

PFLP BULLETIN

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"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:

- *1981 in occupied Palestine: part II*
- *Jordan's current role in the enemy plans: volunteers for Iraq and internal repression*
- *Mass work: Literacy campaign*

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EDITORIAL

The recent past has been characterized by aggressive Israeli actions, carried out with impunity and arrogance. The attack on the Iraqi nuclear plant, the bombing of Beirut and the South, the annexation of the Golan: all signify Zionism's determination to continue on its expansionist and violent path. The recent outright threats from various Zionist leaders against the Palestinian Revolution, Lebanon and other Arab countries speak to the likelihood of more aggression in the near future, with the tacit consent of US imperialism. On the Arab side, the actions of the reactionary regimes have been at worst treacherous and at best ineffective. The Fahd plan came in the wake of intense enemy attacks, signalling that Arab reaction's response was not to mobilize to face this aggression, but to seek 'peace' and US approval by recognizing 'Israel'.

Though the defeat of the Fahd plan at the time was a tactical victory for the patriotic and progressive forces, the Arab side has been unable, for subjective and objective reasons, to move forward with a clear, united political strategy. A political front has been created, leading to a series of strikes, but this has resulted in demoralization in the masses, opening the way for a renewed reaction to US maneuvers and leaving us more vulnerable to the expected Zionist strikes. These strikes are not only directed against the South Lebanon but are also directed against the West Bank and land in occupied Palestine. The faltering 'peace' process, the Golan annexation have made it clear to the masses that the Israelis intend to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir proclaimed that the US will not force Israel to accept conditions that will enable the occupation to exist, and that the West Bank and Samaria within the occupied territories of Israel.

It is against this background that we must look at the statements of occupied Palestine, especially the publicized statements of the Palestinian figures. To the surprise of many, on the 10th of January, Bethlehem, Elias Freij called on the PLO to recognize 'Israel'. His reasoning was that given the divisions in the Arab world and Arab inability to obtain a military solution, "the only way is to look for a political solution." In his view, a political solution is only possible with US international support; to obtain this support it is necessary to recognize 'Israel'. "Peaceful coexistence with the state of Israel is the only alternative for us but to recognize the right of the Jewish people to establish a state in the international community and to support our demands... I think the time has come for us to stop our loss of our land and to be satisfied with minor gestures." He concluded: "It is clear that there is no alternative for the current crisis and it is very unlikely that there is any other only alternative is a political dialogue, which holds the promise of a movement."

In the same week, Rashed Shawwa, mayor of Gaza and known collaborator, was interviewed on Israeli radio; he also called on the PLO to recognize 'Israel', adding that "the PLO is not all Palestinians."

There have always been collaborationist and treacherous elements within the Palestinian people, as with any people. This is inevitable, particularly under occupation, given class and economic interests. However, these statements from such Palestinian figures are more dangerous than those that come from outright collaborators. This is true for several reasons.

One, they speak to the masses of capitulation, not treachery for profit. Freij's statement is particularly pernicious in this way, as it appears to be based on despair rather than immediate personal gain. He does not say "the Israelis are our friends", but says, in effect, "we have struggled all these years for nothing — Israel is too powerful — only the US can give us what we want — we must capitulate totally to the enemy to achieve anything." Freij is speaking for his class; at least, he is reflecting the frustration of some sectors of the Palestinian bourgeoisie at a dangerous time in our struggle. He is blinded by the balance of power in the current stage, and by his immediate class interests. His desire to capitulate reflects that of the entire reactionary Arab bourgeoisie, that longs to be rid of even the pretense of struggle. Freij's crime is his attempt to bring over the Palestinian masses to his view, and to instill them with his despair. This brings us to a second, more obvious point: Freij, Shawwa and others of their ilk are deceiving the masses. There is no real indication that PLO recognition of 'Israel' would result in anything but an easing of conditions for imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. Begin's government has reaffirmed over and over that they will never allow a Palestinian state of any kind in the West Bank and Gaza, and they are supported in this view by Israeli public opinion. The Palestinian people are being asked to capitulate to nothing, for what is at best a bourgeois dream, or, as is more likely, a bourgeois deception.

We are confident that such tactics will not succeed; our masses have struggled for many years, and will continue. However, there is another reason why this capitulationist trend is so dangerous now. Freij and Shawwa's statements were vigorously denounced by all genuinely patriotic figures in the occupied land, including the patriotic bourgeoisie. Bassam Shakaa, mayor of Nablus, said that Freij and Shawwa were "surrendering to the pressures of Israel and the US." Indeed, Freij and Shawwa have issued denials of their words, saying that they were 'misunderstood'. It is our position that such denials are not sufficient; it is clear that such statements represent a capitulationist, anti-PLO trend. What is needed is a clear condemnation from the PLO itself, one that totally disowns those who follow this trend and that reaffirms commitment to the charter of the PLO and the decisions of the PNC. We raise this point for two reasons. One is that unfortunately the PLO's reaction to Freij and Shawwa's statements was less forceful than those of patriotic forces in the occupied land. Second, in the same week that Freij and Shawwa spoke out, a member of the PLO and PNC publicly made essentially the same demand. Sartawi called on the PLO leadership to approve continuing talks with the Israeli 'peace' camp. He said that he had held such talks before on behalf of the PLO, and wanted them renewed. This request comes despite the fact that Sartawi's actions were criticized at the last PNC, where a decision had been reached that such talks could only be held with anti-Zionist forces. That a member of the PLO should choose this time to publicly advocate what is in reality a form of recognition of 'Israel' only gives credence to the capitulationist forces, when our main task should be to do all in our power to unmask and denounce them.

Bassam Shakaa is correct when he calls such statements "surrendering to the pressures of Israel and the US." Freij himself had met with US Secretary of State Haig and Senator Percy on their recent visits to the area, and it was clear that he was repeating their message, or threat — total Palestinian capitulation, or else. This is an essential step for

the US, 'Israel' and Egypt to achieve any progress in the 'autonomy' talks. Indeed, another familiar voice had joined the capitulation chorus the week of January 25th: Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali called for mutual PLO-Israeli recognition.

These events fit right into Israeli strategy in the occupied territories. Menahem Milson, the new civil administrator of the West Bank, laid out Israeli plans quite clearly: "Our aim is to reduce to as close to zero as possible the effectiveness of the PLO." Their long-term aim is to create an atmosphere of despair and quiescence that will lay the framework for 'autonomy' — an 'autonomy' that guarantees the eventual Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Palestinian masses will continue rejecting all plans that are only a cover for legitimizing the occupation and Camp David. The steadfastness and persistence of the masses is inevitably greater than that of forces such as Freij, Shawwa and Sartawi. However, for our people's great sacrifices and determination to eventually lead to victory, they must be met with an equal stand from the leadership. This stand, while taking full cognizance of the enemy's strength, must be based on trust of our people's willingness and ability to endure and to continue struggling. It is only through such a prolonged struggle, on all fronts, that the balance of forces in the region and throughout the world will be turned in favor of the people.

*I am the hunger of him who has worked since dawn
I am the song of return.
I am the road into the fields,
I am thousands of brown palms
Coming to rest on door handles.
I am the promises, the shouts of joy,
The tears embroidered on the handkerchief of exile
...
I was the professor of mathematics,
The blind singer, the guitar.
I was the woodcutter, the hunter, and
Among other things, the shouts, the forest, the groom.
I was the yards, the vineyards, the fortune teller.
I was the student of night, of the stars,
Under my cover lived the voice of the tribes,
Under my blanket lived the planters' village,
The glistening of the grass,
The clanging of the picks and the grain harvesters.
On my ancient face
Passed thousands of caravans
Carrying coffee and spices.
My ribs produced a bridge,
(before they became a refinery for Aramco Oil)...
So why do they cover the bridge with napalm?
With my tears, with my guys, with my hate?
Why do they drive away the sun?
On the night of crime
In the Forties my face was bloodied
Oh world, my lungs have become like
A sad blacksmith's bellows.
My words have turned into an ember,
A whip, a commando.
Do you hear, oh world?
Even the tulips became horns
Signalling
My burning in refugee tents
And I grew them for century upon century.*

excerpts from I, The Pronoun of the Speaker, by Sameh al Qassem



OCCUPIED HOMELAND

Civil administration and the village leagues



One of the houses destroyed by the occupation forces during the November uprising in the West Bank.

All the events since civil administration began indicate that it is simply another side of the military occupation; it extends the carrot while the military continues to wield the stick. An example is the houses that were demolished in Beit Sahour and Bethlehem during the November uprising; permission has now been granted to rebuild them, and the work is being carried out by hundreds of Palestinian volunteers. This is part of the attempt to give the civil administration a benign face. The West Bank's civil administrator, Menahem Milson, commented: "To me you can talk about rebuilding houses; for the demolition of houses you have to talk to somebody else." What Milson didn't say is that his office is directly responsible to Sharon's War Ministry — the same source that ordered the houses destroyed in the first place.

A major focus of Milson's work is expanding the network of village leagues and increasing the patronage powers granted them by their sponsor, the Zionist authorities (see Bulletins Nos. 54 and 58). Milson describes the issuing of firearms to the leagues as an "inducement to those who are not secure when they want to show their support to the peace process", while the army will provide "security to those who attack the peace process." This double-talk really means that the authorities will do all in their power to support their collaborators, while simultaneously striking patriotic forces. The office of Mustafa Dudeen, head of the Al Khalil village league, was recently visited by a *New York Times* reporter. He described the scene as follows: The driveway is bloc-

ked by an Israeli army jeep, while heavily armed troops guard the door; all visitors are kept outside until a soldier calls the Military Governor's office for approval, and then the visitor is thoroughly searched before entering the office.

The Zionists are doing more for their puppets than providing protection against the people; they are steadily increasing their patronage power. Virtually all projects that need Israeli funding or simply approval must be submitted through a league. This month, Palestinians trying to cross the Allenby Bridge into Jordan were told to get permission from a league. Youths whose identity cards were confiscated during demonstrations are being told to go to a local league office to have them returned. There are reports that armed thugs affiliated to the Al Khalil league have erected checkpoints, searched cars and demanded identity papers. By granting the village leagues such control over the population, the Israelis are hoping to create a substitute leadership to that of the PLO and the elected municipalities — a substitute that will, most importantly, participate in the 'autonomy' talks.

Resistance to the village leagues has been unified and sustained. This is especially true now, as the Israelis are trying to create three new leagues in the areas of Jenin, Tulkarem and Qalqilya. On January 17th, 26 national

Mustafa Dudeen, head of the Al Khalil village league, with one of his armed thugs in the background.



organizations and institutions, including trade unions and charities, signed a communique issued by the local councils in the Jenin area, denouncing moves to create a league and condemning pressure being put on mukhtars, mayors and ordinary citizens. They denounced the attempts to divide the Palestinians, saying "We are one people — there is no difference between a villager and a city dweller." The communique, published in *Al Shaab* newspaper, was also signed by the Arraba municipality. Similar protests have been published by Tulkarem, where 113 out of 114 local mukhtars resigned on hearing the Israeli decision to establish a league. In Qalqilya, a boycott has been called of all events being sponsored by the new village 'council' — which is really part of the attempt to create a new league. The military authorities had ordered all mukhtars and other leaders to attend these events or face the consequences, stating that failure to attend would be considered a punishable anti-occupation act.

Simultaneously with fostering the village leagues, the authorities have been continuing their attacks on all genuinely patriotic forces. Heavy blows have been directed against the National Guidance Committee, in order to destroy its effectiveness as a vehicle for mobilizing resistance. A systematic campaign of town and house arrests has been instigated, to prevent the members from being able to meet. In January, at least four union leaders, known to be NGC members, were placed under town arrest, and house arrest from sunset to dawn. They are: Ibrahim Dakkak, chairman of the West Bank Engineers Union; Jiry's Khoury of the West Bank Lawyers Union; Abd Abu Diab, head of the works committee of the Jerusalem Electric Company, and Akram Hanoya, chairman of the West Bank Journalists Union and editor of *Al Shaab*. Repressive actions have continued against students, including the storming of a meeting at the Ramallah municipality, the firing of teachers who are involved in union and patriotic activities and the prolonged house arrest of Bir Zeit University student council members. In Gaza, the library of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society was burned and looted by a group of unidentified people, in an attack similar to that carried out by religious extremists more than a year ago, with the tacit support of the occupation. The PRCS is a center for patriotic forces in Gaza, as well as providing needed health and social services. For this reason alone, it and all other patriotic figures and institutions in the occupied land will continue to be the targets of Zionist and reactionary attacks.

