believe to be the three main components of a radical solution to the Lebanese crisis. Nevertheless, in the National Movement — especially from 1976 onwards — we have adopted a more defined platform, by virtue of which we denounced the Israeli penetration of the borders of southern Lebanon.

In direct answer to the Israeli occupation of part of southern Lebanon, a new situation has arisen which has to be faced. There can be no solution of the Lebanese crisis until the pressures on southern Lebanon are lifted. For this purpose, we called for restoring Lebanese sovereignty in the areas now occupied by Israel and its fascist puppets, represented by Saad Haddad.

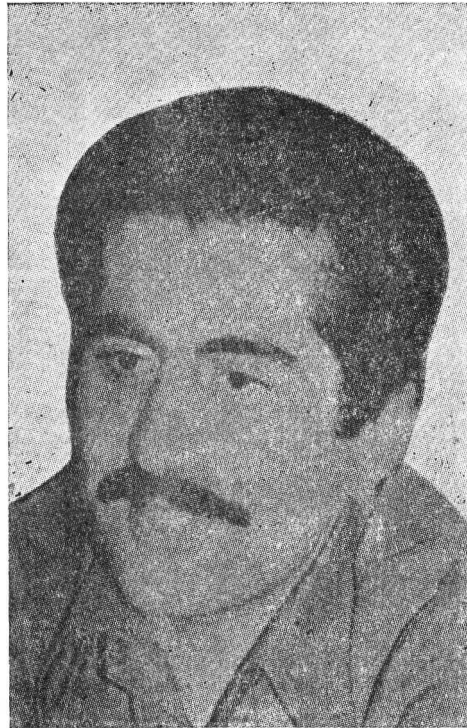
In fact, we believe that the majority of the Lebanese people have a great interest in ending the civil war and obtaining a political settlement that will restore the country's unity, its independence and its Arab identity and open up prospects for its ultimate democratic development.

We believe there are three main, interrelated obstacles that militate against such a solution. To begin with, there is Israel — which is backed by US imperialism and whose role in the Lebanese crisis has been one of constant sabotage and destabilization. The second obstacle for a political settlement of the crisis is the Lebanese Front, whose aims are to reunite the country under fascist domination and impose sectarian minority rule.

Third, we believe the present regime of Elias Sarkis has constantly been playing a role which has increasingly been in support of the Lebanese Front, in support of the fascist forces. By showing its bias for one party to the Lebanese conflict against the other, it has always complicated any real, genuine solution for the Lebanese crisis. We believe that the majority of our people are fed up with fighting and want a peace settlement in order to reconstitute and rebuild their country, torn by the civil war.

The program that we have expounded has had the support of large sectors of the Lebanese people. It is becoming increasingly clear that the fascist Front is becoming isolated; has to resort more and more to armed violence to maintain its control in the areas under its domination; has to face great internal fighting between its two main parties, the Kataeb and the National Liberal Party; and is resorting more and more to persecuting Christian minorities, such as the Armenians, that live within its areas of control. At the same time, we are forming a wider and wider front of all the antifascist forces. This front, based on the alliance of the PLO, Syria and the Lebanese National Movement, is rallying the support of wider and wider forces of the Lebanese people, irrespective of religious affiliation or even social and ideological position.

This, in brief, is our view of the possible solution of our problems and the obstacles to it.



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**How does your organization evaluate the role of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon?**

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Ever since the beginning of UNIFIL's activities in southern Lebanon, we have taken a critical attitude, insisting on the fact that both US imperialism and Israel are pressuring UNIFIL to play a prejudiced role, whereby UNIFIL controls the areas which have not been under Israeli occupation and defends the borders of Saad Haddad's "state."

We have always demanded that UNIFIL apply UN Resolutions 45 and 46 — which call for UNIFIL to control all territories previously occupied by Israel and help to restore the rule of the Lebanese authorities and the Lebanese Army over such areas — thoroughly and precisely. The presence of UNIFIL has helped legitimize Saad Haddad's militias' and their Israeli masters' control over a vital part of Lebanese territory. That is why we believe that UNIFIL has been responsible for legitimizing, in a sense, Israeli control over a part of Lebanese territory, at the same time that it is maintaining its police actions against the PLO fighters and against the militants and fighters of the Lebanese National Movement. We do not believe that UNIFIL has any right to control Lebanese militants, who have a sacred duty to liberate that part of their country that is now under Zionist and fascist control.

