

PFLP



BULLETIN

Sept. 1981 No. 54

**11 Years After Black September,
We Will Never Surrender.**



"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 PFLP 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 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 two 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".

This issue features:

- *Interview with PFLP military leader, comrade Abu Ahmed Fuad*
- *New Zionist cabinet of terror*
- *The National Democratic Front in North Yemen*
- *Zionist strategy: study published by the Tel Aviv Institute for Strategic Studies*

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EDITORIAL

It is now a month since the Palestinian Resistance faced the most intense Zionist aggression since the invasion of March 1978. In the wake of this military confrontation – orchestrated by imperialism, Zionism and reaction – it behooves all revolutionary forces to clearly analyze the political ramifications, as the current stage is fraught with political dangers as threatening to our struggle as any outright military aggression.

The most basic lesson of the past months is that the Camp David conspiracy continues to be the major threat to all the people of the region. The underlying rationale of Camp David – to legitimize the Zionist entity and ensure the hegemony of imperialism, Zionism and reaction over the resources of the area – is a strategic goal, and is not limited to the Carter or Reagan administration. The tactics used may vary from one stage to the next, but the desired ends remain the same. Crucial among them is the continued existence of 'Israel' as the forward base of imperialism in the region.

The Middle East has been passing through a phase of acute tension: the fascist offensive in Lebanon this past spring, the so-called Syrian missile crisis, the Israeli air attack on Iraqi nuclear installations, and most recently the Zionist attack against the Palestinian Resistance. All of these events have their place in the Camp David conspiracy. Our enemies have always practiced the tactic of the stick and the carrot. Having used the Zionist entity and its fascist allies to wield the stick, imperialism and reaction are now dangling the poisoned carrot in the form of political initiatives and maneuvers. It is in this context that we must view the current ceasefire: it is not one of genuine peace or of acceptance of the Palestinian and patriotic presence in Lebanon. Rather it is our enemies' attempt to create the stability needed to launch their political offensive – an offensive that ultimately encompasses the same ends as the military attacks.

Arab reaction maneuvering for imperialism

Following the Zionist military attacks, Arab reaction, headed by Saudi Arabia, has come forward as imperialism's middleman in the area. Their task is threefold: to defuse tensions, to present imperialism as a benign and peace-making force, and to put forward capitulationist initiatives under the guise of peace-seeking. Among the players, the actions of Saudi Arabia stand out most clearly. Acting as the base for Philip Habib and his death-shuttle in the region, Saudi Arabia was instrumental in coordinating the ceasefire, drawing public praise from such figures as Alexander Haig and Anwar Sadat. And it was the pressure that the Saudis put on various forces in Lebanon, using the might of their petrol millions and their role in the Arab Follow-up Committee, that laid the ground for the US proposals regarding Lebanon. These proposals, made public after Haig met with the British, French and West German foreign ministers, stress strengthening the Lebanese army and state, using UNIFIL to close off the South to the Resistance, and halting the alleged 'flow of arms' from Syria, Libya and the USSR to the PLO. They essentially would accomplish the same ends as the Zionist military strikes.

The Saudis are not limiting their maneuvering to Lebanon. Taking advantage of the current situation, they have at long last advanced their proposed settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict, or to be more accurate, they are now more publicly and actively helping imperialism to open a new door for Camp David.

The Saudi proposal consists of eight points. Summarized, they are:

- 1) withdrawal of Israeli troops from the lands occupied in 1967;
- 2) removing all Israeli settlements built in the 1967 occupied lands;
- 3) guaranteeing freedom of worship for all religions;
- 4) granting the Palestinian people the right of return, or compensation for those who choose not to return;
- 5) recognition and right of all states in the area to live in peace;
- 6) establishing a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza with East Jerusalem as its capital;
- 7) a transition period of several months; and
- 8) having the United Nations or other countries provide guarantees for the implementation of the proposals.

Despite all the patriotic rhetoric attending this proposal, its two most striking points are totally in line with the position of imperialism and Zionism. First, there is no item recognizing the PLO or stating that it is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Indeed, while calling for a Palestinian state, it does not specify that such a state would be led by the PLO. Second, for the first time Saudi Arabia has essentially recognized 'Israel' (point 5), and unconditionally at that, with no concessions in return. Yet to this day the Saudi rulers have never formally recognized the PLO, and have not allowed PLO offices to be opened in Saudi Arabia.

These basic points reveal the true nature of the Saudi proposal. It is a political maneuver like others we have confronted in the past, and it is known by all that there is no serious possibility of its being implemented, given the intransigent Israeli position and the motives of the Saudis. The real aim is to push the PLO into granting concessions, particularly to abandon the struggle against Zionism and the goal of creating a genuinely secular and democratic state in Palestine. In addition, the proposal's more 'patriotic' points – such as the right of return, Israeli withdrawal and Jerusalem as the capital – are bait to get the PLO to look to the US for any political solution.

The position of Saudi Arabia is nothing new, as Arab reaction has always been an essential part of the enemy camp. However, there are other factors that make this proposal dangerous at this particular time. Among them is another recent statement by the Saudis, a call to the PLO to "purify its ranks" of "communists, adventurists and anarchists". The aim of this is to weaken the PLO by internal division and recriminations, at a time when unity is crucial for our struggle. Saudi Arabia, who has never turned its guns against the Zionist enemy but only against the Arab masses, now wants the PLO to do the same in order to bring about the imperialist peace. Indeed, the fact that this call for a purge preceded the peace proposal is no coincidence, as the Saudis are hoping that their proposal will appeal to right-wing elements in the PLO. The message is clear: US imperialism will help you get a state, but only if it is guaranteed to be another Jordan, free of any democratic or progressive content, firmly allied to Zionism and imperialism. Yet this is itself a double trick, as US imperialism's total support for 'Israel' precludes it from considering even a puppet Palestinian state in this stage. The real aim of the Saudi proposal – and threat – is to legitimize imperialism's role in the region and increase its room to maneuver, provide a more 'patriotic' and active role for Arab reaction and lay the groundwork for continuing the political and military attacks on the genuinely patriotic forces.

A glance at the Washington D.C. visitors' list reveals the hand of US imperialism behind all these maneuvers. Beshir Gemayel, military leader of the Lebanese Phalangist Party, was there in late July, as the prelude to stabilizing the situation in Lebanon. Then came Sadat, with his plea for the US to recognize the PLO – in order to benefit the

Camp David conspiracy. Next in line comes Begin, and then Hussein of Jordan. Last, but definitely not least, is the planned visit of Saudi Arabia's Prince Fahd — left to the end in order to facilitate his role as middleman.

The Palestinian people and the PLO have learned from bitter experience that Arab reaction is incapable of any genuine stance in support of our struggle. The clearest lesson of all is being commemorated next month — Black September — when the reactionary Jordanian regime ruthlessly attacked the entire Palestinian Resistance. The PFLP, together with other Palestinian resistance organizations, has taken a clear stand rejecting the Saudi proposal, and we expect the PLO to do the same. This proposal clearly contradicts the basic tenets of the Palestinian National Council and the PLO charter. It is a betrayal of the blood that has been shed by the Palestinian and Arab masses — from the thousands who fell in the 1936 revolt to the hundreds martyred in Lebanon this July. We are confident that the Palestinian people, and all the patriotic and progressive forces in the region, will confront these political maneuvers with the same unity and steadfastness that they demonstrated recently on the battlefield.



Workers World, USA

AFTERMATH OF THE SIXTH WAR...

Can you define for us some of the important features of the July battle with the Zionist enemy?

The Palestinian-Israeli war, which continued for approximately 15 days, is the second war in which the Palestinian Revolution, together with the Lebanese Patriotic Movement (LPM), has confronted the enemy alone on the battlefield. The first war fought this way was the March war of 1978, which resulted in new facts and realities. The determination and steadfastness of our masses and fighters shook the Zionist army, and weakened the conceit its leaders had gained from previous battles against the armies of the Arab regimes. Then came this July war, with different means and results than the March war. This war confirmed new facts in addition to those proven before. I will summarize them in several points, but first will list the enemy's aims in the recent battle:

1) Destroying the human and military resources of the Joint Forces. The head of the Israeli army stated: "It is up to us to destroy the basis of the enemy forces."

2) Breaking the connection between different Lebanese areas by destroying the bridges, with the aim of lowering the morale of the Joint Forces and the masses, and limiting their ability to receive supplies.

3) Preparing the conditions in the South for intervention.

4) Providing for the entrance of an outside party, directly or indirectly, to solve the Lebanese question. Also establishing 'peace'

between 'Israel' and Lebanon, as seen in Begin's call for Sarkis to come to Jerusalem to solve the present problems.

5) Enhancing the terrorist policy of Begin in the coming stage, through gaining the support of the extremist religious trends.

6) Pressuring the Arab Follow-up Committee so that it will place the question of the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon at the head of its agenda, and unify itself behind the enemy camp's policy that there can be no solution in Lebanon without liquidating the Palestinian Revolution.

We are aware that there are reactionary regimes represented in the Arab Follow-up Committee, and that its main aim is to provide free services to US imperialism. Therefore this subject (point 6) found willing ears in the committee. However, the position of our Syrian brothers and the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front countries, and primarily the heroic steadfastness of the Joint Palestinian-Lebanese Forces, foiled this plan. Or in more precise terms, they delayed the discussion of it in this period, until the more appropriate political time.

The positive features of this battle can be summarized as follows:

— The heroic steadfastness of the Joint Forces on the battlefield.

— The prolongation of the battle, and our militant response to the barbaric Zionist bombings. This forced the Zionist settlers to evacuate the settlements in northern Palestine.

— The conclusion drawn by some Labor as well as Likud leaders, which was reflected in the Israeli press, that to liquidate the PLO by military means is impossible. Therefore, some Zionists called for more focus on a political solution. This is an indication of the strength that the Resistance has achieved.

— The increased consolidation between the Lebanese and Palestinian masses and the Joint Forces. This was the opposite of the aims of the Zionist leaders, and was a result of the active and positive role played by the Joint Forces in facing the Zionist war of annihilation.

Can you explain the PFLP's position on the ceasefire established July 24th?

The PFLP has put forward its point of view concerning a ceasefire in the Executive Committee of the PLO and in the Higher Military Council of the Joint Forces. We can summarize our position in two main points:

First, it is not permissible for the leadership of the Palestinian Revolution to agree to a ceasefire with the enemy that occupies our land. The revolution was established to liberate Palestine through escalating armed

struggle to the point of a protracted people's war that leads, step by step, to gaining liberated areas inside the occupied land, and continuing to achieve victories day after day, year after year, until the liberation of all Palestinian land. There would be no reason for the existence of the Palestinian Revolution if it were to stop its military operations against the Zionist enemy.

Second, it has been proven materially, through practical experience, that our enemy cannot tolerate a protracted struggle. The enemy is accustomed to quick wars such as those it has launched against the Arab armies, achieving major victories in a short time period. These were wars of days. The Popular Front continues to emphasize that it is the protracted people's war which wears down the enemy and thrusts it into a difficult situation in light of its limited human and economic resources. The correct way to defeat any enemy is to fight in the way that it does not like, choosing the mode of struggle that it cannot resist for an extended duration.

For these reasons, we refuse the ceasefire that was accepted in the Executive Committee of the PLO, and we shall continue our military activities in accordance with our program and our military plans.

We are against the ceasefire in this stage of struggle — the stage of strategic defense. This may be different in a coming stage, when our struggle has developed and we will have liberated part of our land. Then the Revolution, being strong and able to impose its conditions upon the enemy, will practice ceasefire as a means and not as an end, from a position of strength. This may occur after a big battle, when we need to reorganize and muster our forces to permit us to continue our armed struggle to liberate all of Palestine.

The ceasefire has been violated more than once by the Israeli enemy. Does this imply that 'Israel' is aiming to start another war and intervene in the South?

We believe that the enemy agreed to a ceasefire as a result of the failure of their attack. In addition, there was pressure from the settlers, who were not prepared for our shells. However, the first and last reason was the heroic steadfastness of the Joint Forces.

Due to the fascist tendency within Zionism, the enemy will not abide by the ceasefire for long. Here we witness daily the Israeli warplanes in Lebanese skies, and the Israeli warships off the Lebanese coast. They violate the ceasefire by striking at the Joint Forces. All of this is part of our enemy's insistence on liquidating our Palestinian

Revolution. Thus we consider their violations as something natural, and we are not surprised by them, because this coincides with their policies.

In the near future we expect to fight many rounds with the army of the Zionist entity. Presently heading the extremist government is the terrorist Begin and Defense Minister Sharon, known for his barbaric methods. Therefore, we expect the new government to follow a policy of physical liquidation against the Joint Forces, and this calls for intervention in the South. But Sharon and his instructor Begin know that we will turn the heroic Lebanese land into a graveyard for the Zionist leaders and soldiers. We will teach them the lessons that they received before.

How does the military leadership assess the present situation in the South? Has it prepared a plan to confront the possibility of Israeli intervention?

We believe that as a result of the partial victory of the Joint Forces, the present situation in the South is good, as far as the morale of the fighters and their readiness to wage any coming battle with firm determination. In addition, the masses in the South are satisfied with the results of the recent bat-

"We will not tolerate a renewed attrition war on our northern border. If that happens we'll do something very drastic, including the occupation of all Lebanon."

Top Begin aide, quoted in Newsweek, August 24

ties. This is reflected in their high morale and increasingly strong ties with the Joint Forces. The fighters are now hearing the masses speaking about the war in a different way than in the past. For example, the people are saying that it doesn't matter that our houses and crops are destroyed, because what is important is that the Joint Forces are causing a crisis in 'Israel'. This gives us more confidence in our masses and their continued readiness to sacrifice. As you know, we don't rely on our armaments, no matter how effective, more than we rely on our primary and fundamental weapon — the Arab masses. We are even more confident in the future of our revolution with this increase in mass mobilization.

In relation to the subject of the military plan, there is excellent coordination between

all the organizations of the Joint Forces. What we saw in the sixth war (this July) was the concrete manifestation of this coordination. Of course we aspire to more; therefore, we will continue to struggle to develop until we reach the level needed to fulfill our masses' and our Revolution's aspirations.

Concerning the chances of intervention, we meet with the Higher Military Council of the Revolution. We have a military-political leadership for all the organizations of the Joint Forces. We hold regular meetings and discuss developments, and assess the possibilities of and means to confront any direct intervention. There is also full coordination in the field. In general we are satisfied with the present coordination. We believe that the Joint Forces are prepared for any attempts by the Zionist enemy.

How do you evaluate the US proposals for Lebanon? Do you think they preclude the chance of a direct Israeli intervention?

Discussions are presently taking place within the enemy camp concerning more than one plan or proposal. The US is speaking about a plan for Lebanon. Reactionary Saudi Arabia-acting as the godfather of the US settlement — is proposing a comprehensive plan to solve the regional crisis. Sadat has his program, while Hussein also has his plans... All of these plots share the basic goal of liquidating our Revolution and the Palestinian Arab people. They all want to arrange the affairs of the Arab region so as to secure for imperialism, particularly the US, the legitimation of its continuous exploitation of our people and resources.

More specifically, the US plan for Lebanon hopes to achieve many aims with one blow. One immediate proposal is increasing the UN forces (UNIFIL) in the patriotic areas of the South. One reason for this is to initiate armed confrontations between the Joint Forces and UNIFIL, presenting the Joint Forces to the world as 'terrorists' who fight against the forces of peace. Spreading UNIFIL in this way would also restrict our ability to launch attacks against Zionist settlements, while simultaneously attempting to turn our guns away from the Zionist enemy and towards UNIFIL and the so-called legitimate army. Also the Joint Forces would become isolated from the masses, and concentrated in areas where they would be more open to enemy attacks.

The US plan also calls for strengthening the Lebanese state on the economic, military and security levels. All of us are aware that the US will not support any authority here other than one which is dependent upon

imperialism and serves its interests. The US, together with European imperialism – particularly France, Britain and West Germany – hopes to achieve the following by creating a strong Lebanese authority:

1) Depriving the LPM of its military base through the proposals of national accord, which serves the reactionary authority. This paves the way for the *Deuxième Bureau* to operate freely in the patriotic areas, assassinating leaders and arresting cadres.

2) Requesting that the Arab Deterrent Force withdraws from Lebanon on the grounds that its mission has ended. It will be said that the Lebanese state is no longer in need of the ADF, because it has rebuilt its army and become strong enough to control the situation. The Lebanese authority would thereby be relieved of the patriotic pressure that curtails its movements.

3) After surrounding the Joint Forces in the South through the spreading of the UNIFIL, the authority would call on the Palestinian Resistance to implement new agreements regarding its relations with the regime. These agreements would be put forward by the regime to serve its own interests, surrounding the Resistance until the time comes when it could be liquidated. (The relations of the Palestinian Resistance to the Lebanese regime are currently based on the Cairo Accords of 1969).

The final point of the US plan is attempting to limit the entrance of heavy weapons from Syria, Libya and the USSR, in order to curtail our struggle against the Zionist enemy. These are the US aims, and imperialism will exert its efforts to achieve them, using their tools in the region. Of course this plan may close the door to Zionist intervention in the South for a short period of time, to allow the opportunity for the political maneuvers of imperialism's representative in the region – Philip Habib. However, this does not eliminate the possibility of a military confrontation aimed at liquidating the Joint Forces and expelling the ADF. As we know, the enemy uses the carrot and stick method in confronting the alliance of the Palestinian Revolution, the LPM and Syria. Presently they are using the carrot to rearrange the Lebanese arena with their support to the central authority, but the stick remains raised over the heads of the Joint Forces, if the policy of the carrot fails. Also, we see in 'Israel' at this time a government that is more brutal, and whose policies will lead it to a deadend. Therefore, we see the necessity for complete preparedness for all possible options. In order to foil the enemy plan, it is necessary to enhance the patriotic alliance of the Palestinian Revolu-



tion, the LPM and Syria. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen relations within the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and increase our solidarity with the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union.