PRISON UPDATE

An article published in *Al Ittihad* the first week of February has revealed some details of the December 21st assault against prisoners in the notorious Ashkelon prison. A letter smuggled out by a prisoner states that on that day, guards attacked the inmates with tear gas bombs, plastic bullets and water hoses. Various forms of collective punishment were then imposed. Since then, Ashkelon prisoners have not been allowed visitors and their allowances have been stopped. The attack came in response to the prisoners' demands for an end to the chronic overcrowding and collective punishment. The prisoners have formed resistance committees in an attempt to counter this aggression, and their families and supporters have been active in staging numerous sit-ins and demonstrations, mainly directed to the International Red Cross. In a recent protest, the families declared that they have received information that conditions have worsened: water is cut for days at a time, winter clothing confiscated, blankets forbidden, the

food is atrocious and there is virtually no medical treatment available.

There is a general consensus in the occupied land that prison conditions, already notoriously bad, have deteriorated this past year. In January, hunger strikes were announced in Nafha and Bir Sabe prisons. Twenty prisoners in Moscobiah also declared a hunger strike; the twenty are all youths aged 14-17, who had been arrested in Duheisha camp this past December on charges of throwing Molotov cocktails. News of the progress of these strikes has not been forthcoming, due to the isolation imposed by the authorities. However, we can expect the harshest measures, as seen in the martyrdom of three militants by barbaric forced feeding during the heroic hunger strike at Nafha prison in August 1980. An open letter sent by Nafha inmates at that time still speaks for the struggle of all Palestinian political prisoners: "The staunchest and most modern Zionist and imperialist prisons and the whole world will realize that we shall win the battle of hunger as we won the battle of determination."



1981 IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

The masses of our people and their revolutionary forces have faced continuous and compound Zionist aggression aimed at repressing any revolutionary growth, whether on the political, mass or military level. This aggression can be characterized as follows:

— Plans for extending the network of settlements in the 1967 and 1948 occupied lands and for developing the existing settlements in an attempt to Judaize the occupied territories and consolidate the occupation. The authorities confiscate any land they choose, considering it an inseparable part of "Greater Israel".

— Continuous efforts to destroy the structures of the national economy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in order to make it a dependent economy. The authorities have no qualms about confiscating existing national institutions as was seen in the Israeli decision to take over the concession of the Jerusalem Electric Company.

— The series of political assassination attempts aimed against patriotic leaders such as Bassam Shakaa and Karim Khalef; the deportation of a number of patriots in an attempt to frighten our people into accepting 'autonomy'.

— The series of measures aimed at merging the 1967 occupied territories with the Zionist entity, i.e. *de facto* annexation which would give the Zionists a material base for refusing territorial concessions in future negotiations: the decision paving the way for imposition of Israeli law in the 1967 occupied territories; the imposition of the added value tax on the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the establishment of new Israeli banks here; undermining national education and culture, and the forced emigration of intellectuals and professionals.

— Imposing collective punishment on various areas where mass resistance has been particularly strong: Al Khalil, Ramallah, Jalazoun camp, Bir Zeit, Halhoul; this has included imposing curfews lasting as long as several weeks.

— Attacks by the forces of the Military Government on prisoners and the murder of a number of them, leaving the rest at the mercy of extremely unhealthy conditions and disease. Even the prisoners' main weapon — the hunger strike — was turned against them as the Zionists saw this as an opportunity to get rid of militant detainees. The Zionists would even encourage hunger strikes until death.

This is the conclusion of the article, begun in our last issue, which reviews developments of the past year in occupied Palestine. While the previous section dealt primarily with the Zionist entity, this section focuses on the Palestinian level.

— Efforts to obliterate the Palestinian national identity and culture; attempts to erase facts concerning the history of Palestine and any mention of the aggressive nature of the Zionist movement, instead treating it as a liberation movement. In addition, hundreds of Arabic history and geography books have been banned and replaced by books serving the Zionist point of view, ideologically and historically. Moreover, Palestinian national culture is plagiarized; in many cases, Palestinian dress, dances and foods are presented as part of Israeli culture.

— Continuous attempts to generalize the foundation of village leagues after the occupation authorities succeeded in establishing one in Al Khalil, headed by the traitor Mustafa Dudeen, and others in Ramallah and Bethlehem. The occupation plans to use these leagues to establish an institutionalized administrative presence as a replacement for the existing municipalities, especially the patriotic ones. This is actually a roundabout way of enforcing 'autonomy' since the au-

thorities have been unable to implement 'autonomy' through the municipalities. The idea of the village leagues was introduced under the pretext of providing services to the benefit of the villagers, but the real intent is to tempt the people into supporting the leagues and thus drawing them unawares into participation in a form of administrative 'autonomy'. The authorities would thus have a source of prospective 'dependable' people heading these leagues and working within the framework of 'autonomy'. These plans aim at limiting the role of the PLO and other patriotic organizations and destroying the position of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

— The continuous efforts of the Military Government to undermine and divide the union movement in the occupied territories.

Patriotic resistance

The first phase

During the Likud's first term, the pace of the patriotic confrontation of the Zionist enemy's expansionist plans escalated; resistance became very widespread and sometimes violent. The occupation authorities were upset by the protest demonstrations and the masses' direct confrontation of the gangs of the Gush Emunim and other settlers, and by the other forms of resistance to land confiscation. These confrontations attained the level of mass rebellion and made headlines for a while in the international press as well as the newspapers of the occupied territories.

Tear gas being used to disperse demonstration of Palestinian women protesting the deportation of 3 West Bank leaders in May 1980.



Also the level of mass confrontation and demonstrations against the economic policies of the occupation authorities was high: the response to confiscation of national institutions, the refusal to pay the added value tax, and the protests against price increases and the decreased buying power of money. This widespread struggle constituted an obstacle in the face of the enemy and its 'autonomy' plan, and added to its current crisis.

Again the spirit of revolutionary confrontation was displayed by our people when they learned of the attempted assassination of Bassam Shakaa and his colleagues. Our homeland was turned into a fortress of confrontation against the occupation. The people raised slogans calling for the downfall of the occupation and its tools, and declaring their support to the PLO as their sole legitimate representative.

This was a wonderful display of mass confrontation led by the patriotic leaders and national institutions. The occupation authorities were rendered helpless to stop these events, and the masses were all the more determined to exhibit their patriotic commitment and to defend themselves in the face of repression... This was seen when our people organized a demonstration to welcome Bassam Shakaa and Karim Khalef upon their return... This was also evidenced by the citizens of Al Khalil, Jalazoun camp, Halhoul, Bir Zeit and Ramallah, who showed great courage in the face of the tyrannical oppressive measures imposed against them. All this attests to the higher level which the struggle of our masses and their vanguard forces has attained.

The second phase

The last year of the first Likud government and the beginning of the second Likud government witnessed a slowdown in political, union and mass activity in the face of the enemy's expansionist plans and repressive measures. This slower pace of confrontation reached its apex on the eve of Sharon's appointment as Defense Minister and his announcement of the iron fist policy against the masses and their patriotic forces. He followed this up with threats against patriots who did not adhere to the policies of the authorities and began plans and maneuvers to execute the 'autonomy' conspiracy by force. Moreover, the occupation authorities resolved to forbid the municipalities, institutions and patriotic societies from receiving one piaster of support from the steadfastness fund.

At the same time, a plan was being applied whereby the village leagues began

emerging as an important part of Israeli policies. It is true that rejection of the conspiracy of the village leagues was clear on the mass level in Al Khalil, Bethlehem and Ramallah. This was manifested in official and unofficial denunciation of this step, threatening the collaborators in these leagues and making statements disowning them to the press. In addition, our organization played a leading role by following a line of confrontation, agitation and exposing the facts concerning the leagues and their collaborators. However, the conspiracy of the village leagues is continuing, and the resistance has not carried out sufficient deterrent measures against the heads of these leagues.



Israeli troops on patrol in Rafah, Gaza Strip, after killing a Palestinian youth during a demonstration in December.

The reasons for the lull in the political and mass struggle and the emergence of the role of the village leagues can be summarized as follows:

1. The weaknesses of the patriotic movement, especially the weakness of organized united coordination between the various parties involved and the differences among them, which renders them unable to fully confront the enemy's plans.
2. The weaknesses of the resistance organizations' military actions in the occupied territories against the Zionist entity, its institutions and plans. This has played a primary role which reflected itself on the mood of the masses and the pace of confrontation.
3. The unhelpful position taken by the PLO with respect to the trends within the patriotic work, especially with regard to the Palestinian National Front in the occupied territories. It is hoped that in the future the PLO leadership will take a better stand in supporting the patriotic cause.
4. The enemy's continuous attempts to disperse the patriotic efforts and forces in the occupied homeland, making 'security' and repressive plans to prevent any political or mass action of particular organizations or the patriotic movement generally.
5. Students and other sectors of the petit bourgeoisie constitute the main structure of the patriotic organizations. This in itself

contributes to slowing down the pace of confrontation at certain times due to summer vacations, etc. It is to be noticed that the new phase of confrontation began at the time of the reopening of schools and universities for the autumn.

6. The failure of the patriotic forces to give enough centralized attention to the village areas and their failure to gain widespread popularity here. This results in the absence of a broad class force, the peasantry, from the arena of organization, mobilization and confrontation, leaving the countryside open to the plans of the enemy and its collaborators, especially the village leagues.

7. The lack of a practical program to support the steadfastness of the masses in the occupied territories and their national institutions in order to be able to absorb the graduates from schools and universities and the working classes. Thus, there has not been a real alternative to the money coming from the Jordanian-Palestinian Joint Committee, money which goes chiefly to the stooges of the Jordanian regime and to bourgeois opportunist institutions and personalities.

The third phase

This was characterized by an increase in the pace of patriotic activities in the West Bank and Gaza, reaching the point of continuous uprising in the face of the occupation and the 'autonomy' conspiracy. As this report is being written, the uprising is in its 15th day, and the mass and student movement is fighting daily battles with the occupation authorities. This was naturally accompanied by arrests, the imposition of curfews in some areas, and a situation of top alert for the Military Government and Menahem Milson's civil administration in order to prevent the development of this unrest.

It is important to note that this period of unrest in most villages and towns of the West Bank and Gaza Strip coincided with two events:

1. The occupation authorities' application of civil administration instead of military rule and the appointment of Menahem Milson, the engineer of the new plan of civil administration and Sharon's adviser in this matter. Milson is an expert in Arab and Palestinian affairs, and an army colonel, as well as having been head of the department of Asian and African research and a professor of Arab literature at the Hebrew University.
 2. The return of students to the universities and schools for the new academic year.
- As soon as Menahem Milson took over his new duties as civil governor of the West Bank, massive demonstrations in protest of

this took place in Ramallah, Al Bireh, Dora, Bethlehem, Al Khalil, Halhoul, Duheisha camp, Jerusalem, Tulkarem, Gaza and Rafah. The Palestinian flag was raised in most of these places. The demonstrators threw stones at the army forces and destroyed a number of military cars and buses, wounding a number of the Zionist passengers. Slogans were raised against the occupation, 'autonomy', the village leagues and collaborators. The demonstrators chanted *Palestine* and that the PLO is their sole legitimate representative. The enemy forces surrounded Bir Zeit University and broke into it, arresting a large number of students. A military order was issued to close the university. Soldiers fired in the air and used tear gas. The same thing happened at Bethlehem University. Schools were closed down, and a hunger strike began to protest the closing of the schools and universities.

The occupation authorities threatened Bassam Shakaa and Karim Khalef if the disturbances continued.

Hundreds of students, academics and leaders held a meeting in the hall of the Bir Zeit municipality with the aim of foiling the conspiracy of civil administration and all other conspiracies aimed against our people and their vanguards. The slogans raised at this meeting were revolutionary — denouncing the occupation, rejecting 'autonomy' and the village leagues, and underlining total commitment to the PLO. Revolutionary an-

Arab and progressive Jewish students demonstrating against the closure of Bir Zeit University and the Israeli policy of collective punishment.



thems were sung. The occupation forces surrounded the building and broke in on the meeting, declaring it illegal and ordering the 600 people assembled to leave. Soldiers searched, beat and arrested a number of those attending.

At the same time, more than a hundred progressive democratic Jews were able to enter Bir Zeit University to express solidarity with the students. They raised placards in Hebrew and Arabic denouncing the occupation and calling for solidarity with the Palestinian people. They formed a committee for solidarity with Bir Zeit and distributed circulars which contained this statement: "Closing down this university is part of the repressive measures taken and exposes the true character of the civil administration which Israel is striving to apply in the occupied territories."

