



**FOR A SECULAR DEMOCRATIC STATE
IN PALESTINE**

Palestine

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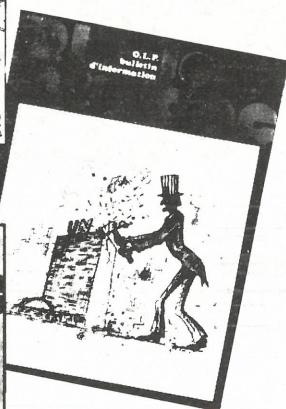
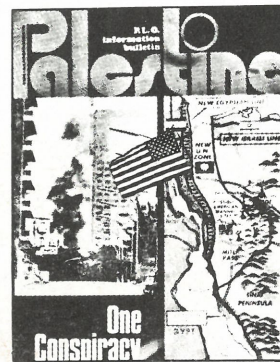
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**12 YEARS
PALESTINIAN
REVOLUTION**





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TO OUR FRIENDS

While the Palestinian Revolution is celebrating its 12th anniversary, our "Palestine" is now two years old. The year 1976 was a hard year for the Palestinian Revolution and for "Palestine" as well. Many difficulties concerning printing and publishing faced us. Mostly we were unable to ensure regular distribution to our readers. Our subscribers were cut off from receiving "Palestine," because the postal services and all Lebanese institutions were paralysed during the civil war. But the determination of the "Palestine" staff, and the responsibility we shoulder towards our just cause, gave us the impetus to continue and to overcome all difficulties.

As we enter our third year, we will, as ever, continue working to ensure the regular publication of our magazine which will continue to appear bi-monthly. The continuity of "Palestine" is an important achievement for the Palestine cause, although it will never be able to out-do the Zionist propaganda prevailing in the West.

In the hope of continuing on the same level, we wish our readers a successful year in 1977.

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Palestine

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EDITORIAL

12 YEARS...

Twelve years of Palestinian revolutionary struggle have gone by on the way to liberation; twelve years filled with tears and sacrifices, as well as heroism and victories for the Palestine cause. For twelve years the anti-liberation forces have been trying to liquidate or subjugate the Palestinian Liberation Movement.

All Zionist falsifications and distortions of the facts have been punctured by the Palestinian reality. All plots to deprive the Palestinian people of their national rights, from assimilation attempts to direct military attacks against the Palestinians, have failed. The Palestinian Liberation Movement has emerged from the attempts at liquidation, and the Palestine cause has entered the hearts of people all over the world. The PLO, the umbrella organisation of six Palestinian resistance organisations, has now gained the official recognition of the highest international body, the UN. Even the Zionists, who denied the existence of the Palestinian people, cannot forever escape the Palestinian struggle towards self-determination and recognition.

The most recent conspiracy against the Palestinian Liberation Movement in Lebanon -- which lasted 19 months -- is but one in the series of plots which have been going on since the Balfour Declaration in 1917. All those attempts at liquidation and subjugation have failed due to the Palestinian determination to maintain their national identity, and their attachment to their homeland, Palestine.

At present the enemies of the Palestinian people, mainly in the West, claim that the PLO has been weakened or heavily battered, or lost the battle in Lebanon. These voices in the Western press try to ignore the facts in order to undermine the PLO, now recognized throughout the world. Some of them, in order to harm the PLO prestige claim that the PLO, having lost the battle, has now become subject to the official Arab policy and has lost its independence. Other rumours spread abroad claim that the PLO leadership has to be replaced by so-called moderates acceptable in reactionary circles in the region.

It has to be stated quite categorically that the Palestinian Revolution has never had the intention to settle in Lebanon, and will never give up its just struggle to resist the Zionist colonization and occupation of Palestine. In Lebanon, the Palestinian Revolution was obliged to adopt a defensive position to protect its existence and its independence.

Last November's UN General Assembly resolution in favour of the Palestine cause and calling for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is the best proof that the international position of the PLO has not been shaken. In Western Europe, in the non-aligned countries and the socialist countries PLO offices remain open and PLO delegates are received and respected as officials.

After nineteen months of continuous aggression against the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon, the PLO is an even more important political and military factor in the Middle East. In any

...PALESTINE LIVES

future Middle East settlement, the PLO cannot be neglected or by-passed. The PLO's role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people has been stressed and underlined. In order to continue their conspiracy, the anti-Palestinian forces in the region will try with other means to contain the Palestinian Revolution. The on-going talks concerning the eventual re-convening of the Geneva conference and the form of the Palestinian participation at this conference is creating confusion.

Whether or not a re-convened Geneva conference takes place, the Palestinian Revolution is not optimistic. The Palestinian Revolution believes that the Palestine cause is the core of the Middle East conflict, and without a just solution for the Palestinian people there will be no peace in the Middle East. All settlements which neglect the Palestine cause will merely prolong the state of war in the region.

In principle the Palestinian Revolution is struggling for a just and lasting peace in the region. After the international recognition of the PLO and the Palestinians as a people with the right to build a state, the Palestinian Revolution cannot accept UN Security Council Resolution 242 adopted in 1967, which considers the Palestinian problem as a refugee problem. As a basis for any future negotiations towards a Middle East settlement, the outdated Resolution 242 must be amended, or replaced by the UN General Assembly resolutions of 1974, 1975 and 1976.

The PLO has always rejected tutelage upon the Palestinian people and their just cause. Likewise the Palestinian Revolution opposes the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan. According to the Palestinian National Congress resolution of June 1974, the PLO will be authorized to establish an independent Palestinian entity on any part of the Palestinian territory liberated from, or evacuated by, the Zionist occupiers. This remains the goal of the Palestinian Revolution. The Lebanese events have not changed this firm stand of the PLO; they have only confirmed the necessity for the establishment of such a state for the Palestinian people. The PLO supports all Arab efforts to regain their occupied territories (occupied during the June 1967 war), but Palestine is for the Palestinian people, and the PLO is the only spokesman for the Palestine cause. The PLO will not go to Geneva in order to sign a sell-out treaty at the expense of the Palestinian people. Even the attendance of a unified Arab delegation in Geneva in order to satisfy Israeli demand is rejected by the Palestinians. The United States and their protégé, Israel, must recognize the Palestinian reality which is now unescapable. Sooner or later they must recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. All conspiracies and manoeuvres to isolate the Palestinian people are doomed to fail. The Palestinians in the occupied territories in Lebanon, and elsewhere are sure of their victory. They will carry on their just struggle with all means, political, diplomatic and military, against the Zionist occupation of their homeland.



1977:

THE YEAR OF GIVING AND REVOLUTIONARY DIGNITY

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution addressed the following message to our people in occupied Palestine and outside it, and to all the militants and revolutionaries, on the 12th anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian Revolution:

"The year of challenge and confrontation with all its violence, its pain and suffering, and all the heroism and legends manufactured by the blood and the sacrifices of our martyrs, and enriched by the steadfastness of our people inside and outside the occupied homeland -- has ended.

"1976 has ended, but its lessons and experiences have left their marks on the great march of the Revolution.

"For the Revolution and its revolutionaries, 1976 did not repre-

sent days and months only, it was a year which will remain in the pages of the history of our Revolution and our heroic people, and which will form springs from which the coming generations will drink courage, patience, steadfastness, dignity and manliness.

"In spite of its bitterness, harshness and pain, the year of challenge and confrontation also witnessed a great revolutionary thrust of struggle and courage by this great people, which will enrich the advance of the whole Arab nation towards a life of pride and glory, contrary to the life desired for it by the US imperialist -- Zionist -- agent plot.

"The stories of steadfastness in the year of steadfastness; of challenge and confrontation in the year of challenge and confrontation; of the sufferings and pain, and of sacrifices, will be told to

the coming generations and recorded as among the greatest stories in history.

"As for the dangerous colonialist plot and its objectives, the aims of conspirators and the plotting imperialist -- Zionist forces; they must be confronted with conscious logic, meticulous analysis and an overall study of the plot in order to face all its dimensions and repercussions. For we must not get lost in a maze, but must instead deal with facts and realities with the greatest care, firmness and revolutionary faith.

"For example, after the Rabat Summit in 1974, Kissinger stated to one of the friendly leaders that what took place in Rabat had disrupted all his plans and calculations. He thereafter had to begin striking at the essence of Arab steadfastness, and particularly the allies of the October War: Egypt,

Syria and the Palestinian Revolution; and then to disarm the Arabs of the oil weapon as an effective factor in the battle between the Arab nation and the Zionist -- imperialist assault on it.

"We must admit that Kissinger has achieved a remarkable success in his counter-attack.

"We must also register the importance of what we have achieved at both the Riyadh and Cairo conferences, in terms of putting an end to the bloodshed in Lebanon, putting an end to the fighting between us and Syria as well as the re-establishment of Egyptian-Syrian relations, and consequently of Syrian-Egyptian-Palestinian unity, as a basic pillar of the Arab-Zionist conflict, and subsequent action towards the use of oil as an effective weapon in the present confrontation.

"In these few lines, we outline the overall picture in the region and the huge conspiracy against us; starting from an essential and important point, which is that the American imperialist-Zionist conspiracy has not ended. On the contrary, we must be aware that the conspiracy will become fiercer in the next phase, taking new forms and shapes; and that there will be concentration on the Palestinian Revolution as a main factor and an essential figure in the on-going struggle in the region. For the Palestinian Revolution is at the centre of this current vicious confrontation.

"For this reason, the conspiratorial imperialist-Zionist forces have concentrated their efforts on liquidating the Palestinian Revolution in its capacity as the complicating factor in their infernal plot for the region. For if the imperialist forces are unable to liquidate the Revolution, then they are not averse to taming it or trimming its wings, turning it into a disarmed, restricted entity, void of the active militant spirit which disturbs the dreams of the imperialists and Zionists, and thus making it acceptable as part of the changes and exchanges taking place in the

region on the basis of imperialist plans.

"In our Arab nation the will to challenge has enough honest consciousness, enough reserves of thrust, and enough power to confront these plots against this great and giving nation just as it has confronted many generations of attackers and plotters. Each attacker or conqueror who passed eventually left, while this nation has remained, defying time and tragedies; and this region has remained, watering with its blood every part of its soil, and feeding with its soul every one of its holy places. This land will remain for us and our children for we have inherited it from our ancestors in order to hand it down to our grandsons, free of fanaticism, chauvinism or fascism.

"Our heroic revolutionaries are faced with heavy responsibilities which they must bear, because we are recording for history this trust which generations before us have carried with consciousness, determination and pride; the trust of struggle, the dignity of the Revolution, and the ability of our people and revolutionaries to bear this responsibility.

"For how great is the message borne by this generation of our people, a message for whose sake we must struggle, be martyred and sacrifice everything, a message for the future generations and for contemporary history.

"In all this, the place of our revolutionaries is in the vanguard in the pass of Marathon, firm as boulders, strong, proud and feared, unaffected and unmoved by rains and storms, firm in their convictions, and confident in their values in the face of all these difficulties, pains and conspiracies.

"As revolutionaries, we confront all that with greater firmness, courage, revolutionary self-sacrifice and unity, with further and stronger national unity, cohesion, fraternity and love.

"Out of this understanding, our people in occupied Palestine are writing legends with their bare

hands, with stones, with Molotov cocktails, with patience and great pride, with continuous defiance of the enemy; their greatness coinciding with the greatness of their people outside the occupied homeland.

"And thus the march of our revolutionaries and people advances, overcoming pain and difficulties with an iron will and rare determination and persistence, creating a procession on the road to liberation and return. For this is the fate which we have chosen for ourselves because we appeal to, and even manufacture, history.

"May the procession continue and may the incentive in this coming year be great in order to make legends for your great Revolution; so that we may protect the procession and enrich it, and so that our giving may be as great as the Revolution and our thrust forward strengthened through further victories on all levels.

"It is our duty in this commemoration of the launching of your Revolution to recall with love and gratitude the heroic Lebanese people and their loyal national movement. It is also our duty on this January 1st to remember with pride the innocent martyrs who fell on the long path of struggle, pledging to march forward until liberation."●



12 YEARS OF

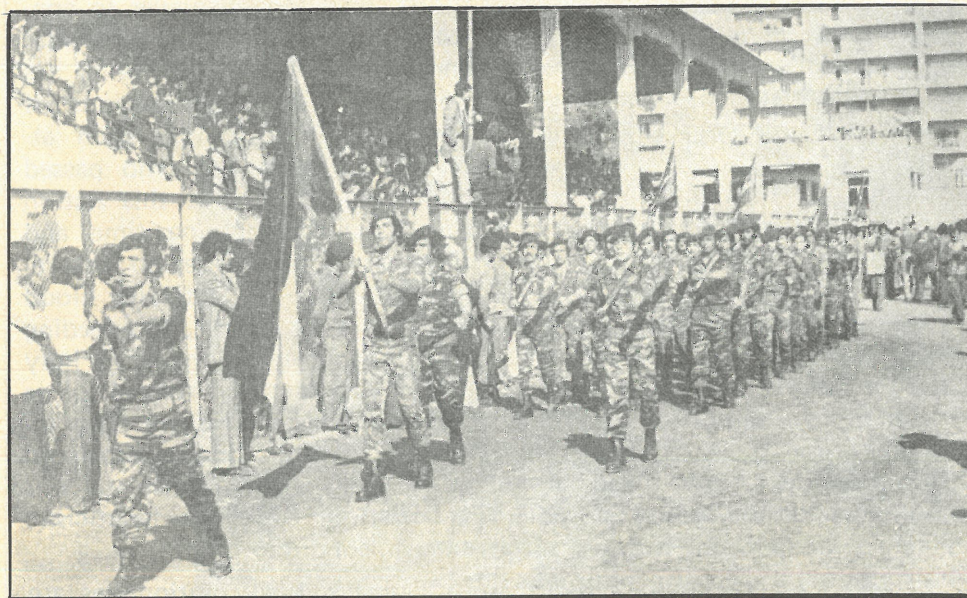
PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

YASSER ARAFAT, leader of the Palestinian people and Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee characterized the year 1976 as the year of confrontation and challenge. This year was indeed a cruel and hard year, a year which created countless widows and orphans, and brought great suffering to the women, children and old people among the Palestinians, as well as to the Lebanese people. At the same time, however, the 12th year on the road to Palestine was an honourable year full of heroism, and sacrifices made by our people and fighters to defend their just cause and the independence of their Revolution.

From the outset, the Palestinian Resistance Movement understood the real intentions behind the isolationist (Phalangists, Chamounists and other rightist groups which strive to isolate themselves in a Maronite Christian state) attacks against the Palestinian people. Although the Palestinian Revolution declared openly and forthrightly that it had no interest in getting involved in the Lebanese civil war and no ambitions to settle in Lebanon, the isolationist forces escalated their attacks against Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

These attacks against the Palestinians in Lebanon were not simply in response to infringements committed by some Palestinian elements in Beirut or elsewhere. Nor were they due to the fact that the Palestinian people in Lebanon are accused of augmenting the numbers of Moslems to the disadvantage of the Christians, or to Palestinian support of the leftists against the rightists.

The 19-month war against the Palestinian people in Lebanon cannot be separated from the Middle East conflict as a whole. It is part of Kissinger's step-by-step policy to settle the Middle East conflict



Celebrating the 12th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution.

and deal with the Palestinian cause to the disadvantage of the Palestinian people, a policy which aims at depriving the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights in their homeland, Palestine.

The Palestinians have, however, emerged from their 12 years of revolutionary resistance to the Zionist occupation of Palestine as an indispensable factor in any future Middle East settlement. This emergence of the Palestinian Movement stand in contradiction to the Zionist colonization and to Israeli ambitions in the Middle East, as it stands in contradiction to some Arab reactionary forces, such as the Lebanese reactionary forces.

The latest crusade against the Palestinians in Lebanon is the continuation of a series of plots which started in November 1917, when the Balfour Declaration promised the Zionist Movement a home in Palestine. These plots culminated in the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 and the expulsion of the indigenous population of Palestine, the Palestinian Arabs.

The plots against the Palestinian people were carried on by the

Hashemite Regime of Jordan 1970 in Amman, and in 1971 in the Jerash forests. In Jordan the Hashemite Monarch implemented a US-Zionist plot to liquidate the Palestine Liberation Movement. Although the Palestinians lost the battle in Jordan, they were not liquidated and their Movement remains strong and their cause active.

