



PFLP

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**GENERAL
MOBILIZATION**



"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 organ 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:

- *Socio-economic series: Palestinians under occupation in the Zionist state*
- *Critique of the Israeli Labor Party platform*
- *PLO general mobilization*
- *LPM call for greater patriotic cooperation*
- *Israeli military-industrial complex: global connections*

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EDITORIAL

The term 'Camp David' is often used to refer solely to the US-sponsored peace treaty between Egypt and 'Israel'. However, it has always been the position of the PFLP that Camp David was envisioned as the format for a broad regional settlement that would eventually ensure the uncontested hegemony of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction over the peoples and resources of the Arab world. Sadat's capitulation to imperialism was an essential first step in this scheme, a step that is intended to pave the way for other forces in the area to follow. Camp David was never meant to be only a separate peace between 'Israel' and Egypt, but a basis for expansion.

Recent events, internationally and regionally, facilitate the moves to expand Camp David. Chief among these is the election of Reagan. Not only does Reagan represent extreme right-wing elements who are willing to take decisive steps to ensure US interests abroad, but his new administration has more room to maneuver in the Middle East than did Carter's. Thus Reagan has announced his commitment to Camp David, but at the same time has stressed the need for the involvement of other forces, openly calling for King Hussein's participation.

The likely shift from a Likud to Labor government in 'Israel' also signals the moves to expand Camp David. The platform and constituency of the Likud has limited its ability to move forward with a settlement that meets the needs of imperialism and Arab reaction. The Labor Party, with its traditional dominance over Israeli institutions and capital, has strong links to US ruling class circles. Its expressed willingness for the 'Jordanian option' makes Labor a more fitting partner for the coming stage of the conspiracy.

However, before Camp David can advance to a new stage, there are obstacles that must be overcome. The major obstacle is the heroic struggle of the Palestinian masses under occupation, who have steadfastly resisted the implementation of the 'autonomy' plan in Gaza and the West Bank. This has effectively deadlocked Camp David on the Palestinian level. The armed resistance in Lebanon and the patriotic stand of Syria are also obstructing the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. So does the isolation of Sadat in the Arab world. Egypt is a crucial element for the re-formation of the official Arab solidarity, so needed to impose an imperialist settlement contrary to the wishes and needs of the Arab masses.

Thus it is in the context of all these international and local factors that we must assess the meaning of Sadat's speech before the European Parliament on February 10th. First and foremost, this visit was an acknowledgment of the failure of Camp David on the Palestinian level, and that other forces must therefore begin taking a more active part in the conspiracy. Sadat's very presence at the Parliament publicly signalled the overt reconciliation of what some forces have viewed as two opposing trends: the Camp David process and the European initiative.

Sadat, fulfilling his role as a lackey of US imperialism, used his speech to define the role of the European initiative in the context of Camp David. The European countries were asked to provide a peace-keeping force in the Sinai, a point on the original Camp David agenda, and to supply economic aid. The major role of Europe and

the EEC, however, would be as the West's spokesman and mediator with the Arab regimes, while continuing their efforts to divide the PLO. France in particular has been increasingly playing this role, as demonstrated by their economic and military support to Iraq, strong ties to Saudi Arabia and elaborate hosting of Sadat after the European Parliament. Indeed, an immediate aim of the Parliament was to issue the call for the reinstatement of Egypt into the ranks of the Arab reactionary regimes. The honors and applause heaped on Sadat by the European capitalist countries culminated with the Parliament voting to "call upon the EEC Commission to propose to ministers measures that will enable Egypt to participate in the Euro-Arab dialogue."

Underlying these events is the increased maneuvering around the so-called Jordanian option. The need for Hussein's participation in any settlement, as a substitute for genuine PLO representation of the Palestinian people, has now been publicly called for by the US, Europe and the Israeli Labor Party. Arab reaction has long favored Hussein, despite their rhetorical support for the PLO. Sadat, while realizing that the 'autonomy' plot has failed, does not want a purely Jordanian solution that would undermine his role. The European Parliament signalled to all parties that imperialism is not simply going to abandon Sadat for Hussein, but is instead busy laying the framework for a settlement that includes both.

Sadat's visit has clearly revealed the European initiative for what it is: an essential component of the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction for the Middle East, which include the destruction of the Palestinian Revolution and the denial of the Palestinian people's most basic rights. It is no accident that within a week of addressing the Parliament, Sadat launched an attack on the PLO. His call for the formation of a "Palestinian government-in-exile" is a blatant attempt to deny the indisputable fact that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. By casting doubts on the PLO and its leadership, Sadat is trying to give legitimacy to traitors and collaborators. In addition, his speech at the Parliament called for "simultaneous recognition" between 'Israel' and the PLO — a traditional ruse to achieve the legitimization of the Zionist entity.

The intensification of imperialist, Zionist and reactionary maneuvers puts the onus on the Palestinian Resistance to strengthen its unified confrontation strategy — a strategy that not only rejects Camp David, but rejects all its various manifestations as well. In this context we welcome the decision of the PLO's Central Council, that met this month, to convene the Palestine National Council on April 11th. This PNC is a long-awaited necessity, in order for the Resistance to move forward with the implementation of the political and organizational programs decided on at the 14th PNC, held over two years ago. The coming stage demands a clarification, especially in regard to PLO-Jordanian relations. The putting into practice of the national unity resolved upon at the 14th PNC is our strongest weapon in our confrontation with our enemies, as it raises the level of the struggle on the mass, military and political arenas. Our call for genuine political and organizational unity is a call for an essential step on the road towards liberation.

ERRATA — BULLETIN NO. 47

After sending the last Bulletin to our subscribers, we discovered that certain pages were missing in some copies, while other pages appeared twice. This due to a mistake in the printing house. We encourage any reader who received a faulty copy to write us for a free replacement.

In the article 'Zionist-fascist aggression' in all copies of Bulletin No. 47, the two columns were reversed. We apologize for any confusion this mix-up may have caused.

PALESTINIANS UNDER OCCUPATION IN THE ZIONIST STATE

Part III in the socio-economic series

To date, the establishment of 'Israel' in 1948 constitutes the single most decisive event effecting socio-economic conditions in Palestine. This event marked a violent rupture for the Palestinian Arab society. In the 1948 war, the Zionist military forces occupied the major part of Palestine. As a result, the majority of Palestinians were uprooted from their homes.

Prior to the war, Zionist immigration had increased the Jewish population in Palestine to roughly 1/3 of the total population. However, when more than 700,000 of the approximately 900,000 Palestinians living in what became 'Israel' were dispersed in the war,* the situation was more than reversed. Almost overnight, those who remained within the borders of the new state became a minority in their own homeland. In a state created specifically for Jews and now inhabited mainly by Zionist settlers, Palestinian Arabs accounted for 11-12% of the population.

This article focuses on their situation, and especially on the changes in their socio-economic conditions, which resulted from the first two decades of occupation. Zionist policy in these years is the primary causal factor underlying the changes that have occurred in the class structure of this part of the Palestinian people. These changes were to surface clearly in the seventies.

The spoils of war

Palestinian urban concentrations were a prime target of the Zionist military strategy in the 1949 war. The major cities (Haifa, Jaffa, Acre on the coast and Tiberius and Safed in Eastern Galilee) were captured and 'de-Arabized' before the end of the British Mandate and the proclamation of 'Israel' on May 15th. Most Palestinians living in urban areas, where the nationalist political leadership was based, were expelled or fled. The Arab armies entered Palestine after this essential *fait accompli*. After their withdrawal and the 1949 armistice agreements, the contending sides in the unequal contest that has continued up to today were: the Zionist authorities, fully armed and financed by imperialism, on the one hand and the Palestinian peasants, deprived of any sub-

stantial means of recourse, on the other. This local balance of forces was reinforced by the international recognition of 'Israel', which relegated the status of the Palestinians under occupation to that of an internal Israeli minority problem.

The market in Nazareth



On the economic level as well, the Zionist entity literally reaped the benefits of the Palestinian disaster. On August 1, 1948, the Israeli Foreign Minister issued a statement to the effect that it was "economically unfeasible" to allow the return of the Arabs.

Israeli documents reveal the extent to which the theft of 'abandoned' Arab property contributed to the viability of the new state: In addition to residences, 10,000 shops, businesses and warehouses were taken over. Olives from Arab-owned groves became a major Israeli export, ranking third after citrus fruits and polished diamonds in 1949. Fruit harvested on Arab property accounted for almost 10% of Israeli revenue from export in 1951. Of 370 settlements established between 1948 and 1953, 350 were built on Arab land.¹ Ironically, because of these confiscations the resources of Palestine served to strengthen the hand of the occupiers vis-à-vis the remaining Palestinians.

Institutionalized subordination

The significance of the creation of 'Israel' lies only partially in the destruction of the war and the radical demographic reversal effected at this point. Equally important is that the Zionist efforts to conquer the land, labor and produce of Palestine were now backed up by state power. Zionism's political, social and economic policies acquired the force of law – and law enforcement – through the Israeli state apparatus. The nature of this change influences one's approach in analyzing the socio-economic conditions in Palestine, as has been noted by Elias Zureik: "The model of internal-colonialism when applied to the Arabs in Israel differs from the dual society model applicable to pre-1948 Palestine."²

The Zionist movement clearly aimed to create an exclusively Jewish state. When a portion of the Palestinian people managed to cling to their land, the policy of the Zionist state was to subordinate them to the extent that they would disappear or at least be eliminated as a distinct identity with political or economic power. The main method employed was to deprive them of an economic base, the land.

The following exchanges reflect the relationship that came to prevail between the colonizer and the colonized:

When an (Arab) peasant said to an official of the Israel Lands Administration: "How can you deny my ownership? This land is my property, I inherited it from my fathers and grandfathers, and I have a title-deed to it," the official answered: "We have a more important title-deed. We have a title-deed from Dan (in the north of Israel) to Eilat (in the south)."

When a peasant said to another official: "What is this you are offering me? Only 200 pounds per dunum?" the official replied: "This is not your land, it is ours. We

Distribution of Palestinians living in 'Israel' in 1975 by district



are paying you your wages as a 'watchman'...You have 'looked after' our land for 2,000 years and we are paying you your wages, but the land is ours"³

Military rule and the present absentees

The Palestinians who remained were concentrated in the Galilee, the Triangle and the Naqab. For them, Israeli state power took a particularly pernicious form: On December 12, 1948, military rule was imposed in these areas, based on the 1945 Emergency Regulations enacted by the British, which provided for restriction of movement, expulsion, administrative detention, etc. Military rule, which did not apply to Jewish settlers in these regions, not only negated civil and political rights, but also curtailed the Palestinians' access to their source of livelihood, primarily their land. Until 1966, a military permit was required if an Arab was to leave his place of residence, return to his original village or go to his place of work. Any area could be declared "closed" under the pretext of security. Military rule was

supplemented by an intricate set of laws.⁴ The details of this legal structure are beyond the scope of this article; in effect, they enabled the Zionist authorities "to steal about a million dunums of land from the Arabs who had remained in their country,"⁵ in addition to the property of those expelled.

Israeli policy resulted in the creation of a new category of people: the present absentees. Palestinians displaced by the war, directly expelled from their lands by the Zionist army after the armistice, or ordered off their land when the Military Government declared it "closed", but who remained in 'Israel', were declared absentees, and their land confiscated. In 1976, the mayor of Nazareth stated, "The number of these 'refugees at home' today exceeds 100,000 persons."⁶ Of the 586 villages that existed in what became 'Israel', only 107 remain. The Arab villages in 'Israel', whose residents have been Israeli citizens since 1948, have lost about 2/3 of the land they owned and/or cultivated prior to 1948.⁷

From peasant to semi-proletariat

In class terms, the net result of Israeli policy has been the proletarianization (or more correctly the semi-proletarianization) of the bulk of the Palestinian peasantry. Many have been reduced to share-croppers on the land they once owned. The 1948 expulsion and the ensuing dispossession explains the decrease in the ratio of independent farmers from 75% in 1948 to about 15% in 1976, as well as the increased percentage of hired laborers and seasonal agricultural workers.⁸

In 1949 most of the Bedouin of the Naqab were confined to a reservation where only 4% of the land is cultivable. Most land that is tilled by Bedouins today is leased from the government for eight months yearly.⁹ Like most Palestinian villagers, the main income for Bedouins today is wage labor in the Israeli economy. In the Galilee, Nazareth lost most of its land while its population tripled (15,000 to 45,000) from 1948 to 1974. Umm al Fahm, the largest Arab village in the Galilee, was reduced to 1/10 of its original land holdings, while its population more than quadrupled.

The productivity of those farmers who managed to retain some land has been severely restricted by Israeli state policy. The remaining land was fragmented by expropriation and often not adjacent to the farmer's residence. This has limited utilization of modern techniques and machinery and often added travel time to working hours. Until military rule was relaxed in the sixties, permits were required for any step — going to the land, building anything, marketing, etc. Moreover, the market was monopolized by Zionist companies that have consistently paid lower prices for Arab produce than for Jewish produce. Zionist hegemony in the economy enabled these firms to determine what crops the farmers could grow if they wanted to market their produce. The best-known of these marketing firms was a branch of Tnuvah, a Histadrut cooperative.

Government aid to Arab agriculture is negligible compared to the subsidies granted to Jewish agriculture. Though Arab villages still cultivate 22.6% of field crops in the state (as of 1978), they are allotted only 1.98% of the national agricultural water consumption.¹⁰ Thus, many smallholders were semi-proletarianized, forced to supplement their meager income from the land with wage labor.

A flexible work force

As early as 1961, roughly 50% of Arab laborers worked in areas outside their place

of residence;¹¹ and less than half worked in agriculture, but not until the seventies did a real shift occur in residence patterns. From 1948 onwards, 75% lived in rural areas; by 1973, half lived in urban areas (defined as having a population of 50,000 or more).¹²

For the Palestinian, the process of dispossession, proletarianization and urbanization did not follow the pattern seen in Europe with the rise of capitalism. Zionist colonization of Palestine marked capitalism's penetration, yet it took a peculiar form. Dispossessed Palestinians initially remained in their villages, working mainly in agriculture at first and gradually moving into marginal employment in service and production. Only later did some join the ranks of the industrial working class. The nature and pace of the change can be attributed to the interaction between three factors:

- 1) The policy of 'Labor Zionism' as epitomized in the Histadrut trade union federation

- 2) the Palestinians' attachment to their land and their limited social and geographic mobility.

- 3) the state's development policy and the needs of the Israeli economy

Until 1960, the Histadrut admitted only Jews as members. Its activities vis-a-vis the Arab population were either to prevent their employment or to have them fired under the pretext of fighting non-union labor. This was almost synonymous with no jobs, for the Histadrut is not solely a trade union. Following its role as "a great colonizing agency" — the words of Golda Meir — in pre-48 Palestine, the Histadrut became the second largest employer in 'Israel' next to the state: "an economic empire controlling much of the country's holding corporations, banks, industrial concerns and agro-industries... which among others, has a department for labor unions."¹³

Thus, partially or totally divorced from their means of production and prevented from unionizing, many Palestinian Arabs were forced to take 'black jobs' in the Israeli economy, where they were subject to extreme exploitation and bad working conditions. Lack of job security and low wages made moving into urban areas difficult if not impossible even for those who wished to do so. Many tended to remain in their original residence, as the village and family structure provided their only form of social security. Moreover, people generally remained attached to the land; many have challenged their expropriation in the courts, but have taken on other jobs for the duration of the pro-

ceedings — a situation which often became permanent.

Ironically, work became available due to a tendency within the Zionist settler population to seek more profitable employment in the cities. These settlers leased their land to Palestinian Arabs, who worked it in return for 1/3 of the harvest or less. Thus, Zionist colonization reinstated the feudal relations prevailing before 1948. This phenomenon became so widespread that in 1967, 'Israel' passed a new law to prevent the Arabs' access to such land. Exploitation of Arab labor also occurred in the kibbutz. As reflected in official statistics (as of 1977), 20% of the kibbutz agricultural work force is hired, and this is mostly Palestinian Arabs. Extensive use of hired labor on the kibbutz reflects the trend in Israeli agriculture generally from basic diversified farming to more specialization, geared to export.

The Military Government played a major role in controlling where the colonized population lived and worked. While emergency regulations were lifted for the 16,000 Arabs living in Jaffa, Acre, Haifa, Ramle and Lydda in 1951, they continued in the Galilee. As well as being used to block access to the land, the requirement of military permits was clearly designed to prevent the increasing number of dispossessed unemployed Palestinian Arabs from competing with Jewish workers. For example, workers from Nazareth had traditionally sought employment in Haifa, but after 1948, they needed a permit to do so.

