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YASSER ARAFAT

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Anti-Americanism

"As for the United States, it will continue to insist on its stand. This stand is based on the arrogance of power...I want to address the US arrogance of power that we will not be the losers in this. Let them know that the flood and volcano which I talked about as I left Beirut still continue in the region and that other interests, not only Arab interests in the region will be harmed." (Yasser Arafat, Abu Dhabi Domestic Service, 3/21/86)

"As you know, some 44 US senators have signed a petition demanding that I be brought to trial; that is, I should be tried before American courts. Of course this is part of the fierce campaign." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 2/19/86)

Washington "is asking me to do a striptease. They are asking me for everything and offering nothing...They are not even leaving a fig leaf." (Yasser Arafat, L.A. Times, 2/19/86)

"The Americans have to remember that unless Palestinians achieve something, they will face the typhoon and (Islamic fundamentalism) is part of the typhoon." (Yasser Arafat, UPI, 1/18/86)

"We stand with Libya against any aggression against it by Israel or the United States..." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 1/7/86)

The Arab "strategy should take into consideration that danger is imminent for all and that the enemy is the same, be he Israeli or the United States." (Yasser Arafat, Aden Voice of Palestine, 1/3/86)

"I personally believe that Reagan is a simple robot and a parrot who repeats what certain people tell him without comprehending what he is saying because he in fact lacks reason." (Yasser Arafat, KUNA, 1/1/86)

"There is a confrontation between us and the American superpower. We regard the US government as the controlling force of neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism, and we have no doubt that the US employs Israel to spearhead its strategy of domination in the Middle East." (Yasser Arafat, South, January, 1986)

"I spoke about 'the volcano' and 'the typhoon' when I was leaving Beirut. Nobody understood what I meant by the volcano and the typhoon, but soon the Americans knew, when they had to pay a high price in the shameful withdrawal of their navy and marines from Beirut because of the courage and unity of the Palestinians." (Yasser Arafat, South, January, 1986)

"I see the US administration as the leader of these forces of neo-colonialism and racism." (Yasser Arafat, South, January, 1986)

The Palestinians are "still facing great challenges and the apparent escalation of aggression. The United States is the center of this aggression." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 12/31/86)

"This crime [the bombing of PLO headquarters in Tunis] was followed by crazy U.S. actions, such as the hijacking of the Egyptian civil plane and the instigating of aggressive action against the Palestinian people and their revolution. This embodies another deep and clear-cut dimension against our entire Arab nation. It is the declared, direct U.S. involvement in the Arab-Zionist conflict." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 12/31/86)

"This reminds us of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The Palestinian people and their revolution, cause, and leadership are a direct central target of this new U.S. war. Out of my position in both the Palestinian and Arab arenas, I sound the alarm for the entire Arab nation. At the same time, I warn of dangerous dimensions in this direct, declared U.S. involvement in the conflict. I also affirm that we will not be the only party affected by this involvement nor will we be the loser in it." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 12/31/85)

"This U.S. position constitutes a continued aggression by the U.S. Administration against Palestine and the Arab nation." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 11/27/85)

"I can't forget that the American administration - the American president himself - declared his blessing to kill me." (Yasser Arafat, Washington Times, 11/20/85)

"We are on the threshold of a fierce battle - not an Israeli-Palestinian battle but a Palestinian-U.S. battle." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahali, 11/13/85)

"Israel, which is the only state that was established by an international resolution, is like the United States, in that both disregard international resolutions and completely refuse to recognize and implement them." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 11/9/85)

The Arab nation is experiencing "'U.S. arrogance', which is not an Israeli arrogance but a U.S.-Israeli arrogance against the Arab nation." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 11/9/85)

Abu Abbas "is free, of course, and he is a member of the PLO Executive Committee. I do not think we will do what Reagan says." (Yasser Arafat, Ukaz, 11/3/85)

"We as an Arab nation should resist the U.S. Administration. They can say that they are a superpower. However, they should remember Vietnam. Here it will be more complicated than Vietnam. They have more interests in this

region than Vietnam. They should recall that when I left Beirut I said that the volcano will not become dormant." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 10/29/85)

"The same role was played by Johnson in Vietnam and now Reagan is playing the same role in the Middle East crisis and in the Arab-Israeli confrontation and conflict. This is grave on all levels, not only now, but also in the future." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 10/29/85)

"...this attitude by Washington is not partiality for Israel but rather a direct confrontation between us and the United States." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 10/18/85)

"The masses have realized how deceived they were by the words of the United States, which not only is after the head of Yasir Arafat or the PLO but also wants to subjugate and humiliate the Arab nation... It has become a principal adversary to us and therefore it has to shoulder the responsibility for this...The Arab nation and its masses must deal with the United States on this basis; they should boycott the United States economically if they cannot boycott it politically." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 10/18/85)

"...The real enemy is pursuing the the real enemy, that is, the United States and Israel are pursuing the PLO." (Yasser Arafat, Radio Monte Carlo, 10/17/85)

"There is no difference between a terrorist who hijacks a plane with a pistol and terrorist who hijacks a plane with warplanes." It was "an act of terrorism" and an exercise in "cowboy logic". (Yasser Arafat, New York Times, 10/13/85)

"We are facing a U.S.-Israeli plot to undermine the peace efforts and destroy the Palestinian revolution...We know that Israel is the major hand of U.S. terrorism in the Middle East, and that it is trying to impose capitulation on the Arab nation." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 10/13/85)

"The United States has a two-faced policy, not only towards me but towards those who are its friends, King Hussein and President Mubarak." (Yasser Arafat, Los Angeles Times, 10/8/85)

"The United States does not want a solution. All the American statements or excuses we hear are just attempts to escape a solution." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Akhbar, 9/26/85)

"Thank God the U.S. Administration did not make me any promises. I have never for one moment believed its false promises. This is just an attempt to keep the region preoccupied and renege on promises." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 8/24/85)

"This onslaught is in implementation of the Camp Murphy conspiracy... (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 7/4/85)

"...under the leadership of the PLO, the Palestinian people in Lebanon, have clung to their choice to struggle

against the new plots of Camp Murphy.." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 5/21/85)

"We do not trust the U.S., which is the strategic ally of Israel... We know very well that the U.S. Administration is biased toward our enemy...We are exerting all efforts to correct a situation that will not continue forever." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/16/85)

"As you are aware, this dangerous front with which world Zionism is facing us is a natural and basic extension of the age of imperialism. I would not be exaggerating if I were to say that it is the imperialist center...a bridgehead for the old and new imperialism, a bridgehead for the United States." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/15/85)

"Zionist information is spread internationally and backed by a devilish machine: the U.S. imperialist machine and that of some of the European imperialists." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/15/85)

"From here we reject the U.S. concept of terrorism. Actually, the United States is conducting terrorism, as it has done in Guatamala, Vietnam, Latin America, Central America, El Salvador, Nicaragua and by implanting Israel in Palestine as a terrorist entity..." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/30/85)

"The U.S. is responsible for obstructing efforts to solve the Palestine question." (Arafat, Voice of PLO, 4/29/85)

"The adventurous US policy in the region, seeks to isolate the Arab forces and create controversial issues in order to divert attention from the great pan-Arab cause, the Palestine question." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 1/1/85)

"As for me, my objective is to defy the Americans and resist their policies." (Yasser Arafat, AFP, Paris, 11/29/84)

"From the Lebanese-Palestinian foxhole we say to you, Kaddafi, that we stand together with you in the front line, fighting not only against Israel but also against America and its agents in this area. We hug the Libyan pilots. We say No! to surrender and No! to submission in this area. We say: A firm stand and ight until victory. We are prepared to send men from our joint forces in order to fight, together with you, in sister Libya against this aggression." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, Beirut, 8/21/81)

"I call upon you to adopt the most violent means against the US and its interests in the region." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/27/79)

Pro-Soviet Position

"...I say that relationship between us and our Soviet friends is strong. We are proud of this relationship." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ittihad, 3/22/86)

"We are very keen on our freindship with the Soviets...Palestinian-Soviet relations have seen many positive changes recently. Currently there are continuous contacts on more than one level between us and our friends the Soviets." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Anba, 2/23/86)

"I should point out that one of the most important steps we have taken is the restoration of Palestinian-Soviet relations to their former strength..." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 1/3/86)

"I view these relations with the friendly Soviet Union as satisfactory...In my name and on behalf of the PLO Executive Committee and the Palestinian people, I extend greeting to Comrade Gorbachev, to the Soviet Union, and the Socialist countries...Our people are grateful for this friendly Soviet position expressed by Gorbachev." (Yasser Arafat, Budapest Television Service, 11/28/85)

"Soviet-Palestinian relations are good. We are eager to develop these relations and so is the friendly USSR." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Khalij, 11/6/85)

"...the PLO's relationship with the USSR is a special relationship and stronger now than any time before...I do not believe that this relationship needs to be strengthened more." (Yaser Arafat, MENA, 10/13/85)

"We will continue to adhere to the international conference so the USSR will not be excluded from the framework of a just solution to the Middle East crisis, because the USSR is our friend and ally." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/16/85)

"The triumph of the Nicaraguans is the PLO's triumph." (Yasser Arafat, FBIS, July 24, 1980)

Terrorism

"Our forces and rockets are back in south Lebanon and are striking with full force at Israeli forces...What is happening now is a settlement of accounts and a re-drawing of maps." (Yasser Arafat, Washington Times, 4/4/86)

"The Palestinian volcano will not cease its military operations and the Palestinians remain to be the nation iof sacrifices and miracles in spite of all Zionist and other collusions." (Yasser Arafat, KUNA, 3/30/86)

"...What I mean to say to the Israelis, to the Arabs, to the Americans, and to the Soviets is that after a halt of 3 and 1/2 years Palestinian rockets are once again hitting Israeli military settlements." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 2/19/86)

"No one will ever be able to stop our path which will

continue until final victory." (Yasser Arafat, Arab News, 1/11/86)

"...the struggle march is continuing with tenacity and power on the path of martyrdom and glory until the great victory - when our Arab nation's flags will fly over the Jerusalem minarets and churches in our national Palestinian state. Together, brothers and my loved ones, on the path of jihad and mujahidin!" (Yasser Arafat, Sanaa Voice of Palestine, 1/8/86)

"After all these years, the Palestinian-Lebanese joint forces are shelling these settlements, which are used as advanced military centers for the Israeli Army on the border...The 11 katyusha attacks are not a political declaration between the joint forces and the Israeli Army. It is an Arab political declaration against the Israeli enemy." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 1/6/86)

