

TUNIS

Four sub-committees of the thirteenth conference of the Arab Lawyers' Union held in Tunis discussed the racist nature of the Zionist movement and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. The General Secretary of the Union, Mr. Shafiq Arsheidat, affirmed during the opening session on November 16 that the Palestinian Revolution was and still is one of the most noble in our nation's history and the strongest force to confront Zionism and imperialism.

The deputy Secretary General of the Union said that the Palestinian Revolution faced and still faces attempts at liquidation. He added that the Riyadh and Cairo summit resolutions have disregarded the nature of the struggle, declaring that the problem is a Lebanese Palestinian one, in an obvious attempt to split the Lebanese National Movement from the Palestinian Revolution.

SOVIET UNION AND YUGOSLAVIA

Following their talks in Belgrade, the Soviet and Yugoslavian heads of state, Leonid Brezhnev and Joseph Broz Tito, issued a joint communique on November 17 once again calling upon the Israeli authorities to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and to recognize Palestinian national rights, including the rights to self-determination and to establish their independent entity. They expressed support for the Palestinian people in their just struggle under P.L.O. leadership, and for all initiatives to guarantee Lebanese unity and independence. They also expressed their concern with regard to the tense situation

in the Arab World which threatens world peace and security "due to Israel's arrogance and its refusal to withdraw from occupied Arab territories and to recognize Palestinian rights."

TASS PRAISES LEBANESE AND PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE.

On the occasion of the 33rd Lebanese independence anniversary, the Soviet news agency TASS declared on November 21 that Lebanon has suffered "sixty thousand dead, two hundred thousand wounded, and the displacement of 1.7 million people, which constitutes more than half the population.

Started by the forces of imperialism, Zionism, and local reaction the bloody civil war has brought considerable damage to this country," wrote TASS correspondent Victor Kopytin in Beirut: "United with the Palestinian Resistance, the national, patriotic and progressive forces did not allow international reaction, the local extreme rightist elements and Zionism to liquidate the germs of progress in the country. They defended their rights of existence and development by armed struggle."

PEACE SHIP "KONDA" ARRIVES

On November 22, the Peace Ship "KONDA" -- bringing aid and supplies to the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement -- arrived at the port of Limassol in Cyprus. A public rally, held by the Cypriot Communist Party on the occasion, was addressed by the Head of the Cypriot-Arab Solidarity

committee, the Secretary of the French Peace Committee, a representative of the World Peace Council, and the representatives of both the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement in Cyprus. The latter thanked the World Peace Council and all solidarity committees.

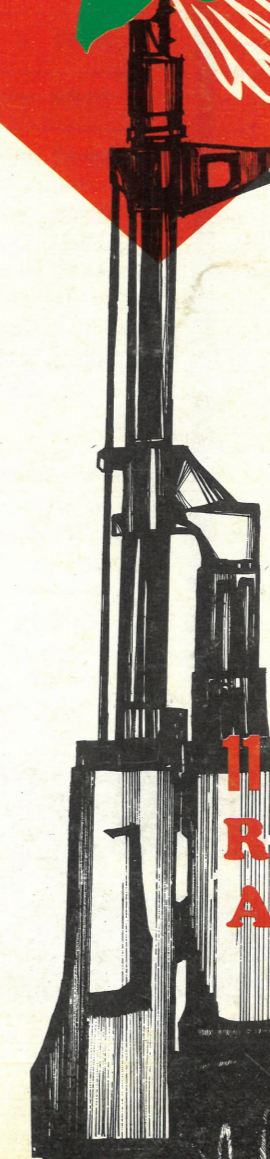
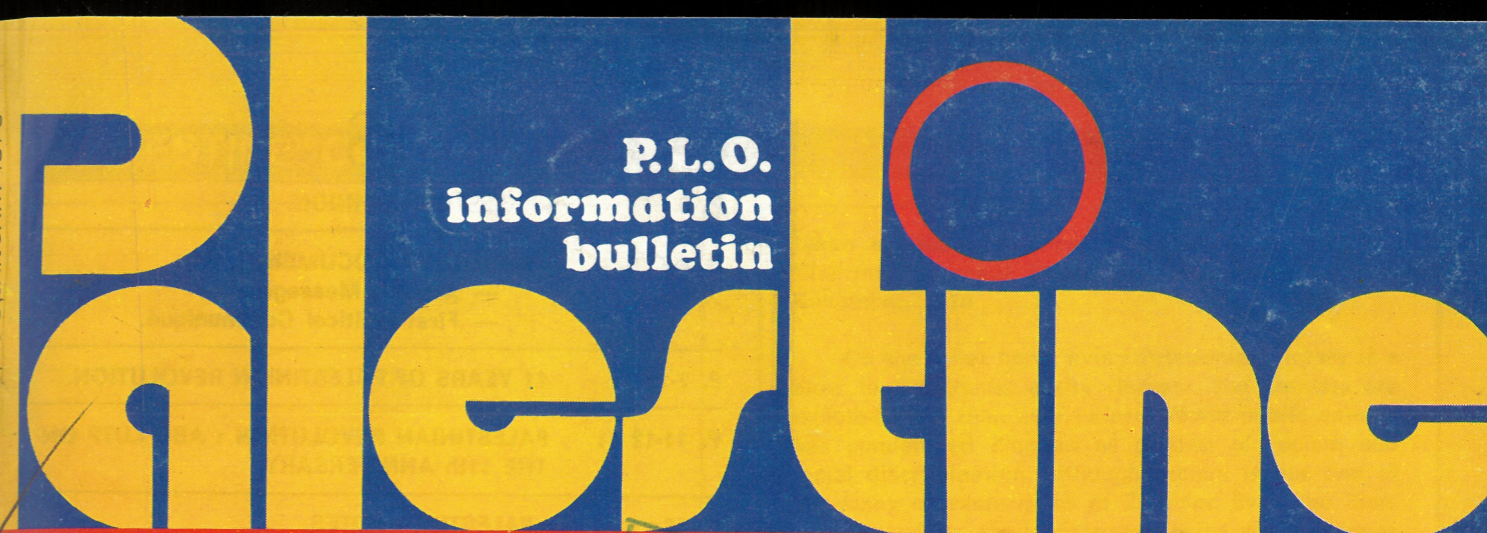
The Captain of the Peace Ship said:

"This mission started on the 23rd of October and was organized by the World Peace Council. We have sailed 10,000 miles, stopping in Finland, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Italy, France, Greece, and Cyprus." He added that the Soviet people are always ready to support the Palestinian people, the Lebanese National Movement and all struggling peoples.

PALESTINIAN WOUNDED GO TO G.D.R.

A medical delegation from the German Democratic Republic visited the Palestinian Liberation Organization on November 19. The delegation also visited the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, where they met the Deputy Chairman of the society Dr. Fathi Arafat and heads of the society's sections. The delegation left on November 23, accompanying 60 injured persons from the Palestinian Revolution for treatment in German Democratic Republic hospitals.

P.L.O. information bulletin



**11 YEARS OF
REVOLUTIONARY
ARMED STRUGGLE**

TO OUR FRIENDS

On the occasion of the 11th Anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution and the first anniversary of «PALESTINE» Bulletin, the «Palestine» team is publishing a special issue.

The year 1975—the year in which the PLO achieved further international recognition—was a successful year for the just struggle of the Palestinian people, as well as for «Palestine».

May 1976 be the year which brings the Middle East one step nearer a just and durable peace.

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«PALESTINE» OPINION

11 YEARS ON THE WAY TO LIBERATION

Since the start of the Palestinian Revolution (the Palestinian National Liberation Movement—FATEH) on January 1st 1965, the world has changed. The Middle East has witnessed two Arab-Israeli wars. In the first, the Zionists triumphed in the Blitzkrieg of June 1967, and the Arabs did not fail in the second of October 1973, but achieved numerous political and moral victories. The legend of the invincibility of the Israeli military machine was demolished, and the October war brought about a shift in the balance of forces in the region in favour of the Arab cause.

On the international level also a shift in the balance of power has taken place. Many countries have obtained their independence, and the biggest imperialist power in the world, the USA, was defeated in south-east Asia.

On the Palestinian level, the Palestinian war of resistance against the Zionist colonization of Palestine still goes on. Despite reactionary and imperialist conspiracies, the Palestinian people have achieved remarkable successes. The Palestine question has broken through the wall of isolation and has been recognized as one of the main factors in the Middle East conflict. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, now enjoys remarkable international recognition. PLO offices have been opened in more than 60 states of the world. This international recognition of the just cause of the Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO, culminated in the vote

taken by 105 states to invite Yasser Arafat, PLO Chairman, to speak at the UN General Assembly in November, 1974.

On the other hand, every Palestinian victory is a blow to the Zionist entity «Israel». The Zionists are isolated more than ever before. World public opinion has condemned Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination, although racism is but one of the many characteristics of Zionism. Even the Zionists' best allies, the western countries, can no longer support Israeli intransigence, and its policy of occupation of Arab land. The Israeli economy is in a state of crisis, suffering from successive inflation, the continuous devaluation of the Israeli pound, lack of foreign investment, etc...

The Zionist immigration policy, a cornerstone of the Zionist ideology, is more threatened than ever before. Despite all efforts and propaganda to attract new immigrants to the «Promised Land», emigration exceeds immigration.

Despite world condemnation of racist «Israel», the USA continues to supply Zionist aggression and expansion with the most sophisticated weapons to enable it to perpetuate its occupation of Arab territories and prepare for a new war against the Arab countries. Moreover the USA still refuses to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO.

US conspiracies against the Palestinian people and their just struggle have never stopped. In the present, the Lebanese crisis, which is to a large extent supported by the US and the Zionist entity, aims as usual at liquidating the Palestinian Revolution or taming it to accept US political settlements in the area. These conspiracies will never distract the Palestinian Revolution from its main task; they are but obstacles on the way to liberation, which the Revolution will ultimately overcome.

The Palestinian Revolution recognized from the very beginning the ferocity of the Zionist and imperialist challenges and the task the Revolution has to shoulder, regardless of all sacrifices.

While celebrating its 11th anniversary, the Palestinian Revolution commemorates its fallen martyrs, the captives in Israeli jails and the brothers and sisters living under Israeli occupation, and pledges them to continue the struggle until victory. While about to enter its 12th year, the Palestinian Revolution reaffirms its determination to carry on the struggle with all means—military, political and diplomatic—until the establishment of the secular democratic state in Palestine where all communities can live together in peace and freedom regardless of religion, culture or race, an indispensable condition for a just and durable peace in the region.

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ARAFAT'S MESSAGE ON 11TH ANNIVERSARY OF PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION: **THE YEAR OF CONFRONTATION**

In his message to the Palestinian people, their revolutionaries and militants on the 11th anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian Revolution, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, praised the steadfastness, heroism and noble sacrifices of the Palestinian people throughout 1975, the year of Escalation and Unity. With these, he said, «the bright pages of the history of your people and your great Arab nation will be written.» Major highlights of the message follow:

«The 12th year of our victorious Revolution has arrived at a time when our patient people continue to suffer from the fascist Zionist occupation, the conspiracies of imperialism, and the hateful blows of agents.

«The revolutionary movement of our people and their great advances challenge this reactionary coalition of forces, together or singly, in spite of the vast material differences between our limited capabilities and their unlimited ones.

«But the miracle is that of the Revolution wherever it is, and of revolutionaries wherever they may be: a miracle of steadfastness and persistence, of faith and of honesty, the miracle of the genuine revolutionary who exploits latent potentials, resurrects buried ones, and exhibits revolutionary creativity in battle, combining them all into concrete realities on the path of victory for his people.

«Through the steadfastness of the struggle of our people, and the strength of our masses in combat, our revolutionaries express the revolutionary will, with all its pride and greatness. It is a will which asks for no respite and refuses all compromises, a will which cannot be weakened and does not subside.»

Arafat went on to say:

«Have the dust and smoke of battle settled after 11 years?... No.

«We are still in the heat of battle, for it is our destiny to live in the heart of events, in the shadow of our weapons, which are the keys to our will and our determination, the creators of revolution, of revolutionaries and of victory, the defender of the victories and gains of the people on all fronts and all levels.

«Our responsibilities today are greater and our burdens heavier because our Revolution now constitutes one of the principal and basic cornerstones of the struggle for liberation and progress throughout the world, and a genuine force in the front-line trenches in the conflict between our Arab nation and the imperialist-colonialist-Zionist enemy.

«It is for this reason that our belief is so firm and so unshakeable, and our attachment to our gun so strong.

«We should never forget that these conspiracies being woven all around us have but one aim: to disarm us and to destroy these weapons in our hands.

«We enter the twelfth year of our Revolution in the midst of pain and suffering, in the smoke of battle and in the constant shadow of our guns, having registered victories on all fronts and on many levels of struggle. These victories in the popular, military and political fields are all the result of the great momentum imparted to our struggle by our brave masses and by the enormous sacrifices offered by our revolutionary people wherever Palestinians are located, inside occupied Palestine or outside it.

«At the same time, the arena of our action has expanded to include those of us who are militants in the chambers of the United Nations, those who are revolutionaries in the trenches, and those of us who are prisoners, stand-

ing proudly in the gloom of a prison cell.

«The organized, forceful and spontaneous uprising of our masses has given us an example for the closing of our ranks, the distribution of our duties, the unification and the completion of our struggle, in spite of dispersion and exile, oppression, injustice and occupation, and in spite of the conspiracies, the conspirators, and their hirelings.

«We have achieved victories even while our enemies were plotting to assassinate, to weaken or to contain the Revolution. But fighting fiercely, resisting steadfastly, our great people, their masses and their revolutionaries have fashioned victory.

«They have done so through their organic unity with the Arab masses—particularly the fateful unity with our brothers and partners, the masses of the heroic Lebanese people—and together with the broad front of our brothers, our friends and our allies.

«Together with all of them, we have fashioned this outstanding revolutionary miracle, challenging and smashing the conspiracy and scattering the conspirators, while the savage and barbarous Zionist attacks against our Lebanese villages and Palestinian camps break against the rock of our steadfastness, firmness and self-sacrifice.

«In the shadow of oppression and of the occupation of our beloved homeland, our people stand firm, every day giving a unique example of steadfastness, of the ability to meet challenges, and of pride in the face of the savage, fascist and racist Zionist occupation, its arrogance and its terrorism.

«In the face of all this, our brave masses stand, the young cubs still in school and the mature revolutionaries, together with our noble and daring women who have come out into the streets in fierce confrontations with

the enemy in Jerusalem and Nablus, in Hebron and Gaza, in Jaffa and Nazareth. These men and women, heroes, militants, revolutionaries and free men, constitute the mass reserves of the people and the Revolution: dynamic and genuine human reserves which are tracing the image of a bright tomorrow.

«With our revolutionary friends the world over, and with the victory of the revolution in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Africa and Latin America, critically important responsibilities fall upon our shoulders. These responsibilities surpass our narrow regional frontiers into the world of friends and allies. To fulfill them, we rely on the strength and support of our great Arab masses in order that, with them, we may build bridges of unity, friendship, solidarity and love which will lead downtrodden humanity on the path of revolution in order to free itself from injustice, slavery, oppression and exploitation.

«We do this so that we may build a future of justice, equality, progress and freedom on the way to our Golgotha, on the path of Muhammad's midnight journey to the heavens from Jerusalem, and on the soil of our Canaan.»

Arafat concluded his message by calling upon the Palestinian people to «face the coming year of confrontation over our occupied soil strong in their faith and their noble principles, ready to offer greater sacrifices and to tap even greater revolutionary potentials, in order to protect our accomplishments and glean the fruit of our victories on the long and difficult road ahead of us. Revolution Until Victory.»

FIRST POLITICAL COMMUNIQUE

THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION 1965-1976

Eleven years ago, on 1 January, 1965, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Fateh, issued the first military communique on the first commando operation undertaken by its fighters twenty-four hours earlier (on 31 December, 1964) against the Zionist enemy in occupied Palestine.

The military communique covering the first operation was accompanied by a political statement which read:

«Sixteen years have elapsed while our people live detached from their cause which has been shelved by the United Nations as a problem of displaced refugees, whereas the enemy plans with all his means, on the local and international levels, for an extended stay in our homeland, ignoring the heroic Palestinians.

In the light of this distressing fact, and because of the adverse effect of the lapse of time, the Assifa forces (of Fateh) have been launched to reiterate to the enemy and the world in general that this people (of Palestine) did not die, and that armed revolution is the road to return and to victory.

The Assifa forces, emanating from the will of the revolting masses, fully realize the scope of the battle both politically and militarily. But they seek to overcome all obstacles, relying on their own strength and on the potential of our Arab people.

This is our path and this is our march. The situation is serious. Martyrs have fallen and blood has been shed. Let us rise to the level of responsibility—the responsibility of an honorable battle—because this first operation is nothing but the beginning of a war of liberation with a carefully planned and studied program. In this historic and critical stage, we are eager to declare unequivocally that our mili-

tary and political plans do not contradict the official Palestinian and Arab plan for the battle. The struggle for Palestine flows into one stream which begins and ends with the uprooting of the Zionist danger from our homeland. We thus appeal to the Arab nation and its leaders to rise up with their responsibilities to the national committed level. Our battle with Israel is a fierce one and warrants preparation and mobilization.

As far as we are concerned, we have started from a Palestinian position connected to the soils of the nation. The strongest force which directs us is our faith in this as the surest way to extricate our cause from the vicious circle in which it has been trapped. We depend on our Arab nation and its common struggle as well as on world forces of liberation. Regardless of sacrifice, our march will not come to a halt before the flag of Palestine is brandished once again in our dear homeland. We also vow to our people to continue on this path and not to relinquish our arms until victory is achieved.

The Assifa forces seize this opportunity to thank the Arab mass media and all the free and honest writers who have understood our position and supported, with great devotion, the blessed initiation of our struggle. We also appreciate the attitude of the Palestinian and Arab institutions and organizations which supported us and stood by our side. The Arab people are called upon to support the launching of our struggle and to increase their material and moral support until we achieve our goals of return and freedom.»

General Command of Assifa Forces
January 1st, 1965.



PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

Eleven Years of Palestinian Revolution

The Palestinian people who were evicted from their homeland as a result of the creation of Zionist «Israel» in 1948, are the victims of Zionist ideology. Zionism was rightly condemned as a form of racism by the UN General Assembly last November, although racism is but one of its numerous characteristics. Zionism is

also an aggressive, expansionist and exclusivist ideology.

The Palestinian Revolution, which is now celebrating its eleventh anniversary, is but the Palestinian answer to Zionist settler-colonialism and exclusivism. Palestinian resistance to the Zionist ambitions in Palestine and the Arab area pre-dates the Balfour Decla-

ration of 1917, having emerged when the first Zionist settlers immigrated to Palestine a few years previously.

Despite the interruption of Palestinian resistance for a period of 17 years (1948-1965), the Palestinian people resumed their armed struggle against the Zionist settler state, rejecting all forms of assimilation, isolation and oppression.

The dawn of 1965 witnessed the upsurge of Palestinian revolution. A group of determined young Palestinians crossed the borders of the occupied territories to execute the first Palestinian military operation. Using hand-made explosives, they blew up a water-pump station which was to be used to divert the waters of the Jordan to the Israeli territories. Young Palestinians like these later became the leaders of the Palestinian Liberation Movement, and continued their armed struggle regardless of all attacks and defamation attempts waged by reactionary forces. This modest operation heralded the birth of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Al-Fateh.

Since 1965, the balance of power in the Middle East has shifted, and the Palestinian Liberation Movement has played an important role in changing circumstances in the region. The Palestine question has become one of the main factors in the Middle East conflict, after being deliberately isolated and neglected by world public opinion for so long. We can say that the Palestinian Revolution has put the Middle East conflict back on its feet after it had been falsely stood on its head by the Zionists.

It has always been Israel's aim to portray the Middle East conflict as a border conflict between Israel and the neighbouring Arab states, neglecting the core of the Middle East conflict which is the Palestine question. This attitude coincides with the old Zionist slogans referring to Palestine as an unpopulated «desert» and a «land without people for a people without land».

With the resumption of Palestinian armed resistance, the Palestinian people united in rejecting all Zionist claims and conspiracies, and expressed their will to self-determination and dignity.

In its 30th session, the UN General Assembly decided to establish a twenty-member committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and called for an

invitation to the PLO to participate in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East, on an equal footing with other parties. The Assembly also resolved to condemn Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination.

THE GOAL OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The Palestine National Liberation Movement (FATEH), in declaring its attitudes towards the Middle East conflict, considers the Zionist settler-state—the enemy of the Palestinian people—as its main contradiction, and rejects involvement in secondary conflicts in the region. It has also stressed its determination not to intervene in the internal affairs of the Arab states. In accordance with this, the Palestinian Revolution asked the Arab states to support it and to give the Palestinians living in these countries the opportunity to organize themselves to participate in the struggle against the Zionist entity.

With regard to the Jewish settlers living in Palestine, the Palestinian Revolution expressed its strategic aim to establish a secular democratic state in Palestine where members of all religious communities, Jews, Moslems and Christians, can live together in peace, freedom and equality without any form of discrimination.

As a progressive movement, the Palestinian Revolution considers itself an integral part of the Arab and international liberation movements struggling against imperialism, colonialism and Zionism. It is supported by the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and all peace-loving forces in the world.



To Palestine.

The Zionist enemy on the other hand, created as it was with the support of British colonialism and western imperialism to act as a bridgehead facilitating the suppression of the Arab countries and the exploitation of their riches, is an inseparable component of the imperialist world. At the same time, the Zionist state owes its development and expansion to capital from the western countries, mainly the USA and West Germany.

POLITICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The Palestinian Revolution has, since its inception, achieved numerous political, social and military successes on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels, successes which should be considered as victories on the long march of the Revolution.

THE PALESTINIAN LEVEL

On the Palestinian level, the Palestinian Revolution has occasioned the following:

- the emergence of a Palestinian sense of identity;
- the creation of an independent Palestinian armed force to fight the Zionist occupier;
- the transformation of the status of the Palestinians from refugees begging the means of subsistence, to freedom fighters;
- the affirmation of an independent Palestinian sense of nationhood;
- the achievement of Palestinian national unity amongst the different Palestinian resistance organizations under the auspices of the PLO;
- the adoption of a political and mili-

tary programme for all Resistance organizations;

- the establishment of different Palestinian social and economic foundations in order to meet the needs of the Palestinian people in the refugee camps.

ON THE ARAB LEVEL

The following has been accomplished:

- the Palestinian Revolution's rejection of all forms of official Arab tutelage of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian cause;
- the imposition of the Palestinian will on the Arab political scene, despite all attempts at containing, isolating or annihilating the Revolution, as happened in Jordan in 1970;
- the recognition by the Arab states at the Rabat Summit Conference in 1974 of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people;
- the participation of the PLO in all conferences—political, social or pedagogical—held by the Arab states;
- the increasing support of the Arab masses, either through their direct participation in the struggle or through their contribution of financial aid.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The Palestine question, after having been neglected and ignored by international public opinion, which has always been to a great extent dominated by Zionist propaganda, has passed through a series of states culminating in the recent recognition of its prime importance by the highest international bodies.

Its progress towards this recognition has been as follows:

- 1 — Initial phase during which the power of Zionist propaganda predominated, and ignorance or rejection of all views opposed to the dominant Zionist view prevailed.
- 2 — A new phase after the Six-day War and the resurgence of the Palestinian Resistance Movement, in which considerable interest in the Palestinian fighters and curiosity about the nature of their struggle were awakened.
- 3 — The recent phase of international recognition during which the Palestine question has been discussed on all levels, most particularly at the

United Nations' General Assembly and the Security Council, the highest international tribunals.

ON THE ISRAELI LEVEL

Although the Zionists have tried to minimize the impact of armed struggle on the Zionist entity, it is now apparent that the Zionist state is more isolated than ever before.

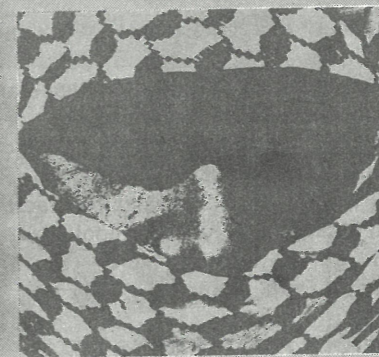
The Palestinian Revolution has unmasked all Zionist claims regarding the non-existence of the Palestinian people. Nevertheless, the Zionist entity still refuses to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian Revolution, however, has made the following advances:

- the PLO slogan for the establishment of a democratic state for all communities as an alternative to the exclusivist Jewish state has made an impact on the Zionist entity;
- the continuous armed resistance directed against the Zionist state has inflicted considerable losses on the Zionist enemy, and has made it necessary for the Israeli army to remain on permanent alert;
- Palestinian armed resistance has created an unstable situation within the Zionist entity, frightening off foreign investment and thereby damaging the Israeli economy;
- the spread of Palestinian armed resistance to all parts of Palestine, even to the territories occupied since 1948;
- Israel's immigration policy is endangered more than ever before. Emigration has now exceeded immigration.

THE PALESTINIAN MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The Palestinian Revolution, as the leading force of the Palestinian people, has been aware since the outset that the Palestinian struggle cannot be one-sided. In addition to the armed struggle against Zionist colonization and occupation, the Palestinian Revolution early realized the importance of political and social struggle. It was a simple matter for the Revolution to mobilize the Palestinian people in the struggle, for this struggle expresses the genuine will of the Palestinian people



411 PALESTINIAN COMMANDO OPERATIONS IN 1975

With an average of 34 military attacks per month, ranging from attacks on military patrols and bases to the placing of explosives in industrial and commercial targets, Palestinian commandos have given continuing proof of their effectiveness and skill in the face of massive Zionist security precautions.