The recent plots against the Palestinians in Lebanon carried on by the reactionary isolationist forces there were encouraged and financed by the US-Zionist alliance. Unfortunately, the Syrian regime fell into the conspiracy and pushed Syrian soldiers into Lebanon to fight against the Palestinians and the Lebanese National Movement. The Syrians aspired to controlling the PLO and Lebanon, aiming with Jordan to build a new Syrian empire. This entire manoeuvre is designed to compete with Egypt, and to conclude an agreement with the US and Israel at the expense of the Palestinian people. The Palestinians cannot, however, forget the massacres committed by King Hussein against the Palestinians in Jordan

in 1970/1971, nor can they ever therefore ally themselves with Hussein who maintains his intention to bring the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip under his control and to put himself forward as a representative of the Palestinian people. The Zionist state, an ally of the Western hemisphere and especially of the United States of America, although armed with the most sophisticated weapons produced in the Western world, has been unable to break the determination of the Palestinian people to recover their legitimate rights. Despite its superior military power, it has been unable to subdue the Palestinian people who are still bravely resisting the occupation forces. With the help of its US allies, the Zionist state is inciting inter-Arab conflict and particularly conflict directed against the Palestinians. The Zionists have been using some Arab reactionary forces such as those in Lebanon to fight in their stead, at the same time maintaining their own aggressive moves. Thus while the Palestinians were busy defending themselves against the isolationist attacks, the Zionists were holding a sea blockade on the southern Lebanese ports controlled by the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian forces. Simultaneously they were supporting their reactionary Lebanese allies with weapons and ammunition to fight the Palestinians. In South Lebanon the Zionist state succeeded in infiltrating some villages, and arming some agents in these villages in order to erect the so-called security belt. They intended to build a buffer-zone between Israel and the Palestinian Fedayin in South Lebanon and to bring about a split between the Palestinians and the southern Lebanese population.

All these plots against the Palestinian Resistance Movement aim at

extracting recognition of the state of Israel from the Arab states and the Palestinians, a move which would mean that the Palestinians -- the victims of Zionist ambitions -- should abandon their homeland to the Zionist settlers and remain refugees scattered all over the world.

The Palestinian people, however, will carry on their just struggle against the Zionist colonization of their homeland. According the terms of the UN Charter and subsequent resolutions on the Palestine question, they will resist the Zionist occupation with all means, military, political and diplomatic, until they recover their legitimate rights in their homeland. No force in the world can stop the Palestinian just struggle, and all future attempts to liquidate, intimidate or divert the Palestinians from their rightful struggle against the Zionist occupation will fail.

The year 1976, although full of sacrifices and suffering, brought the Palestinians one step nearer the achievement of their national goal. The Palestinians once again successfully survived one of the hardest years on their way to national liberation. This year the Palestinian Movement was on full alert and fully mobilized, fighting on several fronts to defend its existence and its independence.

In this year the eyes of the Palestinian people all over the world turned towards their Liberation Movement, which expresses their rightful aspirations towards peace, dignity and sovereignty in their homeland.

THE YEAR'S EVENTS

As 1976 began, a spark of hope for peace was kindled amongst the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, especially after the ceasefire concluded between the belligerents. In opposition to all agreements, however, the isolationist forces intensified their attacks against the Pales-

tinian refugee camps in the eastern suburbs of the Lebanese capital.

On January 3 they initiated a total blockade of the Palestinian refugee camp, Tal el-Zaatar. A week later they launched an attack on the smallest Palestinian refugee camp of Dbayeh where 250 Palestinian Christian families had been living since 1948. On January 14, 1976 they took over the camp after five days of continuous bombardments; they massacred many of the innocent population especially the men, raped women, destroyed the church and killed the priest.

The isolationist forces, supported by some elements of the Lebanese army, continued their attacks against the Lebanese slum quarters of Maslakh and Karantina in east Beirut where some 40,000 people were living. On January 19, the isolationist forces attacked these two quarters, massacring large numbers of the poor Moslem population. They even used bulldozers to flatten the shacks which had been home for people of Maslakh and Karantina, expelling the survivors, mostly women and children, to the western part of Beirut, thus working towards the partition of the country.

In order to stop their advance and halt their massacres, the Lebanese National Movement allied with the Palestinian Revolution launched a counter-offensive on isolationist strongholds in Damour and Saadiyat and took over these places on January 21.

During the battles of Damour and Saadiyat -- villages to the south of Beirut on the Sidon road -- the Christian-rightist forces in the Lebanese state tried to incite the Lebanese Army against the Palestinians and the Lebanese National Movement. It was at the end of January that the Lebanese Army split and, under the leadership of Lieutenant Ahmed Khatib,

a section joined the Lebanese National Movement.

The Syrians resumed their intervention and mediated to obtain a ceasefire between the belligerents.

In March rightist provocations continued in the north of the country. On March 11 a coup d'état, directed by Colonel Aziz Ahdab against President Frangieh, took place. But the President nevertheless refused to resign. On March 15, the Syrian Army halted the advance of the Lebanese Arab Army towards Frangieh's presidential palace in Ba'abda. It was this time that the Syrians started to turn against the Lebanese National Movement and the PLO. In April new Syrian troops entered Lebanon, blocking strategic positions. In the Bekaa valley they even went so far as to occupy some villages and disarm the population.

At this point the dispute between the PLO and Syria began to take on larger dimensions. In May, the Syrians imposed Elias Sarkis new president of Lebanon. At the end of May, large numbers of Syrian troops marched into Lebanon launching an offensive against the Lebanese cities.

On June 6, the Syrian-Palestinian conflict erupted, followed by the dissolution of the pro-Syrian Saika forces. In the southern Lebanese town of Sidon, on June 8, Syrian tanks were destroyed and many Syrian soldiers killed. In Bhamdoun, north of Beirut, the Syrian advance was halted.

Although the Palestinian refugee camp of Tal el-Zaatar was continually under siege, the isolationist forces on June 22 intensified their blockade, and started to attack and bomb the camp. The agony of the people in the besieged camp was heard all over the world, but the isolationists even refused to allow the evacuation of the wounded. Several interventions on the part of the International Red Cross to save the wounded, or to bring food to the hungry, milk to the children or

medicines to the wounded failed.

The people of Tal el-Zaatar resisted bravely till their last source of water was destroyed. After 50 days of complete blockade and continuous bombardments and more than 70 attacks, the people of Tal el-Zaatar were evacuated under the supervision of the International Red Cross and the Arab League Special Envoy, H.S. el-Kholy on August 12. Western news correspondents reported the massacres committed against the civilians at this time.

During this period, the international public opinion supported the Palestinians and the Lebanese National Movement against the Syrian intervention in favour of the isolationist forces.

After the terrorist act against the Semiramis Hotel in Damascus, the Syrians, on September 28 launched a full-scale attack against Palestinian and Lebanese National Movement positions in the mountains, in Aintoura, Quornail, Tarshish, Sanine, etc. ... Due to this massive attack, the Joint Forces withdrew from their positions.

On October 12, the Syrians attacked Bhamdoun which was in the hands of the Joint Forces, and launched another attack against the southern Lebanese towns of Jezzine and Mashghara. The heroic resistance of the Joint Forces, and especially the student brigade, in Bhamdoun occasioned heavy losses to the attacking Syrian forces.

As a consequence of the Bhamdoun battle, Saudi Arabia called for the convening of an urgent 6-party summit conference in Riad consisting of Saudi-Arabia, Kuwait, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, and the PLO. The Summit agreed to consider the Cairo Accord between the Lebanese state and the PLO as a basis for the settlement of the Lebanese-Palestinian conflict. The Syrian initiative was thus replaced by an Arab initiative. On October 25, at the Cairo Summit Conference, heads of state sanctioned the resolutions of the Riad summit and appointed an Arab de-

terrent force to establish peace in Lebanon.

In November, Arab peace-keeping forces entered all Lebanese areas, including both the eastern and the western parts of Beirut. The Syrian Army, however, still composes the bulk of the Arab deterrent forces.

It is important to mention that the Arab peace-keeping force was welcomed by the entire Lebanese population. The Lebanese and the Palestinian peoples were exhausted by the internecine killing which had continued for over 19 months. Peace is the demand of every human being.

Effects and Repercussions

The twelfth year of the Palestinian struggle has brought the Palestinian people one step nearer the achievement of their goal of liberation and independence. In 1976, the Palestinians scored several victories in spite of the adverse circumstances. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon left its traces, and had repercussions on different levels.

The Palestinian Level.

On the Palestinian level the Palestinian liberation movement continued its struggle to achieve its already-declared principles and objectives. Being engaged in defending their presence in the Lebanese arena during the previous year, the Palestinian people continued their struggle throughout 1976, fighting the same conspiracy propagated by the same elements.

- 1- The Palestinian liberation movement scored a victory against the conspiracy carried out by the isolationist forces and their allies, bravely repelling all military attacks waged against it.
- 2- The Palestinian liberation movement protected the independent will of the Palestinian people, rejecting all attempts at tutelage made by some Arab states, and especially by the Syrian regime.
- 3- Palestinian steadfastness in

Lebanon had repercussions amongst the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Waves of demonstrations broke out led by Palestinian youngsters cheering for the PLO and its leader, Yasser Arafat, and attacking with stones the tanks of the occupiers. These demonstrations constitute proof of the unity of the Palestinian people in Lebanon and inside the occupied territories.

- 4- The unity of the Palestinian combatant organisations was accomplished during the conflict in Lebanon, whereas Syrian-controlled organisations were isolated and partially dissolved. The fighters from these organisations joined the ranks of the Palestinian organisations.
- 5- As an expression of the Palestinian unity, the opposition within the Palestinian movement -- the Rejection Front -- fought bravely against the common enemy threatening the existence and independence of the Palestinian movement.
- 6- Nineteen months of continuous battle led to the improvement of the military standards and experience of the Palestinian Revolution and fighters.
- 7- Palestinian students from all over the world came to Lebanon to defend their revolution. Despite their insufficient training, the Student Brigade fought bravely on all fronts, offering many sacrifices and martyrs.

The Lebanese Level.

On the Lebanese level, the Lebanese civil war achieved many successes and left traces on all aspects of Lebanese daily life, social, economic and military.

- 1- During the fight against the common enemy, the unity of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples was cemented, both peoples having suffered the same circumstances and faced the same difficulties.
- 2- At the same time the unity of fighters was achieved, the Lebanese fighters standing side by

side with their Palestinian brothers in the same trench.

- 3- The cohesion of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement on all levels was also achieved. This was expressed, for example, in the formation of a joint political and military command to cope with all situations and handle all decision-making.
- 4- Both Palestinian and Lebanese fought together against the partition of Lebanon, and against the creation of a new state based on religious foundations, like the Zionist state, Israel.
- 5- The Lebanese people proved to be a courageous Arab people committed to their Arab cause. The Lebanese fighters fought bravely to defend their country and to obtain their social demands for the amendment of the old Lebanese constitution.

The Arab Level.

- 1- The Arab masses in all Arab countries supported the struggle of the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon.
- 2- The Palestinian Revolution proved to be a force which could neither be liquidated nor ignored. The Palestinian Revolution remains the expression of all Arab aspirations for the liberation of the occupied homeland.
- 3- The Arab progressive forces gave their committed support to the Palestinian Revolution in its battle of self-defence in Lebanon.
- 4- On the official level, the Arab states convened the summit conferences of Ryad and Cairo to find a solution to the Lebanese civil war. The Palestinian Revolution remains a determining political and military factor in the Middle East, even more important than before.
- 5- The plot instigated by some reactionary Arab elements and forces to liquidate or control the Palestinian movement failed.

The International Level.

On the international level, the Palestinian Revolution proved to be an important part of the inter-

national liberation movement struggling against imperialism and colonialism. The solidarity campaigns which have taken place all over the world in support of the just struggle of the Palestinian Revolution bear witness to the international respect and recognition which exist for the Palestinian cause and Revolution.

- 1- Solidarity campaigns all over the world in support of the Palestine cause and struggle found material expression in shipments of medicines, foodstuffs, clothes, etc.
- 2- In Western Europe, in France and Italy for example, solidarity campaigns and demonstrations took place in support of the Palestinian people, especially during the siege of Tal al-Zaatar.
- 3- International conferences also took place in support of the Palestinian people and in condemnation of the Syrian intervention, in particular the Helsinki Conference late September 1976.
- 4- The friendly Socialist countries condemned the conspiracy against Lebanon and the Palestinians.
- 5- Volunteers from all over the world, particularly doctors and medical personnel, came to help the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples overcome their difficulties.
- 6- Material support from friendly nations was sent to the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.
- 7- At the UN General Assembly last November a resolution in favour of the Palestinian people was adopted by 90 states, calling for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Israeli Level.

The Israelis, who stood most to gain from the inter-Arab conflict, were satisfied to see the Palestinians involved in defending themselves against the isolationist and Syrian attacks.

- 1- The Israelis supported, financed and encouraged the rightist

Lebanese factions to continue their war against the Palestinians.

- 2- In the south of Lebanon, isolationist elements in cooperation with the Israelis succeeded in occupying some Christian villages in order to create a Zionist-isolationist "security belt".
- 3- Inside the occupied territories demonstrations erupted in solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon. As an expression of cohesion with their beleaguered brothers in Lebanon, medicines and blankets were collected by Palestinians in the occupied territories and sent to Lebanon.
- 4- The Palestinians living under the Zionist yoke maintained their refusal of the occupation.
- 5- All Jordanian attempts to bribe the Palestinian mayors of towns in the occupied territories were rejected. The mayors expressed always their commitment to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- 6- Although involved in defending its presence in Lebanon, Palestinian military operations inside the occupied territories were carried out by Palestinian fighters against the main enemy of the Palestinian people.

Once again the Palestinian Revolution has passed through a hard year on the way to liberation. After the tragic and bloody events of this the twelfth year of revolutionary struggle, the Palestinian Revolution can start a new era of cooperation and understanding on an equal basis with the Arab states in general, and with Syria in particular. The end of the inter-Arab conflict is a great success for the Palestinian people. The end of the Syro-Palestinian conflict is a success for both peoples, as well as for the Arab cause. It is now the task of the Palestinian Liberation Movement to dedicate itself to the Palestine cause. The brave resistance of the Palestinian Revolution exceeded all bounds and foiled the conspiracy aimed at isolating the



A new generation... on the same road.

PLO from all future moves towards a Middle East settlement.

The PLO has proved to be an indispensable political factor in the Middle East which cannot be by-passed. The existence of the Palestinian people is a fact which cannot be ignored.

All Zionist and imperialist attempts to suppress the Palestinian identity at this stage were doomed to failure. Zionist propaganda, which for more than twenty years has bombarded international public opinion, could not finally conceal the Palestinian reality. Even the closest ally of Zionist Israel, the United States, cannot forever ignore the Palestinian people and the Palestinian aspiration towards nationhood.

The claim by some Western propaganda media that the Palestinian Revolution has been weakened is a misleading one. The Palestinian Revolution has not been weakened. Despite material and human

losses, the Palestinian Revolution has proved to be a strong liberation movement with a solid mass basis, for it struggles for a just cause and represents the aspirations of the Palestinian people for freedom and independence.

While stepping confidently into its thirteenth year, the Palestinian Liberation Movement feels that it has achieved many successes for the Palestinian people. It is well aware that there will never be an end to the plots against the Palestinian people and their just cause. In the year 1977 the plots will take on another form. The Zionists will continue their delaying tactics and their buying-time policy in order to deprive the Palestinian people of their national rights.

The Palestinian Revolution is, however, fully aware of all these tactics and will continue its just struggle using all means -- military, political and diplomatic -- against the Zionist occupation of our Palestinian homeland. ●

PALESTINE NOTES



ARAFAT SENDS LETTERS OF CONGRATULATIONS TO CASTRO, WALDHEIM

Yasser Arafat on December 9 sent letters of congratulations to Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, on his election as Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Cuba; and to Dr. Kurt Waldheim on his re-election as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The text of the letter to comrade Castro read as follows:

"On behalf of the Palestinian people, the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and in my own name, I send you the warmest and most heartfelt congratulations on your election as the Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Cuba.

"Our people and their revolutionaries, who highly appreciate your persistent struggle against world imperialism and your firm stands in support of the just causes of the peoples of the world, among them the cause of our Palestinian people, are confident that the militant Cuban people will achieve further progress and development under your wise revolutionary leadership, and that further firm Cuban support will be extended to the struggling

peoples."

The letter to Dr. Waldheim stated:

"On behalf of the PLO Executive Committee, and in my own name, I would like to express my most sincere congratulations on your re-election as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

"In reviewing the development of the Palestine question at the United Nations, I recall that you have personally shared, through your honourable stands, in giving our just cause its place, whether in the UN General Assembly or in the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

"My warmest and most heartfelt congratulations to you. I am deeply confident that you will continue to participate, with even greater determination in helping the just causes of the world's peoples, and in achieving the rights of man."

ARAFAT AGAIN MEETS QUADRAPARTITE COMMITTEE

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, on December 16 met with the Ambassadors of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, in their capacity as members of the Quadrupartite Committee. The one-and-a-half-hour meeting discussed the implementation of the Cairo Agreement and its supplements.

ARAFAT CONGRATULATES VIETNAMESE WORKERS PARTY ON FOURTH CONGRESS

Yasser Arafat on December 15 sent his congratulations to the Vietnamese Workers' Party on the occasion of the Party's Fourth Congress in Hanoi. The letter read: "In the name of the Palestinian people, of the PLO Executive

Committee, and in my own name, I send you our militant greetings, wishing your Congress every success. The holding of the Congress in these circumstances, and after the liberation and unification of Vietnam, proves the great responsibilities your militant party is now shouldering. We are confident that the wise leadership which achieved victory is capable of leading the country towards construction with the same ability."