"As for acts of resistance, these amounted to 850 in the course of the past year, not counting the actions in southern Lebanon." (Yasser Arafat, As-Sabah, 1/3/86)

"The Palestinian revolution will remain - under all circumstances and despite all difficulties - faithful to the goals of the first bullet fired at dawn on the first day of 1965. It will continue to adhere to the pledge and the flame of our armed struggle will not be extinguished until we raise our flag over Jerusalem, the capital of the Palestinian state." (Yasser Arafat, Aden Voice of Palestine, 1/3/86)

"I tell them that there is one people and one command in the PLO." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 1/3/86)

"It is not responsible to announce that we will confine our operations to the West Bank and Gaza while we do not recognize Israel...military operations are not excluded from Israeli territory." (Yasser Arafat, Radio Monte Carlo, 11/15/85)

"I don't simply want, I demand, more (commando) operations, and more resistance against this occupation until it leaves our land." (Yasser Arafat, Arab News, 11/11/85)

The Palestinian people will "never let the gun fall from their hands." The Cairo Declaration was "a diplomatic riposte to the fierce U.S. and Zionist campaign against the PLO." (Yasser Arafat, Washington Post, 11/11/85)

"...all forms of resistance will take place inside the occupied land in accordance with the UN Charter, heaven, and international law." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 11/11/85)

"We made a distinction between resistance against the Israeli enemy who has occupied our land, and any terrorist operation against innocent civilians outside of the occupied lands." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ittihad, 11/10/85)

"...armed Palestinian struggle against the enemy will

continue until all of Palestine is liberated...resistance will be greatly stepped up, following the total implementation of the PNC resolutions relating to armed struggle in the occupied territories." (Yasser Arafat, WAKH, 11/10/85)

"We have declared in it [the Cairo Declaration] the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter and resolutions, which provide for the legitimacy of resisting Israeli occupation with all means." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 11/9/85)

"The organization, in this respect, reasserts its commitment to the right of the Palestinian people to resist Israeli occupation of their land with all available means to achieve a withdrawal from these territories." (Yasser Arafat, Arab News, 11/8/85)

"...the Palestinian pledge will remain the same, the Palestinian oath will also remain the same, and the Palestinian rifle will not be laid down." (Yasser Arafat, KUNA, 10/23/85)

"I am with all resistance in all the Palestinian territories occupied by the Israeli military junta." (Yasser Arafat, Wall Street Journal, 10/21/85)

"...The Palestinian rifle will continue to be held until it achieves its certain triumph...Armed struggle will continue to be our main option for achieving all of our militant people's objectives and aspiration." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 10/17/85)

"Reagan has decided to assassinate the PLO leadership in the belief that, by so doing, the revolution will come to an end," Arafat said. "This is not so. The jihad [holy war] and the armed struggle will be escalated." (Yasser Arafat, Washington Post, 10/16/85)

"...Armed struggle will continue despite the United States and its agents." (Yasser Arafat, SUNA, 10/15/85)

"...the PLO did not and will not relinquish military action as a method to regain Palestinian rights while it is discussing principles of peace." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 10/13/85)

"I am confident that our people will continue the struggle. They will retaliate by escalating their resistance to the occupation and to U.S.-supported Zionist terrorism." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 10/4/85)

"...the revolution resumed its militant march by escalating Palestinian military operations in the occupied land and behind enemy lines in southern Lebanon." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 9/7/85)

"Brother leader Abu Ammar has stressed the need to continue and escalate Palestinian military operations against

the Zionist occupation forces inside the occupied homeland."
(Voice of PLO, 9/5/85)

"I do not fight for the sake of fighting. I fight for a political objective." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 8/24/85)

"On the situation in the occupied territories, I can proudly say that the escalating Palestinian military work is what we promised our Arab nation during the convening of the PNC." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Yawm, 8/21/85)

"...the PLO's political movement is part of its struggle and is complementary to the armed struggle which is escalating and actively expanding in the occupied territories, giving us pride and confidence...We will not allow the imposition of any preconditions on our political movements and on our working steps in this regard by any side whatsoever." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of the PLO, 8/19/85)

"...We still have allies in Lebanon, including the Hezbollah Party which supports us in accordance with religious principles." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Musawwar, 7/19/85)

"Further struggle in all forms and methods. At the heart of this comes armed struggle...The weak do not have peace. This has been our conviction since the beginning and so it will remain until victory." (Yasser Arafat, SAWT AL-SHA'B, 6/28/85)

"This revolution will not stop until its banner is raised over the minarets of Jerusalem and its charges." (Yasser Arafat, Radio Monte Carlo, 6/7/85)

"As I have said, our agreement (the Jordanian-Palestinian Accord of Feb. 11, 1985) is a joint agreement on action, joint steps and joint efforts so that we can together liberate our land and liberate Jerusalem, God willing." (Yasser Arafat, AL-QABAS, 6/6/85)

"The Palestinian people will continue their struggle to attain their national rights, irrespective of the sacrifices they may have to offer...We will triumph." (Yasser Arafat, SAWT AL-SAWB, 6/4/85)

"...20 Palestinian fighters of those who participated in the naval operation which Israel recently announced it had discovered, are currently working in occupied Palestine and are carrying out military operations against Zionist targets." (Yasser Arafat, SAWT AL-SAWB, 6/4/85)

In a speech upon the release of 1150 prisoners, Arafat congratulated every person "[who was] determined to proceed with the struggle with all means to liberate those who remain in captivity with the Zionist enemy." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine - Algiers, 5/21/85)

"...military operations are presently being stepped up inside occupied Palestine and in southern Lebanon where Palestinian and Lebanese combatants are waging a war of

attrition against the Israeli enemy." (Yasser Arafat, Luanda Domestic Service - Portugal, 5/14/85)

"The armed option is the Palestinian revolution's option..." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 5/13/85)

"This is a very important point. Last year we carried out 351 operations within Palestinian occupied territories, as the Israeli enemy has admitted." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/30/85)

"On our part, our policy is based on continuation [of the struggle] so that victory will be achieved in this form in actual fact, since it is the infrastructure. With regard to the superstructure - the Arab situation, and the Arab-Israeli balance of power - we must not forget that what we are facing in southern Lebanon is merely an army of occupation in the form of a force. However, what we face in our occupied land are settlers, totaling 3,500,000 individuals." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/30/85)

"This strategy of which I spoke requires two basic trends for its completion: the escalation of military action inside our occupied land against the Israeli enemy; and second continuation of the Palestinian-Lebanese resistance in southern Lebanon. These are the features of a plan for a comprehensive strategy." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/30/85)

"...the Palestinian revolution endeavours to prove its existence in the battlefield on the basis of its strong conviction that the rifle is its real capital." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 4/27/85)

"The most recent guerrilla action, which was carried out off the coast of Palestine was not the last; rather, it constitutes the beginning of a series of additional actions which will hurt Israel." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ray al-Am, 4/25/85)

"The recent fedayeen naval operation against the Zionist entity has asserted the Palestinian determination to wage armed struggle to regain their homeland." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 4/24/85)

"...we do not carry out seasonal operations and our armed struggle continues inside and outside the occupied territory." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 4/24/85)

"...all we have to do is to continue the struggle." (Yasser Arafat, UKTUBAR, 4/14/85)

"With our armed resistance we restored to our commitment the image of a struggle against an invader, of a struggle against the Israeli military junta." (Yasser Arafat Interview, Madrid - EL PAIS, 3/4/85)

"In accordance with the revolution command's policy and in compliance with its decision to escalated armed struggle inside the occupied homeland...our heroic revolution continues to inflict further losses against the Zionist occupation forces." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of the PLO, 2/25/85)

Arafat explained that "military pressure on the Zionist entity must be an escalation of armed struggle in the occupied Arab territories." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 2/21/85)

"The PLO is committed to escalating fedayeen action against the Zionist occupation of occupied Palestine... The escalation of the armed fedayeen action has a special priority for the PLO leadership." (Yasser Arafat, Sanaa, VOP, 1/14/85)

"A pledge is a pledge and an oath is an oath. We all have a date to meet in Holy Jerusalem where one of my country's children and one of Palestine's cubs, will hoist the revolution's flag high on Jerusalem's walls, mosques, and churches." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 1/1/85)

"The course of armed struggle, has been and will remain the main course and option which will not abandon or fail to carry out and protect the means of its continuation and escalation." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 1/1/85)

"The march will not stop until Khalid, Umar, Mu'ammarr (Qawasimi's sons) and all the cubs of this nation raise the flag of this revolution over Jerusalem, Hebron and the entire Palestinian territory. It is a revolution until victory." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 12/31/84)

"I am proud to say that the Palestinian revolution is still fighting together with its Lebanese allies in southern Lebanon side by side with full responsibility." (Yasser Arafat, Abu Dhabi, 12/21/84)

"Our war is going to be a long and hard one. Palestine will not be regained through peaceful solutions or through the Israeli Labour Party, as some believe, but through fighting and Palestinian blood." (Yasser Arafat, DOHA, Qatar, 12/19/84)

"The PLO stresses the need to escalate armed struggle against the Zionist occupation...inside the occupied homeland, because it is the only language the occupiers can understand." (Yasser Arafat, VOP, 12/15/84)

"A nation that gives up its military option does not deserve to live." (Yasser Arafat, Ash-Shark al-Aussat, 12/5/84)

"The road to Jerusalem is to be found in the adherence of the Arab nation to the military option." (Yasser Arafat,

Kuwait News Agency, 12/4/84)

This [Gulf] war will end with the efforts of the Muslims and the nonaligned states so that we will move together with the Iraqi Army, God willing to Jerusalem." (Yasser Arafat, Amman Domestic Service, 11/29/84)

"The triumph of the Nicaraguans is the PLO's triumph." (Yasser Arafat, 7/23/80, FBIS).