Initially, the state's discriminatory development policy also served to keep the Palestinian Arabs in their agricultural status. No Arab village has ever been designated as a development settlement, which would entitle it to tax concessions to attract investment. While 'Israel' claims to be a state for all its citizens, much funding comes through Zionist institutions, which have their own rationale for serving the Jewish population, new immigrants in particular, and not the original inhabitants of the country. Just as Zionist monopoly of the economic structure subordinated Arab agriculture to the needs of the Jewish sector, similar mechanisms prevented development in Arab-populated regions, even when population growth warranted infrastructure and industry. The contrast between Nazareth and Upper Nazareth highlights the discrimination:

Nazareth, the largest all-Arab city in 'Israel', has no factories. Those which existed under the Mandate were liquidated. "The inability of the last large Arab-owned company in Israel, the Arab Cigarette and

Tobacco Factory Ltd., in Nazareth, to secure loans on the same terms as its Jewish competitors was a major factor in the decision of its owners to liquidate their assets."¹⁴

Upper Nazareth is an all-Jewish city established in 1956 on 1,200 dunums of the best land expropriated from Nazareth, purportedly for government offices, under the Law for Acquisition of Land in the Public Interest. Although its population (18,000 in 1973) is much smaller than Nazareth's, it houses major factories. It is significant that Upper Nazareth, as well as Carmiel and Maalot, the other two main Jewish development settlements built in the Galilee, were erected under the supervision of the Defense Department. Clearly, Israeli development policy is aimed to Judaize Palestine under the pretext of security.

categories, and often on a temporary basis. When crises hit the Israeli economy in 1962 and again in 1966, Arabs suffered most from unemployment.

The sixties also saw a relaxation of military rule; permits were generally abolished in 1966, although such restrictions are still imposed on political activists. This change was elicited by the other Israeli parties' resentment of the fact that the Labor Party used the Military Government to its own advantage (manipulating permits and other privileges to gain votes among the Arab population). On the whole, the Zionist leaders assumed that they had subordinated the Arabs under occupation to the extent that it was now advisable to 'normalize' this relation.

These political considerations, which resulted in granting the Palestinians greater

and then the Palestinians from the territories occupied in 1967, were needed to fill the gap.

However, the Zionists were careful to maintain Jewish hegemony in key sectors. Palestinian Arab labor power was channeled into light industry, construction and services, and restricted in heavy industry; they were banned from branches related to the military. In this respect their situation differed from the Oriental Jews, who were not considered an inherent threat to Zionism. The Zionists calculated that it was easier to control a semi-proletariat, rather than allowing the Palestinian Arabs to become an integral part of the industrial working class, where they could affect key sectors of production through strikes, etc.

The following chart reflects the change in occupation of Palestinian Arabs in 'Israel':



**Employed Palestinian Arabs
Aged 14 years and over
Pre-1967 Occupied Palestine**

Economic Activity	1961	1966	1971	1976
Agriculture Forestry Fishing	47.9%	39.1%	21.2%	17.1%
Industry (mining and manufacturing)	14.7%	14.9%	12.3%	20.2%
Electricity and Water	.7%	.8%	.2%	.3%
Construction (building and public works)	15.6%	19.6%	22.0%	24.0%
Commerce Services Transportation	10.1%	19.4%	38.2%	47.1%

Entry into industry

The official entry of Palestinian Arabs into the working class in 'Israel' corresponded to the Israeli economy's need for more unskilled labor. This required certain adjustments in the form of Zionist domination.

In 1960, the Histadrut began admitting Arabs; at the end of 1962, 36,000 had joined; by 1972, 65% of Arab workers in 'Israel' were unionized. Official wage differentials between Arabs and Jews were abolished, although other factors served to retain the differences; Arabs were almost exclusively employed in the lowest paying

mobility, corresponded to the Israeli economy's need for a larger manual labor force in industry, construction and services. The sixties witnessed intensified industrialization in 'Israel'; its economic structure was becoming more similar to that of a metropol capitalist country. Foreign investment (as distinguished from outright aid) rose sharply after the 1962 recession, and a special agreement with the EEC opened new avenues for Israeli export. In the same period, the tendency of the Jewish population of European origin towards increasing concentration in the professions and white-collar jobs became apparent. The Palestinian Arabs, like the Oriental Jews before them,

This chart represents an estimate. It is based on the combination of tables provided in two sources: *Palestinian Statistical Abstract 1980*, PLO: Palestine National Fund, Central Bureau of Statistics, Damascus, and *The Palestinian National Movement: 1948-1970*, by Abdel Qadri Yassin and Ahmed Sadeq, Salaladin Publisher, 1978, Jerusalem (in Arabic).

If these percentages are broken down, one sees that women account for less than 10% of the registered Arab labor force as late as 1976. This does not mean that women do not work. Among those possessing some land, where the male members of the family take on wage labor, it falls to the

women to till the family plot. Social traditions have been reinforced by the state's non-development policy in Arab areas, keeping women at home, as there are no accessible child care facilities. In those cases where women work outside the home, it is most often in marginal part-time jobs. However, this may be modified in line with the needs of the Israeli economy ... "in recent years the government has taken steps to introduce certain types of light industry into Arab villages; these enterprises are jointly owned by Jews and Arabs. They have been designed, almost solely, to take advantage of what has in recent years been the only source of additional labor left in Israel - Arab village women."¹⁵

Education and social services

Zionist policy in other fields has essentially reinforced the transformation of the colonized peasantry into an unskilled labor reserve. For some of the reasons discussed earlier for the general lack of development in predominantly Arab areas, education has received minimal support compared to what has been accorded Jewish citizens. This was reflected in official Israeli reports in the seventies, which showed that about one quarter of Arab youth in 'Israel' do not complete elementary school, as compared to about 4% of Jewish youth. This was attributed to lack of adequate facilities and qualified teachers. What was not really dealt with is the effect of the curriculum itself; it is designed in accordance with Zionist ideology with which the colonized youth do not identify. Moreover, teachers are often dismissed or blacklisted, which contributes to teacher shortage. Another factor involved is that children often begin working at an early age due to the precarious economic situation of many Arab families.

This situation limits the number of educated. Moreover, the Ministry of Education has set quotas as to how many Arabs can enter certain schools and fields of study. In 1975, Palestinian Arabs accounted for only 2.23% of students enrolled in higher education, although Arabs accounted for 15% of the population of 'Israel' in that year. The comparison with Palestinian educational achievements in other countries makes it obvious that these conditions are caused by Zionist policy, aiming to prevent the development of Palestinian Arab intellectuals and qualified manpower.

Various mechanisms have restricted the colonized population's access to social services. The Histadrut controls health insurance, which was thus first available to them after 1960, and then only to those

with stable employment. Some social facilities are simply not provided in "rural areas", a classification which until recently encompassed the vast majority of the Palestinian Arabs. Access to urban housing and other services may be contingent on having done military service, from which Palestinian Arabs are generally excluded. (An exception is the Druze, whom the Israelis have tried to single out as non-Arabs, and some Bedouins who serve in the border police.)

The implications of change

Though Zionist policy was generally successful in dispossessing the native inhabitants of Palestine, it did not succeed in making them disappear. Many are still fighting for their land, and over time the needs of the Israeli economy have led to their assuming a significant position in the process of production. This change has implications for the course of Palestinian struggle against Zionist colonization, as well as for the Zionist entity's efforts to control its Arab population.

An important aspect of Zionist policy vis-a-vis the colonized population has been its efforts to control them through the cooptation of traditional leaders. This was originally possible because of the extensive arbitrary power exercised by the Military Government. Through a selective policy of granting or withholding permits or occasional other 'privileges', military governors were able to secure the cooperation of traditional village leaders in curtailing resistance or getting votes for Zionist parties. Though the Zionists boast of bringing modernization and democracy to Palestine, their interests were in preserving the traditional social patterns, which made it easier to divide and rule the colonized. Thus, they supported feudal leaders and encouraged village rivalries.

In line with the class changes effected in the colonized population, the Histadrut replaced the role of the Military Government in the sixties. The group targeted for cooptation shifted to young 'promising' Arabs, particularly those with education. The Histadrut tried to win their allegiance to 'Israel' and get them to influence others in the same direction. Today, controlling educated Palestinian Arabs and infiltrating the ranks of the labor force is as important to the Zionists as controlling the village society originally was. As earlier with the Jewish settlers, the Histadrut's aim is to regulate the working class and to prevent the development of proletarian consciousness.

In the seventies, Zionist control over its internal colony has been seriously challenged

by the resurgence of resistance as it erupted in the first Day of the Land, and by the radicalization reflected in Rakah's victory in the Galilee and the emergence of new organizations - the Sons of the Village, the Druze Initiative Committee, the Progressive Arab Student Movement. The occupation of the rest of Palestine in 1967, which brought the majority of the Palestinian people under direct Israeli rule, had important political implications for those living in 'Israel' since 1948. The new conditions strengthened their identification and unity with the Palestinian people as a whole. Considering the class changes that have occurred, which now also effect the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza, these developments give a new perspective to the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionism.

In this article, we have concentrated on socio-economic conditions: the political development and resistance of the Palestinian people under occupation since 1948 has not been included. In coming issues we will focus on this aspect, as we continue the series on socio-economic conditions in Palestine.

1. Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestinian Arabs*, Washington, 1958, p. 143

2. Elia Zureik, "Toward a Sociology of the Palestinians", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 24, Summer 1977, p. 10

3. Abu Assam in *al Ittihad*, July 15, 1966, as printed in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 8, Summer 1973, p. 82

4. For a detailed examination of these laws, see Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel*, Beirut: The Institute for Palestine Studies, 1968. (An updated edition was published in English by Monthly Review Press, 1976).

5. *ibid*, p. 56

6. Tawfiq Zayyad, "The Fate of the Arabs in Israel", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, Autumn 1976, p. 94

7. Adnan Abed Elrazik, Riyad Amin and Uri Davis, "Problems of Palestinians in Israel", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 27, Spring 1978, p. 33

8. Elias Shoufani, presentation at a symposium in 1976 sponsored by *Palestinian Affairs* (the PLO Research Center's monthly Arabic journal) as reported in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19/20, Spring/Summer 1976, p. 230

9. Ian Lustik, *Arabs in the Jewish State*, University of Texas Press, 1980, p. 196

10. Elrazik, Amin and Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 34

11. Elia Zureik, "From Peasant to Proletariat", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, Autumn 1976, p. 56

12. *ibid*, p. 48

13. Uri Davis, *Israel: Utopia Incorporated*, London, Zed Press, 1977, p. 142

14. Ian Lustik, *op. cit.*, p. 164,

15. *ibid*, p. 184

* Estimates vary concerning the exact number of people living in this part of Palestine. This represents a conservative estimate.

JERUSALEM ELECTRIC FOLLOW-UP

Our masses in the occupied homeland are determined to preserve the national character of the Jerusalem District Electric Company (JDEC). They are challenging the decision of the Zionist occupation authorities to take over the company, the largest Palestinian economic enterprise remaining in all of Palestine. Palestinian workers, represented by the Union of the Workers and Employees of the JDEC, are playing a leading role in this struggle.

History of the Union

In 1954, the workers and employees of the company formed a committee. At that time, there were 80 employees in the JDEC. In 1956, the committee was officially registered as a trade union and held its first elections in 1957. Fayez Qlaibu, the head of the union at that time, described its conditions... "We faced a variety of problems and difficulties. We did not have premises and we were subject to oppression by the authorities (Jordanian-our note) that did not want any trade unions to be formed... We struggled to gain health insurance for the workers..." The present head of the union, Haj Abed Abu Thiab, describes the situation as of today... "After the occupation (June 1967) the union continued its work. More and more workers entered the union. The membership now exceeds 400." The union has succeeded in expanding the workers' health insurance program so that it covers eye and dental care, as well as 75% of hospitalization costs. In 1972 and 1975, the union organized strikes to protest the firing of workers. In both cases, the company was forced to cancel its decision about lay-offs.

Mass support

In the past few weeks, delegations representing all sectors of our masses in the occupied homeland have visited the offices of the JDEC to express their condemnation of the Zionists' proposed take-over, and their solidarity with the struggle of the company workers. The delegations are always received by members of the executive committee of the union, who explain the dangers posed by the proposed take-over, and the role of the workers in confronting the Zionist plans in order to protect the national character of the company.

The union has organized a series of activities aimed at exposing the planned Zionist confiscation. In early February, the head of the union Haj Abed Abu Thiab delivered a speech at a mass gathering in Ramallah, where he confirmed the workers' rejection of the proposed take-over. He also

lectured at the Hebrew university, on an invitation from the Arab Students Committee.

The union also organized a mass rally in the JDEC offices in Jerusalem, which was attended by representatives of the patriotic municipalities in the West Bank, by professional, student and trade unions, and by a huge number of supporters. The Zionist authorities prevented Karim Khalaf (mayor of Ramallah), Ibrahim Tawil (mayor of al Bireh) and Abel Gheim (head of the General Federation of Trade Unions - GFTU - in the West Bank) from attending the rally by placing them under house arrest.

The speakers at the rally, Jamil Tarifi (deputy mayor of Ramallah) and Ibrahim Dagag (representing the GFTU), hailed the continuous struggle of the company workers and expressed full support to the cause. Another speaker, representing the students of Bir Zeit university, al Najah university

JDEC RULING

On February 16th, the Israeli Supreme Court issued its ruling on the take-over of the JDEC. The decision, presented as a compromise, grants 'Israel' the right to take over the company's concession to supply power within Jerusalem, as 'Israel' has claimed sovereignty over the city, but prevents the take-over of the remaining West Bank concession. The JDEC has approximately 40,000 subscribers in Jerusalem, and 30,000 elsewhere in the West Bank.

The workers union of the JDEC immediately issued a statement rejecting the ruling.

TEACHERS STRIKE CONTINUES

The West Bank teachers strikes are still going on. The teachers of the UNRWA schools went on strike Dec. 4, 1980, and the teachers of the public schools on Dec. 23rd.

Neither strike seems to be coming to an end very soon, as the teachers have announced their determination to continue until their demands are met. On their part, the Israeli and UNRWA authorities have stubbornly refused to meet any of the teachers' demands. The military occupation authorities have gone even further and announced that they will punish striking teachers. But this has not deterred the militant teachers, who have vowed to continue their strike despite Zionist threats.

The strike will continue

The General Committee of the Teachers of the Public Schools (GCTPS) in the West Bank met on January 17th, and issued a

and the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron, renewed the support of the student movement to the mass struggle to preserve the company. He called on the Palestinian masses to unite in order to foil the plots of the enemy. In his speech, Haj Abed Abu Thiab reviewed the history of the company and the developments that followed the decision to confiscate it. He also informed the rally that the occupation authorities had prohibited representatives of the JDEC workers union from travelling outside of Palestine or receiving any financial support.

A communique was issued at the end of the rally, emphasizing the following points:

- Rejection of the Israeli decision to take over the company
- Refusal to work or cooperate with any non-Arab authority that runs or supervises the JDEC in case of a take-over which changes its character.
- Refusal to compromise any of the legitimate rights of the company.
- Rejection of any agreements that have direct or indirect political implications or effects on the rights of our people and the national character of the company.
- The problem of the company was caused by the take-over decision and can be solved by cancelling this decision.

The rally pledged full support to the company workers and their union in their firm stand against compromising any part of the company's concession.

We hail the continuous heroic struggle of our masses and especially the workers of the JDEC, who are fighting in the forefront of our battle against the Zionist occupation. ●

communique containing the following:

- The GCTPS is the only party that is authorized to represent the teachers and speak in their name
- Because the Zionist authorities continue to ignore the demands of the teachers... the committee resolves that the strike will continue... The committee calls on all the teachers assigned to correct the papers of the General Secondary Exam not to do so. We also call on them to convene in Nablus on their first day of work to announce their united position in support of the strike.

In accordance with the call of the committee, the teachers who were supposed to correct papers went to Nablus and announced that they would not correct the exam papers, and that the GCTPS is their representative and the only party authorized to

speak in their name.

The occupation authorities offered to negotiate with these teachers in an attempt aimed at splitting their unity. The teachers condemned this attempt and refused to negotiate except through their representative, the GCTPS.

