

PFLP

CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT

The PFLP's Central Committee was convened in the first part of February to discuss the most outstanding political developments on the international, Arab and Palestinian level. The political report adopted at this meeting covers the time period since the Front's 4th congress in April 1981. The following is a summary of this report.

INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

US aggressive policy escalated

Capitalism's worsening crisis on the one hand, and the progress made by the socialist community, the national liberation movements and other popular struggles on the other, have impacted on the practice of imperialism. The result is an escalation of imperialism's aggressiveness as is seen in its policies aiming to halt the historical process and strike the people's achievements in those countries which have gained independence. These practices have confronted the world and humanity with the danger of destruction and war.

The escalation of imperialism's aggressiveness is exhibited in many forms: the production of the neutron bomb, the new policy of war based on increasing the production of long-range missiles, strategic nuclear submarines, and deploying missiles with nuclear warheads in Europe. Hence, the discussion of a "limited" nuclear war.

The USA has demonstrated this aggressive policy in the most barbaric forms possible throughout the world. Under Reagan, the American administration has made strong efforts to strike the national liberation movement in El Salvador by sending expertise and arms to save the dictatorship. Likewise in Guatemala, US imperialism is supporting a dictatorial regime in order to stop the spread of the liberation movement.

The US has continued its threats against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada under the pretext of their support to the liberation movements in Latin America. Furthermore, the US enacted a type of bacterial war against Cuba and prohibited the country from purchasing medicines.

The US has supported and encouraged the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, intervened in the country's internal affairs and imposed sanctions, after taking other measures which it claimed were to save Poland from anarchy.

In the Middle East, US imperialism maintains its support to the Zionist entity and all its aggressions. Besides giving economic and military aid, the US enacted a qualitative step forward in its aggression against the Arab liberation movement by signing the strategic military cooperation agreement with this racist entity. Moreover, the US violated the territorial waters of Libya, thus using direct military intervention as part of its continuous threats to overthrow the regime. The US also extended protection and support to the reactionary regimes in Egypt, Sudan, Oman and Somalia, thus escalating its aggression against the liberation movements and people of these countries. Military bases have been established and maneuvers, such as Operation Bright Star were carried out after the formation of the Rapid Deployment Force with the intent of striking the liberation movements and protecting the reactionary regimes in the area.

The US sent a large shipment of arms and crews of CIA officers to support the monarchy of Hassan II against POLISARIO and the

popular movement in Morocco. Saudi Arabia is being supplied with all sorts of arms for repression and espionage. Saudi Arabia has also been encouraged to form reactionary groupings, such as the Gulf Cooperation Council, in order to protect these regimes.

These aggressive practices also encompass military support to the reactionary regime in Pakistan, with Saudi Arabia as the intermediary, and to the counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan in an attempt to destroy the Afghani people's achievements and bring an end to their progressive government. The imperialist policy also encourages the Chinese leadership to launch offensives against Vietnam and Kampuchea, and to provoke conflicts with the Soviet Union.

In Africa, US imperialism is extending support to the racist regime in South Africa, ending the superficial boycott previously imposed; thus, it supported South African aggression against Angola, Mozambique, the Seychelles and the national liberation movements.

All revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces have responded decisively to US imperialism's escalated aggression. In Cuba, we see unparalleled mass support for the socialist government and the masses' readiness to confront any form of imperialist aggression. The liberation movements in El Salvador, Guatemala, Columbia and other countries of Latin America are waging a counter offensive and are gaining forward bases in confronting the dictatorships.

In Europe, opposition to US policies is increasing, and in Poland, the socialist government is moving out of its crisis.

In the Middle East and Arab region, the intensity of patriotic and progressive confrontation is increasing against the reactionary agents of US imperialism. The mass movement in Morocco, Sudan, Somalia and the Arab Peninsula and Gulf has broadened, while POLISARIO has scored an increasing number of victories.

The attacks of South Africa did not reap the gains anticipated, but on the contrary were met by steadfastness in Angola, Mozambique and the Seychelles. They also elicited international condemnation.

The aggressive US policies are being faced by a determined policy on the part of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, rejecting the provocations being made under the banner of cold war and nuclear war.

Poland —

A blow dealt to imperialist hopes

The Polish government has clarified its official position vis-a-vis the counterrevolutionary forces and the necessity of facing the problems with determination. This was seen in the declaration of an emergency situation and the formation of a military council for national salvation in order to retrieve Poland from the state of chaos and liberalism into which it had fallen as a result of the CIA conspiracies, instigating extremist elements and the counterrevolutionary forces of Solidarity.

However, there remains the necessity of really striking at the counterrevolutionary forces and putting an end to the possibility of future threats to Poland. By taking control of the situation, the Polish authorities surprised the counterrevolutionary forces and started the process of uprooting them. However, we should be aware of the difficulties involved in this task. These difficulties are a result of the authorities' neglect of the laws of socialist transformation: spreading socialist culture among the masses and implementing socialist relations in the rural areas.

Chief among the factors which led to the Polish crisis are:

- the broad influence of the church
- the presence of chauvinist attitudes among broad sectors of the population
- the fact that 70% of agricultural land is under private ownership
- the corruption which has been widespread in the leadership ranks of the United Polish Labor Party
- the great debts which Poland owes the capitalist countries

The ability of Poland to overcome its crisis depends on a number of conditions, primarily the application of the laws of the transition period to socialism; striking the private sector in agriculture; following an economic policy that is not dependent on imperialist loans, but instead increases coordination with the CMEA, in order to rescue Poland from the economic crisis to which past policies have led; purging the party and rebuilding it on a Leninist foundation.

Imperialism had high hopes concerning the situation in Poland, but the latest measures taken by the Polish authorities were a big blow to these dreams.

Iran -

The Islamic Republican Party's appropriation of the authority

In addition to the continuation of the aggressive Iraqi war against the Iranian Revolution, the other most prominent development is the open participation of the reactionary Jordanian regime on the side of Iraq. This was done with the blessing and support of imperialism and Arab reaction, the Gulf states in particular and especially Saudi Arabia. This matter is strongly condemned by the PFLP.

The other prominent development concerning Iran is the Islamic Republican Party's exclusive authority, without the participation of the other forces that struggled for the downfall of the Shah. There is no doubt that the appropriation of authority by the Islamic Republican Party, especially in this period, and the party's opposition to the other anti-imperialist forces will have a negative effect upon Iran's ability to stand firm against imperialist pressures and internal conspiracies. The party's refusal to let other forces share in the power was a basic factor in the escalation of violent clashes between the patriotic forces in Iran, which adversely affected the consolidation of the internal front. In addition, there is the Iranian leadership's incorrect position on the national question.

Europe -

The class nature of the state is not changed by Social Democratic parties coming to power.

There are differences between the policies of the French Socialist Party and the relatively positive policies of the Greek Socialist Movement with respect to our cause and current international questions. The Greek Socialist Movement has taken a positive stand with respect to the Palestinian cause; Greece was the first nation (in NATO) to receive the head of the PLO Executive Committee officially and to open a diplomatic office for the PLO. Moreover, it has opposed the measures being taken against the Soviet Union and

Poland. Greece has also demanded the removal of American bases from its land.

Despite this, it is our view that this does not constitute a radical change in the class nature of these states. Rather it is an expression of the inability of the ruling classes to continue to govern using the old methods, due to the mass protest and the mass desire to change the (former) governments. This situation will increase the extent and depth of the contradictions between the countries in the imperialist camp. We are referring to contradictions such as those provoked by the policies of the Reagan Administration in various fields. This weakens the unity of the imperialist camp and lessens its ability to maneuver. This is evidenced by the atmosphere of opposition and discontent which prevails due to the economic and military policies of Reagan's administration with regard to Europe. Another evidence is to be seen in the conflict which arose from the US intention to take measures against the Soviet Union after the declaration of an emergency situation by the Polish government. The differences between Greece on the one hand and the other European countries, NATO and especially the US on the other, concerning Greece's membership in NATO and the American bases in Greece, is perhaps the most prominent example of the nature of the intrainperialist conflict.