"Khomeini's position is good and he shows understanding towards this position of ours. We sent the director of military operations to Iran, since the military option is possible..." (Yasser Arafat, from Raphael Israeli, PLO in Lebanon, 1983)

Rejectionism

"...the PLO will never accept capitulation or political extortion - such as the extortion that Britain tried to practice recently." (Yasser Arafat, WAKH, 10/23/85)

"Camp David [accords] should not be only an Egyptian problem...but an Egyptian-Arab problem." (Yasser Arafat, KUNA, 10/21/85)

"Our stand is clear. The 12th PNC in Cairo said we will have nothing to do with Resolution 242 because it deals with our Palestinian people not as a people with a problem but as refugees." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 7/25/85)

"No doubt Jordan is accepting 242 and 338...No. I'll not repeat it. I'm not a monkey. I give my own political statements." (Yasser Arafat, Wall Street Journal, 6/7/85)

"We reject a direct dialogue or direct negotiations, and we reject any solution that is not achieved through an international conference." (Yasser Arafat, AL-QABAS, 6/6/85)

"It is up to the U.S. and Israeli governments, they have to move, we have moved enough." (Yasser Arafat, Xinhua General Overseas News Service - Cairo, 6/5/85)

"We must not forget that those members [of the PNC] are from the PLO and are part of us." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 5/13/85)

Murphy "tried to tempt" Palestinian personalities "to participate in a delegation from which the PLO would be excluded, but again they were firm in their answers and emphasized their rejection of Resolution 242, as we have decided at the PNC, because it does not recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 5/3/85)

"Richard Murphy, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern Affairs, has asked Palestinian figures inside the occupied territory to present solutions to the problems

under occupation, and to represent the Palestinians within a joint delegation from which the PLO would be omitted. However, through their two meetings with Richard Murphy, the Palestinian figures rejected any proposals on which the PLO does not agree." (Yasir Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/1/85)

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THE PLO

Anti-Americanism

"Now we say that we are ready with all of our strength and forces to take part in defending Libya and the Libyan territories and to forget previous sensitivities and to extend our hand to Brother Colonel Muammar al-Qadhaffi for joint resistance of the US design in the region, particularly what concerns the aggression against Libya." (Salah Khalef, Al-Bayan, 4/16/86)

"The United States, with its criminal onslaught against Libya, is practicing the ugliest form of official terrorism. It is the same terrorism that the Palestinian people are facing in their camps and concentration locations by the Israeli occupation forces. The Palestinian people, the victims of US-Israeli terrorism, stand in the same trench in which the Libyan people are standing to confront the US attack against the Libyan people and homeland." (Khalil al-Wazir, Al-Bayan, 4/16/86)

"Our battle is not with Jordan, but with the United States which is rejecting the principle of self-determination for the Palestinian people." (Salah Khalef, WAKH, 3/23/86)

"As for the United States, it will continue to insist on its stand. This stand is based on the arrogance of power...I want to address the US arrogance of power that we will not be the losers in this. Let them know that the flood and volcano which I talked about as I left Beirut still continue in the region and that other interests, not only Arab interests in the region will be harmed." (Yasser Arafat, Abu Dhabi Domestic Service, 3/21/86)

"As you know, some 44 US senators have signed a petition demanding that I be brought to trial; that is, I should be tried before American courts. Of course this is part of the fierce campaign." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 2/19/86)

"Our movement is a national liberation movement that has been struggling against U.S. imperialism for more than 20 years. During this struggle the Soviet Union has been a friend." (Khalil al-Wazir, Al-Watan, 2/14/86)

"I do not think that progress will be made in the Middle East during Reagan's term. Rather, I predict an escalation

of tension in the region." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Al-Ittihad, 2/4/86)

"The very beginning of Palestinian diplomatic activity consisted of individual initiatives to earn friends and to turn world attention to the side of the Palestinian problem. An example of this is the action of Sirhan in the United States, which was a political action, much beyond the mere shooting of Kennedy. Palestinians in Latin America and additional places exerted a great effort so that the problem of their people would earn recognition. Afterwards, the diplomatic attempt developed, through reliance on a strengthening of the armed struggle and the popular awakening. Our problem is one of the world's difficult and dangerous problems. Everywhere one turns, the United States stands opposite us. In short, Palestinian diplomacy is the echo of the Palestinian rifle in the world and an apparatus for achieving the political objectives through the armed struggle." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Filastin al-Thawrah, 1/25/86)

"The Americans have to remember that unless Palestinians achieve something, they will face the typhoon and (Islamic fundamentalism) is part of the typhoon." (Yasser Arafat, UPI, 1/18/86)

The PLF "has invited international revolutionary parties and forces to hold a secret conference to decide jointly on the best means to combat U.S. terrorism internationally." (Mohammed Abbas, Washington Post, 1/10/86)

"Those who accuse us are the Western camp and its media and the Zionist entity and its world organizations. They are hostile not only to the PLO but also to the Palestinian people and their legitimate rights." (Khalid al-Hasan, Al-Hawadith, 1/7/86)

"We stand with Libya against any aggression against it by Israel or the United States..." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 1/7/86)

The Arab "strategy should take into consideration that danger is imminent for all and that the enemy is the same, be he Israeli or the United States." (Yasser Arafat, Aden Voice of Palestine, 1/3/86)

"I personally believe that Reagan is a simple robot and a parrot who repeats what certain people tell him without comprehending what he is saying because he in fact lacks reason." (Yasser Arafat, KUNA, 1/1/86)

"There is a confrontation between us and the American superpower. We regard the US government as the controlling force of neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism, and we have no doubt that the US employs Israel to spearhead its strategy of domination in the Middle East." (Yasser Arafat, South, January, 1986)

"I spoke about 'the volcano' and 'the typhoon' when I was leaving Beirut. Nobody understood what I meant by the volcano and the typhoon, but soon the Americans knew, when they had to pay a high price in the shameful withdrawal of their navy and marines from Beirut because of the courage and unity of the Palestinians." (Yasser Arafat, South, January, 1986)

"I see the US administration as the leader of these forces of neo-colonialism and racism." (Yasser Arafat, South, January, 1986)

The Palestinians are "still facing great challenges and the apparent escalation of aggression. The United States is the center of this aggression." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 12/31/86)

"This crime [the bombing of PLO headquarters in Tunis] was followed by crazy U.S. actions, such as the hijacking of the Egyptian civil plane and the instigating of aggressive action against the Palestinian people and their revolution. This embodies another deep and clear-cut dimension against our entire Arab nation. It is the declared, direct U.S. involvement in the Arab-Zionist conflict." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 12/31/86)

"This reminds us of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The Palestinian people and their revolution, cause, and leadership are a direct central target of this new U.S. war. Out of my position in both the Palestinian and Arab arenas, I sound the alarm for the entire Arab nation. At the same time, I warn of dangerous dimensions in this direct, declared U.S. involvement in the conflict. I also affirm that we will not be the only party affected by this involvement nor will we be the loser in it." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 12/31/85)

"The terrorism which the world rejects and which we reject is U.S. terrorism against the peoples of the world including the Palestinian people: We reject such practices that cause disasters and the killing of innocent peoples in the world." (Mohammed Abbas, Al-Ittihad Al-Usbu'i, 12/5/85)

"This U.S. position constitutes a continued aggression by the U.S. Administration against Palestine and the Arab nation." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 11/27/85)

"I can't forget that the American administration - the American president himself - declared his blessing to kill me." (Yasser Arafat, Washington Times, 11/20/85)

"We are on the threshold of a fierce battle - not an Israeli-Palestinian battle but a Palestinian-U.S. battle." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahali, 11/13/85)

"The PLO warns that such attempts which take U.S. economic projects as a symbol of reviving the economic situation in the occupied territories will only be rejected and resisted by us." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Algiers Voice of Palestine, 11/10/85)

"Israel, which is the only state that was established by an international resolution, is like the United States, in that both disregard international resolutions and completely refuse to recognize and implement them." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 11/9/85)

The Arab nation is experiencing "'U.S. arrogance', which is not an Israeli arrogance but a U.S.-Israeli arrogance against the Arab nation." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 11/9/85)

Abu Abbas "is free, of course, and he is a member of the PLO Executive Committee. I do not think we will do what Reagan says." (Yasser Arafat, Ukaz, 11/3/85)

"We as an Arab nation should resist the U.S. Administration. They can say that they are a superpower. However, they should remember Vietnam. Here it will be more complicated than Vietnam. They have more interests in this region than Vietnam. They should recall that when I left Beirut I said that the volcano will not become dormant." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 10/29/85)

"The same role was played by Johnson in Vietnam and now Reagan is playing the same role in the Middle East crisis and in the Arab-Israeli confrontation and conflict. This is grave on all levels, not only now, but also in the future." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 10/29/85)

"...this attitude by Washington is not partiality for Israel but rather a direct confrontation between us and the United States." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 10/18/85)

"The masses have realized how deceived they were by the words of the United States, which not only is after the head of Yasir Arafat or the PLO but also wants to subjugate and humiliate the Arab nation... It has become a principal adversary to us and therefore it has to shoulder the responsibility for this... The Arab nation and its masses must deal with the United States on this basis; they should boycott the United States economically if they cannot boycott it politically." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 10/18/85)

The Reagan Administration can "knock its head against the wall. The Americans will never arrest Abu Abbas." (Salah Khalef, Washington Times, 10/18/85)

"...The real enemy is pursuing the the real enemy, that is, the United States and Israel are pursuing the PLO." (Yasser Arafat, Radio Monte Carlo, 10/17/85)

"...Palestinians regarded the United States as their principle enemy even before the air raid against the PLO headquarters in Tunis." (Salah Khalef, reported in Baghdad Voice of PLO, 10/17/85)

"Our main enemy is the American Administration. Israel is one of the bases in the area in a joint venture. We understand our conflict as being first with the United States and then with Israel." (Mohammed Abbas, New York Times, 10/15/85)

"There is no difference between a terrorist who hijacks a plane with a pistol and terrorist who hijacks a plane with warplanes." It was "an act of terrorism" and an exercise in "cowboy logic". (Yasser Arafat, New York Times, 10/13/

"We are facing a U.S.-Israeli plot to undermine the peace efforts and destroy the Palestinian revolution...We know that Israel is the major hand of U.S. terrorism in the Middle East, and that it is trying to impose capitulation on the Arab nation." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 10/13/85)

"We call upon the masses of our Arab nation to answer immediately and appropriately to this American crime and to confront firmly this flagrant violation by America and Israel against Arab dignity." (PLO Executive Committee Statement, New York Times, 10/12/85)

"The United States has a two-faced policy, not only towards me but towards those who are its friends, King Hussein and President Mubarak." (Yasser Arafat, Los Angeles Times, 10/8/85)

"The United States does not want a solution. All the American statements or excuses we hear are just attempts to escape a solution." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Akhbar, 9/26/85)

