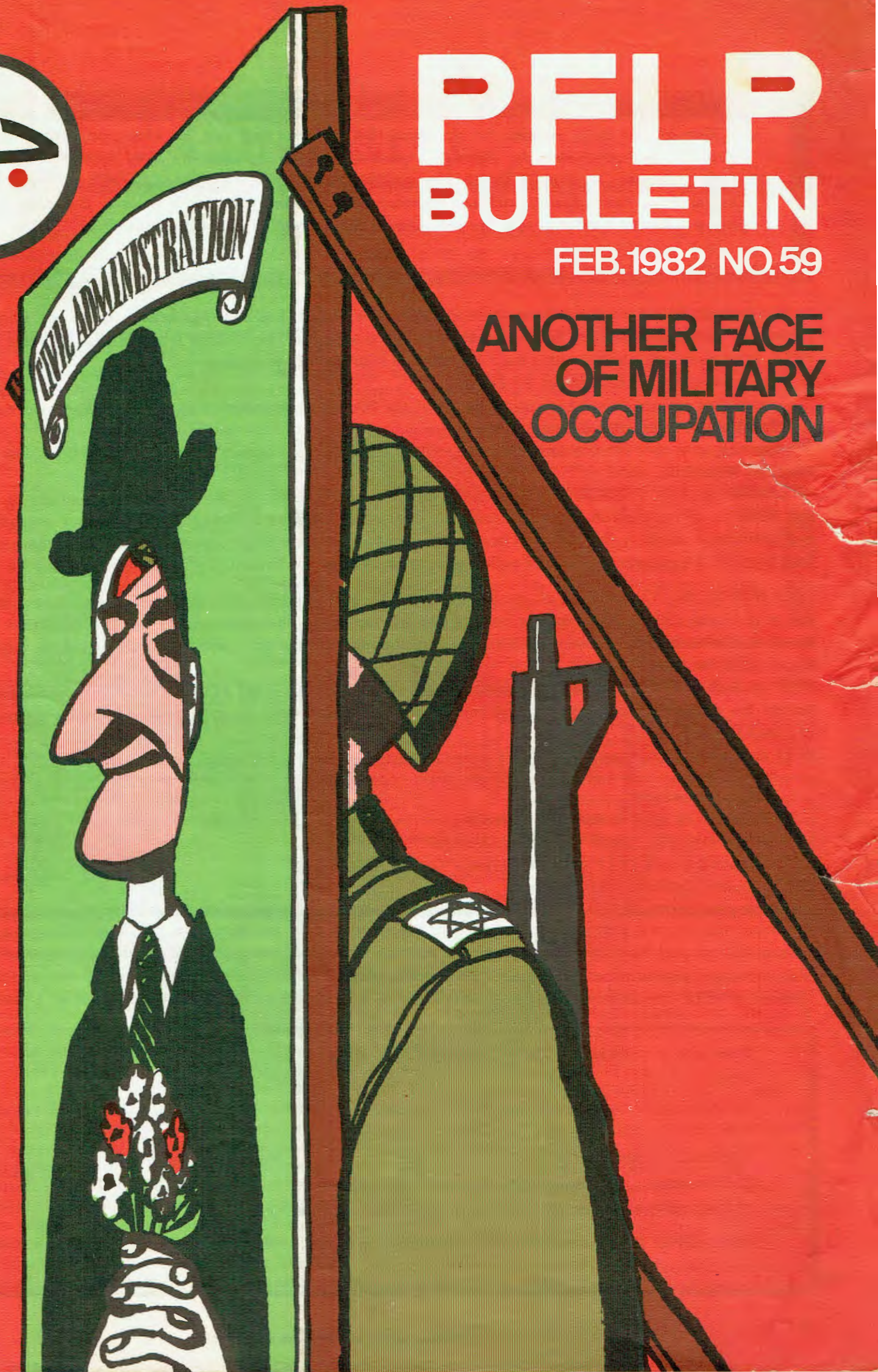




PFLP BULLETIN

FEB. 1982 NO. 59

ANOTHER FACE
OF MILITARY
OCCUPATION



"One of the major reasons for the formation of the PFLP was the class perspective we gave the Palestinian and Arab struggle. Through experience we learned that the most oppressed classes – the workers, peasants, sections of the petit bourgeoisie, the Palestinians living in the refugee camps – are the ones most in contradiction with the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary alliance. It is they who carve history with determination that can persevere in this protracted war without wavering."

Comrade George Habash

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a Marxist-Leninist organization that is an integral part of the Palestinian Resistance and the Arab national liberation movement. The Bulletin is the English language magazine of the PFLP. It has been published monthly since March 1979 with the following aims:

- presenting the political line of the PFLP
- providing current information and analysis of the Palestinian liberation struggle, as well as developments in the Arab world and on the international level
- serving as a tool for building solidarity with progressive organizations, parties, national liberation movements and countries around the world

Subscribing to the PFLP Bulletin is one way you can support these aims; so is encouraging comrades and friends to read and subscribe to the Bulletin. Another means for supporting our work is to write to us with your evaluations, suggestions and criticism concerning the Bulletin. In addition, back issues are available upon request. Of particular interest are these back issues which contain major PFLP policy statements of current relevance:

PFLP Bulletin No. 33 features a comprehensive interview with Comrade George Habash, General Secretary, on the how and why of the PFLP's emergence in the context of the Arab National Movement and the Palestinian struggle. In this interview, Comrade Habash also deals with the question of transforming a petit bourgeois nationalist organization into a Marxist-Leninist party.

PFLP Bulletin No. 42 contains a document on the relations between the PLO and the Jordanian regime, including our reasons for opposing these relations, and supplemented by the text of the "Framework for the joint work between the PLO and Jordan".

PFLP Bulletin No. 52 contains a summary of the results of the PFLP's 4th National Congress.

This issue features:

- *Review of 1981 in occupied Palestine*
- *Conclusion of "Issues of Patriotic Struggle"*
- *Interview with PFLP General Secretary George Habash*
- *Sudan; Bahrain; Saudi Arabia*

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EDITORIAL

In the midst of the intensified enemy maneuvers in Lebanon came the Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, highlighting 3 basic truths that are as relevant to our struggle today as they were in 1936. These truths must be comprehended and taken as the basis for revolutionary strategy and tactics in order to insure the eventual victory of the Palestinian Revolution and the entire Arab national liberation movement. One is the expansionism inherent in Zionism. The goals of this expansion are not only Arab land, but eventual control over Arab resources, especially the massive profits from the oil reserves. The second is the ineffectiveness of the Arab reactionary regimes, and how their economic, political and military dependence on imperialism has irrevocably linked their interests to those of imperialism and Zionism. Third is the role of imperialism, the bulwark of both the Zionist entity and the reactionary regimes. The freedom of 'Israel' to usurp Arab land is ultimately based on the virtually unconditional US support it receives, as is the reactionary regimes' exploitation of the Arab masses and resources. The US veto of sanctions against 'Israel' for the Golan Heights annexation serves to recall that historically, half the vetoes cast by the US in the Security Council have been for the purpose of protecting 'Israel' and its expansion.

It is in Lebanon that this tripartite enemy alliance is felt most keenly, through the reality of Israeli military attacks, carried out with American-supplied arms, produced by the US military-industrial complex that is fueled and financed by Arab oil. It is no accident that Lebanon is where the enemies' relationship and aims are most clear, as at this stage Lebanon is the crucial struggle arena of the Palestinian resistance movement. Our ability to confront and foil the enemy's plans, and to develop our potentials elsewhere, stand and fall with our steadfastness in Lebanon. Lebanon is also an arena for hitting Syrian steadfastness after imperialism and reaction's attacks from within Syria have failed to topple the regime.

Intensified enemy maneuvers

The Phalangist war chief, Beshir Gemayel, chose November 26th, Lebanon's national independence day — which the Phalangists celebrate as their own party anniversary — to announce the fascists' latest political initiative. His main proposals were a complete ceasefire, withdrawal of the Syrians and the Palestine Liberation Army from Lebanon, control of the Palestinian presence and the creation of a security force that would include "active Lebanese forces" alongside the official forces. While the first 3 points are long-standing fascist demands, the fourth can only be termed a farce in light of the consistent Phalangist practice of resolving even secondary differences by force of arms. (It can be assumed that "active Lebanese forces" basically means the Phalangists' own militia.) With full right the Lebanese Patriotic Movement has refused to recognize this as an initiative worthy of response. Thus the Phalangists were denied the chance to cloak their current plans in the mantle of national accord, as they were attempting to do.

The significance of Gemayel's initiative lies not in its content, but in its timing. On the Lebanese level, the initiative is geared towards this summer's presidential elections. The Phalangists want the Syrians removed and the power of the patriotic Lebanese-Palestinian alliance undermined, in order to insure the election of a pro-fascist candidate.

Thus, Beshir Gemayel's initiative is in reality a harbinger of escalated attacks against the Palestinian Resistance, the LPM and Syrian steadfastness. The deadlines that Gemayel set for implementing the proposals are only excuses for igniting the fuses of a new round of violence when political maneuvers fail to achieve the enemies' goals. The Phalangists can be expected to continue their destabilization campaign against the patriotic areas, in league with the army's Deuxieme Bureau: car bombs, assassinations, and provoking clashes between Amal and the organizations of the LPM, especially the communists, in an attempt to wear out the masses. This is part of the overall enemy plan to impose the authority of the pro-fascist regime and army throughout Lebanon, a crucial part of which is removing the militant gun of the Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces from the South.

Concerning the regional situation, the enemies' attempts to once and for all 'stabilize' the Lebanese arena in their favor coincide with the redoubled efforts of Zionism, imperialism and the Egyptian regime to implement Camp David on the Palestinian level — reaching agreement on imposing 'autonomy' simultaneously with the scheduled Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai. Fulfillment of this aim requires crippling Palestinian opposition. While Israeli Defense Minister Sharon's 'internal' policy aims at striking Palestinians under occupation, his external policy will include renewed attacks on the Palestinian Resistance and our allies in Lebanon. At this point the Zionist and Phalangist military forces may converge in an all-out attack.

This expectation is supported by the fact that the announcement of Gemayel's initiative denotes the total synchronization of US, Israeli and fascist plans. While 'Israel' has been opting for a Christian state in Lebanon, in line with its own sectarian ideology, it now supports the Phalangists' drive to impose their hegemony over all Lebanon in conjunction with the pro-fascist Lebanese army. This also corresponds to US imperialism's strategy, as the Reagan Administration and Beshir Gemayel agreed upon in their autumn meeting. The drive to rearm the army with massive supplies from the imperialist countries, especially France and the US, must be seen in this light. This total unanimity of views, even on details, within the enemy camp is the political prelude to escalated attacks on the patriotic forces.

The patriotic response

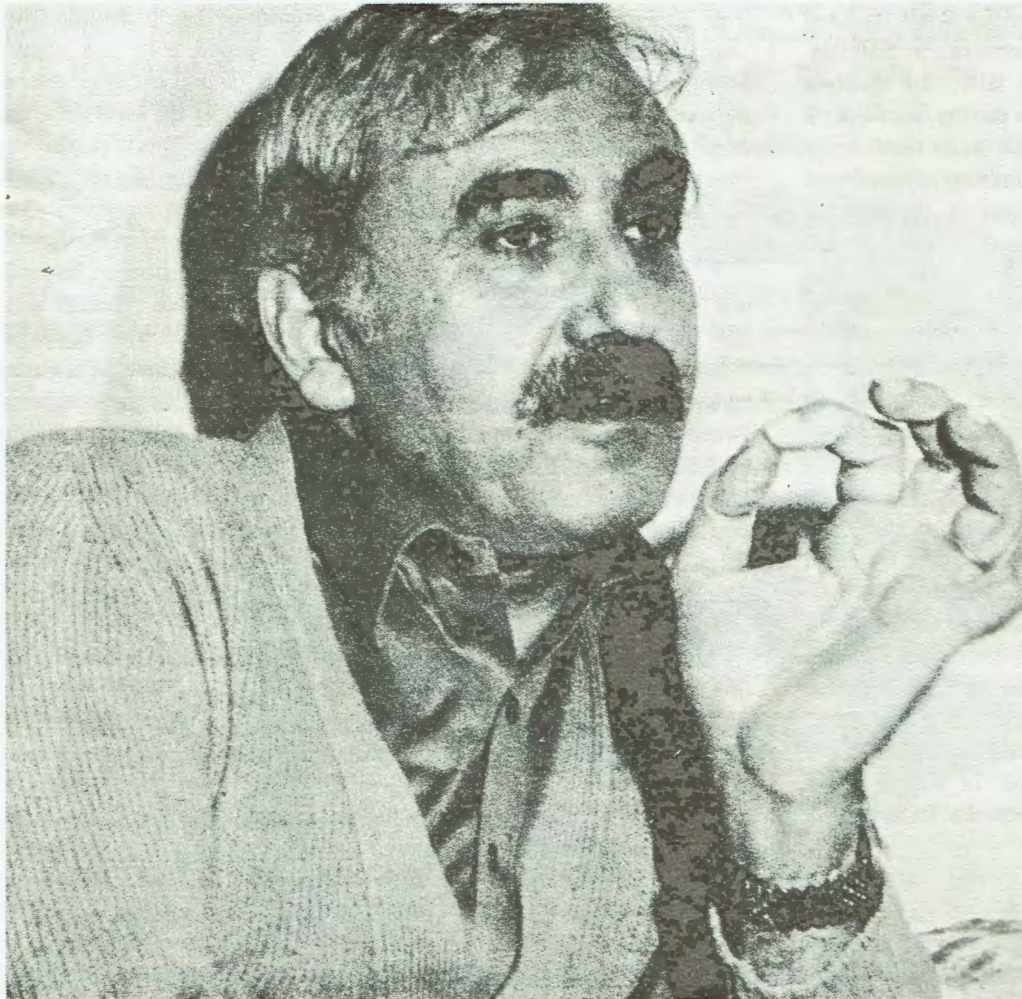
The people of the Golan Heights have visibly demonstrated their opposition to being incorporated in the Zionist state. The responsibility rests with Syria to give them all possible support in opening the Heights as a front for resisting the enemy's expansionism. This expansionism is also affecting Lebanon, and it is here that conditions already exist to defeat the intensified enemy attacks and answer the annexation of the Golan. The indignant but ineffectual public speeches that followed the Golan annexation mockingly spotlight the Zionist enemy's freedom to act how and when it pleases. Rhetoric will not liberate Arab land, or protect the Palestinian gun. What is needed is genuine democracy to unleash our greatest revolutionary asset — the potentials of the Arab masses — and unity of the patriotic and progressive forces, thus enabling us to follow the course of prolonged people's war.

The call for democracy and unity are not slogans uttered in a void, but are directed to the main battleground of this stage — Lebanon.

Supporting democracy means giving all material and moral support to the LPM and its program, which is the only legitimate answer to the Phalangist plan and the means to achieve social progress for the Lebanese masses. Events have proven that an essential defense for the Palestinian Revolution and Syria is a strong LPM. For Syria, the call for democracy also means granting more freedom to their masses, as they are the base that will hold the regime up in any confrontation with the enemy.

Unity of the patriotic and progressive forces is also a necessity if we are to withstand the united enemy onslaught. The Palestinian-

Syrian-patriotic Lebanese alliance that has been forged in blood should be strengthened by clear political programs and the resolution of secondary differences that weaken the patriotic camp. This unity is not only the best protection for all, but also the vehicle that will eventually allow us to move from a defensive to offensive position. The battle taking place in Lebanon is not a tactical struggle, as its outcome will be decisive for the direction, development and abilities of all patriotic and progressive Arab forces in the present and future stage.



INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE HABASH

The following are excerpts of an interview with Comrade George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP, in *Sabah Al Khair* magazine, Jan. 9, 1982, issued by the Syrian Social Nationalist Party in Lebanon.

The Palestinian Central Council has issued decisions which enforce adherence to the decisions of the PNC and the Covenant of the PLO. Does this constitute a sound basis on which Palestinian national unity can be strengthened — a pressing necessity during this period?

Theoretically what the Palestinian Central Council declared during its last meeting *does* constitute a sound basis on which we can reinforce Palestinian national unity. However, we must always keep our eyes open to the continuous attempts of Arab reaction to split the Palestinian arena. For example, after the last meeting of the Palestinian Central Council, Prince Fahd met with the students at the School of Petroleum Engineering in Saudi Arabia and said that his plan still stands and that many of the regimes still support it — and that leaders of

the PLO support it too! What is the aim of such statements? What does their timing indicate? Saudi Arabia, in the person of Fahd, aims at dealing a blow to Palestinian national unity by launching these political balloons which will be bounced about and constitute a source of differences in the Palestinian revolution. One of the duties of the PLO is to implement what has been decided on during the Palestinian Central Council. This requires, in our opinion, a prompt answer to Fahd's statements, stating that the Covenant of the PLO and its current program do not in any way recognize the Zionist entity. Such a reply would strengthen Palestinian national unity and reaffirm to everyone that we still hold fast to the Covenant of the PLO and to the programs we have all agreed upon.