In Gaza, there was a massive student demonstration denouncing the occupation, 'autonomy' and Milson. There were clashes with the occupation forces, and a number of those participating in the demonstration were arrested.

In Jerusalem, the uprising took other forms. The merchants on the east side went on strike, the Palestinian flag was raised on the rooftops of homes to express rejection of the tyrannical measures taken against Bir Zeit and Bethlehem. A sit-in took place in the premises of the International Red Cross; the students demanded that the head of the Red Cross contact the UN and other international organizations to expose the enemy's policies and activities.

At the same time, the mayor of Nablus accused the occupation authorities and Defense Minister Sharon of violating human rights. The strike spread to Nablus and the surrounding villages; demonstrations and unrest continued, drawing the Nablus merchants into the protest.

In Bethlehem, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a military vehicle.

Mayors and newspaper editors were arrested. The head of Bir Zeit University and some of its teachers were prevented from traveling.

In Al Khalil and Ramallah, a number of homes were blown up by the Zionist authorities who accused the families of resisting the occupation. Kiryat Arba settlers occupied an elementary school in Al Khalil and demanded possession of it. This followed an incident in which one of the settlers was stabbed.

A meeting was held in Jerusalem which included representatives of national institutions, unions, social institutions and students. Those gathered at the meeting demanded the opening of Bir Zeit and Bethlehem universities. They held Sharon and his administration responsible for the repressive measures against our people and their national institutions. The communique issued after the meeting exposed the "false liberal flexibility" of the Likud government and Sharon; it also called on the people to commit themselves to the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, and to continue resisting the occupation's plans.

The progressive forces are confronting the conspiracy of 'autonomy' and the village leagues by mass mobilization, propaganda and agitation, by all means available, including the liquidation of the traitor Yusef al Khatib, head of the Ramallah village league, and his son. The patriotic movement has mounted a broad campaign of denunciation of the village leagues in the press of the occupied territories.

The patriotic organizations in the occupied territories also made activities to focus attention on the situation in the prisons; they have developed means and methods for petitioning for their rights on the mass and student level.

The vanguard movement of the student body in universities and secondary schools played a leading role in confronting 'autonomy'. The student movement is and will remain to be the vanguard of the uprisings, playing a primary active role. During this phase, the students carried out a number of exhibitions and festivals in commemoration of patriotic occasions in most of the universities.



A Palestinian family left homeless this past June after the occupation authorities demolished their house in Bureij camp, Gaza Strip.

The Palestinian National Front

As it is the revolutionary front that is the vehicle for mass mobilization in confrontation of the occupation and its plans, the Palestinian National Front should have shouldered the responsibility of mass and political struggle and should have played an important role. The PNF has adopted a progressive program, positioning itself as the primary arm of the PLO in the occupied territories and declaring its commitment to the National Covenant and the organizational and political programs of the 14th PNC.

However, the attempts of the PNF were aborted for well-known reasons, the most outstanding of which is the desire of right-wing forces to impose their policies and concepts on the front. Another reason is the conflicts between the various patriotic parties, due to narrow-minded, sectarian understanding of the long-term perspectives and responsibilities of patriotic struggle, with the limited ambition of realizing tactical gains at the expense of the original cause: united patriotic work in the face of the common enemy.

As a result of the inactivity of the PNF, the activities of the National Guidance Committee also came to a stop. Only the institutions of the front remained, a fact which reflected itself on all levels of patriotic work against the occupation.

Within the framework of union work, there was the tragedy of the split that occurred in the labor unions of the West Bank. The problem erupted around the time of the elections for the General Federation of Trade Unions that were scheduled for August 7, 1981, in Nablus. We in the PFLP

had reservations about these elections related to the fact that not all the patriotic forces active in the union work were included. However, the split that actually occurred had other reasons. Shahadeh al Meenawi aspired to be president, but failed to win the elections. He then termed them illegal and gathered a group of unions to form a bloc. This bloc initiated contacts, including with the Military Government, to have the elections declared illegal. Of course, this had very serious repercussions on the unity of the patriotic forces. A number of meetings were held with all the parties involved in the elections, and an agreement was reached on the basis of the following principles:

1. To struggle for the unity of the working classes, the union movement and the national unity list
2. The legitimacy of the August 7th elections
3. To reject the Israeli decisions refusing to accept the newly formed unions which are not yet registered
4. Elections should be based on proportional representation.
5. Not to split the federation and to reject the domination of any one party
6. Freezing the election results until agreement is reached on proportional representation
7. In case agreement is not reached, to postpone new elections for one month in order to continue efforts to form a national unity list on the basis of proportional representation.

This discouraging atmosphere of inactivity on the level of national unity also had negative effects on some mayors who found it easy to swerve to right-wing positions.

This, however, does not mean that patriotic and progressive forces are exempt from the responsibility for overcoming this period of stagnation. Efforts were activated in order to elevate united front work on the basis of the aforementioned seven points. Attempts are continuing to establish a united union movement to face the enemy's plans and be in accordance with the ambitions of the masses and their courageous uprising. This constitutes a strong motive for some to follow the process towards real national unity in its various forms. The aim of all this is to concentrate all potentials to fight the battle.

1948 region

This primary area of our homeland is of particular importance on the political, organizational and mass levels. On the basis of the unity of the struggle and its means and methods between the occupied areas of 1948 and 1967, and in spite of the many efforts of the enemy to completely confiscate the 1948 area, we in the PFLP have long concentrated our efforts on overcoming the obstacles erected by the occupation authorities.

The role of Rakah

Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party, plays an outstanding role in the 1948 occupied area and is considered the leading organized political force here due to its historical presence. This party believes in parliamentary struggle and has founded a number of institutions and committees to struggle for specific demands within the framework of its policy and line. Rakah specializes in parliamentary struggle; it has convened a

number of conferences and panel discussions denouncing the actions of the Military Government in the occupied territories, and held festivals declaring solidarity with the Palestinian revolution, as well as recognition of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians. Rakah has two newspapers, one a daily, the other a weekly, both in Arabic. Rakah has also been active in organizing gatherings to denounce the confiscation of the land: the Nazareth Conference, the regional congress of local Arab councils, the call for the Day of the Land on March 30th, 1976, and the general strike which spread all over the occupied territories.

Rakah defends itself and its activities with the legitimacy afforded by the occupation authorities. It has official offices, and large numbers of Palestinians in the 1948 region once gathered there to express their opinions on all matters of patriotic, political, union or mass concern. Later on, a fair number split from Rakah, because they considered it incapable of representing the ambitions of a people striving for liberation by armed struggle. Rakah does not adopt armed struggle as a means of gaining one's rights. Rakah considers itself an Israeli party. On the basis of its political stand concerning coexistence with the Zionist entity, Rakah takes part in elections within the framework of the Knesset, the Histadrut and other Zionist institutions and calls for two national states, one Arab, the other Jewish.

The aforementioned positions of Rakah have motivated many patriots to search for more radical political trends or organizations with deeper analytical viewpoints to which they can commit themselves. They rejected the logic of coexistence with the Zionist entity in any form. The struggles, contacts and efforts of these sectors have resulted in the formation of a number of movements:

Al Ard (The Land)

Al Ard rejected the logic behind the idea of coexistence as Rakah sees it. This movement stressed the Arab nature of the 1948 lands and commitment to the united Palestinian national struggle. It declared its opposition to the Zionist entity on the political and mass level. The movement played an important role in that it preserved these positions among the Palestinian masses in the 1948 area. Al Ard also had contacts with Nasser's regime and the Syrian regime in an attempt to gain their support for armed struggle. The members of the movement were later singled out and many were put under house arrest, deported or arrested. This led to the eventual dissolution of the movement, politically and propaganda-wise.

Ibna al Balad (Sons of the Village)

After the Zionist occupation of 1967, a number of patriotic movements were established, the first of which was Ibna al Balad. This movement was founded in a village called Um al Fahem in the Galilee, and most of its cadres were former Al Ard members. The movement became active in many other villages and has struggled courageously and forcefully to establish its presence and confirm its patriotic position. Ibna al Balad also tied the struggle of Palestinians in the 1948 and 1967 occupied lands, and considers the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of all the Palestinian people. Ibna al Balad refuses to participate in the Zionist elections and has confronted Rakah's calls for 'peace' with the Zionist entity. Ibna al Balad has called for Rakah to take a firmer patriotic position and obliterate the Israeli character from its line.

Ibna al Balad also stresses the importance of Rakah's departure from the methods of parliamentary struggle under Zionist occupation. Words and threats have been exchanged between the movement and Rakah. Rakah has tried to limit the movement's growth, to decrease its stature and belittle it. In spite of this, Ibna al Balad is the second strongest trend among the Palestinians in the 1948 region. Its position rejects the occupation and all the imperialist 'peaceful' solutions, the Geneva conference, etc. Its position on these matters is near to those of the PFLP, which opposes political solutions and the activities of the Palestinian right wing. Ibna al Balad is not as yet a party.

The Progressive National Movement

This movement was founded in 1979 as a student extension of Ibna al Balad. Basically the two movements have the same outlook, but the Progressive National Movement has a deeper theoretical understanding. They stress preserving the Arab nature of the

Central square in Ramallah after Zionist troops dispersed Israeli demonstrators protesting the closure of Bir Zeit University.



Galilee and the commitment of its sons to the Arab nation, in addition to rejecting Zionist occupation and the idea of coexistence with the Zionist entity. The movement also rejects all forms of imperialist plans and solutions. They, in conjunction with Ibna al Balad, denounced Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the treacherous Egyptian regime. Ibna al Balad and the Progressive National Movement agree on most issues and coordinate their efforts in many cases. This coordination has developed into a kind of coalition. The Progressive National Movement has many members in the universities of the occupied territories. It has participated in the elections of the local councils and gained victories over the Rakah ballot in many places. They are also present at the Hebrew University and Jerusalem University and dominate the Committee of Arab Students. The differences between Ibna al Balad and the Progressive National Movement on one side and Rakah on the other have increased to an extent which seriously damages the patriotic movement as a whole in the 1948 area.

Program for confrontation

In our view, the program for confrontation in the occupied homeland should consist of the following points:

1. Work to revive the PNF and its institutions
2. Struggle to elevate the level of patriotic struggle and develop it, starting with the implementation of a patriotic program of action in the occupied territories and outside
3. Work towards unifying the union movement in the occupied territories on the basis of a patriotic program, adopting unified confrontation of the common enemy and its plans, and on the basis of proportional representation, at the same time rejecting the methods and logic of dominance
4. Struggle to defeat the 'autonomy' conspiracy and all of its extensions (institutions, personalities, etc.) by all means available.
5. Support of the struggle of prisoners; to strive towards a program of patriotic support to lessen their sufferings in order for them to be able to remain steadfast and committed
6. Exposure of the substitute plans the occupation tries to enact, e.g. village leagues
7. Exposure of Sharon's policy in the occupied territories and to fight it using all means
8. Coverage of the struggles of our people in the 1948 areas on a mass and political level, and work towards developing their struggle and tying it with the struggle of our people in the 1967 occupied lands

THE ARABS UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION 1980

Each year since the early seventies, the Institute for Palestine Studies has published a report on the Arabs under Israeli occupation. At first, these reports consisted of brief separate listings of the effects of Zionist occupation (confiscation, deportations, prisoners, etc.) and short accounts of anti-occupation activities. Later, the report was published as a chronology. The most recent volume, *The Arabs Under Israeli Occupation 1980*, takes a more comprehensive, analytical form. This represents a qualitative step forward. In addition to presenting the reader with a wealth of facts, it gives far greater insight into the ongoing antagonistic interaction between Zionist policy on the one hand and Palestinian and Arab (the Syrians of the Golan Heights) resistance on the other. By covering all the occupied land and putting more emphasis on the development of the anti-occupation movement than has been the case previously, this book repre-

sents a correct response to the growing strength, unity and importance of the struggle in the occupied territories.

Such a review of one year's events unavoidably gives the reader a better understanding of current and future developments. As an example, we can cite the chapter on the Golan Heights, which the authors perceptively titled "Towards Annexation of the Golan". We reprint this section as it has current relevance, giving a background for the annexation which actually occurred this past December and for the resistance the Zionists are meeting (see box). Note: In the following excerpt, we have omitted the footnotes, but wish to point out that the entire report is meticulously footnoted, relying on Palestinian, Israeli and international sources. It can be obtained from the Institute for Palestine Studies, Anis Nsouli Street, Verdun, P.O. Box: 11-7164, Beirut, Lebanon.