What lessons can be drawn from the battles of July?

The most important lesson to be deduced is that drawing out the battle with the enemy wears it down. The daily infliction of losses creates a state of demoralization within the enemy camp. At the same time, the abilities of the Resistance are fortified; the masses' respect for the Resistance increases, and its position and ability to react on the Arab and international level will be enhanced.

Another lesson is that it is necessary to develop our training and our armament in order to face coming battles. Moreover, all organizations must exert serious efforts to

strengthen the role of the joint leadership, centrally and on the local level.

What plan has been made by the PLO to assist those who were affected by the attack on Beirut, as well as in the South?

The Executive Committee of the PLO has undertaken to implement a series of measures to deal with the consequences of the barbaric Zionist attacks. This plan is functioning according to the following decisions:

- a) The Palestinian National Fund pays compensation to cover the daily needs of those who suffered losses from these attacks.
- b) To rebuild the houses destroyed
- c) To arrange housing for those who were made homeless
- d) All martyrs of these attacks are considered martyrs of the Revolution; their families will receive a monthly allowance according to the PLO's financial scale.
- e) To treat all those injured.

ZIONIST TERROR TACTICS

The Zionist air attack on Beirut provoked condemnation from many quarters for its massacre of civilians. Interestingly enough, among the critics was the Israeli Labor Party. While Labor is in full agreement with Begin's strategical aim to crush the Palestinian resistance, they advocate more 'civilized' tactics that would not provoke international disapproval. It was in this context that Peres publicly suggested the technique of select assassinations as opposed to wholesale massacres.

Just as the contradictions between Labor and Likud are secondary to their accord on the aims of Zionism, so have recent events shown that Begin's terror campaign is not limited to one tactic. Select assassination attempts and isolated terrorist actions can be easily merged with massive military strikes. Indeed, within a week of the bombing of Beirut, Zionist agents planted a car bomb outside of a PLO office here. Then, in the

first week of August, Abu Daoud was critically wounded in an assassination attempt in Warsaw. As a member of Fateh's Revolutionary Council, Abu Daoud has long been subject to threats, because the Zionists accuse him of participating in the planning of the 1972 Munich operation. When he was arrested in France in 1977, the Israelis attempted to have him extradited. Previously Abu Daoud had been in prison in Jordan.

The attack on Abu Daoud followed a series of threats against the PLO office in Warsaw. Polish and Palestinian security are cooperating in the investigation, and it is generally believed that the Mossad (Israeli intelligence) is behind the attack. Suspects have already been arrested.

The long history of Zionist murders of Palestinian leaders attests to the fact that this form of terror is not new. However, in the face of Begin's proclamation to "strike the terrorists wherever they are", the entire resistance is braced to confront all forms of Zionist aggression.

ORGANIZED SLANDER OF THE PFLP

On August 7th, American television audiences were treated to an hour long program broadcast by the ABC network, depicting a fictitious military operation in the harbor of New York City. According to this scenario, an organization, calling itself the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, highjacks an oil cargo ship and threatens to blow it up unless a Palestinian state is recognized and granted one million dollars. Following enactment of this imaginary operation, there was a panel discussion in which American officials from past and present administrations gave their views about this operation and what should be done in such a situation. Among them were high-ranking military officers, former assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco and former American Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Robert Neuman.

As the party concerned, the PFLP has reacted strongly to this spurious drama, issuing a communique:

"The American mass media did not hesitate to alter the facts and to lie in order to defame the reputation of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian Revolution, especially after the imperialist-Zionist war machine has failed to harm the revolution and its steadfastness... This film appeared at this particular political moment in order to divert the American TV watcher from the irrefutable facts that prove the guilt of imperialism and Zionism. It serves to cover up Zionist terror by inventing fictitious stories for the American public, after this public has begun to see a part of the truth about what goes on in the way of terror, devastation and killing against our Palestinian and Lebanese people... If the citizens of New York and Washington were terrified by an imaginary program, how would it be if they saw with their own eyes the acts of Zionist aggression against civilians, and heard

political leaders in the Zionist state declare that they will proudly bomb innocent civilians?"

The statement concluded, "The participation of officials from the American administration, acting to promote these legends and imaginary ideas, reflects the reality of the imperialist intentions against our Palestinian people and Arab nation. It also shows the extent to which these officials have allowed their hatred to reach the point that they deceive themselves and believe in their own lies."

The PFLP has demanded the right to a full response to this slander, to be shown on the same network, and has stated its intention to file suit against ABC if this is not fulfilled. The producers of the program have apologized, saying that the TV show was merely a fictitious program with no political intent. The Front has reiterated its demand to ABC's lawyers, which has sent a representative to Beirut for negotiations on the case.

SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATIONS



Demonstration in Stockholm against the Israeli attacks in Lebanon

Demonstrations were held in seven US cities, protesting the Zionist air raids on Lebanon.

In Chicago, a picketline was organized outside the Israeli Consulate by the Palestine Congress of North America, the General Union of Palestinian Students and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. Speakers denounced the Reagan administration's complicity with Begin's genocidal attacks. Then, chanting "Zionism is racism, down with Zionism", the participants marched to central areas of the city.



The Palestinian Workers Union and 12 progressive Danish organizations organized a protest rally in one of Copenhagen's main squares. Speakers at the rally denounced the Israeli attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, and expressed support to their struggle.



MILITARY OPERATIONS



As long as the state of 'Israel' exists we will never allow it to live in peace.

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

1) Striking the Zionist military establishment, in order to place the enemy in a

defensive position, force it to disperse its forces and to lower the morale of the settler population.

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

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

July 20th — Israeli radio reported that two explosive charges went off at a military fuel supply station in Kiriat Gat, wounding several Zionist soldiers. Twenty Palestinian civilians were arrested and taken for questioning.

The radio admitted that several Zionist settlers attacked four Arab families within metres from an army road block in the same settlement two days before the explosives were planted in the fuel station.

July 28th — A special commando group at dawn on July 28 placed a timed explosive charge in a military transport station in the city of Bir Sabe'. Later, when the station was crowded with soldiers on leave, the charge was discovered and the station was emptied. An explosives expert was immediately summoned to the scene, and detonated the charge on the spot, having failed to defuse it. This caused heavy material damage to the station and to a military transport vehicle parked nearby.

July 29th — A commando unit of Palestinian militants, named after the martyr Ibrahim Abdel Aziz Brayghit (Abu Safwat), attacked

a military bus on the road from Jerusalem to the Zionist settlement Ma'aleh Hakhamshah. The militants set up an ambush on the road, northwest of Jerusalem. When a military bus, filled with soldiers, passed at 9:00 p.m., they attacked it with automatic weapons, causing heavy casualties. Israeli reports admitted the injury of four Israelis. The militants left behind the Palestinian flag and a wooden cross with the note: "In memory of the martyrs of the raid on Beirut."

Immediately, a large force of Israeli troops, border guards and police were deployed in the area as a massive search for the Palestinian militants started. Even helicopters were used. The Israeli authorities carried out random arrests, and dozens of Palestinians were detained on suspicion of involvement in the operation. Two Palestinian villages were placed under curfew.

July 30th — Two operations were carried out in occupied Palestine at night.

In one of the operations, the Palestinian militants planted several timed explosive charges in an Israeli army equipment factory in the Atarot industrial settlement, north of

Jerusalem. When the charges went off, they caused a fire to break out in the factory's warehouses and offices. Rescue teams and firemen surrounded the area, but were not able to put out the fire until the morning. Several guards were injured and heavy material damage was inflicted on the site. Our militants returned safely to base.

In the second operation, the militants planted time bombs inside several shops in Rehovot in the southern suburbs of Tel Aviv. Fire broke out in many of the shops, leaving a number of casualties. Israeli radio reported 15 wounded.

August 4th — Palestinian militants planted explosive charges in the military cooperatives of the Israeli Army in the central market place in the Brudeis Katz settlement. The charges went off at midnight, setting the stores on fire and resulting in high material losses and the injury of several enemies.

August 11th — A daring operation was carried out against an Israeli military patrol in the Jordan valley. Palestinian militants set up an ambush, in which they killed or wounded more than twenty Israeli soldiers, damaged two military vehicles and captured a quantity of weapons. This was one of the biggest operations in this area since September 1970. Israeli military sources admitted only the injury of nine soldiers. The Palestinian military spokesman issued the following communique on the operations:

"While one of our groups operating inside Palestine was carrying out a reconnaissance mission observing the positions and activities of the Israeli enemy along the eastern borders of occupied Palestine in the Aghwar (Jordan Valley), enemy troops detected the group's movement and tried to pursue it. The commando group then, at 7:00 a.m. on Tuesday, 11 August, 1981, set up an ambush for the Israeli troops near Marj Na'aja. The commandos clashed with the Israeli troops, using all kinds of weapons. Twenty enemy soldiers were killed or wounded; two military vehicles damaged and several weapons captured. The group then withdrew outside the region of the operation and returned to their base inside occupied Palestine. No casualties were reported among the members of the commando operation."

August 12th — Palestinian militants placed several time bombs inside a military equipment factory in the industrial area of Jerusalem. At 8:00 p.m., the bombs went off, damaging most of the machines and causing an extensive fire. Several of the factory's staff were injured. Israeli forces erected checkpoints in the area and arrested dozens of Palestinians on suspicion of their involvement in the operation.

ANNEXATION AND 'AUTONOMY'

The reelection of Begin and the formation of his new cabinet bring a clear message: Zionism, in its most basic and brutal form, will continue and escalate its attacks against the Palestinian people and their revolution, as they are the major obstacle to indisputed Zionist, imperialist and reactionary hegemony in the area. The most bloody and publicized of these attacks, launched after Begin's reelection, was the genocidal war against the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon, climaxed by the barbaric bombing of civilian areas in Beirut. However, it is crucial to note that simultaneously with their military offensive in Lebanon, the Zionist authorities are escalating their campaign against our people under occupation. The Zionists realize full well that the struggle of our people in occupied Palestine is as much a threat to Zionist goals as the guns carried by the open armed resistance in Lebanon.

The new Israeli coalition is quite open in regard to its position towards the 1967 occupied territories. The policy guidelines include the rejection of any form of Palestinian self-determination, the assertion of future Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza Strip, stress on increased settlements and refusal to ever relinquish the Golan Heights. The goal of this policy is Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, and sooner rather than later. Indeed, in the course of his first speech after forming the cabinet, Begin announced a plan to impose only Israeli law in the occupied territories, cancelling the existing Jordanian laws in flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention.

However, although Begin and his new cabinet favor annexation, they would like it to be hidden behind a facade of Palestinian acceptance. Only thus will Camp David be moved out of the deadlock on the Palestinian level that the steadfast resistance of our people has created. So in the coming period Zionist policy will be directed towards laying the groundwork for eventual annexation and finding or creating some elements who would be willing to collaborate in the sham 'autonomy' talks, so necessary for moving Camp David forward.

Recent events have already revealed the major thrust of Zionist tactics. First and foremost is attacking the PLO and the patriotic figures in the occupied land, in an attempt to deprive the masses of a voice for

their demands. With this comes the attempt to create puppets who can 'replace' the PLO at any future negotiations with the Zionist entity or its allies. Underlying both is the ongoing deepening of the economic linkage between 'Israel' and the West Bank and Gaza, by depriving Palestinians of outside resources, increasing economic dependency, plus massive settlement building campaigns.

The man who is implementing Zionist strategy in the occupied territories is Ariel Sharon, the new defense minister. His his-

ZIONIST PUPPETS: LEAGUES OF THE VILLAGES

Part of the Zionists' long range plan to undermine the patriotic leadership and create an alternative to the PLO is the establishment of what they call the leagues of the villages. These leagues have been implemented in the districts of al Khalil, Ramallah and Bethlehem, and one is underway in Jenin. Ostensibly set up to provide economic, social and community services, they are in truth a means to link our people to 'Israel' and to provide collaborationist leadership. The leagues are linked to Arab reaction as well: Mustafa Dudeen, the head of the al Khalil league, is a former Jordanian minister, while the proposed league in Jenin has received personal donations from Princess Firyal of Jordan.

Israeli backing for the leagues is clearest in daily practice. Permission for desperately needed development projects, routinely rejected by the military authorities when requested by the patriotic local councils, is more often than not approved when requests come from a league. Harsh measures are being taken against those who oppose the leagues. For example, the mayor of Zahrieh, Ali Makharzeh, was dismissed on the charge of being incompetent. In fact, Makharzeh was known for his firm stand against the leagues in the al Khalil district, and his dismissal was an act of Zionist revenge. The certificates and rubber stamps of the mukhtars who refused to join the leagues have been confiscated. However, despite this economic and political blackmail, the masses have been steadfast in rejecting the leagues, and continuing to recognize the patriotic local councils as the legitimate authority.

tory speaks for itself. However, a look at some events since his posting reveals the speed at which the Zionists are moving ahead, and the many dangers that our people are so heroically confronting.

In the first week of August, Ramallah mayor Karim Khalaf was arrested for one day. The charge: expressing his support for the PLO in a newspaper interview. This is illegal under a law that prohibits contacting or supporting the PLO. The military governor of the West Bank announced that "this law has always been in effect ever since 1968 but *now* we are going to enforce it" (our italics). While in fact, this law has been enforced since 1968, and brutally so, the statement points to a simple truth: at this stage the Zionists are escalating their attempts to muzzle patriotic leaders and to separate them from the PLO. Other figures, such as mayor Elias Freij, have been confined to their towns; a press conference where patriotic leaders planned to speak against these measures was banned.

Mayors and the local councils are now prohibited from issuing housing permits in 125,000 acres of the West Bank — a move that most probably heralds a new settlement drive. This situation led Karim Khalaf to say: "This is the worst blow yet from the Iron Fist. I may not talk politics, meet people from the PLO or even socialize with other West Bank mayors. All I am allowed to do is collect the garbage." Another West Bank mayor stated: "The Israelis are conducting a campaign to crush us. They want to make us look useless in the eyes of our people."

The authorities also announced that they were planning to stop all funds from Jordan, including those from the Palestinian-Jordanian Joint Committee. This is part of the attempt to impose total economic dependency on the West Bank and Gaza, as well as to further isolate our people from the Arab world and the PLO. It is an indication of how totally the Israelis want to suffocate the occupied territories when they even halt aid that was usually directed towards supporters of the reactionary Jordanian regime.

Sharon's master plan

On August 12th, Sharon publicly announced his long-term policy for the West Bank and Gaza: a campaign to 'persuade' local Palestinians to join in the Egyptian-



Israeli 'autonomy' talks. What is needed, according to Sharon, is to create a more "favorable atmosphere". The military administration has been told to avoid collective punishment, not to chase student demonstrators into school buildings (unless necessary) and to improve treatment of Palestinians at Israeli checkpoints. Sharon also stated that he hopes to hold private, unpublicized meetings with various leaders.

Our people were not deceived or lulled by this statement. How could they be, after 14 years of direct military occupation and decades of struggle against Zionism? Patriotic forces immediately denounced the statement as a clear attempt to divide and rule, and to create alternatives to the elected mayors and to the PLO.

The Zionist strategy of separating our people from the PLO is doomed to failure, whether the tactics employed are brutal repression or a phony facade of benign occupation. The Palestinians under occupation, together with their brothers and sisters in exile, are steadfast in their recognition of the PLO as their sole legitimate representative. This recognition is not tactical or subject to negotiation; it is solidly based on

Zionist poster in West Jerusalem shop window shows Palestinian checking the identification of Israelis, and describes the 'horrors' in store if the occupied territories acquire 'autonomy' (MERIP Reports)

The reality: Israeli checkpoint, visible sign of the Iron Fist



our masses' understanding that it is our unity and militant struggle that will lead to the defeat of the enemy camp, and the attainment of our just rights. We have no doubt that our heroic masses, who fought the successful battle against the first attempts to impose 'autonomy', are capable of defeating the new tactics the enemy is using.

PRISONER RELEASED!

Comrade Diab Abdel Latif Duak is 59 years old. He has spent the past 12 years of his life in Zionist prisons. The PFLP takes this opportunity to salute the long struggle history of our comrade, who was recently released by the authorities, and then expelled from his homeland.

Comrade Duak was born in 1922, in al Khalil (Hebron). Following in the path of his father, he took up arms in the 1936-39 revolt, and again confronted the Zionist occupiers in 1948. Continuously active in the Palestinian and Arab liberation movement, the comrade joined the PFLP in 1967.

In the immediate aftermath of the 1967 war, comrade Duak joined with other courageous fighters in the al Khalil mountains. The resistance in this area, under the leadership of our martyred comrade Abu Mansour, was a high point in the struggle. We were able to inflict painful blows against the enemy forces, causing them to frantically search for our comrades, using helicopters and even tanks.



Comrade Diab Abdel Latif Duak

Comrade Duak's rich struggle experience did not come to an end with his arrest in 1969. On the contrary, his steadfastness in the face of barbaric Zionist torture was an inspiration to all. Desperate to learn of the other members of his cell, the Zionists were ruthless in their questioning. Our comrade still bears the scars of torture; his teeth were pulled out and a thigh, broken during interrogation, was never properly treated. Those who saw him after the torture sessions were amazed that he still lived. Yet live he does — and he continues the struggle handed down to him by history, and that he has passed on to all Palestinian children.