Two days ago, following the Palestinian Central Council meeting and the issuing of its communique, Saud al Faisal announced that Saudi Arabia and the Arab states are ready to recognize 'Israel'... In such a case, the PLO should make a quick and direct answer, stating that the Arab people, who silenced Sadat and King Abdullah before him, are capable of silencing Faisal and the whole Saudi family. Saudi Arabia tried to retract this statement, but this retraction only confirms it. Saudi reaction believes that this is the suitable time to accomplish the recognition of 'Israel'. It is first and foremost the duty of the PLO, before any other Arab force, to make Arab reaction understand that our Palestinian people are supported by the masses of our Arab nation and all the progressive and socialist forces of the world. In addition, we will continue to fight until this cancerous presence is uprooted from our Palestinian and Arab lands, even if it takes a hundred years. All those who dare mention recognition of 'Israel' will receive their due from the people. Fahd, Faisal and the whole Saudi family should understand that all their wealth cannot buy the Palestinian revolution.

Shamir has announced that there will be no withdrawal in April. The fact that the enemy



Zionist soldiers marching into the Golan Heights to reinforce the occupation after the annexation

government continues to establish settlements can mean only one thing: following the policy of Judaization in order to realize the establishment of 'Greater Israel'. The question is: What is to be done?

The solution is based on three important points: (1) to remain steadfast and not surrender in spite of the difficult situation through which we are passing, (2) to strengthen the position of rejecting the cancerous Zionist entity in the Arab lands, (3) not to limit our response to political activity, no matter how important and valuable this may be, but to concentrate on actively practicing protracted people's war, giving it priority over any other solution, because through this we can mobilize tens of millions of the sons of our Arab nation. In this way we will be able to erode the basis of the Zionist entity and bring about its downfall. In short, the solution is what the LPM and the PLO are doing, on the condition that this becomes the situation from the Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean. In this framework, political activity is of utmost importance.

The people who fought for their freedom and rights have achieved them. The experience of the peoples of Latin America, Africa, Asia and others is sufficient proof of this.

At the beginning of this year, Reagan stated that the annexation of the West Bank would be a big mistake and mean an end to Camp David. Doesn't this mean that Reagan okays Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights and what has already been done to Judaize Jerusalem and the rape of Palestine?

Our Arab nation should be well aware of the true nature of these US-Zionist maneuvers in spite of the attempts of the US and reactionary propaganda to camouflage them. It is the duty of all patriotic and progressive forces to remind their people of

past and present history in order to extract lessons to protect the masses from these delusions.

When the Iraqi nuclear reactor was bombed, the US pretended to be angry and upset. What happened after that? US imperialism signed the strategic cooperation agreement with the Zionist entity. After the annexation of the Golan Heights and the decision of the UN Security Council to ask 'Israel' to rescind its decision to annex the Golan Heights, Begin cancelled the strategic cooperation agreement. What happened next? The US announced that anything is possible "except taking measures against Israel"! Percy then visited the Zionist entity, to be followed by a visit from Haig, while the Reagan Administration kept pouring out statements to the effect that the strategic cooperation agreement with the Zionist entity will remain in effect.

What must be made clear to our masses is the true nature of the Zionist entity — that it is the arm that deals the blows for imperialism in our Arab land and that it is organically linked to the Zionist movement, whose very existence depends on the destruction of our national existence. If our people are made aware of this truth, then imperialist, reactionary and Zionist maneuvers will have no chance of success.

Are there any specific measures being taken to strengthen the steadfastness of the Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian triangle of confrontation following Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights and its threats to annex South Lebanon? To what extent are these measures, if they exist, linked to the Arab strategy decided on during the Fez Summit with regard to the defense of the South?

If the measures anticipated for the new confrontation strategy are linked to the Fez Summit, God help us! The measures re-

quired to liberate the South and strengthen the steadfastness of its families should have their origin in the LPM, PLO and Syria. The alliance of these three parties should shoulder the responsibility of facing the dangerous possibilities to which the South is exposed and to which this triangle is exposed through the South. The annexation of the Golan Heights should be a new source of challenge and motivation for these three parties, enabling them to chart the correct path for the liberation of the Golan Heights and Palestine. This path has become clear to all, the path of defeating the enemy by protracted people's war which mobilizes the largest sectors of our Arab nation. The path of Fez did not bring the people of Lebanon and Syria anything except booby-trapped cars and explosions. This left scores of innocent victims in an attempt to instill despair in the Arab masses and thus lead them to accept the idea of recognizing the Zionist entity.

Any Arab convergence should aim at awakening the Arab masses in order to concentrate their energies and potentials in protracted people's war.

Last year the theme was aggression and confrontation — aggression by the Camp David partners against the Arab world, and confrontation by the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and the uprising in the occupied lands. What are your expectations for the coming year?

In short, we expect more aggression and more confrontation. By observing the international situation, especially during this period, and imperialism's aggressive policy and its reflections on the Zionist entity — motivating Zionist aggression and assuring its desired results — it becomes clear that this year will be a hot one. However, we can say that with the weapons which helped us

remain steadfast in face of the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary and isolationist attempts to exterminate us, we will also be able to continue our steadfastness.

Our arms, Palestinian national unity and our alliance with the LPM, Syria and the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, the support and activity of the Arab masses in the revolution, the weapon of our strategic alliance with the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union — with all this we will be able to remain steadfast. It is the duty of all progressive and patriotic Arab forces to use all these weapons in the liberation battle.

Is there any message you would like to direct to the LPM, especially since the Lebanese arena is expected to experience a lot of pressure due to its being a national arena, and due to the subjects of national accord and the presidential elections?

I agree with the part of the question which notes the importance and the particularity of the Lebanese arena, especially during this period. It is an arena full of confrontation and maneuvers. Presidential elections are to take place this year... This will serve to escalate conflict, since the forthcoming president will be required to be more partial to one of the two programs — either that of the patriotic Lebanese or the isolationist, Zionist, imperialist one. Thus the enemy camp has begun tightening the rope, in the form of the US plan, Habib's visits, Beshir Gemayel's initiative and the disruptions of security in the patriotic area.

The point is that it is not a matter of a message we would like to direct to the LPM. It is a call for hope, because the LPM can guarantee the defense of the Palestinian Revolution on Lebanese soil. It is our hope that next year will provide the opportunity to put into practice all the basic lessons extracted from the experience of the patriotic movement over the past years.

Allow me to mention a few of these lessons. The principle thing that the LPM must face is the fascist, Zionist, isolationist plan, which has established its control over part of the Lebanese land and people. This must be confronted by establishing a patriotic authority which shoulders the responsibility for the real liberation of all of Lebanon, creating a progressive, patriotic united Lebanon. In order for this to take place, it is clear that working for the establishment of a broad national front is necessary. It is also necessary to work seriously towards extending bridges to all the Lebanese people, especially those in the isolationist ghettos, in order to insure the

isolation and overthrow of the fascists' plan, and the establishment of the united progressive Lebanon to which most Lebanese aspire.

How do you evaluate President Assad's new formulation of Arab solidarity in the light of the annexation of the Golan Heights? In your opinion, what is the role of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front in this period?

Motivated by feelings of brotherliness, concern and a deep sense of responsibility, and in the light of past experience, we think that the aims and purpose of Arab solidarity should be defined beforehand. If the next summit is convened, is it not our right to ask for what purpose it is being convened? Is it not our right to ask what became of former summits and their results? Should the coming summit be similar to the former ones in content and results?

Arab solidarity has always allowed Arab reaction to wear its 'patriotic costume' in an attempt to conceal the reality of its antagonism towards the Arab national movement, and thus to enact the most dangerous of imperialist conspiracies against our national cause. We do not absolutely object to any summit regardless of the topics, agenda and results. However, it is essential that we keep our eyes open to any plans Arab reaction tries to enact during these summits. Do you think it is by chance that just after President Assad left Saudi Arabia, Fahd announced that his plan still stands? Only a fool would believe that. Fahd timed his announcement in order to falsely insinuate that Syria had agreed to the Saudi plan. We know that Syria is anxious to hold an Arab summit with the theme of confrontation. So what does Fahd's announcement really mean? The reactionary regimes always try to use these summits to conceal their attempts to enact their conspiracies, to weaken the patriotic forces and to hold all the reins in their hands.

We cannot object in principle to this step taken by President Assad. However, we say that confronting the annexation requires a new Syrian policy and a new Syrian-Palestinian-patriotic Lebanese policy, as well as a new policy on the part of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. After that, if Arab reaction is forced to save face in front of the masses and takes a step towards supporting the confrontation of the Golan annexation, it may be possible to establish Arab solidarity on the basis of a plan of confronting the enemy.

It is our duty to warn that if this summit meeting is convened, there will be those who call for official Arab adoption of the Fahd

plan. Most of the reactionary Arab regimes are anxious for it to be adopted... If the Arab summit is held on the basis of the Saudi initiative, we say that it is a miserable summit with miserable results. In addition, we state that any patriotic force or regime that facilitates such results will be held responsible before the masses.

In Poland, there are two factors contributing to the disruption of security and the economy... KOR and US pressure... What is the real nature of the role played by these two factors? What are their aims in the long run?

The role played by these two factors is clear and substantial as anyone who follows the Polish situation can see. Their long-term aims are aggressive ones and are not limited to Poland... Their purpose is to have a negative influence on all the countries of the socialist community.

A few days ago, I read Brzezinski's statement that he expects Polish events to reflect themselves on the Soviet Union, which represents the first and principle socialist experiment which has lasted for decades. US imperialism tries to remedy its ever escalating crisis by going on the offensive against the socialist and progressive forces in all parts of the world. The latest developments in Poland, the formation of the military council for national salvation and the declaration of an emergency situation are a start to limiting these aggressive plans.

What remains to be mentioned is that the events in Poland are not solely due to these two factors. There is an important basic matter which should constitute an experience and a lesson for all the countries of the socialist community, as well as for any country aiming to apply socialism in the future: What made it possible for these factors to do their job was the many basic mistakes made by the United Polish Labor Party. The party neglected some of the basic laws for building socialism, especially in the field of agriculture and spreading socialist ideology among the masses. For example, in the field of agriculture, private property has not yet been abolished or even limited. It still accounts for 70% of Polish agricultural land.

We hope that the Polish people will overcome this crisis and put a stop to all counter-revolutionary activities, because any success for the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland will affect all other countries of the socialist community; this negative influence will also extend to affect our national cause and our whole Arab region. ●

ISSUES OF PATRIOTIC STRUGGLE

The following is our final installment of the discussion between Palestinian resistance leaders on various issues of patriotic struggle in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Bilal al Hassan, editor of *Palestine Affairs*

It is clear that union work is increasing in the occupied territories. How would you evaluate the reasons for this and what is the effect on the political struggle against the occupation?

Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary of the PFLP

There is no doubt that we are all agreed on the first part of your statement regarding union work in the occupied land. It is natural that the development of union work is tied to the development and consolidation of the Palestinian working class inside the occupied territories, especially after many workers abandoned cultivating their land for employment in industrial institutions.

This is one of the reasons for the development of union work. Another reason is the relatively liberal democracy allowed by the enemy in the field of trade union work. This gives the unions a chance to politicize the masses; thus the unions have an important role to play. It also provides the means to concentrate the efforts of the masses. This emphasizes the fact that the role of the unions should be supported, and the framework in which they absorb the working class should be expanded. I stress this latter point in the context of the real problems that the unions suffer, such as the limiting of coordination between organizations in some unions due to selfish, factional and narrow-minded considerations.

What is more dangerous is that there are six unions dominated by certain parties in the Gaza Strip, under the leadership of Darabeh. He is still recognized as their representative, and at the same time is proposing a merger with the Histadrut. What is happening here is that there is an attempt to fence off these unions as if they were the private property of one member of the Palestinian bourgeoisie. This is a more dangerous problem than the one concerning differences between the patriotic forces.

In addition, more effort should be made to regulate and standardize the rules of the unions, some of which are so old that they are actually obstacles. On the other hand, there are attempts by the enemy to impose new regulations to limit the potential of the unions. Relations between the patriotic forces should be raised to the level that allows discussion of standardizing trade union regulations.

It is natural that opening the door to registration of new members should be accompanied by opening up opportunities (to run for any post) during elections. This naturally implies the need to change leaders instead of having leading posts limited to certain people for years.

If we make progress on this level, it would be a great step towards forming committees in the general union. These committees would have the responsibility for workers in the institutions and factories in the 1948 areas. This will help our workers avoid the real pressures aimed at making them join the Histadrut, especially in Jerusalem, as the enemy does not apply the same rules and regulations there as it does in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

We can now give a clear-cut example of how the pressures of occupation are confronted — the patriotic role played by the union of the Jerusalem Electric Company. Not only did it play the role of a trade union, but also a patriotic role against the threat of confiscation and the attempts to drown the company in loans. This

example should be considered as a model for all other union institutions at all levels in the occupied territories.

Arabie Awwad, head of the Palestinian Communist Organization in the West Bank

It is clear that trade union struggle and development has expanded in the occupied territories — first and foremost the struggle of the labor unions. This is basically due to the growth of the working class, as the occupation exploits the occupied territories as a cheap labor market. Thus we find that many of the laborers who work in Israeli institutions were originally farmers, craftsmen or petty bourgeoisie from the cities.

Another reason for the expansion of trade union struggle is the fact that the standard of living has steadily deteriorated for the working class, whether they are employed by Arab institutions or Israeli projects. The former suffer from the fantastic rise in the cost of living, while the latter suffer various forms of discrimination, such as denial of old age pensions, accident insurance or vacations, or having their salaries reduced by 33% in return for these services.

These objective conditions sparked the current trade union movement and caused it to expand. It is no longer limited to unions established in the past; many unions were revived in Jerusalem, Al Khalil and other cities. In addition, the number of union members has increased. The unions struggled to realize many of the workers' demands, in addition to their political struggle. However, there are many problems facing them, especially in regard to their work in the Israeli institutions. The occupation warns the present trade unions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip against any union activity in defense of the rights of workers in Israeli institutions, under the pretext of security considerations. This is a real obstacle that we are working to overcome.

However, with respect to the Arab institutions, the obstacles arising have their source in the owners. They believe that the unions should work to support the institutions and guarantee their steadfastness in the face of the measures taken by the occupation to force them out of business. Thus the owners of these institutions try to unburden themselves of the economic policies of the occupation at the expense of the workers. A clear-cut example of this is what happened to the workers of the electric company. It is true that the patriotic position taken by the workers is clear, as Abu Ali mentioned. However, there was also a strike for a series of union demands. Unfortunately, a negative stand was taken by the company against the union — the electric company, they said, was a patriotic institution and the workers hurt the company by demanding that it increase salaries and improve living conditions. In the end, however, the company was forced to consider the demands of the workers. The truth of the matter is that the owners of the Arab institutions should come to an agreement with the labor unions in order to really guarantee the steadfastness of the institutions and at the same time provide suitable living conditions for the workers in the face of the high cost of living suffered by the masses in the occupied lands.

The trade unions are contributing tangibly on all levels of patriotic struggle against the occupation. Trade unions have an important role to play, whether it be in the Palestinian National Front (PNF) or the



Poster made to commemorate the martyrdom of Majed Abu Sharrar.

National Guidance Committee (NGC), both of which have representatives in the General Federation of Trade Unions (GFTU). The role played by the trade unions emerged clearly in the municipal elections of 1976, when they nominated their representatives for several municipal councils, and won. Because of the important patriotic role played by labor unions, they have been prey to many oppressive measures: many leaders were arrested, many were deported, many were put under house arrest. In addition, there is the law passed last year (a revision of the 83rd clause of the workers' law under the Military Government), which gives the authorities the right to cross out any nominees for elections who are seen as constituting a threat to 'security'. Thus the Military Government wishes to rid the unions of patriotic forces struggling against the occupation; this demands that the unions reject these measures and confront them.

Professionals are also exposed to difficult conditions under the occupation. Doctors, lawyers, engineers and the like are often forced to emigrate. Unions play a special role in this struggle. It is not a coincidence that the NGC was formed as a result of a conference held by the GFTU, nor is it a coincidence that the general secretary of the NGC is also the secretary of the GFTU. This denotes the important role unions play in the struggle.

One must also mention the role played by student and university councils, and the situation of the teachers, who face real dangers when

it comes to founding a union. All this reveals the fact that the authorities always place obstacles in the field of union work, especially when this work is directed at confronting the occupation. For example, worker unions are permitted because the Jordanian regime used to allow them; however, the occupation authorities prevent the founding of a teachers union on the pretext that the government in Jordan does not allow one for its teachers. This put the teachers in an extremely difficult situation which led to a one month strike during which they demanded the founding of a teachers union and a raise in salaries. The occupation authorities refused both emphatically.