ARAB LEVEL

Intensification of imperialist aggression in the region

US imperialism has continued its aggressive political and military policies throughout the recent months in an attempt to rearrange the situation in the region to suit its interests and plans and to guarantee the Camp David agreements. As yet, US imperialism is unable to implement Camp David in full, especially on the Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian fronts. However, all maneuvers and developments indicate that there are continuous efforts to realize this goal, using all methods.

On the political level, the most important and dangerous maneuver in this period is the Fahd initiative. On the military level, the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement were faced with the July offensive and the series of explosions enacted by the Deuxieme Bureau in coordination with the Phalangists, the agents of imperialism and the Zionist entity. These aggressions are not only aimed at the Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement; Syria is still subject to subversive actions, assassinations and attempts to disrupt its internal security; local reaction, supported by imperialism and Zionism, is responsible for this.

In addition, US imperialism launched a hysterical campaign against the Libyan Jamahiriya, terming it a "center for international terrorism". Reagan declared that a Libyan hit squad was sent specially to kill him and other officials. Moreover, the US engaged in an aggressive propaganda campaign against Libyan military presence in Chad. In view of the internal situation in Chad and the joint American, French and European campaign against Libya, the latter was obliged to withdraw from Chad. US imperialism crowned the above aggression by direct military attack, shooting down two Libyan planes over Libya's territorial waters during the Sixth Fleet's maneuvers. This indicates that the US has no qualms about direct military interference in the countries of the region. Imperialism followed up this intervention by calling for all countries to cut all economic and diplomatic relations with Libya; American experts working in Libya were told to leave in an attempt to set back oil production as a first step to encircling Libya economically.

On another level, it seems that the series of political developments and military arrangements, being made by the imperialists, Zionists

and their reactionary agents in Lebanon, all contribute to setting the scene for Lebanon to join Camp David. This is because US imperialism's interest in implementing Camp David is keen in this period.

Secretary of State Haig has stressed the importance of supporting the "legitimate authorities" in Lebanon and of separating the Lebanese crisis from the regional crisis. He also proposed a program for executing a solution to the Lebanese crisis. Philip Habib and Morris Draper also raised the subject of the withdrawal of Palestinian heavy (weaponry) from South Lebanon in order to insure continuation of the ceasefire. Moreover, the Lebanese authorities requested an increase in the number of UNIFIL troops deployed in the South in accordance with the US plans. Haig has spoken very frankly about the necessity of reducing Syrian military presence in Lebanon and expressed hope that the Syrians will cooperate in this matter.

If we take into consideration the Zionist preparations to invade the South, as well as the enemy's intention to increase UNIFIL's zone of operation at the expense of Palestinian armed presence, we can see that the thrust of the US imperialist and Zionist plans is to prepare Lebanon to be the next candidate to join Camp David. Thus, Camp David would gain a new Arab link in its framework.

The embodiment of US imperialism's political efforts in the region are many and varied, yet three are most outstanding: Fahd's initiative, the annexation of the Golan and the strategic cooperation agreement.

Fahd's treacherous initiative

The series of moves during the last period, chiefly the Fahd plan, prove beyond the shadow of a doubt the real position of Arab reaction: verbal opposition on the one hand while at the same time moving towards Camp David, as the only way for these regimes to secure their interests and defend their power.

Fahd's initiative came at a time when it was clear that the Camp David agreements had reached a deadlock; therefore, it was imperative to find a way out, but only on condition that this not differ in essence from Camp David. It is now clear that the essence of Fahd's plan is its seventh clause which very frankly speaks of formal recognition of the Zionist entity. The other seven points, concerning the establishment of a Palestinian state, Jerusalem's return to Arab sovereignty and Zionist withdrawal from all land occupied in 1967, cannot be realized under the present balance of forces; experience has shown that it is the weaker side which makes concessions.

Why does Saudi Arabia propose this plan at this particular time if the means of achieving anything are unattainable in light of the objective realities and the declared Zionist position? Does Saudi Arabia hope to have the seventh clause accepted as a necessary first step to preparing the region to follow Camp David under a new name, i.e. the Fahd initiative? There is no doubt that this is the intent of the Saudis and the other Arab reactionary regimes that supported the Fahd plan.

On two separate occasions when speaking before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Haig has emphasized that for the US the political problem in the Middle East is that the Arab-Zionist conflict still causes divisions in the ranks of "our friends" who would be able to cooperate "with us" and among themselves to face the "Soviet danger" if they can resolve their differences.

There is no doubt that the formulation of the Camp David agreements did cause superficial splits within the ranks of the friends of US imperialism in the region. Thus Fahd's plan, which is not contradictory but complementary to Camp David, is also a formula for putting an end to these superficial splits occurring among the friends of US imperialism.

US imperialism still considers the Camp David agreements as a basic link which resolved part of the Arab-Zionist conflict. However,

seeing that it does not solve the whole problem, the US is looking to Arab reaction to find a formula, complementary to Camp David, which can resolve the remainder of the conflict and which will tie the whole region to imperialist strategy on all levels.

General Haig has stated that the US will miss Sadat's "uncommonly bold and clear views". Imperialism aspires to compensate for the loss of Sadat's "boldness" by continuing to concentrate on the importance of Egypt in the US strategy in the region and on the Saudi link, enhancing the latter's role in leading the other reactionary regimes to Camp David through the Fahd plan proposed in August 1981. This explains the importance accorded this initiative in Europe and the US, as well as Arab reaction's insistence upon this plan even after the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front was able to defeat it at the Fez Summit.

The aims of the Fahd plan can be summarized as follows:

a) to gather Arab reaction around this initiative in order to follow the strategy of Camp David

b) to hold the door open until after April in order to be able to welcome Egypt back (in the Arab ranks), including it among the supporters of the Fahd initiative in order to guarantee the unity of Arab reaction in the broadest possible framework in accordance with US imperialist strategy

c) to affect the stand of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and the Palestinian and Syrian stands in particular, in an attempt to eradicate the political positions taken by these forces after Camp David

d) to undermine the growing relations between the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front countries and the Soviet Union, and to hinder the serious efforts aimed at distinguishing between the progressive, patriotic regimes and the reactionary ones

e) to revive the settlement atmosphere in the Palestinian and Syrian arenas in order to divide the Palestinian forces, weaken Syria's stand and recreate confusion in the ranks of the masses.

When the Fez Summit failed to produce any results, the disappointment of imperialism, Zionism and reaction was commensurate with the great hopes they had harbored concerning the summit. The wave of bombs and assassinations intensified in Lebanon and Syria. The Zionist enemy annexed the Golan Heights, taking advantage of international developments and the failure of the Fez Summit.

The Fahd initiative was at the head of the agenda of the Fez Summit, convened in November 1981, despite the Arab differences which had preceded the summit with respect to the Fahd plan, its clauses, its timing and its being proposed at all. The insistence of Saudi Arabia and other Arab reactionaries on proposing the plan despite the unresolved differences proves that Arab reaction is totally committed to following the path of Camp David under Fahd's banner. It also proves their inability to maintain even verbal commitment to the decisions of the Baghdad Summit.

The adjournment of the summit at its beginning without the achievement of agreement on the plan constituted a real defeat for Saudi Arabia and the reactionaries that supported it. Imperialism also clearly expressed its disappointment. However, the defeat at Fez was not final; the plan was not withdrawn. This initiative remains despite broad mass rejection, despite the rejection of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and Iraq, and despite the reservations of other Arab countries concerning some clauses for one reason or another.

On top of this, when the Zionists issued their decision to annex the Syrian Golan Heights, Saudi Arabia continued to maintain its initiative, drawing attention to its advantages and the necessity of adopting it. Arab reaction did not hesitate at all, even after Zionist intentions were exposed.

How do we explain these developments? The political report of our fourth national congress stressed that the Camp David agreements are the political expression of the overlapping interests of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. It was our analysis that Arab reaction, which opposed Camp David verbally and superficially only, would make its way to Camp David, but probably calling it something else, in order to merge politically, economically and militarily with the Zionist-imperialist alliance, standing against the people of the region and the progressive, socialist forces.