TOWARDS ANNEXATION OF THE GOLAN

The Golan Heights is one area of the 1967-occupied territories given little attention internationally, but was of no less concern in the Begin government's annexation drive than the West Bank or Gaza. The Golan is occupied Syrian land. It neither formed a part of the Palestinian national claim, nor a part of the historical Zionist pretext for establishing a "Greater Israel". Former Israeli governments had pushed ahead with the settlement of the Golan immediately after the 1967 expulsion of 100,000 Syrian inhabitants, but the question of annexation was left aside. In 1980, there were 12,000 Syrians living under occupation amongst some 4,000 Jewish settlers inhabiting twenty-four settlements built on the ruins of former Arab villages.

At the beginning of the year (1980) when the government strategy was being planned on means to subvert Palestinian "autonomy" in the West Bank and Gaza, settlers in the Golan initiated a drive to force the hand of the government into annexing the Golan outright. The settlers organized a petition campaign to have an annexation bill passed in the Knesset. On January 16, a group of Golan settlers met with Begin and presented

him with the petition signed by 750,000 Israelis, including seventy members of the Knesset and six government ministers. Begin promised the settlers that the Golan would remain in Israeli hands forever and added: "No doubt, the petition expresses the will of the public — the elected and the electorate — and it is an important document of historical significance."

There were two means for annexing the Golan. Settlers were demanding a juridical annexation which would flaunt all international legal conventions concerning military occupation of foreign territory. The

Israeli troops in the Golan



Part of the colonization process: the sign for this Syrian town is written only in Hebrew and English.

government was more hesitant and preferred continuing a *de facto* annexation bolstered by the creation of more settlements. In May, various departments of the government concerned with settlement began planning for the establishment of five new settlements in the Golan. But by July the government plans were scaled down to planning more military observation posts. The same problem plaguing settlement projects elsewhere cropped up in the Golan: lack of willing new settlers and the government's budgetary crisis. When the *de facto* annexationist policy seemed to be bogging down, the government returned with increased attention to the scheme of juridical annexation. Agriculture Minister Sharon revived the annexation campaign at the end of July in a meeting with Golan settlers. He said that as a first step towards annexation, the government should apply Israeli law to the occupied Golan area. He complained that "for many years, we have seen a process of running in place, of a weakening of feelings as to our right to a 'Greater Israel.'"

If the Golan was to be annexed, there was still the question of what to do with the 12,000 Syrians still living there. The Begin government decided to take steps to try to

GENERAL STRIKE

As we go to press, a general strike has been announced in the Syrian Golan Heights, recently annexed by 'Israel'. The strike was sparked by the arrest of 4 Golan Druze leaders during a dawn raid by the Israeli security forces.

Golan residents had been threatening to strike before this, if the annexation decision was not annulled. The people have been adamant in rejecting the annexation, and in asserting that their identity is Syrian Arab. The strike is a reaffirmation of this position.

Initial reports say that schools, shops, institutions and entire villages have closed down in support of the strike. Israeli troops have been increased in the area in anti-

pation of violent clashes, and border patrols have also been enlarged. The Zionist head of educational affairs has threatened extreme measures against schools if they continue the strike. The committee for Zionist settlements in the Golan issued a communique stating that measures will be taken against "the small minority working for the PLO and spreading terror among the Druze citizens." Settlements have also announced that they won't employ Arab workers who refuse to accept Israeli identity cards. These actions make it clear that 'Israel' plans to impose the annexation and attempt to break the strike by the force of both its official army and its unofficial army of Zionist colonizers.

Suleiman Mansour, Al-Fajr.



destroy the Arab national identity of the captive population. The majority of the Golan Arabs were of Druze religion. The government sought, through control of the educational system and media, to foster a "Druze" identity rather than an Arab one. This policy had a long history of practice in the Galilee as a means of creating internal divisions amongst the Palestinian population. Once it was thought that the Arab character of the captive population had been obliterated, the Golan "Druze" would be encouraged to accept Israeli identity cards, so that the annexation moves would have the appearance of being based on the will of the occupied population itself. On July 20, the Settlement Committee of the Begin cabinet went ahead with plans for a government drive to force Golan residents to accept Israeli identity cards.

By the end of the year, the Golan annexation project picked up steam in the Knesset. Bills were beginning to be drafted in October. One offered by Begin's Likud coalition proposed that the current occupation borders in the Golan could never be modified unless there was a vote in the Knesset in favor by 80 of its 100 members. Knesset members were unable to agree on a final bill and recommended that the Begin cabinet debate the matter in December. The cabinet finally decided to come out against pushing the annexation bill through the Knesset. The *de facto* annexation plan was still good enough. In any event, whether juridical or *de facto*, annexation was to prevail. Begin stated unequivocally in an interview with American television in November that Israel would never surrender the Golan in exchange for a peace treaty with Syria.

The government plans for imposing an Israeli identity on the Arabs of the Golan were also left until 1981 for a more systematic implementation. Already the scheme was vehemently rejected, and it was to meet with persistent resistance when it became fully applied. The general attitude of the Golan Arabs towards the Israeli occupation was reported in the English language daily *al-Fajr* at the end of the year: "One former political prisoner, who says his grandfather died fighting the Ottoman Turks, and his father died fighting French colonialists in Lebanon, strongly criticized Israeli policies regarding the Golan Heights. He attacked in particular the education policy which manufactured a 'Druze tradition' in order to divide the residents of Golan and inhibit their efforts at solidarity. He denied that any such 'Druze culture' or 'Druze tradition' exists; 'Our traditions are Arab traditions,' he asserted. 'We are Arabs before being Druze.'" ●



JORDAN VALLEY BATTLE

On Saturday, January 30, Palestinian commandos fought a heroic battle with Israeli forces inside the occupied territories, 17 kilometers from the Jordanian border, near the village of Tayasir. Using hand grenades and machine guns, the commandos destroyed an Israeli half-track vehicle and an armoured personnel carrier, killing and injuring an undisclosed number of enemy troops.

The commando group (named after the martyr Jawad Abu al Shaar) had been carrying out its duties along the eastern border of Palestine. On the night of January 28, it had planted several land mines along military roads in the area, and then clashed with an enemy mobile patrol between Mehola and Tayasir. The commando group moved out of the area, while enemy reinforcements were brought in, backed by helicopters which dropped flares in an attempt to locate them.

At 9:00 a.m., Saturday, the commandos attacked a number of military targets in the same area and clashed with the Israeli reinforcements who were trying to encircle

them. The battle between the commandos and Israeli troops, at the entrance to Tayasir village, lasted until the late afternoon, when the commando group succeeded in breaking out of the siege and returned to their base. However, the enemy captured three militants who were badly wounded and had run out of ammunition.

A Palestinian military spokesman issued a commentary on the Tayasir operation. He noted that the commando unit had penetrated 17 kilometers into the occupied territories before it clashed with Israeli forces. The operation was notable because it came after the mass popular uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in past months, and exemplified the various types of resistance practiced by the Palestinian people, in effect stating that armed struggle is the main means of regaining Palestinian rights.

The spokesman then outlined the following points regarding the operation:

1) The commando unit was able to execute all the stages of its plan with great success, despite the extensive security and

precautions of the Israeli forces.

2) By virtue of reaching its objective near Tayasir, the unit was able to confuse the enemy's assessment of the situation from the first day. The enemy Chief of Staff's declaration on Saturday is definite proof of that. This was in addition to the size of the military concentrations and the continuous heavy fire in the direction of the Jordanian border from 11:30 p.m. January 28 to 5:00 a.m. January 29.

3) The enemy's search operations on the night of January 28-29 and the next day failed to realize their objectives, despite their extensiveness.

4) Our commandos launched their attack on the morning of January 30. They held the initiative and the element of surprise, as the enemy admitted. The enemy said that "the commandos began by throwing 2 hand grenades and opening machine gun fire. They surprised us at a short distance, and the resulting battle was fierce."

5) Our commandos fought an intensive battle for 5 consecutive hours against the enemy forces and inflicted heavy casualties on them. Our fighters were carrying enough weapons and equipment to enable them to extend the battle, contrary to the enemy

JORDAN

King Hussein donates cannon fodder for the projects of the enemy alliance

While at present Jordan's role in the imperialist settlement seems blocked by Zionist determination to retain the West Bank indefinitely, King Hussein remains pivotal in the enemies' plans. This was recently expressed by Charles Percy, chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who visited the area in January. He concluded his stay in Amman by calling on Jordan "to play a bigger role for peace in the region".

The most recent concrete indication that King Hussein is following these instructions was his January 28th call for a force of

Jordanian volunteers to join Iraq's battle against Iran. Simultaneously, recruitment offices were opened, and the Jordanian air force was put on alert. The latter move was supposedly to guard against an Iranian attack, but more probably done as part of the campaign to try and make the people of Jordan perceive Iran as a danger. Once again it was demonstrated that peace, as defined by the enemy camp, means war for the masses and against all who do not conform to the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plans.

The Jordanian regime's decision to intervene militarily in the Iraq-Iran war signifies

several things. For one, it denotes recognition that the Iraqi troops have reached a difficult point in this wasteful war. From the start, Jordan has supported Saddam Hussein's adventure politically and by providing supplies and transit facilities. Now, one week after visiting Baghdad, King Hussein feels called upon to contribute troops as well.

Second and more significant is what the king's move reveals about the current political situation in the region. In this phase, Arab reaction needs to stage a diversionary maneuver in order to cover their failure to confront the most recent example of blatant Zionist aggression — the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. Syria has been working to reconstruct Arab solidarity on the basis of confronting Israeli expansionism, and the revolutionary and patriotic forces in the area have called for decisive

claims in its first communique that the clash was short.

6) The enemy was only able to take 3 of our fighters prisoner after they were seriously wounded and after their ammunition ran out.

7) The size of the enemy reinforcements rushed to the battlefield proves the low morale of their soldiers in confrontation with our fighters.

8) Our fighters were transporting large amounts of weapons and ammunition for commandos operating in occupied Palestine.

9) What took place, by the enemy's own admission, proves the success of our fighters despite the enemy's arrogance. Several members of the unit were able to break the enemy's encirclement and successfully continue their mission.

10) We cannot reveal many of the facts about this operation for the safety and security of our work and fighters, but the enemy is well aware from the knowledge it possesses that its incapacity is great and its morale low, despite all the illusory victories claimed.

The masses in occupied Palestine were able to witness the large-scale military campaign of the enemy, in which thousands of troops, helicopters and warplanes were used under the direct supervision of the highest command, starting with the Chief of Staff, the commander of the central sector and the head of military intelligence.

Source: Wafa

measures. Arab reaction, for its part, needs a new excuse for once again shying away from facing 'Israel' or even challenging US imperialism's massive support to this entity. To this purpose, the reactionaries have busied themselves with three interrelated matters: support to Iraq in the Iraq-Iran war, Gulf security and the ongoing efforts to forge Arab consensus on the Fahd plan. Completing these tasks would greatly consolidate the Jordanian-Iraqi-Saudi axis and at the same time serve the purpose of encircling Syria and the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and undermining opposition to the Fahd plan.

Back to Fez and reactionary solidarity

The Jordanian regime is playing a leading role on all three levels of the current reactionary plan. Hussein's travels in January

were a countermeasure to President Assad's earlier trip to elicit support for a line of confrontation, in the same way that consolidating reactionary solidarity is a countermove to the strengthening of Syrian-Soviet relations.

The king described his visit to Saudi Arabia as part of "the efforts being made to

purify the Arab atmosphere before we (re)begin the Fez conference". His visit followed that of Morocco's Foreign Minister who was in Saudi Arabia for the expressed purpose of discussing adoption of the Fahd plan. In the same period, Arab League Secretary General Klibi was touring Arab countries to, in his own words, "speed up nego-

King Hussein monitors the progress of Arab reaction in the Gulf war.



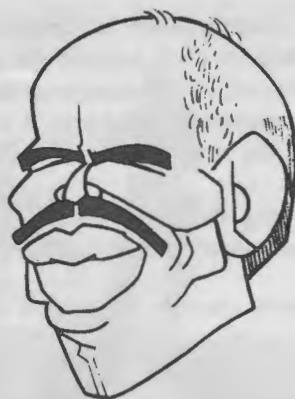
tiations between the Arab states on the Saudi peace plan... The postponement (of the Fez Summit) gives the Arab regimes a chance to reconsider these proposals in a more comprehensive manner."