Yasser Abed Rabbo, Deputy General Secretary of the DFLP

I do not wish to repeat the points mentioned by the comrades who have spoken. However, I believe that organizing the 150,000 Palestinian workers who form the Palestinian working class in the occupied territories (20% of whom are factory workers in industry) is the major task in the unions' struggle.

In order to carry out this task, there has been an increase in the ranks of these unions in the past years, there has been progress in defense of workers' rights (especially in Arab institutions), and there has been an expansion of the role played in patriotic struggle. However, the absorption of the new growth of the Palestinian working

class requires, in our opinion, a number of urgent tasks.

The most important task is to make serious efforts to revive old unions and to establish branches for unions already present, so as not to give the occupation the chance to use the excuse of what was allowed or forbidden under Jordanian law. This plan of reviving old unions is underway now, but must be developed in the direction of expanding the present unions.

The second task is defending the interests of laborers working in Israeli institutions, where more than half of our workers are found. The present unions should support the cause of these workers in spite of Israeli law, especially since these workers suffer from both national and social oppression.

The third task is to unify the union movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, because there can't be two union movements for one people under common occupation. I want to stress the importance of reviving the unions in Gaza by putting a stop to the situation established in the past years, i.e. putting a stop to unions that are only hollow shells, headed by bureaucrats who never held genuine elections and are really agents of Arab reaction and the Military Government in Gaza.

The fourth task would be defense of the interests of laborers working in Arab institutions, and not burdening them alone with the occupation's economic policy. This point remains one of the differences between the patriotic forces inside the occupied territories as well as among the ranks of the Palestinian national movement.

Within this framework, improvement of the present union structures is required, because some are still behind with regard to the new situation of the working class. For example, it is not possible that a union by the name of "the union of higher institutions" should exist, grouping workers of all kinds from different institutions, just because they happen to be present in the same country. Developing the structure of the institutions of the unions is an important element

which will encourage workers to become involved, and will expand the foundations of the unions. It will also raise the unions to their true level of action in defense of the interests of the workers, able to act as their genuine economic and patriotic representative.

One of the questions which we must be extremely anxious to solve is that of cooperation between the patriotic forces working within the framework of the unions. We should depend on representation of these forces relative to the actual weight they carry, so that the relationship is based on cooperation, not competition.

Here one should also mention the various popular organizations. For example, the women's movement has developed. However, the main problem is that most women's activities are centered around ordinary social work, instead of being mainly directed towards Palestinian women working in Arab institutions and Israeli projects. In addition, the large number of housewives and young women should also be represented by the women's movement.

With respect to the student movement, there are recognized organizations in universities and secondary schools. Unifying these organizations into one student movement center at the university and other levels, within the framework of a student union which is considered an extension of the General Union of Palestinian Students, is the responsibility of the student movement. It is their responsibility to develop their role and unify their struggle at all student centers in the occupied territories.

With respect to the teachers and craftsmen, one should mention an important development: during the past two years, teachers' committees have been set up with one general committee to represent all teachers, and craft unions have been founded. These are two outstanding events on the level of the popular movement.

Another matter that is still unfinished is the question of defense of the land. Committees used to be formed to confront certain settlement activities, after which things would slow down for a while until the next event. However, the committees for defense of the land should not be limited to the sons of this village or that. Representatives of the different patriotic forces should participate in these committees so as to turn the cause of the land in one village into a general patriotic cause, and so that there will be a continuity in the work of these committees.

To summarize, I would like to mention the following. The road is open to developing the activity of the popular movement in the occupied territories. The masses are ready to be organized into popular institutions, as well as clubs, committees for voluntary work, etc. There are no limits to the enthusiasm of the people, because they have become aware through their experience that these institutions are their main weapon in the confrontation with the plans of the occupation. These institutions have been able to score some victories; this was an important lesson for the popular movement and one of the main reasons that the masses are ready to be included in the framework of the popular institutions. This all serves one great purpose: the unity of the popular movement in its confrontation against the occupation and for its aim of an independent Palestinian state.

Mohammed Khalifeh, representative for Saiqa in the PLO Executive Committee

I wish to add two points:

1) We can build a national front through positive activity within the framework of the unions. This can be realized, as our brothers Yasser and Abu Ali pointed out, by working to represent all patriotic organizations in all modes of union work, keeping in mind the necessity of expanding the unions.

2) It goes without saying that we should work to support the

The Palestinian Hope by Suleiman Mansour.



unions through the Palestinian-Jordanian Joint Committee, which should provide the necessary material means. This trend means building the basis for national unity. We may differ on the leadership level, but let us put a little effort into unifying our base. Thus we will have made some progress with regard to the cause of the national front by providing it with a solid foundation.

Majed Abu Sharrar, member of the Central Committee of Fateh

I would very much like to view union work in the occupied territories in the optimistic light portrayed by our brothers, especially Yasser Abed Rabbo, who asks that we put all our effort to follow up what the labor and union movement is going through in the occupied land.

I am truly unable to see any positive side to the matter for several reasons. One is that the number of our industrial, agricultural and craft workers is 251,000, while 20,000 are union members – only 10%. In my opinion, this is something logical and natural. However, we must note that our unions only represent 10% of the Palestinian working force inside the occupied lands. I say this because that we've heard up to now gives the impression that the unions represent up to 80-90% of the labor force. I said that this is natural. Why? One, because industry inside the occupied territories is deteriorating and is exposed to very fierce competition; one could almost say it is non-existent. This naturally affects the labor force, as well as the resources and activities of the labor unions. Second, the field of agriculture is weak and has low productivity. This also affects the labor force, causing large numbers of farmers to look for work in the 1948 areas. This prevents them from becoming members of agricultural and industrial unions. Another reason is emigration. We should know that the number of emigrants from the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the occupation until today is 450,000 Palestinians; the greater part of these are laborers, craftsmen and academics. During the last year alone, 20,000 workers emigrated from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Yet another reason is the differences between the patriotic organizations, which reflect very badly on our union activity.

One other point I would like to mention: we have unions that have come to a stop, not only in the Gaza Strip, but in the West Bank as well. These have come to a stop because of postponing or stalling elections, and not following up registration of members, because those who are in charge of registration are interested in dominating one union or another, a fact that helps weaken union activity.

Yet another reason is the military authority's interference with union regulations. The latest example of this is the revision of Article 83, stating that the names of those nominated for elections should be approved by the Military Governor. This caused the unions to hesitate before holding their conferences and elections, so as not to be obliged to give the names to the authorities. This is one of the points of difference between our brothers in the PFLP, DFLP and the communists.

These are the reasons why we are inclined to say that the union situation in the occupied territories is not only shaky but deteriorating – and is not at all going through stages of development. This does not imply for a moment that unions are not playing an outstanding role, especially the General Federation of Trade Unions, which includes 19 unions, in addition to engineer and doctor unions, etc.

We should make our positions clear on these matters, because the aim of this panel discussion is to contribute to building up the situation in the occupied territories.

Bilal al Hassan, editor of *Palestine Affairs*

Brother Majed, you mentioned closed unions. Closed by whom?

Majed Abu Sharrar

Closed by anyone who is able to infiltrate a union and dominate it. This is a dangerous matter that we must confront.

Yasser Abed Rabbo

It seems that our brother Majed was not paying close attention to my speech, because he did not discuss the matters that I proposed. I

Record!

*I am an Arab
employed with fellow workers at a quarry
I have eight children
to get them bread
garments and books
from the rocks ...*

Record!

*I am an Arab
You have stolen the orchards
of my ancestors
and the land
which I cultivated
Along with my children
And you left us with those rocks
So will the State take them
as it has been said?*

*excerpted from Identity Card,
by Mahmoud Darweesh*



stressed the positive side of workers and workers unions, and I said that there has been progress made during the past twenty years because even those 20,000 registered union members constitute an advance in comparison to the state of affairs in the early 1970s, when one could only boast of several hundred members, and the unions could, at best, be considered as centers of gatherings of craftsmen.

Majed Abu Sharrar

And they still are.

Yasser Abed Rabbo

No, and the whole situation says no. New unions have been established by reviving a large number of old unions; this is widespread and continuous. The unions' internal constitutions have been revised and developed in order to give as many workers as possible the chance to become members, because some unions in the past imposed so many conditions that it was easier to join a political organization than to become a union member. The structure of some unions has been reformed by establishing branches in villages — which are not really villages anymore in the traditional sense, but are more like centers where hundreds of laborers, who have regular work in Israel, are found.

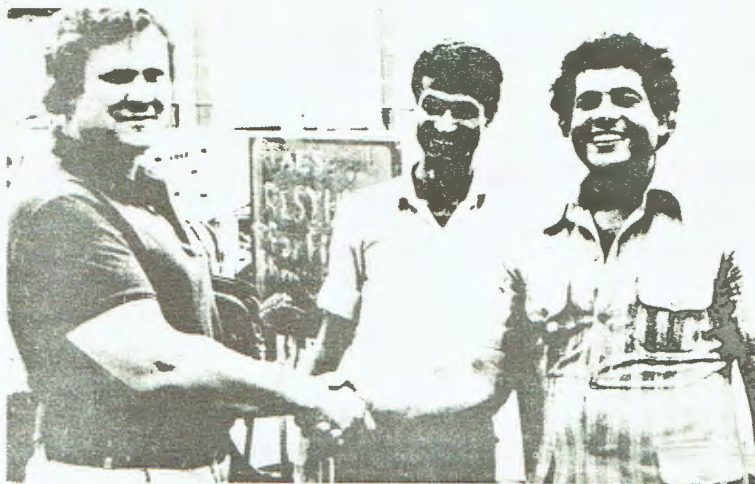
There is development, but I did not stress this as much as I did the tasks that must be accomplished to enable the unions to absorb as much of the Palestinian working class as possible. What I said specifically was: developing the present union structures, solving the problem of unions dominated by bureaucrats in the Gaza Strip, attending to the problems of laborers in the land occupied in 1948... I also spoke of defending the interests of the laborers working in the Arab projects, and said that they should not carry the burden of the enemy's policy alone.

Proposing such questions does not mean that they are accomplished; it means that they are struggle tasks, because we need a union movement that can follow up the development of the structure of the working class and the increase in the number of industry workers in its ranks. For 20% of the working class to be in industry is not something to be underestimated. This is the problem. There are many subjective obstacles we all agree upon, in addition to the differences between the patriotic forces in the occupied land, which effect the expansion of the unions and their relationship with the general unions outside the occupied territories.

This question must be solved within the framework of our struggle. However, the central problem is the development of the union movement so as to be in accord with the development of the working class. Things are moving in this direction, but there are missing links. This is the main subject. Whether there are differences or problems, whether there are obstacles stemming from the relationships between the unions inside and outside the occupied territories or not, is something to be established and solved — it is not the central problem.

Arabie Awwad, head of the Palestinian Communist Organization in the West Bank

When we talk about the activities of the union movement, this does not mean that it automatically includes the majority of workers, because around 80,000 work in Israeli projects. However, if we compare the situation of the union movement in 1967 with the situation today, we will definitely notice a big difference. First, there was no GFTU, and the number of unions was few. What happened was that old unions were preserved, then an independent union was formed, and then unions split from the General Federation in Jordan, despite pressures from the Jordanian regime and despite the attempts of the Histadrut to tie the Arab workers to it.



Member of United Steelworkers of America local union meets Palestinian workers in Gaza in May 1981, as part of a US trade union delegation invited by the GFTU.

Let us look at some numbers to prove the development of the union movement. During 1973-74, the workers union in Ramallah had 250 members; today it has 1700. In 1974, the council for all the unions had 50 members, and now it has 118. In the beginning there were about 10 active members, while today there are 27. This brings up one of the points where Jordan is bringing pressure on us; the regime wants to merge the unions so that they are fewer in number and easier to dominate. Thus the number of unions in Jordan is less than 20, and there are attempts to lessen the number of unions in the occupied territories by applying this policy of merging.

On the other hand, I am obliged to note the negative competition between the patriotic forces. I would like to say frankly that this competition is one of the main reasons for their activity. Of course this is an advantage, but there are disadvantages which must be stopped for the sake of a unified union movement in the West Bank. All patriotic forces should cooperate within the framework of national unity, which should be based on the principle of proportional representation.

In terms of the Gaza Strip, I do not wish to repeat what has already been said. The head of the unions is not only an unwanted character and bureaucrat, but also an intruder on the workers because he is actually an employer.

With respect to the relationship between the union movement in the occupied territories and outside, I would say it is a very poor relationship. What is required? We should support the union movement in the occupied land by coordinating with the General Union of Palestinian Workers, which is considered the only representative of the workers. This is a political matter that we should take care to support; representation in the Palestinian popular organizations should include organizations inside the occupied land. There should be coordination with regard to delegations from the international union movement. Such delegations from American and European unions infuriate and provoke the occupation authorities. We could also organize delegations of unions from the occupied land to travel outside and ask for support. This can also be applied to teachers.

Majed Abu Sharrar, member of the Central Committee of Fateh

One last remark so it will not seem as if there are two different points of view. The common denominator is that there is development to some degree, but much remains lacking and many obstacles should be overcome... Unions, which are frameworks within which we should concentrate all the energies of our workers, are an ambition we are very far from realizing. Even outside the occupied land this has not been accomplished...

PALESTINIAN AGRICULTURE IN THE ZIONIST STATE

— Caught between the jaws of expropriation and the capitalist market

The following is based on an article by Nadir Nezeleh, which appeared in *Al Ittihad*, organ of Rakah (the Israeli Communist Party.) By taking up the specific case of a lost cucumber harvest, it illuminates the mechanisms which are at work against Palestinian agriculture in the Zionist state. We see farmers, already deprived of much of their land and lacking the support which the state provides to Jewish agriculture, who are unable to compete with Zionist-run companies. This is a clear expression of the effects of Zionist settler colonialism, which has acquired a substantial capitalist base. Moreover, the story illustrates class differentiation within the Palestinian society itself, where a certain strata of merchants have found it most beneficial to cooperate with the Zionist companies. This is to the detriment of the broad mass of the peasants.

The fate of the 1980 cucumber harvest in the Galilee

An investigation of the 1980 cucumber harvest in the villages of the Northern Galilee reveals that Palestinian Arab farmers lost about 300 million Israeli pounds due to the manipulation of Zionist marketing companies and the negligence of the Israeli authorities. For the farmers involved, this meant the loss of three months work. Moreover, they had no recourse but to cover the loss from their own pockets. This catastrophe was heaped on top of the mound of ongoing problems suffered by Palestinian farmers in the Zionist state: substantially reduced land holdings due to expropriation, lack of modern machinery, the high price of fertilizer and other equipment, harassment related to tax collection and marketing, etc. It is also to be remembered that under these conditions, an entire family often works on a small plot of land in order to extract a living.

The devastating loss in the 1980 harvest is related to the problems of the two previous seasons, when the price of cucumbers dropped markedly, leading to heavy losses for Arab farmers, who are in fact the main cultivators of cucumbers. (The Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharonot*, August 4, 1981, termed them "the only cucumber farmers in the country".)

These farmers lodged a complaint with the Council for Fruit and Vegetable Marketing, a division of the Ministry of Agriculture. After contacting 12 different Israeli companies, the farmers succeeded in reaching a written agreement with two: Beit Hashetah and Hazait, covering the sale of cucumbers in the region of Bissan. The agreement set a price for a box of cucumbers which the farmers considered reasonable.

This encouraged farmers to plant large portions of land with cucumbers (5000 dunums out of 12,000) in the region of Sahel Tamra, which is owned by the farmers of Tamra, 'Ableen, Shafa'amr and Khapool.

Not all the farmers were covered by the agreement, as the two companies lacked the capacity to market the produce of all. Yet those not included expected other companies, who would also need to buy cucumbers, to pay the same price. It was this which the Zionist companies, which have a monopoly on the market, were able to exploit.

Prices slashed in half

As the harvest season approached, the representatives of the marketing companies inspected the crops and found that 7000 and not 5000 dunums were planted in cucumbers. Thus, they began to work to lower the price in order to increase their profits. The Baraferaq Company, which has the concession for supplying the Israeli army, the largest single consumer in the state, has the

final word on determining price levels. The companies took advantage of the surplus, waiting until the cucumbers were ready for harvest and thus liable to spoilage, and offered the farmers 25 pounds per box — less than half the agreed price. At the same time, the two companies who had entered into the agreement began pressuring the farmers for cancellation of the agreement, saying it was not profitable for them to sell at double the price others were asking.

In the end, the companies won out. The representatives of the farmers who finally agreed to cancel the agreement are merchants. Their interests are dependent on maintaining good relations with the Zionist companies for whom they function as brokers. Thus, they found it more beneficial to cancel the agreement instead of fighting the



companies to maintain it. This forced the smaller farmers to sell their crop at low prices. The farmers agreed to the conditions imposed by the brokers and sold their crops without receipts. They were paid in checks which could not be cashed until 4-5 months later, at which time the money would be worth less due to the galloping inflation in 'Israel'. They were forced to accept these conditions or their crop would have perished. Some of these farmers later sold their checks to banks or merchants at 20% below value in order to buy fertilizer and other equipment for the coming season.