Arab reaction, which opposed the Egyptian regime at the Baghdad Summit and decided to boycott it, was actually supporting this regime. Three states — Sudan, Somalia and Oman — have already aligned with Egypt and broken its isolation. The same regimes participated alongside the Rapid Deployment Force in Operation Bright Star. In other words, the reactionary regimes were divided into those who openly stood with Egypt and those who assumed the traditional position of superficial condemnation at the Baghdad Summit. The aim of the latter regimes was to absorb the masses' response to the Egyptian regime's actions, to abort the Palestinian revolutionary movement and the Arab national liberation movement, to erase the process of polarization between the reactionary and patriotic forces and to undermine the positions of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front.

The insistence of the reactionary regimes on the Fahd initiative proves that their path is the path of Camp David. Moreover, these regimes showed their true colors after Sadat's execution when they called for considering the return of Egypt to the Arab League and the official Arab solidarity, as if the differences were based on Sadat's person and his death had ended these differences. This was despite the fact that Mubarak repeatedly stressed his commitment to Camp David.

In the view of the PFLP Central Committee, it is necessary to constantly be on the alert for and confront any settlement trends and the forces which seek to have their political maneuvers accepted under various banners. We must expose the bourgeois policies that try to depict the advantages of the Fahd plan and almost managed to create confusion and divisions anew among the Palestinian and Arab masses. As much as we are responsible for promoting the level of Palestinian national unity, nevertheless we have a special duty to fight the settlement trend and eradicate the calls for surrender.

The plan of the enemy for striking the Palestinian revolution consists of two parts, one political and one military. During this period in particular, the Fahd plan is the theme of the political plans against the revolution. Thus, the dangers of this conspiracy are no less than the military attacks. This calls for continuous struggle until the Fahd plan is finally buried.

Annexation of the Golan Heights

The Zionist entity knows its position and role exactly: being the forward aggressive base above any other imperialist base in the region. Its task is to protect imperialist interests and other bases for the future, fulfilling US imperialist plans. At the same time, this entity has its own particular expansionist aspirations in order to establish 'Greater Israel' and increase its exploitation of the land, water, labor force and markets of the area. The Zionist entity exploits its usefulness for imperialism to the maximum in order to fulfill its own interests. These do not contradict with imperialist interests except in the sphere of causing some political embarrassment in the United Nations and in the face of world public opinion, including within the imperialist countries. In addition, there is the reaction evoked in the region on the mass level against world imperialism, especially the US,

and its local reactionary agents who are exposed by their friendship and dependency on the US.

The Knesset's decision to annex the Golan Heights, which was occupied by the Zionist entity in 1967, occurred at a time when conditions were beneficial to the enemy on the international and Arab level. Foremost among these conditions were:

1. The broad and unlimited support accorded by the US administration to the Zionist entity in most of its aggressive plans, despite occasional token disapproval of some of these actions; the US veto against the resolution of the majority of Security Council members to impose minimum sanctions against the enemy, aimed at inducing it to retreat from the annexation decision, erased any Zionist doubts and reaffirmed US support to the blatant Israeli aggression.

2. The western European position, which does not go beyond minimal verbal condemnation of Zionist actions; this has been proven by many events, most recently, the voting in the UN over the Golan Heights issue. This position is designed to gain the friendship of Arab countries in order to secure oil and other economic interests, while having minimal effect on the Zionist entity.

3. The Zionist entity chose a time when very sensitive conditions prevailed for the socialist community, the Soviet Union and actually for every communist in the world, due to the Polish crisis. These forces were on alert to confront the possibilities of the situation in Poland after the declaration of an emergency situation. In this volatile situation, with the fierce campaign waged by the imperialist ranks, headed by the US, against Poland and the Soviet Union, Begin left the hospital to introduce the annexation proposal in the Knesset.

4. On the Arab level, the Zionist enemy did not expect Syria to initiate military actions against the annexation decision. In the event Syria should do so, the Israeli leaders expected this to be to their favor, giving them the opportunity to deal a heavy blow to Syria's military forces. This evaluation is affirmed by Iraq's involvement in the protracted war with Iran as well as its sharp contradiction with Syria. Moreover, Syria faces conflicts in Lebanon with the fascists and the regime, especially in view of the approaching presidential elections, all of which is a cause for concern for Syria, leading it to maintain its forces in Lebanon.

The Zionist entity timed the annexation with the approach of its final withdrawal from the Sinai. Despite conviction that the current Egyptian regime is totally committed to Camp David and all its consequences, the Zionists wanted to add a new practical test of its policy towards the Arab regimes that oppose Camp David. In this way, the Zionist leadership sought to achieve one of two goals:

- a) Answering the Zionist voices who have demanded cancellation or postponement of the final withdrawal, especially after Sadat's execution, in order to convince them and Israeli public opinion generally about the withdrawal.

- b) Prolonging, postponing or preventing the final withdrawal in case the Egyptian reaction exceeded the level deemed acceptable, even while acknowledging how hypothetical it was that the regime would go farther than verbal criticism.

The Zionist enemy is fully aware of the real conditions on the Arab level. It knows the aims and positions of the reactionary regimes, whose interests dictate a move towards peace and recognition of the Zionist entity as a prelude to joining the Egyptian regime in the scheme of opposing socialism and the Soviet Union. The move to join the Egyptian regime has been manifest in the Saudi princes' proposals for coexistence with the Zionist entity. The Zionist response to Fahd's plan is the most expressive, showing awareness of the reactionaries' aims. Although the Zionist response to this plan was a violent one in accordance with traditional Zionist arrogance, which has only been increased by Camp David, Begin said in effect that Prince Fahd

and the Saudis know "our address" if they wish to make contacts and negotiate.

5. Internally, the annexation step was intended to serve certain political aims of the Likud. In particular, it was a response to the voices which arose opposing the dismantlement of the settlements in the Sinai and accusing the Likud of giving up "Israeli lands". In addition, it gave the Likud the chance to hit the opposition, i.e., the Labor Party, which faced internal problems when many of its members voted for the annexation. This forced the Labor leadership to freeze their membership for a period for having violated the central party decision.

In the context of these international and regional conditions, 'Israel' took the decision to annex the Golan in full awareness of the fundamental role Syria is playing in confronting the policies of Camp David. The Syrian forces in Lebanon are performing a primary role in preventing the Lebanese authority from responding to Begin's repeated invitations to negotiate and normalize relations, Sadat style. The Syrian regime is supporting the Palestinian revolution in confronting the Zionist plans and limiting the expansion of Saad Haddad's area in the South. Syria plays an important role in preventing the expansion of fascist-isolationist domination, supported by the Lebanese authority, into West Beirut and all Lebanon, which would enable the authority to enter the chain of Camp David as desired by Zionism, imperialism and reaction.

Annexing the Golan Heights in this period is specifically aimed to punish Syria for the role it plays in confronting the imperialist and Zionist plans. Syria's role in foiling the Fez Summit caused the Zionist entity to speed up this step. This is another example of the intertwining of the Zionist role with the political maneuvers and role of Arab reaction.

Thus, we see the decision to annex the Golan Heights as one of the byproducts of Camp David, carrying the concept of Zionist 'security' to this extent. Our position concerning confronting the annexation can be summarized as follows:

1. Any political moves should be initiated by the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front in consultation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community; then contacts can be made with the other Arab countries.

2. A solely political answer is not sufficient. Therefore, Syria must necessarily consider a military response, not by means of waging a sudden all-out war alone, but by means of beginning to wage a protracted people's war.

3. The annexation step should serve as an opportunity for the Syrian regime and Baath Party to work to strengthen the internal front by enhancing the role of the National Front, granting democratic freedoms and firmly confronting the economic sabotage being enacted by many bourgeois sectors, who aim to secure their private interests at the expense of the masses' interests.

4. Syria must also respond to the enemy's step by increased support to the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, and by accelerating its own active role in directing more blows against the plans of the US, the Phalangists, the authorities and the Zionists in Lebanon.

US-Zionist strategic cooperation agreement

The signing of the strategic cooperation agreement demonstrates the very high level of agreement that exists on the common role that American and Zionist forces are playing and will play against the people of the region and their patriotic and progressive organizations. It also reflects the extent to which the Zionist entity is considered a major offensive base, more secure, stable and able to serve imperialist plans than any other.