As an example of this, there is the recent attack by the Israeli forces against a position held in common by our organization, the Lebanese Communist Party and a Palestinian organization 15 kilometers behind UNIFIL lines. The Israelis photographed the vehicles that moved their troops inside Lebanese territory, yet the UNIFIL forces still insist that the Israelis were brought in by helicopter.



The Palestinian and Lebanese militants have fought a hard battle against the Zionist attack led by Israeli army officers. We are sure there were many casualties in the attacking Zionist force; we had five martyrs from the Lebanese Communist Party in this fight.

This is just one example of the daily Israeli incursions inside Lebanese territory with the connivance and previous knowledge of the UNIFIL forces. That is why, while we pursue our struggle to liberate the occupied part of southern Lebanon, we also call for the complete implementation of UN Resolutions 45 and 46, which state that UNIFIL should take over the positions that, directly or indirectly, Israel still holds. What is becoming more and more dangerous about the situation in southern Lebanon is the fact that this is an implementation of the Camp David agreements.

Lebanese borders are the only ones which have not been modified by Israel since 1967. We believe that this virtual occupation by Israel of some parts of Lebanese territory constitutes an action to complete the Israeli security belt — which goes from the Sinai to the Gaza Strip and to Golan and which now is finally linked up with the southern strip of Lebanon that is under Israeli control.

That is why we believe this is a very important aspect of the Middle East crisis and of the struggle that is being waged on southern Lebanese territory. This is not only a question involving a group of revolutionaries; it is the responsibility of all the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces all over the world to give due importance to the future of this part of Lebanese territory, which is seriously threatened with falling under Israeli occupation.



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**In your opinion and that of your organization, what role will the Lebanese Army play?**

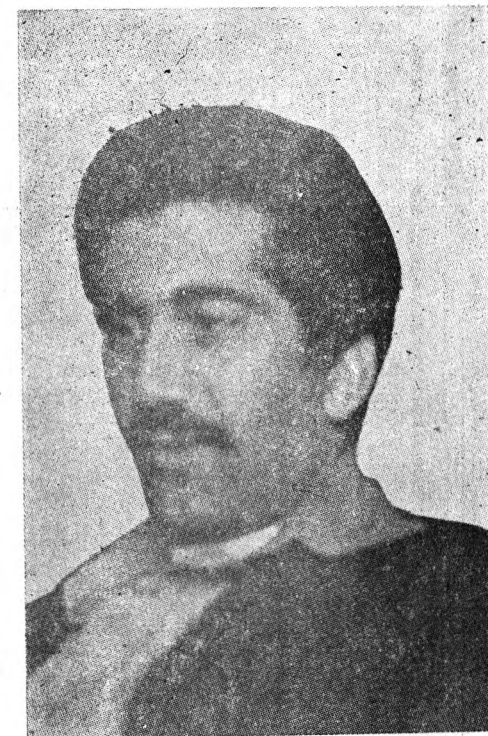
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It has more than one role. The role assigned to the Lebanese Army by US imperialism and the Arab reactionary forces is very clear: it's an attempt to reconstitute a sectarian army which will constitute the main bastion in support of the militias of the fascists in the Lebanese Front. At the time when the Army was strong, before 1975, the militias constituted the support forces for the Army. Now that the militias are strong, the attempt is to transform the Lebanese Army into a support force for the militias.

It is very clear to us that the possibility of imposing a military dictatorship over Lebanon always lingered in the minds of US strategists. Of course, it is not as easy as they believe — because of all the characteristics of the country, the fact that the sectarian constitution of the Army finally led to its collapse in 1976, the fact that it is based on religious discrimination and the fact that it is under the control of a small number of officers directly tied to the Lebanese Front and the militias. All this contributed to the collapse and disintegration of the Lebanese Army in 1975-76. Rebuilding the Army on the same bases now will only lead to the same result.