Another letter of congratulations was sent by the Fateh Central Committee to the Congress.

Meanwhile, in his report to the Fourth Congress of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, the First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, Le Duan, stressed the Party's commitment to support the struggle for national liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and to aid all militants in their struggle for national independence and social progress.

The Hanoi correspondent of the Palestine News Agency, WAFA, reported that the Palestinian delegation to the Congress was warmly welcomed when it was introduced during the opening session. A lunch was held in honour of the Palestinian delegation by Tranh Du, a member of the Party's Central Committee and Deputy Commissar for Propaganda of the Vietnamese Armed Forces.

The Congress of the Vietnamese Workers' Party is the first to convene since the full liberation and the unification of the country.

ARAFAT HEADS MEETING OF JOINT COMMAND

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, on December 8 headed a meeting of

the Joint Command of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. The meeting dealt with the current situation in Lebanon, and the incidents which took place on December 6 at the Nahr al-Bared camp in North Lebanon, in particular.

As regards Nahr al-Bared, the participants in the meeting adopted strict resolutions to punish the perpetrators of these incidents, and called upon the committee of inquiry to continue its investigations of all the destructive elements whatever their identities, in order to prevent the disturbance of peace in Lebanon.

The meeting also dealt with some violations in the spheres of information and discussed the situation in South Lebanon extensively. The participants finally decided to hold a meeting of the Palestinian leadership the following day, to discuss several political and information issues.

Also on December 8, Arafat received a letter from Algerian President Houari Boumedienne, delivered to him by the Algerian Ambassador to Lebanon, Muhammad Yazid.

On December 9, Yasser Arafat met with the Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Lebanon, and discussed with him the current situation on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels.

STATEMENT BY AUTHORITY PALESTINIAN SOURCE ON NAHR AL-BARED INCIDENTS

An authoritative source in the Palestinian Revolution last night commented as follows on the incident which took place in the Nahr al-Bared camp in North Lebanon on December 6:

"What occurred in the Nahr al-Bared camp in the way of the indiscriminate and irresponsible use

of arms, which led to the death and injury of a number of people, points to the danger of the new plot which is an extension of the overall conspiracy against the Palestinian Revolution. This new plot takes the form of Palestinian internecine killing inside the camps in order to weaken the political and military situation of the Palestinian Revolution.

"While condemning the bloody incident in Nahr al-Bared camp which resulted in the use of armed violence, we warn against the suspicious hands which instigated this incident and will continue to instigate other similar regrettable incidents that will affect the procession and unity of our people."

ARAFAT MEETS PRESIDENT ASAD; CALLS ON KHADDAM IN HOSPITAL

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, on December 3, 1976, met with Syrian President, Hafez al-Asad. The one-and-a-half hour meeting dealt with the current situation in general and the Lebanese crisis in particular.

In the afternoon of the same day Arafat paid a visit, together with a delegation from the PLO Executive Committee, to Abdel Halim Khaddam, Syrian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, at the al-Muwasa Hospital in Damascus, following the attempt on Khaddam's life on December 1 last.

PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP TAKES DECISIVE MEASURES FOLLOWING SHATILA CLASHES

The Palestinian leadership on December 23 held a meeting to discuss the artificially-instigated local clashes which took place in

Shatila camp, Beirut. The necessary practical measures were taken to put an end to such incidents, and to implement the required decisive means to erase their causes.

The Palestinian leadership decided to reinforce the Armed Struggle Command's units as a strike force, in which all factions of the Resistance Movement will participate. All powers were given to this force to ensure the security of the camps, to strike firmly at anyone who tries to harm the security and peace of the camps, and to answer any fire immediately, no matter what its source.

OFFICIAL STATEMENT BY PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP

An official Palestinian source in Beirut on December 17 made the following statement:

"The Palestinian leadership, including representatives of all factions, met to deal with the urgent current issues. After a study of reports on meetings of the Quadripartite Committee, and of reports without foundation regarding weapons carried by some newspapers; and after a study of yesterday's events in Burj al-Barajneh and Shatila camps, the following points were adopted:

1. With regard to the Quadripartite Committee's meetings, the Palestinian leadership firmly denies all reports on details carried by *al-Nahar*, *al-'Amal* and *al-Bayraq* newspapers, with the knowledge that the Resistance has already exposed its point of view, which it always affirms, out of its concern to provide for the needs and requirements of the Resistance in defence of its camps and of the presence of its forces to confront any attacks by the Zionist enemy and to meet the needs implied by its duties in the national struggle.

The Resistance has informed the Quadripartite Committee of its

opinion on all the points at issue.

2. The Palestinian Resistance warns Lebanese and Arab public opinion against suspicious attempts by the isolationist forces to depict the Palestinian Resistance's position as interfering with the process of peace in Lebanon, by inventing lies about the stand of the Resistance vis-à-vis the Quadripartite Committee, in addition to repeated provocative operations, and the commentaries of newspapers and of the so-called 'Voice of Lebanon' radio station against the Palestinian people, their presence and Revolution.

3. The Palestinian leadership, representing all factions, has expressed its outright denunciation of armed clashes, and has condemned these actions, affirming its principled stand of reliance on democratic dialogue as the method of organizing relations between the various factions of the Palestinian Revolution.

The leadership has also taken several measures to prevent the resumption of such clashes, and to confront any party which wants to drag the Palestinian Revolution into an armed conflict inside the camps.

4. The Palestinian leadership calls upon all its elements to be cautious and alert against attempts at inciting trouble and triggering off incidents inside the camps on the part of any suspicious characters, and affirms the importance of the unity of Palestinian ranks to confront all dangers."

Palestine at the UN

The UN General Assembly on November 24 adopted the resolution on the "Question of Palestine", marking a new step forward for the PLO on the international level.

On this occasion, Wafa's Political Editor wrote the following commentary:

"The special importance of this resolution is due neither to its being a decisive proof of the broad international support and under-



Voting for the Palestinian state at the UN general assembly.

standing for the just and legitimate cause of our people, nor to the consecration of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

"Its special importance lies rather in its adoption at a time when the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement have been heroically resisting the conspiracy being implemented in Lebanon for the past 19 months.

"Encouraged by the increasing international support for our cause which was a result of our armed revolutionary struggle inside and outside occupied Palestine, and which made the Palestine cause that of the whole world, our people are determined to carry on the struggle until they achieve all their goals, which the international community has reaffirmed.

"The just struggle of our people for the right to self-determination and of return to their homeland, reinforced by such international resolutions, deals a blow to imperialism, Zionism and their tools in the region.

"This is particularly the case for US imperialism, whose stand dur-

ing the debate on the "Question of Palestine" and during the voting on the resolution regarding the Palestinian people's exercise of their inalienable rights was contradictory to that of the international community as a whole.

"This resolution, which reaffirmed the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to independence and to sovereignty, was a victory manufactured by the Palestinian will, Palestinian military and political action and by the Palestinian will, Palestinian military and political action and by the escalating popular thrust all over occupied Palestine. It was a victory manufactured by our people for Lebanon and Palestine united in the trench of steadfastness, and a victory for the Arab Nation in the face of imperialist domination and control, and of its tools in Palestine, Lebanon and elsewhere. It was, finally, a victory for all the militant peoples and the forces of freedom, progress and peace in this world, and a sweeping defeat for the enemies of the people, the enemies of freedom, progress and peace."

RESOLUTIONS OF PLO CENTRAL COUNCIL

The PLO Central Council issued the following communiqué at the end of its meetings in Damascus on December 15:

"At the invitation of the PLO Executive Committee, the PLO Central Council convened in Damascus between the 12 and 14 December, 1976. The meeting -- which came in the wake of the latest developments of the dangerous Lebanese crisis -- was held in Syria as an expression of the depth of the strategic relations between Syria and the Palestinian Revolution, and of Palestinian-Syrian concern to consolidate and reinforce these relations, out of a belief in the historic role of the Egyptian-Syrian-Palestinian alliance in building Arab solidarity capable of confronting the forces of Zionism and imperialism and of realizing the aims of our Arab Nation in liberating our occupied land and regaining our usurped rights.

"It was therefore natural that the Council should analyse and evaluate the Lebanese crisis and should draw lessons from it, in order to guarantee the safety of the procession of Arab and Palestinian struggle. In this context, the Council welcomed the end of the fighting and the return to normality in fraternal Lebanon.

"The Council moreover expressed support for the resolutions of the Cairo and Riyadh summits, and commitment to the necessity of struggle to ensure the success of these resolutions. The Council warned against attempts to sabotage them, particularly by the Zionist entity, and also reiterated the PLO's firm stand of commitment to the Cairo Agreement and its annexes, considering it the formula organizing Lebanese-Palestinian relations. The Council saluted the Lebanese people for their stand with our cause and the

struggle of our people, and expressed hope that they would continue their political dialogue for the prosperity, unity and independence of Lebanon.

"The Central Council reviewed the question of Palestinian national unity and praised highly the restoration of normal relations between the factions of the Resistance Movement and between comrades-in-arms. It stressed the necessity of securing national unity on democratic and frontal bases, and of consolidating the role of the PLO's institutions at all levels and in all fields. The Council requested the continuation of a democratic dialogue in order to strengthen the bases of national unity.

"In the context of Palestinian-Arab relations, the Central Council called for more efforts to consolidate Arab solidarity, in accordance with the resolutions of the Algiers, Rabat and Cairo Summits, and in service of the objectives of Arab and Palestinian struggle against Zionism and imperialism, and in order to foil all suspect liquidationary projects.

"The Council welcomed the restoration of normal relations between the PLO and Syria, and confirmed the PLO's desire to maintain this relationship and strengthen it so as to serve the common national aims, support the Arab nationalist movement and escalate the struggle of our Palestinian people.

"The Council reviewed the conditions of our people in the occupied territories, and highly praised their steadfastness, their fierce uprising and their absolute rejection of the occupation and its racist policies of settlement, annexation and local administration and the violation of the holy places.

"The Council then took the necessary decisions to support the steadfastness of our people, guarantee the continuation of their courageous national struggle, and support their national institutions.

"The Council also saluted the cohesion between the struggle of our people inside and outside the occupied territories and their rallying around the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

"The Council then listened to an overall report on the political activities undertaken by the PLO Executive Committee on the international level, at the United Nations as well as through bilateral contacts. The Council highly praised all the successes registered by the PLO in terms of extending international recognition of our people's national rights, the latest of which was the success at the 31st session of the UN General Assembly, where increasing international support for our struggle and increasing isolation of Israel and the USA became obvious.

"The Council noted that the liquidation of Israeli occupation in the occupied territories and the recognition of Palestinian national rights, particularly the right to return to Palestine, to self-determination and the right to establish their independent state on their national soil, are the subject of international unanimity, with the exception of the Zionist enemy and its ally, the USA.

"The Council, in this domain, is happy to express its appreciation to all its friends in the international theater, especially the Non-Aligned group, the USSR, Popular China, the Socialist countries, the Islamic and African groups, and all democratic forces in the world which are fighting to support our just struggle.

"The Council discussed the holding of the Palestinian National Congress and the necessity of increasing the number of members in the new Congress, in light of the decisions taken previously. The date of the meeting will be decided as soon as possible, and will be announced no later than February next year.

"In its discussions, the Council stressed the different dimensions of the current phase and the action necessary within the context of a provisional political program.

"At the end of their meetings, the members of the PLO Central Council met with Syrian President Hafez al-Asad. A frank and fraternal discussion took place on current issues in general, and Palestinian-Syrian relations in particular.

A fraternal and positive atmosphere prevailed during the meeting, inspired by the common national interest and the realization of the national goals of our people.

"The Council's meetings ended with agreement on the continuation of contacts between the various institutions of the PLO and groups of the Resistance Movement, in order to carry out the directions and recommendations of the Council."

IMPORTANT PALESTINIAN COMMUNIQUE

Beirut, 27-11, WAFA:

A meeting of leaders of all groups of the Palestinian Revolution was held on November 26 to study the current situation in Palestine, Lebanon, the Arab world, and on the international level. The following important communiqué was issued:

"The Lebanese events were not a mere coincidence, nor a result of Palestinian violations of the Cairo agreement, as the isolationists claim. They were, and still are, part of a conspiracy, a continuation of the Jordan massacres. This conspiracy aims at liquidating the Palestinian Revolution, which has been defended by its brave fighters for the past 11 years, in spite of the fierceness of the Zionist-imperialist attack on the Revolution, and the numerous tools and methods used in this attack. The Palestinian Revolution, however, has continued to face all conspiracies firmly and bravely, and

has remained victorious and confident through crushing these plans and the tools which try to control the fate of this cause and this Revolution.

"Today, after the latest developments in Lebanon following the Cairo-Riyad summit meetings, the Revolution sees the necessity of clarifying what happened and is still happening to its masses. For with all our reservations and opposition to the Syrian military intervention out of our concern to direct all potential towards the Zionist enemy and not to clash with the Syrian forces with whom we shared the same trench on many battlefields, after the Cairo and Riyadh summit meetings we have facilitated the entrance of the

Arab Deterrent Forces, which are mainly composed of Syrian forces, and executed our commitments under the terms of the Cairo agreement concerning our withdrawal from all regions in which we were positioned to defend our Revolution and people. We have done this in spite of the restrictions placed by the Security Forces on the movement of our cadres and members while, at the same time, the isolationists are allowed numerous privileges, such as freedom of movement and the transport of weapons, and are allowed to cooperate with Israel to establish a demilitarized area in the South to prevent our presence there on the basis of the Cairo agreement.

"In spite of all this, we are still controlling ourselves, ignoring the provocations carried out by the forces which accompanied the Arab Deterrent Forces, under a Palestinian cover, to terrorize the masses and practice their piratical methods against them.

"On the basis of this brief review of events, we record the following facts, in order that the responsibility for the ensuing stage be clear before the Arab and Palestinian masses and before the whole world:

First: The Palestinian leadership stresses the unity of all its factions

throughout the Arab world and in occupied Palestine, out of their commitment to preserve the Palestine cause from liquidation or from any attempts to harm its sacredness under various slogans. This commitment only has practical relevance if the Palestinian Revolution remains strong and free from all forms of tutelage and subjugation, and from attempts to weaken or liquidate it.

Second: The Palestinian Revolution, which is the sole legitimate representative of the will of the Palestinian masses, warns against international and Arab moves aimed at liquidating the Palestine cause and dealing a blow to the aspirations of the Palestinian people who have stood firm, using all means to prevent any Arab or international party from harming their national rights on their own land and their right to self-determination.

Third: The attempts by Israel, imperialism and certain Arab regimes to create an alternative Palestinian leadership, as well as talk about 'extremists' and 'moderates', aim to create confusion and distortion, and rob Palestinian revolutionary action of its tools of struggle, creating leaderships servile to the regimes, and behind which these regimes can hide. These attempts ultimately aim to betray our people and nation with a pre-planned settlement whose pillars are the project for a confederal union or a 'United Kingdom', or other projects which aim to end the state of belligerency with Israel, achieve a reconciliation with it and recognize it.

"We stress that the leadership of the Revolution has emerged from the Palestinian masses and was not appointed by any Arab will or regime. In this sense, it represents the independent will of our people and the independent Palestinian decision. It will remain committed to the leadership of this people and to the protection of its cause and Revolution, until its national and patriotic aspirations for com-

plete national independence are realized.

Fourth: The Arab regimes are held responsible for any solution based on the liquidation of the Palestine cause, and the Arab people will be held responsible to make their regimes accountable for any deviation or treason in that direction.

Fifth: The leadership of the Palestinian Revolution will stand firm in the face of any international - Arab settlement project in the region which does not include the pre-conditions of full-scale Palestinian national independence on Palestinian soil.

The Palestinian leadership further reaffirms its rejection of Resolution 242 as a basis for the solution of the Palestine problem.

Sixth: What is currently taking place in South Lebanon in the way of an overt Israeli-isolationist alliance, after the Palestinian Revolution had implemented the Cairo agreement in harmony with the Cairo Summit resolutions, makes it imperative for all Arab and international patriotic forces to declare their complete unity with the Palestinian Revolution.

"The Palestinian Revolution also reasserts its determination to confront the Israeli-isolationist plot in the South with all means and with all resources at the disposal of the Palestinian and Lebanese masses. It further calls upon the states which participated in the Cairo summit to be faithful to their commitments, so as to enable the Resistance to exercise its right to a presence, to take action and to continue the struggle against the Zionist enemy.

Seventh: The leadership of the Revolution, while reiterating its unity with the Lebanese National Movement and the heroic Lebanese masses, is confident that this unity will be reinforced by the awareness of the Lebanese masses of their patriotic and national role, and

that this unity will persist until the conspiracy is repulsed and the will of the Lebanese people and their National Movement is victorious.

In this context, the Palestinian leadership stresses its concern to halt the bloodshed in Lebanon, and its concern for the unity of the land and people of Lebanon, and for its national independence. It declares its support for any action aimed to realize a democratic overall political solution, which would restore normality to the country.