The freezing of the agreement by the US, as a token protest against the Zionist decision to annex the Golan Heights, and the reaction of the Zionists, considering it cancelled, express the secondary conflicts which are very quickly resolved between the Zionist entity and US imperialism. Haig described the differences arising from the annexation as a "passing cloud"; Shamir, the Zionist Foreign Minister, made a number of statements to the same effect.

It is important to note that the same thing happened between the two parties after the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor: The US froze the delivery of F16s for some weeks, but then the Zionist entity received these planes and additional weapons.

US imperialism has taken a new qualitative step in signing the strategic cooperation agreement without considering the embarrassment this would cause its Arab reactionary allies, who continue anyway to talk of the US's friendship, its role in settling the Middle East crisis and its 'neutrality'.

The Arab national liberation movement

During the imperialist aggression in our region, the Arab national liberation movement confronted these attacks by firmly holding on to their bases and by confronting the enemy parties in many places. Last year's experiences proved that the Arab national liberation movement can be steadfast and can move and act. Moreover, the means available to the movement give it a legitimate reason to believe that it can enact a strategic change from a defensive to an offensive position, and that it can defeat the enemy of the people gradually by an accumulation of daily struggle.

In this report we cannot enumerate all the partial victories achieved; only the most outstanding events will be mentioned:

The execution of the symbol of treachery: Sadat

Sadat's execution is one of the more important events of 1981, due to its close relation to the current of events in the Arab region. After Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem, the Camp David agreements and the state of shock experienced by the Arab people over his visit, there were continuous attempts to 'normalize' the mentality of the people into accepting Sadat's steps as the only reasonable and possible way open to them.

However, despite the means expended to brainwash the Egyptian people, depicting the Camp David agreements in a positive light, unrest grew in their midst and crystallized less than a year after the signing of the agreements. The opposition movement – democratic, progressive and religious forces – began to grow, forcing Sadat to strike it severely one month before he was executed. This execution clearly and tangibly expresses the people's rejection of the agreements and the normalization process; it obliterated the symbol of national treason and expressed a deep belief that coexistence with the Zionist enemy should be rejected and that death is the certain fate of all traitors, no matter how they repress the people and no matter how much effort is exerted to mislead the masses into accepting their treason.

The execution of Sadat was an important event because it constituted a real loss for imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. What distinguished Sadat from other rulers was his extreme daring in dealing with internal and foreign policy. In Sadat and his regime, US imperialism had found a basic lever for establishing imperialist domination in the region. Thus, the loss of Sadat and his regime, that had led events in the direction of Camp David, was a great one.

However, there are more important issues: Has Sadat's execution led to a difference in the trend of rule in Egypt? or has the regime continued steadily in the same trend? Has imperialism shown more or less interest in furthering Camp David after Sadat's death?

Everything indicates that the 'new' regime continues to uphold Camp David and is equally enthusiastic about continuing this trend to the very end. Moreover, it is exerting great efforts to generalize this trend in the region.

The political report of the fourth national congress explained clearly and in depth that the Camp David trend is not that of an individual. Sadat was only the chief representative of a ruling class which found in Camp David a way to fulfill its interests, which overlap with the interests of imperialism and Zionism. The political statements made by Mubarak since he assumed power clearly express the economic basis of the Camp David agreements. Scores of statements issued by Egyptian officials at various levels confirm commitment to Camp David and stress that whatever can happen in terms of Arab solidarity will be tied to the Camp David agreements and consolidating them.

To show good will towards the Zionist entity, Mubarak stressed that Egypt will not fight alongside Syria and will not at any time fight 'Israel'. At the same time, Mubarak is trying to absorb the patriotic Egyptian forces, especially the representatives of the patriotic bourgeoisie and the liberals in this movement, in order to broaden his political base. With this aim, he took a number of measures designed to improve his image in their eyes. It is the responsibility of the patriotic forces, and especially the truly progressive ones, to be on guard for these tricks.

With regard to 'autonomy' and what has been said about differences between the Egyptian and Zionist points of view, our estimation is that these differences will not reach a level which threatens Camp David. By pretending to take a firmer position and to have a special understanding of 'autonomy', Mubarak's regime is trying to commit Zionism to applying the agreements made by both parties with regard to the Palestinian level, which from the Egyptian regime's point of view should lead to self-determination and a kind of Palestinian entity, seemingly independent from the Zionist entity.

Having met criticism that the Camp David agreements do not remedy the Palestinian question, which is considered the core of the Middle East crisis, the Egyptian regime is still trying to apply its understanding of Camp David with respect to the Palestinian question, so as to defend these agreements on the Arab level and internationally. The regime also tries to have 'autonomy' apply to the land as well as the people and to assign greater powers to the administrative council which is to be elected, including power in security matters.

However, negotiations between the two parties with the participation of the US have made it clear that the Zionist enemy avoids committing itself to the minimum conditions laid down in the Camp David agreements. Every time the meetings have been adjourned so that pressure might be applied, the Egyptian regime has resumed the meetings only to make concessions itself. In the light of this, we expect that in its attempts to avoid the Zionist pressure aiming at full Egyptian surrender to the Zionist point of view, the Egyptian regime will come up against the intransigence of the Zionist enemy; this will lead the regime to make more concessions, one after another, without Zionist intransigence endangering the Camp David agreements.

The question which elicits much debate in political circles is: Will the Zionist enemy withdraw from the last third of the Sinai at the appointed time, or will it create obstacles that excuse it from carrying out the agreements made?

This question arises from previous positions and actions of Zionism. In reality, matters were planned by the Zionists so as to apply pressure on Egypt, blackmailing it into total surrender to the Zionist conditions, especially with respect to the sections of the agreement dealing with the Palestinians. A great fuss has been made about the removal of settlers from Yamit settlement. It has been

reported that some Israeli ministers encouraged the settlers not to move, and that they propose the possibility of cancelling or postponing the withdrawal. However, an end was put to this confusion when the Zionist government stressed its commitment to withdrawing on the set date. Sharon also visited Cairo to discuss the details of the withdrawal. We expect the Zionist enemy to pressure Egypt even more in order to get total approval of the Zionist point of view; Egypt will continue to uphold its position on this level; yet any differences arising will not lead to cancellation of the agreements.

US imperialism, which supervised the signing of the Camp David agreements, is continuing to exploit all means and methods to generalize the Camp David trend throughout the region. The Camp David agreements constitute the essence of US imperialist policy in this period, which may be an extended one. It does not take much thought to see the reasons behind the great efforts which the US exerts to implement and expand the Camp David agreements. Imperialist interests in the Arab region are increasing daily. Oil is still a concern for the US and Europe, as its continued supply is indispensable for their interests. The US still imports 50% of the oil it consumes from the Arab and other regions. As yet, attempts to solve the energy problem by finding substitutes for oil have failed to decrease these countries' dependence on oil. Research has shown that the cost of developing alternatives is much greater than the cost of securing oil.

Moreover, US imperialism is in dire need of the billions of dollars deposited by Arab reaction in the imperialist banks in order to handle the economic crisis. It also needs the markets of the Arab region to distribute its products and guarantee the absorption of the billions which flow to the region as oil revenues. In the light of this, how can imperialism relinquish the Camp David agreements which are intended to secure the continuation of its political, military and economic domination in a region whose importance is increasing?

The great importance of Camp David for US imperialism explains the violence with which it defends this trend and works to deepen it, using all methods available, secret and overt. It is sufficient to note the practices of US imperialism on the Arab and international level, and the fact that it went on alert after the execution of Sadat. In this context, one can understand that the path of Camp David was not affected by the execution of Sadat and Mubarak's replacing him. However, this does not mean that Mubarak will limit himself to the details of Sadat's policies on all levels or to a degree that will introduce no change.

Despite the shortness of Mubarak's rule, there are signs of changes; for example, the regime's stand towards the Soviet Union. The tone of animosity is less than in the days of Sadat, and there are signs that relations will be normalized and that Soviet experts will be called as advisors in the field of economy, especially for the programs which were halted when Sadat expelled the Soviet experts. Moreover, Mubarak does not seem so enthusiastic about offering direct military assistance to US imperialism in the region and in Africa. Mubarak has a less offensive policy towards Libya. He has directed the Egyptian media to stop attacking the other Arab regimes and to refrain from responding to attacks on Egypt in the Arab press. His official statements affirm the regime's wish to rejoin the official solidarity of Arab reaction in order to broaden the regime's circle of political security and attract Arab capital to relieve Egypt's economic crisis.