Hussein's trip to Saudi Arabia was equally linked to the issue of security. This was seen in his entourage which included Prime Minister Badran, former head of the Jordanian intelligence, and Defense Minister Zaid Ben Shaker. Beginning January 23rd, he toured Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Oman to elicit more support for Iraq and to promise Jordanian support for their security needs. He thus covered all the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council, which on January 28th announced the conclusion of a joint security pact along the lines pushed by the Saudis. Prior to the conclusion of this pact, Bahrain's Interior Minister had emphasized "the need for a Gulf rapid deployment force". King Hussein's formation of a force to send to Iraq is a step in this direction and falls totally in line with the intentions of the Gulf rulers who have cited an alleged attempted coup in Bahrain, supposedly instigated by Iran, as the reason for their military and security axis. (See article Bulletin 59.)

In fact, the Jordanian regime's link to the security of Gulf reaction and its intervention here is not new. In the early seventies Jordan sent officers and an engineer corps to Oman to help Sultan Qabus in his war against the PFLO; Jordanian intelligence works closely with that of a number of Gulf states and also participated in quelling the Mecca uprising. Today, Hussein expects that other regimes will contribute to the rapid deployment force to save Saddam Hussein.

The weapons of reaction aim at the patriotic forces

The current moves of the Arab reactionaries show that they have once again conceded to US imperialism's argument that "a strong Israel is a reasonable Israel". Arab reaction has contented itself with the superficial dispute that occurred between the US and 'Israel' after the Golan annexation, while going about its own endeavors which ultimately serve the same aims sought by imperialism and Zionism. With Haig and Percy's visits to 'Israel' it has become clear that strategic cooperation will go on, and the US veto in the Security Council and General Assembly left no doubts about imperialism's real stand on the issue of Zionist expansionism. Now Arab reaction is trying to belittle the importance of the US-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement, as when King Hussein described it as "limited in



scope and aims" in a recent interview, and then changed the subject to the 'Iranian threat' to the Arabs. The other side of the reactionaries' rhetoric is stressing the hopelessness of confrontation, as when Saudi Prince Fahd recently told an assembly of Saudi students: "It is not wise to enter a battle which one is convinced he will lose."

Arab reaction does have its guns poised, but they are aimed at the patriotic forces. Blunting patriotic steadfastness and aborting any confrontation against imperialism and

WHO IS VOLUNTEERING TO FIGHT IRAN?

The PFLP's weekly *Al Hadaf* has been contacted by persons who have reliable first-hand knowledge of the situation in Jordan. These sources report that King Hussein's call for volunteers to fight in the Yarmouk force with the Iraqi regime against Iran has met with little positive response. In the face of a virtual boycott, the regime has issued special leaves for soldiers in the Jordanian army, who then don their civilian clothes and register at the recruitment offices as 'volunteers' for Iraq.

Jordanian tank on the border with Syria.



Zionism are prerequisites for the stability to which Arab reaction aspires.

In line with this, the Jordanian regime has been escalating provocations against Syria in particular. It is well known that the regime has long been supporting the Moslem Brotherhood's subversion in Syria. The Brotherhood and other reactionary groups are trained under the direct supervision of Prime Minister Badran, who has opened the region around Irbid for their activities and entry into Syria. A recent incident made the Brotherhood's Jordanian link much more explicit. On January 21, a reactionary armed group infiltrated Syria from Jordan and ambushed an army patrol, killing a lieutenant and another Syrian soldier, then withdrawing over the border under cover of the fire of the Jordanian army. The Jordanian regime had prepared for this incident by accusing a Syrian diplomat of responsibility for an explosion in a store in Amman, which was in fact carried out by a religious group.

Clearly such provocations aim at forcing Syria to disperse its energies at the expense of its steadfast position internally, regionally and especially in Lebanon. This is the Jordanian regime's contribution to the overall enemy plan to bring Syria to its knees as a prerequisite for dealing with the Palestinian Revolution. The regime's efforts complement the efforts of the US officials — Habib, Percy, Haig — who have been visiting our area, on the one hand, and the aggression of 'Israel' on the other (the Golan annexation, the past and planned attacks on the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon, and the repression of our masses under occupation). Jordan's role emphasizes once again that effective struggle against imperialism and Zionism requires that the forces of the revolution conduct their struggle on the basis of full comprehension that Arab reaction is firmly embedded in the enemy camp and must be confronted as such.

CONTINUED VIOLATION OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

While King Hussein was visiting Washington in early November, new arrests occurred in Jordan, including Palestinian National Council member Azmi al Khawajeh and Ahmed Saleh Mesleh, also active in the Palestinian struggle. This serves to accentuate the interconnection between the

regime's subservience to imperialism and its repressive domestic policy. The very establishment of the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan was facilitated by British colonialism in order to have a dependable client that could also serve as a buffer for the emerging Zionist entity in Palestine. Thus, the nature

of the regime automatically classifies it as an enemy of the masses, Jordanian and Palestinian.

Jordan's internal structure is totally geared to the tasks of aborting the Palestinian and Arab masses' struggle. The regime has an enormous intelligence budget: 26 million Jordanian dinars, the equivalent of \$90 million. Besides enabling tight internal control, the size of the intelligence budget attests to the extensive expertise in this field which the regime exports to reactionary regimes in the Gulf. Likewise, the army is oversized and overtrained in comparison to the size of the country. Its training and armament, coming from the imperialist countries, are geared towards domestic repression and not defense of the country, as was demonstrated in the 1970-71 war against the Palestinian Resistance.

The current repressive measures are closely linked to the regime's promotion of the Fahd plan. The Jordanian monarchy has always implicitly recognized the Zionist entity as called for by the Saudis' eight points, and King Hussein sees this plan as an avenue for gaining his own entry into the imperialist solution. In this situation of maneuvers to gain Arab consensus for reintroduction of the Fahd plan, Hussein cannot tolerate any popular expression that might expose his treachery and reveal the ultimate fragility of his regime due to its lack of popular support. Tight internal control is also a prerequisite for the regime's efforts to send volunteers to fight with Iraq.

Union closed, patriots arrested

Thus, the new arrests come as no surprise, but are an expression of the regime's historical and current role. Equally damaging to the Palestinian and Jordanian masses — and equally beneficial to the Zionist entity across the borders — are the oppressive policies practiced by the regime on a daily basis over the years.

Political parties being banned, unions provide a meaningful vehicle for the masses to gather and express their opinions. Consequently, the regime is constantly interfering in these mass organizations, attempting to dominate them and striking any union which

PROTEST COMMUNIQUES

THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM IN JORDAN

The Committee for the Defense of Democratic Freedom in Jordan has learned that the Jordanian authorities stormed the home of Azmi al Khawajeh (Abu Issam), a leading member of the PFLP, member of the Palestinian National Council, and member of the General Secretariat of the Popular League in Jordan. He was taken to the central intelligence and escorted to the same solitary cell where he has already spent many years of his life. This is the fourth time he is imprisoned: The first time was in 1966 for about one year; the second time was in 1976 for about three years; the third time was 1980 for about 10 months.

At the same time, the home of the militant Ahmed Saleh Mesleh (Abu Mashhour) was stormed, and he was arrested for the second time. The first time the Jordanian authorities arrested him was after the Israeli authorities had deported him. Prior to his deportation to Jordan, he had spent nine years in Israeli prisons (1967-76).

These arrests are only part of the series of measures aimed at suppressing any democratic or patriotic events... the liquidation of the women's union, increased intervention in the affairs of the trade unions, the wave of arrests during and following Hussein's visit to Washington...

Now, after the defeat of the Fez conference and the blow dealt to Arab reaction, the tyrannical Jordanian authorities try to spread an atmosphere of terror, so as to prevent any popular uprising or protest which may occur as a result of Hussein's treacherous stands.

The arrest of Abu Issam and Abu Mashhour comes as part of this series of measures against the people, even though the activities of these two militants are *limited to the leadership and direction of our people's struggle in the occupied territories, i.e.* against the Zionist enemy. These measures negate the regime's claims of support to the PLO and the Palestinian people; they confirm the fact that the Jordanian regime considers any relationship a citizen may have with the PLO as a crime punishable by law.

On this occasion, the General Secretariat of the Committee for the Defense of Democratic Freedom in Jordan calls on all patriotic and democratic forces to express solidarity with the struggle of our people in Jordan. We call on all concerned international institutions to intervene in order to free the militants Abu Issam and Abu Mashhour and all other political prisoners.

PFLP STATEMENT (excerpt)

...The reactionary Jordanian regime is trying to give the maneuvers vis-a-vis the inhabitants of the occupied territories a legitimate cover, thus benefiting from its relations with the PLO and the Joint Committee. However, all the regime's activities only prove that it is out to fulfill its own policies.

In the present situation, arresting our comrades Abu Issam and Abu Mashhour is performing an unpaid service for the Israeli authorities who strive to strangle the Palestinian Revolution and cut all ties of external support, in order that the Jordanian regime and the Israeli authorities become the only ones to dominate the fate of the occupied lands. This calls for a revision of the policies of the leaders of the PLO with respect to their relations with the Jordanian regime.



Free Abu Issam and Abu Mashhour and all political prisoners in Jordan.

resists domination. Thus, in September 1981, Minister of Social Development Inam al Mufti dissolved the previously legitimate women's union which had been established in 1975. The stated reason was that the union had been "dealing in politics". This accusation merely attests to the fact that the women's union was very active and thus had acquired broad popular support. Instead the regime has launched a substitute body: The National Jordanian Womens Union. Its by-laws hint at its real function: This union can refuse membership to any woman without giving any reason. The central intelligence is screening all applications to insure control.

Active students are also a main target of repression, especially as they have been on the forefront in declaring solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution. During the autumn activities at Yarmouk University — a sit-in to protest the arrest of progressive students — literally hundreds were arrested. Many of them are still being held for interrogation, and student leaders are liable to prison sentences of as much as ten years.

While the regime's main aim is to weed out organized patriotic forces, the measures enforced infringe on the rights of the people at large: withdrawal of passports; harrassment of journalists and the firing of those who are not totally loyal to the regime; regulations requiring almost all employers to submit the names of job applicants to the central intelligence — if he or she is not approved, they cannot be employed. All these measures are but the other side of the Jordanian regime's interference in the affairs of our masses in occupied Palestine.

Besides direct measures, the regime has other insidious methods to render the masses powerless. The Moslem Brotherhood is the only non-regime political group allowed to function freely. Harboring the Brotherhood serves the purpose of striking Syrian steadfastness, but it also has its internal uses. The regime is interested in cultivating a certain degree of religious fanaticism in order to divide the people. The Moslem Brotherhood enjoys influence at top levels, particularly in the Education Ministry. This ministry has

opened military training camps where the Brotherhood trains its own members, in addition to other young people who have been misled in the name of religion. This is done under the guise of work camps, missionary guidance camps, etc.

In the recent period, the Brotherhood has planted explosives in the shops of Christians, particularly those selling alcohol, in the name of fighting blasphemy. That the regime condones internal violence when this serves its purposes was clearly seen in the case of a murder last year. The Brotherhood killed two Christian teachers from Ajloun, and the regime never brought the murderers to court. It allowed the matter to be dealt with within the context of the tribal system.

Besides having an interest in preserving the divisions of the tribal system, the regime is keen to make divisions between Jordanians and Palestinians. Recently, there was an attack on the football team of Wahdat camp; Jordanian police participated eagerly in this.

AMERICA'S ARABS

The timing of US Defense Minister Weinberger's visit to the Gulf was no coincidence. He arrived in Saudi Arabia on February 6th, little over a week after the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council had announced the conclusion of a joint security pact, as well as their intention to form a joint military force, air defense system, military command and eventually joint arms manufacturing. Given the nature of these regimes and the dominance of the Saudis, it has been clear from the start that sooner or later the Gulf Cooperation Council would be directly linked to US imperialism's plans in the area, especially its military build-up. These expectations were confirmed by the US-Saudi agreement to set up a joint military committee, reached between the respective defense ministers, Weinberger and Prince Sultan, in their talks on February 9th. This agreement is also the logical extension of the AWACS sale.

While the agreement was presented as strictly bilateral, it is clear that it will influence the Gulf Cooperation Council's joint military efforts. At the time of visiting the Saudis, Weinberger termed co-production of weapons with 'moderate' Arab states as a "real possibility"; this coincides with the reactionary Gulf states' intention to engage in regional arms manufacture. Another indication of the Gulf Cooperation Council's linkage to US plans came during Weinberger's next stop: Oman. In talks with Sultan Qabus, arrangements were made to facilitate use of Omani territory for the RDF, including the storage of equipment.