"You cannot talk with the Americans in their current lynch-mob mood, led by Ronald Rambo." (Nabil Shaat, Chrisitian Science Monitor, 9/16/85)

"Thank God the U.S. Administration did not make me any promises. I have never for one moment believed its false promises. This is just an attempt to keep the region preoccupied and renege on promises." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 8/24/85)

"On the contrary, we believe that it [the joint-delegation] would be a step toward attracting the United States to the right path, which is an international conference, because it is the United States that is a stumbling block to peace." (PLO Representative at the U.N. Zehdi al-Terzi, Al-Mujallah, 8/14-20/85)

"This onslaught is in implementation of the Camp Murphy conspiracy... (Arafat, Voice of PLO, 7/4/85)

"Khalid al-Hasan - Fatah Central Committee Member - emphasized the need to escalate the Palestinian military struggle and achieve Arab solidarity, and for the Arabs, to use their potential and capabilities on the international level to make the American citizen feel that the U.S. policy on the Middle East conflict is the reason for his acute daily difficulties." (WAKH, 6/17/85)

"...under the leadership of the PLO, the Palestinian people in Lebanon, have clung to their choice to struggle against the new plots of Camp Murphy.." (Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 5/21/85)

"We do not trust the U.S., which is the strategic ally of Israel... We know very well that the U.S. Administration is biased toward our enemy... We are exerting all efforts to correct a situation that will not continue forever." (Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/16/85)

"As you are aware, this dangerous front with which world Zionism is facing us is a natural and basic extension of the age of imperialism. I would not be exaggerating if I were to say that it is the imperialist center... a bridgehead for the old and new imperialism, a bridgehead for the United States." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/15/85)

"Zionist information is spread internationally and backed by a devilish machine: the U.S. imperialist machine and that of some of the European imperialists." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/15/85)

"The Arabs have so far not specified the conditions for dealing with the United States within the context of disputes and contradiction, despite all the immense capabilities that qualify the Arabs and enable them to really threaten U.S. interests in the region in a manner that would force the United States to give in to Arab will and change its completely biased policy toward the Zionist enemy." (Voice of PLO, 5/6/85)

"Thus, we will always place Washington at the top of the list of the forces we must fight with all our means." (Voice of PLO, 5/6/85)

"From here we reject the U.S. concept of terrorism. Actually, the United States is conducting terrorism, as it has done in Guatemala, Vietnam, Latin America, Central America, El Salvador, Nicaragua and by implanting Israel in Palestine as a terrorist entity..." (Yasir Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/30/85)

"The U.S. is responsible for obstructing efforts to solve the Palestine question." (Arafat, Voice of PLO, 4/29/85)

"Armed struggle remains the option which the Palestinian revolution insists to pursue, because the Zionist entity and America do not wish to see anything that bears the name of Palestine or the PLO." (Salah Khalaf, WAKH, 1/6/85)

"The adventurous US policy in the region, seeks to isolate the Arab forces and create controversial issues in order to divert attention from the great pan-Arab cause, the Palestine question." (Arafat, Voice of PLO, 1/1/85)

"As for me, my objective is to defy the Americans and resist their policies." (Arafat, AFP, Paris, 11/29/84)

"It is definite that the USSR is our friend and we must not forget it..We must extend our hands to it.. We must not forget that on the other side is the United States whose only friend is its interests." (Salah Khalaf, Amman Domestic Service, 11/26/84)

"Contrary to the general impression, our battle is not against Syria. This time is against the United States which is the party bent on destroying Fatah, the PLO, and all Palestinian action." (al-Rachman, PLO Official Spokesman, Al-Dustur, 11/26/84)

"From the Lebanese-Palestinian foxhole we say to you, Kaddafi, that we stand together with you in the front line, fighting not only against Israel but also against America and its agents in this area. We hug the Libyan pilots. We say: No! to surrender and No! to submission in this area. We say: A firm stand and fight until victory. We are prepared to send men from our joint forces in order to fight, together with you, in sister Libya against this aggression." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, Beirut, 8/21/81)

"I call upon you to adopt the most violent means against the US and its interests in the region." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/27/79)

Pro-Soviet Position

"...There should be a real Arab direction toward the Soviet Union and countries which still have not established relations with Moscow should do so. Then an Arab agreement should be reached with the Soviet Union on a plan to resist this aggression." (Salah Khalef, Al-Bayan, 5/16/86)

"...I say that relationship between us and our Soviet friends is strong. We are proud of this relationship." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ittihad, 3/22/86)

"We are very keen on our freindship with the Soviets...Palestinian-Soviet relations have seen many positive changes recently. Currently there are continuous contacts on more than one level between us and our friends the Soviets." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Anba, 2/23/86)

"Our movement is a national liberation movement that has been struggling against U.S. imperialism for more than 20 years. During this struggle the Soviet Union has been a friend." (Khalil al-Wazir, Al-Watan, 2/14/86)

"I should point out that one of the most important steps we have taken is the restoration of Palestinian-Soviet relations to their former strength..." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 1/3/86)

"I view these relations with the friendly Soviet Union as satisfactory...In my name and on behalf of the PLO Executive Committee and the Palestinian people, I extend greeting to Comrade Gorbachev, to the Soviet Union, and the Socialist countries...Our people are grateful for this friendly Soviet position expressed by Gorbachev." (Yasser Arafat, Budapest Television Service, 11/28/85)

"Soviet-Palestinian relations are good. We are eager to develop these relations and so is the friendly USSR." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Khalij, 11/6/85)

"...the PLO's relationship with the USSR is a special relationship and stronger now than any time before...I do not believe that this relationship needs to be strengthened more." (Yaser Arafat, MENA, 10/13/85)

"The triumph of the Nicaraguans is the PLO's triumph." (Yasser Arafat, FBIS, July 24, 1980)

"We proceed on the basis that the Soviet Union is a friend of the Arabs and particularly of the Palestinian people." (Salah Khalaf [Abu Iyad], Al-Ahali, 7/24/85)

"Moscow supports the creation of an independent Palestinian state and the PLO's sole and legitimate representation of the Palestinian people while Washington ignores the Palestinian people's rights and does not recognize the PLO." (Salah Khalaf - Fatah CC Member, 7/5/85)

"We will continue to adhere to the international conference so the USSR will not be excluded from the framework of a just solution to the Middle East crisis, because the USSR is our friend and ally." (Yasir Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/16/85)

"It is natural that when two powers have joint enemies, which are imperialism and Zionism, the relationship between them is a solid and true one and one which is on a principled basis. This is the relationship between the Soviet Union and the Palestinian revolution." (Sakhr Habash - PLO envoy in Moscow, Al-Anba, 5/12/85)

"I sincerely stress that the USSR has a sound political viewpoint that enables it to be the loyal friend of the Palestinian people and the international struggler to safeguard the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." (Abd al-Rahim - PLO Political Department, Voice of PLO, 5/12/85)

"Our ties with the Soviet Union have been and are still solid because they rest on sound bases and mutual respect." (Fatah Central Committee Member Salim al-Za'nun, KUNA, 5/8/85)

"We believe that the Soviet initiative which was supported by the PNC, provides a sound basis for any political settlement." (Faruq Qaddmi, ~ ULAl-Majallah, 1/18/85)

"The PNC announces its support for the latest USSR initiative, that which recognizes our people's national right within the framework of defending them at an international conference." (PNC Political Report, VOP, 11/30/84)

Rejectionism

Accepting resolution 242 "would mean accepting 1967 boundries as the Israeli boundries which we don't...He [Arafat] said the armed struggle would be confined to the occupied territories, that's right, but all Palestine is occupied, and this means that we continue our struggle in the occupied territories, and this is something exactly right." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Khaleej Times, 3/21/86)

"We consider Resolution number 242 inadequate for achieving our rights and destiny. The PNC has decided not to accept this resolution, becuae it regards the Palestinian issue as an issue of refugees and not as an issue of a people and legitimate rights." (Khalil al-Wazir, Al-Watan, 2/14/86)

"...Milhim said that the PLO will never recognize Israeli under any circumstances, not even if it pulls its borders bakc to Haifa and Jaffa." (Muhammed Milhim, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 12/12/85)

"What is Israel? We in the PLF say that all occupied Palestinian territory is ours." (Mohammed Abbas, Al-Ittihad Al-Uсбу'i, 12/5/85)

"We are not a group of refugees and the Zionist entity's right to exist is a myth, as its primary aim is to undermine the Palestinian people's right to resistance and self-determination." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 12/3/85).

"...The PLO will never recognize the Zionist entity's right to exist because it is a hostile presence in the Middle East which cannot be recognized." (Farouk Kaddoumi, paraphrased in Baghdad Voice of the PLO, 12/1/85)

"We have never accepted and will never accept Resolution 242...We must begin negotiations where the conflict arose, that is, with the 1947 plan for a division. The plan was never fully negotiated, and taken as a whole it is unacceptable. But it remains the only legal basis for possible negotiations." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Svenska Dagbladet, 10/26/85)

"...the PLO will never accept capitulation or political extortion - such as the extortion that Britain tried to practice recently." (Yasser Arafat, WAKH, 10/23/85)

"Camp David [accords] should not be only an Egyptian problem...but an Egyptian-Arab problem." (Yasser Arafat, KUNA, 10/21/85)

"The result of the exercise this morning carried the message that the accreditation of the neo-facist junta in Tel Aviv is not totally and unconditionally welcome here [U.N.]" (Zehdi Terzi, KUNA, 10/16/85)

"You may ask King Hussein, but I as the head of the Political Department wish to affirm that 242 and 338 are

completely rejected by the PLO." (Farouk Kaddoumi, KUNA, 10/1/85)

"Time has shown that Murphy and the Americans are working to split the PLO and the Palestinian revolution because their conditions trespassed the red line, and no Palestinian leader accepts these conditions." (Salah Khalef, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 9/3/85)

"Jordan and the PLO reject any direct talks with Israel." (Hanna Sanyurah, Radio Monte Carlo, 8/25/85)

"Mr. al-Wazir reiterated the PLO's rejection of direct talks with Israel and the organization's commitment to an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the UN. 'Such a conference would only constitute the appropriate framework for working out a just and durable peace solution in the Middle East,' he said." (Abu Jihad, Jordan Times, 8/19/85)

"'Nothing was discussed about direct negotiations' with Israel in the months since the February 11 accord between the PLO and Jordan." (Abu Jihad, Boston Globe, 8/17/85)