Internally, Mubarak's policy towards the opposition is characterized by moderation, and he has taken steps to combat corruption within the regime and its institutions. He began releasing political prisoners arrested by Sadat immediately after assuming office. He met with political leaders to discuss matters of national concern. In other words, he is moving towards a deceptive liberal policy aimed to

rearrange the internal situation in a way that will fortify his regime and diminish the influence of other power centers.

Our evaluation is that changes are being made, but they are not on a significant level. The regime will continue to exhibit willingness to rejoin the official Arab solidarity on the condition that it is not required to cancel the Camp David agreements.

The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front – Fifth conference

This conference was held in September 1981, nine months later than the appointed date, despite the seriousness of political developments in the Arab region. The delay was a clear indication of the nature of this front and its ability and seriousness in confronting the dangers to which the Arab region is exposed. However, what is more indicative is that the fifth conference, with great difficulty, reached agreement on issuing a communique which represents less than the minimum required by the political matters facing it.

If we examine the major issues discussed and evaluate what the conference members did, we notice that this front has more or less remained in place without taking any confrontation measures in light of current developments. The fifth conference witnessed differences in the evaluation of the role played by one reactionary regime or another. It was clear that some countries took a stand based on local interests, not considering the national interests. Moreover, while relations with the Soviet Union and socialist countries were discussed, developments in the region require more serious consideration of deepening these relations in order to make available the means of actual confrontation and steadfastness.

In short, it was clear that the major issues which should have been resolved during this conference were not resolved.

Although we support this front and work for its development, we stress that the evaluation in the political report of the fourth congress was correct regarding the future of this front and its capabilities; we consider it a political front, representing the minimum requirements, which we should struggle to develop to a level which will serve the cause.

The Fez Summit proved that this front *can* act within the official Arab framework and within the popular framework; it can confront imperialism and Zionism and their plans if it directs itself seriously towards the national and patriotic tasks, and rises to the level of the challenge imposed. The political stand of this front was an important factor leading to the failure of the Fahd initiative. This calls for another conference to discuss new developments in the Arab arena and specify a practical line of confrontation to face the coming dangers. At the same time, this front is called upon to establish practical institutions to follow up the national tasks.

Increasing mass activities against reactionary regimes

Recently, there were broad, angry and sometimes violent mass movements in some Arab countries. This is the masses' response to reactionary policies practiced by the regimes against their interests and to the economic crisis which has increased to the point that conditions are intolerable.

The most outstanding mass movement in this period was in Sudan. This movement has intensified and grown to include most of the cities; this led the regime to launch an enormous and bloody campaign of repression. Moreover, the regime ordered the closing down of schools and universities until further notice, and blocked roads in an effort to end the uprisings originating here. However, the means to which Numeiri has resorted will not stop the situation from deteriorating, because the economic policies followed by the regime and the deep-rooted corruption in its institutions are incapable of solving the problems.

Egypt also witnessed the beginning of mass unrest against the regime's policies on all levels before Sadat's execution. The regime felt weak and isolated because of its economic crisis and due to the growth of the progressive and patriotic forces opposing Camp David and its economic policies. Thus, it launched a broad campaign in September 1981, whereby thousands were arrested and terror methods used against the patriotic and progressive forces and the people, in order to avoid a mass uprising like the one of January 1977.

In Morocco, there were demonstrations, and broad sectors of the workers and students protested the regime's suspect role in the Arab region, in the service of reaction and imperialism, and the worsening economic situation. Despite the repression enacted by King Hassan against the popular movements, whereby scores were killed and hundreds arrested, the situation is still threatening the regime.

At the same time, the revolution of the Saharan people continues, led by POLISARIO, which has dealt painful blows to the regime, such as the last battle at Kulta Zamour, where the Moroccan army suffered heavy losses; this is another factor adding to the regime's crisis.

In Bahrain the reactionary regime recently arrested a number of patriotic, religious people who were preparing themselves for armed struggle against the regime. Despite the political affiliation of this group and the fact that some of them had connections with the Iranian Revolution, it is an expression of the people's discontent with the regime's policies. Popular anger is felt most strongly against those policies which tie Bahrain completely to Saudi Arabia and US imperialism in order to protect the regime from the progressive and patriotic Bahraini opposition. It is important to note that the recent arrests were not the first of their kind; the regime has previously enacted repressive measures, including the execution of progressives and patriots.

The mass movements in the Arab Peninsula and the Gulf are not limited to Bahrain. There is also information about patriotic and progressive movements among the masses in Saudi Arabia, which the regime has dealt with using the most terrible kinds of liquidation. At the same time, the National Democratic Front in North Yemen is escalating its mass, military and political struggle in the face of the regime, which is tied to Saudi Arabia.

These movements confirm that despite the repression practiced, the Arab masses are still asserting their will to struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. The political report of our fourth congress stresses that the challenges embodied in Camp David and the increasing economic crisis, that affects the everyday life of the masses, will provide the objective basis for crystallizing the energies of the masses and exploding them in the face of the reactionary regimes.

Despite all the suffering borne by the Arab masses, they still have enormous potentials for struggle. If correctly mobilized, their energies will be able to bring about great changes in the region. All this points to a great process of national awakening in the confrontation of imperialist plans in the region. In the light of this, it is our duty and the duty of all patriotic and progressive forces to continue a genuine and serious struggle to instate democratic freedoms for the masses in order to enable them to participate in the process of confronting the enemies' plans, which aim at obliterating the patriotic and progressive forces and the people's movement.



PALESTINIAN LEVEL

The implications of the past year's events indicate that the proposed enemy plan according to Camp David is to liquidate the Palestinian cause, and not simply to restrict and tame it into making compromises. The major developments which prove this are the July 1981 aggression, the moves of the reactionary forces in Lebanon, and the ongoing attempts to implement 'autonomy'.

The July 1981 aggression

In July, the Zionist enemy launched a severe, broad and barbaric attack on the bases of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement, crowned by the bombing of residential areas in West Beirut. Planes, boats and artillery were used in this war of devastation which aimed at destroying the infrastructure and heavy arms of the Palestinian revolution, causing a shortage of supplies and ammunition, cutting all transport and supply lines by bombarding the bridges in the South, shelling civilian areas and leadership centers in Beirut as well as in the South.

The Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces confronted this war of devastation with fantastic steadfastness, relying on heavy artillery and rockets to bombard Israeli settlements in northern Palestine. This was carried out with a high degree of cooperation and on the basis of a common plan which enabled painful hits against the Zionist settlements, obliging the enemy to admit high losses. This heroic, coordinated response and the enemy's admission of its losses raised the morale of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, who witnessed the revolution's military response. The masses in South Lebanon were able to see the damage inflicted on the enemy on Israeli television. This added to their readiness to bear the results of the confrontation.

The Joint Forces displayed great efficiency in this confrontation, confusing the enemy's forces and preventing the enemy from achieving its political aims. In more than one operation along the coast near Sour and in the Nabatiyeh area, the Joint Forces were able to destroy the Zionist troops' morale and arrogance.

The Zionist enemy's aggression in July was a basic and major effort to liquidate the armed presence of the revolution in Lebanon. There is no doubt that the military role of the Zionist entity in the plans to liquidate the revolution will continue along the following lines, as we earlier specified in the political report of the 4th congress: supplying the forces of Saad Haddad and the fascist Lebanese Front (the Phalangists), attempting to liquidate the Joint Forces and hitting the masses continuously in order to plant desperation in their hearts. This aims to destroy the Joint Forces' efficiency and create divisions between the masses and the revolution. It is hard to imagine that this role will change, even in the event of another aggression against the South like that of March 1978, although the coming attack may be larger and have different results.