Eighth: The Palestinian Revolution, which is proudly following up the uprising of the Palestinian people against Zionist occupation and against the intrigues of the Jordanian régime to impose liquidationary and capitulationist settlements, pledges to our people to continue the struggle -- steadfast in the face of all conspiracies and conspirators -- so as to enable the Palestinian people to regain their national rights and impose their will to achieve self-determination over their national soil"

ABU LUTF MEETS WITH ITALIAN COMMUNIST MPs

Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department, on December 1 met with representatives of the Italian Communist Party parliamentary group in Rome. The Director of the PLO office in Rome, Nimr Hammad, also attended the two-and-a-half-hour meeting, during which the participants engaged in an extensive discussion of the situation in the Middle East in light of the results of the Cairo and Riyadh Summit conferences.

During the meeting, Abu Lutf explained the stand of the Pales-

tinian Revolution and its commitment to all agreements it had signed. He also stressed the importance of Arab solidarity in confronting the major enemy of the Palestinian people and the Arab Nation. The Italian side reaffirmed its solidarity with the Palestinian people and its continued support for their just cause.

Meanwhile, *L'Unita*, the organ of the Italian Communist Party, on December 2 published a press statement on the meeting, in which both the Italian and Palestinian sides reaffirmed their joint stand with regard to the Middle East problem in general and the Palestine question in particular, which they called the 'essence of this problem'. The Italian Communist Party reaffirmed that the only way to peace in the Middle East was the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, under PLO leadership.

The meeting is considered as very important, because it extensively discussed the stand of the European Common Market countries in general, and Italy's stand in particular, with regard to their abstention in the vote on the Palestine Question at the United Nations' General Assembly.

Wafa's correspondent added that the Italian Communist Party considered the latest UN resolution evidence of Israeli isolation on the international level in general, and among progressive and democratic circles in particular. As for the Lebanese situation, the Italian side expressed its appreciation of the PLO's responsible stand, stressing that the Palestinian Revolution and its national leadership were, since the very beginning of the Lebanese war, in a state of self-defence, and that this leadership had retained its unity and independence.



Arafat heads the Palestinian delegation to Yugoslavia.

ARAFAT IN BELGRADE

Yasser Arafat arrived on December 4, 1976 in the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade, at the head of a Palestinian delegation including Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar, Yasser Abed Rabbo and Talal Naji.

The Yugoslav Premier, the Deputy Defence Minister, several Yugoslav officials and Arab

diplomats in Belgrade received Arafat and the delegation accompanying him at the airport.

Arafat made the following statement on his arrival in Belgrade:

"We know very well that the Yugoslav people have been close friends of the Palestinians and it is

natural at this critical time through which the Middle East is passing, to discuss with our friends all matters which interest the two parties."

It is to be noted that Yasser Arafat received an official invitation from the Yugoslav President to visit Belgrade late last month.

PALESTINIAN-YUGOSLAV JOINT COMMUNIQUE

A Palestinian-Yugoslav Joint Communiqué was issued on December 5, following bilateral talks between the Palestinian delegation headed by Yasser Arafat, and a Yugoslav delegation led by President Joseph Broz Tito and including top Yugoslav officials. The talks took place during an official visit to Yugoslavia by a PLO delegation from 3-5 December.

President Tito received Yasser Arafat who briefed him on the situation in the Middle East and in Lebanon, and on the PLO's activities in the light of the Cairo and Riyadh Summit meetings. Arafat also thanked President Tito, on be-

half of the PLO, for Yugoslavia's support and aid to the Palestinian people in their just struggle.

The Yugoslav Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the deputy Defence Minister, the deputy Foreign Minister and other top Foreign Ministry officials took part in the talks, while the Palestinian delegation included Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar, Yasser Abed Rabbo and Talal Naji, all PLO Executive Committee members, and Ibrahim al-Khatib, Director of the PLO Office in Belgrade. The talks took place in an atmosphere of total frankness and understanding regarding all issues on the working

agenda. The Yugoslav side expressed its appreciation of Arafat's and the PLO's immense efforts to find a solution to the Lebanese crisis and to consolidate Arab relations, which constitute an important contribution towards solving the Middle East crisis and the Palestine question.

Both sides agreed that there can be no solution of the Middle East crisis, and no just and lasting peace in this region without a solution of the Palestine question on the basis of the realization of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independ-

ent and sovereign Palestinian state. Both sides positively evaluated the results of the Cairo and Riyadh Arab Summit meetings, whose resolutions contributed to restoring calm in Lebanon, paved the way to solving the Lebanese crisis, and helped strengthen inter-Arab relations, particularly between the confrontation states. The two sides emphatically approved the reaffirmation of the PLO's recognition as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

The Yugoslav and Palestinian delegations expressed their extreme anxiety about foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon which might aim at disrupting any settlement in that country. They both strongly condemned Israel's aggressive stand and threats against the independence and unity of Lebanon, which might lead to the expansion of conflict in that region.

Finally, the Joint Communiqué stated that, on the basis of its deep understanding of the Palestinian people's aspirations for freedom and independence, Socialists, Non-Aligned Yugoslavia will pursue its aid to, and support of, the Palestinian people's struggle for liberation, and the PLO as their sole legitimate representative.

PLO DELEGATION MEETS MALAGASY FOREIGN MINISTER

The Malagasy Foreign Minister on December 22 received a PLO delegation, and discussed with its members the latest developments of the Palestine cause, the situation in Lebanon, and Arab-African cooperation.

During the meeting, the Malagasy Foreign Minister reaffirmed his country's support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and their right to recover their legitimate national rights; and he called upon all countries and peace-loving forces to exert pressure on the racist Zionist entity to withdraw its forces from the occupied Arab territories immediately.

PALESTINE NOTES

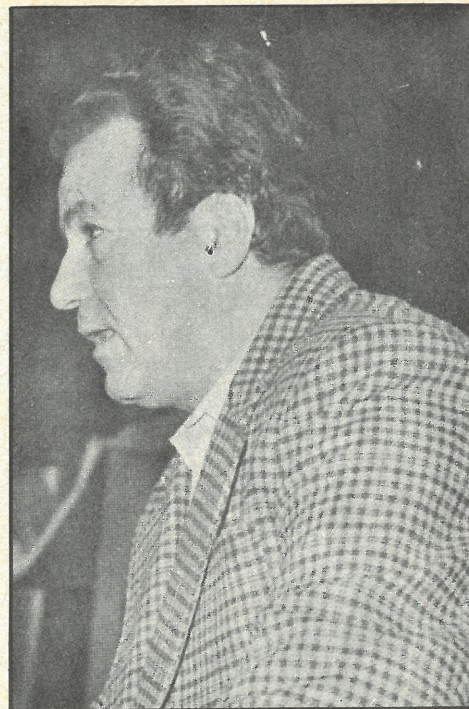
WAFA INTERVIEW WITH ABU LUTF

The Palestine News Agency, WAFA, on December 23 carried an interview with Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department, who discussed and evaluated the Egyptian-Syrian Joint Communiqué as it related to the Palestine problem, the independence of the Palestinian role, Geneva, and Arab solidarity. The text of the interview follows:

Q:- What is your evaluation of the Egyptian-Syrian communiqué, particularly as regards the PLO and the Palestine question?

A:- The joint communiqué has reaffirmed the decisions of the Rabat and Cairo Summit meetings, which had confirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It also supported the resolutions of the 12th Palestinian National Congress on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on any part of Palestinian soil liberated from the enemy.

The communiqué moreover destroyed any doubts as to the confirmation of these resolutions; for there is no longer any doubt that the PLO, with full Arab approval, is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The communiqué also stressed the



Farouk Kaddoumi, Abu Lutf.

independence of Palestinian action in all fields, whether on the level of decisions, stands, activities or political moves.

Q:- Do you believe that the Egyptian-Syrian communiqué has definitely blocked the path to any force other than the PLO representing the Palestinian people?

A:- The communiqué was undoubtedly clear in determining the independence of Palestinian work and in confirming the aims of Palestinian action, and its support on all levels, the Arab and international. The communiqué also clearly pointed out the achievements which Palestinian action has secured on both the Arab and international levels.

Q:- The communiqué mentioned the Geneva Conference; what is the position of the PLO on this question?

A:- The emphasis on the independence of the Palestinian role is an important element of Arab policy. On the Arab level, this situation gives the PLO more freedom of choice, and of refusal with regard to political moves on the international level.

We are undoubtedly a people seeking a just and lasting peace, on condition that our national rights,

including the right of return and to self-determination, sovereignty and independence, which are mentioned in the communiqué, are achieved.

As regards the Geneva Conference, this issue will be laid down before the Palestinian National Congress, which will convene next February. But it is important to point out that the Congress has already decided that the PLO will not participate in the Geneva Conference on the basis of Security Council resolution 242. The omission of any mention of resolutions 242 and 338 in the Syrian-Egyptian communiqué is an important matter.

Since the resolutions of the Twelfth Palestinian National Congress, we have worked in the service of our cause on the international level, through the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, and have achieved important and advanced resolutions supporting our national rights. It is worth noting that the Syrian-Egyptian communiqué has taken note of the General Assembly resolutions concerning the Palestine Question, and the importance of the Security Council in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region.

Q:- How do you view the resignation of the Israeli Cabinet in the light of the mention in the communiqué of the question of peace?

A:- The resignation of the Israeli Cabinet is evidence of political embarrassment among the Israeli ruling circles in the face of growing international pressure and support for our national rights. This clearly reveals that Israel is not willing to have a just and lasting peace, as it is at the same time continuing its aggressive and expansionist policy, which will inevitably lead to a new war. Meanwhile, US policy continues to back Israel in its aggressive and colonialist designs. Therefore, we should stress the role of our friend the USSR in its support for Arab potential in confronting Israeli ag-

gression, for the regaining of occupied Arab territories and for the achievement of the Palestinian people's national rights.

After the negative and dangerous effects on Arab solidarity of Kissinger's step-by-step policy, and the splits and local wars this policy has brought about, the role of the USSR was becoming clearer, and emerging as a positive constructive and friendly role in confrontation of the US-Israeli alliance against our Arab Nation.

It is, therefore, imperative that we strengthen and develop Arab-Soviet ties of friendship, and the PLO is in a position which enables it to realize this step.

Q:- Do you believe that the coming Arab-Israeli conflict will only be a political one, or are there new possibilities of war?

A:- The Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be only political, for Israel is a military arsenal and the USA is determined to develop and support the Israeli military machine. The likelihood of a new war is on the horizon, in spite of the repeated calls for peace in the Arab region, which Israel continually insists on ignoring.

Q:- What about Arab solidarity and clearing the Arab atmosphere in the light of the joint communiqué?

A:- We hope that more Arab efforts will be exerted to clear the Arab atmosphere of disputes and prepare an effective framework for Arab solidarity and support of the Arab confrontation forces.

There is no doubt that Iraq, with its military and economic potential and its militant history, plays an important role in confrontation and in the Arab march towards liberation and unity. Iraq is one of the Arab confrontation states which participated in the October War, and with all its military potential it played an important role in reinforcing Arab solidarity. Such participation constitutes a real nucleus for confrontation, around which all Arab countries can rally. ●



The Palestinian delegation visiting Rumania.

PALESTINIAN-RUMANIAN TALKS IN BUCHAREST

Yasser Arafat and a Palestinian delegation comprising PLO Executive Committee members, Yasser Abed Rabbo, Talal Naji and Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar, arrived in Bucharest on December 5 from Belgrade, and were welcomed at the airport by high-ranking Rumanian officials. Palestinian-Rumanian bilateral talks are scheduled to begin on December 6, centring on the situation in the Middle East, the Palestine question and the efforts exerted by the PLO to solve the Lebanese crisis in light of the resolutions adopted by the Cairo and Riyadh Summit Conferences.

After Rumania, Arafat and the delegation accompanying him are expected to visit the Soviet Union, at the invitation of its Government.

In Belgrade meanwhile, Arafat on December 4 met for several hours with President Tito, during which time the Yugoslav President stressed the necessity of finding a balance in international relations in order to realize Arab aims of liberating the occupied territories

and regaining Palestinian national rights.

President Tito told Arafat that Yugoslavia intends to make the utmost efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the Palestinian people and consolidate the stand of the Palestinian Revolution. Arafat said

that the Riyadh and Cairo resolutions represent a victory for the Arabs, but that all dangers cannot be excluded. He then expressed his confidence that the Palestinian Revolution will be able to overcome all anticipated and unexpected difficulties with the aid of Yugoslavia.

ARAFAT MEETS ARAB DIPLOMATS, STUDENTS IN BUCHAREST

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, and the delegation accompanying him on December 6 met with the heads of Arab diplomatic missions in Rumania, and discussed with them the situation in Lebanon and the efforts made by the PLO for the restoration of peace in Lebanon.

Arafat then paid a visit to the

Palestinian victims of the Lebanese civil war who are being treated in Rumanian hospitals.

Later, during a friendly meeting with Palestinian and Arab students in Rumania, Arafat discussed the latest developments and stressed the necessity of consolidating Palestinian national unity, pointing to the unity of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement.

Palestinian Delegation in Rumania

The following Palestinian-Rumanian joint communiqué was issued on December 7 on the conclusion of a visit to Rumania by a Palestinian delegation headed by Yasser Arafat:

"In response to an invitation by comrade Nicolai Ceaucescu, Secretary-General of the Rumanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, paid a visit to Rumania from 5-7 December.

"During the visit, Ceaucescu held talks with Yasser Arafat. The meeting was attended on the Rumanian side by Emile Bubu, member of the Executive Political Committee and Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party's Central Committee; Sefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee and Secretary of the CP Central Committee; Cornel Bakousti, member of the CP Central Committee and Deputy Foreign Minister; and on the Palestinian side by PLO Executive Committee members Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar, Yasser Abed Rabbo and Talal Naji, and Emad Abdin, PLO permanent representative in Bucharest.

"During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, President Ceaucescu and Yasser Arafat exchanged information on issues of interest to both Rumania and the PLO, discussed the future prospects of relations between Rumania and the PLO, and exchanged points of view on certain world problems, particularly with regard to the Middle East.

"The development of bonds of friendship, cooperation and solidarity between Rumania and the PLO were especially confirmed by the firm desire of both parties to reinforce and expand those relations in a constant manner, in ac-

cordance with the interests of both the Rumanian and Palestinian peoples, for the sake of peace and justice in the Middle East and in the whole world, and in order to confirm the rights of the peoples to self-determination in complete freedom and independence.

"Both sides stressed the importance of continuous dialogue at all levels between the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the PLO, particularly talks and exchanges of points of view.

"Within this framework, President Ceaucescu warmly saluted the visit by Yasser Arafat to Rumania, which provided the opportunity for a new contribution to developing the relations between the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the PLO, to discuss the means for the achievement of a just solution of the Middle East conflict and to provide for the implementation of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights.

"Yasser Arafat highly praised the achievements of the Rumanian people, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Secretary-General of the Party, the economic, social and cultural development of the country, as well as Rumania's and President Ceaucescu's cooperation in supporting the cause of peace and justice in the world.

"Arafat also praised the stand of Rumania and of President Ceaucescu in support of the Palestinian people's struggle, which springs from President Ceaucescu's deep comprehension of the Palestinian people's just cause and from his concern to provide for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

"The PLO Chairman expressed the thanks of the Palestinian people and of the PLO to Rumania for the feelings of solidarity and the political, diplomatic, financial and moral backing of-

PALESTINE NOTES

ferred to the Palestinian people, support which is embodied by the presence in Rumania of Palestinian students in economic, social and cultural fields necessary to the Palestinian people.

"President Ceaucescu saluted Arafat's efforts to strengthen Arab solidarity and to achieve a settlement of the situation in Lebanon, as well as his struggle for the realization of Palestinian national rights.

"President Ceaucescu and Arafat evaluated the results of the Cairo and Riyadh summit conferences which opened the way for a settlement of the situation in Lebanon, and stressed their support for the Palestinian resistance movement as represented by the PLO, sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Both sides expressed their satisfaction as regards the end to the fighting in Lebanon, and their hope that this would lead to a solution between the Palestinians themselves of their problems without any foreign intervention. Both sides considered that an independent, sovereign, unified and democratic Lebanese state will serve the true interests of the Lebanese people, all Arab countries and the cause of world peace and security.

"After studying the current development of the situation in the Middle East, both sides stressed the danger to the cause of peace as represented by Israel's continued occupation of Arab land and the denial of the Palestinian people's freedom to exercise their national rights.

"Both sides on this occasion reaffirmed their stand as regards the realization of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, which should be based on Israel's immediate withdrawal from all occupied Arab land, and a just solution to the Palestine problem through

allowing the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable national rights, including the right to return to their homes and property, and to establish their free and independent state in harmony with their just aspirations, according to the UN Charter, principles and resolutions.

"The two sides alluded to the active role which the UN must play in order to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and to solve the issue of the achievement by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights,

including that of establishing their independent sovereign state. They also welcomed the activity of the Committee of Twenty for the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights.