ZIONIST CABINET OF TERROR

Menahem Begin has formed his new cabinet. Of the 17 ministers, 14 are from the Likud (7 Herut, 7 Liberal Party), 2 are from the National Religious Party (NRP) and 1 is from Tami. Outstanding among them are such known right-wing extremists as Ariel (Arik) Sharon – Defense, Yosef Burg – Interior, Police and Religious Affairs, and Yitzhak Shamir – Foreign Affairs. Though supported by only 61 of the 120 members of the Knesset, the new government as such is a concrete manifestation of the consolidation of the right which was represented by Begin's reelection.

The coalition pact consists of 83 clauses, 50 of which deal with religious issues, the price paid by Begin for the support of the NRP, Agudat Israel and Tami. Religious concessions include stricter observance of the Sabbath (no El Al flights and other limitations on work), banning the sale of pork and altering the infamous Law of Return to apply only to those converted to Judaism through orthodox rites. While religion is an important ideological tool for Zionist colonialism, this unabashed domination by religious extremists may lead to future contradictions for the Zionist entity, internally and abroad. However, the current reality is that the increased power of these forces is part and parcel of the ideological justification for the escalating attacks on the Palestinian and Arab people; it is an essential component of the rise of the right. Moreover, the fact that settling these religious issues accounted for most of the energy exerted to form the new government demonstrates, conversely, the high degree of unity that exists *a priori* on major policy issues.

Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, Likud – Herut

Sharon has been prominent in the Zionist military establishment since joining the Haganah. He participated actively in the major campaigns of Zionist aggression in the wars of 1948-9, 1956, 1967 and 1973, and has also served as an army intelligence officer. In the fifties, he led Unit 101, notorious for its 'reprisal raids', i.e. massacres against unarmed Arab villagers in the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan and Egypt. When Unit 101 became part of the Paratrooper Brigade, Sharon became commander of the latter. Although he switched from Labor to Begin's Herut Party along the way, Sharon served as a special adviser to the Defense Ministry under the Labor government prior to Begin's election in 1977.

As part of his duties as a high-ranking officer in the Israeli occupation army, Sharon bears responsibility for the campaign of collective punishment enforced against the people of Gaza after the '67 occupation. He also directed the eviction of 10 Bedouin tribes from the Sinai to clear the way for settlements in the area.

As Minister of Agriculture, or more accurately, 'Minister of Colonization' under Begin's former government, Sharon has energetically implemented Likud's settlement drive. In this he has worked closely with Gush Emunim, relying on their creation of facts in the field as well as their fund-raising drives in places such as South Africa, to supplement government efforts. Under his direction, over 50 new Zionist outposts have been established in the Galilee to spy on the Palestinian population and more importantly, to serve as a demographic wedge for the Judaization of the area. Sharon directed the Green Squad in carrying out defoliation operations, particularly in the West Bank, to burn the Palestinians off their land. In October 1981, the Green Squad began confiscating the black goat herds of the Naqab Bedouin and selling them for slaughter. Sharon was one of many who signed the petition to annex the Golan which preceded the introduction of a Knesset bill to the same effect; moreover, he mapped out a plan to settle 1000 families in the Golan Heights in 1981-82, to bring the Jewish population of this occupied territory to 10,000.

As Defense Minister, a post he has long coveted, Sharon will be able to implement colonization and expansion from another angle. He will be the virtual ruler of the 1967 occupied territories. In order to anticipate his policies, one may note his proposal at the time when the occupation authorities deported three patriotic leaders in May 1980. At this time, Sharon advocated deporting the entire National Guidance Committee. Concerning his overall 'defense' policy, one may note that Sharon has said openly that the 'security' of the Zionist state takes precedence over its own laws. Another of his remarks, addressed to the US, that 'Israel' could handle a threat to the oil fields, attests to the target range which he envisions for the Zionist military apparatus.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Likud – Herut

Shamir (originally Yitzhak Yzertinsky) began his Zionist career in Poland as a member of Betar, the youth movement of

Jabotinsky's Revisionist Zionism. Upon immigrating to Palestine, he joined Begin's Irgun. In 1940, he followed Abraham Stern, who split the Irgun and established LEHI, also known as the Stern Gang. After Stern's death, Shamir was one of LEHI's three-man leadership from 1942-1948. His area of responsibility was the planning and execution of assassinations and other terrorist operations.

With the establishment of the Zionist state, Shamir was recruited by the MOSSAD, the Israeli counterpart to the CIA. In the early fifties, he worked first in Paris, posing as an El Al employee. Later he was involved in sending letter bombs into the Gaza Strip, then under Egyptian administration, directed especially against members of the Palestine Liberation Army and Nasser's intelligence officers. For a time, Shamir retired from politics and was a businessman, but in 1976 he joined Herut and was elected to the Knesset in 1977. Begin appointed him Foreign Minister after Moshe Dayan's resignation in 1979.

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, Likud-Herut

Appointed to the post during the last part of Begin's previous term, Aridor initiated the economic measures designed to appeal to Israeli consumers, which contributed to the Likud's return to power.

Chief Economic Coordinator Yaacov Meridor, Likud-Herut

Meridor joined the Irgun in 1939 in Tel Aviv and attended an officers training course in Poland where he also was responsible for arranging arms shipments into Palestine. He served as leader of this terrorist organization's operations in Palestine from 1941 until 1943, when he was replaced by Begin himself. After the establishment of the Zionist state, he was a Knesset member, but his main efforts were in the business field. Meridor has risen to be the largest shipping magnate in 'Israel', co-founder and co-owner of the multinational Maritime Fruit Carriers Co.

Transportation Minister Haim Corfu, Likud-Herut

Communication Minister Mordechai Zipori, Likud-Herut

Zipori was Deputy Defense Minister under the previous Begin government. In this

BEGIN SPEAKS

Begin speaks

He speaks as a statesman!

Who hears him?

Maybe Sadat or Hussein.

Begin speaks...

The murderer is speaking,

The murderer of Deir Yassin,

The murderer in the King David Hotel,

The murderer of hundreds of women, children and men,

The murderer of Lebanon.

Menaheem Begin speaks

*The murderer speaks about peace,
about rights and justice!*

This means he wants to keep all that he has.

The murderer speaks about the future.

Who listens?

Maybe Sadat or Hussein.

What would they hear?

What do the words of murderers add?

He speaks about the future,

while he does not have one.

*The road from Deir Yassin
to the murdered in Lebanon*

*is much longer than that
from Lebanon to Begin's grave.*

*But the road to free Palestine will be shorter
than the past thirty years.*

Yes, shorter than the road from Deir Yassin to here.

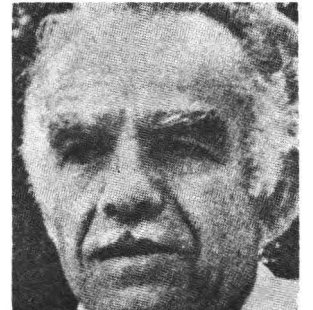
This poem was written by a progressive Jew.

WANTED FOR MURDER

— DEIR YASSIN 1948 — BEIRUT 1981 —



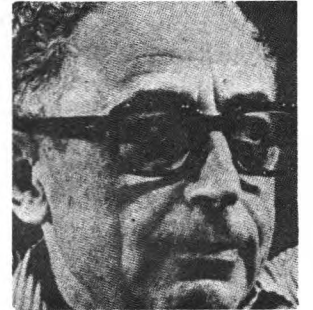
Menahem Begin
Irgun



Yitzhak Shamir
LEHI



Ya'acov Meridor
Irgun



Yitzhak Berman
Irgun



*Deir Yassin massacre April 1948,
perpetrated by the Irgun and LEHI
terrorist gangs*



*Fakhani massacre July 1981,
perpetrated by the terrorist Israeli state*



capacity, he ordered the restoration of an Arab-owned building in Al Khalil (Hebron) to be used by the Zionist settlers from Kiryat Arba who are squatting in the Hadassah Building. He was also involved in covering up the Israeli military's involvement in the attempted assassination of the three West Bank mayors, claiming that the explosives used were "of the type used by saboteurs, not by the IDF." However, a few months earlier, Zipori himself had stated, "The confrontation between us and the Palestinians must be dealt with in a drastic way." Like many of his colleagues in the Begin government, past and present, he is known to be on close terms with the Gush Emunim. When for reasons of international diplomacy Begin pledged in 1980 that no more than 10 new settlements would be erected in the 1967 occupied territories, Zipori was quick to assure the settlers that this did not mean a halt to the settlement policy. According to him, there was room for settling 1 1/2 million Jews in these territories.

Minister of Agriculture Simha Ehrlich, Likud-Liberal

Ehrlich was Begin's first Finance Minister in 1977. Thus, he initiated application of Likud's economic policy which has promoted the Israeli trade balance and private investment at the expense of soaring inflation and prices. Ehrlich pushed a program to encourage more private Jewish investment in 'Israel', promising less government involvement in capital influx as an incentive. Intensified colonization of the Naqab was specified as the motivation for this program. Ehrlich was also instrumental in consolidating cooperation with South Africa. His visit there in February 1978 solicited \$50 million worth of South African investment in 'Israel' over the four following years, as well as increased trade agreements. On this occasion, Ehrlich spelled out the Israeli service to Pretoria as "an entrepot for South African exports to the European Economic Community and the US."

In the fall of 1979, Ehrlich left the Finance Ministry to become Second Deputy Prime Minister. He is well prepared for his new post as he was previously responsible for approving funds to Sharon's extensive schemes in the Agriculture Ministry. Upon assuming Sharon's former job, he will have at his disposal the rest of the 1981 budget prepared by Sharon, which earmarks 45% of development funds for new settlements in the '67 occupied territories. Surely, he will work to reduce the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza to the status he accords

those living within the Zionist state: "Arab citizens in Israel are granted only freedom of religion and culture." (Note: in actual fact, Zionist practice often denies even these limited rights.)

Minister without portfolio Yitzhak Modai, Likud-Liberal

Modai was Energy Minister during Begin's previous term. It was he who ordered the Israeli take-over of the Jerusalem Electric Company, as well as other measures designed to subordinate the infrastructure of the West Bank to the Zionist state. Also under his direction the Energy Ministry decided that digging the Mediterranean - Dead Sea canal through Gaza would not violate international law, although Gaza is internationally recognized as occupied territory. Modai also signed the petition for annexing the Golan Heights.

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, Likud-Liberal

Nissim also held this post under the previous Begin government, after the resignation of Tamir in mid-1980. Thus, Nissim's function remains that of 'legalizing' the expropriation of Palestinian land and the repression of Palestinian rights. In this capacity, he was active in banning the Nazareth Conference, planned for December 1980 by Palestinian Arabs within the Zionist state. Like the new government as a whole, he is committed to eventual annexation of the Golan Heights. When designated to explain the previous government's opposition to the Tehiya bill for annexation, Nissim said that 'Israel' would never "come down" from the Golan, but that the timing of the bill was inappropriate and that furthermore, it was unnecessary, i.e. colonization is preceding despite the lack of a 'legal' foundation.

Minister of Trade and Industry Gideon Patt, Likud-Liberal

Under Begin's previous government, Patt also manned this post, which is not so neutral as the name might indicate. For example, in October 1980, he proposed banning stone exports from the West Bank to Jordan, because the quarries refused to pay taxes (note: to the occupiers) and to supply Israeli builders. Patt simultaneously asked the Israeli Lands Administration to open more quarries in the West Bank to compete with the existing Palestinian ones. These efforts to undermine the Palestinian economy reflect Patt's overall attitude which he expressed as follows in December 1980: "If anyone among the Arab minority does not like it here, let them get into a taxi.

Within half an hour they can be in another country... Let them cross the bridge, we will wave them good-by."

Minister of Tourism Abraham Sharir, Likud-Liberal

Energy Minister Yitzhak Berman, Likud-Liberal

Berman worked for the Irgun intelligence starting in 1940. At this time he was instrumental in offering Irgun help to British colonialism. This led to the training of Irgun sabotage groups by the British intelligence. Notable among the resulting operations was one in North Africa that failed, and sabotage against Iraq (in which Meridor participated) as part of the British effort to topple Rashid Ali's regime.

Minister of Health Eliezer Shostak, Likud-Liberal

Minister of Interior, Police and Religious Affairs Yosef Burg, NRP

Serving in the same capacity under the previous government, Burg represented 'Israel' in the 'autonomy' talks with Egypt. It is interesting to note that Begin appointed him in full knowledge that Burg opposed Camp David as compromising Zionist aims. Burg's performance in this role revealed to anyone who may have been in doubt that 'autonomy' as envisioned by the Zionists is but a ruse to justify continuing occupation. Burg even objected to Moshe Dayan's meetings with various Palestinian notables for the purpose of eliciting support for the 'autonomy' plan. As Minister of the Interior, Burg was responsible for implementing a new law for demolishing 'unauthorized' houses in 'Israel', usually built by Palestinian Arabs who find it difficult if not impossible to obtain building permits. He also headed the Ministerial Committee for Jerusalem which in December 1980 approved the "thickening" of Zionist settlements around Jerusalem, providing for 10,000 more settlers to live in these 'suburbs'. Moreover, he was responsible for the board appointed to investigate the death of the two Palestinian patriots who died of forced feeding in the Nafha hunger strike. This board concluded that they died accidentally and not by the fault of the prison authorities or staff. Burg added, "We treat them like a mother."

Education Minister Zvulum Hammer, NRP

Hammer continues in this post from the previous government, at which time he introduced new security controls on Arab appli-

cants to Israeli teachers colleges. (Arabs must fill out a questionnaire, not required for Jews, with detailed information on their background, family and the names of those with whom they frequently associate, etc.) Hammer is also responsible for the decision not to authorize opening an Arab university in 'Israel'. Hammer is an avid supporter of Gush Emunim. Like Sharon, he has been linked to the 'underground' of armed settlers led by Kahane, which is officially separate from the IDF, but obviously dependent on its support. As Education Minister, Hammer

is a source of support to extreme Zionist student groups who harass the Palestinian students. Hammer is on record as saying that the Golan Heights is an integral part of 'Israel'.

**Minister of Labor, Welfare and Immigration
Absorption Affairs Aharon Abuhatzzeira,
Tami**

This minister is currently on trial charged with theft and fraud from when he was mayor of Ramle.

comrades merit our respect and highest esteem.

For here in Nafha prison where savage snakes and the desert sands penetrate our cells, from here under the yoke of Zionist occupation, we stand alongside you. From behind our cell bars, we support you, your people and your revolutionaries who have chosen to confront death. In this way, they are exposing the false democracy and oppressive mentality of those who rule in Ireland.

Dear brothers and sisters,

Since the Zionist occupation, our people have been living under the worst conditions. Our militants who have chosen the road of liberty and chosen to defend our land, people and dignity, have been suffering for many years. In the prisons we are confronting Zionist oppression and their systematic application of torture. Sunlight does not enter our cell; basic necessities are not provided. Yet we confront the Zionist hangmen, the enemies of life, progress and freedom. This is like your struggle, confronting the same oppression.

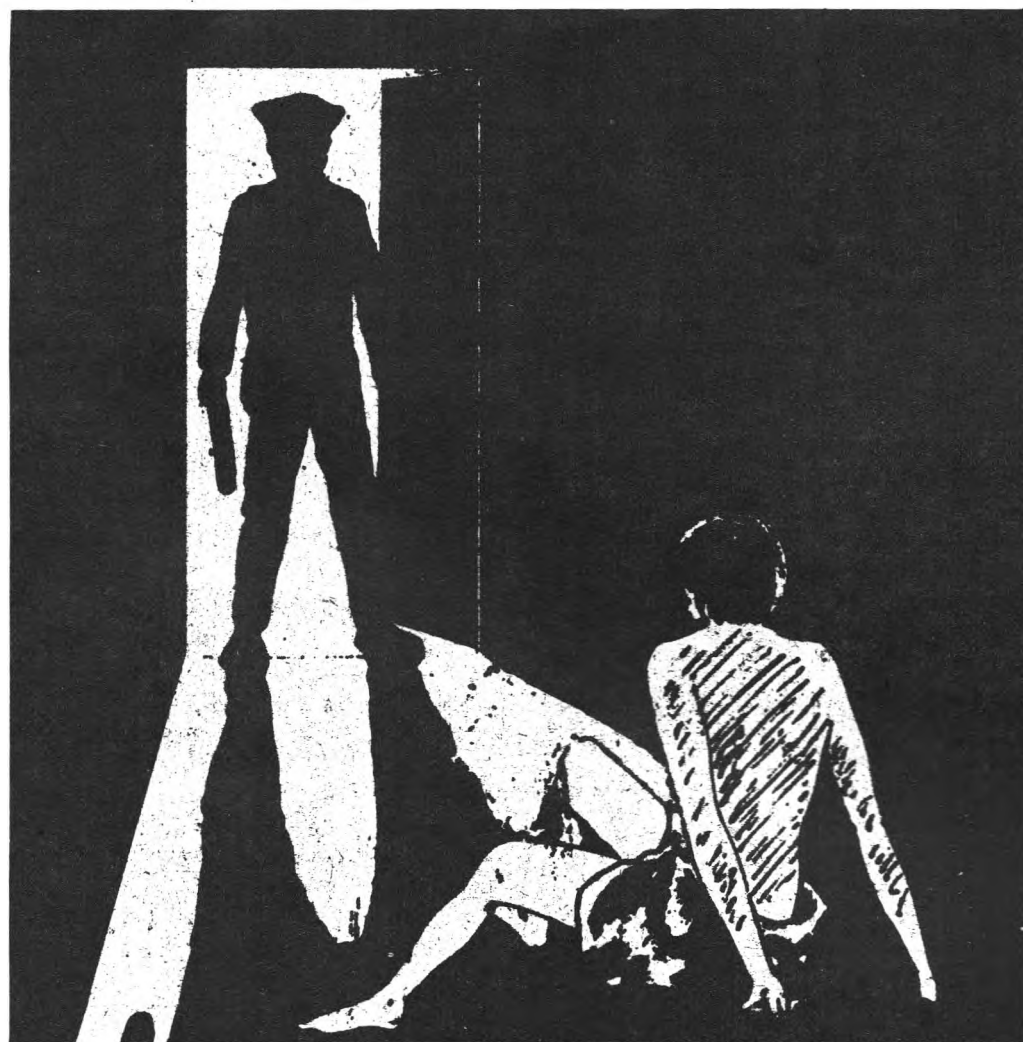
Many of our militant comrades have been martyred under torture by the fascists allowing them to bleed to death. Others have been martyred because the Israeli prison administrators do not provide needed medical care. We are determined to continue fighting this battle.