The reactionary Lebanese regime's ongoing conspiracy against the revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement

Throughout the previous stage, the Lebanese authorities have continued their moves on various political and military levels, preparing to execute their main role: liquidation of the revolution in accordance with the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plan. In order to clarify the way in which the Lebanese authorities are enacting their role, the main topic to be discussed is the activity of the regime following the July War. The reactionary authorities have taken a position which signifies adoption of the aims and demands of the Zionist enemy, as listed below:

1. withdrawing the revolution's forces from the areas of Sour, Qasbiyeh and Arnoun

2. yielding these regions to the Lebanese army and the UNIFIL
3. increasing the number of the UNIFIL troops
4. forbidding the entrance of weapons to the forces of the revolution in Lebanon
5. gradually withdrawing the ADF (Syrian forces) from Lebanon

The moves of the regime and its ambassador to the UN were within this prescribed framework as was the Zionist demand that Palestinian artillery be moved back so that it cannot reach the Zionist settlements, or else 'Israel' would be obliged to occupy the land on which this artillery is located. Also the moves of the US envoys to the area, Philip Habib and Morris Draper, have been within this framework; they said that the US cannot prohibit 'Israel' from occupying South Lebanon if these objectives are not fulfilled.

The Lebanese regime called for an Arab summit on South Lebanon to arrive at a unified Arab strategy for confrontation in order to "guard the South from being lost". The slogan of a unified Arab strategy sounds like a good one, but actually it aims at bad results. According to the Lebanese regime's thinking and in the context of the current Arab situation, a unified Arab strategy means that Lebanon should not continue as the sole area of confrontation with the Zionist enemy, because it cannot bear the results of this battle and has already paid a high price in loss of security and stability, due to Palestinian actions. This line of thinking continues: Since the Arabs want peace and are not preparing for war, then it is their duty to help the Lebanese authorities stop the Palestinian war from being launched from Lebanon alone. This is an attempt to deprive the revolution of justification for its presence in Lebanon, as a preparatory step for its liquidation. The Lebanese authorities achieved some success on this level with the ceasefire agreement in July, where Saudi Arabia played a prominent role. At the Fez Summit, the authorities were compensated for the special summit on Lebanon (which they had requested but was never convened) by the decision to form a committee to draw up a unified Arab strategy.

The reactionary Saudi regime has made great efforts, directly and through the Arab Follow-up Committee, to implement the imperialist plan in the Lebanese arena. Relying on financial resources, the Saudi ambassador to Lebanon is making concentrated efforts to undermine the patriotic areas by mobilizing reactionary figures who reside in these areas against the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement. The Saudis play an active role in supporting the Lebanese regime as well as the fascist front, strengthening them against the revolution and the LPM.

All these developments have occurred after the Lebanese regime succeeded in unifying its authority, ending the situation where there had been two executive poles due to contradictions between the President and the Prime Minister. This conflict was resolved in favor of the President (Sarkis) and the reactionary front. Since then, the Lebanese government requested additional UNIFIL troops and increasing the areas where they are deployed; the authority has also increased pressure to have the Lebanese army deployed in the patriotic areas and reduce the bases of the revolution and the LPM, thus cooperating with the US plans to get significant political concessions. These plans rely on the constant threat of impending Zionist aggression.

After the July ceasefire, the Lebanese regime, the Deuxieme Bureau and the Lebanese Front acted concertedly to spread explosions and provoke clashes in the patriotic areas of Beirut and the South, extending to most areas of Lebanon. These explosions and clashes provided the reactionary forces, with the regime at the forefront, with a golden opportunity for mobilizing the masses against the revolution. Traditional reactionary figures in the patriotic areas

raised their voices calling for an end to this situation and for the regime's reactionary army to impose security measures.

Confronting this situation, the LPM in cooperation with the ADF executed the first stage of its security plan, starting in the beginning of November, just prior to the Fez Summit. These measures achieved a degree of success and elicited a positive response on the mass level, in spite of the enemy's ability to carry out some destructive operations, especially after the failure at Fez.

The revolution and the LPM have courageously confronted all the plots of the Zionist, imperialist and reactionary agents in spite of the extent of the enemy conspiracy. Yet as soon as the Joint Security Committee had moved to implement its immediate measures, the clashes started again, spreading from one area to another. This phenomenon of clashes among the patriotic forces, instigated by agents of the regime, the Deuxieme Bureau and the fascists, is becoming even more dangerous in light of the expected developments of the coming stage, which require securing the base of the patriotic forces. The patriotic alliance will face the possibility of a Zionist annihilation attempt in the South, as well as the contest for the presidency in Lebanon, for which the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces have been preparing politically and militarily. The enemy may choose to explode the situation in the event that the election of the next president is not arranged in line with the isolationists' demands and wishes.

Our expectations should motivate us towards serious action to strengthen the LPM and consolidate its leadership role. We must use all means and work on all levels to achieve this aim. A top priority is completing the endeavor which has been started to control the security situation in the patriotic areas. These expectations should also push us to develop and enrich the Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian alliance. It must be raised to a level capable of defending the common presence and aims against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracies that are escalating with the aim of liquidating the revolution and the LPM, and weakening Syria.

The declaration of Haig about the necessity of solving Lebanon's cause before the Palestinian one and his proposals for widening the deployment area of UNIFIL while increasing its ranks to become an offensive force, in addition to the military supplies sent by imperialist states to the regime's army – certainly not to confront 'Israel', but to liquidate the revolution and the LPM – all make the 'hidden' imperialist plot quite clear. The plan is to narrow the area in which the revolution can operate as a preparatory step for its total liquidation and an end to the Syrian presence in order to implement Camp David in as many Arab countries as possible. The upcoming presidential elections in Lebanon may provide US imperialism with a chance to execute some steps on this level. This is seen in the threats of the fascist Lebanese Front and the coordinated moves of reactionary forces within as well as outside the regime. The Palestinian revolution, the LPM and Syria should be on alert against these plans, as well as against the Zionist plans for Lebanon, which have been clearly expressed in the threats of the Israeli military leaders. As Sharon has said, the coming Israeli attack on Lebanon will be of a different kind; the enemy may attempt a major military attack against the revolution, the LPM and the Syrian forces, occupying South Lebanon. This coincides with the overall imperialist plan, for the occupation of South Lebanon would give the US the opportunity to extract concessions in exchange for Israeli withdrawal. In this context, the US policy of supporting the regime and speaking of its unity is complementary and not contradictory to the Zionist designs in South Lebanon.

The ongoing Zionist attempt to impose 'autonomy'

Throughout the previous period, the Zionist authorities have continued their policies aimed at liquidating our masses' resistance inside occupied Palestine in order to implement the 'autonomy' project. In line with this, the Zionist entity strove to thicken settlements, further economic merger and obliterate the Palestinian national identity. The annexation of Jerusalem and then the Golan should open our eyes to the next step to be expected: the annexation of the West Bank and/or Gaza Strip, especially if the suitable political situation is found which gives the Zionist enemy reason to believe that it can achieve this big step. The enemy's policy for implementing 'autonomy' was evidenced in the following:

Civil administration

After becoming Israeli Defense Minister, Sharon declared his plan for the West Bank and Gaza: ending the military's responsibility for administration of daily affairs; assigning this responsibility to civilian Israelis who would gradually work to recruit Arab administrators ready to share this task; maintaining the army's responsibility for security, but reducing military manifestations to a minimum to keep the army from coming in contact with the inhabitants. The Israeli cabinet and Knesset confirmed Sharon's policy, and Menahem Milson was appointed the civil administrator for the West Bank. Just afterwards, Major General Danny Matt, coordinator of the occupied territories, resigned, as his responsibilities were in effect assumed by Milson.

However, our masses and their patriotic forces in the occupied territories saw through this maneuver; they were aware of the ultimate consequences of this step, which is actually an advanced stage of imposing 'autonomy' according to the Israeli understanding of the Camp David accords. Thus our masses confronted this step with all their might. The peak of this resistance was the heroic uprising of our masses in the Gaza Strip which continued several weeks with many forces joining in. This was simultaneous with the uprising of our masses in the West Bank and the increase of patriotic activities in the Galilee. We stress the role of the Gaza masses because throughout the previous period the partners to Camp David were bargaining on the Strip as certain conditions led them to think that 'autonomy' could be implemented there first. Moreover, patriotic activities had been subdued in the Strip in the previous period.