The largest number of operations were executed in central Palestine, including the city of Jerusalem in which 85 operations were carried out. In all, the central region, which includes the West Bank, saw a total of 153 operations in 1975. In south Palestine, 54 operations were carried out; while in the north, including Galilee, the Golan, and the Mount Hermon region, 90 military attacks were executed.

As if to belie the Zionist claim that all Palestinian commando attacks come from across the borders, commandos executed 114 operations in the coastal region of Palestine occupied in 1948, including Tel Aviv, where 71 operations were carried out.

ple to liberate their usurped homeland.

The Palestinian Revolution encouraged the Palestinian masses to join the struggle, and to organize themselves wherever they live, to back the armed revolution. In accordance with this appeal, the masses came to organize themselves into their professional organizations. Although some organizations—such as workers', students' and women's unions—existed prior to 1965, these organizations were enlarged and new committees created. Some new organizations were established, such as the unions for doctors, teachers, journalists and writers, and engineers.

All these mass organizations consider themselves a part of the Palestinian Revolution. Their activities mainly aim to increase the political consciousness of their members, and are directed towards the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. These mass organizations participate in all the activities of the PLO, and are also represented in the Palestinian National Congress (the Palestinian Parliament) and the National Council.

The Palestinian mass organizations take part in all Arab and international conferences according to their affiliation. These organizations have

achieved innumerable successes for the Palestinian people. They have succeeded in isolating Israeli delegations, obtaining their expulsion from many international conferences or condemning the Zionist entity and the Zionist occupation.

These professional organizations cover almost all aspects of Palestinian life. The General Union of Palestinian Workers, for example, has supported the Revolution with its courageous fighters for the Palestinian just cause. Likewise, the General Union of Palestinian Students has provided the Palestinian Revolution with competent cadres and leaders, in particular Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian mass organizations constitute an important financial stream for the Revolution, their members giving contributions to support the Revolution and its different institutions and foundations.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND FOUNDATIONS

To be a representative of the deprived Palestinian people is no easy task. As the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestinian Revolution is concerned

to fulfill this responsibility and to meet the needs of the Palestinian people, especially those of the deprived masses in the refugee camps.

All the foundations of the Revolution were created to meet the specific demands of the people and the Revolution.

FOUNDATION FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Considering that the struggle against the Zionist entity cannot be confined to the making of speeches and the production of information materials, and recalling the savagery of the Zionist enemy, the Palestinian Revolution adopted the armed struggle to fight the enemy. It was acknowledged that comrades would fall on the way to liberation, either in the armed struggle, or through the barbarous Israeli air raids on Palestinian refugee camps, which bring about heavy losses among civilians.

To meet the needs of the families and relatives of the martyrs, the Palestinian Revolution established the Foundation for Social Affairs. All Palestinians, whether Fedayin or civilians, are automatically protected financially through the Foundation. The families of the dead or injured receive financial assistance from the Foundation.

FOUNDATION FOR INJURED AND INVALIDS

This Foundation was created in 1969 to meet the needs of the injured Fedayin. It organizes vocational training for the injured fighters in order to help them to overcome their difficulties, and to enable them to continue their normal life as militants of the Palestinian Revolution.

THE ASHBAL INSTITUTION

The institution for young Palestinian pioneers («Young Lions»—the girls are called «Flowers»—), was established in order to organize and mobilize young Palestinians from 7-14 years. The Ashbals and Flowers receive a political training, as well as para-military basic training. They also have many sports activities, and learn the same skills as boy scouts.

Most Palestinian youngsters take part in this training in their free time. Groups of Palestinian Ashbals and Flowers have visited many Socialist

countries and taken part in international pioneer camps, where they have shown Palestinian national dances and introduced resistance songs.

Acknowledging that the struggle against the Zionist colonization of Palestine will be fierce and protracted, the Palestinian Revolution looks to the next generation to carry on the struggle until victory.

SCHOOLS FOR THE SONS OF MARTYRS AND FIGHTERS

To face the problems arising from the deaths of our martyrs, or through the imprisonment of our comrades, or to assist in the problems of fighters with their children, the Palestinian Revolution started in 1969 to organize schools.

In addition to normal school curricula, the children receive a Palestinian national education and enjoy a variety of social activities, with special emphasis on the Palestinian cause.

THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT SOCIETY

This society is similar in aims and structure to Red Cross societies in Europe, and has as its first concern the health needs of the Palestinian community. It supervises many hospitals and clinics in the Palestinian refugee camps. The services of the Red Crescent Society are provided free to Palestinians and to all those in need. (See p. 21 of this issue.)

SAMED: THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION

This Foundation, which was created



This is our children's destiny.

in 1970, controls several workshops with different productive branches. Its objective is mainly to provide work for the Palestinians in order to help them overcome their social and financial difficulties.

(See interview with comrade Abu Ala', Head of the SAMED Foundation, on p. 18 of this issue.)

CONCLUSION

While celebrating its eleventh anniversary, the Palestinian Revolution is facing a new conspiracy in Lebanon, a conspiracy which aims to liquidate Palestinian armed struggle or prevent it from accomplishing its final goal.

Many accomplishments have been achieved for the Palestinian people, and many achievements still lie ahead. The twelfth year of the Palestinian armed struggle will be a hard one and it will necessitate many sacrifices. But it will bring the Palestinian people one step forward towards their final goal. It will be a year of new confrontations with the Zionist enemy and his imperialist allies. It will be a year of additional victories on the way to liberation. This new phase in our struggle will see the establishment of Palestinian national authority on every part of the Palestinian national territories liberated from the Zionist occupation, and will constitute a step towards the establishment of the secular democratic state in Palestine, where Jews, Christians and Moslems can live together in peace and fraternity without any form of discrimination, racial, religious or cultural.



PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

ABU LUTF ON THE 11th ANNIVERSARY



Q. After eleven years of struggle, how has the image of the Palestinian people changed in the view of world public opinion? And how do you evaluate the various international resolutions?

A. After eleven years of continuous struggle, our people acquired a brighter image as they regained their self-confidence and high morale, and their faith in the inevitable victory was consolidated due to the launching of armed revolution after the long years of misery, dispersion and exile.

The PLO has been recognized, both on the local, and subsequently on the international levels, to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Most of the countries and peoples of the world are now supporting our just cause. This was manifested in the various international resolutions on Palestine.

The African Summit Conference passed several resolutions severing diplomatic relations with the Zionist entity, expelling Israeli commissions from Africa, opening PLO offices in most of the African countries, and supporting the PLO in the adoption of the recent UN resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination.

The non-aligned conferences in Algeria and in Peru recognized the national rights of the Palestinian people,

and accepted the PLO as a full member of these conferences.

The Islamic Summits called, in their various resolutions, for the rescue of Palestine and for the preservation of the Arab character of Jerusalem.

The International Labour Union held its first conference in solidarity with the people and workers of Palestine, in Sofia in 1971.

On the UN level, at the 29th session of the General Assembly, Yasser Arafat was invited, with the approval of 105 states, to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian problem was discussed as a separate item in the Middle East crisis, as the cause of a people, and not, as previously considered, a problem of refugees. UN resolution 3236 was adopted and stressed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine. The PLO was granted observer status at the UN.

In its 30th session, the UN General Assembly decided to establish a twenty-member committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and called for an invitation to the PLO to participate in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East, on an equal footing with other parties. The Assembly also resolved to condemn Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination.

The UN Security Council recently passed a resolution inviting the PLO to participate in the Council's debate on the barbaric Israeli raids on Palestinian refugee camps and South Lebanese villages. This was preceded by another resolution inviting the PLO to attend the Special Security Council meeting on the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian cause, to be held on 12 January, 1967.

Q. How does Fateh view the current conflict in Lebanon? What is likely to be its outcome?

A. The current conflict has its roots deep in Lebanese society; a similar conflict exploded previously in 1958, seventeen years ago, and violence was the means through which it expressed itself. But at that time, the conflict had a very dangerous sectarian character and was solved on that basis. Since then, social oppression has increased quantitatively and has been aggravated, and the national movement—along with various religious communities—started to feel the absence of security due to the establishment of armed militias by their political opponents. The Israeli land, sea, and air raids encouraged and consolidated the situation of the isolationist forces and, consequently, the intensity of contradiction and conflict within Lebanese society.

There is a false conception that

Lebanon can be preserved by alienating it from the Arab world and from the Arab-Israeli conflict. Lebanon, like Palestine, is located in the heart of the Arab world, and cannot but be Arab both in nature and in character, or else it will lose all the fundamentals of its existence.

No doubt there are various imperialist and foreign forces, along with Israel, which try to push the conflict forward, and which ignite it whenever there is an opportunity for its termination. They are able to do so because this country has a hospitable nature and receives and welcomes every visitor.

The existence of our people in Lebanon—this forced existence which was the result of the uprooting and expulsion of our people from their homeland—has been viewed by some parties as the cause of, and the issue involved in, the current conflict. In spite of this, the PLO feels that it is its national duty to participate in the efforts to end this conflict and the internecine killing, and to preserve the sovereignty, security and independence of Lebanon.

Q. How does Fateh evaluate its relationship with the Arab regimes and revolutionary movements, eleven years after the inception of the Revolution?

A. The relationship of Fateh; as an independent movement, with the Arab regimes is now channelled through PLO offices in the various Arab countries. Any independent contact should be carried out under the guidance of the PLO Executive Committee or Central Council. We can say that our relations with most of the Arab regimes are, in general, good. We may disagree with some Arab stands on certain issues, but we constantly try to overcome the differences which may tarnish such relations, through dialogue. In spite of this, there is one relationship which may be described as a contradiction, and that is our relationship with the Jordanian regime following the events of September 1970.

Needless to say, the PLO relations with Arab regimes are governed by clearly-defined principles. They are necessarily subject to political decisions that are taken, from time to time, on the regional and national levels.

We cannot but commit ourselves to the decision made by the Palestinian National Council and the Arab Summits in all their sessions. We base

ourselves on these decisions in our political moves pertaining to the Arab reality.

We have worked at organizing our contacts with the nationalist and revolutionary Arab parties, movements and mass organizations; there is, for example, the Arab Front for Participation in the Palestinian Revolution, Palestine Solidarity Associations, Arab Labour Unions. Thus the PLO has, to a large extent, assumed the responsibility of communicating with the Arab revolutionary movements.

We are trying, as PLO, to assume full responsibility for official relations and foreign contacts, because this preserves the slogan of national unity and encourages all organizations to adhere to this slogan and to work through the PLO.

Our relation with the Arab masses remains the fundamental basis on which we rely for the support of the Revolution.

Q. Who are the friends, and who are the enemies, of the Palestinian people?

A. The first friend of the people is the gun, and revolutionary consciousness and practice. Our people have a gun, a deep political consciousness, and undergo a daily revolutionary experience. Our people have many friends who stand with them in their just struggle; these include the Arab Liberation Movement which represents the Arab masses from the Gulf to the Ocean, and which supplies our struggle with important material, moral and political support; and the non-aligned countries. The Socialist countries—from the People's Republic of China to the Soviet Union—are true friends of our people. The heroic African peoples have severed diplomatic relations with the Zionist entity, thus taking an honorable stand with right and justice. The national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are fighting world imperialism; and the Islamic peoples; all these support and consolidate our national struggle for the liberation of our homeland. Recently, some European countries, such as France, have taken positive steps in the direction of recognizing the PLO.

As for our enemies, they are Israel, Zionism, colonialism, imperialism and its local agents, racism in all its forms, apartheid, and the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. All these forces together fight against our people, but we are not alone in our battle.

We have many friends who stand with us in the same trench and who fight with us against the same enemy.

Q. Methods of struggle are determined by the aims of a revolution. Does this principle apply in the case of the Palestinian Revolution through its 11 years' experience?

A. Yes, the aims of a revolution determine its methods of struggle. No doubt the revolutionary goal requires certain methods of struggle, but these methods of struggle are also determined by the nature of the historical phase, the conflicting forces and the objective conditions of the militant people. Thus we see that the Palestinian people, according to these conditions, have chosen armed struggle as a basis for their revolutionary action. Methods other than armed struggle remain valid, however, and such methods as demonstrations, strikes and passive resistance—along with armed resistance—are being used by our people inside the occupied territories.

The struggle has also taken another form, this time on the international level, through the UN organization and its conferences, which have taken political resolutions condemning Israel in the military, cultural, labour, health and human rights fields...

The Palestinian Revolution has worked through 11 years of struggle on the military and diplomatic levels, and encouraged the brothers and friends to use another form of struggle, which is the economic one. There is also the struggle of the workers in the various domains, particularly those workers inside the occupied territories.



PALESTINE NOTES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ASKS WALDHEIM FOR REPORT ON ECONOMIC SITUATION IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

The General Assembly has asked UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to prepare an overall report on the economic situation in occupied Palestine, and on the effects of the continued Israeli occupation, to be discussed at the coming session of the UN General Assembly.

The General Assembly approved a draft resolution in this sense by a 100 votes in favour and two against—those of the US and the Zionist entity—while 30 countries abstained, including all the European Common Market countries.

Meanwhile, the UN General Assembly adopted the following four resolutions concerning the report of the Special Committee investigating Israeli Violations of Human Rights in occupied Arab territories:

1 — The first resolution condemned the Israeli policy of expansion and of annexing Arab territories and Judaizing them since 1967; establishing settlements and confiscating Arab properties; blowing up and destroying Arab homes; arresting many Arab citizens and opposing their right to return.

This resolution described these policies as violations of the UN Charter and the Geneva Convention related to the protection of civilians in time of war, and asked Israel to stop all its acts of annexation and exploitation of the natural resources of Arab land.

The resolution also condemned the Israeli acts of erasing the cultural and archeological heritage of the occupied territories, and interfering with religious freedom, in addition to illegitimately exploiting the natural resources belonging to the citizens of the occupied Arab territories.

2 — The second resolution stressed the applicability of the Geneva Convention on the protection of civilians in time of war, to the Arab territories occupied in 1967, demanding that Israel adhere to it.

3 — The third resolution called for the presentation of a report on the number of buildings destroyed by the Israelis in the Syrian city of Qunaitra and the rest of the occupied Syrian Heights.

4 — The fourth resolution declared all measures taken by the Zionist enemy with the aim of changing and re-organizing religious rites in the sacred precincts of the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron as illegitimate and void and called on Israel to immediately cease all these measures.

ARAFAT CONDOLES CHINESE LEADERS

On 19/12/75, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, sent cables to Chairman Mao Tse Tung, to Comrade Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and to Comrade Chou En Lai, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, expressing condolences on the death of Comrade An Kang Shing, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The cable sent to Chairman Mao Tse Tung read:

"I learned, with deepest regret, of the death of Comrade An Kang Shing, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. In the name of the Palestinian people and the Executive Committee of the PLO and in my own name, I offer sincere condolences for this painful loss.

"Under your command, the struggle of the Chinese people has, over the years, been able to consolidate a revolutionary generation which is committed to the line of struggle affirmed by the bitter experience of the Chinese people. The Palestinian people view with deep appreciation your historic experience as a lesson to all persecuted peoples of the world in their

struggle against Zionism and imperialism.

"The absence of the deceased is painful to all of us, but we are sure that the next revolutionary generation is our best hope for the future.

"Revolution Until Victory."

ARAFAT LETTER TO SWEDISH PREMIER

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, on 11/12 sent a letter to Mr. Olaf Palme, the Swedish Prime Minister, thanking him for his country's vote in favour of PLO attendance at the Security Council's debate on Zionist air raids on Palestinian camps in Lebanon last week. The text of the letter follows:

"I would like to express to your Excellency and to your Government my highest appreciation of the vote of your delegate favouring PLO attendance at the Security Council meeting held to discuss the recent Israeli attacks on Palestinian refugee camps and South Lebanese villages.

"Your Government took an honorable attitude in favour of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. Today, it is taking the same course and positive attitude towards the just struggle of our Palestinian people.

"We struggle, as your Excellency knows, for the establishment of a democratic state in Palestine where Christians, Jews and Moslems live together in equality and fraternity, free from all practices of racism, and discrimination. Our decision to condemn Zionism as a form of racism is based on the above belief, and it has no religious connotations. Like Christianity and Islam, we consider Judaism to be an integral part of our heritage and national ethos.

"On behalf of the Executive Committee of the PLO, and our Palestinian people, I wish your Excellency and your friendly people progress and success."



The Phalangists destroyed houses and dispersed children.

LEBANESE EVENTS

THE PHALANGIST MASSACRE OF HAI AL-GHAWARNA

About 400 persons, mainly Lebanese Moslems orkers and craftsmen, have for decades lived peacefully in Hai al-Ghawarna (the Ghawarna quarter)—a tiny poor district in the midst of prosperous, largely Maronite Antelias, a suburb north-east of Beirut.

On December 8th, 1975, the Phalangists suddenly began to snipe at and shell Hai al-Ghawarna from the areas surrounding it. The people of the quarter, realizing that they were heavily outnumbered, immediately asked for

the intervention of the Lebanese Internal Security Forces, and at the same time tried to arrange a cease-fire.

The authorities, however, refused to intervene, while the Phalangists agreed to several cease-fires which they immediately violated.

The inhabitants of the isolated quarter had only a few dozen fighting men, and lacked sufficient weapons even for these few. They managed nevertheless to hold off the several hundred attack-

ing Phalangists, who were backed by artillery and machine guns, and by the guns of several Security Forces armoured vehicles.

The Phalangists did not assault the quarter directly, counting on their superior firepower and their inexhaustible supplies of ammunition. They suffered heavy losses nevertheless, and this redoubled their fury and the intensity of their fire.

Although the people of Hai al-Ghawarna could have held off the Pha-

langists, who were afraid to meet their opponents face-to-face, they finally ran out of ammunition and were forced to surrender on Thursday, December 11th after over 72 hours of continuous fighting.

As they came out of their homes bearing white flags and with their hands over their heads, as they had been instructed over loudspeakers, 12 of the men were shot down. Some of them had not even borne arms.

Faris Munthir Haidar, for example, was told to bring his seriously wounded younger brother, Ali, out into the street, and when he and his sister carried him out, both boys were machine gunned. Altogether five members of the Munthir family were killed, including two other brothers, Muhsin and Fuad. Ali Farhat and his brother Jamal were shot in the same way.

The Phalangists also broke into the house where a 15-year-old Palestinian boy, Nidal Alwan, was lying, bleeding profusely from a severe leg wound. They shot him and another of the wounded lying next to him, and then burned the building down with their corpses inside it. Neither body has been recovered.

Against a background of intermittent volleys of murderous gunfire, the 70 men, boys and old men who survived the first round of summary executions were led with their hands over their heads through the streets of Antelias. They were then imprisoned in the basement of the local Phalangist Party headquarters.

At the same time, the women and children of the quarter were driven from their homes after their valuables had been stripped from them, as had those of the men. The Phalangists thereupon methodically blew up 35 homes, nearly all the houses in the quarter, after they had systematically pillaged them.

Inside the prison, the Phalangists separated the six members of progressive political parties (one of them, Ammar George Asso, a Christian) and the two Palestinians (the brother and 65-year-old father of Nidal Alwan) from the rest of the 70 captives.

All 70 were subjected to brutal interrogations, during which the Phalangists, astonished that they had captured so few weapons and that so few of the men had borne arms, tried to determine which of them had taken part in the fighting.

But the worst treatment was re-

served for the six progressive, whose screams during torture could be heard by all the prisoners, and all of whom were finally shot by their captors. This brought to 18 the number of those murdered in Hai al-Ghawarna after its surrender. It was later discovered that most of the bodies had been mutilated.

Two days later, after intensive mediation, and after the fate of the captives had become a national scandal, the survivors were released. A week later the Moslems village of Sabnaya—less than 1 km from the Presidential Palace in Baabda—was attacked, 28 of its men killed in cold blood, and its inhabitants expelled after their homes and the village mosque and school were looted and destroyed.

This systematic «clearing» of pockets of Moslems and progressives in Maronite-dominated areas is obviously part of a plan to impose *de facto* partition on Lebanon.

In the modern history of the Arab world, there has been no political movement whose ideology and practice so resemble that of Zionism—with its nihilistic «Masada complex»—as the current of thought which might aptly be titled «Maronite Zionism». This philosophy is represented by the Phalangist Party, the National Liberal Party, the Front of the Guardians of the Cedars, the Maronite League and the Order of Maronite Monks.

Their exclusivism, isolationism, contempt and dislike of outsiders, and

their cruel and barbaric methods during the fighting of the past 9 months, rooted in an almost pathological hatred and fear, recall nothing so much as the frenzied and calculated viciousness which left 254 Palestinian men, women and children dead in the village of Deir Yassin on April 10th, 1948.

In the 20th century, in an age when sectarianism, confessionalism and narrow chauvinist nationalism are being increasingly repudiated, there is no place for the racist ideology which would take Palestine from its original inhabitants and turn it into a ghetto for Jews from all over the world. Nor is there any place for a philosophy which would deny Lebanon's Arab heritage and culture, separate it from the rest of the Arab world, and divide it into a number of religiously homogeneous mini-states, linked to the most reactionary forces in the world.

Just as Zionism is in the course of collapsing under pressure from within and without, giving way to a future in which the Jews, Christians and Moslems of Palestine can live in equality and freedom, so will this reactionary isolationist ideology wither away in the face of those forces in Lebanon which want to move the country forward into an era of progress and co-operation between citizens of all faiths rather than backwards into the dark night of sectarian hatred.

□ □



Prisoners of Hai al-Ghawarna taken by the reactionary Phalangists.



Nabatiya Camp after a previous Israeli air raid.

ZIONIST RACISM IN PRACTICE

— Over 60 major attacks on Lebanon and Palestinian camps in 1975.

— 23 artillery bombardments, 12 naval attacks, 15 ground assaults and 12 bombing raids on Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps.

In 1975, Zionism was clearly branded by the world community as a specific form of racism. To understand why, it is only necessary to look in detail at the main policies implemented by the Zionist movement since its inception. Among the most notable of these has been—and still is—the unceasing war waged by Zionism against the Palestinian people, using the widest possible variety of weapons, from sophisticated and lethal anti-personnel bombs and rockets, to plastic explo-

sives placed in the cars of Palestinian leaders.

The same year which saw Zionism finally exposed also saw Zionist military forces execute approximately 60 major attacks against Palestinian and Lebanese civilian and military targets in Lebanon—an average of over one a week. Such a high average is not unusual, the Zionist forces having made a habit in recent years of attacking targets—both Palestinian and Lebanese—inside Lebanon.

Of these attacks, 12 were naval bombardments, landing attempts and amphibious operations against Palestinian camps. Over 20 were artillery bombardments of Lebanese villages, Palestinian camps and commando positions in the Arqoub region, and 12 were major air attacks involving the death of at least 150 people, the wounding of over 400 and the destruction of more than 250 Palestinian and Lebanese homes.

Finally, the Zionist armed forces in 1975 carried out more than 15 ground attacks, during which they kidnapped numerous Lebanese civilians, blew up dozens of homes, and in several cases were driven back by the armed resistance, both of the inhabitants of Lebanese border villages and of the commandos of the Palestinian Revolution. The most notable of these assaults was the 7-day battle for the village of Kfar-Chouba in the Arqoub region of south-east Lebanon, which cost the enemy heavy losses in men and material, and which ended on 17 January with victorious Palestinian commando fighters still in control of the battered village.

A Year of Zionist Aggression

1974 ended and 1975 began with an attack which set the stage for a year of Zionist aggression and valiant Palestinian and Lebanese resistance. On the night of 31 December-1 January, Israeli troops shelled Yarin, destroyed 10 homes, and raided Aitroun, Aita al-Shaab and Taibe, four small villages close to the western and central parts of the Lebanese border with North Palestine. In all, 11 Lebanese civilians were captured in the operation, normally a routine one for enemy troops.

But in Taibe the advancing Israeli force ran into something completely unexpected: the armed resistance of 5 militant members of Lebanese progressive political parties, Mahmoud Ka'eq, Ali Sharafeddine and his three sons. The five courageously fought off the entire company-sized attacking force for 45 minutes until their ammunition was exhausted. The Zionists then killed four of them, blowing up the Sharafeddine house, and leaving one of the three sons alive under the ruins.

Less than two weeks later, the Palestinian Revolution itself was confronted with one of the fiercest Zionist challenges since the battle of Karameh in 1968: a determined enemy effort to take and hold the mountain-side village of Kfar Chouba. Continuous Zionist ground, air and artillery attacks lasted from 11 January until 17th, involving several battalions of infantry, tanks, paratroops and artillery, and constituting the biggest Israeli military effort since the October War.