"...the PLO demands that the United States recognize both it and the Palestinian people's rights in return for which the PLO agrees only to permit the Mideast peace process to be conducted through an international conference." (Faruq Qaddumi, MENA, 8/3/85)

"Our stand is clear. The 12th PNC in Cairo said we will have nothing to do with Resolution 242 because it deals with our Palestinian people not as a people with a problem but as refugees." (Yasir Arafat, Al-Ahram, 7/25/85)

"We will not agree that the price for American recognition of the PLO will be PLO recognition of resolution 242." (Hani al-Hassan, Radio Monte Carlo, 7/19/85)

Fatah Central Committee Member and Security head, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) has "affirmed his opposition to the Palestinian - Jordanian agreement, which he finds unnecessary and which he feels "will not open new horizons to solve the Palestinian question." (KUNA and AL-ILAN, 7/5/85)

Khalid al-Hasan reiterated that "the organization (PLO) has rejected Resolution 242 and still is, and will continue to reject it as a basis for a political solution of the conflict in the Middle East." (KUNA, 7/3/85)

Mohammad Milhim "reiterated the PLO's rejection of any direct Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli talks as envisaged by Mr. Peres' proposal." (Milhim, Jordan Times, 6/12/85)

"The U.S. must abandon such a request (direct negotiations between a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and Israel) because I will not participate in any direct negotiations with Israel. (Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih - PNC Speaker, AL-SIYASAH, 6/10/85)

"No doubt Jordan is accepting 242 and 338...No. I'll not repeat it. I'm not a monkey. I give my own political statements." (Yasser Arafat, Wall Street Journal, 6/7/85)

"We reject a direct dialogue or direct negotiations, and we reject any solution that is not achieved through an international conference." (Arafat, AL-QABAS, 6/6/85)

"It is up to the U.S. and Israeli governments, they have to move, we have moved enough." (Arafat, Xinhua General Overseas News Service - Cairo, 6/5/85)

"Farouq Qaddumi asserted that 'he will not recognize Israel as a state...' (Radio Monte Carlo, 6/5/85)

"The policy of stages means, in the first stage, the West Bank and Gaza. There is a contradiction between the conscience and the mind, because the conscience immediately asks in fear: what about Palestine of 1948? Proceeding by stages means taking what is possible at this stage and continuing the struggle for the final goal...our great dream is the democratic state in all of Palestine...It is a long struggle which will not be resolved except by liquidating either Arab nationalism or Zionism. This contradiction cannot be settled except by liquidating one of them." (Khalid al-Hassan, Al-Anba, 5/23/85)

"We must not forget that those members [of the PNC] are from the PLO and are part of us." (Yasir Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 5/13/85)

"All PNC members are also members of the PLO...Any attempt by the United States or Israel to talk to Palestinians outside the PLO is doomed as there is no Palestinian willing to start a dialogue outside the PLO context." (PLO Executive Committee Member Abd al-Razzaq al-Yahya, Jordan Times, 5/9/85)

"We do not under any circumstance accept a West Bank and Gaza ruled by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan or any Arab state." (Salah Khalaf, Christian Science Monitor, 5/9/85)

"Murphy came to the region to get Palestinian concessions and attempts to create rifts between the Palestinians and their Arab brothers." The PLO "rejects the American policy including the U.S. President Ronald Reagan's (peace) plan." (Faruk Kaddoumi, KUNA, 5/4/85)

Murphy "tried to tempt" Palestinian personalities "to participate in a delegation from which the PLO would be excluded, but again they were firm in their answers and emphasized their rejection of Resolution 242, as we have decided at the PNC, because it does not recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination." (Yasir Arafat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 5/3/85)

"Richard Murphy, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern Affairs, has asked Palestinian figures inside

the occupied territory to present solutions to the problems under occupation, and to represent the Palestinians within a joint delegation from which the PLO would be omitted. However, through their two meetings with Richard Murphy, the Palestinian figures rejected any proposals on which the PLO does not agree." (Yasir Arafat, Voice of PLO, 5/1/85)

"There cannot be a successful liberation war without Egypt. We constantly do our best so that Egypt will be delivered and break all its political, economic, and military chains...As I have said, these chains are well known. They are the chains of Camp David." (Faruq Qaddumi, WAKH, 4/30/85)

"Abu Jihad reaffirmed the PLO's rejection of the Camp David agreements and any settlements or peaceful solutions based on these agreements..." (AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, 4/27/85)

"Our people inside [the occupied territory] have rejected Murphy's mission. We also say that Murphy's mission has nothing to do with either the PLO or Palestinian rights." (Abu Iyad, Radio Monte Carlo, 4/21/85)

"The Jordanian-Palestinian delegation will not announce that it represents the PLO, and the PLO will not say that the delegation represents it." (Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Radio Monte Carlo, 4/21/85)

"None of the forbidden things have been accepted: Camp David agreement, Resolution 242, and the Reagan Plan ..." (al-Za'nun - Fatah, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, 4/10/85)

"We reject direct negotiations with the Zionist enemy." (Hani al-Hasan, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, 3/1/85)

"The PLO will continue to reject UN Security Council Resolution 242." (Hani al-Hasan, AFP, 1/1/85)

"The PLO reaffirms its previous sessions' resolutions on the international level which reject 242 and negotiations at the Arab and international level based on this resolution." (VOP, 11/30/84)

"The PNC emphasizes its rejection of the Camp David accords, autonomy and U.S. President Ronald Reagan's plan..." (PNC Political Report, VOP 11/30/84)

"We as Palestinians must point out again that we reject Security Council Resolution 242, which is not in harmony with our aspirations." (Salah Khalaf, Voice of the PLO, 11/25/84)

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Terrorism

"Our forces and rockets are back in south Lebanon and are striking with full force at Israeli forces...What is happening now is a settlement of accounts and a re-drawing of maps." (Yasser Arafat, Washington Times, 4/4/86)

"The Palestinian volcano will not cease its military operations and the Palestinians remain to be the nation of sacrifices and miracles in spite of all Zionist and other collusions." (Yasser Arafat, KUNA, 3/30/86)

Accepting resolution 242 "would mean accepting 1967 boundaries as the Israeli boundaries which we don't...He [Arafat] said the armed struggle would be confined to the occupied territories, that's right, but all Palestine is occupied, and this means that we continue our struggle in the occupied territories, and this is something exactly right." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Khaleej Times, 3/21/86)

"I declare here that we have recommenced clandestine operations, that we are in the process of expanding these operations, and that we shall expand them and shall prove this shortly." (Salah Khalef, Al-Majallah, 3/12-18/86)

"From the position of its national and pan-Arab responsibility, the PLO continues its difficult and stubborn struggle in all its forms, foremost being armed struggle, in order to achieve the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights..." (PLO Executive Committee Statement, Amman Television Service, 3/8/86)

"I have a rule which says that Israel and the Palestinians are antithetical to one another and that they cannot both survive." (Mahmud Abbas, Al-Ahram, 2/22/86)

"...What I mean to say to the Israelis, to the Arabs, to the Americans, and to the Soviets is that after a halt of 3 and 1/2 years Palestinian rockets are once again hitting Israeli military settlements." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 2/19/86)

"The masses in Egypt and the Arab region are witnessing an upsurge that will not stop. Sulayman Khatir [ed. note: killer of 7 Israeli tourists] is everywhere - in Egypt, Jordan, and the Golan Heights." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Watan Al-Arabi, 2/7-13/86)

"The most important things are the consolidation of the national unity inside the PLO and the escalation of the armed struggle inside the occupied territories." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Al-Ittihad, 2/4/86)

"The very beginning of Palestinian diplomatic activity consisted of individual initiatives to earn friends and to turn world attention to the side of the Palestinian problem. An example of this is the action of Sirhan in the United

States, which was a political action, much beyond the mere shooting of Kennedy. Palestinians in Latin America and additional places exerted a great effort so that the problem of their people would earn recognition. Afterwards, the diplomatic attempt developed, through reliance on a strengthening of the armed struggle and the popular awakening. Our problem is one of the world's difficult and dangerous problems. Everywhere one turns, the United States stands opposite us. In short, Palestinian diplomacy is the echo of the Palestinian rifle in the world and an apparatus for achieving the political objectives through the armed struggle." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Filastin al-Thawrah, 1/25/86)

"No one will ever be able to stop our path which will continue until final victory." (Yasser Arafat, Arab News, 1/11/86)

"...the struggle march is continuing with tenacity and power on the path of martyrdom and glory until the great victory - when our Arab nation's flags will fly over the Jerusalem minarets and churches in our national Palestinian state. Together, brothers and my loved ones, on the path of jihad and mujahidin!" (Yasser Arafat, Sanaa Voice of Palestine, 1/8/86)

"Whatever types of violence are used, it is still not terrorism as long as it is directed against the occupation authorities." (Khalid al-Hasan, Al-Hawadith, 1/7/86)

"On the 21st anniversary of the inception of the Palestinian revolution, we pause to remember the day of the armed inception of the Fatah Movement which has embodied the determination of the our people and nation to confront the Zionist enemy and to raise the banner of armed struggle for the liberation of the usurped homeland." (Khalil al-Wazir, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 1/6/86)

"After all these years, the Palestinian-Lebanese joint forces are shelling these settlements, which are used as advanced military centers for the Israeli Army on the border...The 11 katyusha attacks are not a political declaration between the joint forces and the Israeli Army. It is an Arab political declaration against the Israeli enemy." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 1/6/86)

"I tell them that there is one people and one command in the PLO." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 1/3/86)

"As for acts of resistance, these amounted to 850 in the course of the past year, not counting the actions in southern Lebanon." (Yasser Arafat, As-Sabah, 1/3/86)

"The Palestinian revolution will remain - under all circumstances and despite all difficulties - faithful to the goals of the first bullet fired at dawn on the first day of 1965. It will continue to adhere to the pledge and the flame of our armed struggle will not be extinguished until we raise our flag over Jerusalem, the capital of the Palestinian state." (Yasser Arafat, Aden Voice of Palestine, 1/3/86)

"The armed struggle sows, and the political struggle reaps. The armed struggle is the only way to achieve liberation." (Hani al-Hasan, AP, 1/1/86)

"Peace will not be established in our part of the world so long as Israel is in occupation of our territory and ignores our national rights." (Farouk Kaddoumi, South, January, 1986)