Who is responsible?

Interviews conducted by *Al Ittihad* with the parties concerned shed further light on the question of who was responsible for the farmers' losses. When asked why they did not go to the governmental offices to complain, the farmers responded, "We went but they avoided us." The Arab broker involved simply stated that the company put the price it found suitable; he refused to elaborate upon further questioning.

At the Ministry of Agriculture, Itzhak Ben Haim, head of the Department of Arab Villages in Nazareth, laid the blame on the "Arab farmers because they did not take our advice and plant 60% of their land; they went ahead and planted almost 100%". When *Al Ittihad* pointed out that the farmers denied that they had planted all of

their land with cucumbers, and that in some areas only 50% of the land had been planted, Haim flatly denied this. At the Council for Fruit and Vegetable Marketing in Tel Aviv, marketing department chief Chamoun Beran laid the blame on the farmers and the Barafraq company, saying that the farmers had refused to sign agreements with the Beit Hashetah and Hazait companies, ignoring the fact that these companies lacked the capacity to market the produce of all the farmers. When asked what the council had done to help the farmers, he replied, "We displayed willingness to buy Grade A cucumbers at 20-25 pounds per box, and we cannot pay more." He added, "In the past we accepted buying this crop as compensation. However, in the future we shall not do so."

Thus the officials do not really refute their role in exploiting and manipulating the Arab farmers; rather they blame the farmers and avoid their responsibility for assisting these farmers in developing and marketing their produce so as to prevent such losses.

Interviews with the Palestinians themselves give a broader picture of the problems they face. Farmer Morshed Selim, former head of the 'Ableen council, states, "Arab farmers suffer serious problems at all stages of their work. Why do you think we plant cucumbers, for example, instead of cotton? Cotton requires modern equipment which is not available to Arab farmers. This applies to

many other crops as well. Most plant cucumbers because the only difficulty comes in the harvest... which requires much manual labor as they do not all ripen at once and must be picked several times. What separates the Arab farmers from the others is that all members of the family and relatives work together... still there are difficulties in marketing."

His brother Rahedi Selim highlights other problems, "There is also the problem of irrigation. One dunum of irrigated land yields four times that of land which is only watered by rain. However, to get your land irrigated, you must go through hell with Mekorot, the Israeli irrigation and water company, the only one in Israel. This company imposes harsh conditions on the Arab farmers and their cooperatives. For example, the cooperative society to which I belong gets 105,000 cubic meters of water per year for irrigation. This is only enough for 60% of the 250 dunums owned by the society. For years we have been demanding an increase. Only recently we received an increase which amounted to 10,000 cubic meters. Thus, the problem is not a matter of one season. It is a continuing political issue. We farmers must organize to struggle against this policy. We must first demand to be treated the same as the Jewish farmers in terms of obtaining land, water and aid for renewing the land — the same rights in planting, cultivation and marketing." ●

1981 IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

The Zionist entity

The most outstanding political developments on this level are represented by the victory of the Likud in the 10th Knesset elections; the economic situation after the formation of the second Likud government; the appointment of Sharon as Defense Minister and his 'new' policy in the occupied territories; the 'autonomy' talks; the Arab vote in the Zionist elections; Egyptian-Israeli relations and lastly, the US-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement.

The Likud victory

Under Begin's leadership, the Likud realized a great electoral victory in spite of tough competition from the Labor Alignment (Marakh). The election campaign was characterized by its severity; each of the competing parties threw its entire weight into the battle. The result was 48 seats for Likud and 47 for the Alignment... This campaign was different from previous ones for two significant reasons:

This article, translated from the PFLP's weekly *Al Hadaf*, deals with the most outstanding developments of the past year in Palestine. The following is the first part which covers the positions taken by the Zionist entity and their consequences. In the next Bulletin, we will print the conclusion which discusses political developments on the Palestinian level.

1) The many competing lists, which is a reflection of the mode of political life in 'Israel' and of the confused political and psychological conditions prevailing in the Zionist entity.

2) Violence dominated throughout the campaign — fire bombs were used; party centers were broken into and set afire; cars and other things pertaining to the competing party were destroyed; candidates were verbally and even physically abused.

Begin formed the second Likud government after five weeks of negotiations and compromises, and after conceding to most of the religious parties' conditions. Thus, the Likud acquired 61 out of 120 Knesset seats. The conditions whereby the coalition was formed impose certain limits which the government cannot overstep without risking collapse.

The reasons for the Likud victory can be summarized as follows:

1) Likud's consolidation at the leadership level and in terms of its highly detailed economic, political and organizational program

2) The measures taken by the first Likud government, such as the economic plan to absorb the effects of the high rate of inflation, lowering taxes, etc. The Likud applied these measures immediately before the elections, leading the Alignment to nickname them the "electoral economic policy". The previous Likud government also executed a number of political and

military strikes which helped to fortify Begin's internal position, for example, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, the attacks on the PLO and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, the Sadat-Begin meetings on normalization and 'autonomy'.

3) Internally the Likud accomplished a great deal with respect to occupational expansion, land confiscation and striking the patriotic forces and limiting their freedom of movement.

4) Fortification of the relationship with the new US government and receiving additional aid.

5) Nearly 60% of the Oriental Jews voted for the Likud, while only 30% voted for the Alignment. The Likud was able to combine religious traditions with its own extremist policy...

6) Likud gained 25% of the votes taken by the Democratic Movement for Change (DASH) in 1977. (DASH dissolved itself prior to the last election.)

7) The Likud received more votes from among the soldiers than did the Alignment – 45.8% as opposed to 34.1% – and also from younger voters.

8) The coming of the Reagan Administration with its frank position vis-a-vis 'Israel', terming it a strategic ally, was another objective factor which contributed to Likud's victory, as was the miserable situation on the Arab level which allowed the Likud to direct its blows internally and externally without noteworthy retaliation.

The Israeli elections had the following results:

1) Increased political and party mobilization as well as competition between the Likud and Alignment

2) Preservation of Likud's positions and an increase in its strength, whereby it became the largest parliamentary group in the Knesset

3) The Alignment regained most of the seats it lost in the 1977 elections

4) Weakening of the smaller parties

5) Accentuation of the ethnic polarization which had led an increased number of Oriental Jews to cast their vote for Likud rather than the Alignment, which was held responsible for discrimination

6) Knesset representation for three new electoral lists which were formed as the result of polarization, party splits and withdrawals – common occurrences in Israeli political life: TEHIYA with three seats; TAMI with three seats (split from the National Religious Party, Mafdal); and TELEM with two seats, formerly headed by Moshe Dayan.

The total number of eligible voters was 2,490,140 as compared to 2,236,296 in

1977; 1,945,609 actually voted, i.e. 78%. Twenty-one out of 31 lists failed to gain the 1% of the total vote required to get parliamentary representation. (The number voting for these 21 lists was 100,000.) The results were:

PARTY	KNESSET SEATS	
	1977	1981
LIKUD	43	48
LABOR	32	47
NRP	12	06
AGUDAT ISRAEL	04	04
RAKAH	05	04
TEHIYA	–	03
TAMI	–	03
TELEM	–	02
SHINUI	–	02
Citizens Rights Movement	01	01
Democratic Movement for Change	15	–

The Alignment

In spite of continuous meetings and contacts with the religious parties, in spite of regaining most of its seats in parliament and the attempts to patch up conditions in the leadership and party, the Alignment failed to attain the position enabling it to form a government. The only thing that did succeed was the negotiations with the Citizens Rights Movement, which pledged its support to the Alignment. Thus, the Alignment's parliamentary coalition expanded to include the Labor Party, Mapam and the Citizens Rights Movement.

The failure of the Alignment to form a government has contributed to escalating the conflicts and problems, especially organizational ones, from which will emerge new groups. For example, after the formation of the new Likud government, conflicts re-emerged within the ranks of Labor; new axes were formed within the party and the United Kibbutz Movement. One of these axes is led by Eliahu Speiser, head of the party's Tel Aviv branch and of the Yadaf group. He is a member of the Knesset who competed with Haim Bar-Lev for the position of Secretary General of the party; he lost but seems determined to replace Shimon Peres as party chairman and has begun making contacts to this end. However, the United Kibbutz Movement has announced its support to Haim Bar-Lev and opposition to changes in the party leadership.

Another group which has emerged within the Labor Party calls itself "Now and Fast" – Ka'at Maheer; it demanded that the party leadership "reconsider its understanding and methods with regard to basic matters" and

proposed a system of cantons as in Switzerland...

The failure of the Alignment was a hard blow for the party, and we do not expect that the temporary rapprochement forced upon Peres and Rabin by the election campaign will last long, especially after the successes of the Likud...

The Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* summed up the situation as follows: "The results of the elections left the Labor Party with a feeling of confusion, and the leaders were transformed into rivals fighting each other – the members of Yadaf are against the settlers, the Oriental Jews are against the Ashkenazi, the hawks are against the doves, Rabin is against Peres, and Speiser is against Bar-Lev... Everything goes on as if on the verge of collapse."

The Arab vote

The last elections witnessed the failure of the so-called independent Arab lists. Actually, they are dependent on the Zionist parties. In general, the Arab vote provoked much debate. There was a decrease in the number of Palestinians in the 1948 occupied land voting in comparison to the 1977 elections, when the percentage was 75%. Official sources stated that less than 70% of the Arabs eligible to vote actually did so, while other sources reported that only 60% voted. This decrease caused the loss of one of Rakah's representatives.

In our view, the most important factors affecting the number of Arab votes are:

1) Thirty-three years of occupation is enough to reveal the farce of Zionist democracy. All the measures taken by the enemy only serve to prove the reality of the national oppression practiced against our people and that the Zionist aim is to totally liquidate the independent Palestinian national identity. This is in spite of the variety of ministries established and the policies adopted by the Zionist entity. Our masses have lost confidence in all Zionist institutions, whether of the Labor Party, the Alignment, the Likud or a national unity coalition.

2) The futility of democratic struggle as a means of erasing the Zionist character of the Israeli state has become clear to our masses. This has deprived them of former motives for voting, a right they had practiced in hopes of gaining something through the avenue provided by Rakah. We predict that an important sector of patriots will become increasingly convinced of the futility of erasing the Zionist character from 'Israel'.

3) There is an increase in the national awareness of our masses in the 1948 oc-

cupied territories... A number of patriotic forces have emerged and taken a correct stand on Zionism and its institutions in a way that surpassed Rakah, theoretically and in practice. There have been debates between these forces and Rakah on subjects such as the Knesset elections, and these forces have influenced some sectors of the Arab masses to boycott the elections.

The three factors above explain the increased boycott of the 10th Knesset elections and Rakah's loss of votes... However, we must also note that the Alignment and the Likud received more votes than in the 9th Knesset elections. We believe that this is due to the intensified mobilization of the two largest competing parties; it was clear from the very start that this round would witness an extreme concentration of votes and seats, which naturally gives the smaller lists very little chance.

The Alignment was well aware of the forthcoming competition; it directed a concentrated campaign at the Arab masses whose votes it needed. The Arab masses who voted concentrated on choosing between the Alignment and the Likud, and large sectors of the less aware voted for the Alignment as the lesser of the two evils. Also we should not forget the relative political difference between the programs of the two parties, especially with respect to the 1967 occupied lands... On the one hand we have Begin swearing by his father and mother that he will never give up one square foot of Israeli land, while on the other hand we have the Alignment with its special program proposing the Jordanian plan. This adds up to several hundred votes lost by Rakah, while the actual balance of power in the Knesset remains unaffected. The Alignment got more Arab votes - 37,000 as compared to 11,000 in the last election - while the Likud got 11,000 as opposed to 4,000. The 7,000 votes gained by the Likud does not indicate an unnatural political tendency. During its four year term, the past Likud government was able to gather a large number of opportunists whose interests are now tied up with the Likud authorities.

In general, the Arabs in the 1948 occupied land are affected by internal factors of the Zionist entity, as well as by factors on the Arab and international levels. If we review the results of the 7th-10th Knesset elections, we note a decrease in the number of Arab votes during periods of Palestinian Arab patriotic resurgence, and an increase when an atmosphere of negotiation and settlement with the enemy prevails. For example, just prior to the 1970 battle in Jordan, when the Palestinian Resistance was in the prime of its activity, the Arab boycott

reached 30.8%; in the 8th Knesset elections which took place after the 1973 war, the Arab boycott reached 33.5%. However, during the 9th election round in 1977, which took place in an atmosphere of 'peaceful' settlement and negotiations, only 25% of the Arabs boycotted the elections.

Our position on Knesset elections

We believe that the call to take part in Knesset elections is a harmful tactic which does not serve our strategic purposes. Thus, we strongly support the line which calls for boycotting, and feel it our duty to struggle for this end. The Zionist entity has no right to exist on Palestinian land, let alone have its own institutions. Any tactic which is opposed to this position will be harmful to our struggle which aims at the destruction of the Zionist entity and the creation of a democratic Palestine. We feel that it is our duty to struggle for this to become the official stand of the PLO.

The reasons for our position are as follows:

1) Our conviction that changing the character of the Zionist entity cannot come about through democratic struggle within its framework

2) We cannot take advantage of a reactionary parliament as a rostrum to express our political opinions in the Zionist entity; even those actually taking part in the Israeli Knesset are accorded limited rights and benefits from their position. So how can we hope to be given the right to demand the destruction of this entity by armed struggle?

3) It is our duty to convince the Palestinians in the 1948 occupied land of the illegitimacy of the Zionist entity and its institutions, and of the correct means of fighting it. In view of the increasing national awareness of our masses and their announcement that they are an inseparable part of the Palestinian people and that the PLO is their only legitimate representative, it would be a retreat for these same masses to be prepared to take part in the Knesset elections; this is indirect agreement with the settlement proposals and co-existence with the Zionist entity - an entity termed illegitimate even by some Jewish groups that demand its destruction, for example, Matzpen.

Problems facing the Likud:

1) Instability in the internal situation of the parties within the government coalition exists to the extent that the continuation of the government for four years is not guaranteed; this will leave its mark on the internal situation of the Zionist entity.

2) Instability in the economic and political situation

3) Increasing deterioration of the social conditions: increased emigration from the Zionist entity due to economic instability and the security situation, and decreased immigration

4) The grave side effects of the ethnic question which became more pronounced during the last elections

5) The growth and escalation of our masses' struggle inside and outside the occupied territories; the alliance with the Arab liberation movement and the effect of this on the Likud program for the occupied territories

Economic situation

The Zionist entity has undergone a series of economic crises throughout the past four years of the first Likud government; all statistics and facts point to an escalation of this crisis:

1) The rate of monetary inflation reached an international high: 112% in 1979; 133% in 1980; in 1981, it continued to rise.

2) The price index increased by 38.7% in the first half of 1981, and continued to rise in spite of the Likud's policy of lowering prices and taxes during the election campaign.

3) Increased foreign debts: by the end of 1980, the amount was \$19.2 billion as compared to \$13.186 billion in 1977.

4) The 1980 deficit in the balance of payments was about \$3832 million.

5) Increased deficit in the trade balance: \$2.62 billion in April 1981. The value of imports was \$7.12 billion while the value of exports was \$4.50 billion.

6) Continuous devaluation of domestic currency: at the end of June 1981, \$1 was sold for 11.76 shekels and bought for 11.45 shekels, while in October, \$1 was sold for 13 shekels and bought for 13.32 shekels.

7) Decrease in real wages by 9% and a decrease in the standard of living by 5.5% in 1981; increase in taxes by 106% in 1979 and by 150% by 1980. Income tax alone imposed on laborers increased by 31.2% during 1980-81, whereas tax increases were not imposed on companies.

8) Unemployment: 66,000 during the first quarter of 1981 (40,000 men and 22,000 women). Moreover, hundreds of workers in the textile industry are expected to be laid off because of the problems faced with prices on the world market.

9) The state budget deficit was 4 billion shekels, in addition to the difficulties facing the Israeli Central Bank with respect to foreign currency reserves. On the other

hand, the amount of government aid to the economy reached about \$3.7 billion shekels during May and June alone. According to Zionist economists, the government will be obliged to print new bank notes (20 billion shekels) within a few months. This will naturally increase inflation.

The occupation authorities are trying to resolve these problems, such as currency devaluation, the continuing decrease in hard currency reserves and the deficit in the trade balance, by adopting certain internal solutions, for example, increasing taxation, cancelling or lowering subsidies on some products and raising prices. In addition, two main external solutions are applied:

First: The destruction of the economy of the occupied territories, converting them into markets for Israeli products and the source of cheap labor. Recently, the occupation authorities started to play a new economic game; they extend loans to their lackeys to establish industries which are later purchased by the Zionists before the Arabs are able to produce anything. Such industries become an integral part of the Zionist economy. The occupation authorities avoid any legal obstacles while dealing a blow to the Palestinian national economy.