We share with your militants the pain and suffering of the prisons. We realize how difficult this life is and how the methods of torture are being systematically developed by the hangmen, like the Nazis. We are confronting these oppressors with strong determination, challenging the enemies of freedom and progress. We struggle to have our voices heard in the world. With iron determination, we are struggling against the criminal clique that oppressed Bobby Sands and his comrades.

Their noble and just hunger strike is not in vain. In our struggle against the occupation of our homeland, for freedom from the new Nazis, it stands as a clear symbol of the historical challenge against the terrorists. Our people in Palestine and in the Zionist prisons are struggling as your people are struggling against the British monopolies, and we will both continue until victory.

On behalf of the prisoners of Nafha, we support your struggle and cause of freedom against the English domination, against Zionism and against fascism in the world.

Palestinian prisoners in the desert
prison,
Nafha, July 1981



Drawing by Irish martyr Bobby Sands

LETTER FROM NAFHA

To the families of the martyrs
oppressed by the British ruling class,
To the families of Bobby Sands and his
martyred comrades,

We, revolutionaries of the Palestinian
people who are under the terrorist rule of
Zionism, write you this letter from the
desert prison of Nafha. We extend our

salutes and our solidarity with you in the
confrontation against the oppressive terrorist
rule enforced upon the Irish people by the
British ruling elite.

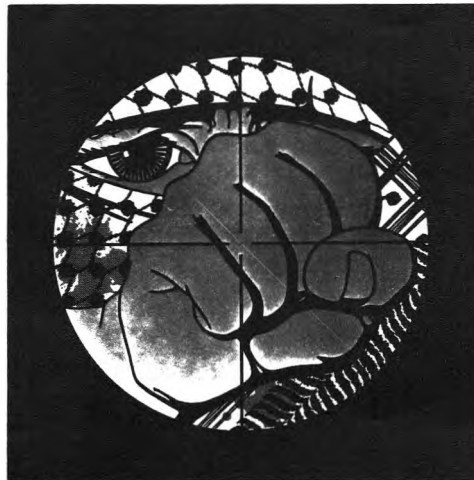
We salute the heroic struggle of Bobby
Sands and his comrades, for they have
sacrificed the most valuable possession of
any human being. They gave their lives for
freedom, for the freedom of their people, to
fulfill noble and legitimate aims. These

BLACK SEPTEMBER

Eleven years ago, King Hussein of Jordan launched a violent attack against the Palestinian Revolution and masses, in an attempt to crush the resistance movement and open the road for the imperialist-sponsored Rogers plan. Black September became a landmark in the history of the Palestinian Resistance, a bloody lesson in the reality of the alliance between imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Thousands of lives were lost, and the attacks culminated in 1971 with the resistance losing its open presence in Jordan.

The reactionary nature of the Jordanian regime has not changed since 1970. Despite its attempts at a patriotic facade, the interests of this regime are diametrically opposed to those of the Palestinian and Jordanian masses. It is this understanding that must be the basis of our actions within and towards Jordan today. One of the many lessons of Black September was the failure of the resistance to fully develop its relations with the Jordanian patriotic and progressive forces, thus making ourselves more vulnerable to the regime's attacks. Today this weakness continues in the context of the relations between the PLO and the Jordanian regime — relations that only serve to give legitimacy to a regime that inevitably acts against the interests of the Arab masses.

Supporting the struggle of the Jordanian

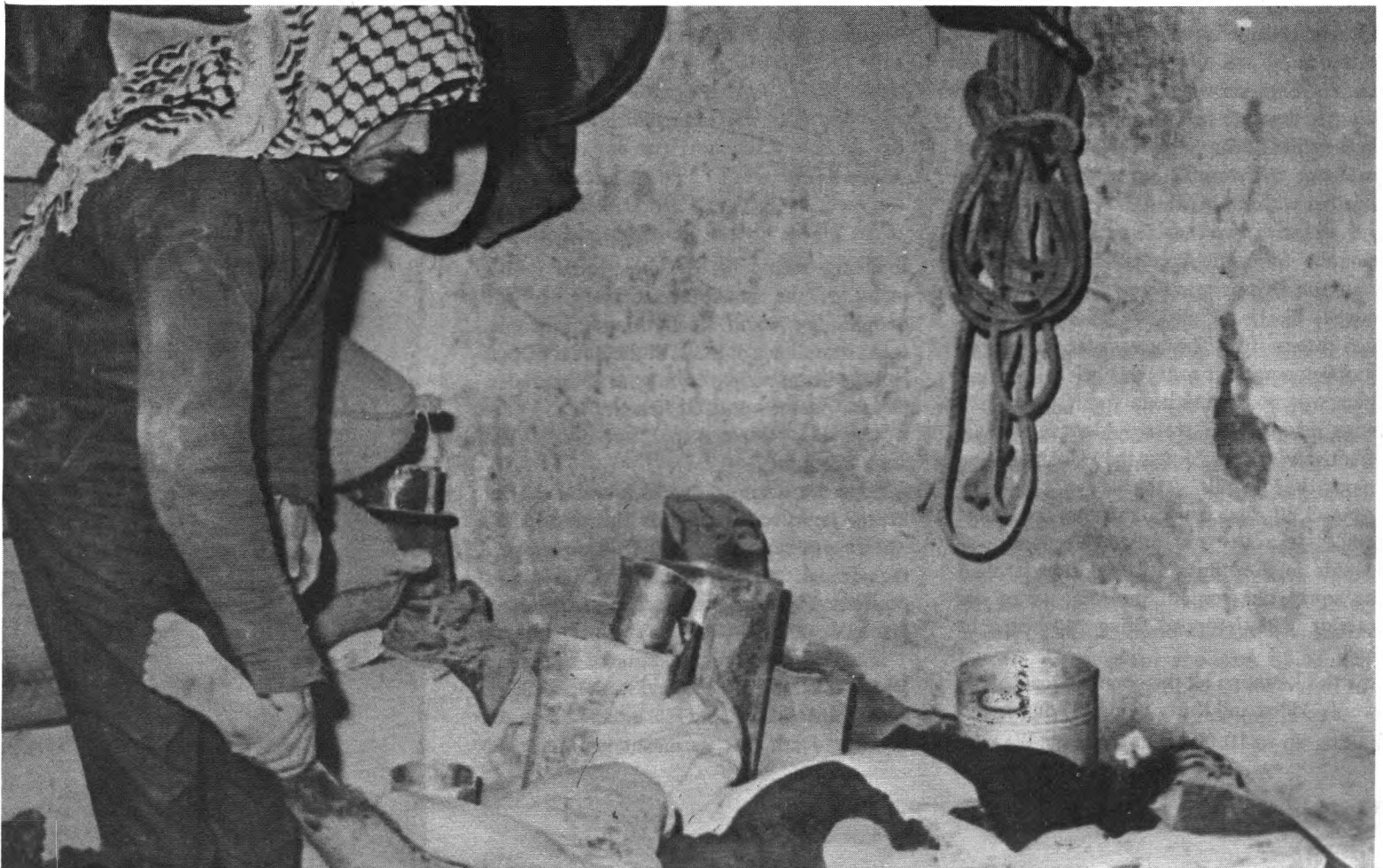


masses and their organizations for even the most basic democratic rights is an integral part of the struggle to liberate Palestine. The regime's repressive policies are a major barrier to the PLO's ability to fully mobilize the potentials of the masses, in Jordan and in the occupied land. Recent events have clearly illustrated this. While King Hussein 'deplored' the Zionist air attack on Beirut, students at Jordan's Yarmouk University attempted to take more meaningful action. The day after the attack they staged a sit-in, and demanded that they be allowed to donate blood to the victims of Zionist aggression and publish a statement condemning the attack and expressing their

support for the Palestinian Resistance. However, this regime that publicly proclaims its support for the PLO and the Palestinian people would not allow this small act of solidarity. Blood was donated, but the ambulance transporting it to a hospital was stopped by the army and two students were arrested. When the sit-in swelled to 1000 students, checkpoints were set up and 200 students arrested, while of course the support statement was never printed. In 1978, following the Zionist invasion of South Lebanon, similar events occurred. Students at Jordan University in Amman wanted to volunteer to fight; buses were brought to the school, but the students were driven to jail instead of to Lebanon! What clearer example could one ask of the true position of the Jordanian regime in the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab masses?

To commemorate the 11th anniversary of Black September, we are reprinting excerpts of "Diary of a Resistance Fighter", originally published in 1971 in *Al Hadaf*, the PFLP's weekly Arabic magazine. The "Diary" was written by a PFLP comrade who fought in Jordan, and the excerpts begin on September 17th, the day that Hussein's troops launched a merciless attack on the Palestinian Resistance and the refugee camps in and around Amman. ▶

Moving the dead and wounded victims of Hussein's terror



Thursday, September 17

For the first time, writing in this book has become very difficult; it is different now — like carving a tombstone or composing a will.

I was in the streets all day. When I came back a few minutes ago, I was looking around and it seemed to me that yesterday was a very distant day in someone else's imagination.

The men of the Popular Front are everywhere. Morale is excellent. Everyone is awaiting two alternatives; they feel it every instant. Either to die or to win.

I met Comrade A. when I was coming home. He was moving ammunition. "You know," he said, "I believe more than ever that our people are going to win. Do you know Abu Hussein? His house was destroyed and his wife and daughter were killed. He wrapped his wife and daughter in a blanket, and he took up his gun. He is standing over there; you can see him."

Many people died today. The shooting cannot possibly stop tomorrow...

It seems that the cannons of the tanks were aimed directly at the offices of the commando organizations. Immediately our men went down and started machine-gunning the tanks from a distance. I saw heavy firing from our anti-tank guns and RBJ bazookas....

The offices of all the organizations are near each other... The attack was against all of them, completely simultaneously.

Suddenly we all got together. All the barriers between organizations disappeared. We met together in a trench, behind a wall, on the sides of the ruins of the offices. All of us from different groups were working together without hesitation...

I was with two men from Fateh and one comrade from the Popular Front and one from the Democratic Front when the tanks moved, like iron hills. We had never seen such intense fire. The heavy machine gun of the Democratic Front was silent because there was no ammunition for it. If we had more ammunition we would have used it effectively to hunt down the soldiers hiding among the low hills.

At 8:40 the army's rockets and tanks totally destroyed our office. We continued to hide in the ruins until the tanks reached the square in front of the Ministry of the Interior. They stopped firing and began to shell...

I think among all the commandos we lost twenty killed and thirty wounded during the fighting up to 10:00 in the morning. We said

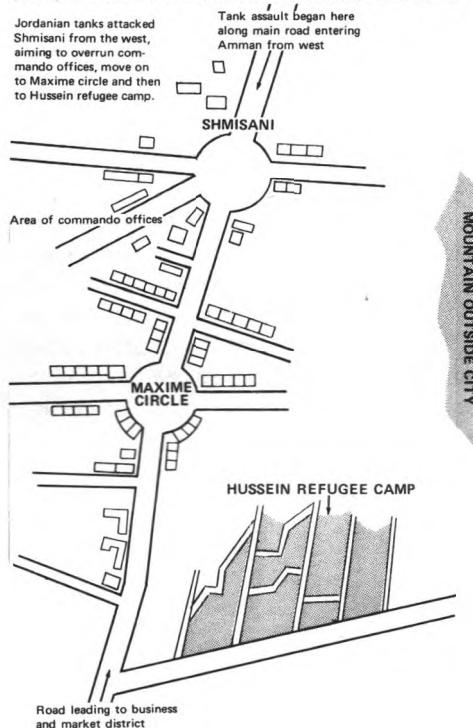
to each other, now the battle has started. The tanks had taken one line of no real value. But now if the tanks want to advance, they must fight us for every inch.

We were everywhere. We went up very near to the blind tanks and when they drove forward we fought them at close range.

Then something unexpected happened. The cannons of the tanks shelled the houses in a totally unnecessary way, savagely, without even differentiating between homes and commando offices.

It was really frightening. We were paralyzed, seeing the houses collapsing and

SIMPLIFIED MAP OF AREA OF AMMAN DISCUSSED IN DIARY



suddenly seeing in the unexpected rubble many of the small private things of the people, the warm small things of people, torn, sometimes bloody. In the midst of that hell we heard people crying out: "Comrades, please rescue me." "Comrades, I am wounded." "Comrades, I am dying. The army killed me."

It was a horrible shock. Like blind steel beasts, tanks rolled towards Maxime circle...

Fire was everywhere. Shells were exploding all over the street, but we held our position. We heard people crying from many places....

They shelled the outskirts of the camp (Hussein camp) as I reached it, then artillery began hitting the camp like a rain of fire. All at once death lost its meaning. One could

DIARY A RESISTANCE

think that the people lying there were sleeping, resting on the side of the road. Death, ruins, gunpowder, dried blood looking like red mud, the pale faces, fear — in a few hours all this can become a sort of habit which a person can really coexist with.

We formed special teams and moved most

Palestinian training camp in Jordan, 1970

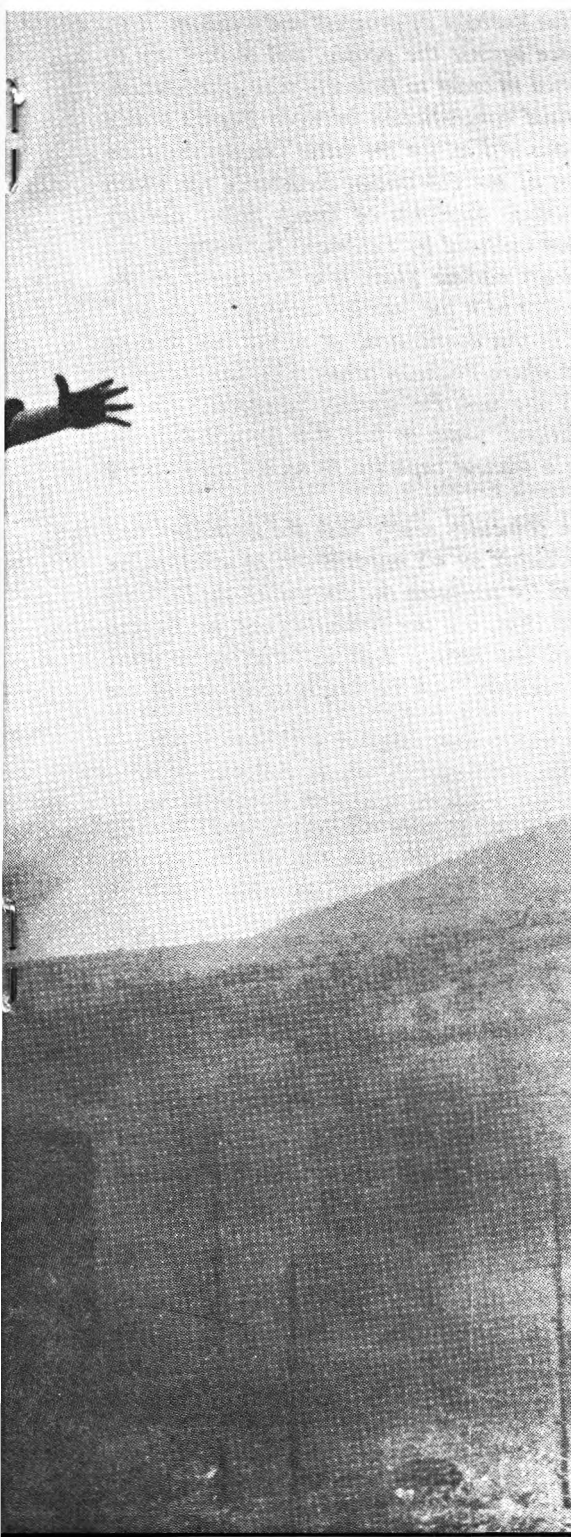


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of the dead and injured to houses, schools and UNRWA centers.

I really needed the order which came to me at 5:00 from the headquarters of the Popular Front: "Go home and sleep well. We'll need you all day tomorrow."

Tomorrow, who knows?



Friday, September 18

Again we forced them to retreat. The day ended with us still keeping them from Maxime circle, which by then was like a garage full of burned steel...

The most important thing that happened today was that the army called with loudspeakers for the commandos to surrender. We shot at those loudspeakers and silenced them...

I began to think about the meaning of courage and the meaning of cowardice. One day I think I'll write about these magnificent words that actually mean nothing. They are words we use to describe our feelings in a certain situation, but we use them when we are no longer in that situation...

And now I am looking at my fingers as they write, and at the gasoline lamp, and I ask myself how many things the human being can learn. These fingers which are writing now were pulling the trigger all day and counting bullets, moving the dead bodies, digging graves and patting the shoulders of frightened children...

Saturday, September 19

If things are relative in this world, even concerning human death, I could say that today was better than yesterday...

A volunteer from Aleppo said that he wanted to fight. We spent the entire day planting mines in the streets of Hussein refugee camp. I can truly say that we built our own hell under the hell of their tanks.