During seven days and nights of savage fighting in and around the village, attacking Israeli troops, backed

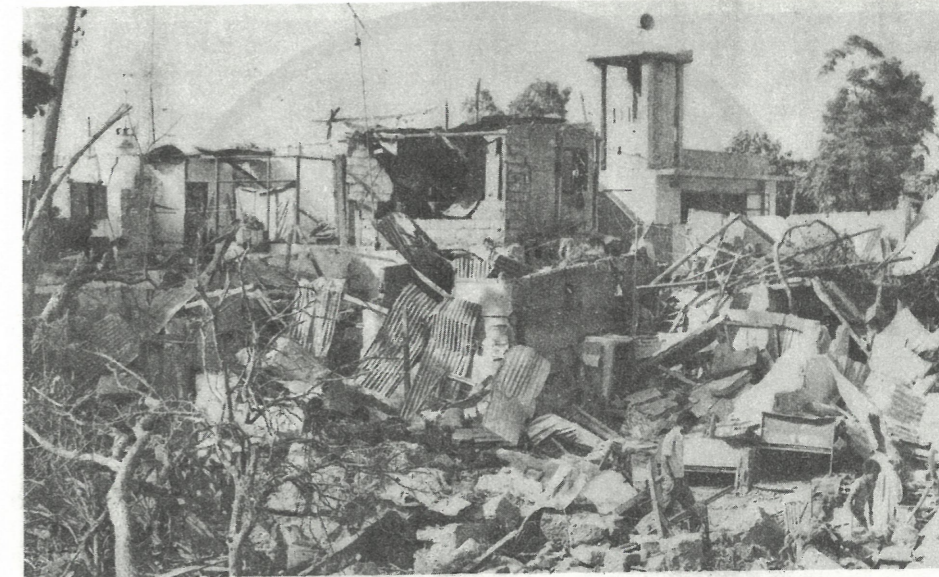
by tanks, planes and 155 and 275 mm guns, were repeatedly driven out of positions they had seized, and large numbers of weapons captured. In their attempts to «eliminate the terrorists», Zionist troops suffered—by their own admission—nearly 20 casualties, and by Resistance estimates over 50: a figure far higher than that of Palestinian losses.

The result of this battle, besides the destruction of the village and the forced emigration of its population, was a defeat for the Zionist enemy comparable to that of Karameh seven years earlier. Badly bloodied by their repeated unsuccessful assaults on Kfar Chouba in January, the Israelis launched no further ground attacks on Palestinian commando positions during 1975, preferring to shell and bomb them from a distance, and to attack Lebanese border villages.

Even in this the enemy found little success: an assault on Kfar Kela on 23 July by over 300 Israeli paratroops met with a crushing defeat at the hands of the Lebanese villagers. The armed militants of Kfar Kela killed several of the enemy and captured 5 rocket-launchers and large amounts of other military equipment abandoned as the Israelis dragged away their casualties—1 killed and 7 wounded by their own admission, and at least a dozen on the basis of the number of weapons and the pools of blood left behind.



Victims of Israeli «civilization» in Taibe



The effects of Israeli «civilization» on Kfar Chouba, Lebanon.

The best proofs that Zionism is a racist ideology which considers Arab lives to be of little value are the air raids on civilian targets, particularly Palestinian refugee camps. Six camps were bombed during 1975, one—Burghliya—four times, on August 5th and 28th and September 3rd and 12th, while Nabatiya and Nahr al-Bared camps were bombed on 2 December for the fourth and second times respectively, and Ain el-Hilwa bombed on 13 July for the third time.

These raids are part of a war of extermination being waged by the Zionist state against the people it dis-

placed. They cost the Palestinian people dearly, for it is inevitably the old men, the women and the children who die in the largest numbers when civilian population centres are bombed from the air. Even with the protection afforded by air raid shelters in each camp, some 600 Palestinians were killed or wounded in 1975 by these bombing raids. At least two-thirds of them were women and children.

Yet the Palestinian Revolution, in Kfar Chouba and in the skies over the camps of Lebanon, has succeeded in 1975 as never before in making the Zionist enemy pay for his murderous and arrogant hatred of the Palestinian people.

Last year, Palestinian ground fire downed six enemy planes—on 16 June over the Arqoub, on 7 July near Rashidiya camp, on 13 July two over Ain al Hilwa, on 2 September over the Arqoub, and the next day over Burghliya. As if to confirm these figures, **Newsweek** on 23 December reported that the Israeli air force has admitted the loss of 13 planes during 1975—allegedly during «training accidents».

Under attack on land, sea and air by the powerful forces of the Zionist state, and the target of a bloody conspiracy in Lebanon which has left thousands of people dead in the past 10 months—many hundreds of them Palestinians—the Palestinian Revolution has shown time and again, on many battlefields and in many arenas, that it cannot be defeated in the long run, and that the will of the Palestinian people will prevail in the interest of a secular democratic state in a peaceful liberated Palestine.



P.L.O FOUNDATIONS

SAMED IN AN INTERVIEW

SAMED is an economic foundation of the Palestinian Revolution intended to provide the nucleus for the future public sector on the liberated lands of Palestine. It also aims at absorbing the Palestinian labour force and in helping to solve its economic and social problems. The worker in SAMED is not an ordinary worker. He is a political militant and fighter, struggling with all possible means to regain his usurped land and to establish, on its entirety, the secular democratic state of Palestine, in which people will live free from racial discrimination and fanaticism.

On the 11th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, we met comrade Abou Ala', Head of the SAMED Economic Foundation, who, in response to our questions, outlined the accomplishments of SAMED, and its future projects and aspirations:

— Comrade Abou Ala', would you give us a summary of the conditions in which the Foundation was created, and the reasons for its creation?

Our Foundation was created in 1970 on the 6th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution. Its establishment

was a necessity for our Palestinian people. It was intended to provide the means of achieving a better and dignified life for the families of the martyrs of the Palestinian Revolution. It also aimed at creating a revolutionary Palestinian economy which could be developed through experience.

— Would you explain the conditions necessary for building a revolutionary economy, applying the policy of self-reliance put forward by the Palestinian Revolution?

All revolutions tend to follow a policy of self-reliance by proposing their own economic plans and programmes. Our Palestinian Revolution follows the same trend, despite all the hardships and complications which face it wherever it exists; whether under the occupation or outside in the diaspora, our people face all sorts of difficult conditions. The policy of self-reliance followed by our Revolution is nourished by the commitment of the Palestinian people to the Revolution as represented by the PLO, regardless of where they live.

The development of Palestinian revolutionary economy aims at the following:

1 — The protection of the Palestinian people, through the revolutionary atmosphere and the general political line of the Revolution, by providing them with a valid means of living.

2 — The protection of the Palestinian people through awakening in them a good level of vocational and scientific consciousness.

3 — The provision of production units in the Palestinian camps. The function of each unit is to plan projects to satisfy the needs of Palestinian civilians and fighters.

4 — The orientation of our people under occupation towards policies of self-reliance and autonomy, through the creation of agricultural and industrial projects, as well as the initiation of some light industry. Through these means, the Palestinian Revolution will be able to absorb the Palestinian labour force and to prevent it from working with the enemy under severe conditions of oppression and exploitation. As you know, our Palestinian Revolution faces many obstacles, but, like all revolutions and liberation movements in the world, our Revolution will be victorious.

— Is it true that SAMED is intended to form the nucleus of a Palestinian public sector?

The public sector is defined as the property of the people, in the light of a defined political line. Since SAMED Foundation is the property of the people, and intended to serve the entire Palestinian people within the political line of the Revolution, it is considered as the public sector of the Palestinian Revolution and the nucleus of the future public sector on the liberated lands of Palestine. The success of the Foundation, and the development it initiates on both the practical and ideological levels, will serve the interests of the working class and those who will most benefit from the success of the Revolution.

— What are the different branches of SAMED, and what are their activities?

As we mentioned before, SAMED tries its best to cover a wide variety of activities, including industrial, agricultural, as well as cinematic and photographic production. There is also a division for art production. As for the different branches, we have production branches in all the Palestinian camps in Lebanon and some in Syria. We also have some branches in different Arab countries where we have been loaned land for the implementation of agricultural projects in order to secure a certain income for our Foundation. At the same time, such projects serve to improve relations between the Palestinian Revolution and the friendly people of these countries, and to introduce them to the experience of our people in these fields. What we did in Somalia illustrates our achievements in this domain as the Government of Somalia greatly appreciated the project developed by our representative there. We have marketing branches through our permanent exhibitions in Lebanon, Lybia, North Yemen and Democratic Yemen, and we are trying to open similar branches in all the Arab countries. The Ministers of Arab Social Affairs in their meetings this year adopted a resolution offering all facilities to SAMED Foundation to open marketing branches in all the Arab countries, as well as to open production branches in all Arab countries in which Palestinians live.

— You previously stated that SAMED has set up small economic units. Would you explain to us the fields in which the Foundation works, and outline its success in the different fields?

□ We have workshops for the manu-



Comrade Yasser Arafat opens a new SAMED workshop.



Bethlehem Costume

facture of men's, women's and children's clothing as well as clothing for our freedom fighters. There are also embroidery workshops which absorb a large part of our labour force. We distribute our national dresses all over the world and have successfully aborted the Zionist plot to market these embroideries as their own. There is a workshop for the production of woolen jackets and stockings for civilians and fighters, and a carpentry workshop for the production of furniture. There is also an art section which prepares materials for information purposes and for educational games. As far as cinematic production is concerned, a film is at present being shot on the theme of «Habitat», for the coming Habitat Conference in Canada. A contract has been concluded with the Government of Pakistan for a Palestinian-Pakistani co-production in colour. There is also an ongoing project for the production of a series of 26 half-hour films devoted to an historical exploration of the Palestine question from the year 1890 to the present. We are expecting the execution of these projects in the near future, as soon as all the necessary planning and studies have been completed.

— What are the social conditions for your workers, with regard, for example, to medical and social security? It is clear that SAMED workers are

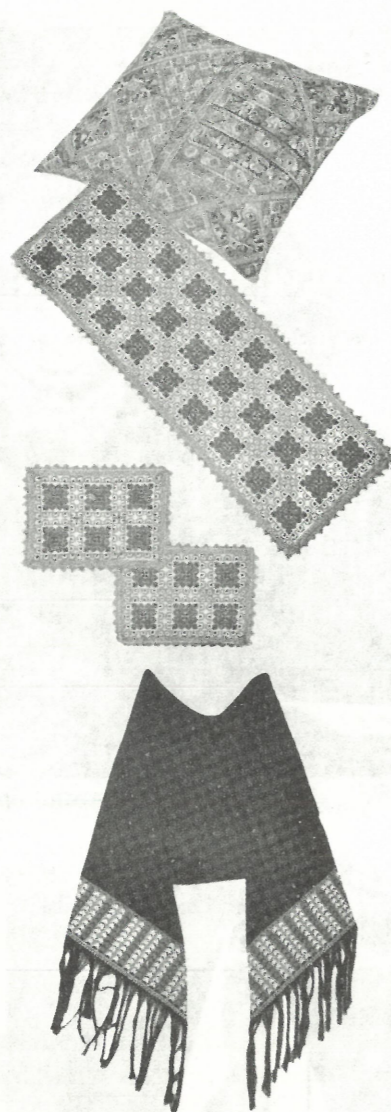
not ordinary workers. Besides being a worker in the Foundation, a SAMED worker is a revolutionary militant through his commitment to the Palestinian Revolution. The Foundation provides its workers with medical and social security. Every workshop has its own Revolutionary Committee whose mission is to study the problems of the workers and organize their work. This Committee is elected by the workers in each workshop.

— Is SAMED only for Palestinians, or does it employ Arab workers from other Arab countries?

SAMED was originally created for Palestinian workers. But we do not refuse applications from other Arab workers, especially if they are in need of work.

— It is said that the workers of SAMED have been prevented from coming to work by the bloody incidents taking place in Lebanon. We also heard that SAMED has new projects for the solution of the workers' economic problems. What solutions were put forward in this respect?

The situation of the Palestinian worker has been very complicated and difficult since the Ain El-Rummaneh massacre, eight months ago. Palestinian workers have had no opportunity to work since that date. As the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian people, it is its responsibility to solve the problems of the Palestinian workers. We met with comrade Yasser Arafat, Head of the Exec-



utive Committee of the PLO and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, and he adopted the projects put forward by the workers with regard to building production co-operatives, and asked for their immediate implementation. This is now the responsibility of SAMED. Comrade Yasser Arafat also issued a directive that production projects should be implemented in every Palestinian camp in which the workers are suffering from this difficult situation, so that it will be possible to absorb the largest possible part of the Palestinian labour force, and help the Palestinian people to solve the financial problems facing them, especially after the bloody incidents in Lebanon.

— What are SAMED's projects for 1976, especially now that the Palestinian Revolution has passed its tenth anniversary?

Just as the revolutionaries' aspirations have no limit, SAMED's ambitions also are not limited to any one time. We hope that through this coming year we can extend our production base on both the horizontal and perpendicular levels, enabling us to absorb the highest possible number of Palestinian workers who, even in normal circumstances, suffer from many hardships, being without the social and medical security provided for other Arab workers. We struggle in the hope that our Foundation and our workers' standards will develop to form a solid basis for the future public sector in liberated Palestine.

SAMED not only helps the Palestinian workers to solve their financial problems; it also helps them to develop their character and social understanding. In every workshop, the Revolutionary Committee conducts a literacy campaign. Moreover, a weekly political seminar is held to inform the workers of the latest political developments, and a monthly paper is published, constituting a platform for the voice of the Palestinian workers, in which all workers are urged to participate.

It is vitally important for the Palestinian Revolution to have politically and socially conscious workers who will constitute an essential pillar of our future democratic state in Palestine, as well as of our struggle for liberation.

This is what SAMED is trying to achieve, and it will ultimately be successful.



P.L.O FOUNDATIONS

THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT

«THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT SOCIETY (PRCS), IS AN OFFICIAL ORGANIZATION SERVING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND REVOLUTION AND ALL THOSE IN NEED, IN THE MEDICAL AND HUMANITARIAN FIELDS. THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION SUPPORTS THE SOCIETY IN FULFILLING ITS ROLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND U.N. DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.»

YASSER ARAFAT

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The NATIONAL PRCS was founded in 1969 in order to take charge of the medical welfare of the Palestinian people. In December 1968, the PRCS was granted observer status at the conference held in Kuwait and attended by International Red Cross Societies and by the Arab Red Cross, Crescent, Lion and Sun societies. At the conference of Arab Red Cross and Crescent societies held in Cairo in 1969, the PRCS enjoyed full membership status.

In the same year, the PRCS was given the responsibility by the National Council for medical services for all Palestinians, civilians, or otherwise.

As the Society's objective is to make medical services available to all, the Society has provided each camp of 20,000 inhabitants and above with a hospital, including a general clinic and a surgery unit.

ORGANIZATION

I — Central Organization, consisting of:

1. General Conference: the highest authority in the Society, meeting once every 2 years, except in cases of emergency.



2. Administrative Council: highest authority between the sessions of the General Conference. It consists of the members of the Executive Office and 10 members elected by the Conference, as well as the secretaries of the branches or their representatives, and the Chairman or his representative.
3. Executive Office: highest authority between the sessions of the General Conference and the Ad-

ministrative Council. It consists of 9 members; 6 elected by the Conference who subsequently elect the other three.

II — Local or Regional Organization, consisting of:

1. A General Assembly of all working members.
2. Administrative Council elected from among the General Assembly members and linked to the Executive Office, the relationship being regulated by Charter.

III — Central Committee of the Society:

- 1) Medical Services Committee.
- 2) Social Affairs Committee.
- 3) Committee for the Affairs of the Wounded and Prisoners.
- 4) Public Relations and Information Committees.

IV — Branches of the Society:

The Society has official branches in the following countries:

1. Syrian Arab Republic

2. Iraqi Republic
3. Kuwait
4. Arab Republic of Egypt
5. Libyan Arab Republic
6. United Arab Emirates — Abu Dhabi
7. Qatar
8. Morocco
9. Sudan

PROJECTS

— The most important project is a



Palestinian girls learn weaving.

pioneer project for a Frozen Blood Bank, which will be the first in the Third World.

During clashes potential donors usually rush to give blood, but at present facilities do not exist to store blood for long periods. The projected Bank will freeze blood for periods of 5-10 years. The blood will be stored after separating the plasma from the red blood corpuscles. The Bank will be able to store 1,000 units, and will be particularly useful for the storage of rare blood units. A small laboratory for preparing nitrogen directly from the air will be connected to the Blood Bank.

— Another project is for the transformation of a garage into an ENT Center and dental clinic. The garage has already been transformed into a hospital with 12 beds, but is not yet operating. It is set among gardens, flowers and grass. There will also be a laboratory, an X-ray unit, a treatment room, operating theater, Maxillo patient center, an autoclave and a reception room. The work on this garage emergency center was begun during the clashes in Lebanon.

— Emergency and First Aid Center. This is an on-going project, an independent, separate and organized center.

A team of doctors and nurses are on permanent stand-by, ready to deal with any emergency. The Center is self-sufficient in benzene, gas, electricity, light, water, medicine and food.

— With the help of other Arab countries, the PRCS has participated in the work of the Arab Center for Research into Injuries. This Center handles injuries occurring in time of peace and war. Arab and foreign experts and scientists have taken part in this project, and some are still participating in its work.

PRCS Relations with International Organizations:

- The Society took part in the Conferences of the Red Cross, Crescent, Lion and Sun Societies, held in Istanbul in 1969, and in Teheran in 1973, where it had observer status.
- The Seventh Conference of Arab Red Cross and Crescent Societies held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in January 1975, decided to admit the PRCS as a full working member of the International Organization of the Red Cross and Red Crescent and urged other members of the Red Cross, Crescent, Lion and Sun Societies to recognize the full membership of the Society in the International Organization.
- This year for the first time, the PRCS participated in the International Red Cross, Crescent and

International Peace Conference held in Belgrade, and attended by 117 countries. Political issues were also discussed at this Conference.

Israel was not allowed to attend this Conference because these international bodies reject emblems with a religious significance and Israel's emblem (the Star of David) is religious.

The International Red Cross emblem (a red cross) is connected with the Swiss founder of the Society, and represents the Swiss flag. It has no religious significance. The same goes for the emblems of the Red Crescent and the Iranian Lion and Sun societies.

— The Red Cross and Crescent societies in the Arab world are 22 in number. Their Executive Committee is composed of five members. During the conference of Arab leaders, the PRCS was elected member of the Secretariat-Gen-

eral of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

As a result, a PRCS representative attended the conference of the International Red Cross and Crescent Societies held in Geneva on 28 Oct.-1 Nov., 1975. The representative proposed a resolution that prisoners of liberation movements be considered as prisoners of war, and thus all international conventions would be applicable to them. The PRCS hopes to have this resolution adopted at the coming conference. Thus, Israel will be officially obliged to present full reports about every political prisoner in the occupied territories. At present Israel does not provide the International Red Cross with any records of Palestinian prisoners, nor allow any visits during the detention period, time when most of the prisoners are subjected to torture or ill-treatment.

Services for occupied territories:

In the PRCS Library there are complete records of the names, numbers, treatment, charges, and sentences of every political prisoner in the occupied territory. The Society keeps records of the kinds of torture and ill-treatment to which prisoners have been subjected. This subject is treated within the framework of International Law. When the International Red Cross reports that one of the prisoners needs an immediate operation, the PRCS gives the Red Cross the financial aid necessary to perform the operation. The PRCS also contacts the political prisoners' families and provides for their needs.

Palestine Committees:

These committees were founded to work for the return of Palestinians to their homes.

The rights of the Palestinians to return to their homes is a humanitarian right, and forms the basis of the Red Crescent and Red Cross societies' beliefs. For this purpose, friends all over the world have been encouraged to establish friendship committees under the name of PRCS associations. Such committees already exist in France, Switzerland, England, and even in the USA.

In France, the PRCS initiated a European Committee for the Mahmoud Al-Hamshari Hospital, now under construction in Sidon, Lebanon.

● In the Arab countries there are also branches of the Society, with medical centers offering free treatment to any patient.

● **Financing:** The PRCS represents the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Public Affairs. It needs a large budget and depends mostly on its own efforts and the efforts of the Palestinians and Arabs for self-sufficiency.

One direction in which these efforts have been directed was for the establishment in the different camps of workshops to supply the Society with chairs, couches, blankets, sheets, towels, masks, uniforms and tables. Those handicapped in Israeli raids, after treatment live and produce what is needed by the PRCS in these workshops.

Social Activities:

«Art is the highest expression of a people. People without art are people without feelings.»

The PRCS helps to keep alive the Palestinian identity. The Society is a symbol of the existence of the Palestinian people and their land. It is, therefore, its task to bring out this existence and legacy.

One traditional Palestinian art is embroidery (see «Palestine» Bulletin No. 5). International exhibition have taken place in different parts of the world, and shown Palestinian national



The PRCS everywhere.



HOSPITALS	AL JALIL HOSPITAL	AL QUDS HOSPITAL	HAIFA HOSPITAL	GAZA HOSPITAL underground	TEL-EL-ZAATAR	FOUR EMERGENCY CENTERS
	Internal diseases Surgical services 40 beds 20 men and 20 women	Surgery Ophthalmic dept. E.N.T. 60 beds	Paralegia Internal diseases Research lab. 50 beds 20 women 30 men	Other diseases Surgery during emergencies i.e. air-raids 20 beds	Operating theater 2 clinics 30 beds	Emergency cases air raids civil war AL-HAMSHARI HOSPITAL under construction (see note below) ★



dresses. Inside the occupied territories, some 30-40,000 families are needy; their men are long-term prisoners in Israeli jails. In order to support themselves, families embroider dresses, and the PRCS exhibits their work in charity bazaars, where the dresses may be sold.

The PRCS established the «Permanent Exhibition of Palestinian Folklore». It contains an impressive display of handicrafts, from carpets to wooden sculptures, to richly-embroidered materials. It has a collection of local dresses from the various regions of Palestine. The exhibition provides work for nearly 8,000 people, 3,000 of whom live outside the occupied territories (in Jordan and Syria), 2,000 in

Lebanon, and the rest are scattered throughout different countries.

The PRCS offers wounded fighters a wide choice of training, a policy derived from a study made in 1973 of the social and medical conditions of Palestinians in the Lebanese camps. The PRCS undertook courses of study for radio and TV technicians. In Lebanon, the Social Welfare Committee teaches sewing to women, as well as embroidery and languages, and also advises families on child care procedures.

Role of the PRCS in the Lebanese Clashes:

On 13 April, 1975, the PRCS began

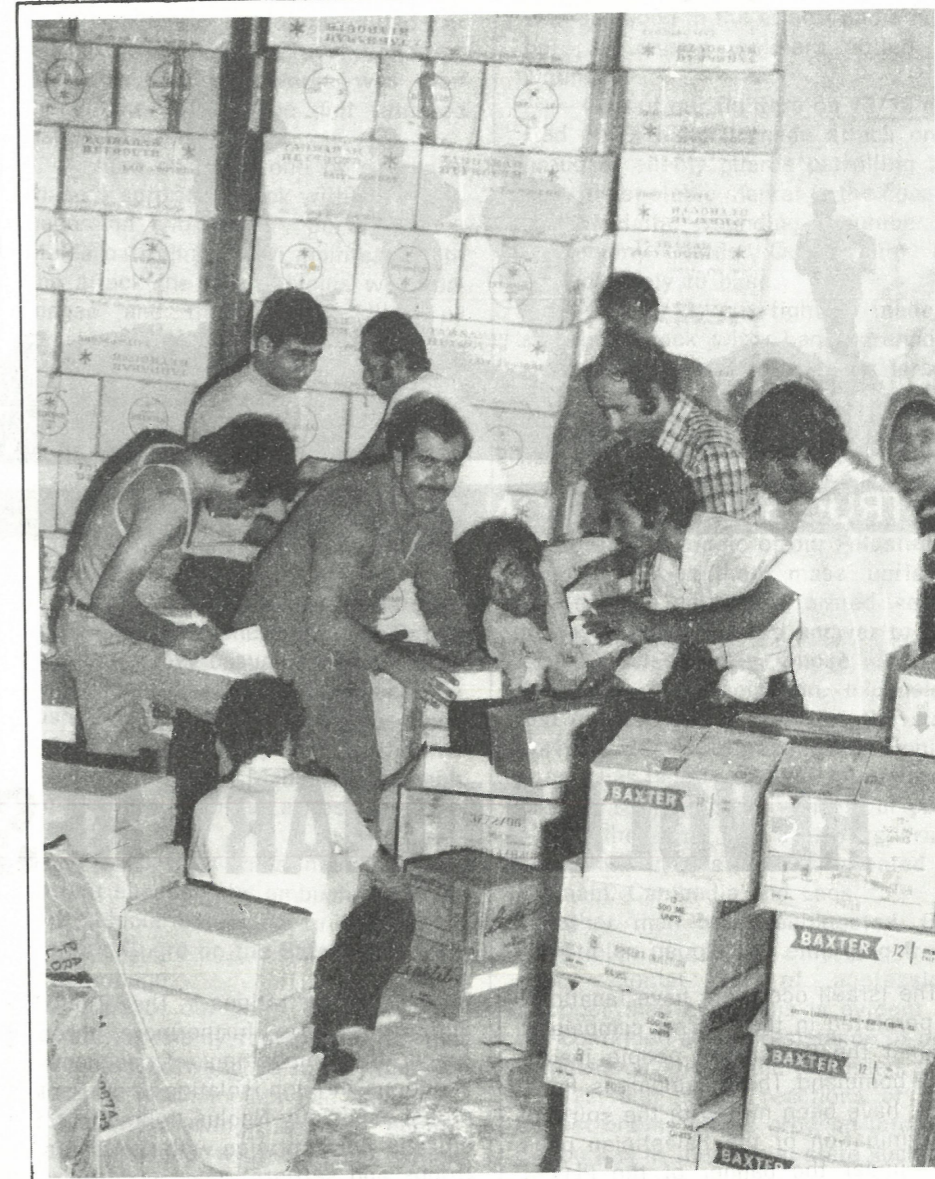
to transport the wounded and the injured to hospitals and emergency centers. Al Quds Hospital was under the control of a joint PRCS and Lebanese Red Cross committee. During the clashes, the hospital was burnt by rockets, although the Red Cross flag continued to fly above. Within eight hours, an underground hospital with 100 beds was established (it has a capacity of 500 beds), two operating theaters and an autoclave. Between April and November, the PRCS treated 5,200 cases of all nationalities. The working team had to deal with mass casualties. In order to cope, they opened training centers in which 620 persons (most of them students, housewives and workers) were given first-aid and medical training. In the hospitals, these volunteers took part in cooking, cleaning, washing, and also provided the emergency hospitals with beds from their own homes. People rushed in hundreds to donate blood. The Palestinian and Lebanese masses reacted to the events, proving their presence everywhere, while the International Red Cross for the first time in its history—and the whole world in general—remained deaf.