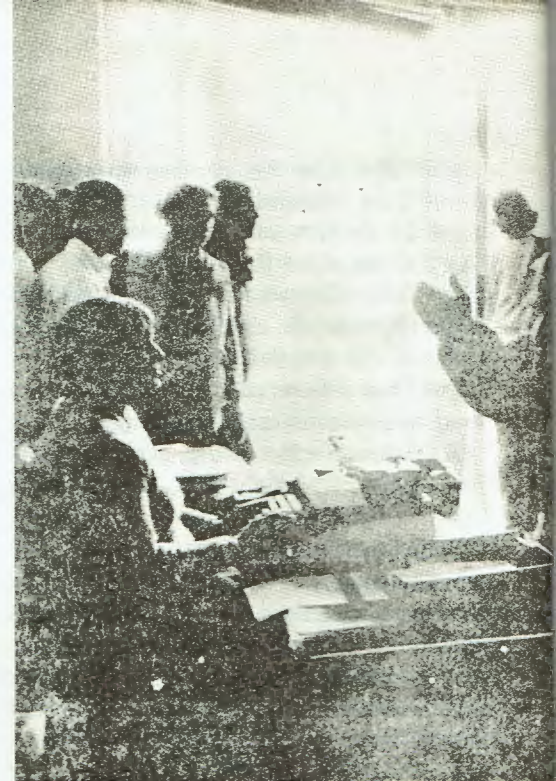
Added to this is the continuous confiscation of national institutions, such as the Jerusalem Electric Company, whereby the Arab villages of the West Bank are connected to the Israeli electricity grid. This has occurred in Nablus, Al Khalil and other villages. The authorities plan to connect another 12 Arab villages to the Israeli grid.

Second: The Zionists are trying to solve their economic crisis by calling upon the capitalist countries, and primarily the US, to give more economic aid. They are also calling for more private Jewish donations, which are considered a main pillar of support because they don't have to be repaid.

The Zionists are also establishing new markets as a means of stabilizing the trade balance; this includes the West Bank, Africa, Latin America and recently Egypt. This is in addition to exploitation of the Palestinian working class, employed at low wages in 'Israel'.

Immigration and emigration

In the first half of 1981, 5,300 Zionist settlers immigrated to occupied Palestine. The Ministry of Immigration and Absorption expects this number to increase to 12,000 settlers. This contrasts with 37,000 Jewish



Brandishing his baton, a Zionist soldier confronts the municipality.

immigrants to Palestine in 1979, and 21,000 in 1980. The number of Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union was 6,670 during the first half of 1981; only 1,100 of these immigrated to occupied Palestine; 84% changed their minds.

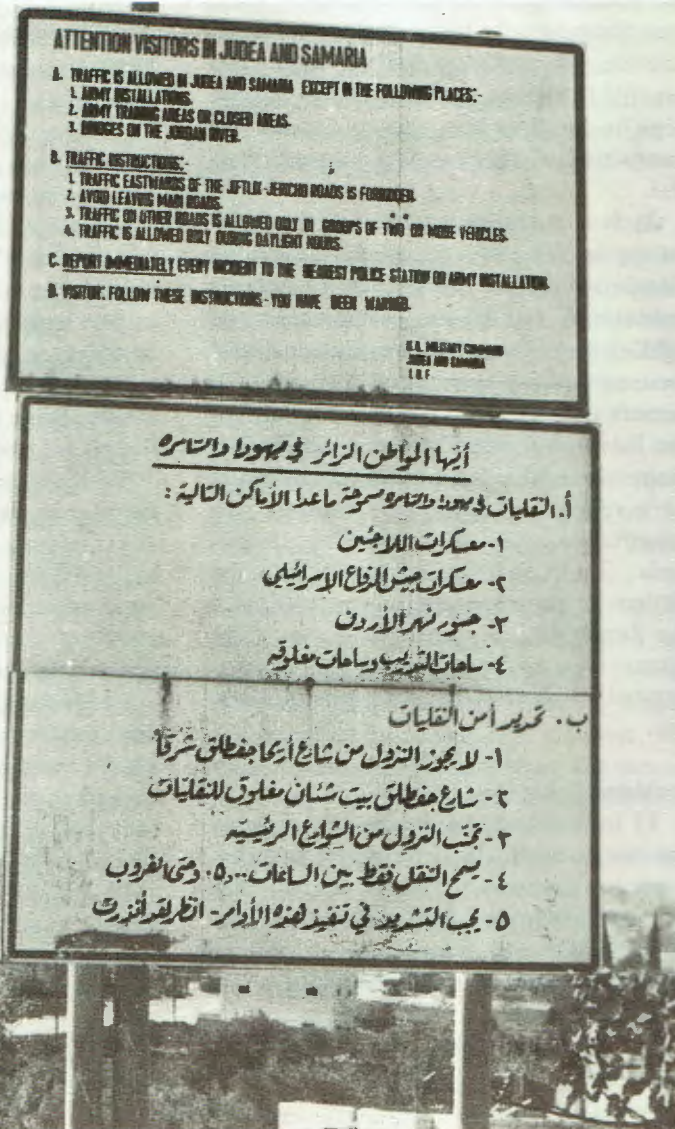
The Ministry of Immigration and Absorption and the Jewish Agency have formed research teams to deal with this problem of decreased immigration. The continuation of this trend will have negative effects on the Zionist settlement program in the occupied territories.

At the same time, emigration from the Zionist entity has increased. This, coupled with the falling immigration, will have negative political and psychological effects on large sectors of the Zionists, raising doubts about the viability of their aim to increase immigration. This will increase debate and conflict within the Zionist entity.

Prospects for the new Likud government

Ariel Sharon described the new government as "the government of the land of Greater Israel". The appointment of Sharon as Defense Minister, after his having been Minister of Agriculture and the head of settlement affairs, clearly reflects the aggressive and expansionist policy of the second Likud government. The continuation of Aridor as Finance Minister is likewise an expression of the continuation of the first Likud government's economic policy. The aggressive policy of Begin's government is expected to continue, especially in terms of imposing Israeli law on occupied Arab land and seeking to eliminate all forms of Arab resistance, particularly that of the Palestinians. The Zionist liquidation attempts will increase especially after the execution of

Signs of occupation - placed at entry point to the West Bank.





workers and students gathered in the Ramallah

Sadat and the signing of the strategic military cooperation agreement with the US.

It is important to note the main policies spelled out by the Likud government, especially with regard to the occupied Arab territories:

1) The right of the Jewish people to the land of Israel is an eternal, indisputable right, connected to their right to peace and security.

2) Continuing efforts towards peace; the peace treaty with Egypt is an historic turning point for Israel in the Middle East.

3) Preservation of the Camp David accords

4) Efforts to revive the negotiations on autonomy for the Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza

5) The autonomy agreed upon in the Camp David accords does not mean the Palestinians' right to self-determination or to govern themselves. The decisions on autonomy in the Camp David accords are actually a guarantee against the establishment of a Palestinian state in any part of the eastern area of Israel. With the expiration of the agreements, Israel will demand the right to sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

6) Settlement in the land of Israel is a right and an inseparable part of national security; the government will work towards fortifying, expanding and developing settlements. The government will maintain the policy that no Jewish settlement will result in the expulsion of anyone from their land, village or town.

7) Israel will not leave the Golan Heights and will not dismantle any settlements there. It will decide on the proper time to apply Israeli law and administration in the Golan Heights.

8) The government will encourage and expand agriculture and settlements of all kinds.

9) The government will work towards preventing emigration and bring back those citizens who have left the country; it will work to increase immigration from East and West equally.

10) Jerusalem is the eternal indivisible capital of Israel. All of the city is under Israeli sovereignty, and freedom to visit the holy places will always be guaranteed.

Settlements

Settlement in the occupied territories is one of the main consistent policies of both the Likud and the Alignment; in the last election campaign it also represented a field of competition between them.

Under the Likud, the occupied territories have witnessed concerted settlement expansion never before accomplished; a variety of Zionist forces cooperate in this field to execute the expansionist plans. For example, the Ministry of Agriculture headed by Sharon, who was also head of the government settlement committee, extremist Zionist groups such as the Gush Emunim and the settlement committee of the Jewish Agency all compete to plant the occupied



Armed Gush Emunim settlers provoke Palestinians in Ramallah.

territories with settlements... The Likud has announced the establishment of 165 settlements over the past four years; twenty-one of these were established recently, at the same time that the Labor Party was accusing the Likud of not building enough settlements on the eastern front, stating that Labor had established 68 settlements along the line from the Golan to Elait from 1967-1977. (Twenty-four of these are in the Golan Heights.) The Labor Party declared that the Likud had only built four settlements along this line during its period in power.

Labor and Likud each have their specific political and security methods for applying their settlement programs and confiscating land. The Likud functions according to the

principle of annexation — of Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as the Golan Heights.

Labor bases its expansionist program on a political line which provides a security belt designed not to conflict with the Allon and United Kingdom plans.

It is important to note that under the Likud government, the World Zionist Organization announced a long-range plan to increase the number of settlers to approximately 1 million over the next 20 years; in the next four years, they plan to increase the number of settlers to 100,000. The cornerstone of the biggest settlement city, called Emanuel, has been laid in the West Bank, near the settlement Ariel, close to Nablus. Fifteen million shekels have been allotted to establish two new settlements near Jericho, which will thus be surrounded by five settlements. The settlement committee decided to add 800 housing units to the settlements in the West Bank before the end of 1981, and to increase the number of settlers by 3,000. The committee also plans to fence in tens of thousands of dunums which it calls state land as part of a plan to increase the area of confiscated land for 'security' reasons. Everything points to the present Likud government continuing to implement its expansionist plan, whether by founding new settlements or thickening existing ones. The government has decided to establish 16 new settlements, expand the present ones and increase the number of settlers as part of its 1982 plan. The number of Zionist settlers in the 1967 occupied territories, including Jerusalem, has reached 70,000.

'Autonomy'

Negotiations on 'autonomy' were resumed after an interval of 16 months. These negotiations had stopped for the following reasons:

1) The united patriotic stand rejecting the 'autonomy' conspiracy, especially after the Zionists introduced the concept of applying 'autonomy' to the people and not the land, and made it clear that after the first transitional stages of 'autonomy' were applied, they would annex the West Bank and Gaza officially. 'Israel' also proposed the establishment of an administrative council to assume the responsibilities of the municipalities and everyday affairs (agriculture, tourism and health), while everything else is to remain under the control of the Military Government.

2) The intense settlement campaign carried out to affirm Israeli rights to annex the occupied territories and to create a material

reality which would prevent the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

3) The Israeli decision to annex Jerusalem as its eternal capital. Thus, the Egyptian regime was unable to continue the negotiations as the Israeli position provided no excuses for its treachery.

The resumption of the 'autonomy' talks came after the Israeli elections and the formation of a new government on a platform which stipulated that there would be no concessions with regard to 'autonomy'; the religious parties demanded the annexation of these Palestinian lands to 'Israel'. The Israeli position in the 'autonomy' talks cannot change as this would endanger the government coalition formed with the three religious parties, and Begin needs their support to stay in power. Moreover, the head of the Israeli delegation in the 'autonomy' negotiations is none other than Yosef Burg, head of the National Religious Party.

Everything points to the fact that the Likud government is intent on applying

administrative 'autonomy'. The government is taking measures to prepare a number of figures, giving them guarantees of personal security and some administrative tasks. In the Gaza Strip, border guards have been brought in to replace the army; large numbers of police have been recruited in Gaza and Egypt to support the security work of Zionist officers at checkpoints, etc. and guarding institutions. In these efforts the occupation authorities have high hopes for the corrupted elements who are heads of the village leagues, preparing them to serve as a political grouping within the framework of administrative 'autonomy'.

After Sadat's execution, the Mubarak government announced its commitment to Camp David in order to remove any obstacles preventing Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai in April 1982. It is natural that 'Israel' should take advantage of the weak situation of Mubarak after Sadat's execution, by threatening not to withdraw if the new Egyptian regime does not agree to the Israeli

conditions concerning administrative 'autonomy'. This places the Palestinian Revolution and masses face to face with a more dangerous formula: the enemy's determination to impose 'autonomy' by force. There are also indications that the enemy prefers to start applying 'autonomy' in the Gaza Strip first, possibly because the conditions are more suitable – less settlers and Israeli military presence, the Strip's proximity to Egypt and Egypt's historical administrative influence here.

Despite the halt and resumption of the 'autonomy' negotiations, the essence of the Zionist position remains the same.

The Likud government has formed a higher council responsible for implementing administrative 'autonomy' and the 'new' policy in the occupied territories. This council is composed of the two military leaders of the southern and middle regions in occupied Palestine, the coordinator of military affairs in the occupied territories, the head of the Defense Ministry's planning

THE CHILDREN OF RAFAH*

*To him who digs his path
in the wounds of millions
whose tanks crush the garden's roses
To him who breaks at night the houses' windows
who burns a field and a museum
and sings to the fire
who rips the hair of sad women
and bombs grape fields
who executes the nightingale of feasts in the square
whose planes bombard children's dreams
who breaks rainbows*

*The children of deep-rooted ancestors tonight declare
the children of Rafah tonight declare:
We did not knit blankets from hair braids
we did not spit on the face of murdered women
after plucking the golden teeth
Why do you take the candy
and give us bombs?
Why make Arab children orphans?
And thanks?
Sadness turned us into men
we must fight*

*The sun was on a conqueror's bayonet
A naked hated corpse
bred silence on angry Muslim beds
flustered faces around it
an occupier with legendary features cried:
You will not speak?
fine – curfew
from this hour –
And from Aladdin's voice came
the birth of the birds of prey:
I threw stones at the military vehicle
I distributed pamphlets
and gave the signal
and painted slogans
with a chair and a brush
from a neighborhood to a house to a wall
I gathered the children
and we swore by the refugee's exile
to resist
as long as a conqueror's bayonet
shines in our streets*

*Aladdin's age was no more
than ten years –
so knead tears and clay
if there is no flour
and cook sadness, patience and mud
in the name of the security of the conquerors*

* Rafah is a village in the north of the Gaza Strip.

excerpts from *The Children of Rafah*, by Sameh al Qassem

section, the director-general of the Foreign Ministry and representatives from the police and the intelligence. In the 'autonomy' negotiations, 'Israel' has proposed the traitor Mustafa Dudeen, head of the Al Khalil village league, as a partner in these talks, whereas Egypt has proposed the names of Palestinian instructors in American universities. Both sides agreed to make an effort to induce certain Palestinian figures to take part in the talks, as part of the Egyptian delegation or as advisers... The negotiations which were recently resumed included detailed discussion of the principles of 'autonomy' and the rights and responsibilities of its institutions. One of the aims of the Egyptian agenda was to arrive at a communique which included general principles allowing for elections to be held for the councils of 'autonomy' in Gaza.

A suitable basis for applying 'autonomy' in the West Bank has not been created, yet it is probable that the Egyptian regime will try to gain something to show the Arabs and the Palestinians. While 'Israel' tries to limit the administrative council to 13 people, Egypt wants it to encompass 80-100 people. The Egyptian regime has also stressed the importance of relaxing the Zionist military policy and showing goodwill towards the inhabitants of the occupied territories. Egypt also considers the new settlements obstacles to continuing the negotiations. Thus, it is expected that Egypt will adopt a harder line with respect to subjects like Jerusalem and complete administrative 'autonomy'; the negotiations may come to a halt; Egypt will form joint committees and ask the US administration to pressure 'Israel' to offer something to the Palestinians, and to the regime after the death of Sadat, so that this

regime will appear more acceptable in the eyes of the internal opposition and the Arabs generally.

In this period of US, Israeli, Egyptian communication, something may crystallize on the Palestinian and Arab level, and the Mubarak government may be able to find a form acceptable to the three parties, so that it is to their interests that the negotiations succeed. 'Israel' for its part is tactically



Newly established West Bank settlement guarded by Israeli troops.

betting on this period, especially with respect to the substitute homeland idea: that the Palestinians already have a homeland on the East Bank (i.e. Jordan), irregardless of who rules there.

The 'new' Sharon policy

The policy of the Likud government for the '67 occupied territories, announced by Sharon and termed the iron fist and the velvet glove, is nothing new. Rather it is a continuation and more concentrated development of long-standing Zionist policy towards the Palestinians under occupation, while at the same time showing leniency towards the upsurge of the fanatical right-wing Zionist trends which grew under the previous Likud government. With the dead-

lock for 'autonomy' and the time for Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai drawing near, the occupation authorities launched Sharon's policy which can be summarized as follows:

1) Reduced Israeli military presence, or rather giving this presence another form, in order to lessen unrest among the inhabitants of the occupied territories. At the same time, security forces have been repositioned in certain strategic bases so that they can act on short notice.

2) Removal of checkpoints in some areas, like the barrier removed between the Gaza Strip and the '48 occupied land. The Zionists have reserved the right to place checkpoints at will.