When their tanks reached our area this morning they had to retreat. They began shelling and again death started.

At noon, the man from Aleppo, as we call him, remarked to me: "These Arab regimes are still silent. I am afraid all of them are cooking up something against us." I felt a little scared, as if a hand had caught my neck in the darkness.

Monday, September 21

I couldn't write yesterday. But the tanks are still outside our lines and today for the first time we were asking ourselves about the end...

They have destroyed all the commando offices outside the refugee camps. We have less and less anti-tank ammunition. They rocketed the Hussein and Nuzha camps and Hadadi Valley more than ever today. In fact now no one cares about burying the dead.

In the evening the loudspeakers again called us to surrender. They are calling to the commandos and to all the young men. All the young men — this is a fantastic

equality. But it shows that they are planning a genocide, a genocide that neither bothers to disguise itself nor is ashamed. They have threatened to level all the refugee camps.

So now they are making no distinction between commandos and young men, between resistance and refugee camps. Is there some significance in this? Yes, of course. Our friends are still holding fast.

The men of the Popular Front are everywhere. Their faces look alike, exhausted, covered with grime, determined.

Today in a moment many things were equated: a glass of water and bullets and a piece of bread, sleeping and death, comrades and the camp.

Tuesday, September 22

I am afraid that here at least everything is coming to an end. I can see only that people prefer to die resisting...

We don't have enough food and we haven't slept sufficiently. Now all day long the loudspeakers are asking the refugee camp to surrender. No one really understands the meaning of these words. How can a refugee camp surrender, and to whom? Is there a surrender greater than that of the life of the camp?

My comrade told me that a young man went to a woman's home and asked her to give him refugee. She refused, and said to him, "You are no better than my son, and my son fought until he was killed. So why shouldn't you fight to the last drop of blood?" Sometimes heroism takes on a harsh voice, but it seems necessary.

Death is in every square inch of the Hussein refugee camp. Also thirst and hunger. The cruelest thing is for death to look into the eyes of a scared child.

Wednesday, September 23

The king's infantry entered the refugee camp. They concentrated their power behind the ruins, while the tanks shelled incessantly. We didn't have a real supply of ammunition left in the camp. We fought from house to house. They paid a very steep price for every yard they advanced.

They killed many young men, a number I can't count. A certain weeping spreads throughout the camp, like the weeping of one woman, like the weeping of the mother of the camp — weeping for the hungry, thirsty, fearful, those waiting for the unknown, weeping for a person dying alone under a hammering he cannot resist.

These people gave a real lesson to those who are watching...

ZIONIST STRATEGY

What follows is a reprint of the most important parts of an article entitled "Peacemaking in the Middle East: The Next Step" which appeared in the spring 1981 edition of *Foreign Affairs* (Vol. 59, No. 4). The article was written by Shai Feldman, a research associate at the Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University. As such, it represents a Zionist view of future options to be pursued in order to further the Camp David settlement.

Generally, the article speaks for itself; it is an example of sophisticated and insidious enemy strategy for attaining long-standing imperialist-Zionist-reactionary goals. Under the heading of "peacemaking", Feldman charts a course for consolidating the Zionist state and extending its influence in the area in the context of total imperialist hegemony. Withdrawal from the West Bank is envisioned only in terms of even more massive and advanced Israeli armament and a qualitative upgrading of the Zionist state's role in the imperialist military alliance. The author's proposals clearly illustrate how the organic and militaristic link between Zionism and imperialism does not diminish over time, but rather grows stronger, as it is rooted in the very nature of the Israeli state.

It may seem that Begin's reelection has precluded immediate consideration of the course suggested by this article. Likud's twin themes for the settlement are 'autonomy' and annexation. Feldman's ideas appear more in line with the Israeli Labor Party's policy, which takes territorial compromise into consideration if this is offset by strategically-oriented military defense of the bulk of the Zionist occupation.

However, it is important to remember that Camp David is an ongoing process with successive phases, each emphasizing different methods and points of attack. With this perspective of the settlement, Feldman's proposals are highly relevant to the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary efforts on two counts:

First: Begin's 'autonomy' has already proved a failure, stalling Camp David's implementation on the Palestinian level. Contrary to the enemy's hopes, the unity and resistance of our Palestinian people has grown stronger in the last years. Begin's course is one of brutal

repression in occupied Palestine and escalated attacks on Lebanon, aimed at liquidating the Palestinian Revolution, reaching the scale of the July 17th Fakhani massacre in Beirut. But also brute force will prove incapable of destroying our revolution, and the enemy will be pushed to focus on other means as well. It is here that proposals such as those of Feldman will be of value to the enemy alliance, especially the projected 'Marshall Plan' aimed at giving a significant portion of the Palestinian people economic interests in the status quo. All in all, Feldman's proposals represent an attempt to resolve one of Zionism's major recurring dilemmas: how to reconcile the occupation and territorial expansion, upon which the Zionist state is built, with its economic need for relations with the surrounding Arab states. His recipe is a patent one for the enemies of progress and freedom: first, apply superior military force against the people, and second, try to split and pacify the oppressed in order to facilitate their exploitation.

Thus, there is no essential contradiction between Begin's policy and the plan drawn up in this article, for the latter's implementation presupposes the liquidation of the Palestinian Resistance for which the Israeli leadership is aiming. Elements of Israeli policy already point clearly in the direction outlined by Feldman. For example, the June 7th attack on the Iraqi nuclear plant is a forerunner to the destruction 'Israel' could inflict with the "nuclear deterrence posture" advocated in this article. (In this connection, we would like to note one of the many instances where Feldman presents certain things as 'facts', while in fact they are lies. He blandly categorizes 'Israel' among the non-nuclear nations, when in fact it is known that the Zionist state is developing a nuclear capacity, in secret, for military use.)

Second: Feldman's plan coincides neatly with the global military build-up which has been initiated by US imperialism. In addition, he addresses imperialism's need for resolving the contradictions between Zionism and Arab reaction. Thus, it is our evaluation that the Reagan Administration, which sees the Middle East in terms of securing imperialism's interests strategically, will be highly receptive to the ideas outlined below.

PEACEMAKING IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE NEXT STEP

Three years into the Camp David process, it is time to question its continued usefulness. On the level of their bilateral relations, Egypt and Israel continue to fulfil their respective obligations under the 1978 Accords and the March 1979 Peace Treaty. Yet attempts to elaborate and expand upon these agreements in an effort to achieve a comprehensive Middle East peace have met enormous obstacles. Negotiations over the proposed "autonomy" for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are nearing a dead end. At issue are the most fundamental national aspirations and interests of the parties involved. Their differences on these issues can no longer be papered over by ambiguous legal formulations. Efforts to overcome these various problems incrementally are unlikely to produce significant results.

It appears, then, that Israel's national security is affected by the future of the West Bank in two critical ways. Should Israel forego control over the territory, she may become exposed to the risks resulting from the area's proximity to her essential core. Should she refuse to relinquish control — thus preventing Egypt from delivering Palestinian self-determination — the strategic implications of Egypt's

possible withdrawal from the peace process will have to be faced. The possibility that Egypt might join a future Arab war coalition against Israel cannot then be excluded. This trade-off constitutes Israel's greatest strategic dilemma today.

...

The central contention advanced here is that so long as the West Bank continues to occupy its present pivotal role in Israel's national security policy, neither the "real autonomy" nor the "Jordanian option" can materialize. The key to significant progress toward a more comprehensive Middle East peace is that the issue of the West Bank be considered in a novel strategic context. This context, in turn, should provide Israel with an entirely new national security package. Within this package, the West Bank should have a far less pivotal role than its present one.

...

Israel's moral fiber weakened after the 1967 War because the two principal sources which had sustained it up to that point no longer existed: a new reality threatened to compromise the preferred character of the Jewish state; and Israel's leaders refused to address

the apparent dilemma, thus allowing the state's character to be eroded. Increasingly, Israelis raised fundamental questions about the purposes of their state and the nature of the road it was taking. Basic political and moral objections to Israel's foreign and defense policies were raised: many Israelis queried whether their leaders' demand for absolute security would not lead to permanent war. Such objections found widespread expression during the 1969-70 War of Attrition, and later, as Israelis found that controlling the increasingly hostile Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was a rather unpleasant proposition. Thus, Israel's national consensus on the basic principles of its policy was significantly eroded.

Seen from this perspective, Israel has a fundamental interest in ridding itself of control over the West Bank. Numerically inferior to its adversaries, the state must rely on superior quality and high motivation among its citizens. To withstand their more numerous enemies, Israel's citizen-soldiers must be completely persuaded of the purposes of their state's policies. Once its national consensus is lost, Israel's very survival is in question. A return to lines approximating those held prior to the 1967 War implies both the return to the borders of a Jewish state and the reconstruction of its national consensus. It would constitute a reestablishment of the common denominator uniting all Israelis. Were they ever attacked again, they would at least enjoy a common purpose and common conviction that they had done everything possible to establish peace. Thus, the high motivation of Israel's soldiers will not be in doubt. This by itself is a major factor to be considered in weighing the security risks associated with giving up control over the West Bank.

Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank could be implemented only in the framework of a new national security package encompassing four elements: first, a new role for Israel in the Western alliance system; second, security arrangements in the West Bank for the post-withdrawal era; third, an international economic effort to maximize both West Bank economic development and its interdependence with the economies of Israel and the more pro-Western Arab states; fourth, an explicit nuclear deterrence posture. Within such a national security package, the significance of the West Bank would decline. This would allow Israel to recognize Arab sovereignty over the entire West Bank and to withdraw from almost all its territory.

The first element in Israel's proposed national security package is an enhanced role in the Western alliance system. More precisely, Israel should be made an integral part of the alliance's efforts to secure western interests in the Persian Gulf. This would increase Israel's deterrent profile: potential adversaries would be made aware that the Western alliance system had important stakes in Israel and that an attack on her could lead to a direct clash with the alliance.

...

In light of the revolution in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a need to strengthen the Western military presence in the Middle East has clearly emerged. A number of Israelis have suggested Israel's possible contribution to such an effort. On the whole, however, these offers were politely rejected. Clearly, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states would not agree to the United States defending them from Israeli bases. This would continue to be the case at least as long as the issues of the West Bank and East Jerusalem remained unresolved. Conversely, Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank and the as yet unspecified solution to the problem of East Jerusalem should make a major Israeli role in the Western alliance possible. Negotiating Israel's withdrawal should be linked to its new role in the alliance: only if the latter is achieved would Israel be able to implement the former.

The United States should welcome such a quid pro quo. Washington is finding it increasingly difficult to sustain simultaneously its

commitment to Israel and its interests in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. The Reagan Administration is particularly sensitive to this problem; many of its members are strongly committed to Israel and see it as a potential strategic asset to the United States, while many others are extremely attentive to U.S. interests in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. Seen from this perspective, America must adopt an approach that would make its support of Israel not detrimental to its close ties with Saudi Arabia. The way to go about this would be to boost Israel's security, thereby allowing her to dispense with those elements of her present policy which the Saudis find most objectionable. By enhancing Israel's role in the Western alliance system while facilitating her withdrawal from the West Bank and a solution to East Jerusalem, the United States could approach the answer to her present dilemma.

...

What, then, should be Israel's new role in the Western alliance system? The new role should be derived from an appreciation of three principles: first, by virtue of its geographic location, domestic stability, utter reliability, highly skilled manpower, and extremely potent air, naval and ground forces, Israel has much to offer to the Western alliance. Second, the large-scale stationing of foreign troops in Israel should be strictly avoided. This is exceedingly important because among a nation of less than four million, even several thousand foreign troops may threaten the state's social fabric. Finally, America's new Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) is unlikely to function effectively before the second half of the 1980s. Yet, since threats to Western interests in the region may arise well before that date, there is a need for an interim "Rapid Reaction Force," more modest in size yet capable of instant action in the Gulf region.

The third of these principles has been advanced by the head of Israel's Center for Strategic Studies, Major General (Res.) Aharon Yariv. In a lecture delivered in Washington a year ago, General Yariv pointed out that:

"The brittleness of the situation in the Arabian Peninsula, especially the fragility of the Saudi regime, suggest that the West may not have at its disposal the time-span of two-to-three years [for the realization of the RDF]. The likelihood of surprise incidents [such as the November 1979 assault on the Grand Mosque in Mecca] occurring again in Saudi Arabia or in neighboring states, with much stronger reverberations and ensuing difficulties for the flow of oil, is considerable."

To address the challenge, Yariv suggested, in the framework of a Western "broad front strategy of offense-defense," that:

"A relatively small ground and/or amphibious force, even with a limited amount of heavy equipment — when permanently deployed in close proximity to the critical area, and enjoying good naval and air support — can still serve as a Rapid Reaction Force (RRF). By early arrival on the scene — possibly in concert with a force supplied by a local partner — and by taking immediate action, it might resolve a crisis situation that otherwise would escalate to a degree demanding major military involvement with all the attendant dangers. The RRF should be able to operate with the same surgical accuracy, swiftness and decisiveness that characterized the Entebbe rescue mission. Moreover, the very presence of such a potential may deter radical trouble-makers, or Soviet proxies, and avert dangerous crises."

In line with the three principles enumerated above, Israel could make a number of contributions to the Western alliance. First, Israel's air bases, including the two new bases now being built in the Negev, could be adjusted to make them interoperable with the U.S. Air Force. This would allow their use for the staging of operations such as those envisaged above for the Rapid Reaction Force, and later for the Rapid Deployment Force. In addition, Israeli bases could be used for

the staging of bombing operations. For example, if the Soviets were to begin an invasion of the Persian Gulf, operations could be staged from Israel to hit chokepoints in the Soviet advance. Second, munitions, fuel, food supplies, drinking water, communications equipment, and medical gear could all be pre-positioned in Israel. Such pre-positioning would have the advantage of proximity to critical areas where the deployment of the RRF and the RDF might be required. The critical importance of large quantities of drinking water became apparent during the latest exercise held by elements of the U.S. 101st Airborne Division in Egypt (Operation Bright Star). The prepositioning of jet-engine fuel would allow for air-refueling operations by KC-135 tankers to be launched from Israeli bases, thus extending the ranges of such tactical aircraft as the FB-111.

Third, Israel could provide "real time" intelligence on domestic developments in the region. Such intelligence would be required for the timely employment of the Rapid Reaction Force. In addition, Israel could help in providing some air and naval cover for such a force. Fourth, should a military clash require the deployment of America's airpower in the farther corners of the region, Israel's land-based airpower could be employed to defend U.S. aircraft carriers. If these carriers were stationed in Israel's proximity, Israel's Navy could also be used for that purpose. Finally, in a grave crisis, Israel's air and naval forces could defend strategic chokepoints, such as the straits of Bab el Mandeb.

In planning and preparing for such contingencies, Israel would be able to share with the Western alliance its rich combat experience in the region. Such sharing could take the form of employing Israeli advisers in desert warfare exercises held in the United States; the presence of U.S. training staffs in similar exercises held in Israel; joint planning for contingencies requiring U.S.-Israeli cooperation, and the joint conduct of war games.

Finally, Israel may have a number of contributions to make in the event that the alliance became involved in a prolonged, high-attrition military conflict in the Gulf. Israel could fulfill a wide variety of supportive and back-up roles for the combatting forces: for example,

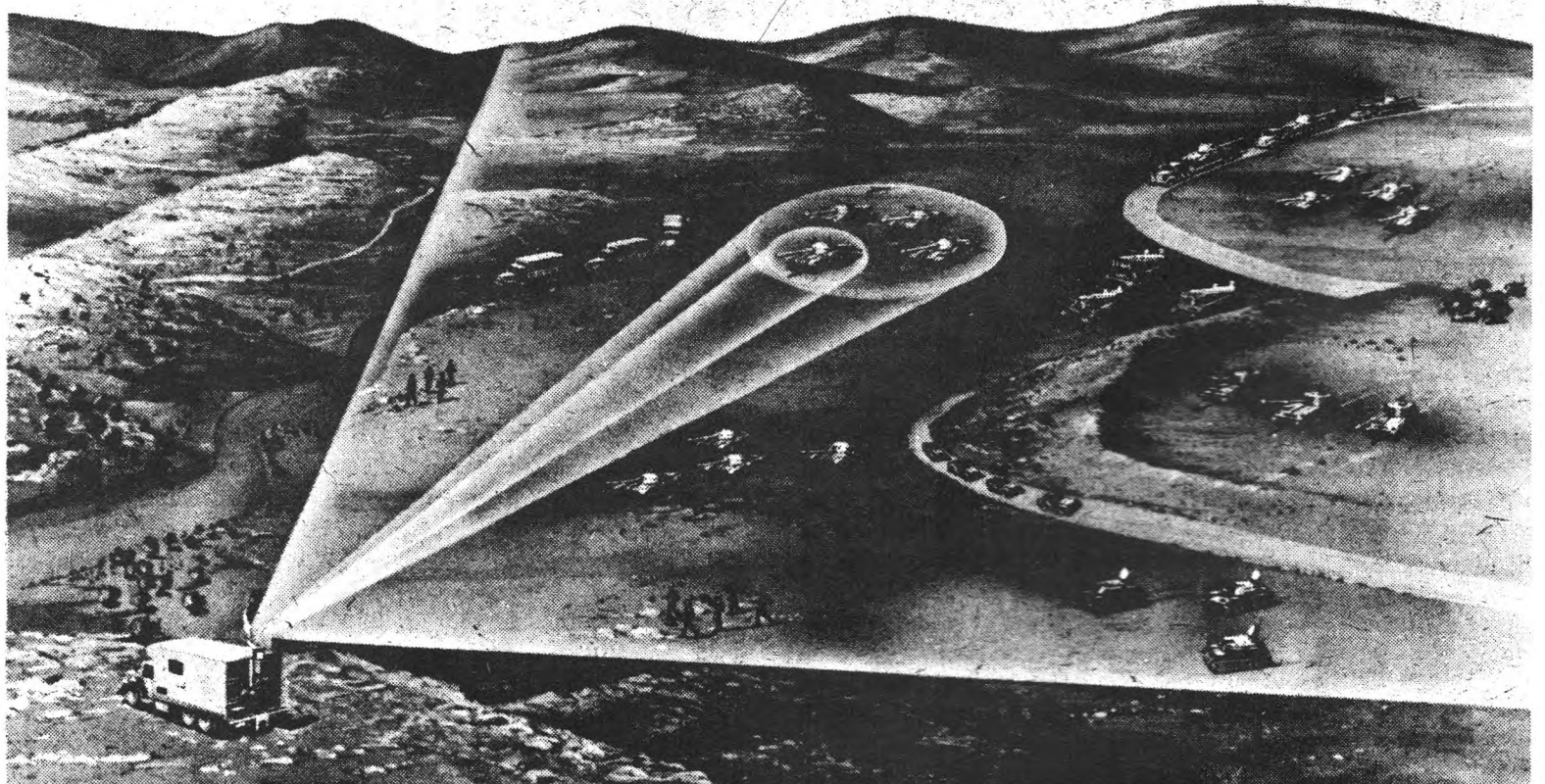
high-quality maintenance as well as excellent medical services could be provided. The surge capability of Israel's armament industry could play an important role as well, particularly since ammunition shortages are expected to be a critical problem in a battlefield characterized by the extensive use of modern armor and precision-guided munitions.