Nevertheless, we are very apprehensive about the relationship between the Lebanese Army and the militias. The militias' plan is very clear: to control part of Lebanon directly — mainly the area north of Beirut and the southern area controlled by Saad Haddad — and to control the other areas of Lebanon indirectly, through the Army. I mean, this is the version which the fascist Lebanese Front has proposed in order to regain control over the whole country: some areas under direct control of the militias and others under indirect control through the Lebanese Army.

Of course, our organization and the Lebanese National Movement will always oppose these machinations. Nonetheless, we have always called for rebuilding the Army along more equitable lines to represent all the political forces in the country, all the religious forces, and to end discrimination within the Army between Muslims and Christians and among the supporters of all the different political creeds. A positive step toward this was achieved with the Defense Law, that was passed at the end of last year, but both the Lebanese Front and the Sarkis administration are still sabotaging its implementation.



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**What is your organization's analysis of the Middle East problem?**

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Of course, this is a very broad subject, but I'll try to summarize a few points. To start with, when taking up the Middle East question, we emphasize that the Arab-Israeli conflict forms part of the overall anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples. We always situate our struggle against Zionism within this anti-imperialist context.

On the other hand, we have always emphasized that, although we are living in a country and an area in which a national and patriotic problem predominates, the different social classes of the Arab people have always had different approaches to the same national question. At present, we are witnessing the last phase of a kind of leadership of the Arab national liberation movement represented by what are called bourgeois regimes, which were the official leaders of the Arab national movements in the '50s and '60s.

A typical example of such a regime is the Egyptian one, which has led to a complete counterrevolution led by Anuar el-Sadat that has liquidated all the positive aspects of Nasserism and the main conquests that the Egyptian masses achieved through their long struggles. That regime has broken with the socialist camp — with the Soviet Union in particular — and represents a parasitic bourgeoisie that has finally sold out to US imperialism. We believe that this is the material foundation for Anuar el-Sadat's capitulationist policy as regards the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. Those are the developments that led to Camp David, to the Carter-Begin-Sadat agreements.



## CAMP DAVID

We believe that, in various degrees, some other Arab bourgeois regimes are also following a right-wing trend and hence are constantly faced with the threat of pressures and controls by US imperialism and the Arab reaction. That's why we view the Arab world's present position on Camp David — and especially that of the formal Arab regimes — very critically. It's not enough to isolate Anuar el-Sadat; it's not enough to theorize that the weakest link in the Israeli-US-Egyptian chain is Anuar el-Sadat. "We must hit at Anuar el-Sadat and forget about US imperialism and Israel," they say.

The new development of events since Camp David imposes radical tasks on the Arab liberation movement. Primarily, it imposes on us a confrontation of US interests in the Arab world. It goes directly against the illusion that you can disassociate US imperialism from Zionism and that you can neutralize the United States, as some of the bourgeois

regimes in the Arab world believe. We believe, on the contrary, that the struggle against Zionism and against Anuar el-Sadat can only be situated within the anti-imperialist struggle.

We have the possibility of resorting to the very potent arms that we possess — namely, oil (which, of course, is now being used as an arm against the Arabs instead of as an arm for the Arabs in their struggle against imperialism). Second, we call for a final and decisive position as regards the alliance of the Arab national liberation movement with the socialist countries — with the Soviet Union in particular — mainly because this means an affiliation with the world anti-imperialist forces at a time when some regimes look on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as mere arms dealers.

Third, we believe that the Arab masses have been kept outside this struggle against Zionism and imperialism by regimes which have resorted more and more to repression against the masses. We give a lot of importance to reengaging the Arab popular masses in this patriotic nationalist struggle — but not under the wrong slogans and leadership, not under the banners of the wrong interests and ideologies and not as mere supporters of the slogans of the ruling elites and classes. That's why we believe democracy is a potent force in our patriotic and national struggle; that's why we believe that a regime that is incapable of liberating the potential of the Arab masses is a regime that can't stand up against imperialism, a regime that cannot hold firm against Zionism.