3) An end to the policy of collective punishment

4) The creation of political leaders to act as spokesmen for 'moderate' forces and to become a political grouping for the plans of liquidation

5) A stop to breaking into schools

6) A double-edged policy towards the inhabitants of the occupied territories: the iron fist to crush the patriotic forces and any form of resistance or support to the PLO, while guaranteeing protection for 'moderate' figures who show willingness to participate in the framework of the new policy

7) The creation of practical vehicles to facilitate the implementation of 'autonomy', such as the village leagues which are granted privileges denied the patriotic municipalities

8) Attempts to create an atmosphere of hopelessness among our people and an atmosphere of Arab-Israeli coexistence to pave the way for total merger

Sharon's policy calls for separating civil and military administration within the framework of the Israeli Military Government, aimed at forcing the inhabitants to cooperate in 'autonomy'. Menahem Milson has been appointed responsible for the newly created civil administration. However, matters related to security remain in the hands of the military. The Military Government quickly went back on the 'new' policy, as was seen in the attack against Bir Zeit University during the demonstrations after Milson's appointment - Bir Zeit was closed down, and students were arrested and fired upon. Sharon then announced he would crush all who tried to stand in the way of 'autonomy'; a number of Palestinian homes were blown up, because members of the family took part in demonstrations in Al Khalil, Ramallah, Qalqilia; others were arrested and charged with 'security offenses'. Obviously, it is an illusion to depend on the leniency, goodwill or liberalization of the Sharon Military Government.



Recently, the occupation authorities have adopted new methods for finding figures who are willing to cooperate in the Zionist plans, whether those in the village leagues or others approved both by the Jordanian regime and 'Israel'. Thus, a decision was made allowing the former mayor of Ramallah, Nadim Azaroo, also former Jordanian minister, and Anwar al Khatib, former mayor of Jerusalem, to return to Palestine. In principle, we are not against the return of these persons; however, we are for struggling for the return of *all* those deported, not only those who serve the interests of the occupation.

In order to confront the current enemy plans, it is necessary to adopt the following guidelines:

1. To struggle to crystallize a united patriotic stand inside and outside occupied Palestine with a programmed confrontation of the Begin-Sharon policy by struggling to revitalize the Palestinian National Front

2. To launch a broad propaganda campaign exposing the Sharon-Begin policy and to warn our people of its dangers and how it threatens their national interests

3. To expose those figures who are involved with the Zionists, so that they will have no room for maneuver; to eliminate anyone who poses a real danger to the interests of the masses and the revolution

4. To strive seriously to escalate our military activities inside the occupied territories to strike the pillars of the occupation; to fight the village leagues, thwarting its aims and striking its most prominent personalities

5. To increase the mass mobilization and revive unions as well as popular, informational and cultural institutions

Israeli-Egyptian relations

Since the signing of the Camp David accords, there have been calculated developments in Israeli-Egyptian relations on various levels. During the past two years, normalization has reached a level termed by Sharon as a firm reality... In making normalization a daily reality, 'Israel' was always the party to make proposals and implement them. It is important to 'Israel' to realize this 'miracle' of Arab-Israeli peace, using Egypt and extracting successive concessions despite the rejection of the Egyptian people who had this relationship imposed on them. The Zionists plan to infiltrate the very pores of Egyptian society. In addition to the agreements covering economic matters, commerce, tourism and agriculture, it is now a common sight to see Israelis on the streets of Cairo, or Israeli products in the shops and government cooperatives.

Economic normalization

For the Israelis, economic matters were the most necessary and suitable point of departure. They introduced normalization in doses, beginning with propaganda about the futility of war, that there had been enough bloodshed, that it was imperative to merge Egyptian resources, US capital and Israeli technology in order to create a better life for the new generation and save the Egyptian people from poverty. The Egyptian regime responded to this theme and turned its back on the Egyptian and Arab people and their national cause. Sadat became enmeshed in the ideology of normalization.

Shimon Peres expressed the heart of the Israeli thinking when he said, "Egypt and Israel should direct their potential towards fighting the desert, the water shortage and other problems which cause hardships... I don't believe that anyone can organize the Middle East politically without organizing it economically." Seeking to conceal the real causes of backwardness in the area, the Israelis are reaching out to exploit the Egyptian natural resources and people. They plan to obtain oil, water and manpower.

Concerning trade, Israeli exports to Egypt amounted to \$78 million, while total Israeli exports were 4.7 billion shekels. After Israeli participation in Cairo's International Trade Fair, the Israeli Minister of Trade and Industry, Gideon Patt, announced that trade agreements would be signed between Egyptian and Israeli companies, including export to Egypt amounting to 12 billion shekels. 'Israel' imports 25% of its oil needs from Egypt at half a billion dollars annually.

Despite their economic crisis, the Zionists count on remaining in a position of strength, enabling them to gain a fast foothold in the Egyptian economy as a first step towards Egypt's eventually becoming an integral part of the imperialist economy; thus, the Egyptian economy and market will complement Israeli needs. Israeli penetration of the Egyptian economy is made easier by the domination of the parasitic Egyptian classes. The role of the public sector has decreased and lacks the capacity to stand the pressure, due to the open door policy. Thus, the network of economic relations between Zionism and Egypt will negate all the social achievements made during the Nasser regime.

In the light of the importance of the economic aspect, a number of Israeli research seminars have been held to reach a clearer understanding of the implications of the current normalization. Egypt and 'Israel' have agreed to end economic boycott and all other discriminatory barriers. In February 1980, agreement was reached on air trans-

port, and land transport was opened in April 1981. In Zionist eyes, the distance between Cairo and Jerusalem has been reduced to a 45 minute ride; there is no longer 30 years of war and closed borders separating the two. For the sake of 'peace' and its "historic initiative", the Egyptian regime went a step further and opened the press to Israeli propaganda in the form of advertisements.

Agriculture

Israeli agricultural plans to be executed in Egypt will contribute much in implementing normalization. The Israeli projects concentrate on the desert, because there are no obstacles involved, such as removing Egyptian peasants or purchasing land. Sadat granted the Zionists the right to establish a collective farm, similar to a kibbutz, on 2,000 dunums. The Egyptian government has asked a Zionist businessman, Shaoul Izenburg, to make proposals for developing the desert areas of Egypt, and Izenburg drew up such a plan covering one million dunums.

Tourism and transport

Land and air transportation is now normal and direct; Egyptian waterways have been opened to Israeli shipping. Facilities are being created for the entry of Egyptians to work in 'Israel', particularly in the construction of Israeli airports and bases. There has also been noticeable tourist activity; 30,000 Israelis have visited Egypt, while 2000 Egyptians visited the Zionist entity in the same period.

Culture

In March 1981, an agreement was reached whereby all historical truths about Zionism, its entity and history, would be deleted from educational curriculum in Egypt; all hints of Israeli aggression would be erased... This ties Egypt closer to the Zionist entity on all levels and imposes demeaning conditions on the Egyptian people to the benefit of imperialism and Zionism in the name of 'peace' and normalization.

US-Israeli strategic cooperation

Probably one of the most dangerous accomplishments of the Zionist entity in the past few years is the strategic military pact with the US. However, it is only the frosting on the historic relations between 'Israel' and US imperialism. This pact elevates 'Israel' to a partnership position in US imperialism's plans to increase its military control in the area, as well as reinforcing Zionism's aggressive policies. (We have omitted the detailed discussion of this topic in the original article, as it was extensively covered in our last Bulletin.)



Celebrations for Fateh's 17th anniversary.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

Brother Yasser Arafat,
Chairman of the PLO
Executive Committee,
General Commander of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces,
Brothers of the Central Committee of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh)

It is my pleasure to extend to you on behalf of the Central Committee and all cadre and fighters of the PFLP, revolutionary salutes on the 17th anniversary of the beginning of our people's revolution.

The founding of Fateh indicated the deep heroic struggle practiced by our Palestinian masses. In order to liberate Palestine from the clutches of Zionist occupation and to confront the challenge facing our Arab nation, Fateh has accepted to carry the banner of struggle to fight in this most honorable battle.

This anniversary comes at a time when our heroic people's struggle is strengthened by the continuous heroic confrontation in the occupied territories to foil the plan of administrative 'autonomy' and Sharon's dreams. Our people's struggle is strengthened by the heroic deeds of the fighters of the revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement who continued to defeat Begin's plans

and destroy his boastful prowess in the battles of July. This contributed to our victories, the greatness of our people and our Arab nation. This occasion comes at a time when the banners of our people are raised higher under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

Brothers and comrades in arms,

The imperialist, Zionist, reactionary offensive to which our Arab nation, the

Palestinian people and their cause are exposed, faces us with a real test. The attempts to open doorways for Camp David or the flexing of military muscles through maneuvers, bases, fleets — which has been crowned by the announcement of the strategic cooperation agreement between the US and the Zionist entity — aims at a serious preparation to impose domination and surrender on the region. No matter how much

Women fedayeen celebrate 17 years of the armed Palestinian Revolution.



the head of imperialism tries to camouflage itself, it still remains the primary enemy which supplies its tools, especially 'Israel', with all the means of destruction. These are the means of blocking the path to the rights of our people and nation, and preventing their development and progress towards achieving their national rights.

The imperialist administration and their tools in the region will attempt to put forward political plans and use military pressure on the Palestinian Revolution, the Arab liberation movements and the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front in order to promote their plans. However, our heroic people, especially in the occupied territories, under the leadership of the PLO, will daily teach the enemy a lesson and will give an example of their steadfastness and potentials and reveal the inevitability of defeating the enemy and its plans, no matter how strong it is. At the same time, our people are blocking the path of the next installment of the Camp David conspiracy with the bodies of their children, women, elderly and youth. It is not surprising that the Zionist Knesset announced the annexation of the Golan Heights, especially after it had announced the annexation of Jerusalem, which we will forever consider Arab and the capital of Palestine. Moreover, it is not surprising that the strategic cooperation agreement between the Zionists and the USA was announced. What is surprising is the complete silence of the Arab regimes with respect to the series of measures taken, their lack of response to the challenge.

The two imperialist envoys, Habib and Draper, were unable to frighten us, our people, the LPM or the honorable Lebanese masses who have united their blood in the struggle and steadfastness arena.

One thousand salutes to the unity of the Palestinian and Lebanese guns in Beaufort Castle, Nabatiyeh, Sour and throughout Lebanon; our people will never forget this highpoint in the struggle of our Lebanese brothers.

Brothers,

The Zionist-imperialist-reactionary plans will all be smashed on the rocks of Palestinian national unity and our unity with the LPM and Syria, and with the support of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, the international and Arab liberation movements and the socialist community, with the Soviet Union in the forefront, faithful to the people who aspire for social and national salvation.

The uprising of our people in the occupied territories, in adherence to the PLO, increases our faith in our people's ability to plant themselves firmly to continue the

confrontation of all conspiracies concocted against the revolution. This requires increasing our efforts to unite the struggle of our people and their leaders by strengthening the united national front in the occupied lands.

Dear brothers and comrades in arms,

On this occasion, which is dear to our hearts and dear to the hearts of all patriotic and progressive forces, we congratulate you and the Palestinian people. We wish progress to the revolution. Let us join hands to become one in order to defeat the Zionist plans and all other supplementary plans and

strengthen our steadfastness and confrontation of the Camp David conspiracy and its different versions on the path to the liberation of Palestine. Let us strengthen our unity on the basis of the Palestinian National Covenant and the political and organizational program of the 14th PNC.

Glory to our martyrs!
Victory to the Revolution!

George Habash
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the PFLP

MILITARY OPERATIONS

Revolutionary violence, practiced in concordance with a clear political line, is an essential step on our road towards national liberation. Military operations in occupied Palestine are one form of struggle used by our masses in their confrontation with the Zionist entity which occupies our land and is serving as a forward base for imperialism in the region. The political and military objectives of the operations are an integral part of our long term strategy of popular warfare. In general, the aims of the operations fall into four broad categories:

1) Striking the Zionist military establishment in order to place the enemy in a defensive position, force it to disperse its forces and to lower the morale of the settler population.

2) Striking economic institutions. A frequent target of the operations is the infrastructure used to facilitate the economic exploitation of our people, and which provides the backbone of the Zionist state and its aggression. Also, targeting economic institutions speaks to our determination to prevent 'Israel' from being a stable base for monopoly capital.

3) Providing security to our masses and the Revolution by liquidating traitors.

4) Voicing the will and steadfastness of our masses to continue their just struggle and their rejection of settlements that are in the interests of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

December 18 — Palestinian commandos operating in the occupied territories planted a timed explosive in a department of the Israeli Army Cooperative in Gilo settlement in Jerusalem. The bomb was discovered and the building evacuated. An explosives expert was called in; he detonated it on the spot, and serious damage was inflicted on the building. The area was closed, and a number of Palestinians were arrested on suspicion of being involved in the operation, but the commando group returned safely to base.

December 30th — An Israeli police car was totally destroyed by timed explosives planted by Palestinian militants in Jerusalem. Another commando unit planted explosives at the entrance of a building used by the Israeli intelligence in Jerusalem. However, these charges were discovered. The enemy forces erected additional checkpoints and increased their patrols; a number of Palestinians were arrested.

January 11th — Palestinian commandos

planted bombs in the section of the Petah Tikva central market which is used by the military. The explosion wounded several Israelis, including an explosives expert, and damaged military cars.

The same day in Ashkelon, a bomb planted by Palestinian commandos destroyed an Israeli officer's car and damaged nearby buildings.

At the end of the year, the Israeli Army issued statistics concerning Palestinian military operations. According to their account, 17 Israelis were killed and 157 injured in 1981 due to Palestinian guerrilla attacks; this included six soldiers. The army statistics recorded 315 guerrilla attacks, bomb throwing and other violent acts of resistance along the borders and in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This is an increase from 267 attacks recorded in 1980. (It is to be noted that these figures exclude those acts of resistance which the Israelis classify as "ordinary crime".)

REACTIONARY SECURITY IN THE GULF

Events in Bahrain exploited as a step towards a regional pact

The establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council last May 25th was just a first step in Saudi Arabia's attempts to achieve a unified security pact among the Gulf states. (See Bulletin No. 53 for an article on the role of the Council). While the Cooperation Council is an important step in achieving Saudi-dominated unanimity in the Gulf, it falls short of the Saudi, and ultimately US imperialism's, aspirations for a unified position on military and security issues. Perhaps even more importantly, the states comprising the Gulf Cooperation Council (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain) were unable to reach total political unity behind the Saudi line. This was most strikingly demonstrated at the Fez Summit by the equivocal position of Kuwait, the UAE and Qatar towards Saudi Crown Prince Fahd's 'peace' plan. This equivocation was a setback for the Saudis' attempts to be an effective mediator for imperialism, especially as these same states had voted to support the Fahd plan in a meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council. It was clear to the Saudis that urgent measures were needed to reassert and strengthen their regional control, both for their own interests and those of imperialism.

Creating an external enemy

It is within this context that one must view recent events in Bahrain. Barely a

King Khaled of Saudi Arabia with Sheikh Isa al Khalifah, ruler of Bahrain.



month after Arab reaction's setback at the Fez Summit, the official Bahraini and Saudi media announced that 60 persons, 12 of them from outside Bahrain, had been found with 6 machine guns, 12 revolvers and some hand grenades. The supposed aim of this group was the violent overthrow of the Bahraini government. Indeed, the official announcements went on, their target was not only Bahrain but all the states in the region. The accusing finger was pointed directly at the "Iranian enemy", that was accused of training the Shi'a rebels and being the prime mover behind the attempt.

Thus the story fed to the masses and the world is a simple one: an Iranian-sponsored coup attempt by Shi'a extremists. What the official press agencies don't write is that Saudi intelligence, supported by the imperialist countries, is aware of all such border movements, and that it was the Saudis who revealed the alleged plot to the Bahraini government. To understand the real situation, and why the Saudis acted when and how they did, one must be aware of the internal contradictions in Bahrain, and Saudi goals for the region, especially in the post-Fez period.

Historically there have been minor contradictions within the ruling elites of the various Gulf states, usually based on tribal issues. Saudi Arabia has used these contradictions to weaken these states and keep

them subservient, but they have also proved at times to be an impediment to reactionary unity on such issues as Gulf security and the open presence of US bases.

The case of Bahrain is a good example of how the Saudis use these contradictions for their own ends. There are differences within the Bahraini ruling family; briefly, one line is led by the Crown Prince and the other by his uncle, the Prime Minister. The latter was hoping to take over the country with the help of some army officers, but the Crown Prince — who is also defense minister — was aware of the weak spots in the army and arrested some officers.