The will of the Palestinian people who made the revolution, is the same will which created this humanitarian society. The PRCS provides the whole world with a new and noble example, calling upon all people to work in order to allow those who are in exile to return to their homes.



FURTHER SERVICES

- 2 mobile field hospitals
- 70 clinics
- 10 dental clinics
- 5 recuperation centers
- One physiotherapy center
- Graduate first aid school
- Social public health school
- School for graduating assistants
- Nursing school
- Documentary center for the affairs of prisoners and detainees
- First aid training center
- Convalescent home



★ The Palestine Red Crescent Society, feeling that it was required to extend medical and welfare services to those needy people who have given it their full support, found it appropriate to build a large general medical and surgical hospital providing free medical services to the Lebanese and Palestinian people in South Lebanon.

In memory of the martyr Mahmoud Al-Hamshari, his name will be given to the hospital to be built in Sidon, near the Ain Al-Hilweh refugee camp. At first this will only be a fifty-bed capacity hospital, to be increased to one hundred later on. It will have the latest surgical, diagnostic and treatment equipment. For the execution of this project, several committees have been set up to support the project, among them the National Lebanese Committee for the Support of the Al-Hamshari Hospital, the European Committee for the support of the Establishment of the Martyr Mahmoud Al-Hamshari Hospital, in France, and other committees everywhere. Marie Claude Hamshari, the martyr's wife, is a member of the Committee in France.

FOR THEIR SAKE PRCS EXISTS





STRUGGLE GOES ON

REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE

The Israeli occupiers have fanatically persisted in their terror campaigns against the Palestinian people inside their homeland. These campaigns, however, have been met with the spirited determination of the Palestinian people—under the banner of the PLO—to perturb the plans of the Zionist enemy and resist the occupation. Demonstrations against the occupiers continued, extending from the West Bank on 24 November to the Gaza Strip. New demonstrations erupted in Nablus on 12 December and soon spread to Bir Zeit and Ramallah. This upsurge of Palestinian popular feeling not only expressed the mass resistance to the Israeli occupation, but further strongly emphasizes the Palestinian peoples' support of their leadership and their legal representative, the PLO.

In order to contain the mass uprising in the occupied territories, the Zionist authorities have recourse to different means of repression, including the mobilization of large armed forces, the arrest of numbers of Palestinian citizens, and the imposition of heavy fines ranging from £250-£600 on parents whose children participated

in the demonstrations.* The Zionist authorities have furthermore threatened the imposition of economic sanctions through isolating West Bank cities, especially Nablus, following its citizens' confrontation with the Zionist troops and settlers.

The failure of the Israeli occupiers to subjugate our masses to their plans was accompanied by an even harder blow on the diplomatic front—the UN Security Council resolution linking the renewal of the mandate of the UNDOF forces on the Golan Heights with the Middle East debate planned for 12 January with PLO participation. Less than 24 hours after the adoption of the Security Council Resolution, the Zionist occupiers added one more horrible crime to their record of crimes committed against the Palestinian people, when they attacked in desperation and frustration the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon on 2 December, killing 111 innocent civilians and wounding more than 200 others.

The fascist violence which is manifested in the daily practices of the Israeli racists is confronted with the revolutionary resistance of our Palestinian people, using various means of

struggle to liberate their homeland. In continued resistance, Palestinian commandos carried out 23 successful military operations against the Israeli occupation forces and enemy installations, during the period 21 November-21 December.

During this period, Palestinian resistance fighters attacked 10 enemy targets with timed explosive charges. These targets were: the enemy soldiers' rest house in Nabi Yaqoub; the military aircraft components' depot in Zakharia settlement near Jerusalem; 'Asia' furniture factories in Petah Tiqwa; a textile factory complex in Dimona settlement; a building housing the offices of a Zionist firm in Tel Aviv, the explosion of which killed an enemy military explosives expert who was trying to dismantle the charges; the Absorption Center in Avivim settlement near Safad; the main square in Modi'im settlement between Ramallah and Ramle; a military car park in Majdal Ha Emek settlement; a local guards' center in Bir Sabe'; the office of the military liaison officer in the town of Majdal.

During the same period, Palestinian commandos also directly confronted

the Israeli occupation forces and military patrols in 13 ambushes and attacks. The following are extracts from the communiqués issued by a Palestinian military spokesman regarding these operations. The extracts are given according to their time sequence:

— On 23/11, one of our commando units carried out an ambush in Sheikh Radwan district in Gaza to execute the Zionist officer responsible for the displacement of refugees from the camps in the Gaza Strip. In the ambush, the car transporting the Zionist officer in question, accompanied by two guards and the driver, was attacked by our commandos and all its occupants killed.

— On 19/11, the General Command of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution received a report from the occupied homeland confirming a military operation which took place in Jerusalem earlier the same month, in which Palestinian commandos surprised enemy troops patrolling the Hebron gate area. During the ensuing clash, most of the enemy soldiers were killed or wounded.

— A few hours after the barbaric Israeli air-raid against Palestinian refugee camps in north and south Lebanon on 2 December, Palestinian commandos retaliated the Zionist aggression in two consecutive operations. In the first, at 5 p.m. on 2/12, our commandos shelled the enemy positions in Dahr al-Haraj, Al-Matallah and Tallat Ryaq with heavy rockets. In the second, which took place at 8 p.m. on 2/12, our commandos carried out a concentrated rocket attack against enemy military positions in Safad, Naharia, and Miskaf 'Am. The rockets scored direct hits. The enemy later admitted the operations without specifying casualties.

— On 3/12, one of our units ambushed an enemy patrol, consisting of a half-armoured vehicle and a jeep, in Sheikh Radwan district, north of Gaza. Our commandos surprised the patrol with automatic weapons and hand grenades, completely paralyzing the patrol's movements. While withdrawing, our revolutionaries came into confrontation with enemy reinforcements who were trying to encircle the area, and inflicted additional losses on the enemy forces. Enemy losses were estimated as the destruction of the half-armoured vehicle and the military jeep, damage to an armoured vehicle and a personnel vehicle, and a num-

ber of enemy soldiers killed or wounded. One of our revolutionaries, **Suleiman Khalid Shawarka** was martyred. The rest of the unit returned safely to base.

— Also on 3/12, one of our units made a surprise attack with hand grenades on two military personnel vehicles patrolling Rafah main street. In the attack the two vehicles were damaged and their crews killed or wounded.

— On 4/12, one of our units set an ambush for an enemy military bus transporting soldiers from Jerusalem to Ain Karem. Our commandos made a surprise attack on the bus with hand grenades and automatic weapons, killing or wounding a number of the enemy soldiers.

— On 8/12, one of our fighters attacked a border check-point in Rafah, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. Enemy troops stationed nearby rushed to the area and engaged our fighter as he was trying to withdraw. The heroic fighter, **Mahmoud Salameh Abu Omran** died as a result of his wounds.

— On 10/12, a Palestinian commando unit successfully ambushed a military vehicle belonging to the Israeli Frontier Guard on the Safad road near Rama village.

— One of our units, on 15/12 ambushed an enemy foot patrol on the main road between Sa'sa and Bar'am, killing or wounding its five members. While withdrawing, another enemy patrol engaged with our unit which nevertheless returned fire, inflicting additional losses on the enemy, before returning safely to base.

— A group of Palestinian fighters on 19/12 launched a surprise attack on an enemy mobile patrol on the road to the Bar'am settlement in Upper Galilee. An enemy half-track vehicle

was damaged in the attack, and a number of enemy soldiers killed or wounded.

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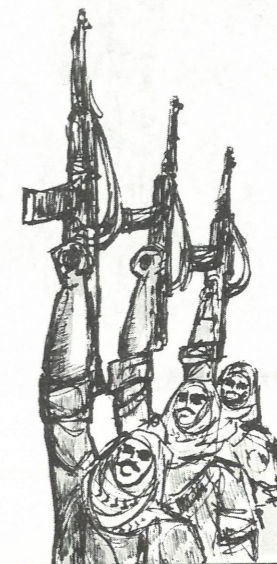
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The daily struggle of our Palestinian people, through their mass uprising and through continued armed resistance, is the only valid answer to the Zionist racist enemy, whose ideology is based on colonization, expansion and exclusivism. In spite of the support of US imperialism, the Zionist enemy has failed—and will continue to fail—to subjugate the will of our people, in the same way as US imperialism failed and was totally defeated in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

Rather than being subjugated, the Palestinian people are emerging from every Zionist act of aggression stronger than ever. This is evident in the continued armed resistance of our commandos within the occupied territories, and in the reactions of the Zionist enemy to the growing internal difficulties of the Zionist state such as its deteriorating economy, as well as to its increasing isolation on the international level through the recent diplomatic victories of the PLO.

The 11th Anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution on 1 January 1976, is the appropriate occasion to recollect how the most recent victories of the Palestinian people have been achieved. These victories are the most obvious evidence of the inevitability of the victory of the struggling Palestinian people over the Zionist racist enemy. While celebrating the 11th Anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, the Palestinian people and the Palestinian revolutionaries salute the souls of their martyrs, and with this salute give a renewed promise of their determined will to national liberation and to self-determination through persistent resistance.

* The average daily wage of a labourer in the occupied territories is £2.





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MASSES RISE AGAINST ZIONIST COLONIZATION OF SABASTIA

Popular demonstrations erupted in the West Bank city of Nablus at the beginning of December, in protest against the attempted occupation by a number of Zionist settlers of the West Bank village of Sabastia. Since the 1967 War, and the acquisition of new territories and with the large influx of Jews to occupied Palestine, annexation of the occupied territories has become the Zionist aim, and settlement plans were elaborated to absorb the new settlers in the West Bank, the Golan Heights and Sinai. Arab villages were destroyed to establish Jewish settlements in their place, land was confiscated and inhabitants were forcibly evicted. As the Zionist Jabotinsky put it: «Has a people ever been known to give up its own territory by its own volition? Likewise, the Arabs in Palestine will not renounce their sovereignty without violence.» Violence has always been the Zionists' most favoured means to achieve their aim in colonizing Arab territories.

The newest and most striking example of Zionist colonization is the case of the Palestinian village of Sabastia. Groups of racist Zionists, the Gush Emunim gangs, started implementing their plan of occupying the village and transforming it into a Zionist city on the lines of Kiryat Arba' which was established in the Hebron district. Sabastia, a village north of the city of Nablus, was occupied by the Zionist forces during the 1967 War.

On December 8, our masses, fully aware of the probable results of this colonization, flowed into the streets of Nablus and other neighbouring villages in an attempt to stop the occupation of their land. Zionist troops protecting the settlers clashed with the demonstrators who were carrying Palestinian flags, and tried to disperse them with clubs, water hoses and rifle butts. As a result, thousands of demonstrators barricaded themselves

in the old quarters of the city, particularly in the Casbah (named after the historic Casbah of Algiers, the center of the Algerian armed resistance to the French occupation, because of its fierce resistance both to the reactionary Hashemite rule from 1948 until 1967, and to the Zionist occupation forces since then), and there clashed with Zionist troops in a series of fierce street battles.

The street battles of December 8 were described in various reports as the fiercest to take place in the city of Nablus since last November, when Yasser Arafat spoke before the UN General Assembly. The demonstrators blocked the narrow twisting alleyways of the Casbah with burning oil drums. They threw stones at Israeli troops from rooftops and rolled burning tyres at them. The Zionist forces fired at the demonstrators in their attempt to charge the blockaded alleys. A number of Palestinian citizens were

wounded. The Zionist forces, including more than 500 soldiers and 30 armoured vehicles, finally broke into the Casbah and occupied it. Dozens of youths were collared by the troops who kicked and clubbed them before throwing them into waiting jeeps.

The popular demonstrations extended to the Bir Zeit college, north of the town of Ramallah and Karm al-Zeitoun college in Ramallah itself, as well as to other parts of the town. The Zionist police attempted to suppress the new demonstrations but again clashed with students and citizens. The police used rods and whips while the demonstrators threw stones and empty bottles at the Zionist forces.

High tension still prevails in the West Bank, especially in Nablus. The Zionist forces have reinforced their military presence both there and in the neighbouring villages with new frontier guard forces and armoured vehicles. The reinforcements are particularly concentrated in the city center, in the Casbah quarter, and in the main city square. Check-points have also been erected at the entrances of the city and a large number of Palestinian citizens have been searched and arrested.

The barbaric and desperate response of the Zionists to the uprising of our masses is but the result of the increasing struggle of the Palestinian people and the international recognition of their right to self-determination

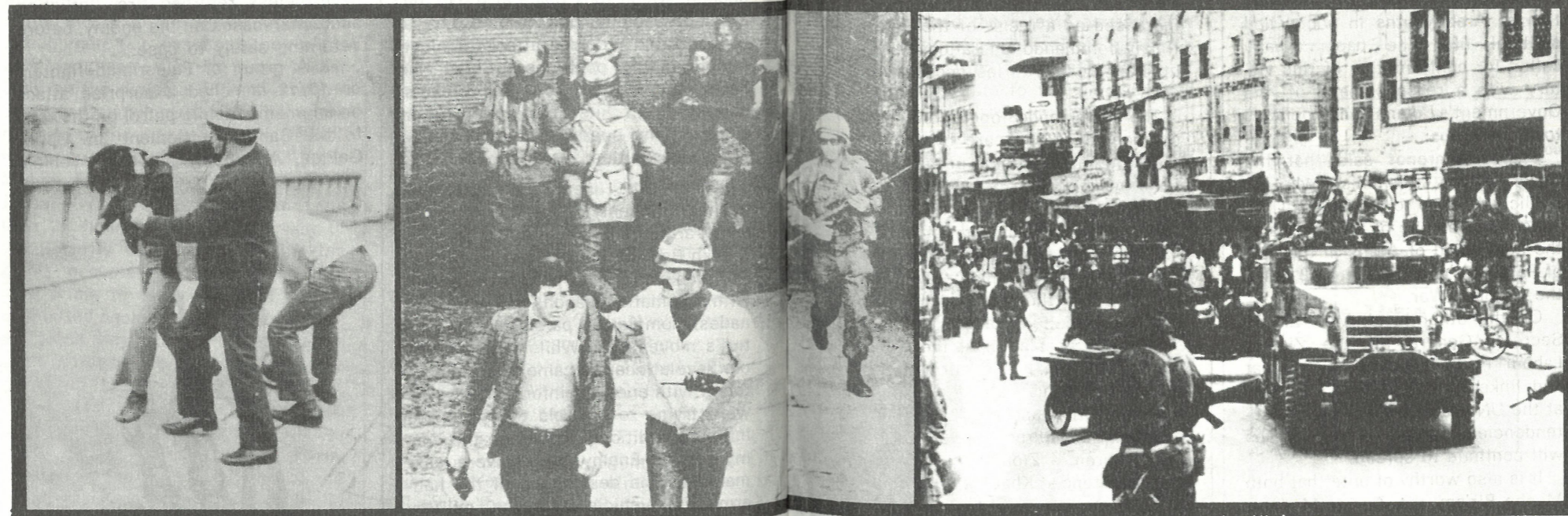
in their homeland, Palestine, through the use of all legal means provided by the UN Charter, including armed struggle. This growing universal recognition, not only of the rights of the Palestinian people but also of their central role in the future evolution of the region, along with the isolation of the Zionist enemy on the international level which was manifested in the UN General Assembly's recent resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination, have put the Israeli leaders in a suffocating situation leading to a number of irrational and hysterical reactions. During the last mass uprising, a Likud Knesset member, Jeola Cohen, faced the Knesset carrying a Palestinian flag. She said that secondary school students in Nablus distributed it during the demonstrations against the Zionist settlement in Sabastia. She unfurled the Palestinian flag warning the Knesset members that if the flag of the Zionist settlers is not hoisted in Samaria (i.e. the Nablus region—meaning Sabastia), there was a real danger of the Palestinian flag being hoisted over the Knesset.

The huge pro-PLO and anti-occupation demonstrations, and the failure of the Zionist leadership to create an illusory representation of the Palestinians, along with the increasing struggle of our masses in the occupied territories against the Zionist «auto-administration» project, resulted in a massive arrest campaign unleashed

against our Palestinian masses under occupation. Moreover, in violation of various international resolutions, and neglecting numerous demands by world human and civil rights' committees, Israeli leadership is still planning the establishment of more settlements on Palestinian and Arab occupied territories. The latest scheme is for the establishment of 31 settlements in different areas of occupied Palestine over the next 2 years. The Director of the Settlement Section of the Jewish Agency, made known the decision to the Settlement and Immigration Committee at the Zionist notables' conference held in Jerusalem, on December 4. Needless to say, the Committee voted in favour of the decision.

The Zionists still cling to their policies of colonization and of evicting the indigenous people from their land. As their intentions are increasingly unmasked at the international level, the Zionists are becoming more and more hysterical in implementing their condemned schemes. This in its turn will only lead to the increasing resistance of our masses and to the escalation of their political and military struggle until their internationally-recognized right to self-determination in Palestine can be achieved and the democratic secular state be established.

□ □



Human rights in Israel...

WOMEN LEADERS CONDEMN «AUTO-ADMINISTRATION» PROJECTS

Thirteen women's unions from the various cities of the occupied territories held a massive rally in Jerusalem on November 21, in celebration of International Women's Year. The hall of the Arab Women's Union where the rally took place was crowded with women who came from the various parts of occupied Palestine, and who expressed, through speeches and slogans, their rejection of the occupation and their full support of, and integration with, the struggle of their people. Different women speakers spoke on the struggle of Palestinian women through the various stages of Palestinian struggle against imperialism and Zionism and their conspiracies, which finally led to the usurpation of Palestine.

At the end of the rally, the unions convened took important political and social resolutions, some of which follow:

1 — The unions convened expressed their condemnation and rejection of the «auto-administration» projects as they are flagrantly opposed to the national aspirations of the Palestinian people.

2 — The women's unions thanked all the states which supported the Palestinian cause and the rights of the Palestinian people at the United Nations.

3 — They called upon all women's organizations in the world to interfere positively in the attempt to obtain the release of Arab women prisoners from the Zionist jails.

OCCUPATION DIARY

NAZARETH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, NEW ZIONIST DEFEAT

The Democratic list, composed of the nationalist-democratic-communist alliance, has won 11 out of 17 seats in the municipal elections which took place in the Galilee town of Nazareth on December 9, while the Palestinian poet, Tewfiq Ziad, won the elections for mayor with 67% of the votes.

The extent of the Zionist defeat was obvious in the fact that the ruling Zionist alignment bloc won only 4 seats, while the religious Zionist party won only two. As regards the vote for mayor, the Palestinian militant Tewfiq Ziad from the Rakah party obtained 9,510 votes, while the other candidates together obtained only 4,615 votes.

AFP said that the victory of the democratic list in Nazareth was «exciting», because the nationalists, democrats and communists obtained seats even in areas controlled by the strong Zu'bi family.

Zionist newspapers appearing in occupied Palestine, on December 10, dealt in their editorials with the results of the municipal elections in Nazareth. The majority of the Zionist papers were unanimous in believing that this victory is a victory to the line supporting the PLO.

The **Jerusalem Post** said in its editorial that the victory of Rakah (the Israeli Communist Party and the major party in the democratic list) in the Nazareth municipal elections undoubtedly indicates an increase in nationalist spirit among Arabs in the parts of Palestine occupied in 1948. The paper noted that the first signs of this new spirit began to emerge following the June 1967 war and increased after the October 1973 War. The **Post** editorial added that Tewfiq Ziad, the new mayor of Nazareth, will not hide his sympathies for the enemies of Israel. The editorial concluded by calling for confronting Ziad's victory, through studying the complaints of the Arabs in the areas occupied in 1948, and providing for the needs of the people of Nazareth.



Davar (the organ of the Histadrut) on the other hand said that two major factors had led to the victory of Rakah in the elections:

On the local level, the failure of the various political parties in managing the Nazareth municipality throughout the past years often led to the dissolution of the Municipal Council and the formation of a committee to manage the affairs of the city.

On the Arab level, **Davar** alleged that the victory of Rakah in the elections was a result of the dissatisfaction of the «generation of intellectuals» from the parts of Palestine occupied in 1948. Such dissatisfaction grew out of the failure of Zionist policies for the assimilation of Arab youths in social and political life. The paper finally called for confrontation of this victory with a reassessment of the Government's plans and policies towards Arabs.

Yediot Aharonot said that the victory of the communists who are publicly hostile to Israel, can be considered as one of the results of the new stand of Arabs in the part of Palestine occupied in 1948, after the October War.

On the other hand, Meir Zrami, Secretary-General of the Zionist Labour Party, admitted the defeat and linked it to the PLO's victory at the UN. He said that «extremist» tendencies among Israeli Arabs will continue to spread.

It is also worthy of note that both Moshe Bir'am, the Zionist Minister of Labour, and Abraham Ofar, the Minister of Housing, supported the

three Zionist lists with all their weight, but to no avail. They even threatened outright that Israel would not remain silent regarding the transfer of the post of Mayor to a leadership loyal to Yasser Arafat.

The Rabin Government dissolved the Nazareth Municipal Council shortly after the elections of 31 December, 1974, because of the number of nationalists and democrats in the Council. The Zionist Government's reaction to this victory is expected to take the form of further restrictions on the democratic forces and the Palestinian masses in Nazareth and other parts of Palestine.

MASSIVE ARRESTS IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

Palestinian citizens of al-Bira and Ramallah have throughout the month of November been subjected to massive arrests and group trials.

Newspapers in occupied Palestine on 1/12 revealed the group arrests of citizens of Hebron, Jenin and the Gaza Strip, in addition to Ramallah and Lydd, have recently increased as a result of the Palestinian commando operations executed in the territories occupied in 1948.

The commando operations, accompanied as they are by the increasing mass uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, have created a wave of terror among the ranks of the Zionist forces and settlers.

The arrest campaigns carried out by the Zionist occupation authorities, express the anxiety and fear of the occupation leaders as a result of the escalation of the mass uprising, which has confirmed the unified Palestinian stand rejecting the occupation and the local administration conspiracy.

In Hebron, a Zionist military tribunal sentenced Khalil Abu 'Arqoub to one year in jail on charges of membership of the Palestinian Revolution, possession of arms, and

assisting commandos. The same tribunal handed out prison sentences ranging from 10 to 18 months on the following 9 citizens of Hebron: Atallah al Darabi, Yousef Abu Sharar, Bassem al-Awawida, Nayef al Sayed Ahmad, Samir al-Awawida, Khalid al-Awawida, Mahmoud Naji 'Amr, Yousef al Ma-sharqa, and Fayez Abu Hleil. They were all charged with membership of the Palestinian Revolution, the distribution of pamphlets and providing aid to Palestinian commandos.

In Jenin, the Zionist military tribunal continued the trial of a number of Palestinians charged with membership of the Resistance Movement, possession of arms, and distribution of pamphlets. They are Adnan Sayam, Omar Mahmoud Ghanem, Abdel Rehim Maale, Adnan Abu Khaled, and Hussam Muhammad Jarar.

In related news, a Zionist military tribunal in Lydd sentenced the Palestinian militant Saleh Eid al-Aqra', from the village of Qaylat to a jail term for placing explosive charges at a station for the transport of Zionist soldiers in Jerusalem and for «resisting the occupation.»

According to reports to Wafa from occupied Palestine, the Zionist occupation authorities on 14/12 arrested a number of Palestinian citizens in Ramallah and Hebron on charges of belonging to the Palestinian Revolution. These reports described the arrests as part of a series of oppressive measures against Arab citizens because of their hostility to the Zionist occupation.



ISRAELI ACTION AGAINST PALESTINIANS IN 1975

1,619 Palestinians detained without trial, 358 sentenced, 48 homes demolished in the occupied territories.

DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL							
No.	Month	Nablus	Jerusalem	Hebron	Gaza Strip	Territories Occupied Since 1948	Total
1	January	90	114	10	19	1	234
2	February	28	60	12	109	1	210
3	March	15	43	4	1	—	63
4	April	—	24	27	2	1	54
5	May	3	12	17	4	11	47
6	June	1	1	41	—	200	243
7	July	50	9	2	—	12	73
8	August	19	5	36	—	6	66
9	September	40	—	41	—	31	112
10	October	—	—	33	—	—	33
11	November	—	6	—	—	—	6
12	December	200	126	82	70	—	478
	Total						1619

TRIALS AND SENTENCES							
No.	Month	Nablus	Jerusalem	Hebron	Gaza Strip	Territories Occupied Since 1948	Total
1	January	4	1	—	5	—	10
2	February	5	5	—	12	—	22
3	March	—	21	—	9	2	32
4	April	1	15	1	21	1	39
5	May	8	19	8	41	8	84
6	June	3	6	—	1	3	13
7	July	6	6	14	20	3	49
8	August	1	11	4	3	2	21
9	September	2	11	16	9	—	38
10	October	—	1	—	8	—	9
11	November	4	2	3	15	1	25
12	December	13	—	—	2	—	15
	Total						358

HOUSES DEMOLISHED							
No.	Month	Nablus	Jerusalem	Hebron	Gaza Strip	Territories Occupied Since 1948	Total
1	January	1	3	1	—	—	5
2	February	—	—	—	—	1	1
3	March	—	—	—	3	—	3
4	April	—	—	—	13	—	13
5	May	—	—	1	—	—	1
6	June	1	—	—	—	—	1
7	July	—	—	6	—	—	6
8	August	1	—	6	1	—	8
9	September	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	October	—	—	5	—	—	5
11	November	5	—	—	—	—	5
12	December	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Total						48

INTERVENTION OF FELICIA LANGER AT THE WORLD WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN BERLIN, 20-24 OCTOBER, 1975

I have the honour to address this esteemed commission in the name of the peace-loving and democratic Israeli women, both Jews and Arabs. There are such people, and they are brothers and sisters of the Palestinians.