The iron fist

Faced with the failure of their attempts to break the strike, and confronted with the teachers' firm united stand, the occupation authorities raised the iron fist. At the beginning of the strike, the Military Governor of the West Bank had issued a decree banning the teachers from organizing or participating in any strikes or public meetings. Any teacher that violated the decree was threatened with jail or a fine. The issuing of the decree was followed by an arrest campaign. More than eleven teachers were arrested and charged with agitating other teachers to challenge the decree. The occupation authorities also announced their intention to put all 52 members of the teachers committees on trial on charges of resisting the orders of the Military Governor and continuing an "unauthorized strike". The occupation forces burst into educational institutions and public places to break up teachers' gatherings. One of the places attacked was the Ramallah municipal building, where several teachers were arrested.

The blow that does not kill you, strengthens you

The iron fist policy of the Zionist occupation authorities has backfired. In response to the oppressive policies, the teachers reaffirmed their determination to continue the strike, and a new wave of mass support arose.

The committees of the teachers in Ramallah and al Khalil held a joint emergency meeting to discuss the repression. At the end of the meeting, they issued a communique containing the following:

- Condemnation of the arrests of their fellow teachers
- Continuing the strike until all their demands are met
- Abiding by the decisions of their representative, the GCTPS

The student movement, the municipalities of the West Bank and other patriotic institutions announced their condemnation of the oppressive measures of the occupation authorities, and declared their solidarity with the teachers and their support of their demands.

Why the strike

In early February the teachers organized a sit-in strike at the premises of the Inter-

national Red Cross in Jerusalem. The strikers issued a press release explaining their living conditions "...The average monthly income for teachers is 1500 Israeli shekels. 34IS are deducted for health insurance. As well, the teacher has to pay for rent, water and electricity, in addition to transportation costs that sometimes reach 300IS a month. The remaining salary cannot, under any conditions, satisfy the minimum needs of the teacher and his family... Despite the fact that we and teachers in Israel are living under similar conditions, the average monthly income of an Israeli teacher is 3800IS... According to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, a family of four needs a monthly income of 4800IS to meet the basic needs of life...Facing daily sufferings and aware of the consequences, teachers found

MASS SUPPORT FOR THE UNRWA TEACHERS

The patriotic mayors of the West Bank, the professional and workers unions and the student movement sent a memorandum to the UNRWA authorities expressing their solidarity with the striking teachers. The memorandum stated that the teachers are "exercizing a legitimate right to achieve a legitimate goal, which is improving their living conditions." It went on to say that they "held the UNRWA authorities responsible for the causes of the strike and for the consequences of the measures that may be used to break it." The memo ended with an urgent call to UNRWA to resolve the problems.

themselves forced to go on strike to defend their work conditions and to protect education in the West Bank."

The Teachers Committees

The teachers had tried several times in the past to form a body that would organize their struggle. All their attempts failed because of the position of the occupation authorities, who deprived them of their right to unionize. However, in the midst of their struggle, the teachers found the answer: An organizational body was formed and a leadership emerged. The teachers formed regional Teachers Committees, that organized the strikes on the local level. A central committee (the GCTPS) was formed in the West Bank, and recognized by all the striking teachers and local committees as their spokesman.

Now the teachers are not asking that the Zionist authorities give them permission to practice their right to unionize and strike. Instead, they are taking the matter into their own hands, and forming their own representative body in the appropriate manner. Thus, the occupation authorities have found themselves confronting the firm and united stand of the teachers, under the leadership of the GCTPS.

The battle of the teachers is the battle of all the Palestinian people. Without the firm and active support of our masses and the revolution, the teachers cannot continue their strike. Patriotic and progressive forces, inside and outside the occupied land, are called on to contribute all they can to making the teachers strike a victory for us all.

MILITARY OPERATIONS

January 10th: Palestinian militants, operating in the Gaza Strip, attacked a vehicle belonging to the Israeli Border Guards. Three guards were injured and the vehicle damaged. Security forces closed off the area for 24 hours and a number of Palestinians were arrested.

January 11th: Palestinian commandos ambushed an Israeli security officer near Jabaliya camp in the Gaza Strip, killing him, and taking his weapons and documents. Israeli troops closed off the camp and arrested dozens of Palestinians on suspicion of involvement in the operation. Our militants returned safely to base.

January 16th: Palestinian militants attacked an Israeli police station in Abasan, in the Gaza Strip. Using automatic weapons, the commandos took control of the station, removing the Israeli flag and flying the Palestinian flag in its place. Before leaving the area, our militants confiscated the weapons

at the station. Israeli forces surrounded the town, imposed a curfew, searched houses, and arrested scores of Palestinians.

February 2nd: Palestinian revolutionaries from units operating in the occupied homeland, attacked an enemy mobile patrol near the Gaza Strip municipality, using hand grenades. Several members of the patrol were killed or injured. The enemy soldiers opened fire in all directions from their vehicle, wounding a number of Palestinians present in the area, and killing one.

Week of February 7-13: A Palestinian unit in the occupied land attacked a Zionist settler in al Khalil and expropriated his weapons. The military authorities cordoned off the old section of the city, imposed a curfew and conducted a house-to-house search.

Israeli explosive experts defused a time-bomb planted near Silwad in the West Bank. A curfew was imposed and many Palestinians arrested.

ISRAELI LABOR PARTY PLATFORM

In December 1980, the Israel Labor Party held its third elected congress and issued proposed political resolutions. While Labor's platform is not substantially different from its past positions, current events in the region and internationally give the resolutions particular importance. More than ever before, the Labor Party's proposals for settling the Palestinian question must be seen as inherently linked to the need of Zionism, Arab reaction and imperialism to expand and consolidate a Camp David-style settlement in the Middle East.

The Limitations of Camp David

It is in this context that we are now witnessing attempts to reactivate a settlement based on the Jordanian option, or what should really be referred to as the Jordanian/Labor Party option. The driving force behind these maneuvers is the failure of the Camp David treaty to achieve its full goals. Our masses in the occupied land have blocked implementation of the 'autonomy' plan. The separate peace with Egypt — while a coup for imperialism — has not in fact provided the stability needed to guarantee imperialism's interests in the region. Nor has it led to the development of the overt economic relationship so desired by 'Israel', some Arab regimes and international capital: the linkage of Israeli technology, Arab petro-dollars and cheap Arab labor.

The main obstacle to the achievement of these goals is the Palestinian Resistance, in the occupied land and outside, mainly in Lebanon. However, the Camp David process faces other, more resolvable, obstacles: its failure to adequately resolve Arab reaction's secondary contradictions with Zionism, and the Begin government's lack of flexibility. The coming to power of a Labor government solves the latter problem, while expanding Camp David to include Jordan may provide the facade needed for Arab reaction to totally capitulate, provided that the Palestinian Resistance is weakened politically and militarily. This leaves the Resistance facing two forms of attack simultaneously. The first is aimed at eliminating the mass resistance in the occupied land, and crushing the armed resistance in Lebanon. The second is the political side of the first: undermining the PLO's role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, by having Jordan and the PLO share representation.

The Jordanian/Labor Option: Expanding Camp David

The moves to implement the Jordanian option have daily been becoming more obvious. The new US Administration is not as tied to the specifics of the Camp David framework as was Carter, and so will have more flexibility in expanding it. Reagan has already publicly spoken of the need to include Jordan in the 'peace' process, while King Hussein has announced his desire to visit Washington. On the European level, the European initiative has clearly emerged as another link in the chain of an expanded Camp David, with the role of pushing for Jordanian, Labor Party and token Palestinian participation in a settlement. This was clearly stated at the Socialist International conference this past November, which called for "...all Arab countries and Israel to consider their responsibilities and follow the courageous initiative of President Sadat by immediately opening talks to reach an early solution in agreement with resolutions 242 and 338 of the United Nations. We call on all neighboring countries, and *particularly Jordan*, to assume their responsibilities and start negotiations with Israel..." (our italics)

The goal of legitimizing King Hussein as a spokesman for the Palestinian people has been actively pushed on the Arab level. The recent Arab summit in Amman had this end in view, but the reactionary regimes were thwarted by the boycott of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, especially Syria and the PLO.

It is in the context of these maneuvers for imposing an imperialist, Zionist and reactionary settlement on the Palestinian people that the Labor Party's likely return to power in the coming Israeli elections is so important. The proposals of the Labor Party for reaching a settlement have always been the other side of the Jordanian coin, as can be seen by comparing Labor's Allon plan and Jordan's United Arab Kingdom plan. Thus for Hussein to be successfully put forward as a negotiator for the Palestinian people, there must be a Labor coalition in power that is willing to meet him halfway.

Zionist Peace: The Labor Party's Platform

The Zionist ruling class has always been constituted in the Alignment coalition, where the Labor Party is the main force. Labor has held state power except after the

1977 election, when Begin and the Likud coalition were voted in. It was Labor that led the drive to colonize Palestine, established the Zionist entity in 1948, launched the 1967 war, and spearheaded the settlements and land expropriations in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as the Judaization of the Galilee. Thus when Labor says that "the achievement of permanent peace is the central aim of Israeli policy in the days ahead", they mean essentially the same thing as the Likud — a peace based on Zionist hegemony and colonization.

The recently issued Labor Party platform contains 44 resolutions. The positions taken are the familiar ones: full commitment to Zionism; defensible borders and refusal to return to pre-1967 borders; united (i.e. occupied) Jerusalem; rejection of the PLO and a Palestinian state; consolidation and development of settlements in the Jordan Valley, the Etzion block, (south of Jerusalem), Jerusalem, southern Gaza and the Golan Heights; acceptance of UN resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis of negotiations; etc. In this context it should be noted that Labor interprets UN resolution 242 as legitimizing continued Zionist control over Jerusalem and parts of the occupied territories, continued Zionist military presence, and no recognition of the PLO or a Palestinian entity.

There are, however, three additional areas dealt with that relate directly to the current maneuvers of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. First is resolution #36, which calls for developing relations with the EEC and striving for associate member status, while also criticizing the EEC's "leniency" towards the PLO. It is clear that Labor recognizes the essential role the European capitalist countries have in bringing about an expanded Camp David. It is just as clear that the European countries recognize the important role of Labor for achieving a reactionary settlement in the region. The same meeting of the Socialist International that issued a call for Jordanian participation also made the following statement: "We consider the Israeli Labor Alignment, under the leadership of Shimon Peres, the only viable force for peace for and with Israel..."

Secondly is resolution #8, which calls for a "peace agreement with independent Lebanon according to the existing borders between the two States." This is a very tactical resolution. By accepting the existing borders, and denying Zionist desires to expand to the Litani river, Labor is legitimizing the claims of the Lebanese fascists and regime that the Zionist attacks on the South are caused only by the presence of the

Palestinian Resistance. Also, by stating that they will negotiate with "independent Lebanon", they are echoing the fascist cry for the removal of the Palestinian Resistance and the Arab Deterrent Forces.

Most relevant, however, to the current conspiracies are the resolutions on Jordan, reprinted here:

11) *The Labor Party rejects the policy of "not an inch" in regard to the West Bank and Gaza, which may jeopardize the peace prospects. In the election campaign for the 10th Knesset, the Labor Party will call upon the people to grant the Government of Israel a mandate to sign, with confirmation of the Knesset, a peace treaty with Jordan based on territorial compromise in accordance with the Labor Party's programme.*

13) *Israel, aware of the existence of the Palestinian problem, will be prepared to contribute to its solution in the framework of a Jordanian-Palestinian state, where the self-identity of the Palestinian Arabs can find its expression and the refugee problem its solution. The Jordanian-Palestinian State will extend over the territorial space of Trans-Jordan and defined densely populated parts of the West Bank and Gaza to be evacuated by the Israeli Defence Forces upon the conclusion of peace.*

Israel rejects the establishment of an additional Palestinian State in the territory between Israel and Jordan which would be a source of danger and hostility and perpetuate the conflict instead of leading to its solution. The Palestinian problem cannot be solved in a separate State without the territory and population of Jordan, the majority of which is Palestinian.

14) *The territory of the Jordanian-Palestinian State is to be demilitarized, and foreign armies must not cross the Jordan westwards. Demilitarization is not to stand in the way of agreed security arrangements involving Israeli presence.*

15) *The peace between Israel and the Jordanian-Palestinian State shall be based upon mutual respect for the sovereignty, structure and internal regime of each of the two States within its borders, without intervention in the authority of and without endangering each other.*

16) *Israel will make endeavours so as to make the peace with Jordan open up an era of fruitful cooperation between them. Efforts shall be made to obtain resources, locally and internationally, to finance development projects, refugee rehabilitation and exploitation of natural resources.*

17) *Authorised representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza are*

to be co-opted into the negotiations...

In accordance with its aspirations to put an end to the Israel-Arab conflict, the Labor Party will be prepared, as in the past, to enter upon talks with Palestinian personalities and factors recognising Israel and rejecting methods of terror.

These resolutions speak for themselves. Their only difference from the Likud is that instead of 'autonomy', they envisage a settlement based on overt Jordanian-Zionist collaboration and domination over the people and resources of Palestine. Hussein's reactionary rule would be strengthened, as would Zionism's entrenchment and legitimation. This so-called Jordanian-Palestinian state does not come near to satisfying the most minimal demands of our people. There is no recognition of the PLO or the Palestinian right to self-determination. The Palestinian people have not struggled for decades to have a Jordanian-Zionist puppet state created in their name, a state whose sole function would be to support and legitimize the policies of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Confronting The Conspiracy Requires A United Stand

The role that the PLO and patriotic Arab forces are called upon to play is clear: unified rejection of all manifestations of Camp David, including the European initiative, the Labor Party's proposals and the Jordanian option. The success of this strategy was exemplified in the patriotic boycott of the Amman summit, where we were able to block the maneuvers of the reactionary regimes. However, there are areas where the PLO has not achieved the needed clarity and unity in confronting these conspiracies. Chief among them is the continued existence of the PLO-Jordanian Joint Committee, which countenances Jordanian interference in the struggle of our people (see Bulletin No. 42 for a detailed critique of this relationship).

Moreover, although the PLO unanimously adopted political and organizational programs at the 14th Palestine National Council, it has not forced members to adhere to them. Recently, certain right-wing elements in the PLO have felt emboldened to speak out in a manner that does not serve our people's struggle. Rather than confronting and exposing the dangers that the recent initiatives from Europe and the Labor Party bring, positive statements have been made that can only serve to weaken our position.

One example of this has come from Sabri Jiryis, head of the PLO Research Center.

Jiryis actually came out with a statement assessing the Labor Party's platform as a positive step. He bases this appraisal on the fact that Labor did not assert the need for all of the occupied territories to be directly linked to 'Israel', as does the Likud. The reality is, however, that Labor accomplishes the same goals as the Likud, but uses different tactics: 1) creating economic linkage and dependency, instead of outright domination, and 2) shifting actual rule over part of the occupied territories to the hands of the Jordanian regime. This more 'flexible' position in fact reflects Labor's closer relationship to imperialism, and its willingness to be responsive to the needs of the US. Jiryis also sees Labor's resolution on recognizing Lebanon's borders as positive, while it is clear that this resolution plays into the hands of the fascists, as mentioned earlier.

Another example comes from Issam Sartawi, who is a political advisor in the PLO, and like Sabri Jiryis, a member of the Palestine National Council. He was the PLO's political observer at the Socialist International conference in November – the conference that issued the call to Jordan and the Labor Party quoted earlier. Sartawi responded to the Socialist International's resolutions by reiterating the necessity of including the PLO in any peace process, and gave the following reason for the PLO's involvement in such initiatives: "International stability, prosperity and security and particularly that of West Europe and Japan is dependent upon a peaceful and stable Middle East. This is why we are calling upon Europe and Japan and also upon the Socialist International, to play a more active role in helping all concerned parties achieve peace."

This statement of Sartawi's is a betrayal of the Palestinian people, who are not engaged in a struggle for national liberation in order to guarantee "stability, prosperity and security" for the capitalist countries. Both Sartawi's and Jiryis's statements are misleading and dangerous, and are even the more so as they represent a trend in the PLO. No part of Palestine – not the West Bank, Gaza or Haifa – will ever be truly liberated by a policy of appeasing imperialism or closing one's eyes to the true nature and role of Zionism, be it the Likud or Labor in power. For this reason the PLO must take a unified stand against all these conspiracies, and ensure that its members stand by the resolutions of the PNC. It is through our unity, our arms and our adherence to our call for a democratic secular state that we will achieve genuine self-determination. ●

LIKUD'S SETTLEMENT DRIVE

The virtual collapse of the Likud coalition government is now an accepted reality, finalized by the setting of general elections for June 30th. Begin's loss of popular support is due mainly to his inability to control the worsening economic situation, particularly the spiralling rate of inflation. Another weakness of his government is the failure to successfully implement the 'autonomy', or self-rule, plan in the West Bank or Gaza. The series of resignations that have shaken the Likud coalition and deprived it of a majority are more the results of these weaknesses than the cause.