"President Ceaucescu and Arafat stressed the importance of the intensification by all peace-loving, all revolutionary, progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist states of their diplomatic and political activity with the aim of taking speedy measures in the way of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

"The Rumanian President and Arafat agreed to safeguard their mutual relations and to continue consultations with regard to future developments in the Middle East, in order to maintain cooperation towards a just settlement of the Palestine problem.

"Yasser Arafat expressed his thanks to comrade Ceaucescu for his invitation to re-visit Rumania and for the warm welcome he had received, which was evidence of reciprocal feelings of friendship, esteem and respect."●

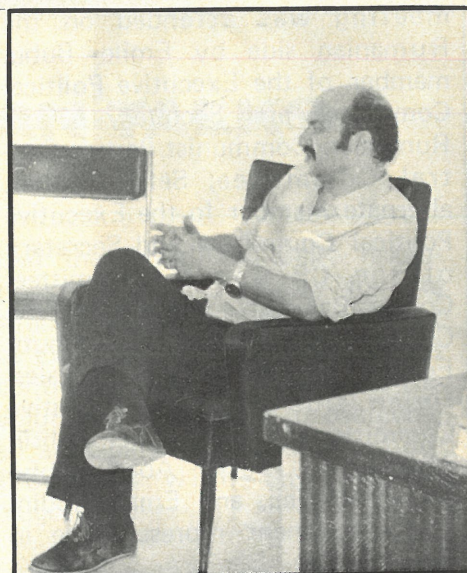
THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT ASSOCIATION AT THE SERVICE OF THE PALESTINIAN AND ARAB MASSES

The Palestine Liberation Organisation, which, apart from the independent organisations, groups together all the organisations of the Palestinian Revolution -- FATEH; Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP); Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); PFLP-General Command; Arab Liberation Front (ALF); Saika -- after 12 years of struggle has been internationally recognised as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This recognition implies heavy responsibilities. Apart from the responsibility of leading the armed struggle to

recover usurped Palestine, the PLO is the body responsible for organising the life of the Palestinian people -- for the most part dispersed throughout the Arab world -- and enabling them to play their cultural and humanitarian role in the world. For this reason, the PLO set up its different organisations, among which are SAMED (Association for the Sons of the Palestinian Martyrs), the Palestinian Red Crescent Association, and the popular organisations such as the Palestinian Women's Union, the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS), the Union of

Palestinian Workers, etc.

On the twelfth anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian armed struggle on January 1, 1965, and following the difficult circumstances which the Palestinian Revolution has had to confront in the Lebanon in 1975 and 1976, we shall examine the past activities of the Palestinian Red Crescent Association since its establishment and during the Lebanese crisis, as the symbol of the determination of the Palestinian people to exist and to recuperate their homeland from the Zionist occupation.



Dr. Fathi Arafat, present Head of the Palestinian Red Crescent Association.

CONSTITUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT

- 1- General Congress: the highest instance of the Association; meets once every two years, except in the case of emergency.
- 2- Managerial Council: Composed of members of the Executive Office and of 10 members elected by the General Congress, as well as all the chairmen of the branch managerial councils.
- 3- Executive Office: Composed of 9 members elected by the General Congress.

Constitution of the Branches

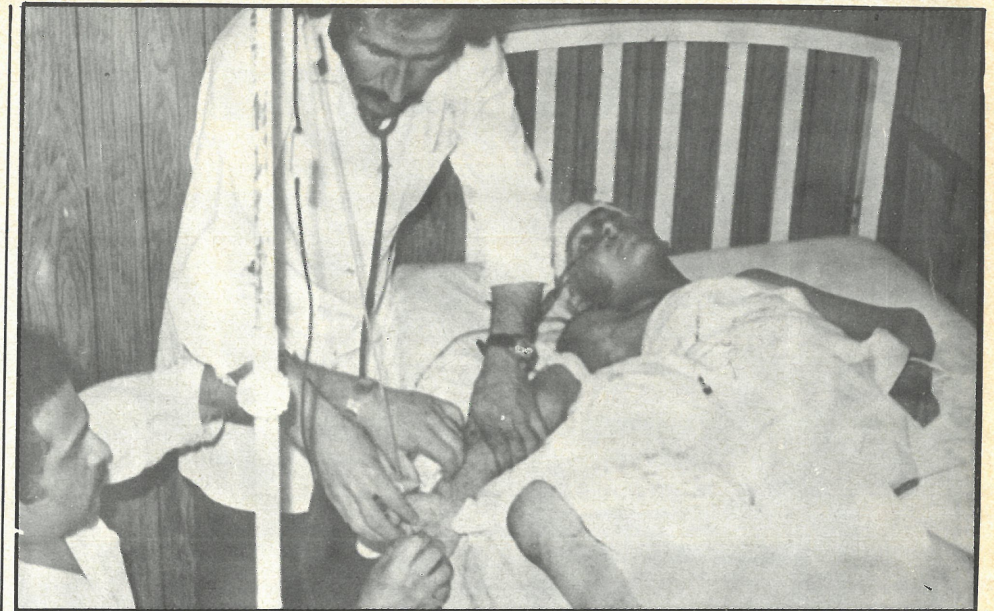
- 1- General Council: Composed of all those who work for the PRC.
- 2- Managerial Council: Elected by the members of the General Council and in direct relations with the Executive Office through its Chairman who is a member of the Executive Office.

Central Committee

- 1- Medical Services Committee.
- 2- Social Affairs' Committee.
- 3- Committee for the Wounded and the Prisoners.
- 4- Committee for External Relations and Information.

THE PRC IN THE SERVICE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The Palestinian Red Crescent Association was established in January, 1969, by a resolution of the Palestinian National Council. Its role was to provide medical and social services to the Palestinian people and to the Palestinian Revolution. The PRC was admitted as a member with observer status by the International League during a meeting of the international Red Crescent, Red Cross and Red Sun associations held in Kuwait in January, 1968. It was admitted as a full member in the Arab group during a meeting of the Arab associations of the Red Crescent, Red Lion and Red Sun which took place in Cairo in May, 1969. Then the PRC was admitted as a full member of the International League by the Seventh Con-



Caring for the wounded.

gress of Arab Associations of the Red Cross, Red Crescent, Red Lion and Red Sun in January, 1975, in Saudi Arabia. The Congress also launched an appeal to all the international associations to unite with its resolution. The PRC has thus attended the international congresses which took place in Turkey in July, 1969, in Iran in 1973, and in Yugoslavia in 1975.

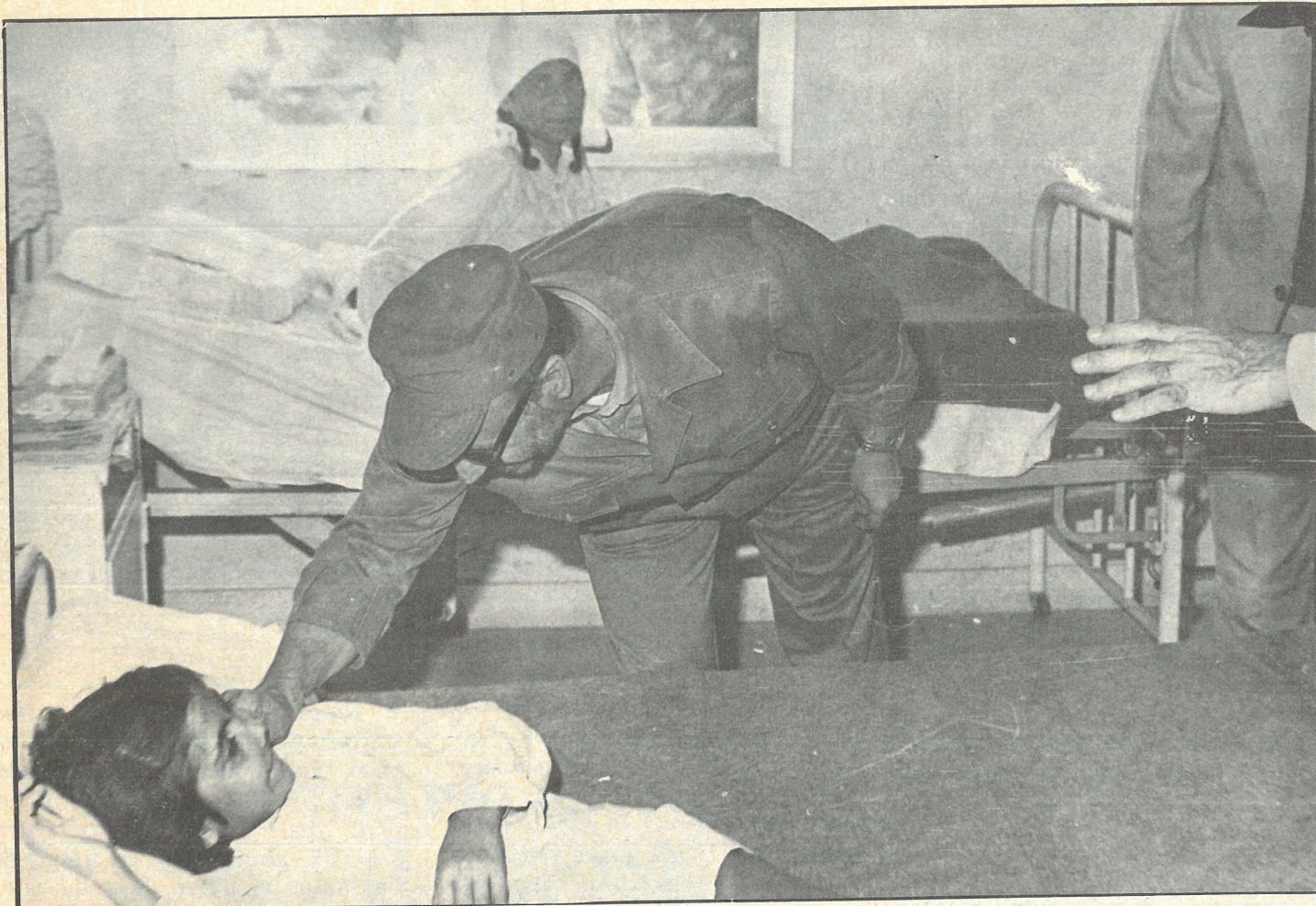
Since its establishment in 1969 the Palestinian Red Crescent Association has taken medical and social responsibility for the Palestinian people, the Palestinian Revolution and the people of the Palestinian Revolution. (By the term "people of the Palestinian Revolution" is meant each person or people facing the same conditions as the Palestinian people, such as the populations of the border villages in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Jordan, who daily confront the Zionist attacks.) It is for this reason that, on its establishment, the PRC opened clinics in South Lebanon, in Beddawi, in Nahr al-Bared, in Sidon and in Tyre. Very quickly, the PRC was able to provide a clinic for each camp in the Lebanese and in Jordan, and for a whole group of camps in Jordan it provided hospitals such as the Karameh Hospital

in Amman, the hospital of the martyr Abdel-Rahman Audeh in Irbid, and underground hospitals in Salt, Tafileh and Jarash. Up to 1975, the PRC had opened more than 100 clinics and 15 hospitals distributed in Libya, Iraq, Kuwait, Egypt, Syria, the Arab Emirates, Morocco, Sudan, Uganda and Lebanon. Most of these clinics and hospitals were intended to serve the Palestinian Arab people, but some expressed the solidarity of the Palestinian Revolution with friendly peoples, such as is the case of the clinics in the Sudan, Uganda and Egypt.

Each of the 15 PRC hospitals had one or several specialisations, such as general surgery, bone surgery, ear, nose and throat surgery, eye surgery, nerve surgery, and treatment of internal diseases. In addition, there was a special center for children and for women's diseases, and a group of ambulances.

Each clinic was the responsibility of three to four doctors, each one specialised in a different branch, who treated patients of all nationalities free of charge.

The Palestinian Red Crescent Association, as well as having the responsibility for medical services for the Palestinian people, also



Arafat visits a young patient.

took on the responsibility for social affairs; for this purpose, two committees were established, the Social Affairs Committee, and the Committee for the Wounded and the Prisoners.

The Social Affairs Committee has the responsibility of setting up projects to help the families living in the Palestinian camps in their daily life. One of these projects was to provide to each Palestinian woman raw materials with which she could make different sorts of products to be sold through the PRC, the profits from such sales going to the families. This is the Committee which took responsibility for the population of Tal al-Zaatar and the other Palestinian camps which were destroyed by the fascists in Lebanon.

The Committee for the Wounded and the Prisoners has two heavy responsibilities; it is responsible for Palestinian prisoners

in Israeli jails and for the Palestinians incapacitated by war wounds. Where the prisoners are concerned, the PRC acts as the link between the prisoners and their families, as well as checking on their state of health. This latter is carried out through the intermediary of the International Red Cross. Where the wounded are concerned, the PRC has opened up rehabilitation centers where the wounded can learn trades which they can exercise in spite of their injuries, and regain their place in society.

PRC HOSPITALS HAVE TREATED WOUNDED OF ALL NATIONALITIES AND RELIGIONS

In April, 1975, at the very beginning of the Lebanese crisis, the Palestinian Red Crescent Association had in Lebanon, apart from the popular clinics in the camps and in South Lebanon, a number of hospitals, of which Jerusalem,

Haifa and Gaza hospitals were in Beirut, Upper Galilee hospital in South Lebanon, and another hospital in the Arkoub region.

During the Lebanese crisis, in order to shoulder its heavy responsibilities, the PRC was obliged to open new hospitals.

Gaza Hospital was enlarged and, in order to make up for the loss of the Jerusalem Hospital which was occupied by the isolationists, the PRC opened an emergency hospital in the basement of the buildings of the Arab University of Beirut. This has at present been transferred to Gaza, just as another emergency hospital, Nasser, has also been transferred there.

In South Lebanon, two hospitals were opened, one in Sidon and the other in Tyre.

Karameh Hospital which was opened in Tel al-Zaatar, was transferred to Damour after the fascist attack on Tel al-Zaatar.

In the Lebanese mountains, the Deir al-Haref Hospital was occupied by the isolationists, and the hospital in Keyfoun was transferred to another location in Souk al-Gharb.

As well as opening new hospitals, the PRC opened several clinics and emergency and first aid centers.

WE HAVE ALWAYS REFUSED TO BE A BURDEN TO OUR ARAB PEOPLE

"Palestine" bulletin visited the Akka Hospital to meet Dr. Fathi Arafat, Vice-President of the Palestinian Red Crescent Association, and President of the Union of Doctors of Palestine. Dr. Arafat who had not had one day off during the entire Lebanese crisis, spoke to us of the Palestinian Red Crescent.

"Since its establishment in 1969, the Palestinian Red Crescent Association wished to apply the law of self-help. This idea came to us from our experience in Jordan, when a compatriot went for treatment in a hospital in Jordan, priority was given to him and we felt that these hospitals were not sufficient even to meet the needs of the Jordanians themselves, and that this was the case in all the Arab countries. We have always refused to be a burden to our Arab people, and it is for this reason that we planned to create our own medical organisation which, as well as satisfying our own needs, could help our Arab people. The only obstacle to this decision were material problems, and we worked very hard to overcome them. We organised meetings and congresses throughout the world, explaining our aim, until we were able to amass the capital necessary for the execution of our plan.

"This law of self-help which has dominated our work since its beginnings, has proved its appropriateness during the Lebanese crisis. All through the years 1975 and 1976, Lebanon had to face an extremely serious situation on the

level of medical services, all governmental institutions having stopped functioning, the Lebanese Red Cross being totally inefficient, UNRWA having stopped its work, and the International Red Cross only intervening at the end of the Lebanese crisis. The Palestinian Red Crescent Association found itself virtually alone in facing the responsibility of providing medical services for the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

"Since its establishment, the PRC has also taken great interest in Arab and international relations. We had the honour to participate, in Cairo in 1969, in the formation of the 1st Unified Foundation of Arab Associations of the Red Crescent and Red Cross. We also had the honour to participate as founder members in the creation of the Union of Arab Doctors, the Union of Arab Pharmacists, the Union of Arab Dentists, and the Union of Arab Hospitals.