I have the honour to bring to you precious and unique greetings from the Palestinians in Israeli prisons, women and men, the best sons and daughters of their people.

I promised them to assure you of their determination to preserve their national pride and human dignity despite all the efforts of the Israeli occupiers to break them, even in their prisons and after they have been sentenced. Their spirit is now stronger than ever before.

In order to describe what I have seen with my own eyes day by day over all these years in the occupied territory, the sufferings and tears, the love for the homeland, the simple, and often anonymous heroism, we need weeks. But I wish to state clearly that a policy of institutionalised terror is the official policy of the Israeli occupier in the territories occupied in 1967. The laws applied in these territories — Emergency Regulations, 1945, inherited from the British Mandate period — were denounced by Jewish lawyers in 1946 as fascist. Now they are used against Arabs in the occupied territories and in Israel. Mass arrests and collective punishments are designed to break the will and determination of the Palestinians

to get rid of the Israeli occupation.

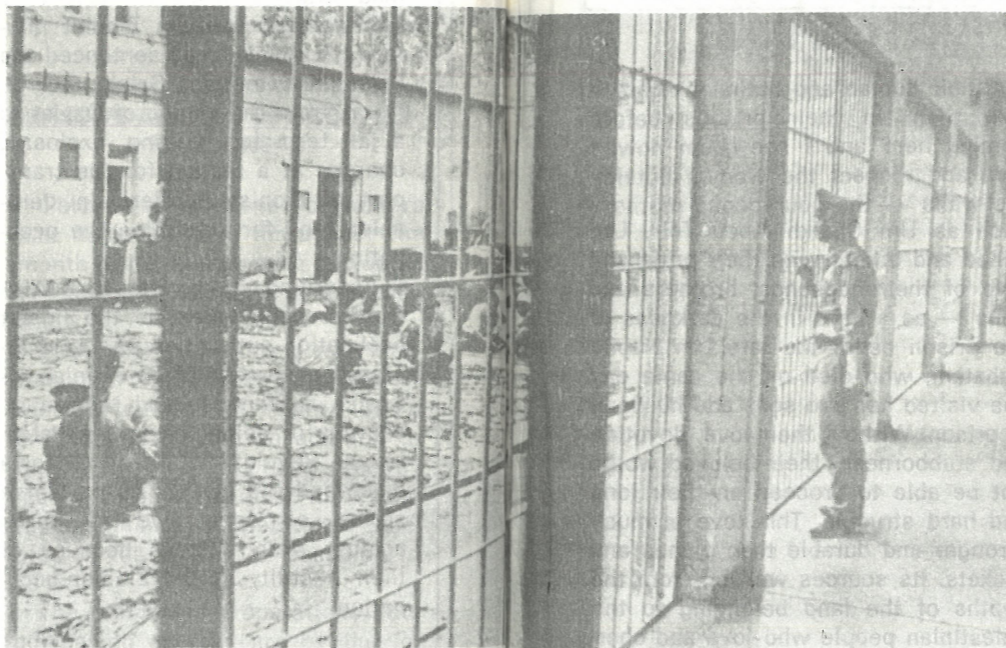
27,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned since the 1967 occupation and some 4,000 are still in prison, while the authorities continue to arrest Palestinians day by day. Dozens of Palestinian patriots, communists and others have been under administrative detention for a year, without any charge being made.

The demolition of houses, the confiscation of property, the imposition of long curfews, the staging of sieges against whole villages, — these are the characteristic features of the occupation. Israel has confiscated more than one and a half million dunums in the West Bank, more than 1/6 of the total area of the West Bank, 1/3 of the Gaza Strip. Thousands of Beduins were forcibly evicted from their land. The total area confiscated from them is around 100,000 dunums. The so-called «thinning out» policy practised in the refugee camps entailed the mass expulsion of refugees and many thousands of destroyed houses in Jerbaliah and Shaati.

The same activity on the part of the occupiers is also seen in Arab Jerusalem — confiscation of 22,000 dunums of Arab land in the city and its suburbs, and the forcible eviction of tens of thousands of Arabs who used to live and work there. I shall never forget the old widow, Salaima who said that she preferred to die in her house rather than to leave it. After the demolition of 800 Arab buildings, 10 new Israeli sectors were built, en-



Felicia Langer.



circling Jerusalem, reaching Beit Jallah and the road to Jericho — «a ring round Jerusalem» as the authorities are calling it. A serious demographic change is the result of this policy — a forcible decrease in the numbers of Arabic inhabitants, from 140,000 in 1948 to 70,000 in 1974.

The expulsion of political leaders and other patriots is aimed at depriving the Palestinians of their leaders and moral supporters. Many hundreds of the best sons of the people were expelled during those dark years. But the occupiers committed an error

common to all oppressors in human history, thinking that such measures would break the resistance of the oppressed: every one of the expelled is replaced by dozens of new strugglers, with an ever-deepening hatred of the occupation. A total of some 13,000 houses were destroyed during the occupation — and this figure does not include the completely ruined Golan Heights. On the ruins of the three peaceful villages of Yaln, Beit Nooba and Arinas destroyed by the Israeli Army in 1967, flowers are now growing. A Canadian investor has built a recreation centre there. But under the flowers, from the depths of the earth, we can hear the cry of a life which was buried under the ruins. An eternal shame for those who do not hear it. The demolished Golan Heights, the ghost city of Kuneitra which I cannot forget, constitute a heavy indictment against the Israeli occupation and its

patron, American imperialism.

The colonisation of the occupied territories by Jewish settlers is going on at this very moment. There are more than fifty new settlements in the Golan and 18 more are planned. Near Rafah, a city is under construction. One of the new settlers in the Golan was questioned in a TV programme about where he had come from. He answered: «From Houston, Texas». It is symbolic — Houston, Texas settling in the Golan, while its legal inhabitants have been living for 8 years in refugee camps near Damascus. Such

is the policy of creating new realities in the occupied territories. Those who have robbed for 26 years and are continuing at this very moment to steal the land of Galilee and the Triangle have for the last 3 years been stealing Arab land in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, changing Arab names into Hebrew ones, hoping mistakenly that they will thus be able to change the map of the Middle East, and to annihilate Palestinians as they did in Deir Yassin, Qfar Qassem and in the Lebanese refugee camps.

In addition to confiscation, demolition of houses, expulsions, another means of intimidation exists — the military courts — which have imposed millions of years of imprisonment on Palestinians, without any possibility of appealing against the sentences. Do not think that only those who carry the arms to which they have a right as a sacred privilege to fight against foreign occupation, are sentenced in these courts: there is nothing lawful in the eyes of the authorities — a peaceful demonstration, distributing a leaflet, giving a glass of water to a son or husband or daughter or father suspected of «subversive» activity. Further, in accordance with a law passed in 1972, the Israeli Government is kidnapping Palestinians from neighbouring countries and bringing them for trial before military courts in Israel. This can be merely for membership of Palestinian political organisations, considered by the Israeli authorities to be a threat to the security of Israel. Ten Lebanese, Syrians, and Iraqis were kidnapped two years ago and sentenced to six years' imprisonment under the 1972 law, contrary to all sacred maxims of the law of nations. Mohamed Mahdi Bsiso was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment under the terms of this law, and in his case the law was applied retroactively, another breach of international maxims. At present, Bsiso is in Ramle prison hospital, with a broken hand and wounded head after being beaten by 20 policemen, because of his devotion to his friends in prison and his fight for their rights.

The use of torture during investigations is current; I declare this as a lawyer who has dealt with thousands of cases, and I am responsible for every word I am saying. I have seen marks on the bodies of hundreds of my clients, the most recent being Khadigah Abo Arkoob, the heroic Palestinian woman, Soleiman El Najab,

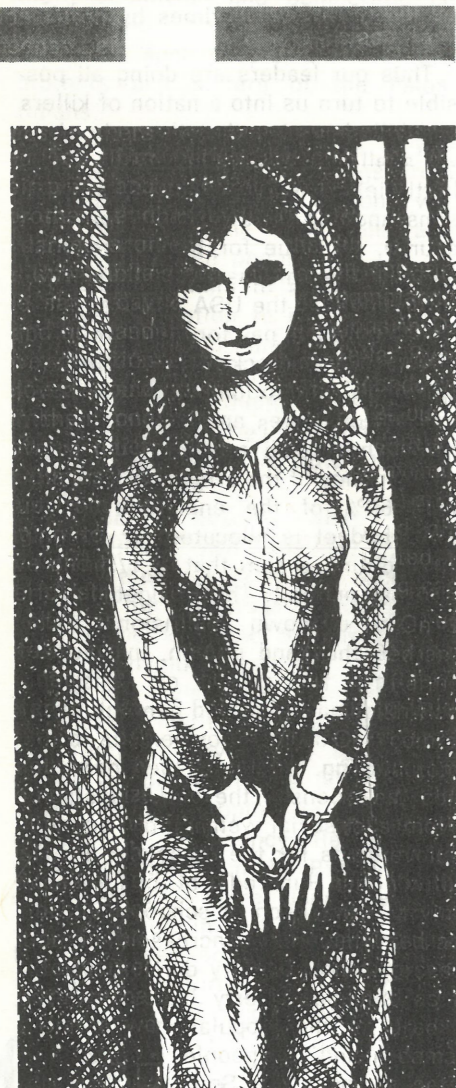
Housny Hadad, Khalil Higazi, Gamal Fretah and, two weeks ago in Hebron prison, 17-year old Jihad Saada, now almost insane as a result of torture. I know prisoners who became insane as a result of torture, such as Abdul Mutalib Abu Armeli, Ibrahim Kamook and Ziad El Aza from Bethlehem, who was hospitalized for nine months after his release.

Dozens of people have died in prison as a result of torture. But despite all these terrorist measures, the struggle against the occupation is going on, and thousands prefer the prisons cells, prefer to die rather than to surrender to the occupier, or to kiss his hand. During all these cruel, dark years the authorities have not succeeded in producing even one quisling; this shows their political and moral bankruptcy.

All these activities of the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories constitute grave breaches of the 4th Geneva Convention, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, breaches punishable as war crimes by the law of nations.

Thus our leaders are doing all possible to turn us into a nation of killers and killed, saying that the only place we shall meet the Palestinians is the battlefield. The tears and blood of our sons and the sons of Arabs have, of course, no value for them. The most sophisticated means of killing have to be obtained in the USA and the nation as usual has to pay for them: the cost of living has rocketed, because of spreading corruption, embezzlements by big companies and government offices. The Israeli economy is subject to the policy of the armament race and war. 60% of the enormous annual state budget is allocated for military expenditure, a sum that is 1/3 of the national product. This budget is now reaching unknown dimensions, more than 56 thousand million. Inflation is galloping, the prices of consumer goods increase hundred percent, taxes increase and unemployment is constantly rising. Owing to the enormous military expenses, the vital budgets for education, social welfare, the building of dwellings for the homeless are all being cut. Hundreds of children no longer have lunch at school owing to the threefold price increase. Many of them go about hungry during lessons. Distress and poverty hit the widest strata of the population, including children and old people. Our leaders are building a new Sparta in the Mid-

Torture is the official policy in the occupation prisons.



die East, turning us into a nation where fathers are burying their sons and where crying on a soldier's grave is a shame. But more and more voices in Israel are now raised against this policy, warning that it leads to catastrophe, and saying that there is no other solution than the implementation of resolution 338, and withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, their right to self-determination, their right to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories occupied in 1967, and recognition of the right of the Palestinian refugees to choose between returning to their homeland or receiving compensation. This will lead to the recognition of the State of Israel by the Arab World, by the Palestinians. So the only obstacle to peace in the Middle East is American imperialism and Israeli ruling circles. They must, therefore, bear the heavy and grave responsibility for every drop of blood shed in vain on the various battlefields, while the road to peace is open.

Dear friends, I am returning again to the subject of the prisons of the occupiers which have become a part of my life. I ask you please to remember our sisters there, Fatma Barnawe, Marian Shakkshir, Aisha and Rosmia Ode, Khadigah Roman, Suad Abu Miale and others, who did not stop their struggle, even within the prison walls,

for their human and national rights. I saw them in their prisons before coming here and I see them now. I love and respect the women outside the walls — the courageous mothers such as Um Sheikh Abou Teir, Um Gihad and others with their pride and love of their husbands, brothers and sons — as a light in the darkness of the prison cells; the late Um Nabila Kabatani, who died on the same day she visited her two sons and husband in prison. Without their love, devotion and stubbornness, their beloved would not be able to proceed on their long and hard struggle. This love is much stronger and durable than planes and rockets. Its sources well up from the depths of the land belonging to the Palestinian people who love and cherish it. This love as a powerful stream is invincible, and it tells children to raise Palestinian flags or to make explosives from matches, instead of playing or studying; to prefer the dark cells to the blue sky.

The Israeli leaders do not want to understand all this. They do not realize in what era we are now living, that the era of colonisation has gone. The centuries-old chains are now falling, as the chains of the Israeli occupation will fall, the last occupation in history. Only then will our tormented area become an orchard, built together by free and equal people. United we can build.



THE KREISKY-WIESENTHAL AFFAIR

WHY THE ZIONIST "NAZI-HUNTER" CHASES JEWISH CHANCELLOR OF AUSTRIA

Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, a leading member of the «Socialist International» and a non-Zionist Jew, is at present facing a heated attack by the Zionists. The political background to this attack is quite instructive as to the nature of Zionist strategy.

Kreisky has openly accused Simon Wiesenthal, head of the so-called «Documentation Center of Jews persecuted by the Nazi-regime» in Vienna, of being an agent, and of carrying out a campaign against Kreisky for a number of years. He said he had testimonies, concerning that Kreisky had to be «destroyed» and to be «eliminated», «for he did not serve the cause of Israel.»

The Intrigue

In Austria general elections for Parliament took place in October, 1975. It had been generally expected that Kreisky's ruling social-democratic government would be unable to regain its absolute majority against the right-wing Austrian «Volkspartei». It had thus been supposed, that Kreisky, if he wanted to stay in office, would have to form a coalition government with the help of the small «Freie Partei», whose leader Peter—but not the party in general—does in fact support such a coalition with Kreisky.

Immediately before election day, Simon Wiesenthal, the so-called «Nazi-hunter» informed the Austrian Federal President Kirchsclaeger of the alleged involvement of Peter in crimes



Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

against Jews, committed by Peter's SS-unit in east Europe during the Second World War. Wiesenthal also asserted that he—«just a few weeks ago» and «by chance»—had discovered relevant documents. This manoeuvre was obviously intended to make Peter's participation in a new government—and thus a new Kreisky-government—impossible.

The manoeuvre failed, because Kreisky's social-democrat party surprisingly won another absolute majority in the elections and was able to form a government without the help of Peter's «Freie Partei». Meanwhile it also emerged that there was no substance in the charges against Peter. Kreisky, however, reacted to the intrigue. He said Wiesenthal's attempt had been part of a broad campaign against his Government and himself. Wiesenthal used «Mafia-methods» and was an agent, he added, and described how an Austrian parliamentary commission of inquiry in the late sixties had revealed «close connexions and exchanges of information» between Wiesenthal and a former State police official convicted of spying for the French, the West German and the Israeli secret services.

Indeed, in 1970, the present mayor of Vienna and Deputy Chairman of the Austrian social-democrats, Gratz, called Wiesenthal's «Documentation Center» a «private organization for espionage and secret service activities» and a «vindictive organization».

Kreisky, who has himself badly suffered from the Nazi-fascists and was for years incarcerated in a concentration camp, also hinted broadly at former cooperation by Wiesenthal—who he said had lived openly under the Nazi-regime for part of the war—with the Nazi-authorities. Kreisky said he was ready to prove his accusations before the court, and concluded that one had after all to dare to speak out openly in order to overcome Wiesenthal. He could do so, he said, «for any non-Jew would incur the suspicion of being an anti-Semite».

Meanwhile, Kreisky has come under heavy attack from international Zionist propaganda. The head of the so-called «Dutch Institute for War Documentation», Lou Den Long, praised Wiesenthal as «the conscience of Europe» and offered him full support. The mainly pro-Zionist Austrian press attacked Kreisky and «his stubborn obstinacy of an old man», as did the Vienna daily «Die Presse», which

added that Kreisky obviously had problems in his consciousness as an Austrian», giving «never-ending statements that he does not want to be a Jew». In an equally racist and even anti-semitic manner, the «Jerusalem Post» hissed: «Kreisky does not know how to live with his 'Jewish complex'; whenever he is reminded of his Jewish birth he abandons prudence and reason and wants to prove his distance to everything Jewish by a backwards somersault.» The West German pro-Israel magazine «Der Spiegel» in a headline misquoted Kreisky as having said, «The Jews—a wretched people». In fact, Kreisky had been quoted by an interviewer as saying, that—though he did not deny the existence of Israel and of an «Israeli people»—there was in scientific terms no «Jewish people», and if there was a Jewish people, it was a wretched one.

Even the Israeli Zionist regime interfered. Its ambassador intervened in Vienna, and the Austrian ambassador, Joanna Nestor was called to the Zionist Foreign Office, and an «explanation» demanded. Kreisky, however, rejected this as «impudent arrogance» and said that Wiesenthal was consistently working to create the impression abroad that Austria was a haven of anti-semitism, thus damaging the country's reputation.

Though Wiesenthal meanwhile has sued Kreisky for slander, it seems rather doubtful, whether there will really be a «giant trial». A kind of political concealment is finally much more likely.

Political Backgrounds

Some years ago the Kreisky government was already shaken by some «unveilings» made by Wiesenthal's «Documentation Center», when one of the government ministers resigned because of his alleged Nazi past. Wiesenthal has close connexions with the opposition right-wing «Volkspartei», from which Kreisky took over in 1970.

It is obviously, however, rather for international Zionist interests than for domestic reasons that Zionist propaganda wants to bring down Kreisky's Government as well as destroy his personal authority:

1. The Austrian Government has up to the present refused to pay «compensation» for Nazi crimes against the European Jewish population; compensation similar to that paid by West Germany in



Zionist agent: Wiesenthal.

2. In autumn 1973, Kreisky closed down the transit camp for Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union at Schoenau Castle, «whose almost extra-territorial administration by the Israeli Secret Service had for a long time bothered Kreisky» (the West German «Sueddeutsche Zeitung», 15.11.1975). Notwithstanding sharp criticism from the West and a personal intervention visit by Golda Meir, the then Zionist Prime Minister, the emigrants' transit was put under Red Cross administration under Austrian control. Since then far fewer emigrants have been manipulated for Israel.
3. Kreisky himself, although he has suffered much from Nazi fascism and concentration camps, is, however, a significant example of a non-Zionist Jew, who considers Judaism mainly a question of religion. He is, therefore, highly embarrassing to Zionist propaganda, though he does not actually oppose Israel and in general takes a fairly pro-Western attitude towards Middle East problems.

In an interview with the Beirut magazine «As Sayyad» (23.7.75) Kreisky criticized the so-called «Peace map», which was unveiled earlier by the ruling Israeli «Labour Party», and which envisaged permanent Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and eastern Jerusalem, as well as military control of the West Bank and Sharm el-Sheikh, as «a mon-

strous mistake». «I do not think that Israel will find friends in the world who will support it in a policy of annexation and usurpation», said Kreisky. Calling for recognition of the «realities in the Middle East», Kreisky added that for the Arabs this was less than just, «since Israel was founded entirely on land seized from the Arabs.» The cause of the Palestinians was «the heart of the matter», he said, and there was only one solution: a Palestinian State «with its land and soil and sovereignty and government.»

Calling for the Arabs to recognize Israel in return for Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967, he said: «Then we will see the final collapse of Israel's argument that it occupies territory in order to live in peace—a futile argument, for it is impossible to live in peace on occupied land.» The Austrian Chancellor maintained that in the long run Israel would have to recognize the fact that it was living in an Arab world. «South Africa for example, must know and recognize that it lives in an African world, and similarly Israel that it lives in an Arab world and is surrounded by Arab peoples... otherwise it cannot expect to live and to be accepted in the area.»

It should be noted that the Zionist imperialists do not even tolerate such «moderate» support for their settler state. Instead they themselves try to discredit the representative of such a standpoint—a Jew—by means of intrigue and defamation, disregarding the danger of inciting anti-semitism.

It is of even greater importance, however, that the Zionists in attacking Kreisky, at the same time sabotage a certain policy within the so-called «Socialist International».

The «Socialist International» (S.I.) is in fact the coordination board of the—mainly Western European—social-democrat parties, embracing also the Zionist «Labour Party». Since most of the capitalist western European states are actually ruled by social-democrats, the meetings of the S.I. provide a forum for the informal coordination of Western politics, for arrangements and understandings of special «non-official» political initiatives. (Thus the S.I. is playing a major role in the Western European governments' policy of interference in Portugal).

The S.I., as well as the western European social-democratic parties are—partly because of historical misconceptions, partly because of imperialist

corruption—well-known for their stale pro-Zionist sentiments. Yet there have been some modifications following the impact of the Palestinian Resistance and the October War, and in accordance with the national interests of the western European countries. In spring 1974, and again in early February 1975, a fact-finding delegation, headed by Kreisky, visited Egypt, Syria, Israel, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya on behalf of the S.I. As a result, the meeting of the S.I. in Berlin on 22./23.7.75 saw a «shouting match» («International Herald Tribune», 17.3.75) between Kreisky and Golda Meir. The meeting which brought together politicians like the West German social-democratic Chairman, Brandt, the French socialist leader, Mitterrand, the British Minister Mulley, the Norwegian Prime Minister Brateli, the Swedish Prime Minister Palme, the Danish Prime Minister Joergensen, the Dutch Foreign Minister Van der Stoep, advised Israel «for its own well-known interests» to take a more «realistic» attitude.

There was also a quite significant understanding among these western European politicians, that western Europe and the S.I. in particular should increase initiatives to seek for a «settlement» in the Middle East.

Now it is quite remarkable that the Zionists did not like this at all. Even such a western European initiative—a basically pro-Israel one—is obviously contradictory to the true Zionist interests during political negotiations, which are only to gain time and to weaken Arab unity, while avoiding any pressures for overall solutions, in order to continue aggression and expansion. The Zionist leaders—though warmly welcoming any so-called «dialogue» between western Europe and both Israel and the Arab governments, hoping that this would lead, through the economic and political interests of reactionary Arab forces, to Arab disunity and «moderation»—have repeatedly declared that they do not wish any further western European «mediation» in the Middle East.

This became entirely clear, when Kreisky during summer 1975 secretly tried to establish negotiations between Israeli and Arab under the tutelage of the S.I.—especially the Egyptian and the Tunisian—«socialist parties». In June, the Zionist Foreign Minister, Allon suddenly «warmly welcomed» in public such talks and declared that Israel was always ready for «direct»

Israeli-Arab negotiations. In reality the Israeli indiscretion even made it impossible for President Sadat to engage in such talks within the S.I. Kreisky, realizing the hypocrisy of the Zionists, who were only interested in exploiting the initiative for their own propaganda, openly blamed the Israeli indiscretion for the failure of the S.I.—initiative for the time being. This in turn increased the Zionist fury about the Jewish Austrian Chancellor and gave additional reason to launch the recent Wiesenthal-intrigue.

Conclusion

The Zionist attack against Kreisky and its background clearly expose some of the Zionist tactics and strategies.

1. Up to now the Zionists use alleged «anti-Nazi» campaigns only for their own tactical manoeuvres.

How long will the European people allow them to exploit the old fascist crimes committed against the Jews in Europe for their present and continued fascist crimes against the Arab and the Palestinian people?

2. Zionists hatred and defamation attacks any attitude, and even that of a Jew which calls for non-sectarian and non-racist coexistence between Jews and other people, especially in Palestine.
3. The Zionists are still not prepared for any political solution to the Middle East conflict, even if such a solution would provide a peaceful existence for the Israeli people. They try, in fact, to thwart a political solution. Their only wish is to gain time to continue their aggression.



Austrian security forces guard Jewish immigrants in Shina camp, Vienna.

ISRAELI "JUSTICE"

BY
MARION WOOLFSON



Only Jewish suffering matters...

In Britain, France, the United States and other Western countries, large, well-financed organisations run vast, expensive publicity campaigns on behalf of Soviet Jews who are supposedly «persecuted» because of their desire to emigrate to Israel. The fact that great numbers of Soviet Jews have been allowed to emigrate to Israel since large-scale immigration to Israel from the Soviet Union began in 1971 (although non-Jewish Soviet citizens are not permitted to emigrate) has not prevented the Zionists from conducting ludicrous and bizarre demonstrations in Western countries in an effort to force the Soviet authorities to grant unlimited concessions to the Jews. The Zionists ignore the fact that the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine, the Palestinian Arabs, are not allowed to return to their homeland while the most strenuous efforts are made to «persuade» Soviet and other foreign Jews to settle in occupied Palestine. There was much Zionist distress, for example, when it was learned that only 3,528 Soviet Jews arrived in Israel during the first five months of 1975 compared to 9,002 during the same period in 1974.