On the political level there have also been new indications of the consolidation of the Gulf Cooperation Council's reactionary positions in compliance with imperialist plans. The latest meeting of the foreign ministers

New US military gains in the region

of the member states decided to push for putting the Iraq-Iran war on the agenda when the Fez Summit reconvenes, in an attempt to make the Iraqi regime's attack on Iran an all-Arab cause. After their hesitancy at Fez in the face of patriotic opposition, these regimes have now reaffirmed their intention to work for the Fahd plan's adoption. It is to be noted that the subject of the Iraq-Iran war was avoided at the last two Arab summits in order to avoid a split. The position of the Gulf Cooperation Council on this and on reintroducing the Fahd plan signifies Arab reaction's renewed determination to break the links of patriotic resistance to these treacherous projects. Like the current efforts of the Jordanian regime (see article in this Bulletin), these decisions are intended to divert from the confrontation with 'Israel' while at the same time strengthening Arab reaction. This was clear at the Arab foreign ministers meeting in Tunis, February 12th, when the reactionaries blocked a Syrian proposal to impose sanctions on the US, due to its support to the Golan annexation. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait led the move to 'soften' Syria's resolution.

Jordan and Morocco

Weinberger's third stop was Jordan, where agreement was also reached with the regime to set up a joint military committee. Weinberger pledged to work for selling mobile Hawk anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan in an obvious attempt to counter the regime's intentions to buy these from the Soviet Union, after being previously refused by the US. There was also discussion of a potential sale of F16s. Both these sales, if they mate-

rialize, are to be financed by Iraqi petrol-dollars.

US Secretary of State Haig was meanwhile working to the same ends as Weinberger, but on the other flank of Arab reaction. His February 11th visit to Morocco focused on the possibility of using Moroccan territory and facilities for the Rapid Deployment Force. The facilities in question are two former US bases, evacuated by American troops in 1963, and since used by the Moroccan air force. Agreement was also reached on the formation of a joint military commission. While the US has not officially reversed its declared neutrality concerning the Sahara conflict, Reagan's opening the way for renewed arms sales to Morocco gives needed support to King Hassan's war against POLISARIO; the formation of the joint military commission indicates the possibility of more direct US imperialist involvement in the conflict.

The formation of joint military commissions with Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Morocco represents a big step forward in US imperialism's efforts to create a strong reactionary chain capable of deterring the popular and progressive movements in the Arab world. It indicates that more regimes are on the way to the position of the regimes in Egypt, Sudan, Oman and Somalia, that have welcomed US military presence. What is significant about the new arrangements is that they show that the military agreements with Arab reaction are proceeding at an even pace, despite some regimes' present inability to enter US imperialism's political framework for the area: Camp David. These agreements indicate quite clearly that the ultimate position of Arab reaction is alongside the Zionist entity and imperialism, against the people. ●

Military maneuvers in desert terrain in the US in preparation for anticipated action in Arab oil fields. With the new military agreements with Arab reaction, maybe such maneuvers can be held on the spot in the future.



While the Carter Administration recognized that Lebanon could not be pacified in the absence of a solution for the Middle East crisis, Reagan's staff has derived a policy of seeking a solution in Lebanon first. US imperialism wields extensive influence in our area. Thus, even such a shade of difference between the policies of two American administrations can have noteworthy effects in Lebanon, which has been designated as the main arena for dealing with the Palestinian Revolution.

LEBANON

patriotic Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian alliance.

This reasoning explains what all in Lebanon can observe in their daily reality: the Israeli military build-up in Saad Haddad's enclave and the continuous violations of Lebanese skies and waters. It is important to

article in this issue). Thus, it became clear to all that Zionist plans of aggression lie fully prepared; only the timing remains in question.

The same magazine article reports that Sharon met with Phalangist commander Beshir Gemayel in mid-January on an Israeli gunboat off the coast of Jounieh (the fascist-controlled harbor north of Beirut). "The main subject: coordination of efforts between Israelis and Phalangists, in the event of an invasion that would bring Israeli forces as far north as the edge of Beirut International Airport."

Such military plans are very real indeed, yet airing them publicly serves another purpose as well — that of threatening. Added to the recurring threats of the Zionist leadership, we hear the Phalangists encouraging the schools in their areas to complete the semester early if possible. Leaders of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement have pointed out that this can only mean that the fascists are preparing for an eruption of violence in the spring. On his recent visit to the area, US Secretary of State Haig also chimed in the chorus; he warned that arms supplies to the Palestinian Resistance in South Lebanon could lead to renewed fighting, in a reference to the Soviet Union's principled support to the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Actually these threats are a hint to Arab reaction to push for restrictions on the Palestinian Resistance in the name of avoiding aggression. Most currently, this means influencing the Arab League sub-committee which is scheduled to convene February 15th to draw up a "comprehensive Arab strategy for the South", which for the reactionaries means a new opportunity to promote the Fahd plan on the Lebanese level. On the same day, the UN Security Council is to deal with the Lebanese regime's request for an additional 1,000 UNIFIL troops in southern Lebanon. Brian Urquhart, the UN undersecretary for political affairs, has already stated that 1,000 more men would not enable UNIFIL deployment in Saad Haddad's occupied border strip. Thus, the most salient result of increasing UNIFIL's strength would be deterring patriotic Lebanese and Palestinian efforts to liberate the border strip and widening the security belt for 'Israel', which was in fact the regime's intent with making the request. This move is also in line with Phalangist attempts to internationalize the conflict.

Imperialism and Zionism can count on the compliance of Arab reaction, but they are also aware of the ability of the Pales-



An M-113 unloaded at Beirut harbor in October, part of a \$4.9 million arms delivery from the US to the Lebanese army.

Reagan's policy means more vigorous efforts to achieve what has been the declared US policy since the end of the 1975-76 civil war: consolidating the reactionary Lebanese state and its army and extending their authority at the expense of the positions of the Palestinian and Lebanese progressive forces. It also means closer US-Phalangist coordination, as the Reagan Administration sees that the real power base for the regime and army lies with the fascist forces. Most importantly, Reagan's 'Lebanon first' line constitutes a permanent green light for Zionist and fascist aggression against the

realize that the ceasefire arranged after the July war never meant a total stop to Zionist-fascist aggression in the South, and the tendency towards new attacks is escalating (see chronology).

The possibility of large-scale Israeli aggression in Lebanon has also received international coverage as in the February 15th edition of *Time*. The magazine reported that only a last minute decision made by Begin headed off an attack on Palestinian positions in the South planned by Sharon and Chief of Staff Eitan "in retaliation for" the successful guerrilla operation in the Jordan Valley (see

tinian Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement to protect themselves from such maneuvers. Thus, the more crucial target of the enemies' fear-spreading campaign is the masses, especially in South Lebanon, who have suffered most from the Zionist attacks. Coming in the wake of past aggression, these threats aim to drive the masses to a point of desperation, whereby they might accept the authority of the Lebanese army, in conjunction with an increased UNIFIL, as the only alternative to the total loss of life and livelihood. If this task is to be accomplished, the reactionary Lebanese authority must succeed in its efforts to promote discord within the patriotic ranks and to provoke security problems in the patriotic areas. The military intelligence – the Deuxieme Bureau – is playing the leading role in these efforts in order to decrease the masses' faith in the only forces who have actually protected them from the Zionist-fascist aggression – the Resistance and the LPM.

It is in this context that we see the full extent of the danger represented by the clashes between the Amal movement and components of the Joint Forces in the South. This fighting affected the Nabatiyeh, Saida and Sour areas during the last week of January and resulted in 25 deaths and many more injured. The seriousness of such clashes and the fact that they are part of an ongoing effort was seen in that they also produced tension between the same parties in the southern suburbs of Beirut; moreover, they followed the clashes in the first week of January in Beirut between Amal and organizations of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, mainly the communists.

Another indication of their seriousness is the promptness with which the Lebanese fascists tried to exploit these events: Saad Haddad offered Amal the help of his militias, and Lebanese Front leader Camille Chamoun described Amal as the representative of the Shi'a defending the South from "Palestinian control" and the "imposition of communist ideology". Of course, Amal rejected Haddad's offer out of hand, but it is equally important that Amal refuse to in any way be party to the enemy's efforts to divide the people along sectarian lines. In its relations with the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, the Amal movement has an obligation to live up to the struggle history of the people of the South. These people, mostly Shi'a, were the first to welcome the Palestinian Resistance and to struggle with it; persons of Shi'a origin are to be found in many different patriotic organizations, including the communist ones. It is not in the interests of the patriotic forces

generally that any one organization claim a monopoly over the people of a particular faith.

Meetings between the Joint Forces and Amal have succeeded in stopping these clashes and sought solutions to the problems that provoked them. Patriotic Lebanese and Palestinian leaders have reaffirmed that Amal is part of the patriotic camp, but also emphasized that this entails responsibility for preventing secondary differences to impair overall unity against Zionism and the fascist forces. The responsibility rests with Amal to cleanse itself of those elements who are trying to use the movement as a vehicle for the reactionary regime's attempts to

make divisions between the people on the one hand and the Resistance, LPM and Syria on the other. Indeed, a major enemy aim is to discredit Syria's peacekeeping role in Lebanon, and the clashes fall right in line with this.

Both the threats of impending Zionist-fascist aggression and the problems in the patriotic areas once again highlight the importance of the LPM being supported in exercising its leadership role. The real bulwark against the enemy plans in Lebanon is the unity and strength of the patriotic Lebanese. Both Syria and the Palestinian Resistance must consistently make this a prime point in all their dealings in Lebanon.

CHRONOLOGY

The following is a list of provocations and actual aggressions carried out in Lebanon by the Israeli military and Saad Haddad's fascist militias since July 24th, when a ceasefire supposedly went into effect on the borders between Lebanon and 'Israel'. The most constant feature of the ceasefire period has been almost daily Israeli overflights, particularly intense in the South, but reaching all parts of Lebanon. Actual attacks have also occurred as when Israeli gunboats fired on Lebanese fishermen on January 23rd, and the recurring infiltrations into southern villages. The last two months have witnessed the massing of Israeli troops at the border and a qualitative and quantitative military build-up in the occupied border strip.

July 27: 'Israel' and militia fire on Hirsh Nabi and Kfar Tibnit.

July 28: Syrian planes intercept Israeli warplanes over North Lebanon and shoot down one Israeli drone; 'Israel' claims to have shot down a Syrian MIG.

August 3: Israeli gunboats shell Sour and Rashediyeh camp; the Joint Forces fire at the boats.

August 4: Israeli gunboats fire near Rasheidiyeh and Ras al Ain near Sour; Israeli helicopters over Sour; Israeli military vehicles reported moving into Marjeyoun and Qlai'a.

August 7: Israeli planes circle over Nabatiyeh ten times; Joint Forces fire anti-aircraft.

August 10-11: Militias fire artillery against the Joint Forces.

September 12: Joint Israeli-militia shelling of the coast near Sour; more heavy Israeli

artillery moved into the border strip at the start of September.

September 19: Israelis raiding the village of Braasheet wound one villager. The people of Braasheet protested to the UNIFIL commander, because this was reported as an internal fight in the village. (Braasheet is supposedly protected by the UNIFIL troops.)

October 3: Saad Haddad militiamen blow up a house in Toulin; three villagers are injured.

October 6: Israeli troops attempt to kidnap villagers from Kfar Hamam, but are deterred by UNIFIL. On October 11th, the attempt was repeated.

October 12: Three children in Ghandouriyeh are killed and one wounded when a cluster bomb, thought to remain from the March 1978 Israeli invasion, explodes.

October 13: Saad Haddad militias shell the triangle of Hasbaya, Hasbani and Abu Kamha.

October 14: Israeli and militia forces blow up a house in Haddatha near a UNIFIL checkpoint.

October 15: Another form of Israeli penetration into Lebanon came to public attention on this day when the Lebanese Patriotic Movement confiscated a load of carpets and sugar which had been smuggled from 'Israel' into Lebanon through the occupied border strip.

October 16: Militia and Israeli forces blow up a house in Toulin.

October 29: Saad Haddad shells Borghoz village.

At the end of October it was reported that 'Israel' had again embarked on its previous policy of creeping annexation, whereby Lebanese land is fenced off along the

border, thus extending the Israeli border into Lebanon. In the same period, Sharon and Chief of Staff Eitan were in the border strip meeting with Saad Haddad.