"...We decided to deal a blow to the Zionist enemy from Ashdod, especially as the port lies close to the Israeli enemy's naval command in the southern region. Ashdod is also an important artery for the Israeli economy. Moreover, maritime tourism makes an important contribution to the Israeli national economy." (Mohammed Abbas, Al-Ittihad Al-Usbu'i, 12/5/85)

"We have decided that any commando attack planned by any Palestinian faction should be discussed and approved by the PLO Military Council." (Khalil al-Wazir, Jordan Times, 12/5/86)

"We will continue our resistance against the Zionist occupation regardless of time and the required sacrifice." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 12/3/85)

"When we speak of armed struggle, whose legitimacy is recognized by the UN, we are speaking of all the occupied territories of Palestine...It is our right to fight the enemy who is holding on to our country - whether the occupation took place in 1967 or earlier, in 1948." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Quotidien de Paris, 11/19/85)

"The Cairo declaration does not contradict the decisions of the Palestinian National Council, and the PLO adheres to armed struggle in all the Palestinian lands, from the [Jordan] river to the [Mediterranean] sea." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Al-Itihad, 11/16/85)

"It is not responsible to announce that we will confine our operations to the West Bank and Gaza while we do not recognize Israel...military operations are not excluded from Israeli territory." (Yasser Arafat, Radio Monte Carlo, 11/15/85)

"I don't simply want, I demand, more (commando) operations, and more resistance against this occupation until it leaves our land." (Yasser Arafat, Arab News, 11/11/85)

The Palestinian people will "never let the gun fall from their hands." The Cairo Declaration was "a diplomatic riposte to the fierce U.S. and Zionist campaign against the PLO." (Yasser Arafat, Washington Post, 11/11/85)

"...all forms of resistance will take place inside the occupied land in accordance with the UN Charter, heaven, and international law." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 11/11/85)

"We made a distinction between resistance against the Israeli enemy who has occupied our land, and any terrorist operation against innocent civilians outside of the occupied lands." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ittihad, 11/10/85)

"...armed Palestinian struggle against the enemy will continue until all of Palestine is liberated...resistance will be greatly stepped up, following the total implementation of the PNC resolutions relating to armed struggle in the occupied territories." (Yasser Arafat, WAKH, 11/10/85)

"We consider all Palestine as occupied...our resistance will be everywhere inside the territory - and that is not defined in terms of the West Bank and Gaza alone." (Salah Khalef, Reuter, 11/10/85)

"We have declared in it [the Cairo Declaration] the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter and resolutions, which provide for the legitimacy of resisting Israeli occupation with all means." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 11/9/85)

"The organization, in this respect, reasserts its commitment to the right of the Palestinian people to resist Israeli occupation of their land with all available means to achieve a withdrawal from these territories." (Yasser Arafat, Arab News, 11/8/85)

"The armed struggle will continue. No revolution can stop armed struggle." (Hani al-Hasan, AP, 10/29/85)

"We will escalate the armed struggle against Israel, since the signals for negotiations we sent out have not had the desired effect...Ideally we will strike against targets inside Israel, but Israelis abroad should not feel too secure..." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Svenska Dagbladet, 10/26/85)

"...the Palestinian pledge will remain the same, the Palestinian oath will also remain the same, and the Palestinian rifle will not be laid down." (Yasser Arafat, KUNA, 10/23/85)

"I am with all resistance in all the Palestinian territories occupied by the Israeli military junta." (Yasser Arafat, Wall Street Journal, 10/21/85)

"...The Palestinian rifle will continue to be held until it achieves its certain triumph...Armed struggle will continue to be our main option for achieving all of our militant people's objectives and aspiration." (Yasser Arafat, Baghdad Voice of PLO, 10/17/85)

"We have always envisaged the course of our struggle as a diplomatic strategy and a military strategy. We have trying our utmost to pursue a diplomatic thrust, but we never gave up on armed struggle." (Zehdi Terzi, Washington Times, 10/17/85)

"Reagan has decided to assassinate the PLO leadership in the belief that, by so doing, the revolution will come to an end," Arafat said. "This is not so. The jihad [holy war] and the armed struggle will be escalated." (Yasser Arafat, Washington Post, 10/16/85)

"...Armed struggle will continue despite the United States and its agents." (Yasser Arafat, SUNA, 10/15/85)

"...the PLO did not and will not relinquish military action as a method to regain Palestinian rights while it is discussing principles of peace." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 10/13/85)

"As you know, every Palestinian has the right to go to Ashdod and fight there." (Hani al-Hasan, Paris Radio Monte Carlo, 10/11/85)

"The armed struggle sows and the political struggle reaps. He who does not sow does not reap." (Hani al-Hasan, Radio Monte Carlo, 10/11/85)

"I am confident that our people will continue the struggle. They will retaliate by escalating their resistance to the occupation and to U.S.-supported Zionist terrorism." (Yasser Arafat, MENA, 10/4/85)

"...the revolution resumed its militant march by escalating Palestinian military operations in the occupied land and behind enemy lines in southern Lebanon." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 9/7/85)

"Brother leader Abu Ammar has stressed the need to continue and escalate Palestinian military operations against the Zionist occupation forces inside the occupied homeland." (Voice of PLO, 9/5/85)

"The independence of Arab Palestine, its liberation and freedom, is an historic necessity, as Israel is an imperialistic entity, and all such entities are doomed to destruction...The only alternative to the current armed struggle is an escalation of that struggle, the reaching of higher stages in it, and the development of new forms of popular armed struggle...The continuation of the armed struggle, its escalation, and the arming of the Palestinian and Arab masses - this is the road to Palestine." Ahmad Abd al-Rahman, Filastin ath-Thawra, 8/31/85)

"I do not fight for the sake of fighting. I fight for a political objective." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ahram, 8/24/85)

"On the situation in the occupied territories, I can proudly say that the escalating Palestinian military work is what we promised our Arab nation during the convening of the PNC." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Yawm, 8/21/85)

Hani al-Hasan "asserted the importance of armed action in conjunction with political action and referred to the naval operation carried out in Tel Aviv. He said: 'It was a

message to--Murphy that we will negotiate with him through fighting.' He then referred to the four bombs that exploded in Jerusalem during the visit of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and indicated that one of them went off 200 meters away from where Shultz was staying." (Political Advisor Hani al-Hasan, WAKH, 8/20/85)

"...the PLO's political movement is part of its struggle and is complementary to the armed struggle which is escalating and actively expanding in the occupied territories, giving us pride and confidence...We will not allow the imposition of any preconditions on our political movements and on our working steps in this regard by any side whatsoever." (Yasir Arafat, Voice of the PLO, 8/19/85)

"There is no point in seeking political solutions only, without continuing the armed struggle." (Nabil Shaat, Al-Shark al-Awsat, 8/18/85)

"Al Fatah guerrillas trained by Abu Jihad planned a major attack on the Israeli Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv last may, but an Israeli gunboat sank the PLO vessal. 'They were discovered by luck,' Abu Jihad said. 'It failed. But another will take its place.'" (Boston Globe, 8/17/85)

"...redistribution and training for the Palestinian forces [is] in accordance with the requirements of Palestinian action; this is particularly after we adopted plans to escalate guerrilla operations inside the occupied territories." (Brigadier General Abu al-Mutasim Ahmad Afanah, Deputy Chief of Staff PLA, Al-Riyad, 8/14/85)

"On the contrary, the Palestinian revolution has always pursued two lines. We can only fly with two wings: The wing of military struggle and the wing of political struggle. These two wings are joined and cannot be separated." (Khalil al-Wazir [Abu Jihad], Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, 8/7-13/85)

"We are facing changes in the scale and nature of our military actions, which will now focus on attacks inside Israel." (Khalid al-Hasan, Washington Times, 8/6/85)

"...it is not possible to deal with Zionism without using force, such force that starts with diplomacy and ends with the gun." (Khalid al-Hasan, WAKH, 7/30/85)

"...We still have allies in Lebanon, including the Hezbollah Party which supports us in accordance with religious principles." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Musawwar, 7/19/85)

"Further struggle in all forms and methods. At the heart of this comes armed struggle...The weak do not have peace. This has been our conviction since the begining and so it will remain until victory." Yasser Arafat, Sawt al-Sha'b, 6/28/85)

"There has been enough killing among the one Arab nation. Let all rifles be united against the Zionist enemy." (Fatah Central Committee Statement, 6/21/85)

"The PLO is currently seeking to bring about U.S. recognition of Palestinian national rights, consolidating the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and escalating their struggle in parallel with the PLO's political action." (Khalid al-Hasan, WAKH, 6/17/85)

"This revolution will not stop until its banner is raised over the minarets of Jerusalem and its charges." (Yasser Arafat, Radio Monter Carlo, 6/7/85)

"Your principled and brave stance had a great effect on the morale of our people everywhere and on the morale of all the leaders who believe in the liberation of Palestine and the continuation of armed struggle. (Salah Khalef [note: Cable to Kaddafi], Voice of Greater Arab Homeland, 6/1/85)

"When the Palestinians or Arabs struggle against Zionism or U.S. policy in the Mideast, they experience the supposed contradiction between conscience and logic. The conscience focuses on the obvious fact that Palestine is an Arab homeland, an integral element of the Arab motherland; and that no non-Muslim or, to be more precise, non-Palestinian may exercise sovereignty over that homeland. This is the source of the idea of complete liberation, referred to by Arafat as 'the great dream'; namely the establishment of a Palestinian state over the whole of Palestine...However, logic points to the sour reality...which is a natural outcome of the deterioration in the inter-Arab situation...And then, logic directs us to choose the 'phased policy'. The frightened conscience inquires about 1948 Palestine; and logic replies that while the 'phased-policy' prescribes accepting anything possible during the first phase, it is determined to carry-on the battle until the final goal is attained." (Khalid al-Hasan, al-Anba, 6/1/85)

"The main option for the revolution is armed struggle." (Khalil al-Wazir, KUNA, 5/17/85)

"The political maneuver never was a substitute for the armed struggle. The military and political struggle are for a political objective." (Khalil al-Wazir, KUNA, 5/17/85)

"...military operations are presently being stepped up inside occupied Palestine and in southern Lebanon where Palestinian and Lebanese combatants are waging a war of attrition against the Israeli enemy." (Yasser Arafat, Luanda Domestic Service, 5/14/85)

The PLO attack from the sea "was an expression of our determination to continue our armed struggle...Indeed we are following this course and we will not hesitate. This is the will of our revolution which will not stop." (Khalil al-Wazir, Voice of PLO, 5/14/85)