The late Pinhas Sapir, chairman of the Jewish Agency was reported by the Jewish Chronicle of January 17, 1975 as having expressed concern at the drop in immigration figures and the increase in the number of Jews leaving Israel and he declared, in a talk given at a businessmen's lunch in Jerusalem: «Without a viable rate of immigration, the State will cease to exist.»

Although the main reason why there has been a decrease in immigration to Israel from the Soviet Union is because many Soviet Jews have learned that Israel is not the paradise they had been led to believe, the Zionist organisations which have set themselves up to battle for «Human Rights» for Soviet Jews continue to conduct their

New Jewish immigrants to the «promised land».

brash and impertinent campaigns in Western countries.

When a group of Soviet doctors visited London, the Zionist campaigners on behalf of Soviet Jewry harassed and hounded them and one Jewish demonstrator threw herself in front of them wrapped, for some reason, in bandages from head to foot. Soviet tourists are harangued and insulted and, when the Bolshoi Ballet visited London, a car toured the streets with a girl dressed as a ballerina imprisoned in a cage on top of the car. When it was reported that a Soviet Jewish scientist had been made to sweep the floor of his laboratory, a large group of Jewish women began sweeping the street in front of the Soviet Embassy in London. After Sylva Zalmanson, a Soviet Jewess, was imprisoned for hi-jacking a plane in order to attempt to go to Israel (while the Zionists have been hysterical in their condemnation of Palestinian hi-jacking and have called for the death sentence for Palestinian hi-jackers, they have condoned and praised the activities of Jewish hi-jackers in the Soviet Union) Ingrid Bergman, the actress and various other celebrities were invited to a «starvation lunch» in London where uneatable «prison food», supposedly similar to that eaten by Sylva Zalmanson, was served.

Before large-scale Soviet Jewish emigration began, loudspeaker vans used to tour London's West End regularly and constantly and they boomed repeatedly «Stop persecution of Soviet Jews.» When Soviet musicians or artists are performing at concerts in London and other Western capitals, Zionist demonstrators rush on to the stage during the performance, shouting and waving banners bearing slogans protesting about the «persecution» of Soviet Jewry.

When, however, the tireless Zionist «Human Rights» workers were approached and asked to lend their support to a specific, and particularly appalling violation of Human Rights in Israel, and to complain to the callous and ruthless Israeli Police Minister, Shlomo Hillel, they ignored the request because, for them, only Jewish suffering matters while the suffering of Palestinians, at the hands of Jews, is not important.

The Case of Samir Shafik Darwish

The case concerned the treatment of a prisoner, Samir Shafik Darwish who is represented by a lawyer, Walid I. Fahoum of Khan-el-Bacha, Nazareth. The prisoner belongs to the town of Acre and he left for Jordan in 1957 and became a Jordanian citizen (his passport number is S/60/1370). He graduated from Cairo University in 1965 and, after the 1967 war, he was arrested when the Zionists conquered his new home and was sentenced, on July 21, 1967, to 20 years' imprisonment by the Haifa District Court for «armed infiltration». Since that time, he has been in Ramleh prison.

On March 3, 1974, two other prisoners escaped from Ramleh and eventually reached Lebanon. Samir Shafik Darwish was accused of helping them to escape and was put into a solitary confinement cell as punishment. He was completely isolated in this cell for more than 14 months and during the whole of that time was not allowed to see anyone—except for his gaolers—apart from a meeting with his lawyer on May 4, 1975 which took place in the presence of a warder as private conversation was forbidden.

He was beaten and tortured for a long period after March 3, 1974 and was kept chained, first both by the



hands and feet and, subsequently, for a longer period, he was only shackled by the hands. He was first held in one of the notorious punishment cells which are built with especially sharp and rough cemented walls. Then, he was transferred to a cell in the 'X' (maximum security) Wing of Ramleh Jail where he has been ever since. The size of his cell is approximately three metres by two metres.

Eventually, he was allowed books in his solitary confinement cell and he began to study the Spanish and Russian languages and Economics. On April 23, 1975, all his books and every piece of paper in his possession were confiscated.

After protests by his lawyer, he was allowed to have books but was only permitted three single volumes. As one of his dictionaries alone consists of eight volumes, the senseless cruelty of this restriction becomes apparent.

Red Cross Abnegates Responsibility

He was forbidden to have visits from the Red Cross on the pretext that he was, in the eyes of the Israeli authorities, an Israeli citizen and, therefore, as such, the Red Cross had no powers to act on his behalf. The Red Cross has, in fact, accepted the claim of the Israeli authorities that every person whom they declare to be an «Israeli» is not permitted to be visited by the Red Cross.



Palestinian patriots demonstrating in Jaffa and Jerusalem, 1933.

HISTORY

ABDEL QADER AL-HUSSEINI: ONE OF THE FATHERS OF PALESTINIAN ARMED STRUGGLE

«History shall record your betrayal of Palestine. I'd rather die fighting for my country than sit here and watch the Zionists take it. You will bear the responsibility for what happens.»

These words, spoken in anger by Abdel Qader al-Husseini to Arab League leaders in Damascus in the Spring of 1948 while bitter fighting raged in Palestine between Arabs and Zionists, were indeed prophetic.

For only a few days later Abdel Qader, the most gifted Palestinian military leader of his day, fell in battle after the forces under his command had succeeded in retaking the strategic village of al-Qastal, whose fall to the Zionists had precipitated his hurried and fruitless visit to Damascus to obtain arms and ammunition from the Arab League.

The fatal battle of al-Qastal, a hilltop village west of Jerusalem which dominates the Jerusalem-Jaffa road, not

only determined the fate of Abdel Qader al-Husseini, the military commander of the Palestinian Arab forces in the Jerusalem area, but was also decisive in the struggle for Palestine between its Arab inhabitants and the Zionists during the first months of 1948.

A patriot since his youth, Abdel Qader had always resisted Zionist immigration and imperialist domination of the Arab region. Upon his graduation from the American University of Cairo with a B.S. degree in chemistry in 1931, he publicly demonstrated his disapproval of the anti-Arab nationalist policies of that institution by tearing up his degree before an amazed audience at the graduation ceremony.

After his graduation, Abdel Qader went back to Jerusalem to work in the Land Survey Department. At that time the British authorities were confiscating «barren» Arab lands to give them to Zionist immigrants. Abdel Qader spent long nights uprooting trees from forested areas and

planting them in barren areas scheduled for inspection by the British.

Important though such action was, Abdel Qader realized that it was not sufficient to stop the impending loss of his homeland to the Zionists, and that only armed struggle could reverse the current trend. Thus when the great Arab revolt of 1936-39 against the British broke out, Abdel Qader took up arms and was wounded during the battles of Khudr in 1936 and Bani Na'eem in 1938.

Upon the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Abdel Qader was receiving training in guerilla warfare, and in 1941 he joined Rashid Ali al-Kaylani's revolt against the British. He fought bravely together with his Iraqi and Arab comrades, but was finally arrested and remained imprisoned in Baghdad until 1943.

By 1947, Abdel Qader al-Husseini was back in Palestine and had been entrusted with command of the Jerusalem region and the task of defending the city against Zionist attack. The situation he faced was a difficult one.

Between November 1947 (when the UN General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine) and May 15th 1948 (when the last British troops evacuated Palestine), a bitter war raged between the Zionists and the Palestinian Arabs for control of the country. In this struggle, the key sector was that of Jerusalem, which contained almost a third of the total of about 600,000 Zionist settlers living in Palestine at the time.

And in the Jerusalem sector, the most important battle was that for the road connecting the besieged Jewish quarter of the city to Tel Aviv and the coast. The importance of this road was fully recognized by the Zionist High Command, which devoted Operation Nachson—the first of the 13 clearing operations in Plan Dalet, its strategic plan to conquer most of Palestine before May 15th—to carving out a Zionist-controlled corridor to connect Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

Thus, when on April 1st the Zionists launched their offensive with a fierce attack on al-Qastal, Abdel Qader immediately saw the importance of the position, and threw the best part of his meagre forces—poorly armed, lacking sufficient ammunition and decimated by the fighting of the preceding months—into the battle, under his personal leadership.

Inspired by their commander, the tired Palestinian fighters succeeded in retaking the village after heavy fighting. The Zionists immediately counter-attacked with fresh forces, and after a see-saw battle were able to regain control over the hilltop village.

It was in these dark circumstances that Abdel Qader al-Husseini made his hurried trip to Damascus to ask for the arms and ammunition which his outnumbered fighters so desperately needed, and which the Arab League had repeatedly promised to provide. When his urgent requests were met with evasiveness and procrastination, Abdel Qader stormed angrily out of the meeting, after throwing the words quoted above in the teeth of the assembled dignitaries.

Abdel Qader then quickly made his way back to Jerusalem, and prepared his men for another attempt to capture the vital position of al-Qastal. After sending his lieutenants as far afield as Ramallah to purchase any ammunition they could find, he and his brave fighters launched a desperate attack, and after meeting stiff resistance, finally managed to seize the battered village. However, as he was leading his exhausted but victorious men in taking the last

Zionist positions in the village, Abdel Qader was hit and died on the spot, gun in hand.

The sequel to this story is even more sombre. Two days after the death of Abdel Qader, on April 10th, 1948, the Zionists took advantage of the absence of most of the Palestinian fighting men in the Jerusalem area at the funeral of their martyred commander to execute one of the most brutal massacres in the bloody pages of Zionist history, that of Deir Yassin.

The calculated savagery of this assault on the unarmed and defenceless village, which left over 250 of its men, women and children dead, had a devastating effect. Deprived of their military leader and treacherously abandoned by the Arab regimes which had solemnly promised to help them, the people and fighters of the Jerusalem region were demoralized and discouraged by the massacre of Deir Yassin.

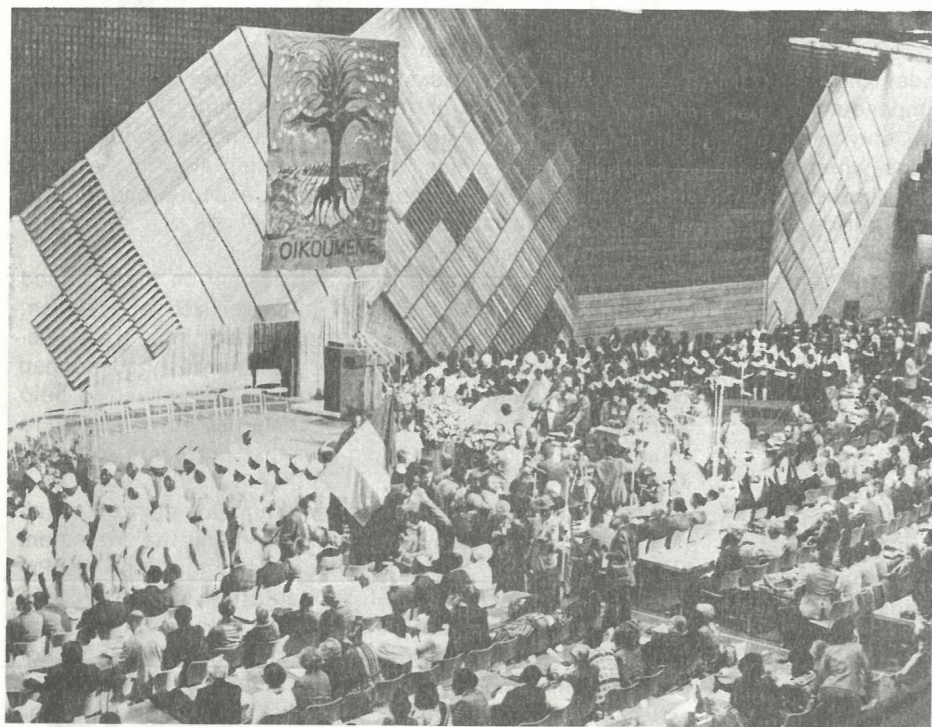
In the weeks which followed, the Zionists retook al-Qastal and seized many other villages along the Jerusalem Tel Aviv road. Although the dogged resistance of the Palestinians prevented them from capturing all the villages along the road, and thus from opening it, the Zionists were able to relieve the pressure on the besieged Jewish sector of Jerusalem, and to resupply the beleaguered city. They were able, moreover, to take advantage of the shock of the death in battle of the most renowned and experienced Palestinian military leader to transfer some of their forces to other fronts, so as to execute other operations forming part of Plan Dalet.

But Abdel Qader al-Husseini did not die in vain. To this day his patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice are noble examples honoured by the Palestinian people and their armed vanguard, the Palestinian resistance movement.



Abdel Qader el-Husseini
with his men.





The Palestinians at the Fifth WCC Assembly.

CONFERENCES

"JESUS CHRIST FREES AND UNITES"

This was the theme of the 5th General Assembly of the World Council of Churches which met in Nairobi, Kenya, from 23 November-10 December, 1975. The importance of this 5th General Assembly lies in its most inclusive policy-making line-up, which will bind the member churches for the next 7 years.

This gathering included more than 2,500 participants, among whom the Middle East Council of Churches was present with its Arab delegates. Some 700 press representatives and reporters were present to cover this important happening.

"Jesus Christ Frees and Unites" was the theme of the General Assembly, whereas the real agenda was in fact more conflicting in its contents and topics, such as:

- 1 — **Confessing Christ to day:**
Was it Evangelism or self-behavior and involvement in struggles for justice and freedom?
- 2 — **What unity requires:**
What kind of unity is sought? With other churches? With other creeds? Or with other people? Is it the communion with other people for the common struggle for social justice? Is it spiritual unity in Christ? Or is it an emphasis for confessionalism?
- 3 — **Seeking Community: Dialogue with other faiths, cultures and ideologies.**
Many conflicting issues due to the different basic political ideologies and cultures—European, Oriental, African.

4 — Education for Liberation and Community.

Here the need to redress the «imbalance between school systems and real needs»—system that was geared to colonialism. Priorities in education should be revalued so as to meet the needs of society.

Education is also information that should lead to changes in values. In short, education from within and education from without, to free oneself from inherited and imported cultural captivities.

5 — Structures of Injustice and Struggle for Liberation:

This section was the most important since it dealt with the main issues that concerned the Middle East problem, as well as the struggle for Human rights, the struggle for the liberation of women and struggle against racism. The differences in opinion and points of view were so numerous that the efforts made to come out with a homogeneous result were all vain. The Prime Minister of Jamaica, Mr. Michael N. Manley, gave a speech and a press conference through which he exposed his points of view on the Middle East situation and on violence. He said:

«Sometimes violence, no matter how regrettable, is necessary when there is no other way to win liberation... We do not feel Zionism is a form of racism, but the statement contained a strong section condemning apartheid. A vote against the statement would have been a vote in favor of apartheid.» But Mr. Manley seemed not to be acquainted with the Law of Return which gives the right to any Jew to become Israeli and live in Palestine, while the Palestinian has no right to his homeland, though he expressed his hopes that Israel's right to exist, the return of all lands held by Israel since the 1967 war and a homeland for the Palestinians be also guaranteed.

6 — Human Development: The ambiguities of Power, Technology, and Quality of Life.

Here the struggle for social justice took most of the discussion time.

In evaluating what was said about the Middle East, and espe-

cially about Jerusalem, one came out with a deep sense of bitterness.

A motion proposed by the pro-Palestinian delegates to add to the statement calling for implementation of the rights of Palestinians to self-determination «in their homeland» was defeated, as were the proposals to substitute the phrase «all forms of violence» in place of the reference to terrorism, and to insert the phrase «military gangsterism.»

It was thus clear that power politics was the real dynamic on the stage of this Assembly, while concern for a fair deal and justice would have been more appropriate.

A paradox of considerable proportions stood between the achievement of an honest and courageous stand for the Palestinians and that of any other issue facing the same problems. One example will suffice, and that concerned the non-interference of big powers in Angola or elsewhere. This was voted by a large majority but failed when it came to be applied to the Middle East. This showed the selectivity in justice and the unfair play in the discussions.

Considering the large number of participants and the numerous topics on their agenda, one could understand why some issues were rushed into voting, while others were scrutinized and were given ample time for debate.

In spite of the fact that Palestinians were not invited to this Assembly as such, yet they were able to rush a team of correspondents from «WAFA», the Palestine News Agency, as well as a representative who carried the message that Mr. Yasser Arafat addressed to the Assembly.

The presence of this tiny four-member team of Palestinians was like a conscience-activator, and a catalyst. Though they were able to give interviews, write articles and make a lot of contacts, display their information and documentation files, still the information black-out created against them was more than any one could stand. They nevertheless imposed their pre-

sence by articles in «The Target», the Assembly Newspaper, and by radio and T.V. interviews. Another open letter addressed to the Assembly due to its reluctance in discussing honestly the problems of Combat-Racism and the Middle East issue, was refused to be printed due to some pressure from pro-Zionist lobbying.

On the other hand, the issue of Zionism and its equation with racialism was not put to the floor for any discussion, in spite of the pro-Zionist's lobbying in the Assembly who wanted Dr. Potter's declaration to be adopted by the General Assembly.

This tiny Palestinian information commando was not left to fend for itself. The Arab delegations made relentless efforts to champion the rights of the Palestinians by a counter-lobbying on their behalf.

Palestinians are not a state, with all the implications that this carries in terms of military, economic, and diplomatic strength. Therefore their future and their problems are a matter of secondary concern. This was the feeling that the observer would emerge with from this Assembly.

The Middle East issue, and particularly the Palestinian problem, were discussed very expeditive-

ly, and in the absence of the Palestinians who are the basic issue.

Looking back on the achievements of this Assembly, which were many, we can still feel a discordant note which strikes any objective observer. This particular note is that of the minimal importance that was given to the Palestinian problem and to Palestinian human rights, due to the intense Zionist lobbying to which the Assembly was exposed.

Thus the recommendations which were made were negative and could certainly not be considered those of an Assembly dedicated to Justice, Peace, Freedom and Unity, but rather one that could not differentiate between the aggressor and the aggressed and between Judaism and Zionism.

The correct information should continue to flow to all these eminent personalities who, in spite of their good will, did not see correctly the basic issue. Their reluctance to tackle a problem to which they were attached sentimentally and theologically was due to their ignorance of the real issue. Implied also is the timid Arab information on the Palestine Question available in these circles.





FBI/CIA

ACTIVITIES AGAINST ARAB AMERICANS

(From the speech delivered by Abdeen M. Jabara before the banquet of the Illinois Chapter of Arab-American University Graduates (A.A.U.G.) on March 8, 1975, in Chicago, Illinois.)

The Arab 'program'

At College Station, Texas, an Arab student is asked by his Foreign Student Advisor to report to his office for a meeting with an immigration officer, and when the student appears, he finds an FBI agent asking numerous personal questions.

In Kansas City, a Senior Design Engineer for the Missouri State Highway Department is told at a meeting with FBI agents that they have information that the Engineer is a member of a terrorist group. When the Engineer complains to the Special Agent in charge of the local FBI office, he is told that such accusations are a tactic sometimes used to obtain information.

A memo from a large midwest university details a meeting between foreign student advisors at various universities and the District Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service on November 7, 1972. The memo states that "President Nixon has publicly announced an Arab 'program' to provide physical security for Israeli citizens visiting in the U.S." and that "all ethnic Arabs are being routinely screened to determine their purpose in the U.S." Further, the memo states "Files are now being created for all ethnic Arabs, non-immigrant, within the U.S."

The October 16, 1972, issue of *Newsweek* Magazine reports that the concern for the safety of Israeli officials has led to the doubling of war-
rentless security wiretaps.

The *Washington Post* of March 18, 1973, reports that FBI agents have been maintaining close surveillance of

some 90 Arab and Arab-American activists in the U.S.

Court-ordered answers in a civil lawsuit against officials of the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have revealed the intensity of non-criminal investigative surveillance including wiretapping, monitoring of speeches, obtaining information about bank accounts, obtaining information from Zionist informants, physical surveillance and supplying information about the political activities of Arab-Americans to foreign governments.

In major United States cities including Detroit, Los Angeles, Chicago and New York reports are continuously made of visits by special agents of the FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service to members of the Arab community and of questioning about purely constitutionally protected political beliefs and activities that have nothing to do with the planning or commission of crimes.

These activities at the height of their intensity, paralleled a period of time in which it has been disclosed that the elected government of the United States was engaged in unprecedented illegal activity including burglaries, wire-tapping, provocateurism, selective prosecutions for political purposes, and the mounting of widespread domestic counter-intelligence activities with no purpose other than to disrupt legal political activity. All of this was, and continues to be, conducted under the compelling necessity of "national security".

"Domestic Security" under Nixon Administration

The plans of the Nixon White House, dating back to early 1970, to mount a massive counter-insurgency program against black activists, anti-war radicals and "potential Arab saboteurs" are now a matter of record. The program, now known as the "Huston" program after one of its principal authors, was approved by Nixon, his top White House aides, the chief officers of the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency. The documents describing the plan were released by a federal judge to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities; the Nixon White House's response was that the documents are related to national security. The Nixon White House contended that

the suspension of certain FBI activities in 1965 and 1966, by Attorneys-General Katzenbach and Clark, had hampered the maintenance of domestic security. High-level government sources candidly stated that illegal wiretaps and break-ins had been utilized for years, going back, according to one source, to 1941.

The *New York Times* of May 24, 1973, said that "sources familiar with the 1970 report" said the U.S. received intelligence indicating that Arab money was flowing to students in the U.S. who were serving as intelligence agents.

"It was a serious problem," a Justice Department official was quoted as saying, "and we couldn't do anything about it. They were pushing the Arab position and trying to gather information that was to be used against Israel."

The article went on to report that "White House officials were described as being so frustrated by the inability of the FBI to penetrate the Arab operations that Mr. Leonard Garment, then an advisor to President Nixon for civil rights, cultural and Jewish affairs, was urged to contact the Jewish intelligence community and ask them about the threat."

Judging from the statements of the White House and Justice Department officials, they proffered essentially three justifications for the measures that were devised and to be implemented as early as 1970.

1. Fear of sabotage operations by Arab guerillas in the U.S.;
2. That students were gathering intelligence about Israel in the U.S.;
3. That students were pushing the Arab position concerning the Middle East conflict.

As far as "pushing the Arab position" is concerned, the reference here is clearly to the continuous informational work which Arab students have been doing on American campuses for years in an uncoordinated but effective attempt to raise the level of consciousness. The *New York Times* of May 25, 1970 reported, in a front page article, that the Nixon administration had rejected a CIA report in 1969 and 1970 that Arab students had not been engaged in illegal activity:

"For years there had been indications that there were Arab students in the U.S. who were probably financed by Mideast embassy money, who were trying to draw support

against Israel. To our knowledge there were no serious efforts beyond that. By that, I mean there were no illegal activities by those students—no recruiting American spies and no bomb-throwing."

This is a domestic application of the accident theory about Vietnam. When we used to ask the political pundits and journalists of the American Liberal Community "How did the destruction of a whole people and their communal life in S.E. Asia to maintain a corrupt regime by the U.S. have any relationship to democracy and the ideal of freedom?", we were told that Vietnam was an accident, an aberration from the American tradition. So, too, today are we being told that the intensive interest of intelligence agencies in a person or group of persons engaging in non-criminal political activities is a matter of "national security" and when that doesn't work, it was an "accident".

In this connection I recall when three attorneys of Arab background met with William Saxbe when he was Attorney-General to protest the intensity and illegal character of the Administration's measures against the Arab community. We were ushered into a warm office with a wood-burning fire in the fireplace. His first question directed to us was "Do you have a program to combat terrorism?" And then he cursorily said "I'll look into it." That was the last we heard of it and nothing substantively changed.

Allegedly the Huston counter-insurgency plan was never put into operation when J. Edgar Hoover balked on its implementation. This report of the CIA was rejected by the Administration according to the *Times* story of May 25, 1970.



New CIA President, George Bush.

This CIA source effectively refuted the assumptions upon which the Nixon Domestic Intelligence operations were based. But if there was, in fact, no basis for a fear in 1970 of Arab sabotage activity by Arab students or of their engaging in other illegal activity according to the expert opinion of professional American intelligence operatives, what can explain the plans (allegedly aborted by J. Edgar Hoover's refusal to institute them) to place Arab students and, supposedly, Arab resident aliens under surveillance of the FBI, and failing that, under the auspices of the special "plumbers" intelligence operations of the White House including illegal breaking and entry, electronic surveillance, etc.?

It cannot be explained merely as the paranoid reaction of administration officials. As Mr. McCord said, these are "tough-minded men."

Israeli Pressure

These measures can only be understood against the background of the definite pressures that have been brought to bear by Israel and its supporters in the U.S. for a vigorous curbing of political and information work in the U.S., on campus and off, by those who would have the issues of the continuing crisis in the Middle East exposed to the American public.

Since 1967, Israelis have seen their support dwindle to next to nothing on American campuses, educated by American involvement in Southeast Asia. Moreover, over the last several decades some public figure, frequently a congressman, will periodically decry the threat posed by Arab students in the U.S. When the Nixon people turn to the "Jewish intelligence community" for information about "reports", as reported in the *Times* article above, the relationship between the Administration decision-making process and Zionist and/or Israel supplied "facts" has been established. One example of this is the April 1973 issue of the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin which contains an article written by Irwin Suall, director of ADL's Domestic Fact-Finding Department, entitled *The Propaganda War Against Israel*, where he depicts the organization of Arab students as a sinister "well-coordinated network of Arab student groups on campus", as a front for Middle East terrorists, rendering more than "mere ideological support".