Secondary contradictions within Zionism

It seems likely that in July, a Labor government will once again be in power. However, Begin and his followers are doing all in their power to consolidate their constituency, so that Herut and similar parties can continue to play their classical role as an opposition force *within* the Zionist political structure, where their role is to press for the extreme demands of the revisionist Zionist trend.

Today the clearest difference between the Likud coalition and the Labor alignment can be seen in their positions towards the occupied territories. While both trends are committed to Zionist hegemony, Labor is willing to cede *some* land to Jordan (see article in this Bulletin on the Jordanian/Labor Party option). Begin's supporters are rallied around the call for Greater Israel, which includes the West Bank and Gaza, and thus prefer the so-called autonomy solution, guaranteeing outright Israeli possession of the land of the occupied territories. On a tactical level these ideological differences have manifested themselves in varying settlement policies. While Labor has initiated the most settlements over-all (76 settlements from June 1967 to July 1977), they have been placed in such a manner as to 'create facts' for an eventual political settlement along the lines of the Allon Plan (see Bulletin No. 41). Under the Likud government, since 1977, not only have settlements intensified (44 new settlements in the West Bank in 3 years), but they are being built in and around densely populated Arab areas, in order to create a different set of 'facts': the Judaization and outright annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. According to a November 1980 Israeli government memorandum, more than five times as many Jews live in the West Bank than when the Likud

took office. In 1977 there were 3,200 Jews living in 24 West Bank settlements, while today there are 17,400 in 68 settlements.

Last-ditch land grab

Begin's immediate response to Labor's ascendancy has been a desperate attempt to massively increase the settlements and settlers in the occupied territories in the few months remaining to him. In a recent press conference, a West Bank Palestinian attorney linked the drive to US president Reagan's statement that settlements are legal, and said: "I think that he gave the Israelis the green light. The government knows it is going out, and it wants to create facts on the ground before the elections. They know that if a Labor government finds everything prepared, it will not cancel what has been done." Indeed, the Labor Party may not in fact be too unhappy with the Likud's current land grab as, by contrast, it provides Labor with a more flexible and moderate image, internally and internationally. In addition, the settlements could be used as bargaining cards in future negotiations, allowing Labor to make concessions while retaining the settlements they consider essential.

Guard tower at Kaddum settlement, where the settlers added a Star of David, which can be lighted at night in full view of the Palestinian peasants of the surrounding area.



According to the London *Guardian*, the Likud is planning to create ten new settlements in the West Bank, most along the axis they have focussed on since 1977: Jenin in the north, through Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Jerusalem and al Khalil in the south. In one month alone, (Jan.7-Feb.7), the West Bank military authorities expropriated 3,700 acres west of Nablus, 2,000 acres near Tubas, 3,750 acres around Jenin, as well as 3,150 acres of land surrounding existing settlements that are marked for expansion. This has been called the "largest Israeli land grab since the 1967 war."

In addition to creating new settlements, part of the Likud's drive is constructing new, more permanent, houses in existing settlements, so that each settlement has a minimum of 60 families. Three thousand private homes are being built in the settlements of Karnei Shomron, al Kana and Shavei Shomron alone. This requires both money and new settlers. The original official budget for settlements in 1980-81 was 350 million shekels (8 shekels = 1 dollar), but as of January 20th the World Zionist Organization has requested an additional 237.4 million shekels. However, because red-tape and opposition from within the Knesset has slowed the release of funds, the Settlement Subcommittee has gone so far as to offer private contractors land in Jerusalem in exchange for immediate construction and expansion of settlements elsewhere! The Jewish Agency Settlement Department has initiated a campaign to attract settlers, using the slogan: "Build your nest in the Jordan Valley". Among the incentives being offered to settlers are an air-conditioned house, water quotas, 20 dunams of land and financial credit.

Settlements: Zionist weapons

For the Palestinian people, the current wave of land expropriations is a confirmation of the fact that 'Israel' has no intention of loosening its grip over the occupied territories. Settlements are not isolated outposts with little effect on the Arab population. On the contrary, they are tools for repeating the process of colonization that took place in the part of Palestine occupied since 1948. Loss of land and resources leads to economic destruction, dependency and emigration.

Elias Khoury, the Palestinian lawyer quoted earlier, now has eight new land

seizure cases pending, entailing more than 10,000 acres of Arab land. After having handled thousands of such cases in Israeli courts, he says, "It is not a legal question any more. It is a question of whether Palestinians will live in this area or will not live in it. It is a political question."

Settlements are the spearhead of the Zionist colonizing efforts, regardless of whether they are established by the Likud or by Labor. They are a weapon used against our masses in the occupied lands, who are heroically struggling to stay on their land and assert their Palestinian identity. In this

context the current increase in settlements cannot solely be seen as a power struggle between the Likud and Labor, or an assertion of revisionist Zionism. Rather, it is part and parcel of the escalation of imperialism's, Zionism's and reaction's attacks on the Palestinian Revolution. ●

PLO GENERAL MOBILIZATION

The lessons gained from the victories of the people in Vietnam, Angola, Nicaragua, and throughout the world testify that popular mobilization is an essential prerequisite for victory. In the fall of 1980, the PLO announced the full mobilization of the Palestinian people. This is the first time that the PLO has called for general mobilization, whereas in the past Resistance organizations did it on an individual basis. By taking this decision the PLO has provided the basic framework for furthering the preparation of the Palestinian people to wage a protracted people's war. This decision facilitates broader sectors of the Palestinian people assuming their role in the Revolution in a united fashion, as well as structurally providing the basis for a genuine popular liberation army.

The positive popular response to the mobilization has proven in practice that the Palestinians will not allow their revolution to be crushed. The mobilization is a militant reply to such statements as Begin's: "We shall not wait for the terrorists to come to our houses...We shall stun them until we have exterminated them..." Large numbers of Palestinians are confronting the escalating Zionist aggression by exercising their right to fight to regain their homeland.

The general mobilization has strengthened the Revolution by providing a common basis for training all those Palestinians who want to participate in the Resistance movement. This is a positive step in consolidating Palestinian national unity at the base level. The active participation of more of our people enriches the Revolution practically, politically and theoretically. The participation of Palestinians living outside has brought new input to internal discussions, while giving them a better understanding of the reality of the Revolution.

The mobilization testifies to the PLO's ability to gather its forces through its mass organizations. This is exemplified by the active role of the Palestinian unions. The General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS), for example, took responsibility for organizing and implementing the decision on

the student level. This is clearly seen by the large number of students participating. The mobilization has brought the students closer to the Revolution, while at the same time it has enriched the revolutionary potential of GUPS. The socialist countries respected the decision of the PLO and gave Palestinian students a leave of absence from their studies.

The mobilization also served to expose the Arab regimes, most of whom took an ambivalent stand to the PLO decision. The reactionary regimes worked to sabotage the mobilization. The Iraqi regime, for example, denied the Palestinians in Iraq the right to participate, and instead drafted them into the Iraqi military to fight against Iran. The alternative was prison. Jordan is following a similar policy. The response of these regimes is not unexpected due to their strong ties with imperialism. It is clearly not in their interest to support the strengthening of the Palestinian Revolution, since a strong resistance movement would pose a threat to their power, which is ultimately based on imperialist domination in the area.

In accordance with the PFLP's struggle to implement Palestinian national unity on all levels, it has given top priority to implementing general mobilization. PFLP members and supporters abroad also worked actively in the organization and implementation of the decision. The Front is providing training facilities in accordance with its capabilities. In a recent Zionist attack, a comrade from the PFLP who was among the first student participants from abroad in the mobilization, was martyred along with comrades from al Fatah, one of whom was also a student from abroad.

The mobilization has played a constructive role in highlighting areas in which the Revolution needs to improve its practice and structure. For example, the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), the military wing of the PLO, is structured along the lines of a regular army. Thus it was unable to absorb the large number of Palestinians willing to fight for their homeland. In this situation, the Resistance organizations supplemented

the efforts of the PLA by providing training and other facilities. This flexibility was due to the Resistance organizations experience in guerrilla warfare. The continuation of the general mobilization should provide the opportunity for gradually restructuring the PLA to become a popular liberation army, unified with the forces of the Resistance, instead of functioning separately.

The general mobilization must be extended to include all Palestinians. This requires that the PLO assert its independence on the Arab level and organize the Palestinians in defiance of Arab reaction's restrictions.

The participation of an increasing number of Palestinians in the revolution through the mobilization has increased the morale of the masses and fighters confronting the enemy, especially in South Lebanon. This is an immediate effect; the long term effects of continuing the mobilization should be increased Palestinian national unity and the escalation of our popular liberation war.

INTERVIEWS

The following are excerpts of interviews made with students who are participating in the general mobilization.

Abu Baker — The decision by the PLO for general mobilization is very important. At this time all efforts are being made by Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction to eliminate the Revolution. In the past the goal of Arab reaction was to weaken the Revolution; now this is even more important to them because of the Camp David peace moves. The decision for mobilization should have come before the Revolution was facing this dangerous situation. Now that the decision has been taken, it must be enlarged to include all the Palestinians, not only the students and the Palestinians here in Lebanon...

For the future courses of the mobilization, an evaluation of the present course must be made. The positive points must be expanded and the negative points should be corrected. This will increase the potential of

the Revolution and will also allow for more people to participate...

Guevara — The mobilization is a very good decision. The revolution at this time is in a critical situation. The Zionists are trying to completely destroy the Revolution here in Lebanon. The attacks come every day from the Israelis and Saad Haddad's forces in order to destroy the will of the people and the fighters. All the Palestinians must be mobilized to confront the enemy and move the Revolution forward. With the mobilization the Resistance organizations must also be united. This is the importance of Palestinian national unity; here in the training we are united, all the organizations are working together...

Maier — The US is building up its forces to strike the Palestinian revolution and all the progressive forces in the area. Arab reaction is also working for the same goal... The decision for general mobilization has increased the ability of the Revolution to fight against these forces. The mobilization also shows the people in the South that they are not fighting alone...

By participating in the mobilization I am closer to the Revolution and I think this is the same for the other students who came from abroad. For many of us it is the first time we have held a gun in our hand. By being trained we have something to give to the Revolution. We can finish the training and return to the university; when we are needed we can return prepared to confront the enemy...

The mobilization is not only for men; women and girls are also participating. The women are trained alone, but this is because we must respect the traditions of the society. As the Revolution progresses, this will change...



Comrade George Habash meeting with Comrade Bilak, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in early February. Comrade Habash is now visiting some of the patriotic Arab countries.

As highlighted when the Phalange began its open drive to expand and consolidate fascist hegemony in Lebanon last summer, the patriotic forces have been facing a serious challenge. Although the Lebanese Patriotic Movement represents the majority of the masses, it has been in danger of being put on the defensive by the Phalange military advance, and the Lebanese regime's compliance in the new territorial and social realities imposed by the fascists. The renewed fascist offensive aggravates the threat posed by continuously escalating Zionist-fascist aggression against the South, and the Israeli-sponsored consolidation of Saad Haddad's enclave.

The LPM recently put forward a political initiative for broader and firmer coordination

LEBANON COUNTERING THE ENEMY OFFENSIVE

dination among the patriotic forces in order to more effectively confront the fascist and Zionist challenge. If correctly implemented, such coordination could lead to the formation of a broad patriotic front which could turn the tide of the present situation in Lebanon. Such a development would have extremely positive implications for the Palestinian Resistance in view of the patriotic Lebanese-Palestinian struggle alliance, and its position on the front lines of confrontation

with the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemy.

The perspective and conditions for increasing patriotic coordination were outlined by Mohsen Ibrahim, speaking in his capacity as Executive Secretary of the Central Political Council of the LPM at a public meeting in Beirut in early February.

The nature of this issue makes it a prerogative of the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, as it is they who are responsible for leading the struggle of the Lebanese masses, in terms of determining the political line and in practice. We will therefore express our support to their efforts by reflecting the positions presented by Comrade Ibrahim. (In the following, a synopsis of the ideas he presented appears in italics.)

It is not by coincidence that the concept of broader patriotic cooperation was publicly introduced by Comrade Ibrahim, who is also General Secretary of the Communist Action Organization. It is the communist forces that bear responsibility for indicating the correct strategy and tactics that can unite all the progressive and patriotic forces to further the struggle. There are historical precedents for this: In the struggle against fascism in Europe, it was often the communist forces that took the lead in resisting Nazi occupation, prodding anti-fascist bourgeois forces to wage the battle with them. In terms of national liberation struggles, the Vietnamese have provided the clearest proof that the communist forces are those most capable of leading a broad united front that mobilizes the potentials of all patriotic forces. Such a strategy promotes maximum isolation of the enemy and neutralizes those forces that remain on the fence.

It is of particular importance that the LPM take the initiative in creating broader patriotic cooperation in light of other moves in the Lebanese political arena. Certain traditional bourgeois politicians are also talking of building a broad front. These forces are in fact opposed to fascist hegemony as this has negative repercussions on their interests, yet they have never seriously fought the fascists. Nor is the goal or means of their opposition rooted in the interests of the masses. In line with their class nature, these forces are not truly opposed to imperialism, and thus their struggle against its manifestations – fascism and Zionism – will never be waged to the very end. There can be a place for such forces in a broad anti-fascist front. Yet if such a front is to strengthen the struggle, its nucleus must be the revolutionary forces that consistently oppose imperialism, Zionism and reaction. These are the forces that have fought the Phalange in the perspective of a national democratic revolution in Lebanon.

Comrade Ibrahim began his presentation by tracing the situation of the LPM. In this he was forthright and critical, which is necessary if one is to correctly chart the course for the future.

In the initial phases of the civil war (1975-76), the Lebanese Patriotic Movement had a cause; it was fighting for something – the establishment of a democratic secular Lebanon. After 1976, the LPM was pushed into a position of opposition, where it suffered from several factors. Chief among these was the overall Arab situation, where

the Arab liberation movement was in crisis on the regional level.

Today the LPM does not appear to have a cause; the masses are disillusioned, while on the other hand, the fascist goals are clear. This is not because the stands of the LPM are wrong; rather it is due to the position the movement was pushed into. The LPM's cause in 1975-76 is equally correct and relevant today: building a united democratic Arab Lebanon that takes a position alongside the Arab masses in the struggle against Zionism. Obviously, this cause conflicts with the fascist call for a confessional federation in Lebanon, isolated from the Arab liberation movement.

In the period between 1976 and today, there are certain political tendencies that have circulated in Lebanon. The following ideas have been put to the test and proven erroneous:

Some have thought that it was possible to solve the Lebanese crisis in isolation from the overall conflict in the area...

Some have imagined that the fascists only wanted a mini-state in part of Lebanon, but the actions of the fascists have clearly proven that they want to control the entire country...

Some believed in the idea of reconciliation with the fascists, but they have been forced to see that this is impossible...

Some have banked on the notion that President Sarkis had his own program for Lebanon, but in fact, the fascist program is Sarkis' program; this was clear in his speech in Taef, where he blamed all the problems in Lebanon on the Palestinian presence. We are expecting Sarkis to propose a new security plan with the army playing a more prominent role. We reject this in advance as the state and the army only serve the fascists' interests.

In order to confront the fascists, the LPM must renew its commitment to the interim reform program it adopted during the civil war for a united democratic secular Lebanon. It must commit itself to stronger relations with the Palestinian Resistance and the Syrian regime. It must raise the slogan of liberating the border strip and all areas under fascist control.

The LPM's political line and practice must constantly function to clarify the true nature of the conflict, which is Lebanese, and not between the Palestinians and the Lebanese or between Syria and Lebanon. The areas under the LPM's control must be strengthened against all political or military attempts at fascist infiltration. The LPM must assume greater responsibility for these areas, ensuring the social and security

conditions. In particular, areas adjacent to Saad Haddad must be consolidated to stop his expansion. The LPM must be clear in its dealings with the state; at the same time, it must call on the patriotic presence within governmental bodies to act in accordance with the interests of the masses concerning such issues as army deployment.