"The shooting, the carrying of the rifle, and the flow of martyrs will not stop...All this is for the purpose of continuing the struggle. Therefore, every struggler should

rest assured. There is no room for doubt about this revolution's determination and insistence upon continuing this path." (Khalil al-Wazir, Voice of PLO, 5/14/85)

"The armed option is the Palestinian revolutions option." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 5/13/85)

"As soon as the PLO ceased to have the right of a presence in Lebanon and Syria it fought to have a presence in Jordan, which has the longest border with Palestine." (Khalil al-Wazir, El-Moudjahid, 5/12/85)

"Palestinian armed struggle continues despite the siege in all its forms...We are also stepping up the struggle, on every inch of our occupied Palestinian land. At the same time, we are waging a political struggle that complements our armed struggle at various levels." (Khalil al-Wazir, Voice of Palestine, 5/9/85)

"Our backs are to the wall, we have lost everything. What can we do? We can continue the armed struggle." (Farouk Kaddoumi, Christian Science Monitor, 5/9/85)

"Thus, I say that the restoration of bases where the Palestinian people are should be through secret underground cells to organize armed resistance against Israel." (Salah Khalef, Al-Qabas, 5/2/85)

"On our part, our policy is based on continuation [of the struggle] so that victory will be achieved in this form in actual fact, since it is the infrastructure. With regard to the superstructure - the Arab situation, and the Arab-Israeli balance of power - we must not forget that what we are facing in southern Lebanon is merely an army of occupation in the form of a force. However, what we face in our occupied land are settlers, totaling 3,500,000 individuals." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/30/85)

"This strategy of which I spoke requires two basic trends for its completion: the escalation of military action inside our occupied land against the Israeli enemy; and second continuation of the Palestinian-Lebanese resistance in southern Lebanon. These are the features of a plan for a comprehensive strategy." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/30/85)

"Last year we carried out 351 operations within Palestinian occupied territories, as the Israeli enemy has admitted." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of Palestine, 4/30/85)

"Any political settlement can only be achieved through armed struggle. According to the PNC's resolutions which affirm that the United States is always against the Palestinian issue, I would say that political and diplomatic action has no value unless preceded by a bullet. I would like to say to the coming generations which are younger than us that there are no just solutions without armed struggle and that the United States will not recognize the Palestinians' rights, except through armed violence like that

which forced the United States to recognize the rights of the Vietnamese people." (Farouk Kaddoumi, WAKH, 4/30/85)

"The Palestinian people are determined to continue armed struggle to confront Zionist plots." (Khalil al-Wazir, Voice of PLO, 4/29/85)

"...the Palestinian revolution endeavours to prove its existence in the battlefield on the basis of its strong conviction that the rifle is its real capital." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 4/27/85)

"What is important is that there is armed struggle and that we have begun to prepare ourselves for an armed confrontation with the Israelis in all arenas." (Hani al-Hasan, Radio Monte Carlo, 4/26/85)

"...The Palestinian rifle will continue to fight and negotiations donot mean halting the armed struggle." (Hani al-Hasan, Radio Monte Carlo, 4/26/85)

"We can achieve victory for the Palestinians through armed struggle." Hani al-Hasan, Radio Monte Carlo, 4/26/85)

"The most recent guerrilla action, which was carried out off the coast of Palestine was not the last; rather, it constitutes the begining of a series of additional actions which will hurt Israel." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ray al-Am, 4/25/85)

"The most recent guerrilla action, which was carried out off the coast of Palestine was not the last; rather, it constitutes the begining of a series of additional actions which will hurt Israel." (Yasser Arafat, Al-Ray al-Am, 4/25/85)

"In accordance with the revolution command's policy and in compliance with its decision to escalated armed struggle inside the occupied homeland...our heroic revolution continues to inflict further losses against the Zionist occupation forces." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of the PLO, 2/25/85)

"The recent fedayeen naval operation against the Zionist entity has asserted the Palestinian determination to waage armed struggle to regain their homeland. (Yasser ARafat, Voice of PLO, 4/24/85)

"With our armed resistance we restored to our commitment the image of a struggle against an invader, of a struggle against the Israeli military junta." (Yasser Arafat, El Pais, 3/4/85)

"In accordance with the revolution command's policy and in compliance with its decision to escalate aremed struggle inside the occupied homeland...our heroic revolution continues to inflict further losses against the Zionist occupations forces." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 2/25/85)

Arafat explained that "military pressure on the Zionist entity must be an escalation of armed struggle in the occupied Arab territories." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 2/21/85)

"The PLO is committed to escalating fedayeen action against the Zionist occupation of occupied Palestine... The escalation of the armed fedayeen action has a special priority for the PLO leadership." (Yasser Arafat, Sanaa, VOP, 1/14/85)

"The Palestinian revolution will not be able to achieve its objectives if it abandons the military alternative." (Salah Khalef, MENA, 1/11/85)

"Armed struggle remains the option which the Palestinian revolution insists to pursue, because the Zionist entity and American do not wish to see anything that bears the name of Palestine or the PLO." (Salah Khalef, WAKH, 1/6/85)

"Armed struggle against the Zionist enemy is the only way to establish the independent Palestinian state." (Salah Khalef, Voice of PLO, 1/4/85)

"Our strategy is based on the principle that the occupied territory is the battlefield of the war against the Zionist enemy from which springs the Palestinian struggle. It is our people's right to carry arms and fight over every inch of occupied territory." (Khalil al-Wazir, Voice of PLO, 1/3/85)

"A pledge is a pledge and an oath is an oath. We all have a date to meet in Holy Jerusalem where one of my country's children and one of Palestine's cubs, will hoist the revolution's flag high on Jerusalem's walls, mosques, and churches." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 1/1/85)

"The course of armed struggle, has been and will remain the main course and option which will not abandon or fail to carry out and protect the means of its continuation and escalation." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 1/1/85)

"The march will not stop until Khalid, Umar, Mu'ammara (Qawasimi's sons) and all the cubs of this nation raise the flag of this revolution over Jerusalem, Hebron and the entire Palestinian territory. It is a revolution until victory." (Yasser Arafat, Voice of PLO, 12/31/84)

"I am proud to say that the Palestinian revolution is still fighting together with its Lebanese allies in southern Lebanon side by side with full responsibility." (Yasser Arafat, Abu Dhabi, 12/21/84)

"Our war is going to be a long and hard one. Palestine will not be regained through peaceful solutions or through the Israeli Labour Party, as some believe, but through fighting and Palestinian blood." (Yasser Arafat, QNA, Qatar, 12/19/84)

"The PLO stresses the need to escalate armed struggle against the Zionist occupation...inside the occupied homeland, because it is the only language the occupiers can understand." (Yasser Arafat, VOP, 12/15/84)

"A nation that gives up its military option does not deserve to live." (Yasser Arafat, Ash-Shark al-Aussat, 12/5/84)

"The road to Jerusalem is to be found in the adherence of the Arab nation to the military option." (Yasser Arafat, Kuwait News Agency, 12/4/84)

This [Gulf] war will end with the efforts of the Muslims and the nonaligned states so that we will move together with the Iraqi Army, God willing to Jerusalem." (Yasser Arafat, Amman Domestic Service, 11/29/84)

"Every one of us wants the retrieval of Jaffa, and indeed every last inch of Palestinian soil. The Zionists took Palestine inch by inch, and we must retrieve it inch by inch. We believe that Palestine, from the river to the sea, is our country." (Salah Khalef, Radio Amman, 11/26/84)

"The olive branch has no value unless it rests upon the rifle." (Salah Khalef, Al-Aqbas, 11/20/84)

"The triumph of the Nicaraguans is the PLO's triumph." (Yasser Arafat, 7/23/80, FBIS).

"Khomeini's position is good and he shows understanding towards this position of ours. We sent the director of military operations to Iran, since the military option is possible..." (Yasser Arafat, from Raphael Israeli, PLO in Lebanon, 1983)

**The Palestine Information Office is in Violation of the Voorhis Act
(Title 18, Section 2386 of the Criminal Code)**

The PLO has an office in Washington, D.C., known as the Palestine Information Office (PIO), which opened in 1978. The office is registered with the Department of Justice under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. However, it has failed to register, as required, under Section 2386 of the U.S. Criminal Code, known as the Voorhis Act.

Section 2386 requires organizations to register separately with the Attorney General if they are subject to "foreign control" and engage in "civilian military activity." An organization is considered to be under "foreign control" if it "solicits or accepts financial contributions... from... an international political organization." The PIO, in its own registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, admits it is financially supported by the PLO, at a rate of approximately \$250,000 per year. An organization is engaged in "civilian military activity" if it "gives instruction to, or prescribes instruction for, its members in the use of firearms or other weapons..., engages in any military or naval maneuvers or activities..., or engages in any other form of organized activity which in the opinion of the Attorney General constitutes preparation for military action." The Voorhis Act also requires registration of organizations if one of their purposes is the "seizure or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof by the use of force, violence, military measures, or threats of any one or more of the foregoing." The Palestinian National Covenant (1968), the official PLO charter which has been reaffirmed every year since 1968, states that "the establishment of Israel is null and void, whatever time has elapsed..." and that, "Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine...." (Articles 9 and 19).

Registration under the Voorhis Act would require, among other things, "a detailed statement of the assets of the organization, and of each branch, chapter and affiliate of the organization, the manner in which such assets were acquired...; a detailed description of the activities of the organization, and of each chapter, branch, and affiliate of the organization...; and a description of all firearms or other weapons owned by the organization, or by any chapter, branch, or affiliate of the organization, identified by the manufacturer's number thereon." Organizations that fail to register are subject to criminal penalty: "Whoever violates any of the provisions of this section shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

The legislative intent of the Voorhis Act, is indicated by the Report of the House of Representatives (No. 2582 June 17, 1940): "Democratic government is threatened by the presence of private organizations engaging in military activities or preparing their members for an attempt at a forcible seizure of power and overthrow of constitutional government... At the present time there is no ground established in law whereby a law-enforcing agency of the United States government can effectively curb the activities of these types of organizations."

The PIO has been permitted to operate in Washington, D.C. on the condition that it obeys all U.S. laws. On November 22, 1976 a State Department spokesman said that the U.S. would not bar the PLO from opening an office in Washington, D.C. *provided* that it was registered with the Justice Department and conformed to all U.S. laws. This condition was reaffirmed by the Reagan Administration in February, 1981 when a spokesman said that the PIO could continue to operate as long as it "regularly files reports on its activities as an agent of a foreign organization with the Justice Department [and] complies with all other relevant laws." But in fact the PIO has not complied with the requirements of Title 18, Section 2386.