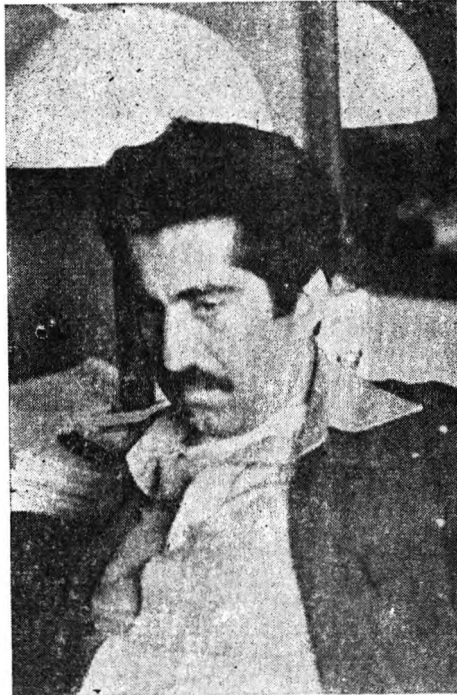
We also believe that we are waging the most advanced part of this struggle in Lebanon itself, since we are simultaneously defending the country from Israeli occupation, defending the best regiments of the Palestinian resistance and protecting the approaches to Syria. Therefore, we give a lot of importance in this overall struggle to helping the struggle that is being waged on Lebanese territory.

We believe that these three or four main tasks are the only steps to be taken on the road to a radical and real confrontation of this new alliance that US imperialism has managed to forge between these two main regimes in the area: the Arab reaction, represented by Anuar el-Sadat, and the State of Israel.

Of course, this poses many challenges to all radical forces in the Arab liberation movement. We believe that it is the task of Communists and of radical, progressive nationalists to find the necessary means and unity to be able to confront such complicated and radical tasks as that of facing this new escalation of the US-Israeli plot against our area.

US imperialism is radicalizing its offensive against our people, against our national interests. We do not believe that we can face this radical offensive with middle-of-the-road politics or wavering. Only by adopting a thoroughly anti-imperialist line, a clear-cut line on international alliances that is defined as regards the role of the masses in the present struggle, a clear line as regards all this question of democracy that finds a way to unite all the progressive forces within this wide national and democratic alliance, can we face all these tasks that we believe to be new.

These are the characteristics of the new phase in the history of the Arab national liberation movement that we have begun to face.



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**How, in your opinion, has the Iranian political process influenced the Middle East crisis?**

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In general, we believe that the Iranian insurrection has given a great push to our struggle in more than one way. By overthrowing the Shah of Iran, one of the mainstays of US imperialism in this area, the Iranian insurrection has, in fact, upset the United States' plans and its contingency forces in such a sensitive area as the Arab belt. In addition, we believe it has given a big push to the struggle of the Palestinian people, since a country or a regime that previously was totally at the disposition of Israel and Zionism is now radically placing itself at the disposition of the struggle of the Palestinian people. In this sense — at least in these two direct impacts — we believe that the collapse of the rule of the Shah in Iran is greatly advancing the Arab national liberation movement.

But I immediately add that the struggle in Iran has not been settled; I'm afraid it is not going to be settled definitely in the near future. There are many threats facing the Iranian insurrection, including the fact that many counterrevolutionary forces have jumped on the bandwagon of the revolution in the last quarter of an hour and play a very negative role as regards the interests of the Iranian people and those of the peoples of the Middle East in general. We believe that the problems legated by the collapse of the Persian Empire of the Shah are very complicated, very difficult. They include the old question of the minorities and nationalities of the Persian Empire.

The fact that the struggle against the Shah was led by a variety of forces, ranging from Communists to Islamic religious orders, makes us believe that a democratic solution that stipulates the right to self-rule is the only way to achieve the unity of Iran on new bases. We believe that the unity of all the forces that have struggled against the Shah is the only way to face the counteroffensive of US imperialism that's bound to come and that will use a lot of the forces and contingency elements that it still has inside Iran.