In order to achieve these aims, the LPM must develop its organizational framework in such a way as to promote collective leadership, decision-making and implementation. There must be one center for political decision and not 15. We must end the political and organizational fragmentation among the patriotic forces and establish new forms of coordination between the LPM and other patriotic trends and individuals. The degree and form of cooperation with these forces should be in accordance with the degree of patriotism that they demonstrate. However, the LPM must maintain the minimum demand that those forces who oppose the fascists, yet did not fight in the civil war, stop priding themselves on their lack of involvement. This was not a dirty war as some have said, but an unavoidable patriotic struggle. Moreover, the war we have seen as of now is only the prelude... The final battle is yet to come.

Concerning our relations with the Palestinian Resistance, there must be a clear distinction between its legitimate national interests and those illegitimate violations that occur. It must be clear that the LPM is fighting alongside the Resistance as part of its duty to defend Lebanon. Our cooperation must be organized in a way that keeps the role of each distinct, despite the overlapping of our goals. Moreover, all forces within the Palestinian Resistance must also realize that there is no future in a dialogue with the fascists. Nor is there any benefit in the creation of more fragmentation within the patriotic movement. We are not complaining about the infringements of the Resistance, but we are concerned that there are some elements within the Resistance who do not seem to realize that the strength of the LPM is also the strength of the Resistance.

While the LPM supports Syrian presence in Lebanon as this contributes to its security against the fascists and Zionists, we must relate to Syria in a new way. The LPM must ask for Syrian support on the basis of first making its own independent decisions.

In general, we call on all patriotic forces to enter into a discussion of how to confront the fascist and Zionist danger. The only criterion for being eligible to participate in this discussion, and to make constructive

criticism, is active participation in the struggle.

The PFLP deeply appreciates these points. In particular, we welcome the open criticism of the Resistance's infringements. Certain Palestinian factions have sought to strengthen themselves, rather than the overall struggle, by creating a Lebanese counterpart. Some have hoped to neutralize

the fascist offensive against the Palestinians in isolation from the realities of the Lebanese class struggle. The revolutionary forces within the Resistance oppose these practices, and we consider comradely criticism from Lebanese revolutionaries as a support in the effort to correct them.

A more united opposition to the fascists in Lebanon would be a great support to the

Palestinian Resistance, but it also makes certain demands on us. Palestinian national unity must be implemented as a prerequisite for correcting all political and practical violations that adversely affect the LPM. Our political unity is also a prerequisite for respecting the unity of the LPM and its rightful leadership role in the Lebanese arena. ●

WHO'S WHO IN LEBANON

This is the first part of a 'briefing' on the political forces in Lebanon, which is intended to provide our readers with information pertaining to the history, aims and structure of the parties to the Lebanese conflict. To give a background for how these forces act and interact, we will begin by sketching the political and economic system of the country. It is to be borne in mind that developments in Lebanon can only be fully analyzed on the backdrop of the ongoing conflict between imperialism and the Arab national movement in the area as a whole. However, as stated, our purpose here is primarily informative, and we will focus on the internal Lebanese scene.

The political system: confessionalism

The Lebanese state is organized along confessional lines, whereby political posts are divided among the religious sects present in the country, giving the Maronite Christians the decisive power. The principles of confessionalism were laid down in the 1925 constitution, written while Lebanon was under French Mandate. It was the colonial power that set the guidelines for this document, which has not been substantially revised since.

French colonial policy is largely responsible not only for the clauses of the constitution, but also for the development of the material and social basis for confessionalism as a political system. In the 19th century, France, along with other colonial powers, was fishing in the troubled waters of the Ottoman Empire. With its collapse in view, the colonialists were busy cultivating local allies in order to establish their own spheres of influence. The French found their partners among the Christian population, and specifically through alliance with the Maronite Church. As the Church exercised extensive influence among the peasantry, this provided an inroad for expanding the social basis of this alliance beyond cooperation with traditional feudal leaders. French policy was instrumental in converting a part of

the peasantry in Mount Lebanon to a merchant strata, dependent on the colonial powers' trade. This was one factor in the abortion of the peasant movement in northern Lebanon, which reached its peak in the 1858-60 revolt; compared to the situation of the peasantry of South Lebanon, a portion of the population of the northern mountain area acquired a privileged status. Some moved to the cities, evolving into a comprador bourgeoisie.

Developments at the end of the first world war illustrated clearly how France and the Maronite comprador derived mutual benefits from cultivating a form of 'Christian nationalism' in Lebanon. For both, this served as a counterweight to the Arab national movement's demand for independence, which was championed by broad sectors of the Lebanese people, Moslems and Christians, especially in the coastal cities, the South and the Bekaa valley.

France's interest in drawing Lebanon into a relation of dependency on imperialism coincided with the Maronite comprador's desire to enjoy a privileged political and economic status by isolating themselves (and Lebanon with them) from the Arab world, and instead consolidating ties with the West. Thus, the French occupation of Lebanon in 1918 was welcomed by France's allies among the Christians, and France utilized Lebanon as a buffer against the strength of the Arab national movement, especially in neighboring Syria.

France also used its mandate to develop a Lebanese administration which would collaborate in institutionalizing colonial influence within the structures of an independent Lebanon in the future; candidates were chosen from French and Roman Catholic missionary schools. In 1926, the Lebanese Republic began to function within the confines of the French Mandate on the basis of the aforementioned constitution. According to this document, the national formation was not seen as the sum of the individual citizens tied to their homeland,

but as a grouping of different religious communities. Thus, confessionalism constitutes the very foundation of the Lebanese state as it has come to exist, and not simply a particular system enacted within a general national framework.

Ordinance No. 60/LR, issued by the French governor of Lebanon in 1936, enumerated the recognized sects. Article 5 of this ordinance reads: "Lebanese citizens who do not belong to any of the recognized sects or those who do not belong to any sect will be subject to civil law." In practice, a civil law code has never even been discussed by the Lebanese authorities, nor has the Parliament ever passed any law inconsistent with the confessional basis laid down in the constitution. Obviously, this has limited the channels accessible to those people who are not religious, or who desire the organization of the political, social and economic life of the country outside the bounds of religion. The provisions of the constitution specifically encourage the autonomy of the religious communities in their internal and external affairs, and that they should build up their own structure and institutions, educational and otherwise, rather than promoting an integrated society.

The purpose of the confessional system was to ensure the dominance of the emerging comprador class, linked to the imperialist market. The strength of confessionalism in Lebanon lies in the fact that it is not limited to the political authority, but pervades the society on all levels. This has played a major role in obscuring, and sometimes actually retarding, the development of a clearly defined class struggle in the country. The structure of the state forces the society to act in a confessional manner whenever it has to do with the government. This has also affected the struggle of the patriotic and progressive forces that aspire to a democratic secular Lebanon, but are often put in a situation where their demands are limited to reforms within the existing system. ►

The major amendments to the constitution were made in 1943, when Lebanon received formal independence. These consisted in the omission of all articles determining relations with the French authorities. By this time, Lebanon's neo-colonial status was secured by the confessional system and the economic relations that had been established. In 1943, an internal working formula was arrived at through an unwritten agreement, which is termed the National Pact. This pact was primarily the result of a compromise reached between bourgeois leaders of the two most powerful sects – the Maronite Christians and the Sunni Moslems. It established the ratio for the allotment of political posts as 6 to 5 in favor of the Christians. The presidency was reserved for the Maronites and it has become customary for the prime minister to be a Sunni Moslem. Although traditional Moslem leaders identified with the goals of the pan-Arab movement, at this time they accepted the status quo of a separate Lebanon which had been imposed by the Maronite-French alliance. Representing an emerging bourgeoisie, they hoped that independent Lebanon would open economic opportunities for them. Moreover, the Maronite bourgeoisie made some minor concessions: The 6 to 5 ratio was slightly better for the Moslems than the distribution of posts that had been practiced

under the French Mandate. It was agreed that the Lebanese state would position itself within the Arab world, which it did nominally by joining the Arab League, etc. The Maronite leaders had their own reasons for these concessions: they needed the coastal cities to realize their economic ambitions; in addition, the implicit cooperation of the Moslem bourgeoisie was seen as important in ensuring political stability and economic connections with the Arab world.

The 1926 constitution stated that the Parliament's members would be elected on the basis of the sects' representation. In 1947, this was amended to read that the Parliament would be constituted from members belonging to the recognized sects. The sects recognized and their position in the hierarchy of distribution have remained constant, based on a census taken at the time of the National Pact. No new official census has been taken. The number of members in the Parliament and the way in which they are elected is determined by by-laws adopted in the Parliament. The Parliament as it is today is a result of the by-laws adopted in 1960, which determined that there are 99 members distributed as follows:

- 30 Maronites (Christians)
- 20 Sunnis (Moslems)
- 19 Shiites (Moslems)

- 11 Greek Orthodox (Christians)
- 6 Druze (Moslems)
- 6 Roman Catholics (Christians)
- 4 Armenian Orthodox (Christians)
- 1 Armenian Catholic (Christian)
- 1 other Christian
- 1 Protestant (Christian)

The President is elected by a simple majority of the Parliament. The Prime Minister is nominated by the President, who should seek his assistance in selecting the cabinet. The 6 to 5 ratio also prevails in the cabinet and all public sectors, including the army.

The present electoral law further divides the will of the Lebanese people. The country is divided into small voting districts, where a relative majority gives the winner all the seats. The slate of candidates is compiled in accordance with the ratio among the sects that has been fixed for the district in question, but does not necessarily reflect the present population living there. As a result of the combination of these two factors, the parliamentary representation gained by a party seldom reflects the actual support it enjoys on a country-wide basis.

The Lebanese economy

In many respects the economic structure of Lebanon does not differ much from that of other 'third world' countries: industrial

The peasant of South Lebanon ekes out a living...



development is limited; the service sector outweighs the productive sector both in terms of providing employment and accumulating wealth; agriculture is the source of livelihood for many, yet it remains backward, especially in the South.

What does distinguish Lebanon from many other countries that are dependent on imperialism is its highly developed banking and commercial sector. Like the confessional system, this can be largely traced to the Maronite-French alliance, which resulted in the development of a substantial comprador class at an earlier stage than has been the case in many other countries.

Objective factors have also played a role, and the comprador is by no means limited to the Maronite sect. Lebanon's location on the Mediterranean has provided the geographic setting for its position as a banking and trade center linking East and West. The oil resources of the Middle East gave a boost to this development. The policy of many regimes to recycle their oil revenues in the imperialist countries added to the funds handled by Lebanese banks. For the imperialists, Lebanon provides a half-way station for their transactions when investing in the Middle East, as well as harbors for their exports. The shift away from Lebanon as a banking and trade center during the 1975-76 civil war has proven to be a temporary one,

while funds accumulate in the banks of Beirut

especially with respect to finance. Bank deposits totalled 25 billion pounds (3 Lebanese pounds equal \$1 US) by the end of 1980. Six banks have recently been granted licenses to begin operations in Lebanon including American Express International Banking Corporation. At present, of the 86 banks functioning, less than half are totally Lebanese owned. The fact that Lebanon has a balance of payments surplus can be attributed to the cash inflow to banks.

The state's *laissez-faire* policy has been instrumental in developing the economy in this direction. Almost no restrictions are imposed on the transfer of capital or goods. State initiatives to develop industry and agriculture have been minimal. In line with its class character, the state merely provides a conducive framework for private enterprise. In the words of a report compiled by the US State Department and released in February, "The Lebanese traditionally have operated one of the freest economies in the world, even relying on the private sector to provide many of the social services which most governments ordinarily supply." As if to exemplify this, the Reconstruction and Development Council, set up by the government after the war, has to date finished one project (a bridge), while private construction is booming. Recently, this council signed an agreement guaranteeing American invest-

ments in Lebanon. In terms of rebuilding, only the army has received serious attention from the state. This is also reflected in the flow of US aid to Lebanon. US economic assistance to Lebanon totalled \$32.9 million in 1978, but by 1980 it amounted to only \$5 million. US military assistance, on the other hand, rose from \$6 million in 1978 to \$22 million in 1980 (as registered in the same report).

The underdevelopment of the productive sector, today coupled with the intensive build-up in the state's repressive apparatus, is the material manifestation of the comprador's dominant position within the Lebanese bourgeoisie. Government statistics from 1962 reveal the effects of the prevailing system in terms of the distribution of wealth: 4% of the population received 1/3 of the national income; 14% received the second 1/3; i.e. 18% received 2/3 while the remainder of the population must live on the last 1/3. Unfortunately, more recent statistics that are reliable are not accessible; however, it is clear even to a casual observer in Lebanon that this distribution has not changed for the better as of today.

In the next issue of the Bulletin, we will begin dealing specifically with the political forces, starting with the fascist forces organized in the Lebanese Front.



TAEF CONFERENCE

Reactionary moves signal new attacks in Lebanon

The 3rd Islamic Conference recently held in Taef, Saudi Arabia, brought few surprises for observers of Arab reaction. Behind the facade of religion, reactionary forces worked to reinstate the 'official' Arab solidarity. The vague wording of the final resolutions attests to the fact that reaction does not find it politically feasible or opportune to openly broadcast its program of collaboration with imperialism. In such conferences, it is deemed wiser to preserve a semblance of unity in order to present a united 'Islamic' stand to the world.

Overall, the conference can be characterized by the reactionary forces' moves to change the meaning of *jihad* (holy war) against 'Israel' to *spiritual struggle* with possible diplomatic and/or economic reinforcements. By pushing this position, Arab reaction reassures US imperialism that the militant slogans it has raised against 'Israel' are meaningless. At the same time, the Islamic countries are presented as having a united, albeit ineffective, stand against the Zionist enemy.

Saudi Arabia's influence within the reactionary axis was evident throughout the conference, especially in the offers of oil money to be used in development projects, which they dangled in front of the noses of the financially weak countries. Keeping in mind the \$2.5 billion development fund set up by the wealthier countries, most participants paid lip-service to the reactionary maneuvers. However, despite their attempts to roundly condemn the Soviet Union and intensify anti-communist rhetoric, all the reactionaries achieved was the passing of a Saudi-backed resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan, with Syria, Democratic Yemen and the PLO dissenting.

One outcome of the unofficial mini-summits held in Taef became apparent shortly afterwards when Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain announced a joint political, economic and military council. This council is merely a formalization and merger of the bilateral treaties already concluded between Saudi Arabia and the other countries. The announcement of the council is an indirect answer to the Soviet proposal for

guaranteeing the sovereignty and neutrality of the Gulf. The reactionary rulers want it to look as though they don't need any foreign assistance; ostensibly they formed the council to "defend the resources and safeguard the stability of the region." However, the reality is that with Iraq and Iran diverted in the Gulf war, Saudi Arabia has been able to impose its security pact, which means reliance on US imperialism to maintain reactionary stability in the area.

Whereas the final resolutions of the conference had minimum impact on the overall Arab situation, the speech made by Lebanese President Elias Sarkis indicated the escalation of the attack against the Palestinian Resistance in Lebanon. Sounding suspiciously similar to the propaganda of the fascist Lebanese Front, Sarkis spoke boldly about the "danger" of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. Sarkis's posture in speaking so openly must be seen in the light of the Phalange offensive in Lebanon; this paves the way for the Lebanese authorities to openly join Arab reaction's assault on the Palestinian Resistance. In presenting the Lebanese case, Sarkis ignored the role of the fascist-isolationist Saad Haddad in collaboration with 'Israel', in the border strip. He did not even mention the true enemy, 'Israel', which is the real threat to Lebanese sovereignty due to its aims to annex more Lebanese territory. Obviously, Sarkis also failed to mention that it is the Palestinian Resistance and the patriotic Lebanese fighters who are daily confronting the enemy aggression and the traitor Haddad.

Shortly after the Taef conference was over, the fascist Lebanese Front announced a compulsory draft of men aged 14-45, and the regime took more action to consolidate the Lebanese army which clearly represents the fascists' formula. Prime Minister Wazzan and his cabinet approved the promotion of a group of 120 officers, among them soldiers that fought with the fascist Lebanese Front during the civil war (1975-76).

Zionist-fascist aggression

The Lebanese regime's more open attack on the Palestinian Resistance and Arab reaction's modification of *jihad* gave the green light for new Israeli-fascist aggression

in the south. As an assertion of its military dominance, 'Israel' has traditionally launched attacks following Arab proclamations and meetings. However, in this instance the Zionist aggression not only exposes the ineffectiveness of the *jihad*, but tacitly supports the assertion of Sarkis and the fascists that the Palestinian presence is responsible for the Israeli attacks.