CIA Charter Violated

On December 22, 1974, the **New York Times** revealed that the CIA, directly violating its charter, conducted a massive illegal domestic intelligence operation during the Nixon Administration against the anti-war movement and «other dissident groups». This article pointed out that in addition to 10,000 files maintained on American citizens by the CIA, other CIA operatives had illegally engaged in break-ins, wiretaps and the surreptitious inspection of mail since the midfifties. These later operations were allegedly directed at suspected foreign intelligence agents operating in the United States.

In the same article, Seymour Hersh reported that CIA officials maintained that the requirement to maintain files on American citizens emanated from the Huston plan which Nixon contended had never been implemented.

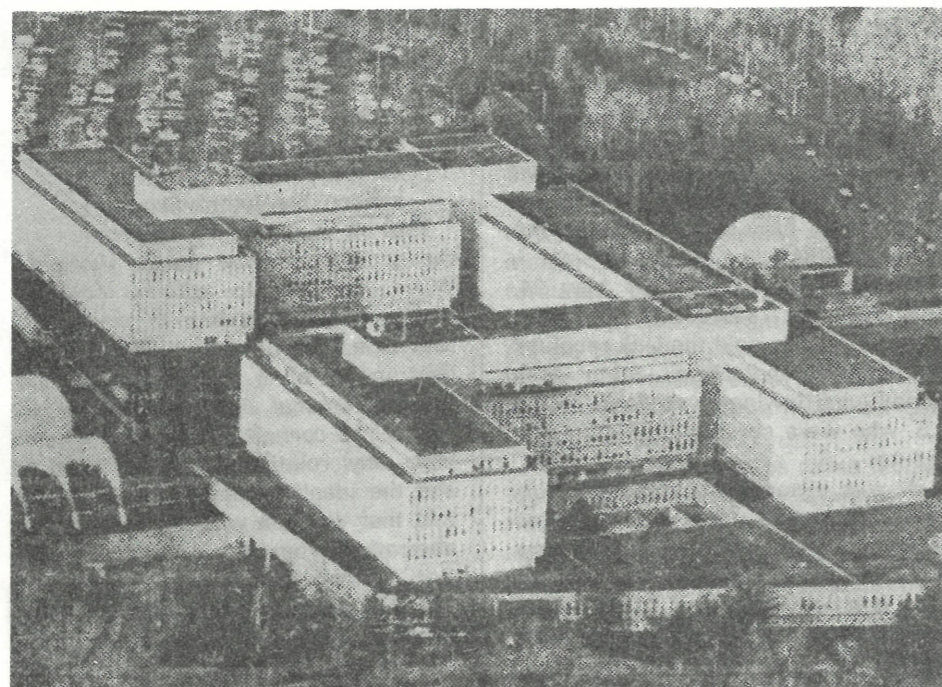
The CIA is forbidden by law from engaging in any counter-intelligence operations in the United States.

Hersh discusses the CIA report to Nixon in 1969 and 1970 which discounted that foreign governments were supplying under-cover agents and funds to anti-war radicals and the Black Panther party in the U.S., but the Arab target group of the Huston plan mysteriously disappears in the full page article by Hersh.

As a result of the exposé by the **Times**, the predictable hue and cry was raised. President Ford ordered a report on CIA domestic operations, there were a few «resignations», most notably that of the head of the CIA's counter-intelligence department, James Angleton. Liberal newspapers around the country took up the cudgel and began seeking out the extent to which the whole panoply of American intelligence-gathering agencies had gotten out of bound. Demands were raised by the public and in Congress for a full-scale investigation.

Indeed, what we have seen to date has been the natural fallout from Watergate. The American populace, shaken in its pristine belief in the American system and growing increasingly alienated from the corrupt and venal men in public office, must be brought back to a new confidence in American political institutions.

Enter President Ford. Appoint a blue ribbon Commission composed of a membership whose persuasions are such that no irreparable harm would



CIA Headquarters.

be done by the revelations, for it was absolutely essential that what had been carried out abroad by American intelligence agencies for years—assassination, wiretapping, provocateurism, and the undermining of democratic and popular leaders and institutions—not wash back to American shores. For is it not the supreme rationale that all of these actions engaged in abroad are being done so that America may protect the free world and the American system? How is it then, when the American political system itself is shown to the American people to be infected with the domination of special interests and the powerful, that this supreme rationale remains credible?

Much was made in the popular media in the beginning that the subverting of the law by those who were chosen to uphold it was the exclusive hallmark of a Nixon administration steeped in fear and paranoia in the face of rapid political and social change. And then it was felt that some bipartisanship was required and that the Johnson, and even the Kennedy, administrations were not sacro-sanct. This sentiment was reflected in a **Washington Post** article of February 2, 1975, when a journalist wrote:

«Although the factual evidence isn't settled, at least this much is clear: that these activities grew out of common reflexes of fear, that the regular inhibitions of decent

men or traditional legal restraints proved inadequate, not just in the CIA or the Justice Department or the FBI, but in the White House.»

Congress, feeling that once more a new balance had been struck between legislative and executive power and in response to popular sentiment, moved also to assert itself in its several committees in the area of investigation of the excesses of domestic intelligence. What better time to do it than now when the feared and indomitable J. Edgar Hoover has passed on and the American people are hurt and angry?

Congressional Investigations

First on the scene was the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. Headed by Senator Frank Church, a Democrat from Idaho, it perhaps is the effort that contains the most promises for more than a cursory review so that everyone can get back to business. It has not yet finished selecting a staff or begun active investigations, although we are told these will begin momentarily.

The other Congressional Committee is that of the House of Representatives headed by Rep. Lucien Nedzi of Michigan. Its credentials are established by the fact that it was Representative Nedzi who presided over the

House Subcommittee on Intelligence from 1972 to 1975 during which a considerable amount of the illegal intelligence activity took place, allegedly unbeknown to those Congressional Committees charged with preventing it.

We can, however, take some solace in the fact that our new Attorney-General has testified before a House Judiciary subcommittee that political use of the FBI will not occur again. Levi's optimism apparently emanates out of his order to Clarence Kelley, Director of the FBI, to report to the Attorney-General any requests or practices that Mr. Kelley thought improper. The Director of the FBI, we are advised, has directed similar orders to FBI personnel. This sounds indeed like a most unique policing system whereby when you are doing something illegal you report it to your superior. I might add that this Mr. Kelley is the same Mr. Kelley who authored a one-line letter in response to the transmittal by Prof. Bassiouni of the A.A.U.G. Information Paper on the Special Measures instituted against Arabs. Kelley's letter said «I have read your enclosure and found that it does not contain anything new. Sincerely yours.»

The Dallas Break-in

Where do Arab-Americans fit in all of this? It was revealed in the **New York Times** on February 13, that an FBI break-in of the Dallas office of the Arab Information Center had occurred in the fall of 1972. L. Patrick Gray, III, former Director of the FBI, had authorized the surreptitious entry to obtain a list of 94 alleged Al-Fatah agents. Gray had given this information to the Watergate Special Prosecutor and, the report continues, the new Select Senate Committee will be provided with this evidence. The Dallas operation was part of stepped-up counter-intelligence operations involving the CIA and FBI after Munich.

A former senior United States intelligence officer, probably James Eagleton, was quoted as saying that they believed the Dallas operation was «fully justified in the light of information the United States had received and the acts of terrorism occurring almost weekly in this period.» As evidence of the acts of terrorism occurring almost weekly during this period, the former intelligence officer pointed to the murder in July, 1973, ten months

after the break-in, of an Israeli military attaché in Washington. No one has been «apprehended, let alone charged, in connection with the death of the military attaché, and one cannot help but sense that Eagleton's statement was an attempt at **ex post facto** justification. One would think that after having obtained a list of 94 «Fatah operatives» as a result of the burglary, the FBI could do better than it has in solving the murder.

It would be interesting to know which foreign government supplied the facts on which the Dallas break-in was based. Was it Israel? Was it Jordan? These are perhaps two likely answers. Did it occur to the CIA that these governments might be a bit overzealous in the giving of information, or that the quality of the information that they give might bear an independent check?

The Institutional Mold of Racism...

If one reads the article by Nicholas Horrock in the **New York Times** carefully, I think we can get some idea of what is to come. There are two categories of illegal activities. One category of illegal activity is, first, that which has been conducted against those who opposed the war in Viet-

nam. That was bad, illegal activity because opposition to the war was a matter of national domestic debate and we must heal the wounds, close the hurt that sent thousands of people into the streets and provoked a rise in internal rebellion and sabotage.

The other category of illegal activity is that directed against something foreign which is carried out as «measures necessary to protect the nation against Arab terrorism, killers of innocent civilians.»

Here the division is «us» Americans and «them» foreigners, even though some of us Americans may be them foreigners. I got the impression from Horrock's article that this one incident of the Dallas break-in will be investigated, but not the full panoply of harassment, intimidation and illegal activity that has been, and continues to be, directed against the Arab community in this country. That there would be anything more than this cursory review would surprise me indeed, because the men who are involved, with few exceptions, cannot break out of the institutional mold of racism and the supreme belief that, despite mistakes, America's mission in the world has been a mission for peace, freedom and justice.

□ □



American police in action.



Zimbabwe «maquisards».

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE

The policy of the white minority of South Africa could be defined as a policy of failed genocide which has backfired on its authors. In our days, there is general agreement that it is the moment of choice for South Africa, and the death-knell for its Rhodesian prolongation. If the one is condemned sooner or later, the other is certainly condemned in the near future.

The struggle of the indigenous peoples of Africa, in particular the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and the ex-Portuguese colonies (FRELIMO in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola), has brought about a qualitative change in the relation of forces. The overthrow of Portuguese fascism—which constituted a strategic complement to the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa—and the formation of new progressive states on the

very borders of South Africa and Rhodesia, which have built the most aberrant form of racism into a system of government, have largely contributed to it. From now on, the scales are tipped in favour of the peoples of this region, struggling for the restoration of the flouted dignity of the African, for his right to self-determination, that is to say to majority rule.

Where what is properly called the Zimbabwe struggle is concerned, the liberation movements (ZAPU, ZANU, FROLIZI and ANC), united in a common front, the African National Congress, through the initiative principally of President Kaunda of Zambia, have to face up to repression which is directly inspired by the South African model, in particular since the secession in April 1964, under the aegis of Ian Smith.

In a joint communiqué issued on the occasion of the achievement of unity, the liberation movements stressed the revolution's common pursuit of tasks, objectives and methods of action, in order to arrive at what is unanimously demanded, «independence on the basis of the law of the majority.» They strongly reject sectarianism of whatever kind, thus reducing to nothing the pretensions of the supporters of segregation, according to which the majority system is a «death threat» for the white minority. The ANC leaders believed it important to stress: «We are not racists, we accept the right of the white Rhodesians to live in Rhodesia and to share the same citizens' rights and obligations as all the Rhodesians of the majority community, without discrimination based on race, colour or religious affiliation.»

Ian Smith's fascist government,

anxious from the outset not to yield any part of power to the black population, pursued the leaders, such as Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU Chairman and at present heading the African National Congress, Ndabaningi Sithole, Chairman of ZANU, Dambaza Chikerema, Chairman of FROLIZI, and Abel Muzorewa of the ANC. Some were condemned to heavy prison sentences. Others were compelled to go into exile in the neighbouring countries, in particular Zambia, which at the time of British colonialism was confederated with present-day Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). But as the struggle grows increasingly bitter—at present thousands of the young people of Zimbabwe each year take to the **maquis** or the training camps in friendly countries (Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania and Botswana in particular), and operations take place daily, carried out either by commando units of the interior, or from the bordering African countries—Ian Smith can no longer conceal his concern at the thrust of the masses organised around ANC. He nevertheless continues to adopt the same intransigent attitudes, as evidenced in the following event, without doubt one of the most significant in the struggle of the nationals, the meeting in August, 1975, of the Zimbabwe leaders and those of the Rhodesian racist regime near Victoria Falls in the middle of the bridge which links the Rhodesian and Zambian banks of the Zambezi. The choice of location might surprise if one did not know of the prohibition in Rhodesian territory of several of the black delegates who were to take part in the discussions, which did in fact represent the first phase of the «detailed and serious negotiations» proposed by the ANC in order to decide the constitutional future of Zimbabwe.

Following the pressures of South Africa—which, ignoring the revolutionary aspirations of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, believes it can favour the establishment of a «moderate» government in Rhodesia through the intermediary of useless agreements—Ian Smith finally sat down at the negotiating table, thus conforming to the directives of Pretoria and apparently taking into account the decisions of the liberation movements not to renounce the possibilities of a political settlement, decisions which have been made public since 1969. The Lusaka Agreements (11 December, 1974) in addition allow

for the meeting of all the parties concerned. Vorster gave proof of singular zeal for the holding of the Victoria Falls conference. He personally dealt with the liberation and transfer to Lusaka of Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole with a view to their participation in the negotiations, those which the international press qualified as «the last chance...» for the white minority. As for the veritable intentions of Vorster's lackey, an ANC delegate exposed them with precision even before the opening of the conference: «It is one thing for Mr. Smith to go and make promises in Pretoria, but it will be quite another matter when it comes to negotiating. The only thing which really interests him, is to make the ANC responsible for the unavoidable failure of the negotiations.» The failure was in fact unavoidable, and due to Ian Smith's obstinacy in counting on a solution through other intermediaries. He did not, according to all the evidence, depart from the stand he adopted in 1964, further engaging his country on the suicidal road of white supremacy. «Our independence», he said on 22 May of the year in question, «will maintain the norms from which we have benefited for these forty years. Independence will be a civilized independence.»

The combatants were quick to give their response to the outcome of the Victoria Falls meeting: the upsurge of armed struggle, which only served to increase the asphyxia of Rhodesia and

its dependence on South Africa. Its military budget for 1975-76 has apparently already shown a 23.5% increase and its military strength is more than inadequate to face up to the **maquisards**, who are increasingly active, particularly along the Mozambique border.

It is appropriate to ask whether Vorster is ready to go all the way with Ian Smith. Profound divergences exist between these two partisans of preliminary criteria of «civilization» for participation in power. Although Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique served as a screen for South Africa, the independence of the ex-Portuguese colonies and the latest developments of the Angolan affair—in which Pretoria is directly implicated, its regular troops operating at the sides of the secessionist groups against the MPLA—have radically altered the situation. Whatever its aggressive nature and its links with Rhodesia, the regime of apartheid has no advantage in stirring up the eastern front, more so as Mozambique possesses a considerable means of economic pressure: the port of Laurenço-Marques, and the Cabora-Bassa dam, which contributes in part to alleviating the effects of the energy crisis from which South Africa is suffering. All reasons which have led this latter to maintain reservations as to the military support which it is using against the combatants of Zimbabwe.

In a burst of «realism», suspect cer-



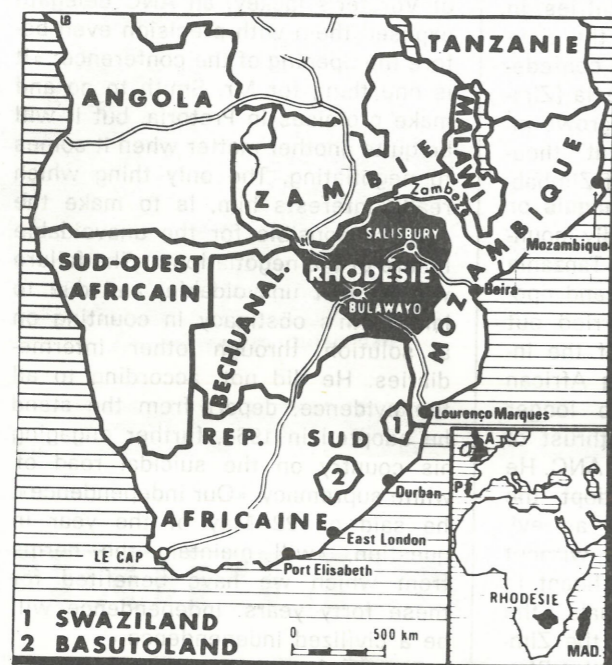
Victoria Falls, site of the August, 1975 meeting.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWI

tainly and in no way contradictory to its imperialist designs, South Africa—attempting to get out of the ghetto in which it is a prisoner through the very fact of its policy founded on racism and oppression—realizes the precariousness of the Salisbury government, for which it is attempting to substitute a formula which will not compromise its own interests in the region. But it finds itself at the same time confronted with a serious dilemma; it sees itself obliged to ask the neighbouring white colonies to sacrifice a part of their privileges, which constitutes a negation of its own internal policy and will not fail to arouse the disapproval of the local adepts of white superiority. In addition, who is this «valid intermediary», according to the consecrated term, which it would propose to Ian Smith? The project to install puppet leaders recruited from among the tribal chiefs failed. On this subject, Joshua Nkomo writes: «Mr. Smith is deceiving himself or attempts to deceive the world in pretending that he enjoys African support. He took thirty African leaders on a grand tour of some parts of the world. Mr. Smith must know that this institution, once important and in its tradition worthy of the African peoples, has been reduced by legislation to almost nothing.»

There can be no dialogue except with the authentic representatives of the great black majority, that is to say with the liberation movements regrouped within the ANC. But these latter and the Zimbabwe people have already accepted too many sacrifices to content themselves with the few crumbs of concessions which Ian Smith and Vorster see fit to grant them. They are strongly opposed to any compromise which does not enter into the framework of their fundamental right to self-determination, in consideration of the fact that the centre of colonial oppression is disintegrating, thanks to their efficient method of undermining it, armed struggle.



ZIMBABWE

RETROSPECT

The British colonists baptised Zimbabwe territory «Rhodesia» from the name of Cecil Rhodes, notorious colonizer and ardent racist, whose ideal was to subject Africa in its entirety to the domination of Great Britain. Arriving in the Cape in 1870, he managed to extend British dominion over all of South Africa, as well as over the south-east as far as the Zambezi. But it was above all in Zimbabwe that he concentrated his colonial activities, undertaking to exploit the territory in the service of the metropolis and the white colonists. To subjugate the «native» was of course a *sine qua non* of this policy: «the vote must be refused him in the same way as alcohol...» (Quoted by Maurice Crouzet: **Cecil John Rhodes, the Technicians of Colonization**, Presse Universitaire de France, Paris 1947).

Surface area of Zimbabwe: 390,000 square kms.
Population: 5,900,000 inhabitants, of which 5,600,000 are African and 260,000 white colonists.
Capital: Salisbury.
Mining production: Chrome, gold, copper, tungsten, nickel, asbestos, coal.
Agricultural production: Maize, wheat, cotton, soja, cattle rearing.



OMAN THE SULTAN AND THE MERCENARIES

In order to perpetrate his barbarous acts against the Omani people and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, Sultan Qabous does not limit himself to calling on Jordanian, Iranian and British troops defending the interests of the big oil trusts (Oman's oil production in 1974, reached 16 million tons and brought in 600 million dollars). He has now begun to recruit mercenaries in the most flagrant manner, as the text we publish below confirms. This was one of the advertisements which appeared in the British press, asking in particular for experienced pilots. The salaries offered are excessively high and accompanied by other advantages.

The British admit to having been overtaken by events in the Dhofar war, their typically colonial methods revealing themselves increasingly inoperable. It is consequently expected that they will be supplanted by the Americans, who are becoming impatient and consider that it is time to

finish with what constitutes one of the principal obstacles to their supremacy in the Middle East and the Arab Gulf. It is primordial for them to ensure—jointly with their principal ally, Iran—the control of the Ormuz Strait, the so-called oil tanker route. The British will, nevertheless, continue to be a not unimportant source of aid, in particular through supplying mercenaries, newly-recruited from among Royal Air Force veterans.

The question is, will the Sultan, with all the aid which is so generously granted to him—enabling him to enroll mercenaries at will—and the logistic means at his disposal thanks to the good offices of the Shah, be able to wipe out, as he hopes, the struggle of the Omani people?

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman has inflicted a crippling defeat on the Iranian offensives of September and October of this year, which were of an unprecedented intensity, bringing down a number of planes and helicopters and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy positions. This retaliation should lead Sultan Qabous to give some thought—however small—to what fate will be reserved for him.



THE SULTANATE OF OMAN Helicopter Pilots

There are continuing requirements for operational Helicopter Pilots in the Air Force of the Sultanate of Oman. Applicants must be ex-British Armed Forces, up to the age of 45, with recent military flying experience and have at least 1,000 hours on rotary wing aircraft.

These are contract appointments (initially for 3 years, renewable by mutual agreement), carrying the rank of Flight Lieutenant on engagement, and are unaccompanied although facilities exist for short family visits. Conditions of service are attractive including annual emoluments commencing at the equivalent of £8,200 (tax free) single air conditioned mess type accommodation and services provided free, an end of contract gratuity and generous home leave with air passages paid.

Apply with brief details to Box No. 9349, Flight International, Dorset House, Stamford Street, London SE1 9LU.

"FLIGHT INTERNATIONAL"
(20 October 1975)



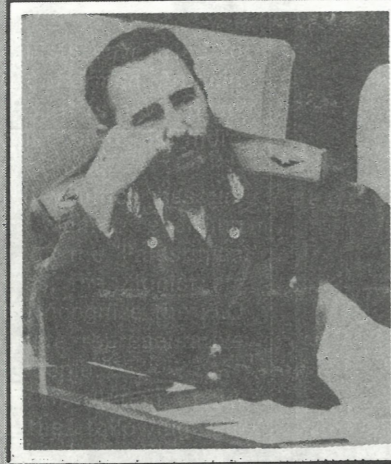
YASSER ARAFAT : WE ARE WITH THE POPULAR LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA

In a speech addressed to a meeting of Palestinian students in Damascus, at the beginning of December, on the occasion of the closing of the 18th session of the administrative committee of the Union of Palestine Students, Yasser Arafat said: «The Palestinian Revolution is a part of the world liberation movement and expresses its solidarity with liberation movements, wherever they are. In the name of the Palestinian people, I declare that we are with the MPLA, the movement which represents the revolutionary will of the masses of ANGOLA.

«Last year, at the United Nations, I did not only speak in the name of the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab Liberation Movement, but also in the name of all the revolutionaries and all the liberation movements of the world. The Palestinian Revolution stands in the front line with these liberation movements.»

PALESTINE AT THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY

On the occasion of the first Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, Yasser Arafat sent the following cable to the Cuban Pres-



ident, Fidel Castro: «Comrade Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, Commander-in-Chief of the Cuban Armed Forces:

On the occasion of the first Congress of your Party, I greet you and the comrades, members of the Central Committee of the Party. I hope that the Congress will be crowned with success, and I wish continued progress for the friendly Cuban people.

I would have liked to have been able to be present at this historic moment for your country and your people, but the present conditions resulting from the violent offensive of imperialism, Zionism and reaction against the Arab region in general and our Palestinian people in particular, require my presence at the side of the comrades who are fighting in the trenches, defending the Palestinian Revolution which is also your revolution and the revolution of all the forces which aspire to Peace, Liberty and Democracy, and at the side of the Lebanese national progressive forces, in the present crisis.

In the name of the Palestinian Arab people, in the name of our comrades on the Executive Committee and in my own name, let me once again congratulate you and express our wishes for the success of your Congress, and for the progress and success of the Cuban people. Together let us continue our struggle against imperialism, Zion-

ism and colonialism ... until Victory.»

A member of the Palestinian delegation attending the Congress, in his speech on 20/12, affirmed the solidarity existing between the Palestinian and Cuban revolutions.

He exposed the Palestinian point of view regarding the conflict which opposes the peoples of more than one region in the world with world imperialism, and referred to «the conflict in our region, in which American imperialism and Zionism concentrate their attack on the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab national and progressive forces, particularly in Lebanon.» «The imperialist attack,» he went on to stress, «follows three roads in the Arab region:

« — Lebanon, which is the scene of determined attempts to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution and the forces supporting it.

« — Palestine, where the Zionists are attempting to set up local administration as a substitute for the PLO in occupied Palestinian territory.

« — Jordan, in which American imperialism is engaged in reassigning to the king a role which corresponds to the plot aimed at creating a substitute for the PLO.»

The Palestinian delegation visited the University of Havana where it was welcomed by more than 5,000 students crying «Palestine Will Win» and where an exhibition had been organised, in recognition of the struggle of the Palestinian people.

In his speech at the closing session of the Congress, Comrade Fidel Castro saluted «The just armed struggle of the Palestinian people for the liberation of their usurped lands,» and «our militant comrade Yasser Arafat, who is known and loved by our people, and who brings respect and friendship to our Cuban people.»

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, the work of which ended on 8/12/75 in India, condemned the policy practised by the fascist Zionist entity against the Arab citizens in occupied Palestine.

The delegates unanimously called for the retreat of Zionist troops from all the occupied Arab territories and the guarantee of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

Similarly, the conference condemned the barbaric air raids against the Palestinian camps in Lebanon, as well as the continuous Zionist measures to change the characteristics of the city of Jerusalem.

The **UNIFIED SOCIALIST PARTY (P.S.U.)** has condemned the Zionist air raids against Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages in north and south Lebanon, stressing that these raids are merely the sign of the increasing isolation of the Israeli leaders who are attempting to avoid the political battle through committing new crimes.