2386. Registration of certain organizations**(A) For the purposes of this section:**

"Attorney General" means the Attorney General of the United States;

"Organization" means any group, club, league, society, committee, association, political party, or combination of individuals, whether incorporated or otherwise, but such term shall not include any corporation, association, community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes;

"Political activity" means any activity the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the control by force or overthrow of the Government of the United States or a political subdivision thereof, or any State or political subdivision thereof;

An organization is engaged in "civilian military activity" if:

(1) It gives instruction to, or prescribes instruction for, its members in the use of firearms or other weapons or any substitute therefor, or military or naval science; or

(2) It receives from any other organization or from any individual instruction in military or naval science; or

(3) It engages in any military or naval maneuvers or activities; or

(4) It engages, either with or without arms, in drills or parades of a military or naval character; or

(5) It engages in any other form of organized activity which in the opinion of the Attorney General constitutes preparation for military action;

An organization is "subject to foreign control" if:

(a) It solicits or accepts financial contributions, loans, or support of any kind, directly or indirectly, from, or is affiliated directly or indirectly with, a foreign government or a political subdivision thereof, or an agent, agency, or instrumentality of a foreign government or political subdivision thereof, or a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization; or

(b) Its policies, or any of them, are determined by or at the suggestion of, or in collaboration with, a foreign government or political subdivision thereof, or an agent, agency, or instrumentality of a foreign government or a political subdivision thereof, or a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization.

(B) (1) The following organizations shall be required to register with the Attorney General:

Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity;

Every organization which engages both in civilian military activity and in political activity;

Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in civilian military activity; and

Every organization, the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof by the use of force, violence, military measures, or threats of any one or more of the foregoing.

Every such organization shall register by filing with the Attorney General, on such forms and in such detail as the Attorney General may by rules and regulations prescribe, a registration statement containing the information and documents prescribed in subsection (B) (3) and shall within thirty days after the expiration of each period of six months succeeding the filing of such registration statement, file with the Attorney General, on such forms and in such detail as the Attorney General may by rules and regulations prescribe, a supplemental statement containing such information and documents as may be necessary to make the information and documents previously filed under this section accurate and current with respect to such preceding six months' period. Every statement required to be filed by this section shall be subscribed, under oath, by all of the officers of the organization.

(2) This section shall not require registration or the filing of any statement with the Attorney General by:

(a) The armed forces of the United States; or

(b) The organized militia or National Guard of any State, Territory, District, or possession of the United States; or

(c) Any law-enforcement agency of the United States or of any Territory, District or possession thereof, or of any State or political subdivision of a State, or of any agency or instrumentality of one or more States; or

(d) Any duly established diplomatic mission or consular office of a foreign government which is so recognized by the Department of State; or

(e) Any nationally recognized organization of persons who are veterans of the armed forces of the United States, or affiliates of such organizations.

(3) Every registration statement required to be filed by any organization shall contain the following information and documents:

(a) The name and post-office address of the organization in the United States, and the names and addresses of all branches, chapters, and affiliates of such organization;

(b) The name, address, and nationality of each officer, and of each person who performs the functions of an officer, of the organization, and of each branch, chapter, and affiliate of the organization;

(c) The qualifications for membership in the organization;

(d) The existing and proposed aims and purposes of the organization, and all the means by which these aims or purposes are being attained or are to be attained;

(e) The address or addresses of meeting places of the organization, and of each branch, chapter, or affiliate of the organization, and the times of meetings;

(f) The name and address of each person who has contributed any money, dues, property, or other thing of value to the organization or to any branch, chapter, or affiliate of the organization;

(g) A detailed statement of the assets of the organization, and of each branch, chapter, and affiliate of the organization, the manner in which such assets were acquired, and a detailed statement of the liabilities and income of the organization and of each branch, chapter, and affiliate of the organization;

(h) A detailed description of the activities of the organization, and of each chapter, branch, and affiliate of the organization;

(i) A description of the uniforms, badges, insignia, or other means of identification prescribed by the organization, and worn or carried by its officers or members, or any of such officers or members;

(j) A copy of each book, pamphlet, leaflet, or other publication or item of written, printed, or graphic matter issued or distributed directly or indirectly by the organization, or by any chapter, branch, or affiliate of the organization, or by any of the members of the organization under its authority or within

its knowledge, together with the name of its author or authors and the name and address of the publisher;

(k) A description of all firearms or other weapons owned by the organization, or by any chapter, branch, or affiliate of the organization, identified by the manufacturer's number thereon;

(l) In case the organization is subject to foreign control, the manner in which it is so subject;

(m) A copy of the charter, articles of association, constitution, bylaws, rules, regulations, agreements, resolutions, and all other instruments relating to the organization, powers, and purposes of the organization and to the powers of the officers of the organization and of each chapter, branch, and affiliate of the organization; and

(n) Such other information and documents pertinent to the purposes of this section as the Attorney General may from time to time require.

All statements filed under this section shall be public records and open to public examination and inspection at all reasonable hours under such rules and regulations as the Attorney General may prescribe.

(C) The Attorney General is authorized at any time to make, amend, and rescind such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out this section, including rules and regulations governing the statements required to be filed.

(D) Whoever violates any of the provisions of this section shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

Whoever in a statement filed pursuant to this section willfully makes any false statement or willfully omits to state any fact which is required to be stated, or which is necessary to make the statements made not misleading, shall be fined not more than \$2,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

June 25, 1948, c. 645, 62 Stat. 808.

Historical and Revision Notes

Reviser's Note. Based on Title 18, U.S. Code, 1940 ed., §§ 14-17 (Oct. 17, 1910, c. 207, §§ 1-4, 54 Stat. 1201-1204).

Section consolidates sections 14-17 of Title 18, U.S.C., 1940 ed., as subsections (a), (b), (c), and (d), respectively, of this section, with necessary changes of No. 204.

Library References

Insurrection and Sedition § 1.

C.J.S. Insurrection and Sedition § 1, 2.

PART 10—REGISTRATION OF CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS CARRYING ON ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

REGISTRATION STATEMENT

Sec.

- 10.1 Form of registration statement.
- 10.2 Language of registration statement.
- 10.3 Effect of acceptance of registration statement.
- 10.4 Date of filing.
- 10.5 Incorporation of papers previously filed.
- 10.6 Necessity for further registration.
- 10.7 Cessation of activity.

SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT

- 10.8 Information to be kept current.

Sec.

- 10.9 Requirements for supplemental registration statement.

INSPECTION OF REGISTRATION STATEMENT

- 10.10 Public inspection.

AUTHORITY: Pub. L. 772, 80th Cong.; 18 U.S.C. 2386.

SOURCE: 6 FR 369, Jan. 15, 1941, unless otherwise noted.

CROSS REFERENCES: For regulations under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, see Part 5 of this Chapter.

For Organization Statement, Internal Security Section, see Subpart K of Part 0 of this chapter.

REGISTRATION STATEMENT

§ 10.1 Form of registration statement.

Every organization required to submit a registration statement¹ to the Attorney General for filing in compliance with the terms of section 2 of the act approved October 17, 1940, entitled, "An act to require the registration of certain organizations carrying on activities within the United States, and for other purposes" (Pub. L. 772, 80th Cong.; 18 U.S.C. 2386), and the rules and regulations issued pursuant thereto, shall submit such statement on such forms as are prescribed by the Attorney General. Every statement required to be filed with the Attorney General shall be subscribed under oath by all of the officers of the organization registering.

§ 10.2 Language of registration statement.

Registration statements must be in English if possible. If in a foreign language they must be accompanied by an English translation certified under oath by the translator, before a notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths for general purposes as a true and adequate translation. The statements, with the exception of signature, must be typewritten if practicable but will be accepted if written legibly in ink.

¹Filed as a part of the original document. Copies may be obtained from the Department of Justice.

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§ 10.3 Effect of acceptance of registration statement.

Acceptance by the Attorney General of a registration statement submitted for filing shall not necessarily signify a full compliance with the said act on the part of the registrant, and such acceptance shall not preclude the Attorney General from seeking such additional information as he deems necessary under the requirements of the said act, and shall not preclude prosecution as provided for in the said act for a false statement of a material fact, or the willful omission of a material fact required to be stated therein, or necessary to make the statements made not misleading.

§ 10.4 Date of filing.

The date on which a registration statement properly executed is accepted by the Attorney General for filing shall be considered the date of the filing of such registration statement pursuant to the said act. All statements must be filed not later than thirty days after January 15, 1941.

§ 10.5 Incorporation of papers previously filed.

Papers and documents already filed with the Attorney General pursuant to the said act and regulations issued pursuant thereto may be incorporated by reference in any registration statement subsequently submitted to the Attorney General for filing, provided such papers and documents are adequately identified in the registration statement in which they are incorporated by reference.

§ 10.6 Necessity for further registration.

The filing of a registration statement with the Attorney General as required by the act shall not operate to remove the necessity for filing a registration statement with the Attorney General as required by the act of June 8, 1938, as amended, entitled "An act to require the registration of certain persons employed by agencies to disseminate propaganda in the United States and for other purposes" (52 Stat. 631, 56 Stat. 248; 22 U.S.C. 611), or for filing a notification statement with the Secretary of State as re-

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quired by the act of June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 226).

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§ 10.7 Cessation of activity.

The chief officer or other officer of the registrant organization must notify the Attorney General promptly upon the cessation of the activity of the organization, its branches, chapters, or affiliates by virtue of which registration has been required pursuant to the act.

SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT

§ 10.8 Information to be kept current.

A supplemental statement must be filed with the Attorney General within thirty days after the expiration of each period of six months succeeding the original filing of a registration statement. Each supplemental statement must contain information and documents as may be necessary to make information and documents previously filed accurate and current with respect to the preceding six months' period.

§ 10.9 Requirements for supplemental registration statement.

The rules and regulations in this part with respect to registration statements submitted to the Attorney General under section 2 of the said act shall apply with equal force and effect to supplemental registration statements required thereunder to be filed with the Attorney General.

INSPECTION OF REGISTRATION STATEMENT

10.10 Public inspection.

Registration statements filed with the Attorney General pursuant to the said act shall be available for public inspection in the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. on each official business day.

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