Thus, in the days following the conference, there was an upsurge in aggression against the Joint Forces and the Lebanese and Palestinian masses in several towns and cities throughout the region. During the last four days in January, heavy artillery attacks and a major air strike killed at least 15 civilians and wounded 40. About 60 houses were demolished or damaged by the air raids. The strikes ranged over Lebanon from Sour to Nabatiyeh, including Bourj al Shemali camp and the road south of Saida.

Israeli jets also attacked Saida, Sour and Ain al Hilweh camp. One Israeli jet was downed by Palestinian fighters and another was reportedly hit, but headed back towards 'Israel'. Syrian MIGs clashed with Israeli jets over the Bekaa in eastern Lebanon. The Syrians lost one plane during the fight. This participation of the Syrian forces signifies Syria's continued patriotic role in supporting the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement in a period of heightened confrontation with the enemy.

The Joint Forces in the South responded to the enemy provocations by shelling Israeli positions in Northern Galilee, including Metulla, and Kiryat Shmona, and several positions inside the border strip. Although Israeli aggression was escalated by air, sea and land attacks, the Joint Forces responded to keep the aggression in check.

The growing consolidation of the Israeli-fascist program must be met with the increased cooperation and efficiency of the patriotic and progressive forces in Lebanon. The Taef conference can only be dealt with by a firm program on the part of the LPM and the Resistance alongside the Arab masses, concentrating all progressive and patriotic forces against the true enemies of the people: Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction.

JORDAN

WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

In the last Bulletin we dealt with the Jordanian labor market, especially the increase in imported labor and the corresponding emigration of Jordanian workers. Most of those Jordanians who seek employment outside the country are males. If we turn to women workers in Jordan, we find that their situation is largely determined by the same factors that make for the policy of labor exchange. The position of women in the Jordanian labor force today is also a result of the desire shared by the regime and ruling class for a work force that is highly exploitable and easy to control politically.

According to Jordanian law, there should be employment opportunities for all citizens. In reality, the regime has put little effort in this direction. Women in particular have played a marginal role in the labor market. In 1975, only 3.8% of Jordanian women were registered as workers. While women account for roughly half the population, they constituted only 10% of the labor force.

By 1980, 10% of Jordanian women had joined the labor force. This increase reflects the regime's attempts at 'modernization', which in a dependent country means a halting and distorted process of capitalization. A contributing factor in this period was the effects of the civil war in Lebanon. Some of Beirut's functions as a commercial and banking center shifted to Amman, boosting the Jordanian service and finance sectors.

The increased percentage of working women in the seventies was accompanied by diversification in their occupations. In the early sixties, the few with employment outside the home and family were concentrated in fields traditional for women, such



Unpaid agricultural labor

as nursing and teaching. By 1977, the distribution of the female work force was as follows:

<u>Economic Sector</u>	<u>%</u>
Education/health services	26
Industry	10
Electricity/water services	1
Construction/mining	2
Commerce	6
Transportation	13
Finance	21

The increase and diversification of women's employment is mainly due to the regime's direct or indirect encouragement, because women, like foreign workers, are

viewed as a source of cheap labor to replace emigrating male workers. Moreover inflation and the rising cost of living have pushed more women to seek jobs outside the home. While education and health are still the sectors that absorb most of the female workers, the bulk of working women (approximately 40%) in urban areas now occupy clerical positions in the finance, transportation and commerce sectors. In industry, women are concentrated in light industry, producing such items as cigarettes and facial tissues. In cigarette factories alone, women constitute 50% of the work force.

Statistics compiled in Amman in 1978, show that more than 85% of women working in industry receive wages of 50 Jordanian dinars or less a month (1 JD = \$3.3 US). Women face wage discrimination even when they hold the same jobs as men, the only exception being in the teaching field, where men and women receive equal pay for equal work.

While Jordanian males are suffering from the regime's policy of economically enforced emigration, women workers suffer from the retention of out-dated social traditions concerning the role of women in the society. This is a consequence of the transitional nature of the economy. In the regime's attempt at 'modernization', development is not primarily based on an evolution of the existing economic structure and relations. Rather it is implanted through projects financed by imperialist monopolies and Arab petro-dollars. The attempts to develop the Jordanian economy parallel (at a slower pace) the regime's transformation from a ruling tribe — the Hashemites who were installed by British colonialism — to a client

LABOR FORCE

The Ministry of Labor in Jordan has issued a new decree aimed at encouraging the importation of foreign labor. Under the new decree, employers are only required to sign a personal guarantee in order to obtain permission to hire foreign workers. In the past, they were required to present a credit reference from a bank.

According to statistics recently released in Jordan, the number of foreign workers who were granted work permits in

November, 1980, was 6152. The permits were distributed as follows:

<u>CITY</u>	<u>NO. OF PERMITS</u>
Amman	4448
Zarqa	322
Irbid	219
Karak	213
Aqaba	777
Deir Alla	173
TOTAL	6152

The statistics above do not include foreign farm workers or domestic servants. They are not required to obtain a work

permit, because they are not classified as workers under Jordanian labor laws.

In the private sector, several companies are trying to increase their profits at the expense of the working class by replacing the Jordanian workers with non-Jordanians, who receive lower wages. In some places such as the Sheraton, Holiday Inn and Amman International hotels, foreign workers compose about 90% of the employees. The lay-off of Jordanian workers creates favorable conditions for increasing the rate of the immigrant labor force.

regime for modern imperialism, headed by the USA.

With the introduction of capitalist relations, more women acquired a relatively greater degree of mobility, because they were needed as cheap labor. However, the introduction of capitalist relations in a highly dependent country does not at once modify the social traditions to any great degree. This is in line with regime policy to prevent the development of a strong unified working class.

The low wages received by women mean that their income remains only a supplement to the family's main provider; thus, gaining employment outside the home does not necessarily lead to a much greater degree of independence for the woman. Women retain responsibility for housework and child rearing. Moreover, women's entry into the labor market remains limited because it is not facilitated by the social services normally provided in capitalist societies today. Lack of child care facilities is a particularly serious problem. The few kindergartens that exist are too expensive for most. A survey conducted in 1976 showed that 66.7% of kindergartens charged 10-15 JD monthly. As a result, more than half of women workers leave their children with relatives.

The effects of the regime's nature and economic policies are seen in their most extreme form in the situation of women in rural areas. The 30% of the female work force not covered in the above chart are in the agricultural sector. Many of them are not officially employed, but work with their family on its own land or that of others. In the Jordan Valley, only 25.7% of working women are paid employees; the rest work in the family's enterprise. About half of these women work in agriculture.

The rural woman's life is lived within the narrow confines imposed by the combination of backward means of agricultural production and restrictive social traditions. Changing these factors lies outside the bounds of the development engineered by the regime, the comprador and foreign capital. Moreover, it is in the interests of the regime, politically speaking, to retain backward structures in those sectors where the population could form a militant opposition to the regime. Women in particular suffer oppression, exploitation and marginalization as a result. Thus, an important aspect of the struggle of the progressive forces in Jordan is to seriously deal with the position of women in the labor market and in the society at large, in order to foil the regime's aim of rendering the people, and especially the working class, fragmented and powerless. ●



US SURVEILLANCE IN EGYPT

The letter reproduced here and the enclosed summary of facts came into the hands of Egyptian progressives. They show that US imperialism is worried about Sadat's future and is thus keeping close tabs on the internal situation in Egypt, and especially on all forms of opposition. To this end, the CIA is working to take advantage of all American offices and organizations in Egypt as sources for gathering information.

The man to whom the letter is addressed, William A. Rugh, is one of the CIA officers working under the cover of the US Embassy. He has maintained contacts with a number of US agents who are gathering information on the internal developments in Egypt. Mr. Rugh works as the Embassy's councillor for culture and the press. In this capacity, he often hosts cocktail parties attended by prominent Egyptians, including journalists, scientists and artists. He also takes advantage of his contacts with the staff of the American University in Cairo, the majority of whom are from the US. Some are outright CIA informers, and Mr. Rugh acts as the liaison between them and the CIA station. This is obvious in the letter addressed to him from Kenneth Saunier of the AUC staff.

In a similar manner, Mr. Rugh utilizes the

American Center in Cairo, which offers services to Egyptians interested in international relations, economy, management, political and social sciences, education, etc. Mrs. Sheila Austrian, a CIA officer, works at the center, where she seeks to establish permanent relations with interested Egyptians with an eye towards recruiting them as informers. Her husband, Michael I. Austrian is the first secretary at the US Embassy in Cairo and is also a CIA officer.

Due to space limitations in this issue, we are unable to print the text of the evaluation enclosed with the letter. However, the facts collected by Kenneth Saunier deal mainly with the growing disenchantment with Sadat among the middle class and the increasing politicization of professional unions (particularly engineers and doctors), the rise in corruption and the mismanagement of the economy: "The University economists point out that Egypt's 'economic bosses' are selected arbitrarily, that emphasis is laid on their loyalty to Sadat and his first 'adviser', Osman Ahmed Osman." (Osman owns the Arab Contracting Company, which receives almost all contracts for state-sponsored projects, as well as having a lucrative business in other Arab countries). ●

2ND ARAB PEOPLES CONFERENCE

In December 1977, the Arab Peoples Conference (APC) was formed in opposition to Sadat's capitulation to imperialism and Zionism. The APC was created as a forum for projecting the will of the Arab masses by joining the efforts of their national, progressive and patriotic organizations.

This year on Jan. 15th-19th in Tripoli, Libya, the APC met for the second time. It was attended by representatives of 92 political parties and organizations, 76 syndicates, unions and mass organizations and 20 respected individuals, in addition to a large number of guest delegations from Africa and Latin America.

What distinguishes the second APC is that it established a framework for forming an Arab peoples progressive national front. The PFLP evaluates this as a positive step forward for confronting imperialist, Zionist, reactionary dominance in our area. The APC adopted a charter to serve as the political platform for forming the proposed front. It emphasized the necessity of achieving unity on a national, democratic, and progressive basis in order to fulfill the aims of the Arab people: achieving revolution in the Arab world, completing national liberation and establishing the total unity of the Arab Nation. To insure that this front becomes a reality the APC adopted an organizational structure and internal regulations. According to these, the general assembly shall consist of all the political parties, organizations and liberation movements as well as all the mass organizations, unions and respected individuals that accept and abide by the charter.

The structure of the APC shall consist of the general assembly, the coordination council and the permanent secretariat. Their tasks were defined in the internal regulations. The Arab Peoples Conference will convene every three years. The Permanent Secretariat will convene between each Conference and it will be responsible for accepting new members and implementing the decisions of the APC.

The Conference also elected a new Permanent Secretariat composed of representatives from the General Peoples Congress-Libya, the National Liberation Front - Algeria, the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party-Syria, the United Socialist Party - PDR Yemen, the Arab Workers Union, the Arab Farmers Union, the PLO, the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, the Egyptian National Movement, the national movement in the Arabian Peninsula, and POLISARIO. They also re-elected Omar al Hamedi as General Secretary.

The Conference also passed several resolutions concerning the means for achieving the aims of the Arab people:

- Adopting the peoples war as the most efficient means of liberating the Arab Nation from imperialist, Zionist, reactionary domination

- Providing support to all activities which lead to progressive unity in the Arab Nation

- Support for all activities aimed at confronting imperialism

- Forming the Arab peoples national patriotic progressive front, thereby enhancing unity, interaction and democratic discussions between all the parties, organizations, unions, etc.

- Mobilizing the masses for the goals of liberation, national unity, democracy and socialism

- Strengthening the strategic alliance between the Arab revolutionary forces and the international revolutionary forces, mainly the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, as well as the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the democratic forces and parties in the capitalist countries.

All the resolutions were unanimously agreed upon by the members of the APC. Thus the Conference demonstrates that the minimum program for uniting these forces is actually functioning. At the conclusion of the session a political communique was issued. The Conference declared the 1980s as the decade for increasing the struggle for liberation and the realization of unity in order to achieve progress.

The convening of the APC at this particular time indicates the polarization taking place between the progressive and reactionary forces in the Arab world. The Conference assumed its responsibility for furthering this polarization by its decision to expel the Iraqi Ba'ath Party from the APC because of the role it is playing to sabotage the anti-imperialist struggle. The APC called on the Iraqi masses to designate their true representative to the Conference.

By bringing together all the progressive and patriotic forces in the area regardless of whether they define themselves as nationalist, religious or communist, the Conference attests to the common will to confront imperialism, Zionism and reaction. All these forces are threatened by the increasing aggressiveness of US imperialism in particular, and all have responded to the challenge. This was seen in the statement of

Muammar Qaddafi, leader of the Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, when he called upon these forces to fight under the red banner, and not the white, in any future confrontation.

We highly evaluate the positive step taken by the APC by establishing a basis for creating the united national front. National and democratic fronts must be established in each Arab country to provide a firm basis for a popular front on the Arab level. The formation of such a front would advance the Arab revolution. It must be independent of the influence of the regimes, as its role is to represent the interests of the masses and pave the way for revolution in the Arab world with the ultimate aim of creating a unified socialist Arab Nation. It is the duty of the anti-imperialist forces to make this front a reality.

We consider that the resolutions taken by the Conference are positive reflections of the will of the masses, and are a means for strengthening the confrontation against the enemy. The resolutions which emphasize the necessity of supporting the Arab liberation forces, i.e. the LPM, the PLO, the Patriotic National Iraqi Front, the Egyptian National Front, the National Democratic Front in North Yemen, etc. are a cornerstone for mobilizing the masses for the popular war. Supporting and strengthening these forces is a prerequisite for achieving the united national front.

We call upon the progressive forces to support the decisions taken by the APC; this support must not be verbal alone, but must be expressed through united action. The PFLP will continue to work actively on the Arab and international level as we did in this conference in order to defeat Zionism, imperialism and reaction.

PFLP ADDRESS

Abu Ali Mustafa, Vice-General Secretary of the PFLP, headed the PFLP delegation at the Conference. The following is a summary of the message he presented to the APC.

Abu Ali commended the Libyan masses and their leader for their support and solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement: "This support comes from the Libyan people who are confronting Sadat and his allies and deterring Sadat's efforts to expand his policies into neighboring countries..."

Abu Ali also saluted our Arab masses in the occupied land who are daily confronting the Zionist occupation: "The enemy's fascist

measures against our people... have been to no avail. This has led the enemy to go to the extreme of declaring it a crime even to use the name of the PLO or raise the Palestinian flag. This indicates the degree of the enemy's failure and the strength of our masses and their support to the Revolution... The struggle of our masses reaffirms the Arab identity of Palestine, and the struggle for a democratic socialist Palestine as a part of the unified Arab society."

Abu Ali went on to discuss the current political developments on the Arab and international levels, pointing to the victories of the forces of liberation and progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America: "We have witnessed the downfall of some of imperialism's bastions - in Iran, Nicaragua, and other places. Today, we are witnessing a new victory, El Salvador. Tomorrow we will witness the victory of other peoples against imperialism and its allies. The attempts made by imperialism to decrease its losses... will

only lead imperialism to more defeats. We must take the following steps to defeat imperialism:

1. Define a clear political program
2. Form a unified Arab national front
3. Promote a sincere alliance with the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union"

Abu Ali also emphasized the necessity of creating national democratic fronts in every Arab country as an essential requirement for establishing the united national front in the Arab Nation, in addition to supporting the existing progressive forces in Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, North Yemen, etc. By supporting these fronts the danger posed by imperialism and its allies will be reduced. In closing he listed the major dangers and how to confront them:

"1. calling for a unified struggle program between Syria, the Palestinian Revolution and the LPM in order to block the Zionist-fascist program in Lebanon and to support

all the patriotic forces

2. cutting relations with the Jordanian regime and exposing its policies as well as confronting its threats in order to unify our masses. We must also call for the establishment of a united patriotic front in Jordan...

3. blocking any suspicious moves from Europe or elsewhere as well as exposing their aims and maneuvers and ending hypothetical talk about their neutrality

4. supporting the Iranian people and their revolution in the confrontation of imperialist, chauvinist and fascist threats

5. preventing all initiatives to lessen the polarization between the patriotic and progressive forces and the forces of reaction and treachery in the area.

6. calling on the steadfastness and confrontation states to speed up their activities for establishing unified institutions; calling on the forces within it to defend and confront the present dangers."