...

An enhanced role for Israel in the Western alliance system would differ markedly from past suggestions that Israel should trade its control of the West Bank for an American security guarantee. Whereas a guarantee would institutionalize dependence — with a debilitating effect on the nation's morale — the concept advanced here would establish interdependence. Israel would be dependent on the Western alliance, but the alliance would also become more dependent upon Israel. Thus, relations would be characterized by a far greater degree of symmetry than is the case with unilateral security guarantees, increasing the likelihood that the concept would be acceptable to Israel's body politic. In addition, since it would rest on enduring mutual interests, the commitment would enjoy far greater credibility.

The most important difference, however, is that whereas past suggestions implied that an American guarantee would itself provide a solution to Israel's security problems, the proposal for an enhanced Israeli role in the Western alliance is presented here as only one element in a new Israeli national security package. It is based on the conviction that there is no quick-fix, single-factor solution to Israel's security problems once she has withdrawn from the West Bank. The effort to reduce the risks entailed in such a move must be pursued by a number of avenues simultaneously.

The second component of the package involves security arrangements in the West Bank following Israel's withdrawal. These should include prohibiting the introduction of heavy armaments into the West Bank for Arab forces, and, conversely, permitting the stationing of Israeli early-warning systems, surface-to-air missiles, and pre-positioned stocks in very limited areas. The limited real estate required for these purposes should be leased, without prejudice to



Israeli long range radar system recently exhibited in Paris

Arab sovereignty over the entire West Bank. Also, emphasis should be placed on avoiding friction with the area's residents. Therefore, the large-scale stationing of Israeli ground forces in the West Bank should be strictly avoided.

There are three reasons why Israel's eastern front is extremely sensitive. The first is its proximity to Israel's population and industrial centers. The strip between the pre-1967 lines and the Mediterranean Sea is only eight to 13 miles wide, and contains 67 percent of Israel's population and about 80 percent of its industrial capacity. This puts most of Israel's cities well within artillery range of the West Bank. The second source of the front's sensitivity is the enormous military forces facing Israel from the east. In 1980 the forces of the so-called Eastern Front — consisting of Iraq, Syria and Jordan — included some 24 divisions, with 5,670 medium tanks (almost twice the size of the British and French medium-tank forces combined), 5,200 armored personnel carriers, 4,450 artillery pieces, and 1,030 combat aircraft. Even if Iraq were able to employ only a part of its forces against Israel, the latter would still be engaged on her eastern front by some 17 divisions, including 4,670 medium tanks and 750 combat aircraft. Finally, Israel's own military forces, though extremely potent when fully mobilized, are highly dependent on ample warning. More than two-thirds of Israel's order of battle is in the reserves.

Major Arab forces should be kept as far away as possible from Israel's essential core. This is necessary to increase the time-span between those forces' initial movement and their arrival in areas near Israel's essential core. Widening this time-span would permit Israel to mobilize her reserves and to engage the advancing forces far from her population and industrial centers. In order to achieve this, Israel must insist that the entrance of other Arab military forces (e.g., Syrian, Iraqi or Saudi forces) into Jordan be prohibited, as well as the stationing of heavy armament in the West Bank by Jordanian or Palestinian forces.

Proper strategic warning requires stationing intelligence-monitoring and sensing installations on a number of mountaintops in the West Bank. This requirement results from the absence of proper alternatives; airborne early-warning systems are important but do not constitute an effective alternative to land-based installations. Furthermore, suggestions that such installations should be operated by the United States — supplying Israel with end-products — must be rejected. Israel must have complete confidence that all data acquired will be made available to her. The transmission of such data through middlemen involves excessive risks; in order to prevent Israel from 'overreacting,' such middlemen may refrain from transferring data concerning movements of Arab forces. Israel must insure herself against such eventualities by insisting that these installations be operated solely by Israelis.

Israel's ability to delay attacking forces could derive much benefit from the stationing of Israeli ground forces in the West Bank. However, no Arab negotiating partner — be it Jordan, the PLO or local Palestinian leaders — would acquiesce in such an arrangement. Israel should also be interested in avoiding the stationing of large forces in the area. Such forces would be a constant source of friction with the local population, and this would jeopardize the stability of any arrangements reached. Therefore, measures to delay incoming forces should be low manpower-intensive. Israel must acquire the best available technologies for this purpose. In the West Bank, measures to delay attacks should be based, for an unspecified interim period, on the pre-positioning of weapon stocks in a limited number of facilities. When warning of attack is received, the manpower required for their use could be quickly transported to these facilities, thus allowing

rapid mobilization and deployment. Ordinarily, only very limited manpower will be required to maintain and defend these stocks.

Finally, there is one threat for which the arrangements suggested here do not provide an adequate answer: namely, the threat of terrorism. Many fear that terrorism directed from the West Bank against Israel will grow once Israel withdraws from the area. To be sure, withdrawal would seriously curtail Israel's ability to combat terrorism from the West Bank. Israel's capacity for intelligence penetration of the area's population would be more limited, and it would no longer be free to conduct searches, arrest suspects, and interrogate, judge and imprison them. Israel would be forced to a more defense-oriented mode of combatting terrorism from the West Bank, with all the ensuing risks.

The balance of power between Israel and either an independent Palestinian state or a Jordanian-Palestinian federation would remain extremely one-sided for a number of decades to come. Israel could easily halve the new unit by a mere administrative decision to block communication between the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Palestinian or Jordanian-Palestinian leadership would be interested first and foremost in their state's integrity and would therefore wish to avoid this. Thus, Israel's constantly looming threat to intervene militarily should terrorism get out of hand would force this leadership to arrest the problem quickly and forcefully.

A major potential threat for Israel is that following her withdrawal, the West Bank will drift toward radicalism and its new rulers will initiate either terrorist or more organized forms of violence. The third component of the proposed security package addresses this threat. Its basic premise is that the ability to deter terrorism should be augmented by a network of incentives barring the West Bank's possible radicalization. These incentives should include a dramatic development of the West Bank economy, as well as making it interdependent with the economies of Israel and pro-Western Arab states.

Terrorist activity would lead to Israeli reprisals, and organized hostilities initiated by the West Bank's rulers could lead to large-scale Israeli punitive action, if not to the reoccupation of the area. If the West Bank's economic lot improved, its residents and leaders would stand to lose much more by launching hostilities. A similar effect would be gained if the area's economy remained interdependent with Israel's. Once the economy of the West Bank had become interdependent with that of the more pro-Western Arab states as well, the latter would have significant leverage over the former's policies. Since the social, political and economic interests of such oil-rich states as Saudi Arabia favor regional stability, a constant effort to dissuade West Bank leaders from adopting modes of violence could be expected.

Although a high level of interaction presently characterizes the economic relations between Israel and the West Bank, this does not automatically translate into economic interdependence. Dependence implies a relationship to which no readily available alternatives exist. The West Bank presently exports to Israel almost two-thirds of its total exports. However, this is partially due to politically motivated restrictions imposed by Jordan and other Arab states on imports from the West Bank. Were these restrictions lifted in the framework of a comprehensive political settlement, the distribution of the West Bank's exports would change dramatically. Much more of the area's products would then be sold to Amman and the wealthier Gulf States. The same applies to the area's imports, of which 90 percent are from Israel.

The realm of employment provides a more accurate measure of interdependence. A look at this realm reveals that dependence is indeed mutual, if not symmetric. At present, important sectors of Israel's economy cannot function without manpower provided by the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This is particularly the case with Israel's tourism, construction, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, agriculture. For the West Bank's residents, wages earned in Israel constitute one of the principal means of support. Other outlets for manpower exist in the Gulf states, but they require West Bank residents to part from their families and work hundreds of miles away from their homes. Also, most Arab states have restricted the admission of Palestinians. Thus, alternatives to the wages earned in Israel are not readily available. In this sense, interdependence between Israel and the West Bank is symmetric. A political settlement enabling the continuation of this interaction would maintain interdependence.

The establishment of economic interdependence between Israel, the West Bank and the more pro-Western Arab states requires region-wide development projects. Such projects should be based on Palestinian labor, Saudi financing, and American, European and Israeli technology. They would also provide the framework for the resettlement of the Palestinian refugees, a massive enterprise long overdue. For this purpose, a number of new cities should be constructed in the more arid areas of the West Bank. These cities should be organized around new sources of energy and should allow the manufacture of goods that are competitive in the markets of the Arab world at large. To enhance Israeli-West Bank interdependence, a limited number of industrial parks should be established along the pre-1967 lines. Labor-intensive industry could be placed there, utilizing Israeli capital and technology, and providing an additional source of employment for the returning Palestinians.

The implementation of regional development projects should be gradual, so that the area's traditional social and economic fabric is not fatally wounded. Likewise, the return of Palestinian refugees would have to be conducted slowly and with great care. The formation of a proper infrastructure would require enormous effort, notably in the construction of housing, industrial structures, telephone networks, and road, water and sewage systems. In addition, skilled Palestinians should be recruited worldwide to fill posts in the project's management and prevent its being viewed as "foreign." In short, the third component of the proposed security package calls for an American-initiated, Saudi-financed Marshall Plan for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The gradual implementation of the enterprise would provide the region's residents with an enduring stake in the stability of a political settlement.

The Middle East will be increasingly characterized by fire-intensive, high-attrition warfare. The proliferation of high-technology weapons in the region guarantees that this will be the case. Under these conditions, if Israel's withdrawal were to create Arab expectations of success in the battlefield, the price of defeating the challenge would be critically important. Due to the demographic and financial imbalance between Israel and her Arab neighbors, the cumulative costs of war could have a devastating effect on Israel's survivability, even if she won each of these encounters. In Israel's case, the problem of deterring war thus assumes particular importance, more so than for almost any other non-nuclear nation. And the imperative for successful deterrence will further increase as conventional defense becomes more difficult. Economic constraints already impose limitations on Israel's ability to cope with the expansion of the Arab armed forces. This would further reduce the spectrum of threats which Israel can withstand at acceptable costs. Finally, by the end of this decade, Arab conventional challenges may be supported by nuclear weapons. Iraq may possess enough fissionable material for a

nuclear weapon by 1985, and is likely to enjoy a rudimentary deliverable nuclear force by 1990. Other Arab countries will follow suit, and — with possible imported shortcuts — may even precede Iraq. This will dramatically extend the spectrum of threats facing Israel in the years to come.

Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip might well reduce the Arabs' motivation to wage war against Israel, but it would not eliminate this motivation entirely. Arab challenges to Israel's survival might yet recur. Since the aforementioned components of the proposed security package do not fully meet the dangers entailed in such recurring challenges, an additional deterrent is needed. Therefore, Israel should develop the capability and adopt an appropriate strategy and doctrine for overt nuclear deterrence. This comprises the fourth element in the proposed national security package.

In terms of capability, Israel should develop nuclear weapons in a quantity and of a yield sufficient to demolish salient targets in each of the Arab states. The suggested doctrine is counter-value — that is, threatening the destruction of cities and resources. It should consist of a simple but intentionally vague declaration that any attempt to cross Israel's borders by a significant military force would be countered with extremely high levels of punishment. The strategy's purpose would be to deter the Arab states from pursuing most forms of violence against Israel by letting them know that she possesses the means for devastating punishment.

...

If Israel adopted a nuclear deterrence posture, she would stand an excellent chance of deterring Arab efforts to challenge her basic survival. This would continue to be the case even if the Arab states adopted nuclear deterrence postures of their own. The issue of Israel's survival will be more important to her than Israel's destruction will be to her neighbors. Once her survival is threatened, she will demonstrate greater willingness to run risks. The balance of deterrence will tilt in her favor. Finally, Israel's nuclear posture might also deter neighbors from opting for lower levels of violence, such as limited mobile war, wars of attrition, and guerrilla warfare.

However, Israel's ability to deter such limited challenges would depend on the nature of the issue under dispute. Israel is unlikely to deter Arab efforts to regain some of the territories she has occupied since the June 1967 War. Her neighbors see these territories as their own, while Israel lacks a national consensus on the question of Israeli sovereignty over these territories. Thus the Arabs are likely to care more about these territories and will demonstrate greater willingness to run risks. In any effort to regain them, the balance of deterrence will tilt in the Arabs' favor. However, once Israel withdraws to borders that more nearly approximate the lines she held prior to the 1967 War, the balance of deterrence will turn to her advantage. She would be determined to resist Arab efforts to go beyond these lines or to harass her within them.

The central thrust of this essay is the creation of a new Israeli national security package, providing a new strategic context in which the West Bank's current pivotal role in Israel's security is altered, thus allowing Israel's withdrawal from the area. The willingness to carry out such a withdrawal is a prerequisite to the implementation of either a "real autonomy" or the "Jordanian option." Given a willingness to withdraw, both are feasible avenues to a comprehensive Arab-Israeli accommodation. And, on balance, they involve a similar mix of risks and opportunities. Essentially, both constitute "Palestinian" options: the "real autonomy" would quickly lead to a "small" independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; the Jordanian option would over time lead to a large Palestinian state, encompassing the Gaza Strip and both banks of the Jordan River.

The advantages of the Jordanian option are in the short range. King Hussein is bound to have a strong moderating influence in the West Bank, and the area's demilitarization would be more feasible, since it would limit arms in only one part of a country. The option's disadvantages would be evident in the long run. Once domestic politics caught up with Jordan's demography, the Hashemites would be derailed, and Israel would face a large Palestinian state. For Israel, one strong Palestinian neighbor is far worse than two weak ones.

The first option — a "small" Palestinian state — involves short-range risks. It would be more difficult to demilitarize an entire state, and there would be some question as to the state's economic viability. However, lack of viability would make it even more dependent upon Israel, and this would have a moderating influence upon it. In the long run, it is preferable to have the Palestinians divided between two states — a small Palestinian state and a more survivable Hashemite kingdom of Jordan — with the former being engulfed by the latter as well as by Israel. Thus, the two options entail a similar distribution of dangers and benefits. Indifference to the choice between them is not an unreasonable conclusion.

In principle, therefore, Israel should be willing to negotiate either of these options with any Arab representatives, provided the latter fulfill two conditions: first, that they recognize Israel's right to exist and accept the stipulations of U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338; second, that their political standing among West Bank Palestinians is sufficiently strong to merit confidence that they can implement effectively whatever agreements are reached.

None of the components of the security package proposed in this article would require immediate implementation. The implementation of the security package should be incremental, and linked to Israel's withdrawal. The realization of both must be tied to the gradual fulfillment of the political accommodation reached. More urgently needed is the initiation of a detailed strategic dialogue between the top leaderships of Israel and the United States. The dialogue should

take place immediately after Israel's next elections, currently set for June, and before the two governments become locked into fixed positions and policies. It should also be conducted prior to comprehensive talks between the United States and other leaders in the region. The most sensitive issues blocking further progress toward political accommodation in the Middle East are those involving Israel's security. Therefore, it is imperative that Israelis not conclude that the talks aim merely at formalizing a deal already negotiated with Israel's neighbors. Hence the importance of conducting a dialogue with Israel first. Finally, it is important that the talks be secluded from media pressure, in much the same way as were the negotiations of the Camp David Accords.

The Israeli-American strategic dialogue should consist of a thorough analysis of the fundamental interests of both nations, and of the ways in which they may be accommodated. A mutual understanding should be reached on three central issues. First, on the construction of the new national security package allowing for Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank. This should also include a discussion of the measures needed to gain European and pro-Western Arab support of the package. Second, a common understanding with regard to the political steps to be taken toward a more comprehensive Middle East accord. In this framework, a common approach should be adopted regarding the ways of eliciting a Palestinian or Jordanian-Palestinian partner to the settlement, under either of the aforementioned options. Third, a mutual understanding should be reached on the general principles for a solution to the problem of Jerusalem. The solution should provide for the city's continued unity, while allowing a measure of Arab jurisdiction over some of its parts. In this context, the fundamental religious concerns of parties as diverse as Saudi Arabia and the Vatican could be accommodated.