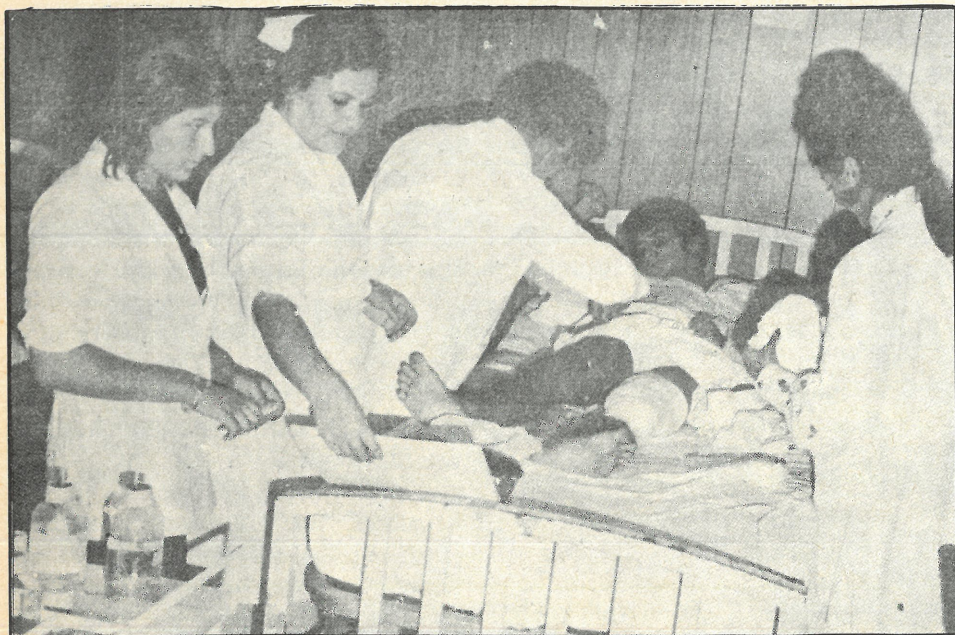
"On the international level, we participated in the international congresses of Red Crescent and Red Cross which took place in Istanbul in 1969, and in Iran in 1973, and we are to attend the one being held in Mexico in 1977. We have also participated in the annual congress of the World Health Organisation where we presented papers on our Palestinian people in occupied Palestine and in the diaspora.

"Since the creation of our association, we have been guided by one belief -- the deprivation of our homeland will not be an obstacle to our cultural and scientific contribution to humanity. Our extensive experience of wounds must be shared, for we consider that science should not be the possession of one group or another, but is the possession of humanity as a whole. In 1973, during the meeting of Arab health ministers which took place in Lebanon in August, we proposed: "As our Arab region is a region at war, there should be a center for study and research into wounds. Our proposal was accepted and the decision to create a center was taken. The PRC was given the task of putting forward a plan on this subject.

"During the Lebanese crisis which lasted for two years, as I have already mentioned, the Palestinian Red Crescent found itself alone with the responsibility of providing medical services to the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. In spite of the very difficult conditions, we worked methodically, applying the studies made by the Arab center for research into wounds, creating a blood bank and a first-aid and emergency body. This body is responsible for the wounded as soon as the wound has occurred and until his arrival in hospital. It is made up of a



Members of the Red Crescent march on the 12th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution.



In a Red Crescent hospital.

number of ambulances always on stand-by and ready to rush to the aid of a wounded person, and of a team of first-aid specialists who give immediate preliminary care at the place of the incident, then transport the wounded to the ambulance and accompany him to the hospital. It was during the events themselves that we trained our teams of first-aid specialists. Our first-aid and emergency body worked in extremely difficult conditions. Most of the time the ambulances were going to and fro under a hail of shells and it was impossible for them to reach the places where the wounded were. In these cases, our teams, at the risk of their own lives, transported the wounded to the ambulances. A large number of our first-aid specialists and ambulance drivers have paid for their devotion with their lives.

"The dramatic and bloody circumstances of the Lebanese crisis did not make us disregard scientific interest. We have prepared a study of first-aid and a first-aid programme. We are also working on the publication of books dealing with the experience of Tal al-Zaatar where our doctors and nurses had to innovate treatments according to the raw materials at their disposal. In addition, in co-ordination with the Lebanese Red

Cross -- during the meeting of the International Associations of the Red Cross and Red Crescent held in Yugoslavia and attended by 117 countries -- we presented a study on the role which Red Cross and Red Crescent associations must play in the cause of world peace... These associations must not stop at treating wounds, but must also prevent them by intervening in the world wherever the premonitory signs of war appear.

"As for our future plans, in outline they are: 'to provide the Palestinian people and the people of the Palestinian Revolution with medical services, and to improve them.' We allow to our plans the elasticity necessary so that they may adapt themselves to the material conditions which the Revolution faces. For example, we had installed a telephone in each emergency center, the role of which was to inform the ambulance to go to the scene of an accident. During the events, this was modified, the sound of shells became the factor which indicated to the ambulance when to set out and which direction to take."

After the discussion with Dr. Fathi Arafat, "Palestine" bulletin visited the Akka Hospital which is still under construction, the Gaza Hospital which has just been com-

pleted and the Ramleh natural treatment center.

AKKA

The Akka Hospital is an underground hospital which will be the first hospital in the Middle East to specialise in head injuries and head surgery. We visited the construction site and with a little imagination could picture the finished hospital. One of the admirable features is the operating theatre which will be the largest in the Arab world. The hospital has been built in the underground shelters of three buildings, each one now opening out into the other. Three clinics already in operation are attached to the hospital. The nose and throat clinic is treating an average of 30 patients a day; the eye clinic is treating more than 20 patients a day, and the dental clinic, where more than 50 patients are treated daily has a workshop for the manufacture of dentures attached to it. These three clinics, like all those of the PRC, give free treatment. There we met patients of all nationalities, Lebanese, Palestinians, Egyptians.

GAZA

Gaza Hospital is almost finished, and is only waiting for the installation of medical equipment before it opens. It can treat 200 wounded, and all available space has been put to practical use. The hospital will house the main blood bank and the central warehouse for medicines and medical equipment.

RAMLEH

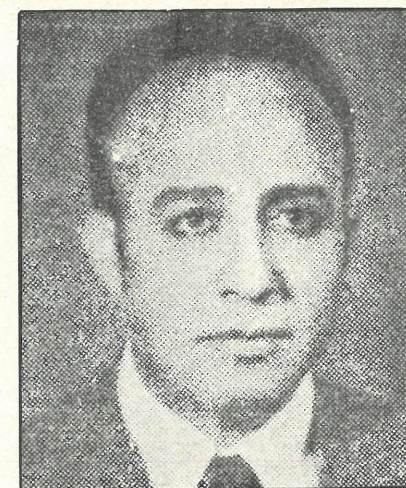
Ramleh is a center for natural treatment, where such treatments as mechanical therapy, electrotherapy, hydro-therapy, and paraffin wax treatment will be carried out. Attached to the center is a workshop for the manufacture of artificial limbs. This center is now receiving daily more than 150 wounded of all nationalities and religions, all of whom are given free treatment. ●

SAMED SONS OF MARTYRS FOR PALESTINE WORKS SOCIETY

Samed is one of the social institutions established by the Palestinian Revolution. It is a productive economic institution whose aim is to employ needy Palestinians and create the nucleus of the Palestinian public sector for the future state of Palestine. On the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, *Palestine* magazine took the opportunity to conduct this interview with the institution's senior official, Comrade Abu Ala':

Have the Lebanese events affected Samed's productive capacity?

Samed, as is well known, is one of the institutions of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement, Fatah, which it has offered as a pioneering initiative to the Palestinian working class -- those who are suffering with regard to job opportunities and from arbitrary action and domination -- and to the



Head of SAMED, Abu Ala'.

families of martyrs and wounded people who are handicapped, from among the Palestinian people.

Our activities, as is also well known, are divided into three main sections:

Section One:

Workshops and Factories, which include tailoring, leatherware, wool,

blankets, electrical fittings, children's toys, information materials, handicrafts and embroidery, carpentry and household furniture.

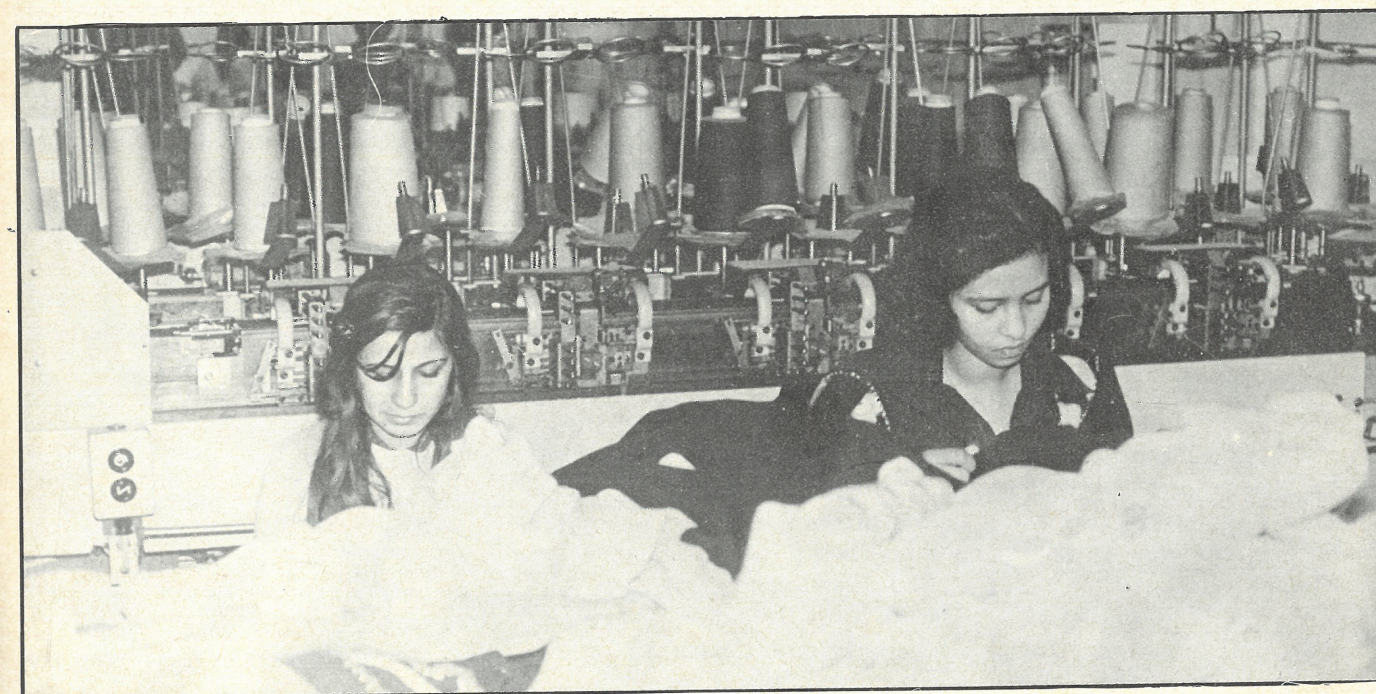
Section Two:

Agricultural Production, which includes the establishment of agricultural projects, poultry raising and the fattening of calves and sheep.

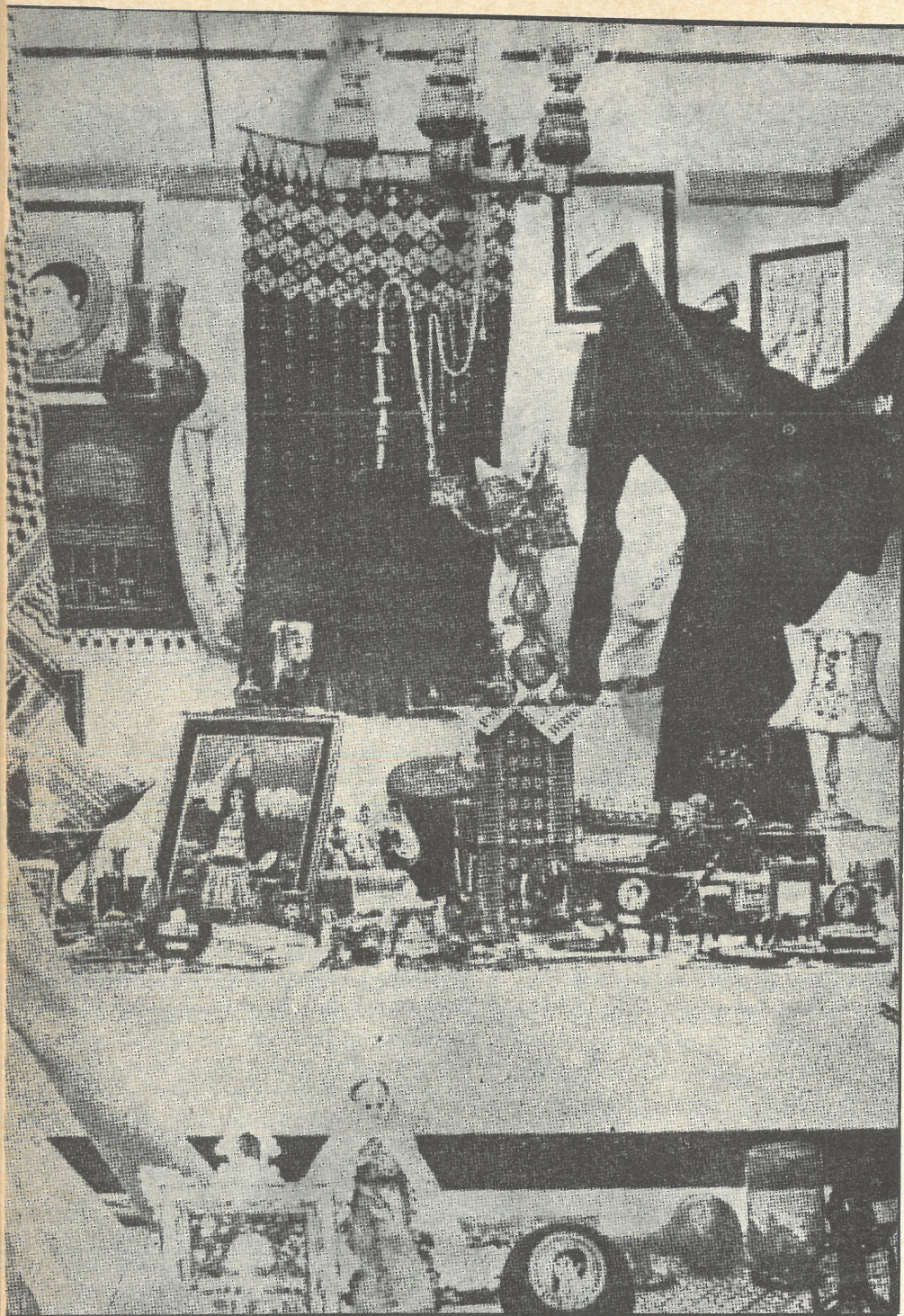
Section Three:

Cinema Production, which covers the production of narrative and documentary cinema films in full coordination and cooperation with the Palestinian Cinema Institute of the Palestinian Revolution's Unified Information Department.

There is no doubt that the (Lebanese) events have affected Samed's production programme to a great extent and prevented the implementation of many of the production projects which we had planned in the past year, if we



At work in the SAMED clothing workshop.



Some of Samed's traditional Palestinian designs.

assess the question in commercial and economic terms. Beirut port was looted by the isolationists, and we had a shoe factory, three complete automatic wool-knitting machines, 35 sewing machines, 25 machines for making leather bags, in addition to large quantities of raw materials like textiles, leather, woollen yarn, wood and other essentials whose value is estimated at around 650,000 American dollars.

Since Sidon port, as is well known, was exposed to Zionist

piracy and Syrian shelling, the operation of importing through there became extremely difficult, while Beirut airport was also closed owing to it being hit by isolationist shelling -- all that affected Samed's production programme and to a great extent prevented import operations and stopped a lot of projects which it had been planned to carry out. This is from the angle of assessing things in commercial terms.

Now, from the other angle, and this is most important with regard

to Samed's aims and the purpose of its foundation, namely:

- * the employment of manpower;
- * the provision of the Revolution's needs and the creation of a Palestinian revolutionary economy; and

- * raising the living standards and the cultural and social level of the families working in Samed;

we may be proud that we achieved a great deal on this level in spite of the painful events that occurred in Lebanon. None of the workshops located in West Beirut stopped operating, and all workers' wages continued to be paid in full to everyone employed in Samed. The tailoring and knitting workshops went over to producing military uniforms, pullovers and socks needed by the forces, and we attained self-sufficiency in this respect to a great extent.

In addition to this, we added large numbers of those expelled from Karantina, Maslakh, Dubayya, Jisr al-Basha and Tal al-Zaatar to the existing workers.

Did Samed's workers take part in defending the Palestinian Revolution?

Samed, as we have mentioned, is one of the institutions of the Palestinian Revolution, and faces the same destiny as the Revolution faces, growing with it and in it. Hence there is no difference at all between the destiny of the Revolution and the destiny of Samed as an institution. Likewise the workers in Samed are linked in their destiny organically with the Revolution.

On the basis of this conception, Samed's workers inevitably took part in defending the Revolution, whether in battle or through taking part in production which serves the combatants or by joining the ranks of the nurses and serving the combatants.

Samed lost some of its workshops in Tal al-Zaatar. Did this affect Samed, and what were the workshops that it lost?

Samed's calculations are not measured in terms of profit and loss, but according to the extent to

which it gives services to the masses who have set a unique example of determination in defence of the Revolution. Bearing this in mind, Samed is not mourning its workshops that were destroyed, since it understands that the human being is the most important thing in the conception of the Revolution.

In Tal al-Zaatar, Samed had a tailoring workshop which was put out of action from the beginning of the fighting because of the intensive blockade imposed on the camp since the beginning of 1976. Samed had a bakery which was used to provide bread for the combatants and the masses, and it also had an embroidery workshop.