The P.S.U. during its meeting in Paris with the PLO delegation on 6/12, affirmed its support of the cause and the struggle of the Palestinian people against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, as well as its complete support of the programme of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

THE FRENCH ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPORT FOR PALESTINE has denounced the bloody Zionist air raids against the Palestinian camps in Lebanon in a communiqué distributed on 8/12 in Paris. The communiqué says that the Zionist authorities will today no longer be able to attempt to justify such massacres by political reasons, as they have already done for the previous aggressions. The Zionist authorities, the communiqué continues, speak of a «preventive» operation, an operation in which the victims were a large number of children, considered by the Tel Aviv authorities as the commandos of the future.

The Association considers that these air raids, especially those which once again were aimed at Nabatieh camp, symbol of the Palestinian people's will to live, are

the result of a plan with a double aim: to defy the U.N. following the new defeat of the Zionist occupation authorities during the recent General Assembly session, and to empty south Lebanon of its Palestinian and Lebanese inhabitants for expansionist and strategic considerations, this latter to be accomplished through the perpetration of terrorist operations.

Finally, the Association launched an appeal to international—and particularly to French—public opinion, asking it to adopt a firm stand with regard to the barbarous Zionist acts.

GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN WORKERS MEETS THE UNION AND WORKER ORGANISATIONS OF ALGERIA, LIBYA, TUNISIA AND MOROCCO.

The different communiqués issued as a result of these meetings reaffirm total support of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and of its aspirations for the liberation of Palestine from Zionism, the ally of imperialism and colonialism.

At the same time, they salute the courageous uprising of our people in occupied Palestine and condemn the ferocious crimes committed by the isolationist cliques in Lebanon against the people and the Revolution.

Finally, the union organisations thanked the countries which support Arab rights and the struggle of the Palestinian people, condemning in particular Zionism as a racist movement.

PALESTINIAN WEEK IN DAKKAR.

The first «Palestine Week» organized in black Africa by the PLO, the Arab League and Senegal, was inaugurated on 17/12/75 by Mr. Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister of Senegal. In his speech, the Senegalese head of government reiterated the firm and active support and the sympathy of Senegal for the Palestinian people. The Senegalese Prime Minister reaffirmed Senegal's commitment at the side of the Arab people, and explained this commitment as complementarity, and solidarity between the African and Arab peoples.

The «Week» included radio broadcasts, the showing of the films «Kfar Kassem» and «We Shall Return» as well as other documentary films representing the different stages in the struggle of the Palestinian people, and a series of conferences on the following themes: Zionism and Racism.

The Strategic Device of the Secular Democratic State. (Chairman of the Algerian Press Syndicate.)

Palestinian Revolution and Arabo-African Cooperation.

Cooperation and Franco-Arab Dialogue (Mr. Louis Lenoir, President of the Franco-Arab Association).

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONDEMNS ISRAELI RAIDS

The UN General Assembly, in a resolution voted on 9/12/75, condemned the savage Israeli raids on Palestinian camps in Lebanon and called for an end to such raids. The General Assembly once again emphasized the Palestinian people's right to return to their homes and their land, and called for an end to the destruction of their camps.

Ninety-seven states voted in favour of the resolution, while only Israel, the USA and Uruguay voted against, and two countries abstained.

Observers say that the General Assembly's condemnation of the repeated Israeli raids on Palestinian camps is in fact a direct condemnation of the US use of its power of veto to prevent a condemnation of the Zionist enemy. Meanwhile, the U.N. General Assembly has decided, by a majority vote, to invite the PLO to attend the International Conference on Habitat expected to be held in Vancouver, Canada, next May.

ENEMY NEWS

ISRAEL: JEWISH NATIONAL HOME? THE FIRST IRAQI JEW RETURNS TO HIS COUNTRY

Essential to the survival of the Zionist state is the continued influx of human potential through immigration. In fact, Zionist propaganda has always used tempting slogans addressed to the Jews, such as «the Jewish home», «the desert transformed into an oasis», «communism is the kibboutzim», etc....

The European immigrant arriving in Israel finds himself confronted by a quite different reality: a deteriorating economy, a militaristic state in which democratic liberties only seem to exist, a highly unstable security situation, and shaky industries. The oriental immigrant is, in addition, subjected to racism. He is considered a second-class citizen; he lives in the poor quarters and feels himself an intruder in the country.

This disparity between propaganda and reality, as well as the expansionist, aggressive and racist nature of Israel, have led to a notable decline in immigration and an increase in emigration. Statistics reveal that during the last few years, 56,300 Zionists have left Israel to return to their country of origin in Europe. According to the Israeli daily «Davar», 12,700 Jews left Israel in 1972, 14,500 in 1973 and 29,100 in 1974.

For Arab Jews, to return to their homes in the Arab world is more difficult owing to the conflict which at present exists and to the Zionist propaganda which perniciously maintains that the Arabs are leading an anti-Semitic war against the Jews. In spite of all these difficulties, the first Iraqi Jew has just returned to his country after 27 years of absence.

Daniel Eliahu Sulieman, expressing his joy at having been able to return to his fatherland, declared: «I went back into my old house, I embraced its walls and doors... I was very happy to wander in Souk Hounan in Baghdad and to recognize the houses and shops of my parents and friends.»

In a press conference held on 8/12/75 in Baghdad, he said: «People recognized me immediately and welcomed me very warmly. We even began to talk of the good old days....»

«Just after our arrival in occupied Palestine, we began to feel the extent of our loss... Before his death, my father said to me 'I wish I could spend just one week in Baghdad before dying....»

«Oriental Jews are treated as second-class citizens and suffer from the worst expressions of racial discrimination and oppression....»

«The Zionists are racists inspired by the Nazi practices....»

«Israeli society is contradictory in the practice of the ideas inherent in Judaism, the Zionists allow what the religion of Moses forbade, and forbid what it allows....»

«The Jews in Israel dream of returning to their countries of origin....»

Daniel's return to his own country follows the invitation issued by the PLO to all the Arab countries asking them to allow all Arab Jews who left their countries in 1948 to return to them. Iraq is the first country to reply to the Palestinian appeal.

THE ISRAELI PARADISE

The Zionist entity is at present passing through a highly critical phase. Apart from the disastrous effects which the international condemnation of Zionism as a form of racism has had on Israeli society, Israel is facing the most acute economic crisis in its history.

The economic situation of the Zionist state may be summed up as follows:

The standard of living is constantly deteriorating. Taking account of taxes and the cost of the different «services», the population's real income has decreased by 8%. Prices have shown a notable increase, the cost of transport having risen by 40%, the prices of bread and butter having doubled and the price of sugar quadrupled. The level of consumption in the country

is following a descending curve. Israel's foreign currency debt has now reached 8 thousand million US dollars, that is to say 10 thousand dollars for each Israeli family. From 1972 to 1974, the balance of payments deficit increased threefold to 3.4 thousand million dollars. Neither the donations from Jewish organisations abroad, nor American loans—which will have to be repaid in one way or another—have been able to cover it. Consequently, inflation is out of control, and the Israeli pound suffered a 67% devaluation between 1973 and 1975.

The crisis in the country is considered to be directly linked to the aggravation of social problems and the degradation of the political situation. The Zionist state's policy of expansion and aggression—which is the main cause of these latter—leads to the militarization of both the country and the economy. The increasing expenditure required to modernize the war machine and extend internal security measures at present absorbs 30% of the country's national product, and causes new problems to appear which the Israeli economy is scarcely in a position to solve.

Taking account of the £6 thousand million budget presented to the Knesset on 14/12/75 by the Israeli Minister of Finances, the aggravation of the economic crisis is inevitable. This austerity budget implies a further decline in the standard of living, a 5% reduction of the defence budget, a wage freeze, and a reduction in the budget allocated to the construction of housing, schools and hospitals. It may also tend to encourage a new devaluation of the Israeli pound.

ZIONIST SOCIETY

* Daily Racism

According to a poll carried out by Tel Aviv University, more than 90 percent of Israeli Jews wish there were less Arabs in their state. Eighty percent of the Jews of European origin, and even 91 percent of the Jews of oriental origin would never let a house to an Arab.» («Der Spiegel», West Germany, 15.12.75, p. 88.)

CULTURE

TAWFIQ ZIYAD



«THE IMPOSSIBLE»

Tawfiq Ziyad, who in a stunning election victory last month became the new mayor of Nazareth, the first to be elected directly by the people of that town, is also a poet. The following is one of his poems of resistance, entitled «THE IMPOSSIBLE».



It is much easier for you
To pass an elephant through a needle's eye
Or to catch a fried fish in the galaxy,
Plough the sea,
Or humanize a crocodile,
Than to destroy by persecution
The shimmering glow of our belief
Or check our march
One single step.

As if we were a thousand prodigies
Spreading everywhere
In Lydda,
In Ramleh,
In Galilee.

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
And in your throat we shall stay
A piece of glass,
A cactus thorn,
And in your eye
A blazing fire.

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
Cleaning dishes in your bars,
Filling cups for your masters,
Sweeping your sooty kitchens,
To snatch a bite from your blue fangs
For our hungry children.

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
Facing starvation,
Struggling with rags,
Defying,
Singing our songs,
Swarming the streets with our wrath,
Filling your dungeons with pride,
Rearing vengeance in new generations.

Like a thousand prodigies
We roam along
In Lydda,
In Ramleh,
In Galilee.

Here we shall stay.
Go then and drink the sea.
Here we shall stay,
Unblinking sentinels on our earth and trees.
Here we shall stay
To ferment our cause as yeast does dough.
Here we shall stay with ice-cold nerves,
Red hell in our nerves and hearts.
We squeeze the rock to quench our thirst
And lull starvation with dust,
But we shall not depart.
Here we shall spill our dearest blood.
Here we have
A past
A future
Here we are the unconquerable.
So strike deep, strike deep,
My roots.

PALESTINIAN CINEMA

II. HOW ARAB CINEMA FACED ZIONIST PROPAGANDA

Not only does Zionism continue to smuggle its propaganda through commercially produced feature films available on the international market, as it has done since 1899, with its first propaganda strip, a French production called «The Dreyfuss Case» (and still does, with films like the «Jerusalem File» and other American-branded films), but Zionism has also developed a prosperous cinema industry inside occupied Palestine, especially since the creation of «Israel» in 1948. Before this date, however, and as early as 1912, Zionist agents had shot films inside Palestinian territory. That year, with the help of the Turkish Empire, Yacoub Ben-Douf produced the first Zionist film shot inside Palestine «The Life of the Jews in the Promised Land». In 1917, the year of the Balfour Declaration and the first steps of the British colonizers, the Zionists started a new cinema period with the film «Son of the Land». The film describes the struggle of young Zionists against Britain and against what is called «the Arab colonization of Palestine». The film ended with the death of some of these Zionists at the hands of Arabs. They fall with their hands raised, leaving this message to the world: «We are the sons of this land. It is ours and we will face our enemy.»

In 1927, Nathan Oxlord produced the first Zionist documentary films. Baruch Ajadati's «This is Your Land» (1938), was the first documentary film

produced in Hebrew. Its aim was to introduce the language to be used later in the «State of Israel», and to show the awaiting land, which the theoreticians of Zionism had appointed as their «national home», ready to be occupied by the «exiled» Jews in Europe.

The Zionists early acknowledged the importance of documentary films, and when they established themselves in Palestine in 1948, they started developing documentaries in several languages as a method of distorted propaganda for the state, and as a means of falsifying history, for example, through imposing old Jewish names on Arab towns and villages and, what is most important, as a means of collecting funds for the Zionist state from the Jews abroad. (After the showing of «This is Israel» in London, 1961, more than £10,000 were collected). Moshe Shartouk, the first Foreign Minister of Israel, encouraged the production of documentary films and considered them an important means of «information». For this reason, in 1957, he established a special department for the production of this type of film and for their distribution all over the world, mainly through the Israeli embassies and offices abroad. Through documentaries, the Zionists give out their propaganda on different topics: The life of the Arabs under Israeli rule is better than that of the Arabs outside Israel; new immigrants are urgently needed in a flourishing land with enough work

and agricultural programs to absorb willing Jews from any corner of the world, providing them with new citizenship; intellectuals, scientists, workers, peasants, merchants, all have a place under the sun of the beautiful «promised land», which they rightfully own.

While Israel allocated a large budget (about 1 million dollars a year) to launch its cinema propaganda and information during this period, Hollywood offered its help through the production of the long feature films containing hidden Zionist propaganda we have previously mentioned («Palestine» No. 7). Besides controlling the American industry, Zionist capital at this time also extended its tentacles to European cinema, with several propaganda productions. This was also the time when, imitating Hollywood's methods, the Zionist cinema industry pro-

moted and tried to export movie stars such as Daliah Lavi and Hayat Hara-rat, who fit the beauty-sex patterns imposed by Hollywood.

Several films were presented at international festivals as Israeli productions, although the only Zionist contribution to these films was in the form of capital, as was the case of «Hill 24 doesn't answer».

Generally speaking, we can say that from 1948 up to the '67 War, Zionist cinema was used to collect contributions, promote immigration, and help develop the military, political, educational, and social institutions of the Zionist entity always with the financial and moral support of American imperialist cinema. At the beginning, they expressed dreams about the promised land, and later defended the Zionist ideology and establishment.

After the '67 War and the occupa-

tion of the rest of Palestine and parts of Syria and Egypt, the Zionist ideology obtained a new impetus. Zionist arrogance and racism grew to a level never before paralleled. Israeli films at this time attempted to justify the aggression and occupation of Arab land, and to give the Zionist point of view in any event: why Israel was formed; why it must continue to exist ... Slogans were raised, a very popular one at this time being: «Do not support the fedayeen; they are not representative of the Palestinian people.»

Well-organized propaganda was consistently made in order to lure international film producers into shooting films inside the occupied territory. Many advantages were pointed out, ranging from a wide variety of natural scenery with perpetual sunshine, to studios, extras and tax exemption and credit facili-

ties. The Zionists presented the opportunities offered by Israel to film makers as being outstanding, and any professional or amateur photographer could be tempted by its splendour. Every detail was exploited but no mention was made of the realities beneath. According to this propaganda, Israel is not Palestine, but a peaceful Jewish haven, where no contradictions exist, with no guerillas, no Arab population, no discrimination, in fact, a world far removed from the biggest headlines of world newspapers. Just as Arab names have been replaced by Jewish names never before heard of in history, reality has been replaced by an illusion colorfully illustrated in the pamphlets for foreign cinema-makers. Even a Far Western cow-boy town has been built in the Sinai desert and placed at the service of foreign film makers.

Because it is a means of obtaining profits and a way of emphasizing Zionist ideology, the Israeli military government has greatly encouraged cinema production. Thus, we see an increase in Israeli cinematic production over the last few years, as well as an increase in co-productions (with the USA, West Germany, etc.), and attempts to give Israeli cinema world status. In 1973, a group of Zionist producers took 16 of the most modern Israeli films to the Cannes Film Festival, but these were not accepted as competitors.

The anti-Zionist struggle remained unseen on the screen for a number of years, both at the commercial level, and at the militant level. Meanwhile the Zionist cinema was able to develop its propaganda even to the extent of preparing superproduction, such as «Exodus», presenting some of the aggressions committed by the Zionist entity in a favorable light. There was at this time no effective film to answer these distortions and to re-establish truth, and the well-organized Zionist propaganda was not confronted either by the Arab mass media in general, or by the Arab cinema in particular. In spite of the Zionist use of cinema according to well-established plans, Arab cinema did not develop an ideological answer to it, to correct this wrong image, until after '67, when the situation began to change considerably following the June defeat and the growing impact of the Palestinian Revolution.

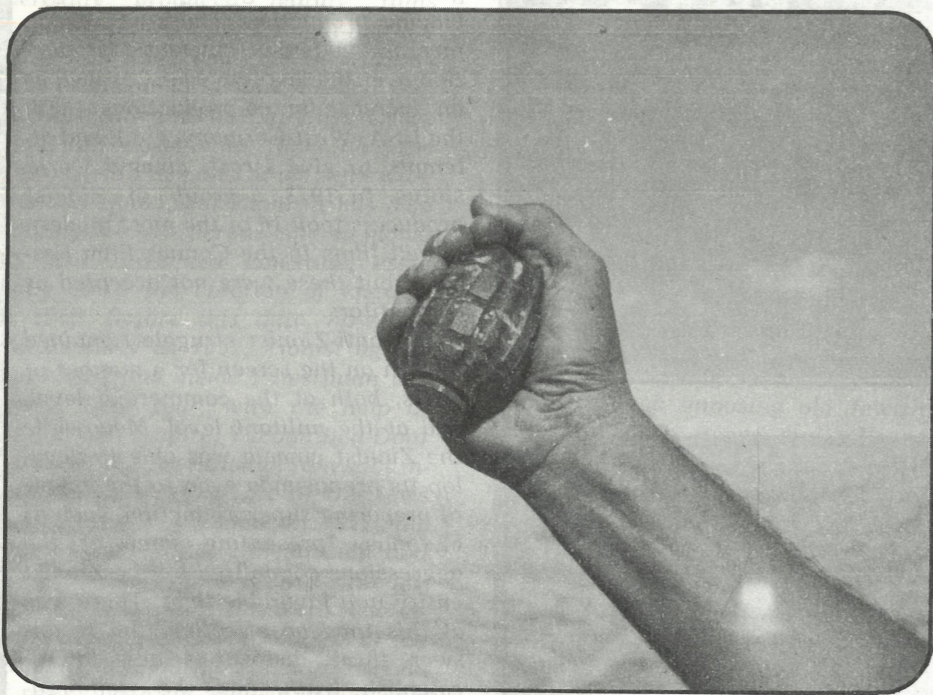
The Palestine question has always played a key political role in the Arab



The old Arab village of Tarshiha has been renamed Maalot.



Zionist cinema has consistently ignored the Palestinian reality.



scene, being in one way or another behind many of the changes that have taken place in the political regimes of the area. It has also been an issue of national concern and commitment, besides being humanitarian in character. In spite of all this, Arab cinema, and mainly the Egyptian cinema, remained for many years far from being truly involved in the Palestine question and failed to confront the erroneous allegations of Zionist propaganda. What is more, many Arab

films played the same role as imperialist cinema, against the Arab people's aim of independence, development and liberation. Arab cinema producers were not able to grasp the importance of utilizing cinema as an intellectual, ideological and political weapon. Their incompetence, and lack of interest in focussing on the Palestine question on the screen were further stressed by the censorship of some Arab regimes which imposed a blackout on any issue related to the

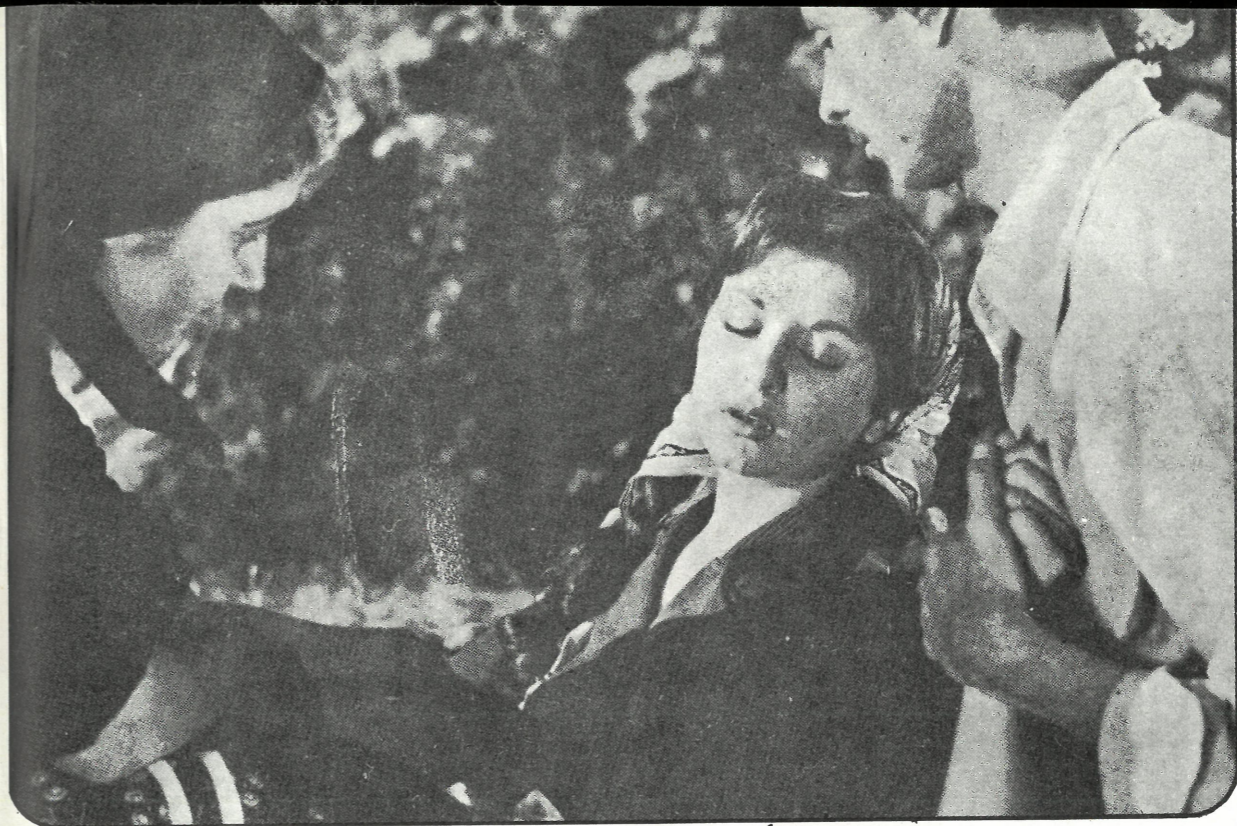
Palestinian question, except for some of its minor emotional aspects.

For a long time the only Arab cinema was the Egyptian cinema, a pioneer since the first cinematic film (Lumière) was screened at Alexandria in 1896. The first film in the history of Egyptian cinema considered as an Egyptian production was «Laila», (1927). In 1937, Egypt possessed 4 cinema studios. It is generally recognized that the influence of Egyptian cinema in the Arab world has been an odious one, particularly on the Lebanese cinema, which around 1952 began to show the influence of the Egyptian formulae (melodrama, songs and belly dances). Melodramas, farces and comedies in which the author uses traditional means to interest and move the audience, together with a mixture of songs and dances performed by great popular singers and dancers turned actors, make up the bulk of Egyptian production.

Nevertheless, the Nasserian revolution of 23 July, 1952—although unfortunately never completed—eventually led to widespread changes in the Egyptian cinema such as the loosening of censorship, the creation of a National Organization to solve the country's film problems, a film institute in Cairo to train prospective film makers, and the production of films covering a much wider range of themes than ever before. Among them, a number of «patriotic films» were shown against colonization, such as «Down with Imperialism» (Yusuf El Istamar); about the Suez crisis, the Egyptian revolution; the Algerian independence («Gamila»), or films criticizing the old regime.

But the Palestine question remained almost forgotten on Egyptian screens. Only 7 films related to this problem were produced before the defeat of '67, and these 7 films represent the total Arab production dealing in some way or another with the Palestine problem. Three of them are commercial feature films, and the rest are short films technically poor and politically obscure, lacking awareness of the subject.

The first of these films, «A Young Woman from Palestine» was directed in 1948 by Mahmoud Zulfikar. It did not differ from any other standard Egyptian melodrama at the time. A young Palestinian woman migrates to Egypt after the establish-



«Whither?» (Ila Ayn?) by the Lebanese, George Naser, 1957. Presented at the Cannes and Peking film festivals in 1957.

ment of the «State of Israel». The son of the family with whom she lives in Cairo falls in love with her and forgets his fiancée. The end of the story is well-known. After the fiancée's recriminations and the dramatic escape of the Palestinian girl,—naturally followed by the young man—the couple marry and live happily ever after. The film included no less than 8 songs.

«Land of Peace» (Ard Es Salaam) was directed in 1957 by Kamal Sheikh, after the British-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt. It relates the story of a young man who takes part in a guerilla operation inside occupied Palestine. He meets a girl who helps him undertake the operation, and whom he ends up marrying after a happy return to Egypt.

Samir Farid, the Egyptian film critic comments on the two films, saying: «Thus, the Egyptian feature film shifted from the melodrama of love and marriage to that of adventure and courage also ending up in love and marriage, without any analysis of the nature of the armed struggle, its justification and aims.»

From love and courageous adventures, «A Crime in the Quiet Streets», by Hussam-Iddeen Mustapha, shifted to detective-type adventures. The subject is the assassination of Lord Moyne in Cairo because—as the film puts it—he told the British gov-

ernment: «You are mistaken in backing Zionism and being hostile to the Arabs.»

As for Lebanese films, during this period most of them were—like the Egyptian films—melodramas or musical comedies featuring famous dancers and singers. There were some attempts to escape from this type of film, such as «The Broken Wings», by Youssef Maalouf, a social tragedy inspired by the life of the poet Gibran Khalil Gibran, and the films of George Nasr «The Young Stranger»

and «Whither?» (Ila Ayn?), which was presented at the 1957 Cannes Festival. But no mention of Palestine was made.

The films previously mentioned which introduce the name of Palestine in melodramatic plots and detective adventures, are an example of the «role» played by Arab cinema in dealing with the Palestine question and its outlook on such a cause, at a time when Zionism was using almost all its propaganda possibilities for its racist, aggressive aims.



A scene from the Lebanese film «The Broken Wings» (Al Ajniha al-Moutakassira), inspired by the life of Gibran Khalil Gibran (1964)



**FOR A SECULAR DEMOCRATIC STATE
IN PALESTINE**

Palestine

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