It is against this backdrop that the Saudis chose to act. They convinced the Prime Minister to 'visit' London, and they chose this time to reveal their information about the attempted uprising by Shi'a extremists. What exactly did this accomplish? One, it strengthened the Crown Prince and weakened the masses by creating tensions between Sunni and Shi'a Moslems. Two, it created the impression that Bahrain's enemy is external, thus seeking to conceal the real contradictions between the regime and the masses. Three, and most importantly, it provided both impetus and a cover for Saudi Arabia and Bahrain to sign a bilateral security pact. The Saudis then proclaimed that all Gulf states were equally threatened by this 'external' threat. This is a crucial step towards achieving the regional security agreement that the Gulf Cooperation Council has so far failed to be.

The success of this ploy can be seen in that shortly after these events Qatar's Interior Minister announced that Qatar would follow Bahrain's example in signing a bilateral security agreement with Saudi Arabia. He stated that the discovery of a subversive group in Bahrain made security coordination among the Gulf states a necessity.

The Bahrain incident was also used to renew Gulf security discussions with Iraq, now weakened by its war with Iran and no longer a threat to Saudi dominance. Saudi Arabia and Iraq signed a treaty stabilizing their borders for the first time since 1922. At the conclusion of the security discussions, the Iraqi Interior Minister said that the "subversive activities" of Iran in Bahrain acting through its "agents... proved the evil

intentions harbored by its government against Gulf states and the threat it poses to the region's security." Saudi delegations also visited the other Gulf states, proving that the Bahrain incident is a springboard for consolidating the reactionary camp.

Security for reaction and imperialism

The ultimate aim of a regional security pact is Arab legitimization of the US military presence and the creation of a unified body better able to fulfill pro-imperialist policies. Belief in an external threat — be it from Iran or the Soviet Union — is crucial for full acceptance of such a pact, as mass rejection of the regimes' overt alliance with imperialism threatens regional stability. No matter how many Iranian-sponsored 'coups' the Saudis uncover for public consumption, it is clear that the greatest danger to these regimes comes from the patriotic and progressive forces within the region. The Saudis are highly aware of this, especially since the overthrow of the Shah and the uprising at the Grand Mosque in Mecca. During the past two years, the US has sent the Saudis computerized equipment that connects 20 border checkpoints to each other, in order to collate police and intelligence information on the activities of the patriotic forces. The Saudis have been active in trying to link the other Gulf countries to this intelligence net.

The recent AWACS sale is an important element in elevating the level of the regional security arrangements underway. A Pentagon "issue paper" says that the AWACS sale "sets the stage for the development with US backing of a regional air-defense system for the entire Gulf region." This concept has evolved over two years of US-Saudi negotiations which have been kept very quiet in order to avoid the political repercussions. However, the Gulf regimes are already laying the groundwork. According to *The Middle East* magazine, January 1982, "Between them Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Kuwait and Qatar have bought some \$47 billion worth of military equipment and hardware, primarily from the US. They are now shopping for air-defence and electronic warfare equipment designed to link with the Saudi system when it is complete."

It is most likely that the Saudis will be successful in their attempt to create a Gulf security pact. The differences between these states are secondary to their shared reactionary nature and their deep dependence on imperialism. All are threatened by any upsurge in the mass movement in the area, and thus share a common need for reactionary security — a security based on the overt and covert presence of imperialism. ●

NATIONAL STRUGGLE IN SAUDI ARABIA

The following is based on an article written by a Saudi Arabian militant and published in Al Hadaf, the PFLP's weekly Arabic magazine.

Patriotic and national work in Saudi Arabia faces many difficulties that are affecting its level and value. It is important that we note the factors, both past and present, that to a great extent are governing our development.

The large area of the country and its sparse population help the Saudi regime to limit the spread of political awareness, and deter the march of the patriotic and national movement. The population of Saudi Arabia is estimated to be more than 4 million, in an area of 2,600,000 square kilometers. The population is concentrated mainly in the east, the middle area and the west. Transportation between these areas is very bad.

The regime uses poisonous political propaganda to create regional, religious and tribal differences. For example, one can always hear: "This area is Shi'a" or "this area is Sunni", etc. The result of this is to weaken the homogeneity and national unity among the population. (The Shi'a population is approximately 300,000 and is mainly in the eastern area.)

Before the discovery of oil, the population was mainly composed of bedouin tribes and population groups called *hadar* (semi-nomads based in villages). They were primarily engaged in agriculture, fishing and trade with Africa, Indonesia, India and Iran.

The non-existence of any kind of direct foreign occupation, or what is called the 'old colonialism', is also an important factor, as colonialism plays an important role in arousing the national feelings of the masses. Of course, a main impediment to national struggle is the banning of any political organizations, and the lack of any labor, student or popular institutions or unions. On top of that, the regime forbids 3 persons to meet in a public place or to walk in the street after 10 p.m.

One of the aims of the regime's policies is to enlarge and strengthen the middle class, which is mainly made up of high employees and middlemen. Thus the middle class constitutes an isolated sector between the ruling hierarchy on one side and the rest of the

labor force on the other. The reason for the lack of development in the industrial sector is the historical relations between the Al Saud family and US imperialism. Our country has become wholly dependent on the production of the capitalist countries.

Links to imperialism

Despite the grim and alienated condition of the masses, great efforts are needed to change their mood from passive acceptance to rebellion. It is a mistake to think that the present regime is on the edge of an abyss and that it will fall within months. Western imperialism will do all in its power to prevent the regime from falling to a progressive or liberal national movement.

The AWACS package illustrates Saudi Arabia's relationship with imperialism. The arms will be used to serve imperialist interests and further the realization of US military strategy in the area. Thus it will deepen the dependence of the reactionary Saudi regime on US imperialism. The sale also illustrates that the so-called national interests of the US are synonymous with the interests of the multinational corporations. There are more than 700 American companies in Saudi Arabia, with government contracts totalling \$3.5 billion.

Reagan has stated that America could not stay strong in the 20th century without the oil it receives from Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. The July 1981 issue of *Counterparty* magazine stated that: "Of late, Saudi Arabia has been producing between 8.5 and 10.3 million barrels of oil per day — more than 13% of the total oil consumption in the capitalist world. Saudi oil constitutes about 1/4 of total US oil imports. At the same time, Saudi Arabia has become the seventh largest customer for US exports."

The same issue of *Counterparty* discusses military relations. "From 1955 to 1979, US military sales agreements with Saudi Arabia totalled \$30.79 billion, which was more than twice the value of foreign military sales to the Shah of Iran in the same period, as well as the highest amount of foreign military

sales to any country in US history." In 1980, sales reached 5.8 billion dollars, and are expected to total \$5.5 billion in 1981.

The military relationship is not limited to buying arms; there are also the numerous military facilities built by the US Army Corps of Engineers. These are located throughout the country, in Khamis Mushayt, Tabuk, Riyadh, Jubail, Jeddah and Dammoun. The most ambitious US project is the huge military complex being constructed near Al Batin, called the King Khaled Military City, due to be finished in 1990. *Counterspy* reports that the city will "house some 70,000 people; it is complete with an airfield, missile ranges, training facilities and ammunition storage facilities..." The fact that these huge and numerous military complexes are most likely ultimately geared for housing US troops is highlighted when one notes that the actual Saudi military force consists of less than 50,000 men. Indeed, it is reported that there are between 1000-3000 Pakistani soldiers currently in the Saudi army.

Lessons and tasks

The struggle against the regime is a social and cultural struggle. Only 1 person out of 8 is literate. Social, cultural and literacy pro-

grams are a war in themselves against this regime that tries to keep the people ignorant. To fulfill our ambitions and defend the people is a long road.

What, therefore, are the lessons we should draw from the past experiences of other militant people who chose the course of struggle for liberation?

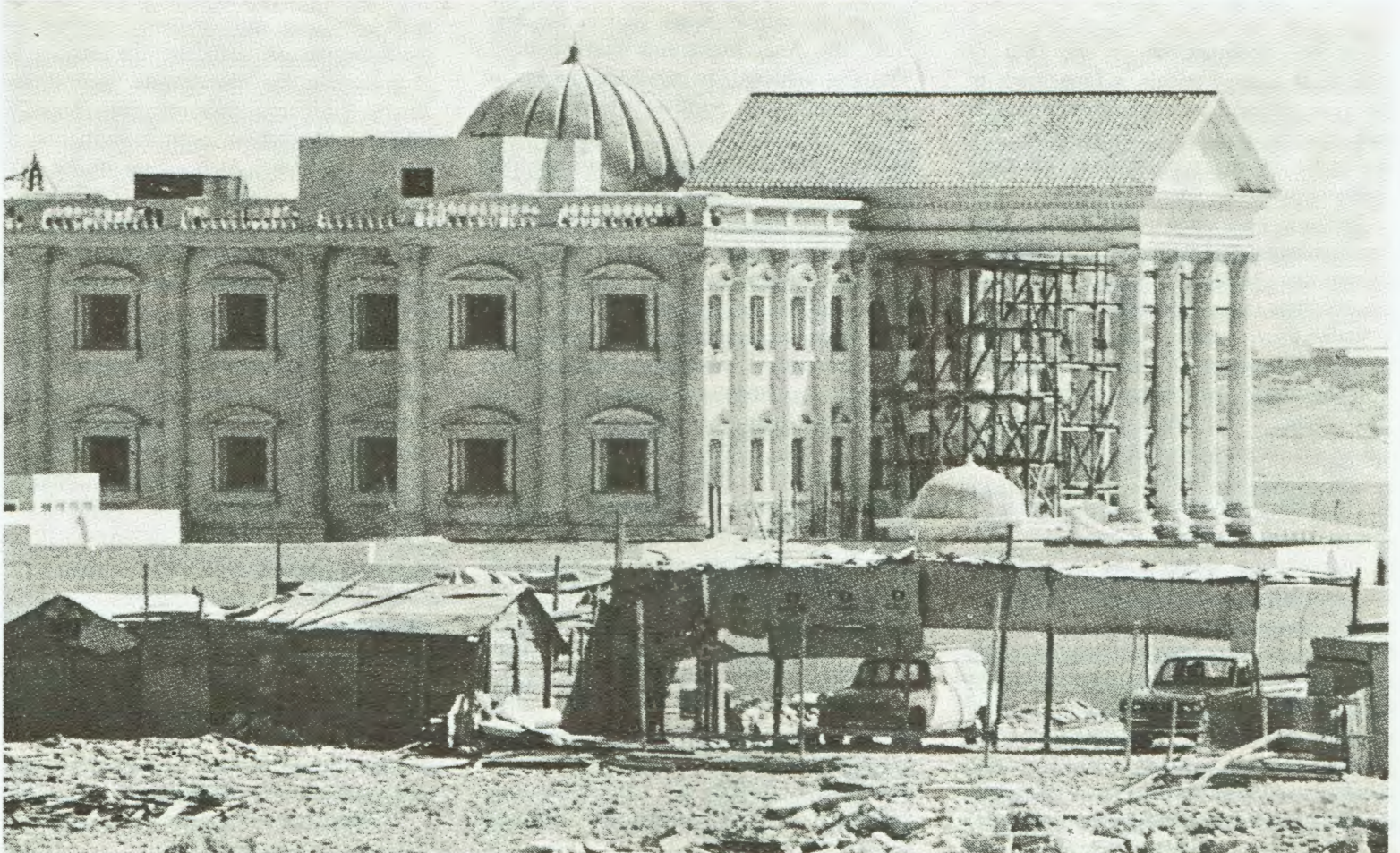
First: A very important factor in enhancing political awareness among the people of Saudi Arabia is to increase their consciousness of their severe living conditions and the criminal actions of the regime that has departed from all nationalist commitment. Political mobilization of the masses is the most important militant duty, especially at this stage of the struggle. This will inevitably lead to three important results. 1) Providing the masses with a clear understanding of their positions, and urging them to enhance their struggle so that they become an inseparable part of the militant movement. 2) These masses will inevitably become the real environment for the political organizations, and will consequently provide protection for organized patriotic efforts. 3) Enhancing the positions of national organizations as a result of full-fledged support from the masses. This is accomplished through encompassing the increasing

commitment from increased numbers of the masses, and through material and moral support.

Second: The importance of conducting in-depth analytical studies, with details about the state of affairs in Saudi Arabia on the political, economic and social levels. This would allow drawing the correct plan of action through which the whole situation might develop from the current tribal system. Programs concerning militant action could then be set on the basis of a correct reading of the situation in the country and the expected changes, so that we could ensure having clear foresight and a specified line of action. This should be a part of an overall revolutionary strategy.

Third: The necessity of common national action and sincere coordination between the various national factions in Saudi Arabia. This patriotic cooperation is necessitated by the higher interests of our people and their noble objectives. No matter how many or how deep the differences might be among the parties of the national movement, they should never be an excuse for alienating one faction from another. Our people will never excuse conflict between national organizations at a time when the utmost coope-

In whose interest does the Saudi regime act? A replica of the White House being built in Riyadh provides a graphic answer. (MERIP).





1979 mass uprising in the eastern province, which coincided with the take-over of the Mecca mosque — this is what the reactionary Gulf rulers seek protection from.

ration and togetherness in the field of struggle is needed within a framework of common militant programs that would in turn enhance the spirit of cooperation. This would be a big step towards achieving positive results.

Patriotic duty also entails that these forces should avoid falling into the traps of competition, cheap arguments and trivial theorizations that would never lead to unity. Instead, these forces should direct their energies towards establishing firm relations with the masses and towards intensive militant practice. This would be an important test of the correctness and accuracy of the line of action of each of these forces, no doubt leading to a gradual amalgamation of these national democratic forces.

There is no doubt that the militant process is affected by two major factors:

1) The subjective factor: By this we mean the strength of the national movement in Saudi Arabia represented by its various factions, the extent of its effective internal influence, its ability to understand the real situation in our country on the social, economic and political levels, and its ability, in this light, to define the different phases of militant tasks and the proper means of action that would reflect the hopes and aspirations of the masses and transform them into effective practice. In addition, the subjective factor depends to a great extent upon the seriousness with which various

organizations push for dialogue, coordination and common action.

2) The objective factor: By this we mean the political events and activities of the masses throughout Saudi Arabia, the Arab Gulf, the Arab world and internationally. Victories achieved by struggling people of the world have positive effects on the struggle in Arabia. On the other hand, defeats suffered by other peoples have their negative effects. This whole process reflects the nature of the relations that link events to each other. As for us in the Arab area, enhancing the unity of all factions of the Arab national liberation movement and developing its effectiveness is considered a reinforcement of the power and role of the national organizations in Saudi Arabia. This has direct links to enhancing the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. Thus there will be an Arab national camp consisting of popular and governmental forces against the Arab reactionary camp and its imperialist and Zionist allies. The national movement in Saudi Arabia should be expected to develop its relations and alliances with all factions of the Arab national movement throughout the Arab world. It is also required to increase its propaganda power outside of Saudi Arabia, in order to expose the nature of the regime which is involved in conspiracies against all national or progressive movements in the Arab area and throughout the world.

Since the Palestinian issue is a central national issue for the Arabs, we will refer to the position of the Saudi regime concerning it. This regime has hardly given any real support to the Palestinian Arab struggle.

Talking about “holy wars” and the “liberation of Jerusalem” and similar propaganda junk is only meant to dispel their shame in front of our people and also to maintain ties with all other Arab regimes, so that the Saudi regime can fulfill the role assigned by its masters in the White House. Saudi Crown Prince Fahd told *Time* magazine (May 27, 1978) — in reaction to an accusation from ‘Israel’ that Saudi Arabia supports the PLO — “When we support Fateh (Arafat) with \$40 million per year, we do that in order to strengthen the position of Yasser Arafat against George Habash, the leader of the radical PFLP.”

Saudi oil minister Ahmed Yamani declared in an interview to ABC television: “In fact we are not entering into war against Israel. We do not plan to do such a thing. We are exerting sincere efforts in order to achieve peace with Israel.” Another proof of the real position of the Saudi regime is that there is no PLO office in Saudi Arabia; there is only an office for Fateh. Moreover, the Saudi regime forcefully suppressed peaceful demonstrations on Jerusalem Day in the eastern province in August 1980. While our masses were arranging peaceful demonstrations on Jerusalem Day, the regime intensified the National Guard presence in the streets, armed them with machine guns, and enforced a 10 p.m. curfew.

Nevertheless, our masses will continue the democratic national struggle in Arabia, behind their militant leadership, in order to achieve liberation, democracy, socialism and unity, and for an international proletarian alliance.

SUDAN

Militant protests serve as a reminder that Sudan is one of Arab reaction's weakest links



Market in Khartoum set afire during the January demonstrations.

On January 3rd, the government decision to raise the price of sugar 62% went into effect, following closely on the heels of a 30% rise in petrol prices. The same day, university and secondary school students swarmed into the streets of Khartoum in the first of four days of continuous demonstrations. Shops, cars and petrol stations were set afire; a post office and government office were attacked; seven policemen were injured.

As could be anticipated, Numeiri's regime responded quickly and forcefully. At first police used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators, but on the fourth day, they opened fire on the masses, killing one student and injuring two others. Two days later, Khartoum's four universities were ordered closed indefinitely; secondary schools had been shut on the first day of the outbreak. Shops remained closed, and petrol stations were heavily guarded by police and army soldiers. According to Khartoum's police commissioner, 85 were arrested, 40 of them schoolboys. He laid the blame for the disturbances on "saboteur elements who wanted to politicize the issue of price raises."