Since Samed is committed to the masses and to the human being as the highest value, it paid its workers all their salaries since the blockade on the camp, which helped to solve

part of their problem after they left the camp.

Since Samed's calculations are the same as those of the Revolution, the loss of a position or a workshop can be compensated for, but the loss of a person or of the Revolution is something that cannot be compensated for, and for this one must fight to the death.

What role did Samed play to help the expelled persons establish new workshops and to employ new workers?

In accordance with the instructions of the General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, Samed played a major part in alleviating the sufferings of the expelled people from Karantina, Maslakh, Dubayya, Jisr al-Basha and Tal al-Zaatar. The tasks with which it was entrusted can be summarised as follows:

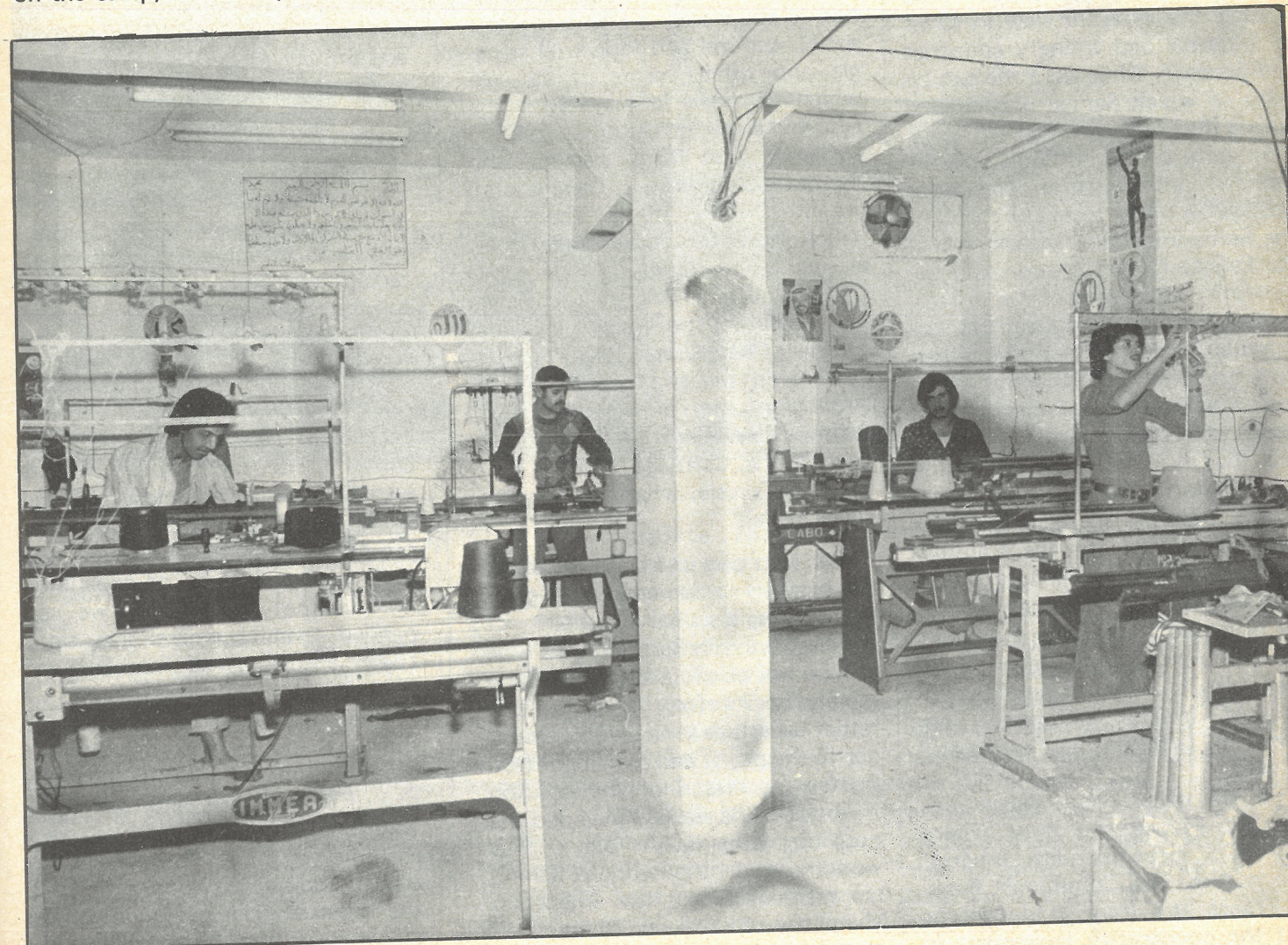
1) The establishment of new tailoring workshops in places where the expelled persons were housed, which absorbed 100 new workers.

2) The establishment of a new leather workshop (for leather bags) in places where the expelled persons were housed, which absorbed 50 new workers.

3) The establishment of a carpentry workshop for repairs to wooden windows and doors in houses that had been hit. Within two months, it fitted 2,200 doors and 4,000 windows in addition to employing about 70 workers in this field, in cooperation with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (fortifications section).

4) The establishment of a bakery to provide bread for the expelled persons.

5) The establishment of a consumer cooperative to provide food-



SAMED weaving workshops.

stuffs and household goods for expelled families in the places where they were housed.

6) The distribution of large quantities of ready-made clothes to the expelled families, and the assignment of employees to carry out this task.

7) Contributing towards furnishing the school which was set up for expelled families, and the provision of enough children's clothes for about 1,000 pupils.

All this was in addition to the absorption of large numbers of workers. Thus the Samed worker made an effective and outstanding contribution to alleviating the suffering of the expelled families who had given a fine example of determination in defending the Revolution.

Did Samed undertake activities abroad during the fighting, or were these activities suspended? And what is the external view in terms of fraternal and friendly countries and parties? What were the exhibitions in which Samed participated during the past year?

In spite of the difficult and extremely complicated circumstances Lebanon is undergoing as a result of the fierce imperialist attack against the Palestinian Revolution and the patriotic and progressive forces, Samed continued to keep up the external relations it had established with fraternal and friendly states and friendly parties abroad and similar institutions, in view of the fact that it is the nucleus of the Palestinian Revolution's public sector. Several of its delegations travelled abroad: to the fraternal Arab states and to friendly states. Delegations went to the German Democratic Republic, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria and held talks in order to create channels of fruitful and useful co-operation between these states and Samed.

On the other hand, delegations went to France and Italy, where they held meetings with progressive parties, the Communist Party in France and Italy, trade unions and the cooperative movement in

these states, and discussions were held on means of cooperation between these parties and Samed.

Likewise, meetings were held with some officials in the African countries, Somalia, Uganda and Guinea, and there were also discussions on means of cooperation between these states and Samed.

Samed took part in the international exhibitions in which it customarily took part every year in spite of the incidents which occurred and are still occurring in Lebanon. It took part in the Leipzig International Fair, the Bucharest International Fair, as well as the international fairs of Casablanca, Algiers and Tripoli. Samed also took part in the Palestine Week held in Conakry in Guinea and Dakar in Senegal. The public relations response to this participation was tremendous in the sense that the Palestinian Revolution is not merely a rifle but also a social, cultural and industrial struggle and other forms of struggle which go hand in hand with the rifle and armed struggle.

Samed also took part in the Habitat conference in Canada and presented its first film, "The Key", which won the second prize from among all the nations that took part in this large conference. It also took part in the Warsaw Cinema Festival, Poland, and its film "The Key" won the silver medal there. As part of the Palestinian Unified Information delegation, it also took part in the Carthage Cinema Festival in Tunisia, where it won the silver medal.

Can you give us a correct view of the workers in Samed and the gains the working class has achieved?

The worker in Samed, as we have said, is not an ordinary worker who merely waits for his wage, but rather a partner in the work, a partner in the profit and loss, a political fighter by reason of the position from which he was assigned and the position he is in. As one of our workers said, the worker behind his machine is no less important than the combatant behind his machine gun or field gun, and they

both complement each other.

On this basis, Samed's workers are distinguished by a sense of responsibility; they appreciate the responsibility for raising the quantity and quality of production. They are also distinguished by great ambition to increase their knowledge and expertise, to put these at the service of the general goal. Accordingly, Samed sends hundreds of workers every year to friendly countries for training and professional specialisation in order to increase their knowledge and technical expertise.

We are in the process of preparing regulations for "labour and workers" in the institution which we intend should be the most progressive regulations in order to serve the Palestinian working class and its future aspirations, in accordance with the Revolution's purposes and revolutionary principles.

What are Samed's future plans and projects?

As we mentioned earlier, Samed is not governed by a limited budget and hard figures, but by a plan, a programme and an ambition. Its ambition has no ceiling since it is the ambition of the Revolution, and its programme and plans are affected negatively or positively by the circumstances through which the Revolution is passing.

We were not able to carry out the plan drawn up last year in full because of the events which occurred in Lebanon. Some projects were stopped by the closure of the ports, while other projects were prevented from expanding for the same reason. Instead of expanding mechanical workshops, we expanded manual workshops, since they absorb larger numbers of workers.

The completion of our plan for the forthcoming year depends on the situation in Lebanon, the security of that country and of the Revolution. If this is achieved, we shall have a good leap forward in quality and quantity on the basis of the essential principle in our plans, which is horizontal and vertical expansion.



Learning to sew.

* With regard to factories, we have a plan to establish productive projects and expand existing projects.

* With regard to permanent showrooms, we have a plan for these to cover the majority of Arab states.

* In the field of agriculture, we hope to complete the agricultural project in Sudan as well as the one in Uganda or Guinea, after the completion of the agricultural project in Somalia.

* In the field of the cinema, we

plan to complete the joint Pakistani-Palestinian narrative film on which we have made good progress, and to proceed with the serial of 26 half-hour episodes that review the history of the Palestine question and the phases of Palestinian struggle, after Samed's first production, "The Key", received a warm welcome and encouragement from all Arab and international circles and won three prizes of high standing out of hundreds of films.

* We also have a plan to participate in the establishment of a con-

sumer and productive cooperative movement in the refugee camps, which will help to break monopolies and provide all commodities for consumers at reasonable and planned prices.

Likewise, many of the personnel who have been sent abroad for professional training will return, and this will provide the opportunity for many other personnel, so as to create a group of skilled employees able to play an effective part in building the revolutionary Palestinian economy. ●



Meeting Brezhnev.

PALESTINE AND THE SOVIET UNION

By Farouk M.

Relations between the Soviet Union and the Arab World have many deep roots, dating back to the establishment of the first revolutionary government in the Soviet Union, in October 1917, by the great leader Lenin, who uncovered the secret Sykes-Picot treaty for partitioning the Arab World between Britain and France.

The Soviet government also exposed the Balfour Declaration for the establishment of a "Jewish" state in Palestine. This was the thing which Lenin warned against in his writings on the ideology of Zionism which advocates the isolation of Jewish workers to prevent them from merging into the societies in which they lived, for imperialist purposes. Moreover

Lenin condemned the Zionist ideology as being reactionary, racist and aggressive.

The Soviet Union at that time tried its best to establish relations with the Arab states, but all the efforts were in vain as these states were then either feudalist and reactionary or puppets of imperialist circles.

At the beginning of the 1920's,

the Arab World witnessed the formation of Arab Communist parties, first in Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, and then in Iraq and Sudan. For a long time, Soviet relations with the Arab World were bound by those parties, which for a long time misunderstood the means of struggle against imperialism (the Arab Communist Parties' attitude against the Egyptian-Syrian unity in 1958), and their attitude of considering the Jews as a people or nation.

In the post-World War II period, on 29 November 1947, the Soviet Union voted in favour of the partition of Palestine. Moreover, the Soviet Union recognised the Israeli state on 15 May 1948.

But in the early 1950's there were certain changes which may be considered significant and noteworthy in the Soviet stand, especially Soviet support for Egypt against the tripartite aggression by Israel, Britain and France in 1956. The Soviet Union issued an ultimatum to those three countries warning them to stop their military operations against Egypt and to withdraw their troops immediately from the territories they had occupied.

The Soviet Union also warned Turkey and Israel when those two countries mobilised their troops on the Syrian borders in 1957 following an American order to drag Syria into the Baghdad Pact.

The mass uprisings in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958 were appreciated and supported by the USSR, which sent a warning to Washington and London to withdraw their fleet and paratroopers from those countries. In addition, the Soviet Union expressed its complete support for the 14 July revolution in Iraq and the Algerian revolution against French colonialism.

Thus we note that the Soviet Union was sincere to its principles in supporting anti-imperialist countries as well as the world's national movements which struggle against

imperialism, Zionism and world reaction in order to achieve their peoples' freedom and liberate their homelands.

From this viewpoint, the Soviet Union considered the Palestinian national movement as a liberation movement struggling against imperialism and Zionism, and a pioneer and a part of the Arab liberation movements. As for the multi-faceted relations of the Soviet Union with the PLO, we shall deal with this subject as follows:

- 1) Relations between the USSR and the PLO from the latter's establishment in 1964 up to 1968.
- 2) From 1968 to 1970.
- 3) From 1970 to the October 1973 war.
- 4) After the October 1973 war.

The Soviet Union's contacts with PLO officials were held secretly since the announcement of the PLO's establishment on 28 May 1964. Each time the Soviet Union used to promise PLO officials to consider recognition of the PLO in the meantime. Because of the racist ideology of Ahmad Shoukairi who called for "throwing the Jews into the sea" and the PLO's inability at that time to express and logically illustrate the Palestine question due to the Arab states' vague attitudes, the Soviet Union launched a massive information campaign to counter Zionist propaganda, condemning Zionism as an aggressive ideology negating the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. This attitude was illustrated in all joint communiqués issued after any Arab-Soviet meetings.

On September 1, 1965 a joint communiqué was issued following Egyptian President Nasser's visit to Moscow. The communiqué said:

"The governments of Egypt and the Soviet Union condemn imperialist policy in the Middle East. The Soviet Union expressed its complete support for the Arab people against this policy and support for the inalienable right of the Arab Palestinians."(1)

In another joint communiqué issued after a meeting between Soviet officials and officials from the UAR in 1966, we read: "The Soviet side supports the unquestionable right of the Arab Palestinians; it also supports the struggle of the Arab states and all efforts they exert against the imperialist forces which have ambitions to utilise the Palestinian problem to escalate the tension in the Middle East."(2)

The period 1965 to 1968 witnessed a strong friendship between the Palestinian and Soviet mass institutions and unions. The most significant of these Palestinian unions which established good relations with their Soviet counterparts were the GUPS (General Union of Palestinian Students), the GUPL (General Union of Palestinian Labour) and the GUPW (General Union of Palestinian Women). These unions received scholarships from the Soviet Union for training academic and union cadres.

The most prominent event on this level was the expulsion of Israel from the World Union of Students on April 8, 1967, during the session which was held in Mongolia. Although the Palestinian unions considered themselves bases of the PLO, the Soviets did not change their attitude towards the PLO since the latter at that time did not express its strategic aims fully. This may be understood to mean that the Soviets were not sure of the stands of the PLO as they were then formed by the Arab states.

In spite of this, the Soviet government did not miss any occasion to express its solidarity with the Arab states against Israeli aggression. On April 26, 1967 the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs summoned the Israeli Ambassador in Moscow and handed him a memorandum condemning Israel's attack against Syria. It also warned Israel of "its irresponsible policy which it has followed for years."(3)

In late May 1967, the Soviet government issued a statement in

which it warned Israel of any risky military moves which it might launch against Syria. It also considered Israel responsible for the deteriorating situation in the area.(4)

The Eruption of the June 1967 War and the Rupture of Socialist Countries' Diplomatic Relations with Israel

The Soviet Union condemned Israeli policy which it considered expansionist and aggressive. On June 9, 1967 a meeting of Communist Parties was held in Moscow, attended by Warsaw Pact countries and Yugoslavia, to discuss the situation in the Middle East. At the end of the conference a statement was issued, which read: "The Socialist countries express their solidarity with the Arab states in their struggle and assure the Arab states of their readiness to offer the necessary aid to confront aggression and to defend their national independence and sovereignty." The statement added that the Socialist countries called on Israel to withdraw its troops to their positions on June 4, 1967.(5)

The Socialist attitude developed and was clarified. On June 13, 1967, when the Socialist countries -- with the exception of Rumania -- cut off their diplomatic relations with Israel (preserving trade relations), the Soviets described the Israeli aggression as Nazi. On August 13, 1967, the Moscow press described Hitler as the spiritual father of the Israeli Minister of War, General Dayan,(6) thus recalling the rebirth of the racial discrimination practices and expansionist and aggressive policies of the Nazi leader and his subsequent followers.

Meanwhile the United Nations was holding an emergency session to discuss the situation in the Middle East.

On June 19, 1967, Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin delivered a speech in the General Assembly, in which he illustrated the expansionist Israeli policy and how Israel had occupied more terri-



Arafat and the Palestinian delegation visiting Red Square.

tories than the partition resolution gave it. He also accused Israel of following a policy of deportation and slaughter against the original population.