Finally, we believe that imperialism in Iran is not tied to the presence of the Shah; imperialism is a whole network of economic interests, among which oil is prominent. If we don't strike at the roots of imperialist domination, all the elements that want to re-constitute imperialist control over the country will persist in their efforts.

It's up to the Iranian people and their democratic anti-imperialist forces to find their own road to revolution and their own specific means of achieving national liberation and democracy.

Basing ourselves on the experience of our own revolutionary movement and of the Arab national liberation movement, we have drawn up certain criteria which we believe are common to all fighting peoples.

**WORLD CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARAB PEOPLE — CENTRAL ISSUE: THE PALESTINE QUESTION**

**Lisbon, November 2-4, 1979**

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**AGENDA**

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I. The Arab people's rights to struggle against imperialist, Zionist and reactionary schemes in order to achieve the following:

1. political liberation, economic independence, social progress and unity;
2. respect for the Palestinian Arab peoples' inalienable national rights; and
3. a guarantee of the Palestinian Arab people's right to practice all forms of struggle for the liberation of their national territories.

II. Imperialist, Zionist and reactionary schemes against the Arab nation, especially the Camp David agreements, and the danger of these schemes to the vital interests of all nations and to problems of peace and liberation all over the world.

III. Ways and means of the Zionist occupation in the occupied Arab territories and schemes currently carried out there, especially the self-rule conspiracy.

— Continuous Israeli aggression.

IV. Programs of action for international solidarity with the Arab people's legitimate struggle, especially that of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.



WORLD CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE  
ARAB PEOPLE  
CENTRAL ISSUE: THE PALESTINE QUESTION

Lisbon, November 2-4, 1979

APPEAL

The serious situation in the Arab region is deteriorating due to continuous aggression against its peoples and their independent states. There is an immediate threat to security and peace in the region and the whole world, and there are flagrant injustices violating international law and all international conventions on human rights.

These threats arise from the continuous usurpation of Palestinian land, the expatriation of the Palestinian people and the oppression of those who have remained in occupied Palestinian territories. Israel continues to occupy territories belonging to independent Arab countries, such as Egypt and Syria. It continues its aggression in southern Lebanon and provocation against the United Nations forces. The onslaught of imperialism and its allies is also aimed at the progressive regimes and the liberation and democratic movements.

The elimination of all causes of tension and wars and the establishment of a permanent and just peace is the demand and responsibility of all progressive forces and all peoples.

Far from offering any solution to the problem of the Arab region, as evident from recent developments, the Camp David agreements bring further danger, complications and deterioration to the situation. They ignore all UN resolutions and overlook the essence of the struggle in the region, i.e. the Palestine question, the right of the Palestinian people to return to their own land, their right to self-determination and to set up an independent state on the national Palestinian land and the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

These agreements, which threaten the sovereignty of the Arab states and constitute a danger to peace in the area, have been unanimously rejected and condemned by the people, at both popular and official levels. This stand has been reflected in the position of the PLO, the Arab Palestinian people in the occupied territories and the political and popular forces in Egypt. It is also confirmed by the resolutions of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front; the 9th Arab Summit Conference, held in Baghdad; the Syrian-Iraqi charter of national action; and the resolutions of the Arab people's conference, which encompasses all political, unionist and professional organizations and parties in the Arab countries. Many of these organizations have transferred their headquarters from Cairo.

The Arab people who have contributed to the defense of world peace and progress for mankind through their struggle against imperialist, Zionist and reactionary schemes deserve the effective solidarity of all nations in their fight against the common danger in order to achieve peace, progress and welfare for all nations.

The signatories to this appeal, who represent international organizations and political parties from different countries of the world and are meeting for the preparation of the World Conference in

Solidarity with the Arab People, whose central issue, is the problem of the Palestinian people, have decided to hold the World Conference November 2-4, 1979. The venue will be decided by the Secretariat which has been formed by the preparatory meeting.

All peace-loving nations and democratic and progressive forces are called upon to assist in ensuring the success of the World Conference in solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the Arab people in order to achieve the aims stated in this appeal.

May the unity of nations all over the world be reinforced against imperialism, racism and war, to realize freedom, progress and peace.

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