SALUTE TO THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN NORTH YEMEN

February 11th marked the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the National Democratic Front (NDF) in North Yemen. In a letter of solidarity, Comrade George Habash expressed the full support of the PFLP to the unity and struggle of the Yemeni masses. He wrote that the establishment of the NDF was a necessity dictated by the nature of the struggle in Yemen, and that it illustrated the need to build such fronts in every Arab country. This would provide the necessary base for the creation of a broad national democratic front on the Arab level, under a leadership that is committed to the aspirations of the oppressed Arab masses.

Patriotic and progressives forces commemorated the founding of the NDF at a mass rally held in Beirut on February 15th. Comrade Sultan Ahmed Omar, leader of the NDF, addressed the gathering, saying that the creation of the NDF crowned the struggle of the forces and parties from which it was constituted. The NDF arose from the need to confront the North Yemen and Saudi Arabian regimes, and the fragmentation and underdevelopment they have imposed on the Yemeni people. The regime



*The homeland we don't defend,
we don't deserve.*

in North Yemen is dependent on imperialism, whose interests are against the unity and independence of the Yemeni masses.

Since its inception, the NDF has pushed

for an open dialogue with the regime, but reactionary forces such as the Moslem Brotherhood and the Iraqi regime are trying to obstruct this process. They have waged a propaganda campaign against such relations, and have gone so far as to attack the NDF leadership. These attacks have intensified since March 1979, when the NDF proposed a program that was nominally accepted by the regime in December 1980. This agreement, which called for NDF participation in the government, democratic rights and amnesty for political prisoners, expressed the basic hopes and aspirations of the Yemeni people. However, implementation of the agreement has not been consistent, and reactionary forces have been doing all in their power to obstruct it. Despite these attacks, the NDF has remained committed to the December 1980 agreement.

Since its founding five years ago, the NDF has become an undeniable fact in the political formula of Yemen. Its political program for democratic development and change is the path for the unity of Yemen. We salute the NDF on its anniversary, and we salute the struggle of the Yemeni people for unity and social justice.

ISRAELI MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

GLOBAL CONNECTIONS

The growth of the arms industry in 'Israel' is unprecedented in the Middle East. The establishment of superior military capabilities to carry out Zionist plans, and to wage constant war against its neighbors, was a prerequisite for the existence of 'Israel'. Imperialist backing first provided the necessary force to colonize Palestine and to subjugate the indigenous population. Later, it continued to bolster the Zionist economic structure that depended heavily upon the military for its survival. Even though the major Israeli exports are agricultural and mineral (oranges and polished diamonds from South Africa), deadly arms, military equipment and electronic communication devices constituted approximately \$1 billion worth of exports in 1980.

It is no accident that the Arab regimes lack the military development that 'Israel' has achieved. These regimes, like 'Israel', are structurally dependent on imperialism. But the Arab ruling class cannot be perceived as a totally stable and reliable ally, because the majority of the Arab people do not benefit from imperialism as does the settler population in 'Israel'. The very existence of the

Zionist entity is rooted in imperialism, not just the continued power of a particular monarch or ruling clique. In contrast, an indigenous arms industry has not been encouraged in the less secure client states, and a dependent relationship based on arms sales has been preferred. This arrangement also benefits international capital, creating lucrative markets in countries such as Egypt.

Imperialism's backing of the Zionist entity has been shown in many ways, but none so clearly as within the arms industry. Imperialism's aim of creating a foothold in the Middle East, through aggressive military force if need be, was helped along by the strategy of nurturing a nascent military-industrial complex in 'Israel' shortly after 1948. The establishment of this military-industrial complex was a low risk-high security investment for US and western European arms manufacturers after World War II. These manufacturers were (and continue to be) a part of the ruling class and big bourgeoisie in Britain, France, West Germany and the USA.¹ These entrepreneurs and their local counterparts were banking on the western imperialist powers to

back Zionist expansionism. So with technological help from the imperialists, the Israeli arms industry has grown.

When analyzing the Israeli military-industrial complex and the global arms connection it has created, it is easy to get lost in the intricate ties between arms manufacturers, investment companies and foreign governments. 'Israel' has managed to market their weapons (and personnel to train armies in their use) from South Africa to Latin America. The cultural, trade and military links, especially between South Africa and 'Israel' but expanded to include dictatorships in Latin America, have become known to the world as the "unholy alliance." This label refers to the immoral and genocidal use of the military machine to inflict death and destruction on people struggling for national liberation and self-determination, from Palestine to Namibia to El Salvador. Israeli dealings with racist and fascist regimes has a political implication for world opinion. This diplomatic-trade link clearly shows that the nature of Zionism is akin to racism, repression and reaction on a global scale.

The history of the Israeli arms industry

Faced with a lull in the world arms market after World War II, the major arms producers turned to the 'third world.' Countries with newly acquired oil revenues, such as Saudi Arabia and Iran, were bonanzas for the arms dealers. The Zionist settlements' role during the war was to provide storage and repair for military and civilian equipment, especially aircraft. Whereas certain Arab countries were 'buying' their armed forces, the intertwined civilian and military socio-economic structure in 'Israel' provided fertile ground for the native development of an arms industry.

In 1915 the first foreign investors appeared. The Koor industries, a holding company for the Histadrut, along with a Scandinavian firm, founded the Soltam company, which manufactured mortar cannons and ammunition. In 1953, the Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) was established with help from the government leader David Ben Gurion. Although the company is government-owned, it is organized and run as an independent firm designed to gain profits. Originally IAI relied upon its experienced laborers to maintain and repair military and civilian aircraft. In 1958, IAI and a French company signed an agreement to build training aircraft (to train military pilots) in 'Israel'. The license was not put to use because of limited Israeli resources. Until 1967, IAI was limited to the manufacture



of spare parts for aircraft. Later, after 1973, it expanded to produce the *Kfir* ('lion cub' in Hebrew) combat fighter and the Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles, two of the most controversial items exported to South Africa, Latin America and other countries. A world renowned scandal surrounded the development of the *Kfir* fighter when it was revealed that Israeli agents stole the blueprints from the French *Mirage* jet fighter manufacturer in Zurich, Switzerland. Ultimately, the *Kfir* was modified and is one of the largest export items today, yielding \$6 million per plane.

Other companies were formed under French tutelage, such as Tadiran (1961) an electronics firm, and Tropomica (July, 1967, one month after the June war) which later became the well known Bet Shemesh Engines company, manufacturers of generators and engines essential for the development of combat airplanes. After the 1967 war, the arms industry began to hold its own. 100 *Kfir* jets were manufactured that year. French and German sponsorship was gradually replaced by the US. Although as of 1979 the West German Krupp company owned 50% of the Koor complex and Tropomica owned 50% of Bet Shemesh, US investments composed 60% of the electronics industry, and the Hughes Company (founded by millionaire Howard Hughes) owns many shares in Tadiran. By 1973, Israeli industry provided 90% of the ammunition and explosives, 85% of the electronics equipment and 50% of the communications systems for its military.

However, the US still provided essential components such as the J-79 engine parts used in *Kfir*'s and F-15's, made by General Electric, an American company. ('Israel' is developing a new engine based on the J-79 in

an attempt to become independent of General Electric.) At times, reliance on American-made components has complicated the arms trade business for 'Israel'. Part of the US military aid packages for 'Israel' include "no-forwarding" clauses, whereby Israeli sale of arms and military equipment is subject to veto if the equipment contains US-made components. The impact of such clauses is sometimes evident, as when the US vetoed the sale of 24 *Kfir* to Ecuador last year. However, the Israeli Finance Minister has proposed compensation for this restriction by requesting that US arms manufacturers "make reciprocal purchases of *Israeli products* in return for Israel's armaments acquisitions in the US" (*Jerusalem Post*, August 21, 1980, our italics). Also, the US uses 'Israel' as a 'go-between' for arms to third countries. This is the case with Israeli trade to South Africa, where US arms are supplied to the internationally boycotted apartheid regime through 'Israel'. Also, 'Israel' has been given full opportunity to bid for defense contracts on a par with the US. This maneuver has helped the US save face in exporting arms to diplomatically sensitive countries, such as Taiwan. The US handed 'Israel' a deal for 60 *Kfir* jets to Taiwan last year, so that it could avoid confrontation with China.

The arms industry has helped to develop the Israeli economy by realizing a 44% year-to-year profit from 1973-1978. The major companies today are Koor industries, IAI and the Defense Ministry which account for 90% of the arms export. As *Business Week* magazine reports, "exports are the key to the Israeli defense industry's remarkable success" (*Business Week*, April 2, 1979). To promote their products, one Koor executive vice-president proclaimed: "Israel has a great

advantage in selling since all its systems are battle-tested." Some of the fastest moving items sold by these companies are *Gabriel* missiles (the largest selling export, used in the 1973 war, and accounting for 350 million dollars in sales), *Shafir* missiles (sea to land), *Arava*. STOL transport aircraft, *Dvora* patrol boats, radar and advanced communications systems, and the most well-known, the *Uzi* submachine-guns, the *Galil* assault rifle and the *Doaror* guns. Two recent developments in the arms field are the *Merkava* tank and the future *Lavie* ('lion' in Hebrew) fighter-bomber aircraft. These two new items are considered crucial for the continued success of the arms export business in the Zionist state.

There has been a drastic increase in Israeli arms export since 1973. In 1979, 20% of all exports were arms. The figures for arms deals are kept secret by the "unholy alliance" partners, so accurate accounting is impossible. However, since *Kfir* sales alone account for \$300 million dollars in sales, the figure is surely much higher. The chart below shows the growth of arms exports from 'Israel' since 1967.

YEAR	EXPORTS OF ARMS*
1967	\$10 million
1976	\$320 million
1977	\$450 million
1979	\$750 million
1980	\$1 billion

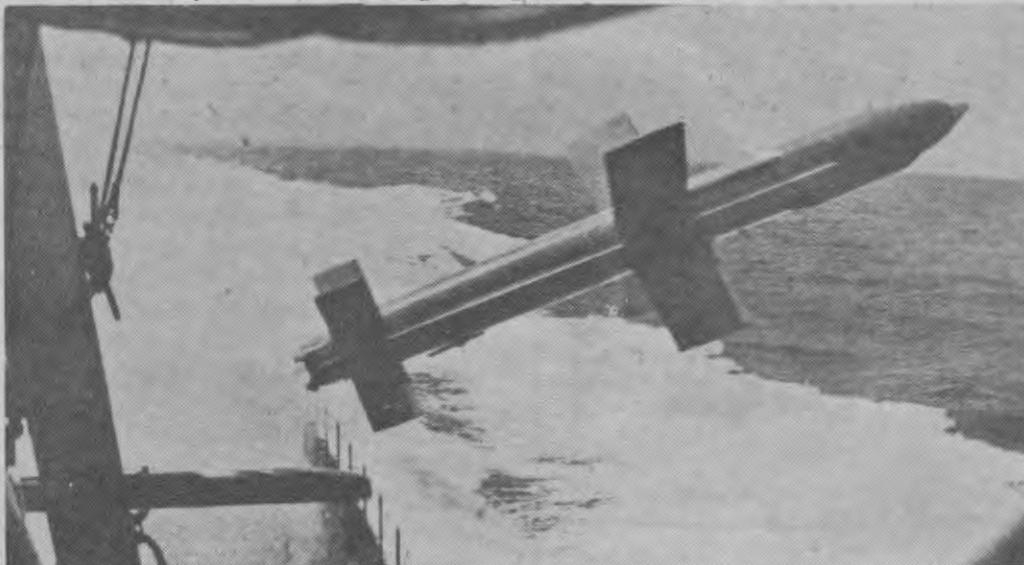
Trade relations

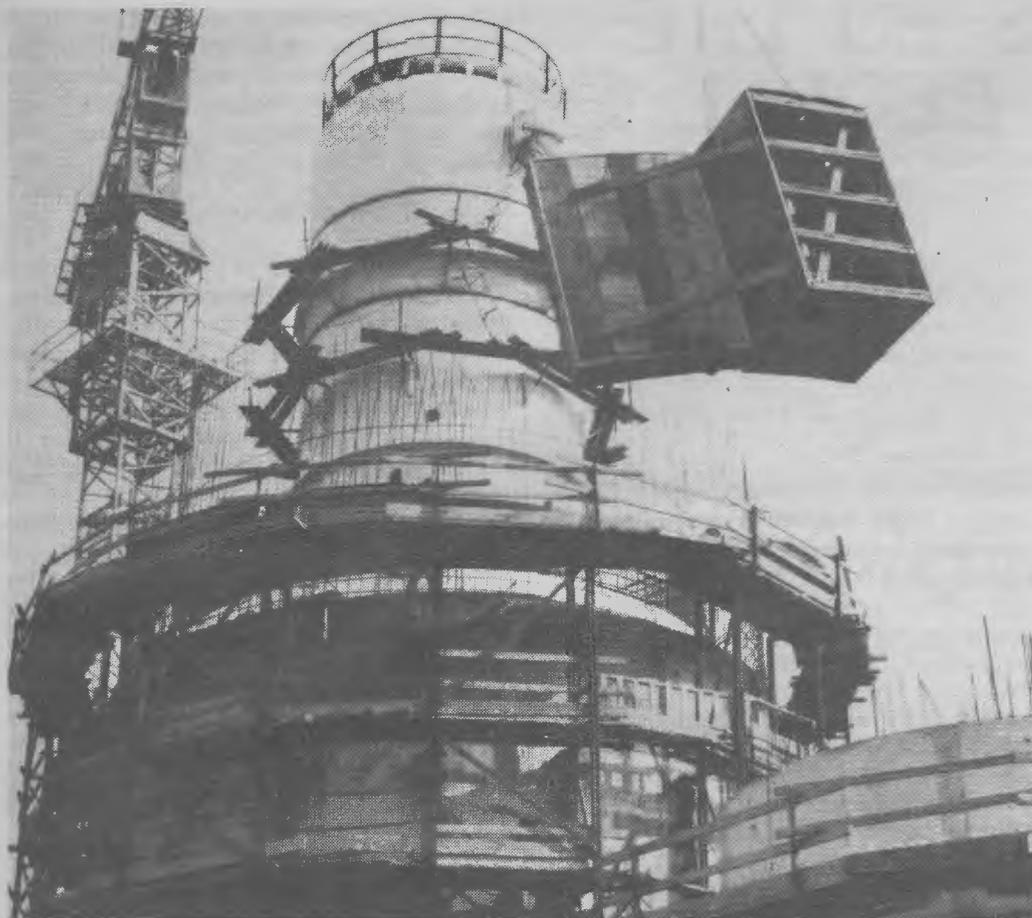
The arms trade between 'Israel', South Africa and Latin America (especially Chile, Argentina and the dictatorships in Central America) has a common base. All of these regimes were established – and continue to be maintained – through military force. They suffer from various degrees of diplomatic isolation. Therefore, they tend to do business together. Referring to 'Israel', one South African diplomat said so succinctly, "Both nations find themselves as pariahs, so it becomes expedient for pariahs to trade with each other."

The strength of relations between South Africa and 'Israel' goes beyond political or economic ties. Both are racist settler-colonial regimes, sharing many of the same characteristics. (We have dealt with these connections in Bulletin No. 36-37 and will therefore not attempt to go into detail here.²)

The South African economy is built on foreign capital investment and has very similar characteristics to the so-called "Brazilian Miracle" economy or the "Chicago Plan" for Chile. Some of the

Gabriel missile – updated models are being used against the Salvadorean Revolution





Israeli nuclear plant near Tel Aviv; the Dimona reactor was designed in the fifties with the help of France, that is now building two commercial reactors in South Africa.

world's richest mineral resources can be found in the southern hemisphere within the southern cones of the continents of Latin America and Africa. Currently these resources are monopolized by foreign companies, the profits of which are extracted or benefit the local ruling elites. Because of similar economic concerns, South Africa has proposed (with the helping hand of Washington think-tank advisors) a strategic alliance with the Latin American dictatorships. This alliance would serve to 'protect' the transnational foreign investments in these countries. The plan would be called the South Atlantic Treaty Organization, SATO, and would be patterned after its predecessor, NATO. This alliance still does not exist, but increasingly frequent visits and diplomatic shuttling across the ocean seem to indicate that the plan is cooking.

Taking into consideration the nature of the NATO alliance, and the proliferation of arms it has caused throughout Europe, it is not unrealistic to expect further arms build-up in the southern hemisphere, based on trade between 'Israel', South Africa and Latin America. In addition, the US foreign policy makers look favorably on this proposed alliance. There have been reports that joint Israeli and South African atomic

weapons testing ventures will take place in the US Nevada desert. US global military strategy would benefit if it could control two neatly packaged alliances, NATO and SATO, by giving major power holders concessions such as offered 'Israel' and South Africa.