Actually no one had to "politicize" the issues; it is quite clear to the Sudanese masses that their economic problems are directly attributable to Sudan's total subordination to imperialism, a situation that has been brought on by the Numeiri regime's

policies. The slogans of the demonstrations bear witness to this. Students marched towards the presidential palace carrying placards that said: "We will not be ruled by the World Bank... We will not be ruled by the IMF."

At present Sudan owes \$700 million to the IMF alone. The austerity measures announced by Numeiri in November, which included lifting subsidies and caused the current price rises, were in compliance with IMF conditions. At the same time, Numeiri devaluated Sudanese currency and linked its exchange rate to the US dollar, also according to IMF proposals. Subsidies on wheat are also to be phased out over the next months. The fact that Sudan has the potential to be self-sufficient with regard to some of the same agricultural products, which are now being imported at higher prices, further highlights the fact that the economic crisis is due to the regime's dependency. The political side of this dependency is reflected in Numeiri's support to the Egyptian regime's alliance with Zionism and opening Sudan to US imperialist military presence — both in contradiction to the interests of the masses.

Repression has not daunted the people

The recent demonstrations show that the opposition has not been cowed by the regime's massive repression campaign, carried out under the measures enacted after

the railway workers' strike in early summer and resulting in extensive arrests in September. (See Bulletins Nos. 53 and 56.) As of December, 14,000 were still incarcerated. It continues to be the case that a Sudanese who leaves his home without his ID risks imprisonment. The story of one Sudanese worker has become a familiar one: He was stopped on the way to work and imprisoned for three days for having forgotten his ID; upon returning to his job, he was fired for three days absence. Another story reveals the anger smouldering in the hearts of the people: A man was detained for two days while on the way to buy medicine for his sick child; returning home, he found his child dead; he killed the soldier who had detained him and then himself. However, the continuation of resistance to the regime's policies indicates that the ultimate loser in the confrontation will be Numeiri himself.

National opposition

It is not only in Khartoum or on the campuses that Numeiri has been challenged this month. Acts of sabotage and other forms of protest occurred in various parts of the country, affirming that the regime's crisis is nation-wide, as is the scope of the opposition.

Demonstrations occurred in Omdurman, just north of the capital, in Kassala on Sudan's eastern border and in Port Sudan on the Red Sea. The two million Beeja people in the eastern part of the country have called for the overthrow of the regime. In the middle of January, railway lines were reported blown up between Khartoum and Atbar, farther north. In the capital, bombs exploded in an oil refinery and an electricity plant; people demonstrated their solidarity with the struggle against the regime by preventing the fire department from putting out the resulting fires.

At the same time, internal clashes were reported in some army barracks. Numeiri has been shifting his place of residence. This attests to the seriousness with which the regime, which has been threatened by 16 coup attempts since it came to power in 1969, views its own situation. Another indication of this was the arrival of Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali in Khartoum on January 5th to discuss the ongoing demonstrations, the same day the Sudanese police fired into the crowds. The Egyptian regime's concern with Numeiri's security had been expressed clearly by Defense Minister Abu Ghazali in December: "Our borders should be extended to Sudan, because it provides us with strategic depth." This points to the main obstacle in the way of the

Sudanese people's struggle; while Numeiri is faltering politically and economically, it is clear that Arab reaction and US imperialism will do all in their power to maintain his rule.

The south

The deep-rooted resentment against the regime in the south has its roots in the southerners' desire for regional autonomy; today this converges with the nation-wide popular opposition. Numeiri has abrogated the 1972 agreement guaranteeing self-rule for the south. After dissolving the country's two parliaments, he partitioned the south into three provinces, striking a blow to its central leadership. This resulted in a series of protest demonstrations. At the same time, 18 southern leaders were arrested and accused alternately of being "Libyan spies" and setting up an independent party. (Twelve of them have since been released.) Like the overall situation in the country, developments in the south show the need of the masses for their democratic rights. Not only the southerners are denied their right to organize and have a voice in managing their



Numeiri - To whom does he pledge allegiance?

affairs. Sudanese generally are denied jobs related to the public sector if they are not members of the Socialist Union, the regime's party, used as a facade for Numeiri's undemocratic and anti-socialist reactionary policies.

The call for a united national front

Developments in Sudan renew the importance of the Sudanese Communist Party's call for a broad national front. The regime is in the midst of a deep political and economic crisis, and this should motivate all serious progressive, democratic and national forces to unite on a platform to topple it. The recurring mass uprisings, despite the regime's repression and maneuvers, attest to the fact that the aspirations of the people can only be fulfilled through radical national democratic change. Yet as long as this struggle lacks a framework for mobilizing and organizing all sectors of the people, gaps will remain in the confrontation of the regime. In view of Sudan's importance for the enemy strategy, the outcome of the internal struggle here has regional implications as well. Gains made by the national democratic forces in Sudan will benefit not only the Sudanese masses, but the Arab masses and progressive forces generally, including the Palestinian Revolution. A blow to Numeiri would be a great step forward in breaking the chains of imperialism and reaction now imposed on our area. ●

PALESTINIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

On December 6, 1981, the first congress of the Palestinian Youth Organization (PYO) - Lebanon branch - was held in Beirut. The slogan for the congress was: *To develop the means of our work in order to broaden the organization and increase its activities, towards the unity of the Palestinian youth movement, the development of its struggling role and the strengthening of its alliances with progressive Arab and international youth.*

The congress was attended by leaders and cadres of the PFLP and other Palestinian organizations, representatives of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement and of both Palestinian and Lebanese youth organizations. It opened with an address by Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa, Deputy General Secretary of the PFLP. Delegations from other youth organizations also spoke before the congress, and all participants joined in singing the International Song of Youth. A study of the Palestinian youth movement was presented and discussed, as was a paper on the experience of the PYO. A report on the PYO's activities was presented, and a program of tasks and activities for the coming period was adopted, including the relations with the

popular committees in the camps and youth participation in the literacy campaign. The congress received solidarity telegrams from Palestinian, Arab and international youth organizations. In addition to the final communique printed below, six resolutions were adopted. The first was a salute to the struggle of the masses in occupied Palestine and a call for increased support to this struggle. The second hailed the struggle of the patriotic forces in Lebanon, including the Lebanese youth movement, against the isolationist-fascist plans in order to achieve a united, democratic Arab Lebanon. The resolution also saluted the sacrifices of the Lebanese masses in the face of the Zionist attacks. The other four resolutions can be found as boxes in the text of the final communique.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The congress was held in an atmosphere of deep confidence in the masses and their ability to achieve victory. Its results reaffirmed the PYO's adherence to deepening the Palestinian and Arab struggle. The discussions of the participants affirmed the dis-

tinguished role which the youth play in the Palestinian struggle led by the PLO. The youth are spread among all Palestinian classes and constitute the most dynamic factor in our people's struggle. The essential and vanguard role of the youth is evidenced by the struggle and continuous revolts of our people in the occupied territories, as well as by the high percentage of youth among the militants of the Palestinian Revolution in the military and other fields. The struggle experience of our people and other peoples affirms the great ability of youth to act and sacrifice; such ability constitutes a source of continuation and renewal for the revolution ...

The special importance of youth requires that the leadership of the revolution give particular support and attention to the needs of this sector, enabling it to place its whole efforts in our people's struggle. One of these needs is the establishment of one united Palestinian youth organization to unify the youth and organize and mobilize its energies for the goals of the Palestinian Revolution led by the PLO, its charter, programs and leadership. In providing this united organizational framework, the special characte-



istics of the youth movement and its relative independence within the framework of the revolution must be taken into consideration. A united organization for the Palestinian youth movement, that stipulates democratic rules for relations, opinions and positions in its documents and daily practice, would contribute greatly to increasing and developing the mobilization of our youth and their role in the Arab and international youth movement.

The question of the youth movement is not only one of international representation, but is essentially one of mobilization on the basis of a political program to serve political aims. As a result of this, international representation and relations will follow.

The congress noted with satisfaction the PYO's development in the preceding period in various fields of organization and work.

The congress welcomed the development of positive relations with other Palestinian youth organizations and institutions, and noted with deep satisfaction the relations developed with fraternal organizations, especially with the youth of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement.

The PYO mobilizes a part of the Palestinian youth on the basis of adherence to the revolution, led by the PLO, to participate in all forms of Palestinian national struggle on the basis of progressive thinking, which believes in the cause of the masses and its revolutionary theory. The PYO strives to combine theory and practice, to exercise good conduct, to understand the values of the masses and adhere to these values in serving the masses.

Based on belief in the unity of the Arab nation and the struggle of the Arab national

liberation movement against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, the PYO affirms its natural position in the ranks of the Arab youth movement, contributing to the struggle against the common enemy for the liberation and unity of the Arab nation and its democratic development and social advance.

Based on belief in proletarian internationalism and the unity of the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism to achieve liberation, peace, democracy and social advancement, the PYO affirms its position in the ranks of the progressive youth movement of the world and its contribution to the common struggle of that movement.

While welcoming the development and achievements of the PYO, the first congress calls on all members and supporters for:

- more participation in the struggle of the Palestinian Revolution, led by the PLO, in all its forms

- deeper commitment to unity and development of the militant relations with other organizations and institutions of the Palestinian youth and their members and supporters as a step towards establishing a united Palestinian youth organization

- be humble before the masses, serve the masses, learn from them and adhere to their values

- work harder in order to develop the experience of the PYO through discipline and more programmed activities

- understand more fully the revolutionary ideology, the struggle of our people and the experience of other friendly peoples in order to draw lessons

The remaining section of the communique is an assessment of the political situation which we have summarized as follows:

The congress noted the increasingly aggressive policy of imperialism in response to the successes of the socialist community, led by the Soviet Union, the victories of the peoples of the world and the internal crisis of the capitalist system. This aggressive policy is threatening world peace and has been met by broad popular opposition from the forces of peace, freedom and socialism, also within the capitalist countries...

The congress noted the effects of this aggression in the Arab region, and that the enemies' efforts to liquidate the patriotic and progressive forces had escalated after Camp David. This pact marked a new stage, characterized by the readiness of some Arab reactionary regimes to co-exist with Zionism at the expense of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights. While Camp David has

achieved some success on the Egyptian front, the struggle of our masses in occupied Palestine against 'autonomy', coupled with the Palestinian leadership's rejection, has brought Camp David to a deadlock on the Palestinian level. The rejection of the patriotic Arab forces, crystallized in the formation of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and the Arab Peoples Conference, has stopped the extension of Camp David into other Arab countries.

In the face of this deadlock, imperialism is trying to present new projects to continue the course of Camp David, preserving its essence under new names. The Fahd plan is the most dangerous of these projects, as it aims to totally link the Arab region to imperialism. The failure of this plan at the Fez Summit was due to the active position taken by the progressive and patriotic forces and regimes, and the role of the Steadfastness

and Confrontation Front at the summit. This was a blow to the Saudi regime, but it and the other reactionary regimes will not give up their efforts; they will exploit all means to break the links of the opposition. Imperialism and its allies will continue to present capitulationist plans while threatening the patriotic forces with military aggression and wielding the stick of terror against our masses in the occupied territories...

Another factor in the aggressive escalation is the US-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement, which reaffirms that the Zionist entity has top priority in the imperialist plans for the region. This agreement coincides with threats and Zionist aggression, the so-called missile crisis, attacks against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, the attempts to implement 'autonomy', the arming of the village

leagues, building the Rapid Deployment Force, etc.

On the other hand, the congress noted the steadfastness and continuous struggle of our masses in the occupied territories, confronting the oppression and terror of the occupation and foiling its projects, while affirming adherence to their homeland and national rights, the goals of the liberation struggle and the establishment of their independent state, led by the PLO, without conditions or restrictions.

In Lebanon, Palestinian-patriotic Lebanese steadfastness has been consolidated in confronting the Zionist and reactionary aggression. The Palestinian-Lebanese alliance constitutes the cornerstone protecting the mass struggle against the Zionist-isolationist project and for the unity, Arabism and democratic development of Lebanon. Moreover, Syria is standing firm in the face of internal conspiracies and Camp David. The Syrian-Palestinian-patriotic Lebanese alliance is the cornerstone for the steadfastness and confrontation of our Arab nation.

In Democratic Yemen, the vanguards of the workers and peasants continue their achievements towards a socialist system, thus confronting the imperialist and reactionary plans.

In Arab Egypt, the struggle of the masses has escalated against Camp David and for democracy and social advance and to return Egypt to its natural position as the vanguard of the Arab ranks. The Egyptian patriotic and progressive forces will not be misled by the maneuvers to disguise the new ruler, who is following the same policy as the ruler executed by the people. The Fahd project and Operation Bright Star regimes are supporting the efforts to return Mubarak's regime to the Arab fold, but the return of Egypt to the Arab ranks must be by way of leaving Camp David, its consequences and the alliance with imperialism and Zionism. We trust the ability of the Egyptian masses to accomplish this.

The struggle of the Arab masses is escalating from North Yemen to Sudan. The congress called for the development of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and the Arab Peoples Conference in order to push the Arab struggle forward and unify its forces, so that we can move from the stage of steadfastness to that of confrontation. The congress affirms its confidence in the masses of the Arab nation and their ability to foil the enemy conspiracies and achieve victory. The congress salutes all the strugglers of our nation and of the world, and pledges to the martyrs and the masses to continue the struggle. ●

RESOLUTION ON THE UNITY OF THE PALESTINIAN YOUTH

Based on belief in Palestinian national unity and that this unity must be comprehensive, including all unions, mass organizations and institutions of the revolution and the PLO...

Understanding the reality that the Palestinian youth movement is not now united in one organization and the existence of various youth organizations in the Palestinian arena...

Highly evaluating the General Union of Palestinian Students, GUPS, that has represented the Palestinian youth for fifteen years in the conferences and activities of the inter-

national youth movement...

The PYO calls for putting all efforts into cooperation with all youth and political forces in the Palestinian arena in order to establish one united democratic Palestinian youth union. This union is to be based on adherence to the revolution and its aims, the PLO charter and leadership bodies. It must secure the basis for democracy in relations and taking positions, and form an active component of the progressive Arab and international youth movement and its militant organization, the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

RESOLUTION ON THE ARAB YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Palestinian youth movement is an integral part of the Arab progressive youth movement. We salute the youth organizations in all Arab countries; their struggle is an integral part of the Arab mass struggle. We call for developing the common militant

relations between the Arab youth organizations and for participation in the Arab Youth Union, in order to develop its experience and reach the stage where it forms a united framework for the Arab youth struggle.

RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH MOVEMENT

The congress reaffirms the natural position of the Palestinian youth in the ranks of the international democratic youth movement. It confirms the commonality of its national struggle with this movement's struggle against imperialism, Zionism, reaction and racism — for peace, democracy and social progress. The congress salutes the struggle of the democratic youth on the international level and affirms its solidarity with this struggle... In particular, it salutes the World Federation of Democratic Youth for the important role it plays in mobilizing

the international democratic youth movement and unifying its energies and struggle.

The congress affirms its conviction in the importance of the International Festival for Youth and Students in enhancing and coordinating the struggle of youth in the world against imperialism. The congress sees the necessity of the active participation of all forces and organizations of youth in the festival movement, and the importance of discussions and efforts to designate the date and place for the 12th festival.

CUBAN VICTORY

Comrade Fidel Castro
First Secretary of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of Cuba
Comrades of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Cuba

On behalf of the Central Committee and members of the PFLP, I extend our warmest greetings on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the victory of your great revolution. We hope you will continue your great efforts for establishing the socialist system and in confronting the plots of imperialism.

Your victory and the establishment of the first socialist country in the American continent was a big blow against US imperialism. It was a great achievement for the people of the region in their struggle against

imperialism and its local allies. It was a positive step for all peace-loving people throughout the world. Your great achievements, especially the resolutions of the 2nd party congress and the international role that Cuba plays, are helping other revolutions and national liberation movements reach victory.

At this time, our region is passing through a complicated situation. After facing setbacks, all imperialist forces, especially the US, are trying to create obstacles for the patriotic Arab forces in order to rearrange the situation to benefit imperialism's strategic aims, especially for the oil. In order to achieve this, imperialism must crush the Arab patriotic movement, especially the Palestinian Revolution.

Despite all these imperialist, Zionist and reactionary plots, the enemy will not achieve their ends because of the steadfastness of our Palestinian and Arab masses, under the leadership of their democratic and progressive forces.

Again, I congratulate you on the 23rd anniversary of victory. We in the PFLP consider it our anniversary and that of all oppressed people. We work together to achieve peace and progress all over the world.

Long live Palestinian-Cuban friendship!
Long live proletarian internationalism!
George Habash
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the PFLP



**FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
HELD IN THE JAILS OF ARAB REACTION**