Only after Israel has gained the support of her staunchest ally, the United States, on all three issues, will she be able to initiate the difficult steps toward a comprehensive Middle East settlement. ●

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN NORTH YEMEN

Against the backdrop of the recent escalation of fighting in North Yemen, the Bulletin staff interviewed Comrade Abu Kamal, representative of the National Democratic Front of North Yemen (NDF).

What is the strategy of the National Democratic Front for the liberation of North Yemen? What are the objective conditions for your struggle at the present time?

The program of the National Democratic Front is based on principles of democracy and peace. Our general political line is to present the people with a democratic alternative. We will implement this program when the conditions are conducive to peaceful development, in order to end the political crisis in North Yemen.

The agreement signed by the National Democratic Front and the Sanaa government on January 31, 1981, represents a correct

basis for implementing this program. It prescribes a peaceful solution to end the crisis. Some of the clauses of this agreement are as follows:

1. The release of all political prisoners; a general amnesty to be declared by the regime; an end to military aggression against the positions of the NDF; an end to all political imprisonment

2. Democratic rights; freedom of speech; the right to carry out political and trade union activities; the right of all sectors of the society to organize themselves, especially the right of the Yemeni Workers Union, recognized on the Arab and international level, to organize the workers (Until now, its activities have been severely restricted.)

3. Enhancing the independence and sovereignty of the country; the adoption of an independent and active foreign policy, based on mutual respect and equality:

commitment to the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment; an end to all forms of external intervention in the internal affairs of our country

4. The achievement of broad national unity and building a national economy, free of all forms of dependency

5. To work to achieve unity between the two Yemens by peaceful and democratic means

6. The closure of the NDF's radio station in exchange for its having an openly circulated newspaper

However, the regime did not abide by its part of the agreement, due to pressure from Saudi Arabia and the United States. Instead, it enacted a savage military campaign with the aim of striking and liquidating the Front. In spite of this, the NDF is still working to achieve its goals through peaceful and democratic methods as the basic means of strug- ▶

gle. At the same time, the NDF reserves the right to defend itself, and to defend the peasants whose homes and crops are being destroyed. We have the right to protect them from being killed or robbed by the regime's forces.

The conditions we are living under in North Yemen are those of a barbaric war, waged by the regime against the masses and the patriotic forces to fulfill the aims of the enemy. The reason for this war is that imperialism and the reactionary forces have imposed their will upon their appendages in Sanaa. With the help of mercenary groups and the Wahabis (a tribe which acts as the agent of imperialism and reaction), the regime launched campaign after campaign of terror and destruction against the workers and peasants — imprisoning them, destroying their houses, burning their crops and land.

There is no excuse for this war except that it is in accordance with the desire of Saudi reaction and US imperialism to dominate the area. This aggression against our masses is not isolated from what is taking place in the region as a whole; it cannot be detached from the plots of imperialism and reaction in the area.

In spite of the ferocity of the regime's attacks, our masses led by our Front are striking back courageously and inflicting losses on the forces of the regime, leaving it no other choice than to negotiate peacefully with the Front. In our view, the Sanaa regime's acceptance of the January 31st agreement reflects the fact that it saw no other way out of the present crisis, which has had negative repercussions within the state apparatus and in the army leadership. The last coup attempt, on July 31st, is a reflection of this crisis. It was led by an army officer who was close to the president, Ali Abdullah Saleh.

After 1 1/2 years of these recurring battles (since the 1979 agreement between the NDF and the regime), it has been proven that the NDF is stronger, politically and militarily, than the regime had calculated. The regime's increased military attacks have furthered its own weakness and furthered its retreat into the lap of the enemy camp, which opposes our people's progress and unity.

Can you elaborate more on the causes and background of the current conflict?

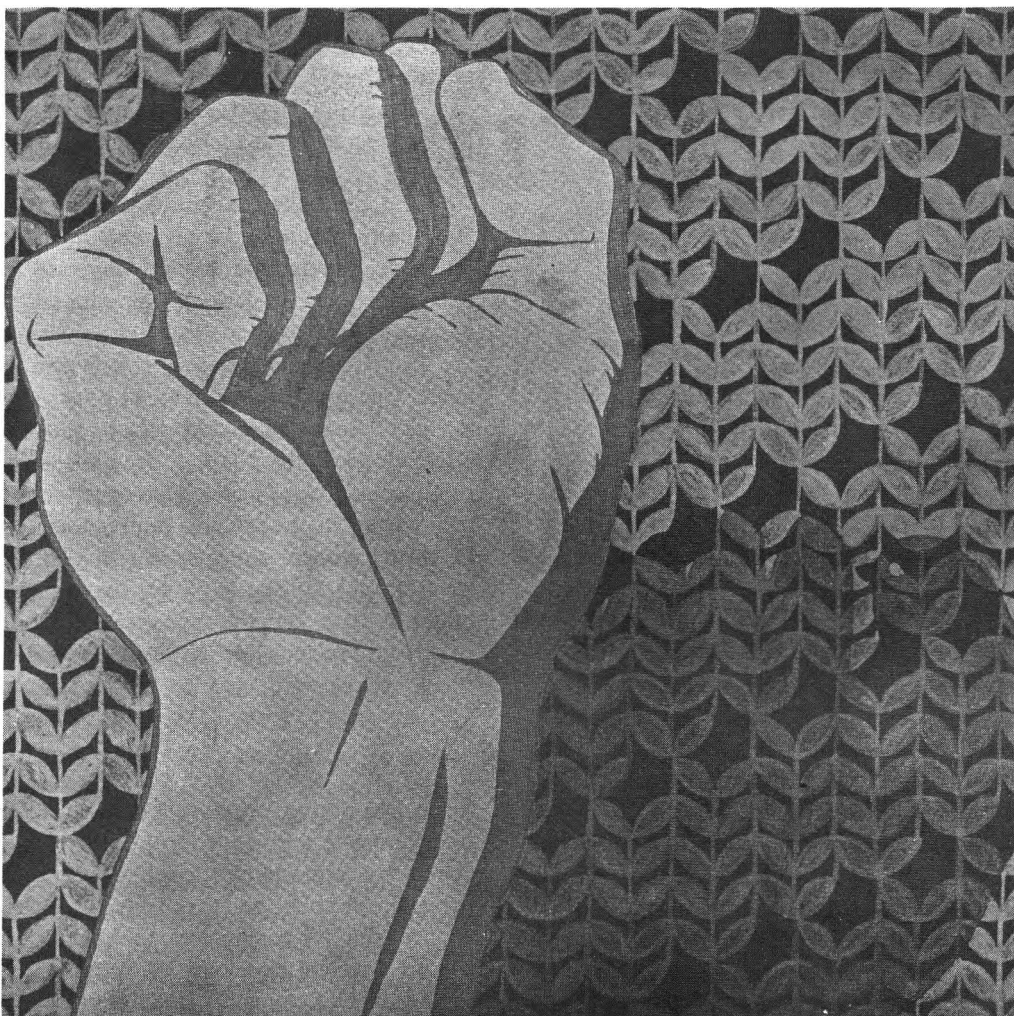
To understand the background for the current fighting, one must look back to the reactionary coup of November 5, 1967, in Sanaa, which was led by the feudal and comprador forces. This coup aimed to reverse the achievements of the September 26th Revolution in 1962, and to place our country under the yoke of Saudi reaction and imperialism.

Our masses resisted this reactionary coup. Thus, in the beginning of the seventies, peaceful struggle with the Sanaa regime was no longer possible. Armed struggle, one of the forms of struggle adopted by left organizations, escalated. It became a fundamental form of struggle and was officially declared on February 11, 1976.

After the 1979 Kuwait agreement between the presidents of the two Yemens, the NDF representing all the patriotic and progressive forces, proposed the program for peaceful and democratic development. The Front agreed to halt military operations, i.e. a ceasefire, on the condition that the regime do the same. However, the Front reserved the right to defend itself and the masses and to protect the areas where it had presence, if the situation should require.



North Yemeni village completely destroyed by the regime's forces



In brief, the reason for the fighting which is presently taking place is the regime's refusal to adopt a correct patriotic policy, and its total submission to external intervention. This policy is evidenced in the regime's revoking democratic freedoms, its restrictions on the activities of political parties and its striking at the achievements of the 1962 revolution. The regime continues to oppress, terrorize and arrest our patriots. In addition, we note the regime's silence concerning the reactionary Saudi policy towards Yemeni territory.

What is the current stage of struggle in North Yemen?

The nature of our people's struggle at present is the stage of correcting the deviations caused by the renegade coup of November 5, 1967. This coup brought severe oppression and terror to the masses by revoking the principles and aims of the September 1962 Revolution, which had represented the struggle to achieve the aims of the national democratic revolution. These deviations have taken a variety of forms: economic, political, ideological and military. We believe that the means to correct these deviations is the adoption of the peaceful and democratic program of the Front, and the

implementation of the agreements between the Front and the regime, in particular the January 31st agreement.

What role is US imperialism, Saudi Arabia and Arab reaction in general playing at this time in relation to the escalated fighting?

Due to our experience, we in the Front and the Yemeni masses generally are fully aware that were it not for the pressure of these forces, were it not for the Saudis' intervention, the regime would not be able to sustain its present policy of military campaigns and denying the masses' demands for any extended period. In addition, you must realize that there are officers and experts (advisers) from Pakistan, Jordan and Iran (followers of the Shah) in the areas of military operations. They represent the Saudi and US role in our country, carrying out the regime's policy against the Yemeni national liberation movement and the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen.

As I mentioned before, the military escalation in Yemen is not isolated from the US plans for the Middle East region as a whole. For example, at the time of the Israeli raids in Lebanon and the attack on Beirut in particular, there were three heavy military attacks, directed by the forces of the Sanaa

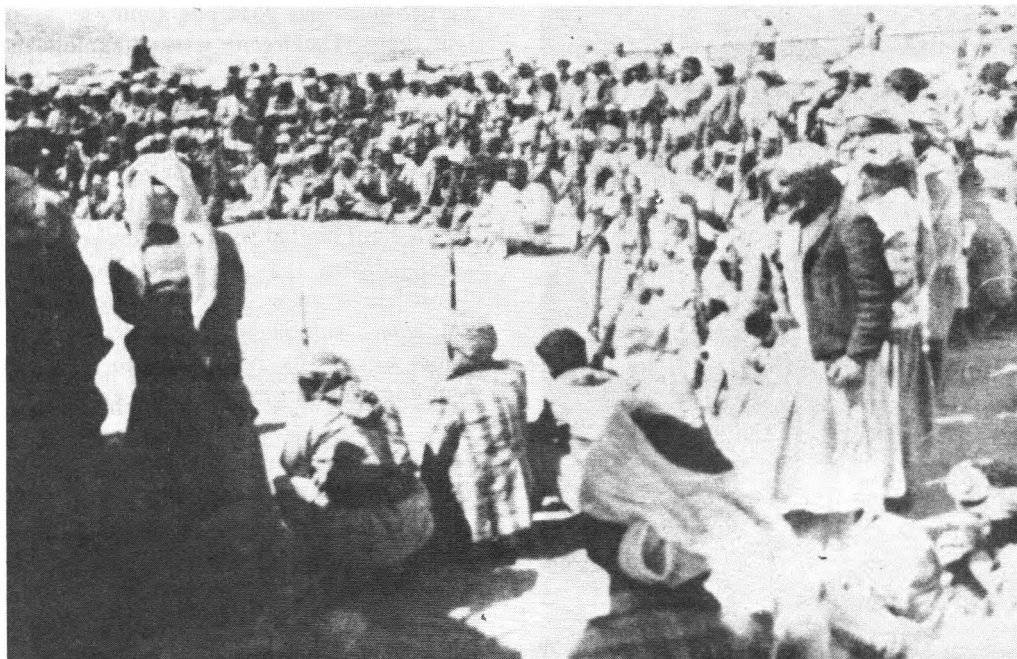
regime against our positions, aiming to liquidate them. The intent was to exploit the situation where Arab and international attention was concentrated on the raid on Beirut. The enemy thought itself capable of achieving their aim of striking the Front without anyone noticing. Philip Habib's tasks are not limited to openly implementing Camp David in the Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese arena. His bases were in Lebanon, 'Israel' and Saudi Arabia. Hence, Saudi Arabia receives its instructions to carry out its plots against the masses in the area.

How do you evaluate the strength of the NDF in military and mass terms?

The Front is presently gaining more strength. For this reason, the regime has realized that it cannot end its present crisis without negotiating with the Front. We are able to say that objectively the Front's strength has grown to the degree that it is equal to that of the regime. Despite the severe oppression, terror, the random arrest of scores of patriots, it is an effective force among the Yemeni masses. Since 1976, the Front has become the fundamental force. No ruler can ignore our strength, unless he is willfully ignorant. Today, the Front is the genuine representative of the workers, peasants, national bourgeoisie, soldiers, intellectuals, students and patriotic religious figures. The failure of military campaigns, for which the regime has mobilized all its forces, points to the strength and broad mass base of the Front.

The NDF has extensive activities. We have formed reform committees to aid in solving the political and social problems of the masses. As the regime has failed to fulfill the demands of the masses, the Front has worked to establish agricultural cooperatives, clubs, schools and clinics in the countryside, sending volunteer teachers to the areas where there are none, etc. The Front aids students in continuing their higher education.

The Front is present in all the provinces, particularly in the rural areas. We are present only 20 miles from the capital Sanaa. The Front has gained the support of the masses, even those who previously sympathized with the regime. Here it is important to mention the role of the tribes. Because of the conditions of backwardness in the country, the feudal landlords and other reactionary forces, especially the Saudis, exploited the tribes by inciting them against the patriotic forces. After the 1962 revolution, the reactionary forces mobilized the tribes against the progressive forces in the name of fighting the "non-believers" or the "communists".



Peace and Democracy Conference held by NDF, north of Sanaa.

However, over the past years of the struggle, we have been able to gain the confidence and support of 80% of the tribes. These people have acquired a political consciousness which allows them to see clearly who their enemies and friends are, both internally and outside the country. The tribes have joined in confronting Saudi interference and the regime's policy. Today they are fighting within the unified ranks of the National Democratic Front. Thus, reaction has lost a primary tool in its struggle against the patriotic forces.

What is the role of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen in the struggle? What is your position concerning the unity of North and South Yemen?

Government position, south of Sanaa, captured by the NDF



I mentioned earlier that we in the Front view the unity of the two Yemens as a strategic aim to be achieved in a democratic and peaceful way. The Yemeni national liberation movement as a whole is inseparable, and we view the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen as an important gain for the Yemeni people in both areas. Democratic Yemen plays a positive role in trying to prevent war and encouraging peaceful and democratic dialogue with the regime in Sanaa. It is working seriously to achieve a dialogue with the Sanaa regime, in spite of the obstacles imposed by Saudi Arabia and US imperialism. This is with the aim of achieving unity on the basis of the agreements signed by the presidents of the two Yemens in Cairo, Tripoli and Kuwait. Our own position regarding the necessity for

re-establishing the unity of the Yemeni people, as a strategic and fundamental goal of our struggle, is expressed in the January 31st agreement, in our political program and in our program for peaceful development.

Why did the talks concerning elections and NDF participation in the government cease?

The violations and the war imposed by the regime, and its lack of commitment to what was agreed upon, are the reasons for the Front not participating in the government. Our participation is ruled out by the regime's ongoing policy of repression, attacks against the NDF, destruction in the rural areas, burning the peasants' crops, random arrests, restrictions on freedom, etc. In short, we are not participating in the government coalition due to the regime's failure to carry out the agreements made on either the provincial or leadership level. For example, one of the clauses of the January 31st agreement states: "The political leadership of the transitional government is to be formed after consultations with the various forces and patriotic sectors. The task of the transitional government is to create the democratic atmosphere to achieve the basis for national unity, and to enable the higher council and its committees to hold direct and free general elections, by secret ballot, to the peoples council." This did not occur due to the regime's lack of commitment to the agreement.

Why does the Sanaa government agree to discuss with the Front or with Democratic Yemen?

The regime's acceptance of dialogue is a political maneuver, a necessary exercise for the regime when it has failed to achieve its aims by military means. The regime must then retreat into dialogue until it rebuilds its military force. The Sanaa government agrees to dialogue when it sees itself in a weak position.

What are the prospects for your struggle in the future?

We realize what the future holds; it is in favor of the interests of the masses. The Front represents the aspirations of the masses at this stage and is leading their struggle for liberty, progress and unity. There is no power on earth that can suppress this great force of determination and strength, or obstruct its path. The militants and members of our Front, the workers and the toiling masses have full confidence in their ability and that of their Front. We are sure that victory is inevitable, despite all the regime's ruthless measures. ●

CHILE

11 YEARS OF TERROR

During the past eight years, the Chilean left has struggled to reestablish the strength of the mass movement after the tragic coup that claimed the lives of more than 10,000 revolutionaries, progressives, labor leaders and supporters of Allende's Popular Unity government. The neo-fascist junta has continued its bloodthirsty reaction, creating a permanent state of terror among the population. Overall, institutionalized repression has marked Chilean society since the terrible days of September 1973.

The once active trade unions were paralyzed by the 'disappearance' or assassination of their leaders. Any trade union gathering was prohibited, and this mandate was strictly enforced by arrests and abductions. The torture perpetrated against students, workers, artists and intellectuals gained world-wide attention for its brutality. The Mapuche Indian peasants, long attached to a heritage of communal land distribution, have been targeted for genocide; their lands are sold to foreign multinationals and their clan and family ties broken. The peasants flock to the cities, adding to the growing subproletariat and displaced urban working class. The shantytowns called *callampas* (mushrooms — describing the way they spring up overnight) that were ameliorated during the Allende period have returned once again, overcrowded and with miserable living conditions. Institutions of higher education were put in the hands of the extreme right. This resulted in the dismissal of progressive educators and the 'disappearance' and torture of student leaders. Students were encouraged to spy on each other, a favorite tactic which the DINA (the intelligence service, later named the CNI) learned from the CIA during its years of subversion in Chile.