November 9: The PLO reports that 'Israel' has moved four army brigades to the borders with Lebanon and the Golan Heights.

November 11: Israeli troops try once again to infiltrate Kfar Hamam.

November 15: Militia and Israelis shell Aishiyeh.

November 17: Saad Haddad's militias block off UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura and blow up their water line. The blockade lasts several days.

December 1: Militia blows up house in Toulin; one villager is killed and three injured.

December 18: Saad Haddad blows up two houses in Yatar.

December 19: 'Israel' annexes the Golan Heights; at this time the PLO reports that the Zionist state has assembled three divisions of troops at the Lebanese borders.

January 17: On this night, Israeli forces conducted large-scale military exercises with live ammunition in the occupied border strip. Helicopters flew over the area constantly, starting at 6 p.m., and military vehicles moved from Qlai'a towards Marjeyoun. Explosions and heavy shelling began at 9 p.m. lasting for several hours. UNIFIL reported 50,000 rounds of ammunition fired. Throughout these exercises, the Joint Forces observed Israeli naval vessels off the Lebanese coast, from Sour to Zahrani (south of Saida).

Also in mid-January, Israeli experts conducted on-the-spot planning around the Wazani springs, east of Marjeyoun, concerning how to draw water from here to Israeli settlements.

January 19: Israeli warplanes fly over the South and Beirut at low altitudes for the fifth consecutive day, drawing anti-aircraft fire from the Palestinian Resistance. Israeli planes over the Bekaa Valley draw two SAM missiles from the Syrian troops.

January 21: Israeli naval activity increases off the Lebanese coast. On this day, the Joint Forces fire on a warship off Damour's coast.

January 23: Israeli gunboats fire on fishing boats in Lebanese waters wounding one Lebanese fisherman, sinking a boat and damaging several others. The gunboats deliberately rammed the fishing vessels, and the Israeli sailors tore up the fishing nets. Later one of the fishermen reported that he had pointed out to the Israeli officer that they

were in Lebanese waters. The officer's answer was: "Shut up, you. Our borders are from Morocco to Turkey, and these waters are ours."

Earlier in the month, another southern Lebanese fisherman, Darwish Fadl Hajo, was released after spending nine months in Israeli jails. This serves as a reminder that the January 23rd attack was not a new Israeli move, but a continuation of the 'scorched earth' at sea, whereby the Zionists seek to destroy the people's means of livelihood.

UNITED NATIONS VOTE

On February 5th, in response to the Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling on all UN members to take steps to isolate 'Israel', in particular to sever diplomatic, trade and cultural relations, and to refrain from arms sales and purchases. The resolution was passed by 86 votes, with 21 against, 34 abstaining (including Egypt) and 16 absent. As such it is clearly a great diplomatic victory for Syria and the Palestinian and Arab cause, affirming international recognition and condemnation of the injustices that 'Israel' perpetrates on the Arab people. The breakdown of the vote is in itself a graphic illustration of where Israeli support comes from: with the sole exception of Fiji, it was the imperialist countries who voted against the resolution. Even countries such as Peru and Nepal, who have full diplomatic relations with 'Israel', voted for the resolution; the more blatant US client regimes in Latin America and Africa abstained.

Though the final resolution did not call for ousting 'Israel' from the UN, it laid the necessary groundwork by labelling the Zionist entity "not a peace-loving member state," and was similar to resolutions that preceded South Africa's expulsion seven years ago. This is an important step for 86 countries to have taken, especially in light of the fact that the US had threatened, a few days before the vote, to cut off financial support to the UN if there was any attempt to oust 'Israel'. This blatant blackmailing of the UN is just another example of the unlimited US support extended to the Zionist entity. It also reveals that this support is part of US strategic interests, as commented on by the Soviet Union's news agency Tass: "Such a step by Washington once again vividly shows that the US counts on the retention of the maintenance of tension in the Middle East and essentially

January 30: New reports of Israeli troops massing in the border strip.

February 2: Saad Haddad militiamen shoot and kill the 47 year old Lebanese peasant, Naim Farhat, as he is tilling his land outside the village of Braasheet.

Note: This chronology excludes the many Zionist-inspired aggressions carried out by the fascist forces internally, chiefly car bombs and political assassinations.

instigates Israel to new aggressive actions against Arab states." This comment is particularly noteworthy given US delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick's hypocritical rationale for voting against sanctions: she claimed the resolution made "peace harder to achieve."

The Israeli reaction to the resolution was as expected: they denounced the decision and charged the UN with being a "tool wielded by hostile states to spread their enmity and hypocrisy." Both Israeli and US statements alluded to anti-Semitism in the UN, in an attempt to label anti-Zionism as a form of racism.

Though the General Assembly resolution is a diplomatic defeat for both Zionism and imperialism, and a special victory for the Syrian and Palestinian people, it must be seen in its proper perspective. The decisions of the General Assembly are not binding for member states — the only binding decisions come from the Security Council, where the US already vetoed a similar resolution. Thus, while 86 countries have demonstrated solidarity, they have not legally pledged their commitment to sanctions.

Another factor that must be considered is the nature of 'Israel' itself. It would be the utmost delusion to think for one moment that such a resolution will retrieve the Golan Heights; it will not even protect the West Bank and Gaza Strip from the same fate 'Israel' has demonstrated its utter disregard for international law and opinion again and again. Yes, 86 nations voted to condemn the Golan annexation, and 'Israel' is becoming more isolated internationally. But this is not the main issue: as long as the Arab regimes wage their struggle on the battlefield of the UN alone, and not in South Lebanon or the occupied lands, and as long as 'Israel' is the strategic ally of imperialism in the region, the Zionist entity will continue on its expansionist and aggressive path.

MASS WORK LITERACY CAMPAIGN

الدرس التاسع



مناضل

عامل ومناضل

كل عامل في صامد

عامل و مناضل

١٣

Basic lesson in the literacy book published by Samed (PLO economic institution). Text: militant; worker and militant; every worker in Samed is a worker and a militant.

A special PLO committee that deals with the education of Palestinians in Lebanon has initiated a literacy campaign project. The name of the project is Campaign for the Eradication of Illiteracy among the Palestinians in Lebanon. At the present time the campaign has been planned and 6 months of preparatory studies and surveys of the population have been completed.

The studies of the Higher Council for the Eradication of Illiteracy revealed that the

need for such a campaign is urgent in Lebanon, especially in the camps where the highest percentage of Palestinians live, although other areas will not be excluded in the campaign. The research revealed that pupils educated in the UNRWA schools are weak in reading and writing skills. This is especially true for those who only completed a 6th grade education. The reasons behind the low level of education that Palestinians are receiving are many, but specifically

there is difficulty in retaining good and dedicated teachers because of the political situation in Lebanon. Also the security situation makes it difficult for students to complete their course or concentrate on their studies.

The research carried out by the Higher Council was designed to pinpoint target populations (i.e. women, fighters, age groups, etc.) and to determine the different levels that could be grouped together to form classes. The results were that three levels were determined: basic (non-readers), intermediate (weak readers and writers) and continuing education (for further vocational or educational training). Several specific plans were made for educating women, who represent the largest group of illiterate, especially in the 17-45 year age group. This is due to the socio-cultural fact that women are not expected to finish their education and often start their families at an early age. Other plans include special classes for the fighters that will be taught by university educated comrades serving in the military. Books will be provided along with some basic teacher training for the educated to teach the uneducated. Vocational training centers will be set up alongside literacy classes for young males and females who want to work in hopes of providing for themselves or their families. Thus they will be given a trade skill in addition to literacy classes. The target population for this type of education are youths between the ages of 12-16. The three basic age groupings are: 9-13, 13-16 and 17-40. The studies found that there are 26,000 weak or non-readers.

If a student enters the program at the basic level, they will be encouraged to finish all three stages of education. Special classes will also be given that don't correspond to the three levels envisioned. These include special math and technical training courses.

Education has always been a high priority for the Palestinians, who have the fourth largest ratio of university graduates as compared to the size of the population, following the US, England and France. This campaign has special significance because it is the first national literacy campaign sponsored by the Palestinian Revolution. Some of the organizations have limited experience in this area, but for the first time a well planned effort has been launched to educate the Palestinians in Lebanon. Later the campaign hopes to extend to Palestinians in other parts of the Arab world. Information about literacy campaigns in other parts of the world, such as Cuba and Ethiopia, have been used in the planning and formulation of this campaign. However, different social and political situations dictate a unique system

which will correspond to the needs and facts of the masses in Lebanon. A basic premise under which this campaign will function is that the teacher should be a comrade and friend to the student, thereby facilitating and encouraging progress.

The books for the campaign will be specially written according to the assessment made from the research already completed. The basic book for the first course will be designed for all ages. It will show the cultural side of the revolution, using the national aims to teach basic reading skills. This method is based on the revolutionary methods

first developed by Paulo Freire in his book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. The second book will be specialized according to the age group and type of group using it. For example, there will be a special book on family hygiene for women, one about tools for workers, and another on cultural aspects of the revolution for teenagers.

The campaign is envisioned as lasting three years and the aim is to help create the new human being, free from the bonds of illiteracy and thus more equipped to fight domination, able to contribute and participate in the new revolutionary society.

congress, defined three main tasks for the coming period: (1) starting first aid courses (2) the literacy campaign and (3) volunteer work. This committee has a representative in the committee formed by the Front to carry out the literacy campaign. Several members of the PYO attended the PLO teacher training course and classes have started in some areas.

In Shatila camp in Beirut, the PYO has started two courses, one for females and one for males at the request of the students. Similar efforts have begun in Saida, Sour, the Bekaa and Tripoli.

Prior to beginning the classes in Shatila, the PYO informed people in the camp about the campaign and collected the names of persons interested in attending the classes. They held a meeting with those interested and explained the importance of the campaign.

There are 13 women and 22 men ranging from 20-35 years of age. Each class begins with discussion. The discussions focus on the daily situation of the students and have a twofold aim: first, the atmosphere becomes more relaxed and less formal; second and more important, the discussion becomes a pivot for politicizing the students through subjects familiar to them. The classes meet four days a week for two hours; students who have difficulty with the lessons come early and receive additional help. Two teachers attend each class; one teaches while the other helps the students individually. The teachers are volunteers and meet each week to discuss problems. They also regularly visit the students in their homes as this allows them to be more aware of each student's situation.

The enthusiasm for the classes is great. However, many persons who would like to attend are not able to do so, primarily because of family obligations, children, work, etc.

STATISTICS GATHERED BY THE HIGHER COUNCIL FOR THE ERADICATION OF ILLITERACY OF THE PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON

AGE GROUP	ILLITERATE		SEMI-LITERATE	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
9-12	200	300	200	300
13-16	200	300	800	1000
17-45	3600	8400	6000	5700

Camps in the South have less females in school than in Beirut. More older women are illiterate than younger in all areas, north and south.

PFLP BEGINS CLASSES

In January the PFLP began its concrete efforts in the literacy campaign. Several months of planning took place in order to insure maximum results from the courses. Education is a main vehicle in mobilizing the masses and a necessity for defeating the enemy. A committee was formed of members from all sectors of the Front — youth, women, fighters, etc. A program was made and persons interested in teaching were gathered together. The program takes into consideration the literacy campaign being initiated by the PLO. However, as the enthusiasm was great, PFLP comrades decided to begin the classes as soon as possible. The classes are structured so that when the PLO campaign begins, they can easily be incorporated into the overall program. Approximately 25 members of the Front attended a 15 day teacher training course sponsored by the PLO. Books and other materials needed are from the PLO.

The classes are divided into three levels: basic, intermediate and advanced. Emphasis is placed on reading and simple mathematics. At the present time each class is designed to last six months and students are encouraged

to complete all three levels. The classes are open to all persons; the majority attending are between the ages of 20-35.

PYO Participation

The social committee of the Palestinian Youth Organization, formed at the 1st PYO



New Students

Um Nidal is Lebanese and has two children and is expecting the third. She leaves her children with her family to attend the class. She explains her reasons for being in the class:

Not being able to read is like being blind. I didn't go to school when I was small, because my father was old-fashioned. He refused to let me or my sister go to school. After a long struggle, he allowed my younger brothers and sisters to go... I want to finish all three levels to help my children with their lessons. I divide my time so I can study, but it's mostly in the night when my children are



نضال العمال

عاش نضال العمال

من أجل تحرير فلسطين

وعاش نضال العمال

من أجل زيادة الإنتاج

وتحسين الإنتاج

More advanced lesson in the Samed book. Text: Workers' struggle; Long live the workers' struggle for the liberation of Palestine; Long live the workers' struggle for increasing and improving production.

asleep. My husband encourages me to come, but my children laugh at me and ask why my father never sent me to school... I'm very enthusiastic about the classes because I never entered a school. I have a good feeling about being able to learn.