The uprising in Gaza began as a protest against economic conditions, particularly the heavy taxation imposed upon physicians and pharmacists. It rapidly grew into a broad mass uprising, declaring opposition to the civil administration proposal. Protest over economic conditions was transformed into a clearly political protest. Therefore, Gaza mayor Shawwa rode the wave of the uprising and joined the five-member committee formed to guide it. However, his aims were clear to the patriotic forces: Like any reactionary, Shawwa was trying to polish his image, and at the same time he was frightened that the situation would develop beyond the limits he desired. Thus, he hastily declared his own proposal for ending the situation – a proposal which does not in essence conflict with the Fahd Plan.

Shawwa's proposal did not stop our masses' uprising. Thus, the Zionist enemy was forced to declare its readiness to make some concessions on the economic level. At the same time, under the pressure of the uprising which encompassed all sectors of our masses in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with students at the forefront, Sharon retreated temporarily by withdrawing the army and limiting its role to a minimum. At the same time, he increased the police's responsibility for security, especially in the Strip. Then once again, Sharon ordered the army to carry out its repressive and barbaric acts against the masses, thereby exposing the essence of his policy.

Thus, the consciousness of our masses, led by the patriotic forces, and their readiness to struggle and sacrifice stands as an obstacle to the enemies' attempts to implement 'self-administration' in any form.

The village leagues

In all countries of the world, there exists a difference between the objective conditions in urban and rural areas. This is based upon the difference in economic and social levels between the city and the countryside, related to the standard of living, the amount and type of work opportunities available, and the level of social services offered to the inhabitants. In a backward society, this gap often leads to migration from rural to urban areas, resulting in the growth of a poverty belt around the cities. In Palestine, the British Mandate authorities were able to utilize this gap in order to serve their colonial aims, by turning objective differences into forms of contradiction between the city and the countryside. Later, the Jordanian regime was able to manipulate this same gap; actually, it was this reactionary regime that began the process of forming the village leagues. After occupying the West Bank, the Zionist enemy was also aware of the possibilities for exploiting the existence of this gap to serve its interests.

Zionist policy has intensified the gap between the urban and rural areas. At the same time, the patriotic Palestinian organizations have neglected their work in the countryside and focused their political and organizing activities in the cities, because they were the active centers. This left the field open for collaborators and agents to find a social base among the rural masses who are subject to tribal relations and backward conditions. In addition, the masses in the countryside are often apathetic, which is quite understandable in view of the lack of attention accorded to their living conditions. As an indication of this, we find that the beginning of the success of the village leagues was in the district of Al Khalil, one of the poorest regions in the West Bank.

This was the social groundwork for the Zionist enemy's adopting the village leagues as a main vehicle for its policies aimed at creating

an alternative to the patriotic forces and leaders. The enemy has been able to play on the above-mentioned contradictions and benefit from this. There are many figures in the cities who have relations with the Zionist enemy; they enjoy privileges even greater than those accorded the heads of the village leagues, but they lack any popular support.

The Zionist enemy has taken great measures to support the leagues; this has begun to constitute a considerable danger, threatening the unity of our people in confronting the occupation, especially after Sharon armed the leagues to protect them from the people. The provocations made by the league's members after the execution of the traitor Yusef al Khatib, who headed the Ramallah league, and his son are only an indication of what can occur.

In attempting to develop the leagues into a political force with a social base, the Zionist enemy has provided them with material support and large budgets. Conversely, many obstacles were placed before those in the countryside who do not cooperate with Zionist policy, thus tightening the noose around the patriotic organizations and institutions in all areas with the goal of making the leagues responsible for the interests and needs of the people.

Despite all the opportunities and aid accorded the leagues, our masses in the occupied territories are aware of their danger and linkage with the enemy. This became even more true after the execution of Al Khatib and the arming of the league members, and the provocations and destructive activities they have carried out since. Therefore, the patriotic forces must direct increased political and organizational efforts towards the countryside immediately, in order to compensate for their previous shortcomings and to give all possible support to the patriotic forces. Also, more effort must be made to liquidate the heads of the village leagues. By following these two lines of struggle, political-organizational and military, the situation may be reversed to the extent that 'Israel' will not be able to create alternatives to the patriotic forces. Already, prior to Khatib's execution, the intense political campaign to isolate the leagues had led to the withdrawal of many suspected elements from the Ramallah league. These two lines must be reinforced by a united Palestinian position, condemning the leagues and all those who collaborate with or support them.

Striking the patriotic municipalities

The municipalities headed by the patriotic mayors, elected in 1976, have played a significant role in the mobilization of the popular forces, especially the unorganized ones, around patriotic positions. This disturbed the Zionist occupation authorities to the point that they have used all means and methods to end this broad patriotic coalition. The authorities began by singling out the heads and members of the municipalities, as occurred in Beit Jala, where they deported the mayor and assigned one of their agents in his place. The Zionists have deported various mayors, most recently Mohammad Milhem and Fahd Qawasmeh, and attempted the physical liquidation of others, Karim Khalaf and Bassam Shakaa. The authorities finally resorted to imposing candidates of their choice, as occurred in Ariha (Jericho). All this was coupled with pressuring the patriotic municipalities by postponing or blocking their projects and delaying permission for them to receive aid from outside.

This line followed by the authorities crystallized in the recent period, with the Israelis seeking to strengthen the linkage between villages (i.e., village leagues) and to enhance the role of mayors who are connected with the occupation authorities or the Jordanian regime. Such figures are distrusted by the patriotic forces and the masses, and constitute a negligible force. They are being promoted by the Zionists as a political alternative to the PLO in contradiction to the patriotic municipalities that constitute a mobilizing center for the



Graphic by Suleiman Mansour

patriotic forces who adhere to the PLO as their sole, legitimate representative.

Confrontation of this scheme requires more support to the patriotic municipalities and seeking ways to secure the aid needed for them to perform their patriotic and administrative duties. At the same time, we must confront all attacks aimed at destroying the position of these municipalities, whether they are launched by agents connected to the occupation authorities or by reactionary forces aligned with the Jordanian regime.

The moves of suspect religious groups

A distinctive phenomenon that we began seeing in the occupied territories in the past few years is the broad activities of various religious groups, especially those who assign priority to attacking the progressive and patriotic forces. The most prominent ideas of these groups are as follows:

1. Communism and communists are the primary threat to Islam and Moslems.
2. Land belongs to Allah; he leaves it to whom he wishes, and nothing should prevent us from worshipping him.
3. Palestine as a limited spot on the map does not merit all this attention and should not be accorded primary importance instead of Allah.
4. The resistance organizations generally depend on imported thoughts, foreign to our true Islamic religion.

It is known that these groups receive aid from reactionary Arab forces, especially Saudi Arabia, encouraging their leadership to act in accordance with these ideas. Religious institutions in various parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip are used as cornerstones for these activities; this includes the College of Islamic Law and some of the instructors at Al Azhar in Gaza. In this connection, we should also note the Jordanian regime's support to Moslem Brotherhood groups in the occupied homeland and in Jordan.

What is particularly dangerous is that the role of these groups goes beyond preaching these ideas. In many instances they act to destroy or fragment the work of the patriotic organizations and institutions, as in the case of the attacks on the Gaza Red Crescent Society in 1979 and 1981. What occurred at Al Najah University in Nablus in January is another example. Here fanatics struck a number of teachers and progressive students, and threw one of the professors out of an upper story window of a university building. The activities of these destructive groups have even gone to the extent of obstructing the struggle of detainees in the enemy jails; they have often attacked militant prisoners.

In view of this reality, much thought, planning and work must be devoted to confronting these religious trends and their practices in order to deal with the problems and dangers that they create, and the bloody fights they have caused. Exposing their practices and relations with the reactionary regimes of Saudi Arabia and Jordan should occupy an important place in our agenda for the coming period.

Destroying mass institutions and unions

The Zionist enemy worked to encircle and destroy the mass organizations, due to the progressive role these have played in confronting the occupation and their ability to mobilize our masses within a broad framework. This began with linking the president of the workers union in Gaza with the policies of the occupation authorities, thus halting the role of the active unions in accordance with the plans and directions of the authorities. The Zionist director of labor in the West Bank has repeatedly tried to interfere in the internal affairs of the unions. To this aim, new regulations were passed, such as the amendment to labor law no. 83, requiring Israeli approval of candidates for union elections.