The 'Chicago Boys' economic plan, based on strict monetarist policy a la Reagan, Thatcher and others who follow Milton Friedman's advice, has caused severe economic conditions that augment the political repression suffered by the people.

However, the junta has been subject to constant international criticism from progressive forces and peace-loving countries around the world. As recently as February 26, 1981, the United Nations once again condemned the regime in Chile for "increased deterioration of the human rights situation."

The Response of the Left

The left and progressive forces have responded to the increased violence and institu-

tionalized repression by regrouping and reevaluating the progress made in mobilizing the masses over the last few years. They have struggled to overcome the great loss of cadres, either killed or exiled. These efforts have led to the reorganization of the Popular Unity coalition and the formation of a broad anti-dictatorial front. Today, all major progressive Chilean organizations agree that a new stage of struggle has emerged. There is now a consensus that all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, should be employed. The Chilean left is determined to challenge the junta's increased violence against the masses by escalating political, economic, social and military resistance. The left has consolidated its forces on all levels, relying on the Chilean masses, who have a history of politicization and commitment to social change, that is reflected in their constant resistance against the exploiting bourgeoisie and its strongmen in the junta, as well as against US imperialism.

Exposed by the international solidarity campaigns in defense of political prisoners and 'the disappeared', the junta began to bend according to the wishes of its most powerful ally, US imperialism. A sham constitutional vote, designed to legitimize the junta and to name Pinochet as an elected 'president' was held last September 11th. This insult to the people was not tolerated. The masses took to the streets in massive demonstrations to protest the fraud election and constitution, even though the iron fist remained poised overhead, ready to clamp down in waves of arrests, imprisonment, torture and harassment.

Reagan bolsters Pinochet

With the new Reagan administration counting on the military dictatorships in the southern cone to provide a base for its leverage throughout Latin America, the junta's status has been upgraded. US imperialism needs such regimes in its renewed efforts to improve counter-insurgency programs aimed at crushing the national liberation movements and growing democratic mass movements in Latin America. In the case of Chile, the US has started to inject new life into the failing economy. The

Friedman model has only aggravated unemployment and poverty for the Chilean people. Imperialism was concerned because even some strata of the bourgeoisie were becoming disenchanted with the junta due to the faltering economy.

Thus, Pinochet was rescued from both isolation and financial disaster when Reagan came into office. The big bourgeoisie was satisfied with the new measures taken by the administration. The junta was relieved of some of the pressures for democratic reforms. US imperialism intends to continue the course of bolstering the junta through what UN diplomat Jeanne Kirkpatrick calls 'quiet diplomacy'. Several deals have already been struck, including the preliminary signing of the South Atlantic Treaty Organization, in which Chile and Argentina both play a part. (SATO is ultimately planned as a counterpart to NATO, including South Africa as well as pro-imperialist Latin American regimes.)

In return for its favor of rescuing the military dictatorships in the southern cone, the US has tried out its leverage by requesting Chile and Argentina to provide troops for the 'peace-keeping' force in the Sinai, part of the preparations for the Israeli withdrawal in the spring of 1982. As of now, the regimes have refused this request in a maneuver designed to feign 'independence' from US imperialism.

Mass struggle is growing

Despite this apparent rescue of the junta on the international level, the internal situation remains one of constant struggle against the junta and the ruling bourgeoisie. In recent months, the copper miners have held massive strikes, thus demonstrating the continued spark of resistance to the junta. Copper, one of the major sources of wealth for Chile, has been virtually sold down the drain to foreign multinationals, including the large oil cartels in the US and Europe. The mines nationalized under Allende have now been completely privatized, but the workers have retained their organization and continue to struggle against wanton exploitation of their labor.

Other evidence of the strength of the resistance includes the activity of the political prisoners who have formed unions, issued communiques and initiated hunger strikes to protest their imprisonment and conditions. These unions have strong support outside of Chile, including solidarity groups who work for the rights of the '*desaparecidos*' (disappeared). Petitions and

writs of *habeas corpus* continue to be filed by these groups on behalf of the political prisoners and their families. The Vicariate of Solidarity, the official church organization of the relatives of the 'disappeared', continues its strong defense of the Chilean masses, despite harassment and political pressures.

Other social sectors continue to increase their political protest. Thirty-four people were arrested during a demonstration on International Women's Day in March. The

now being confronted by the masses on different levels. As one resistance leader said in a public letter, "No one among the people wants war, because no one knows the suffering that it brings better than the people... if there was the possibility of avoiding war and peacefully recovering our liberty and democracy, we would not hesitate one instant to choose this road... but that possibility doesn't exist. It was the monopolistic bourgeoisie that declared war on the people, initiating the most brutal

West Germany. Nevertheless, as the struggle intensifies within Chile, the victorious examples of Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada and the ever closer victory in El Salvador serve to inspire the masses. The resistance in Chile has clearly entered a new phase of struggle, calling on the total resources and strength of the Chilean masses. We in the PFLP are confident that Chile will inevitably be liberated from imperialist domination as a result of the resistance overthrowing the military dictatorship and the exploitative bour-



demonstrators called attention to the 'disappeared' women and children who often face even more brutal torture than their male counterparts. Indeed, the families of the 'disappeared' prisoners have played a vanguard role in consolidating the anti-dictatorial revolutionary front.

The increased organization of the resistance is evidenced by more frequent armed propaganda actions within the country. For these past eight years, the people have been the victims of brutal repression, which is

repression." In addition, the letter called for all left parties and democratic trends to implement a common anti-dictatorial strategy, using all forms of struggle available... open and clandestine, peaceful and violent, and to mobilize all the resources of the people to end the dictatorship.

As imperialism strengthens its grip on the area, the resistance can expect even more restrictions imposed by the regime. Indeed, the regime is currently studying a hard-line anti-terrorist law, patterned after that of

geoisie. We base this evaluation on two things: First, the militant, comradely relations which the PFLP enjoys with the parties of the Chilean left have given us a deep sense of confidence in their political and organizational abilities. Equally important is the historical anti-imperialist stand of the Chilean masses and their will to struggle for freedom. On this basis, the resistance in Chile will surely rise up to realize the slogan: an armed united people can never be defeated!

US COLLABORATION

On September 26, 1976, Orlando Letelier, former ambassador of the Allende government to the US, was assassinated by a bomb planted in his car. A North American comrade, Ronnie Moffett, was also killed. The assassination took place in Washington D.C. and caused great outrage among the American people, especially those in the solidarity movement supporting the cause of the Chilean resistance.

It took the US government two years to convict the murderers and unravel the intelligence network involved, which included the CIA, DINA and several top officials in the governments of both the US and Chile. While seven persons were indicted for the assassination, only four non-Chileans were brought to trial. The top DINA aides were not extradited to stand trial. The US govern-

ment proceeded to carry out a smear campaign against Letelier, and the information planted in the US press by intelligence agents delayed the indictments for the two year period.

During the first few weeks in September last year, three of the four assassins were released from US prisons due to technicalities in the trial procedures. Only one of these convicts was eventually retried, but not on the same charges of assassination.

Michael Townley, the primary link between the US, Chile, and the group of anti-Castro Cuban terrorists who carried out the assassination, was released on probation, able to carry out more right-wing terrorism against the Chilean resistance, granted full consent and leeway by the US government.

The other two assassins, Guillermo Novo Sampol and Alvin Ross are members of Omega 7. This group is responsible for the bombings of the Cuban mission to the UN in New York, the Aeroflot office in New York

and the assassination of comrade Felix Gonzalez Rodriguez, a diplomat with the Cuban mission, last September.

The conspiracy to overlook the right-wing and fascist aggression against the progressive elements within the US is being implemented with the help of the CIA, police intelligence and the US Department of Justice. Omega 7 has vowed to eliminate all supporters of the Cuban Revolution in the US. They have already carried out three assassinations in the past two years: Carlos Muniz, a Puerto Rican resident of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Eulalio Negrin, a member of the Cuban committee to reunite families, and Felix Gonzalez.

All progressive organizations should expose the imperialist conspiracy to protect the Cuban terrorists and Chilean fascists in their acts of terror. International solidarity organizations should work to break this chain of aggression against our Chilean comrades in the resistance.



The Dead in the Square

In the name of these dead

I demand punishment.

For those who spattered our fatherland with blood

I demand punishment.

For him by whose command this crime was done

I demand punishment.

For the traitor who clambered to power over these bodies

I demand punishment.

For those forgiving ones who excused this crime

I demand punishment.

I do not want to shake hands all around and forget:

I do not want to touch their blood-stained hands:

I want punishment.

*I do not want them sent off somewhere as ambassadors
nor covered up here at home until it blows over.*

I want to see them judged,

here, in the open air, in this very spot.

I want to see them punished.

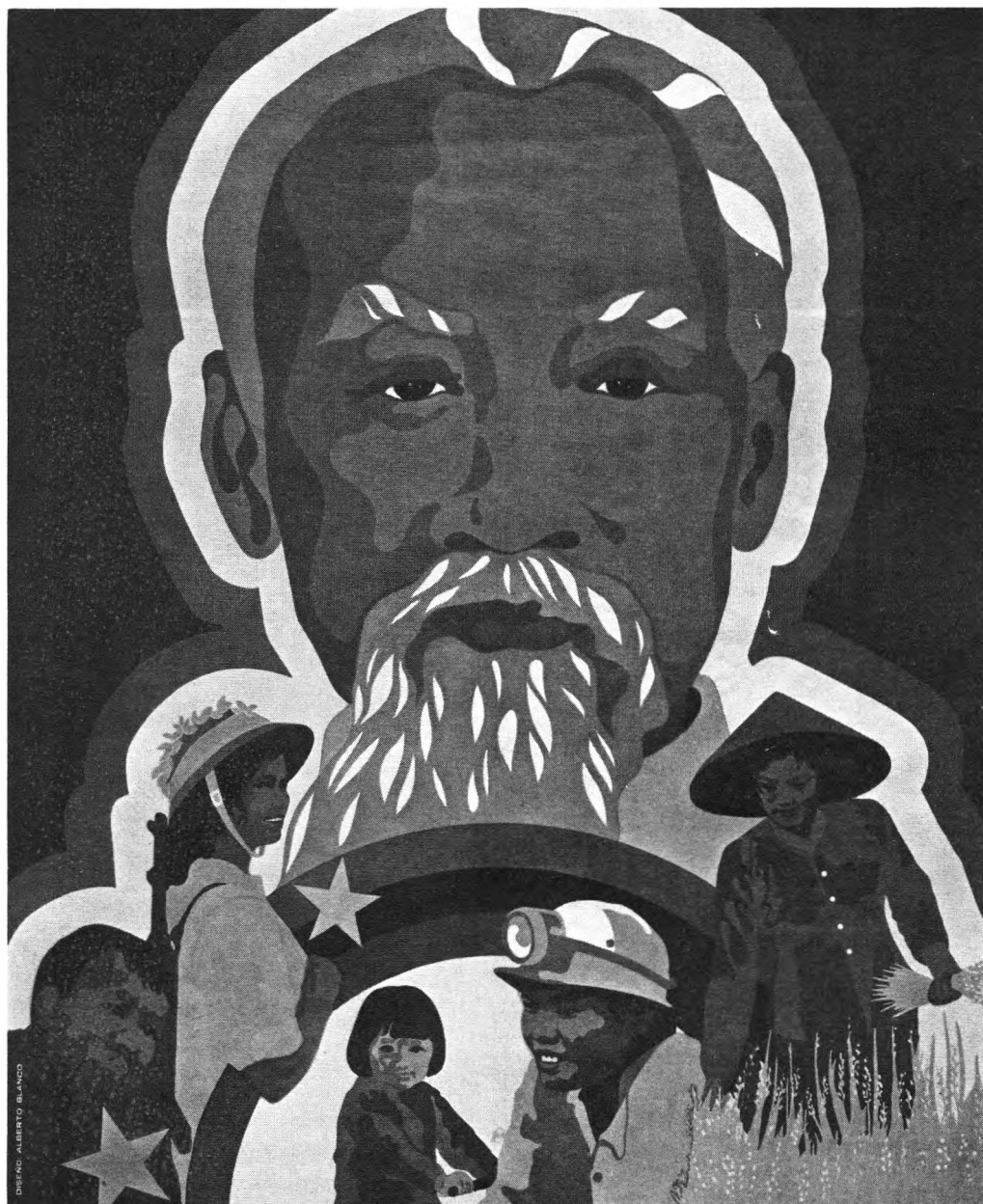
by Pablo Neruda

VIETNAM COMMEMORATION

On September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh spoke for all Vietnamese as he read the formal Declaration of Independence from France. In the preceding period, people throughout Vietnam had joined the general insurrection that expelled both the French and Japanese fascists. The entire nation was freed, and Ho Chi Minh became the president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

— the new independent republic that represented the entire nation.

However, French colonialism and US imperialism savagely attacked the new republic, and created a counter-revolutionary client state south of the 17th parallel. Thus the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for total independence continued until the April 30, 1975 liberation of Saigon — the victory that will always be a source of inspiration for struggling people all over the world. The last words of Ho Chi Minh lit the way not only for the Vietnamese, but for all liberation movements:



*We must keep our resolve to fight the US aggressors
Until the total victory
Our mountains will always be
Our rivers will always be
Our people will always be
The American invaders defeated,
We will rebuild our land ten times more beautiful.*

OSPAAAL poster

TURKEY

One year ago on September 12th, the rightist Turkish generals went into action, following the path of their colleagues in Chile eight years before. As in Chile, the coup in Turkey was enacted to 'stabilize' the country, so that it could more efficiently play its assigned role in the imperialist system. And as in Chile, this 'stabilization' has involved massive institutionalized terror against the people.

In the case of Turkey, creating reactionary stability was a particularly pressing issue for imperialism, after the success of the Iranian Revolution had led to the disintegration of the CENTO military alliance in the area. As a member of NATO, Turkey's role was to be reinforced and given new dimensions. Thus, though the growth of fascist trends within the country was an important factor in spurring the generals on to seize power, the September 12th coup is not solely explicable in terms of internal fascism. More broadly, it is one concrete manifestation of US imperialism's aggressive efforts to rearrange its domination in the face of the increasing popular struggle and victories throughout the three continents.

Despite the attempt of the imperialist press, most notably in the USA, to present the Turkish junta as "benign despots" — a term coined by *Newsweek* magazine — the truth about the Turkey of the generals has been progressively seeping out over the past year. This truth is an endless saga of massive and arbitrary arrests, flagrant violation of all human and civil rights, cruel and prolonged torture and resulting death. In truth, the generals have erected a wall around Turkey. This wall, designed to rebuild Turkey according to the prescription of imperialism, simultaneously blocks any freedom of expression and mass struggle throughout the country. The most concrete manifestation of this is the prison walls themselves, which contain over 35,000 revolutionaries, progressives and trade union leaders. This includes the thousands of Kurds incarcerated in make-shift concentration camps in the eastern region, some for only asserting their Kurdish identity.

The generals claim to be combatting "terrorism", but as usual with reactionary forces this claim has shown itself to be a cover for generalized repression and state-

A COUNTRY IMPRISONED A WORKING CLASS ON TRIAL

directed terror. One of the junta's main targets has been the leftist trade union DISK. More than 300 of its leaders were known to have been imprisoned since the coup and subjected to torture. Until July 25th, the charges had not been specified. However, on this date the military prosecutor announced that he would seek the death penalty for 52 DISK leaders who are now being brought to trial on charges of "carrying out planned activities to set up a Marxist-Leninist state." The list of DISK

activities cited by the prosecutor as warranting the death penalty included normally accepted union activities to promote the interests of the working class: strikes, work slow-downs, participation in demonstrations, etc. He also announced that 2000 other unionists were awaiting charges and many more had yet to be investigated. In fact, the crack-down on DISK is designed to eliminate the independent role of trade unions altogether. This is in line with the corporate state structure which the junta is imposing,

whereby the state decrees wages and the workers are deprived of an organization that can work for their demands. In this way, terror is being used to impose an economic situation in Turkey that will meet the standards of the IMF, i.e. the need of imperialism for a labor force that can be exploited without restrictions.

Protest from behind the walls

The wall of silence surrounding Turkey and its prisons has been increasingly penetrated by reports smuggled out by progressive and democratic forces, including the victims of torture themselves. There are long lists of those who have died in the junta's chains since September 12th. Amnesty International has concluded that torture in Turkey is even more "widespread and systematic" now than before the coup. This organization's report issued earlier this year includes letters from prisoners. One writes, "Each day, for no reason, prisoners are taken by soldiers to be tortured with electric shock. In the course of the week, all prisoners are beaten." People suspected of association with left-wing organizations have been subjected to shock treatment until they can no longer stand or walk, and forced to sign statements which they are not allowed to read. When people are detained, most often their family is not informed and they are denied contact with a lawyer.

Starting in July, the wall of silence was militantly challenged by the prisoners themselves. As the Turkish Lawyers Union presented a report to the ruling military council for ending the torture of political prisoners, several hundred incarcerated leftists began a hunger strike against the torture and conditions in Ankara's main military prison, which is actually a barrack converted into a jail due to the overcrowding of existing prisons. As the generals have converted the country into a giant jail, the progressive forces make the prison their battlefield, fighting the junta with the last means available to them — the weapon of the hunger strike. We in the PFLP express our militant solidarity with this courageous effort to tear the mask off the generals' 'stability' and call on all progressive forces to support the Turkish opposition in its struggle to topple the wall of terror.



Turkey A Country Imprisoned