Latin America is increasingly becoming the largest market for Israeli arms. Since 1973, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and pre-revolutionary Nicaragua bought arms almost exclusively from 'Israel'. This trade switch from Africa to Latin America is due to two main factors; 1) the increasing success of the national liberation movements in Africa and 2) the diplomatic isolation of 'Israel' by Black Africa after 1973. A recent study from Hebrew University stated, "It is estimated that about one-half of Israel's total military exports are now sold in Latin America" (*Financial Times*, September 12, 1980). Customers for the counter-insurgency aircraft *Arava* include Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. Since the US has recently lifted the veto of *Kfir* sales to Latin America, Colombia has sought bids from 'Israel' for the fighter-bombers and Bolivia is reportedly considering the purchase of 24 *Kfirs* since the military coup in July, 1980. 'Israel' provides counter-insurgency advisors

to Guatemala who train army and police personnel in 'interrogation techniques.' Thousands of *Galil* assault rifles, made in 'Israel', were captured from the enemy by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. Brazil, Argentina, and Chile head the list of arms dealers with 'Israel' and South Africa. One Chilean airforce commander described military relations with racist South Africa as "excellent".

In El Salvador, revolutionaries have reported that Israeli patrol boats are being used by government troops, and Israeli advisors have been reported as present in the battle areas. Zionist links with US imperialism have been soldered in the arms connection that has reached across continents.

Beyond the arms trade

World condemnation of the apartheid regime, repressive Latin American dictatorships and Zionist occupation have been initiated as moral stands against the racist, reactionary and repressive nature of imperialism. But the heavy military hand of imperialism does not disappear so easily. It is felt on a global scale. The connections between like-minded imperialists are not only through the sale and transfer of arms and military equipment. The trade in technology, agricultural expertise, resources, cultural and diplomatic relations are all included in the bonds of imperialist relationships. Each of these areas should be tackled by the progressive forces combating imperialism. Above all, the armed struggle is necessary to protect and defend the revolutionary forces from the military might of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The recent defeats and crises for imperialism have led to a renewal of its openly aggressive policy. Thus, imperialism is relying more — and not less — on the Israeli and South African military strongholds, and on the Latin American dictatorships. Parallel to this, the cooperation within this triangle increases. This reemphasizes the necessity of cooperation between the revolutionary forces on a global scale. Only through reinforced international solidarity can the forces challenging imperialism and its local allies be victorious.

* Source: Abu Al Namil Hussein, *Israeli Industry*, 1979, p.170 (Arabic source).

1 See *The Arms Bazaar* by Anthony Sampson, Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1977, for more information on this subject.

2 See General Union of Palestinian Women reprint, "South Africa, Zionism, and Israel: Smuts and Weizmann." *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. III. No. 1 Autumn 1973.

GREETINGS TO THE IRANIAN PEOPLE

February 12, 1981

Imam Ayatollah Khomeini
President of the Iranian Islamic Republic
Abu El Hassan Bani Sadr

On behalf of the Central Committee, militants and cadres of the PFLP, I extend to the victorious Iranian people our most sincere and warm congratulations on the second anniversary of your revolution.

The great victory of the Iranian masses who toppled the Shah's regime, an imperialist bastion in the area, has constituted strong support for the struggling forces in the world who are confronting imperialism and its local agents. Your revolution is a great victory for the Palestinian people in particular, whose struggle against the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary enemy has been strongly reinforced.

Two years after your heroic victory, the Iranian Revolution is facing great dangers. These dangers are both internal and external, from the Shah's remaining agents, and imperialism and its local agents. The Iraqi regime's aggression against Iran is manipulated by and for the benefit of imperialism, with the aim of reversing the Revolution and returning Iran to imperialist hegemony.

The great dangers currently facing Iran require the resolving of all secondary contradictions for the purpose of achieving unity between all the patriotic, progressive and democratic forces, in order to steadfastly confront the primary enemies — imperialism, Zionism, and reaction. This involves democratic freedoms for the masses and their representative parties and organizations.

The unity and support of the national liberation movements, patriotic and progressive forces throughout the world and their friends and allies, the socialist countries, is a prerequisite for the defeat of the imperialist conspiracies.

We are confident that the Iranian masses, who continue to defend the Revolution and their democratic rights, are capable of foiling all conspiracies, and are capable of lifting Iran to its natural role alongside the forces of progress, democracy and liberation in the world.

The Palestinian and Iranian masses are confronting a common enemy: imperialism,

Zionism and reaction. The victory of the Iranian Revolution has strengthened the Palestinian Resistance's stand against the Camp David conspiracy and all its ramifications. The heroic uprisings of the Palestinian people in the occupied land have foiled the implementation of the 'autonomy' plot, while the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, with the support of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, continue to confront the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary conspiracies.

We have confidence in the steadfastness of our masses, and their determination to continue the struggle until the establishment of a democratic Palestine. We also base our belief in the inevitability of our victory on the strong support of our allies, the forces of freedom, peace and progress in the world.

Once again we extend to you and the Iranian masses our sincere congratulations on the second anniversary of the victorious Revolution.

Long live the Iranian Revolution!
Long live the solidarity between the Palestinian and Iranian people!
Down with imperialism, Zionism and reaction!

Dr. George Habash
General Secretary
of the PFLP





26TH CPSU CONGRESS

On the occasion of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade George Habash sent a message of solidarity to the Soviet leadership, emphasizing the following:

"The period of time between the 25th Congress and the current one has been filled with great achievements on the economic, social, political, cultural and organizational levels. These gains have helped pave the way for transforming your country into a communist society..."

"The policies of your great Leninist Party have played a major role in determining the course of international developments, reinforcing the

socio-economic transformation taking place in many countries and hastening the victory of many national liberation movements..."

"The PFLP is confident that the alliance and solidarity of the revolutionary forces in the world, headed by the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union and your great party, will be able to achieve the goals and aspirations of the people for peace, progress and socialism."

1981 is the year of definitive victory for the Salvadorean people

In early February, a comrade from the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation in El Salvador (FMLN) visited Lebanon on the invitation of the PFLP. The following interview, which deals with the current situation in El Salvador, was conducted by the Bulletin staff.

What are some of the qualities of the unity that has been achieved by the revolu-

tionary forces during this stage of the Salvadorean Revolution?

Presently in El Salvador, we have achieved a high level of unity, which is a qualitative step forward for the struggle of the Salvadorean masses. This is a unity built on principles that will guide the people toward victory. After taking power, this unity will guide the masses through the necessary stages to reach development,

guaranteeing peace and democracy. This unity comes from the base, and will build a more humane and just society in which the Salvadorean people can realize all of their aspirations. This unity is not only in name. It is constitutionally part of the FMLN, the political-military vanguard for the whole revolutionary process in El Salvador.

The FMLN consists of five political-military organizations. Also, the Democratic



Revolutionary Front (FDR) binds together all the revolutionary, progressive and democratic mass organizations, as well as a few other institutions such as the National University of El Salvador, the Catholic University, the Federation of Small Businessmen (FENAPES) and the Association of Bus Companies (AIAS). The Church is an observer in the FDR. The FDR recognizes the FMLN as the vanguard of the revolution. The FMLN and the FDR have one single governmental platform, which is for a democratic, revolutionary government. In this stage of the revolution, these two groups have one strategy: people war. To carry out this plan, they have agreed to form one, united government and four zones of confrontation in the war. The zones are: the western front, the central front, a strategic second front in the central area, and the eastern front. The revolutionary directorate of the FMLN and the executive committee of the FDR have jointly appointed a political-diplomatic commission. This commission is strengthening ties on the international level for support for our revolutionary process. The decisions made from the base up, in the interests of the people, and with pluralistic participation, will provide the framework for the democratic revolutionary government in El Salvador.

How do you view the formation of the new government? What will be its principle interests, functions and goals?

In a short time, a new democratic revolutionary government will be formed, arising from the historical, political and military process in El Salvador. It will have the character of an armed government and its capital will be inside liberated Salvadorean territory. The principle functions of the government will be to carry out the political programmatic platform of the democratic revolutionary forces. The basic points of the program are:

- 1) A new country of El Salvador will be constituted, sovereign, free and independent.
- 2) The conditions of underdevelopment left by the oligarchy and imperialism demand that we develop the small and medium sized businesses.
- 3) On the international level, our government will follow the policies of the non-aligned movement and will seek diplomatic relations with all countries who love liberty, democracy and peace. Our diplomatic relations will be on the basis of sovereignty and respect for self-determination.
- 4) Given the conditions of corruption and the role of counter-revolution and



repression that the present government has used against the Salvadorean people, we will dissolve the present army and create a new one. This genuine peoples army will be constructed on the basis of the present revolutionary fighters. Those loyal class elements from the troops that want to participate in the new army under the orders of the new government, and who are willing to struggle on an equal basis with our fighters, will have the opportunity.

What current signs of imperialist intervention are there in El Salvador, and what perspective do you have of the 'Vietnamization' of Central America?

Imperialist intervention is a reality in our country. There is intervention-politically, economically, and in military aid, advisors and arms. The most sophisticated arms manufactured by imperialism and Zionism are in the hands of the assassins of the Salvadorean people. They are trying to contain the victory of the revolutionary movement with these weapons. However, the threat of direct military intervention by Yankee marines continues to grow. We believe that imperialism is predisposed to carry out this intervention. But the show of troops from the military dictatorships in Guatemala and Honduras didn't have major effects due to the fact that our fighters were able to repel them and prevent them from entering liberated Salvadorean territory. However, we believe that if imperialism tries to intervene directly with its marines or by reactionary Guatemalan and Honduran troops, both imperialism and those who support its ventures will be sorry. The political, military, economic, and human costs will be high. The Salvadorean people are not ready to bury their history, and we will do everything to defend it. Also, the signs that

other Central American people will respond with combativeness and dignity to an imperialist invasion are evident. The revolutionary movement in Guatemala is very developed, and solidarity with the Salvadorean people is very strong in Honduras. Historically Central America is considered one area, and it is advancing toward liberty, slowly but surely. Taking this into consideration, if imperialism intervenes (directly), it will be defeated and not only will the Salvadorean people achieve freedom, but so will all of Central America.

As for Israeli participation in the war... Salvadorean troops have received training in 'Israel' and Israeli advisors are present in El Salvador, carrying out damaging operations against the Salvadorean people. The Israelis have given combat planes to the government forces, but mostly we see the coastal patrol boats given by the Zionist state, which are used to launch bombardments on the people who live along the coast. These attacks are intended to restrict the insurrection of the masses in these areas.

What are the implications of the Salvadorean Revolution for the intensified struggle in Guatemala, Central America and Latin America in general?

I would like to begin this answer by saying that Latin America is pregnant and very soon it will give birth to a new revolutionary and free Latin America. Really, North American imperialism has made Latin America into its private property. It has used Latin America as the source of wealth, used it to make arms with which it continues its domination. But the Latin Americans understand perfectly well that this situation cannot continue. They have taken up the struggle to oust imperialism from the area, and to crush the lackey governments, and

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local oligarchies in each country, that defend imperialism's interests.

In the case of Central America, we have the brilliant revolutionary example of Nicaragua, that overthrew one of the worst dynasties and dictatorships in all of Latin America — that of Somoza.

The struggle in El Salvador is very advanced; the same in Guatemala, and Honduras is developing quickly. This is not coincidental, but is a response to the imperialist and oligarchic design of domination in all of these countries. This generalized uprising corresponds to the minimum standards of living, education, health and employment that the people suffer. The struggle reflects the historical necessity of the Central American people gaining their freedom and unity. It's true that Central America is divided into several countries, but this is due to the voracity of imperialist and oligarchic interests. Very soon Central America will be one revolutionary entity.

The intensification of the struggle in Guatemala now has the same significance that the intensification of the struggle in El Salvador had when Nicaragua was on the verge of liberation. This example will continue in Central America. Events in El Salvador will have serious repercussions not only because a defeat for imperialism is in store, but also because it shows the people the way to obtain their just goals.

How do you view the process of the general offensive taking place in El Salvador?

The decomposition of the Salvadorean regime in all of its aspects — its lack of political support from the masses, the economic and governmental corruption, the inability of the government to solve the smallest problems, and the massive repression — gave rise to the increased development of the revolutionary movement. At the end of December (1980), the conditions were ripe for the masses to launch an offensive toward the final take-over of power. The general offensive that began on January 10, 1981, was visualized as taking place in stages. The stages will become more profound, broad and destructive to the enemy. The general offensive includes the call for the revolutionary armed forces to liquidate the counter-revolutionary forces, the call for the mass insurrection of the Salvadorean people, taking cities in conjunction with the revolutionary forces, crushing the power of the local enemy and constructing the new revolutionary power in its place. It includes the political participation of all sectors by means of the general strike. The general

strike is the final blow to put an end to the dictatorship.

The 10th of January was the first stage, which has had many successes in all the areas of the revolutionary movement. We are stronger than before, and the enemy is weaker, but not in arms. We know that imperialism immediately supplies the enemy, but their morale is very low. The fact is, they are paid assassins and we are fighters with convictions and consciousness, and we are convinced that revolutionary violence is the only way to achieve what is rightfully ours. Shortly, the second stage of the general offensive will take place. We will be more prepared technically, morale-wise, and logistically. This stage will have more dimensions, and it may be definitive. If we

do not achieve victory in this stage, there will be a third. However, it doesn't go beyond that. We view a general offensive in stages, but over a relatively short period of time. 1981 is the year of definitive victory for the Salvadorean people, and we will make every effort to achieve liberation in the early part of the year.

In closing, I would like to request all peace and freedom loving people to support us in our right to self-determination by condemning North American imperialist intervention, direct or by the regimes in Guatemala and Honduras. We also call for recognition of the future democratic, revolutionary government in the liberated territory of El Salvador.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

On an invitation of the PFLP, a delegation from the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation of El Salvador — FMLN — visited Lebanon. During the visit the delegation met with other organizations of the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, who fully explained the struggle that the Lebanese and Palestinian people are carrying out for their total liberation.

After closely analyzing the process of liberation that the heroic masses in El Salvador and Palestine are carrying out in the common struggle against US imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and after visits by the Salvadorean delegation to mass institutions of the Palestinian Resistance in South Lebanon, the FMLN and the PFLP together declared:

1. Fraternal salutes of solidarity to all peoples and governments in the world that are struggling for peace, democracy and freedom, and especially to the Palestinian and Salvadorean people.
2. Firm recognition and solidarity with the FMLN and the PLO as the vanguards and legitimate representatives of their respective peoples struggling for liberation.
3. Salutes to the Lebanese masses and their vanguard, the Lebanese Patriotic Movement (LPM) and the cooperation between the LPM and the Palestinian Revolution in confronting the Israeli and fascist plans and protecting the sovereignty of Lebanon, its Arab character, its democratic development, and the existence of the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon.
4. Repudiation and condemnation of US imperialism's disregard for the right of self-determination.

5. Condemnation of the North American imperialist intervention, whether direct or through the reactionary dictatorships in Guatemala and Honduras, that aims to snatch victory away from the Salvadorean people.

6. Firm support for the struggle of the Palestinian masses under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. Support to the struggle to liberate the Palestinian homeland and establish a sovereign and independent state. Both parties condemned the Camp David accords which aim to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution as well as the entire Arab national movement in order to impose total imperialist domination in the Arab world, due to its resources, especially oil, its markets and strategic position. They also condemned the imperialist-Zionist maneuvers to replace the PLO with others who are intent on representing the Palestinian people, i.e. the Jordanian option. They saluted the struggle of the masses in the occupied territories in their steadfast confrontation against the enemy and its colonial projects, in particular the 'autonomy' plan.

7. Agreement to expand the friendly ties between the FMLN and the PFLP.

8. Finally, they called on all peoples and governments who love peace, democracy and freedom to show their solidarity with the heroic struggles of the Salvadorean and Palestinian peoples.

War Against Imperialism and Zionism!
Death to the Salvadorean Dictatorship!
Long Live the friendship between the Salvadorean and Palestinian people!



PFLP SPANISH BULLETIN

The PFLP will soon be publishing a bulletin in Spanish. We hope to issue this bulletin three times per year. If you are interested in receiving the Spanish Bulletin, *El Boletín del FPLP* please send your name, address and the number of copies that you want to:

International Relations Committee
P.O.Box 14/5024, Cornish Al Mazraah
Beirut, Lebanon