The process of encirclement and destruction initiated by the Zionist enemy was aggravated by the mistakes and incorrect policies of some Palestinian organizations, which harmed the unity of the unions and thus detracted from their role in the struggle. It is an immediate task for the patriotic organizations to correct their policies concerning the unions and other mass institutions, so that these are able to confront the enemy plans to end their organized mass activity.

Our masses are suffering from the various plans of the occupation aimed at the emigration of the greatest possible number and the imposition of 'autonomy' upon those remaining. At the same time, the patriotic work in the occupied homeland suffers from divisions. The work of the Palestinian National Front remains hindered, as does that of the National Guidance Committee. The differences that arose in the unions of the West Bank added to the seriousness of the situation. The split that occurred has harmed the most important mass organization in the occupied territories. This has been reflected in various forms in internal conflicts from the beginning of the summer until now. What is most painful is that this split is due to narrow reasons of organizational chauvinism. This harms the bulk of our struggle movement in the occupied homeland and outside, and divides the unity of our masses in confronting the plans of the occupation, thus allowing room for agents to act and to stabilize their presence.

Despite the severe situation for our masses, whether due to the Zionist policies or to the divisions in the patriotic work, they have risen above these conditions and continuously renewed their uprisings after the relative slowdown that occurred last summer. The uprisings have again become militant and have encompassed all areas. The persistence of the masses demands: first, the correction of relations among the different patriotic organizations; second, providing the frameworks for mass mobilization; third, securing support for the needs of patriotic activity and the masses' steadfastness. We should not only extol the sacrifices of our masses in the homeland. It is our responsibility to insure their ability to sacrifice. No patriotic organization should be party to placing obstacles before the masses' march. Rather the duty of the patriotic forces is to lead this march.

Our comrades have played a positive and initiatory role in dealing with patriotic relations in the occupied homeland and outside. Those who bear responsibility for the fact that positive results have not been reached are the factions that contributed to halting the work of the National Front and the Guidance Committee, and those who split the workers union.

The fact that the balance of power is in favor of the Zionist enemy does not necessarily mean that it is all-powerful or that it cannot be confronted and foiled. There have been situations where our masses, united and led by their patriotic forces, were able to impose their determination upon the occupation authorities — the experience in the case of Bassam Shakaa and more recently, the experience of Gaza. However, splits in the patriotic ranks makes it easier for the occupation authorities to implement their plans.

The steadfastness of the Palestinian revolution outside the occupied homeland, coupled with the uprisings of our people under occupation, defeated the implementation of the plots directed against the masses under occupation, primarily the 'autonomy' conspiracy.

Spreading an atmosphere of capitulation

In January, dangerous statements were made by the Palestinian mayors, Shawwa and Freij, calling for recognition of the Zionist entity and questioning the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people. Such statements would not have been the light of day were it not for the appearance of the capitulationist trend in the Palestinian national arena, due to leniency in responding to those voices on the Arab level who dared to propose the possibility of recognition and

coexistence with the Zionist enemy. This trend prompted the Palestinian bourgeoisie to express its opinion about the necessity of recognizing the Zionist entity, as Shawwa and Freij in fact did. In this situation, the basic and primary duty of the leadership of the Palestinian revolution is to refuse to give any form of cover for such capitulationist voices in order to deprive them of all legitimacy when they declare or imply recognition of this racist, settler-colonial entity which fulfills imperialism's objectives in our area.

'Basic prerequisites for confronting the enemies' plans

After discussing the schemes of the enemy forces aiming to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and cause, the PFLP's Central Committee addressed two questions that are intimately related to the revolution's ability to confront these schemes:

First: Serious and determined steps to enhance Palestinian national unity

The Central Committee confirmed the positions adopted at the 4th congress, calling for resolute struggle to develop the forms of Palestinian front work. This is based on adherence to the Palestinian National Covenant, the decisions of the 14th Palestinian National Council and the Palestinian declaration at Tripoli (1977), which revived the unity of the organizations and institutions and repaired the cracks which had developed prior to Sadat's treacherous visit to Jerusalem.

Our resolute struggle against the capitulationist trend and our insistence on the necessity of all Palestinian organizations adhering to the organizational decisions of the 14th PNC has only one motive. This is our great concern for safeguarding strong relations of struggle between the organizations of the revolution, and our legitimate revolutionary desire to organize Palestinian affairs and maintain an independent, collective Palestinian decision, protected from individualist tendencies.

Second: Struggle to unite the democratic forces in the Palestinian arena

This task is not determined by a specific political condition; it is not to be dropped and revived as conditions vary. Rather it is a primary and strategic task, because it is a necessary step towards building a united Palestinian communist party, a party of the working class, despite all the difficulties and obstacles that must be solved and overcome in order to achieve this goal.

Uniting the democratic forces is part of the struggle to develop the issue of Palestinian national unity. Seventeen years have passed since the emergence of the revolution, and throughout these years the issue of national unity in the framework of the PLO has remained static. Strengthening the unity among the democratic forces will advance the cause of Palestinian national unity. While we are careful not to deal with the question of uniting the democratic forces in an idealist, hasty or spontaneous manner, we are convinced that it is imperative to take action in this direction.

In this context, we attach great importance to the declaration issued a short while ago about the formation of the Palestinian Communist Party. We see the implications of the decision to announce this party as a step towards correcting the line of the Jordanian Communist Party. After years of debate in the base and other levels of its organization, this party has been affected by the great developments in the Palestinian cause: the development of the Palestinian revolution into a profound reality and the transformation of some forces within it, who have adopted the position of the working class, Marxist ideology and scientific socialism, and called for a united Palestinian communist party.

At the same time, we maintain that the success of this new party in the arena of Palestinian struggle and the development of its relations, especially with other left forces and cooperating with them to form a united Palestinian communist party, will depend largely on its interactions, policies and practice in the struggle concerning a number of fundamental matters:

1. A decision on the part of the announced party that it is one of the organizations of the Palestinian working class that will struggle along with this class to secure the unity of all its organizations in order to build a united Palestinian communist party

2. Declaring the unity of the Palestinian people wherever they are found and consequently the unity of their political representation and the united representation of their working class

3. A review of the past positions of the Jordanian Communist Party related to readiness to recognize and coexist with the Zionist entity, including its position on UN Resolution 242.

4. The adoption of the principle of armed resistance as the fundamental method of the Palestinian national struggle to liberate Palestine.

In closing its session, the PFLP's Central Committee extended militant greetings to our heroic people who continue to challenge the clubs and prison walls of the enemy. It conveyed sincere greetings to our masses in occupied Palestine who are still heroically rising up against the occupiers, in spite of the terrorist, oppressive and collective punishment tactics employed against them.

The Central Committee conveyed warm greetings to the Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces who remain in their positions in South Lebanon and heroically confront the enemy's aggression and expansionism. It expressed solidarity with the patriotic regime of Syria that in these days is confronted by a broad range of internal and external conspiracies.

The Central Committee highly appraised the support of the September Revolution to the Palestinian revolution and at the same time pledged joint efforts with the Libyan Jamahiriya to oppose the reactionary US plans. The Central Committee affirmed its high evaluation of the Aden trilateral agreement and called on the parties to this treaty to work continuously to advance the role of their alliance in confronting the common enemy. The role of Democratic Yemen was highly appraised, and the PFLP pledges to join with it in confronting all conspiracies.

The Committee made a special evaluation of the firm and principled support extended to our people's cause in all fields by the socialist community, with the Soviet Union in the forefront. The Committee declared the PFLP's full solidarity with Cuba - The Island of Freedom - in its confrontation with the imperialist threats.

In conclusion, the Central Committee condemned the decision of the Jordanian regime to send troops to assist the Iraqi regime in its war with Iran. The Committee forwarded the warmest greetings to all the Palestinian and Jordanian progressives, patriots and strugglers in the regime's prisons, and especially to our comrades Abu Issam and Abu Mashhour. The Central Committee alerted all progressive and patriotic forces to work for the release of all the political prisoners, who are subject to the worst kind of torture and intimidation at the hands of the Jordanian intelligence.

**LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION
LONG LIVE THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF
PALESTINE
WE WILL BE VICTORIOUS**