Um Akrum is 31 years old. She grew up in the Gaza Strip. She finished the third elementary level, but was unable to continue her studies as a result of family pressure;

they felt that it was not proper for girls to be educated. When she was 14 years old, she married and left the Strip. She has six children, the youngest being four months old.

I'm taking the class so I can help my children with their lessons... I want to finish the class, but it is difficult because I have to take the younger children with me as I have no family here to leave them with... My husband encourages me to go to the class,

but there is no solution for helping me with the children and my work in the house."

Um Haythem was born in the village of Khalsa in northern Palestine. She was 6 months old when her family was exiled in 1948. Upon leaving Palestine, they went to Marjeyoun, but were forced to move as the Lebanese authorities did not want Palestinians living so near the border with 'Israel'. They moved to Nabatiyeh, but were forced to relocate again due to Zionist aggression. Now married, Um Haythem moved to Tel al Zaatar camp, where her husband was martyred. Since the civil war, she has been living with her children in Shatila camp.

Um Haythem was the oldest child in her family when she was growing up, so she had the responsibility of caring for the younger children and the housework. As a consequence, she completed only about a year of school. Here she explains her reasons for being in the literacy class:

We are the children of the Revolution. We cannot carry arms and remain ignorant. Our situation demands that we are educated.

Before I was upset when I saw things and couldn't read. Now I'm more at ease and have enthusiasm to work harder... I used to be bored, being in the house and visiting the neighbors. It would take me all day to do the housework. Now I divide my time. I finish the housework and study while my children are in school, and I look forward to the afternoon lesson.

Our class is very enthusiastic and we want to finish the book quickly. I hope to complete all 3 classes and become a cadre of the PFLP... More classes should be opened, the number of desks and chairs is not a problem...

The Palestinian people are very vigorous and stand up to attack. Many people want to know the secret to this energy. If we were weak, no one would care about us and our revolution.



Student in class sponsored by the PFLP Women's Bureau in Shatila.

EL SALVADOR

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

*The tide has risen
and cannot be held back.
Partly because of our action, but
mostly because of theirs.
They are bloody in power,
corrupt in private life –
mediocre.
We can gage the result
of the revolution
by the hate which the people
have for the tyrants.*

Salvador Cayetano Carpio
'Marcial', 1980
Commander of Farbundo Marti
Coordinator of FMLN



FMLN guerrillas.

The past months have witnessed a tremendous escalation in the struggle in El Salvador. The forces are clearly aligned: on one side is the popularly supported Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN-FDR), representing the aspirations of the overwhelming mass of Salvadoreans, and on the other is the US-backed junta of Duarte, led by the Christian Democrats, but in reality encompassing the forces of the extreme right, the oligarchal families, the military and the 'unofficial' death squads.

Despite all attempts to crush them, the forces of the FMLN-FDR have been making major strides forward, consolidating their power on the political, social and military levels. Most striking was their successful operation against Ilopango military airport, where they destroyed 28 aircraft, including the helicopters the regime uses for counter-insurgency. This attack followed months of other successful operations. A FMLN-FDR spokesman said recently: "Our combat capability has increased a lot. The level of coordination among the different fronts has increased dramatically, and our ability to attack is very much better now... the morale of our fighters is quite good." Even the junta admits that the FMLN-FDR controls more than a third of the countryside and is now making inroads in the urban areas. On February 8th, about a week after the airport attack, FMLN guerrillas attacked the government garrison at Usulután, the fourth largest

city, and sustained the assault for eight hours.

US imperialism, the Salvadorean junta and other Central American client states are reacting with panic to the steady gains of the FMLN-FDR. After the Ilopango airport attack, the US State Department announced: "There is no mistaking that the decisive battle for Central America is now under way in El Salvador," while Haig himself ominously added that the US "will do whatever is necessary" to protect the junta.

Regime troops drag the body of one of their victims behind their US military vehicle.



President Reagan acted quickly to unlock \$126 million in military and economic aid, including a special \$55 million to replace the helicopters destroyed at Ilopango. Also being sent are C-123 troop transports, O-2 spotter aircraft and A-37 fighter bombers – the first US warplanes supplied to El Salvador.

In order to release the \$126 million in aid, Reagan signed a statement certifying that the El Salvador regime is making "concerted significant efforts" to improve human rights. This certification even raised eyebrows in the US Congress, as El Salvador's notorious human rights record has only worsened in the recent past. Each month 1000 people disappear or are known to be murdered. The same week that Reagan certified the junta's human rights record, the international press reported the discovery that in December, government troops had massacred more than 900 villagers in the northern province of Morazan, near the Honduras border.

US imperialism's desperate support to the junta is not limited to military supply shipments. The massacre in Morazan was carried out by the junta's Atlacatl Battalion, specially trained by US military advisers. The Atlacatl Battalion uses American-made M16s and Huey helicopters, and its trainers have dubbed the battalion "the machine." In January the US began a special training program at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and Fort Benning, Georgia, including the entire

class from El Salvador's military school — the largest such program ever for foreign troops.

The US is also rallying its regional allies to escalate attacks against the FMLN-FDR, as well as counterrevolutionary activities against Nicaragua. It is reported that Argentina is increasing its paramilitary role against the patriotic Salvadorean forces and against the Nicaraguan revolution. Also, this month a pact was announced between El Salvador, Costa Rica and Honduras; the endorsement meeting was attended by a senior US official. The role of this pact is to support the junta, and observers say that its immediate goal will be to generate international support for El Salvador's elections, scheduled for March 28th. These elections are for a constituent assembly and a new constitution. They are being boycotted by all factions of the opposition, except that of the extreme right. The FMLN-FDR states that: "We consider elections to be a valid and necessary instrument for the people to express their will as long as there are conditions and atmosphere to allow the citizenry to make its will known freely. Currently in El Salvador such conditions do not exist, since the repressive apparatus of the regime remains intact, and it is a regime that murders leaders and activists in trade unions and political life; continues to persecute the progressive sectors of the Church; and is responsible for the slaughter of dozens of citizens daily. At the same time, the regime maintains the state of siege, martial law and press censorship while stepping up the war against the people with weapons and advisers sent by the government of the United States." It is clear that holding elections under such conditions is an attempt to legitimize the junta's bloody rule, and justify any subsequent intervention to maintain its rule. As stated, the FMLN-FDR is boycotting the elections, and has called for negotiations as a prerequisite for any resolution to El Salvador's conflict. They are clear that the fate of the Salvadorean people will not be decided by ballots cast at gunpoint.

An integral part of the US campaign against the people of El Salvador are attacks against Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union. While the Salvadorean people are struggling against a despotic system that is ruthlessly exploiting them, US policy makers portray the conflict as Cuban and Soviet attempts to control the region. As in the Middle East, the imperialist slogans of "international terrorism" and "strategic consensus" are weapons against the legitimate aspirations of the masses for the most basic rights. The real concerns of imperialism



14 families control agriculture. This is the result for Salvadoreans in rural areas.

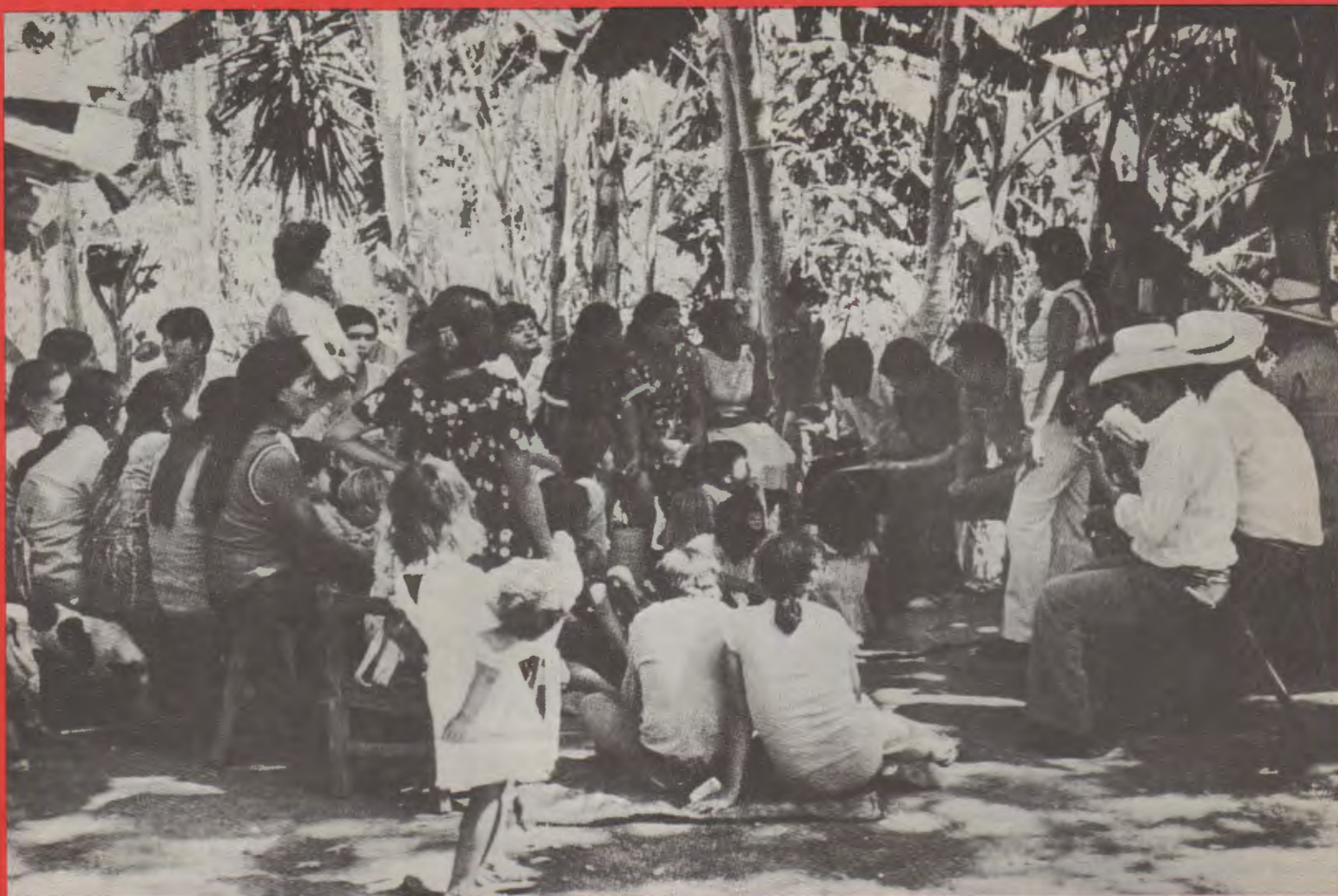
are revealed by a State Department spokesman: "If after Nicaragua, El Salvador is captured by a violent minority, who in Central America would not live in fear. How long would it be before major strategic US interests — the Panama Canal, sea lanes, oil supplies — were at risk?"

It is clear that the struggle in El Salvador will intensify in the next months. The FMLN-FDR is determined to push forward

with its offensive in order to demonstrate the futility of elections without the regime taking any steps to discuss the real issues — the right of the Salvadorean people to self-determination, peace, freedom and lack of exploitation. At this crucial time, patriotic and progressive forces everywhere are called on to offer all material and moral support possible to the Salvadorean people and their leadership, the FMLN-FDR.

Clinic in a liberated area.





Popular meeting in a liberated area.

SALVADOR

*. . . I believe that the world is beautiful,
and that poetry is like bread—everyone's.*

*And that my veins do not end inside me,
rather in the unanimous blood
of all those who struggle for life,
love,
things,
countryside and bread
the poetry of all.*

—Anonymous Salvadorean poem
from the book *Clandestine Poems*, 1977

*. . . Creo que el mundo es bello,
que la poesía es como el pan, de todos.*

*Y que mis venas no terminan en mí
sino en la sangre unánime
de los que luchan por la vida,
el amor,
las cosas,
el paisaje y el pan
la poesía de todos.*

—Poema anónimo salvadoreño
del libro *Poemas Clandestinos*, 1977