After the June 1967 war, the Palestinian Resistance emerged as a symbol of Arab challenge and hope. It was also considered by the late President Nasser as the "noblest phenomenon in the Arab World after the June defeat." It emerged publicly as an armed resistance movement after it had been hunted down all over the Arab countries as traitors or dangerous people unaware of what they were doing! The Soviet Union's stand did not then differ much from that of the Arab regimes or Arab Communist Parties.

1968-1970

This phase was inaugurated by Comrade Arafat's secret visit to the USSR in July 1968. The late President Nasser played a prominent role in arranging this visit, which paved the way for a period of mutual understanding between the PLO and the Soviet Union in the course of joint struggle.

Arafat also paid a visit to Moscow in response to a formal invitation from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. At that time, the leadership of the PLO

was transferred to the hands of the armed resistance leaders. It was clear that the USSR had a definite intention of developing relations with the PLO. This change in the Soviet attitude was due to the efforts exerted by Comrade Arafat during his secret visit, through which he illustrated the following significant facts:

- (a) Arafat was able to give a logical, scientific explanation of the strategy and tactics of the Palestinian Revolution to achieve its final aims.
- (b) Arafat explained to the Soviet comrades that the Palestinian Revolution is part of the Arab liberation movement and not an alternative to it.
- (c) He emphasised that the Palestinian Revolution, by its very nature, is anti-imperialist since the main enemy is Israel which plays the role of the forward garrison of American imperialism in the area.
- (d) He also expressed the Palestinian Revolution's belief in international solidarity between world liberation movements and the Socialist system, with the USSR as the major power in the struggle against imperialism.
- (e) Arafat emphasised that Soviet-Palestinian friendship is strategic and not temporary or tactical.(7)

This era, 1968-1970, was characterised by:



Arafat's first visit to Moscow.

1) The significant attention and consideration of the Soviet mass media towards the Palestinian Revolution since its struggle is anti-imperialist and against foreign occupation authorities.

2) An invitation to Arafat to visit the USSR at the head of a delegation of the Executive Committee of the PLO in February 1970.

3) Soviet material aid such as military uniforms, medical equipment, food and vehicles was arranged.

4) Soviet academic scholarships as well as military training scholarships for the Palestinian Revolution.

5) Great attention was given the Palestinian delegations which attended international rallies in Socialist countries, especially the Sofia rally of August 1968, in which the PLO participated with symbolic armed forces from the Palestinian Revolution.

Soviet-Palestinian relations continued to improve. The Soviet leadership's message to the Arab summit conference in 1969 stated that "it is clear that any settlement in the Middle East has to guarantee the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab Palestinian people."(8) This was the first time the Soviets talked about the *Arab Palestinian people* and not the rights of Arab inhabitants of Palestine as before.

1970-October War 1973

This phase is considered one of the most crucial phases through which the Palestinian Revolution passed. It was subjected to a savage massacre in Jordan in which the reactionary regime tried to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution in favour of the Rogers Plan. Thousands of the Palestinian and Jordanian masses were imprisoned or killed. In Lebanon the CIA, Israel and the Lebanese reactionary regime tried their best to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution and its leaders, but the Palestinian Revolution was able to defeat all these attempts.

The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement concerning the Jordan events on September 24, 1970, in which it announced that "it had contacted President Nasser and warned the USA and Britain against any intrusion. It also warned Israel against exploiting the situation."(9)

In Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, the Soviet Communist Party's General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev "called for ending the conflict in Jordan and attacks against the Palestinian Resistance."(10)

During the May 1973 crisis in Lebanon, the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon handed Comrade Arafat, the Chairman of the PLO and General Commander of the Palestinian Revolution, a message in which he emphasised "the Soviet Union's support and concern for the Palestinian Revolution."(11)

During this phase, Arafat paid about five official visits to the Soviet Union. These included one in August 1973, during which "Arafat expressed his deep gratitude to the Soviet people for their support for and solidarity with the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people for their legitimate national rights."(12)

The Soviet comrades, on all official occasions, emphasised the necessity of respecting the legitimate national rights of the Pales-

tinian people. On December 4 the Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact issued a communiqué in Berlin, in which it said: "The participants emphasise their readiness to afford any support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples, including the Arab Palestinian people, against the imperialist policy and Israeli aggression in the Middle East."(13)

This phase was characterised by firm stands of the Soviet Union on the side of the Palestinian Revolution. It is noteworthy that this was due to the Palestinian national unity which was achieved through the participation of all the Palestinian organisations in the PLO's Executive Committee. The firm resistance of the Palestinian Revolution to the subsequent conspiracies and its military operations inside occupied Palestine no doubt contributed to the clarity and firmness of the Soviet stand.

After the October 1973 War

The October 1973 war created a new situation in the Middle East. Despite the aims and consequences of this war, its positive results were subjected to a treacherous operation of manipulation in favour of the United States. Directly after the war, some voices were calling for friendship with the USA, since -- from their point of view -- it had the just solution! Others tried to put the Soviet Union on the same level with the USA (for example, the Egyptian press and President Sadat's speeches). But contrary to this, the Palestinian Revolution, following its strategic principles in its relations with the Soviet Union, refuted these campaigns and criticised those who propagated them. Comrade Yasser Arafat took the trouble on most occasions to appreciate the stands of the Soviet Union as well as other Socialist countries. In an interview with the Democratic German Television, Arafat said: "Now our people are heroically confronting imperialist-Zionist conspiracies, and relying first on their own strength and

then on the solidarity and support of peace-loving peoples, with the Socialist bloc and the Soviet Union in the forefront of them. We consider them our sincere friends."(14)

On the subject of Soviet arms, Arafat said: "The October 1973 war proved that the Arab soldier is able to use highly sophisticated weapons... The Soviet Union gave us these arms."(15)

Concluding his trip to the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries in August 1974, Arafat said: "Our visit was extremely successful and beyond all expectations."(16)

The Soviets greatly appreciated the role of the Palestinian Revolution during the October war, which involved more than 200 operations behind the Israeli lines,(17) as well as its political weight in the Arab World. Accordingly Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko met Arafat twice during his visit to Damascus and handed him the first official invitation from the Government. After the October war, the Soviet Union was interested in exchanging points of view with Comrade Arafat, and numerous Soviet envoys met him while touring the Arab countries.

During his visit in August 1974, Arafat met several Soviet Party and Government officials including the Deputy Foreign Minister. These meetings emphasised the Soviet recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Soviet Union officially announced its agreement to the opening of a PLO representative office in Moscow.(18)

On November 30, 1974, Arafat headed a PLO delegation to Moscow. The joint communiqué on the visit stated that "the Soviet Union emphasised its support for the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people for their legitimate rights including their inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of their national homeland until circumstances enable them to establish their own

state."(19)

The end of the year 1974 formed a turning-point in the course of the Palestinian Revolution. For the first time, the PLO was admitted to the United Nations as an observer member. The militant and logical illustration of the Palestine question by Comrade Arafat was appreciated. The head of the Socialist bloc, the Czechoslovakian Ambassador, in his deliberations with the Palestinian delegation, expressed his bloc's constant readiness to support the Palestinian cause.(20)

This period was preceded by consultations and an exchange of messages between the Soviet Union and PLO officials. A senior Soviet official visiting Beirut said that the Soviet Union would support the Palestinian stand by all means.(21)

Several meetings were held before Arafat's arrival in Moscow on November 25, 1974. The Soviet mass media paid great attention to Arafat's visit and interviewed him three times.

The Soviet Union's Stand towards the Palestinian Government and State

It is worth noting from official Soviet statements that the Soviet Union favours the establishment of such a state, or at least a government in exile. As we have mentioned before, the Soviet Union used to link its support for the struggle of the "Arab Palestinian people, and the establishment of a Palestine state interpreted as an independent entity" with Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. Arafat illustrated this before a PLO meeting, at which he added that this was the first time that the Soviet Union had defined its attitude towards the national authority which was to be established in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.(22)

On his way back from Moscow, Arafat said: "We will consider the establishment of a Palestinian government in exile if we find that

this will be useful to our cause."(23) This stand of the PLO was interpreted as the rejection of a Soviet suggestion to establish a Palestinian government in exile, since this would limit the movement of the PLO and confine it to political activities while the Palestinian people were still -- to a certain extent -- lacking a unified political ideology. This was apart from the difficulties which would be raised by reactionary Arab regimes.

1975

The year 1975 can be considered a negative turning-point in Soviet-Arab relations. It was also characterised by the many Middle East tours of the American Secretary of State Kissinger and his shuttle diplomacy. The Sadat regime launched intensive press as well as governmental campaigns accusing the Soviet Union of unwillingness to provide arms to Egypt after the October war. Kissinger was exerting pressure on Egypt for a partial settlement in Sinai. The Soviet Union "favoured a partial settlement although it would be a secondary step, for the essence of the Middle East crisis is the Palestinian cause, which has to be discussed at the Geneva conference."(24)

Thus there were two approaches to a settlement in the Middle East: a) The step-by-step approach advocated by Kissinger, Israel and other imperialist circles.

b) A conclusive settlement to be worked out at the Geneva conference, advocated by the Soviet Union.

However, as we have mentioned before, there were voices in the Arab World "especially in Egypt" which regarded the solution as being only in US hands. The central organ of the PLO published an editorial entitled "Blocking the Road before Kissinger"(25) but not in favour of the Geneva conference.

Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy was aimed at negating the PLO and:

a) Exploiting the positive consequences of the October war.

b) Splitting the Arab World and delivering a blow to Arab solidarity.

c) Isolating Egypt from the Arab World, since it was the most powerful Arab country, and dragging it into signing a peaceful settlement with Israel.

d) Opening the Arab door to American monopoly firms and preserving the imperialist interests in the Arab World.

A PLO statement issued in Damascus during Kissinger's first visit stated: "The Central Council of the PLO discussed the situation in the light of Kissinger's mission and the American manoeuvres aimed at destroying Arab solidarity."(26)

Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko visited Damascus at that time. He met Arafat, and on March 3, 1975 "he expressed his country's firm support for the Arab cause."(27)

On February 14, 1975, while Kissinger was touring the Middle East, Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev delivered a speech at the Kremlin in which he said:

"Any solution which does not consider the Palestine problem as the essence of the Middle East crisis cannot succeed... It is not possible to exchange the true peaceful settlement for anything else."(28) He also called for the resumption of the Geneva conference as an alternative to the American step-by-step approach. This speech was considered a Soviet challenge to the American conspiracies and manoeuvres in the area. Arafat sent a cable on February 15 in which he expressed his deep gratitude for the Soviet stand of regarding the Palestinian people as a major and original party in the Middle East conflict.(29)

Following its strategy of struggle against imperialist conspiracies and partial settlements, the PLO issued a communiqué in which it warned the Arab and Palestinian masses about the Kissinger mis-

sion. It also called upon all Palestinian organisations to maintain Palestinian unity and to escalate the armed struggle.(30)

On April 4, 1975, Arafat met the Soviet Ambassador in Beirut, who handed him a message from Brezhnev. He also met the Soviet Ambassador in Damascus and discussed the situation in the Middle East with him. At the same time Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department, visited Rumania and met President Ceausescu. These meetings were held in the course of maintaining friendship and cooperation between the Palestinian Revolution on one hand and the Socialist countries on the other.

Kissinger failed to arrange a second partial settlement between Israel on one hand and Egypt and Syria on the other in March 1975. The events in Lebanon erupted on April 13, 1975 when Phalangist Party members attacked a busload of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians.

There was no evidence that the Soviet Union foresaw the beginning of the imperialist conspiracy against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement, despite the fact that it was a result of the disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel. At that time it was clear that the only obstacle which blocked the imperialist settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict was the Palestinian Revolution.

Relations between the PLO and the Soviet Union became closer, and to a certain extent the Soviet Union refused any settlement based on UN Security Council resolution 242. The Soviet Union did not try to force the PLO to agree to participate in the Geneva conference, although it linked its stand on the results of the Geneva conference with the Palestinian stand.(31)

Soviet Foreign minister Gromyko had confirmed before that the Geneva conference is meaningless without the Pales-

tinians.(32) Gromyko and Arafat confirmed the significance of representing the Palestinians at the Geneva conference.(33) The Soviet Union emphasised its comprehensive support for the Palestinians' stands and proposals.(34)

Arafat left Moscow on May 5, 1975. At the same time, Tass commented on the current events in Lebanon and condemned the reactionary attempts to strike at the Palestinian Revolution.(35)

On September 15, 1975 a PLO press delegation visited Moscow. During its discussions there, the Soviets expressed their serious intention to have a new Soviet policy in the Middle East based on dealing with Arab national liberation movements, with the PLO as their pioneer, and their readiness to supply the PLO with all its needs, taking into consideration the clearness of PLO political strategy. The PLO delegation appreciated the firm attitude of the Soviet Union in support of the Palestinian Revolution and its struggle.(36) But the imperialist conspiracies were still overshadowing the whole of the Middle East (Morocco and Algeria, Libya and Egypt, and the Arab Gulf).

The situation in the Middle East became more critical, with the imperialist conspiracy still continuing in Lebanon. The Soviet leadership contacted Washington and sent a message to Arafat informing him that Moscow would not participate in the Geneva conference unless the Palestinians and Syrians were present, and that there would not be peace or detente in the Middle East until a Palestinian state was established.(37) Moscow also considered the American approach a trick to delay the Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied since the June 1967 war and the attainment of a just settlement for the Palestinian question.(38)

Thus the year 1975 can be described as "the year of solidarity and cooperation" between the Palestinian Revolution and the Soviet Union. This year also wit-

nessed intensive bilateral consultations aimed at mutual understanding.

It is noteworthy that the Soviet Union as well as other Socialist countries established diplomatic relationships with the PLO and kept it in touch with political developments related to the Middle East on the international level.

The Palestinian Revolution emerged on the eve of 1976 with several victories achieved during 1975. It was able firmly to confront actions aimed at imposing a US settlement in the Arab region, and to foil the step-by-step policy with its aim of splitting Arab ranks and imposing separate bilateral settlements in contradiction to the Rabat resolutions. In 1975 also, the PLO became a full-fledged member of the Conference of Non-Aligned States held in Lima, Peru, which also adopted the Kampala resolutions (of the Conference of Islamic States). The UN General Assembly issued its historic resolution considering Zionism a form of racism and racial discrimination, which was the most important joint victory on the ideological level. The Palestinian Revolution consolidated its relations with the Socialist camp, the Non-Aligned, Islamic and African countries. It also strengthened its solidarity with world liberation movements.

At this same time, the situation in Lebanon was seriously deteriorating. The Lebanese Army split on January 14, 1976 and Lebanon's public institutions began to collapse with the new fascist campaign against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement.

On January 7 Comrade Arafat received the Soviet Ambassador in Lebanon, who delivered an important letter from the Soviet leadership regarding the situation in the area. Arafat also had a discussion with the Soviet Ambassador on the Palestinian stand with regard to the Security Council meeting on January 12 and the current incidents in Lebanon.(39)

Four days later, Arafat received another urgent message from the Soviet leadership. The message was related to coordination between the Soviet and Palestinian delegations during the Security Council debate.(40)

At this time, on January 22, 1976, the Syrian mediation initiative started its contacts with the various Lebanese parties. At that time also isolationist propaganda was stirring up hatred against the Palestinian Revolution, in favour of the imperialist conspiracy. *Pravda*, the official paper of the Soviet Communist Party, accused Israel of launching deceitful propaganda to portray the Palestinian presence on Lebanese soil as the main reason for the bloody clashes there. *Pravda* added that "the USSR strongly supports the Lebanese efforts to maintain the independence, sovereignty and security of Lebanon."(41)

Here we may stress that the stands of the PLO and the USSR concerning the Lebanese crisis coincided. Owing to the strategic links between the Palestinian Revolution and the Soviet Union, the Palestinian mass media as well as the Palestinian leadership did not miss the opportunity of the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The Palestinian Revolution participated in the Congress and Comrade Arafat sent a letter on February 24, 1976, in which he congratulated the 25th Congress and expressed appreciation for the strong and growing relations between the PLO and the Soviet Union. Arafat's message added: "The success of your Congress and the prosperity of your friendly country represents a consolidation of our struggle... thanks to your constant stand on the side of justice and peace in the world."

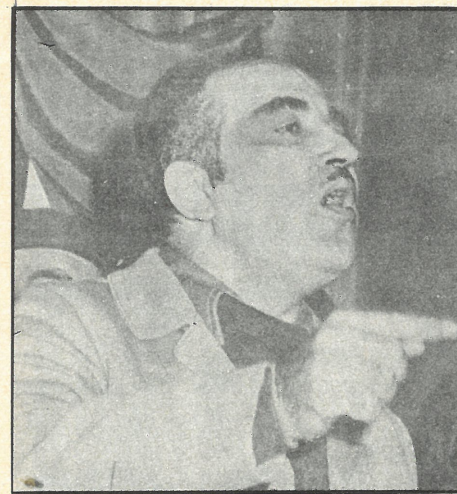
From their side, the Soviets sent Arafat a letter which was delivered by the Soviet roving Ambassador Vinogradov, co-Chairman of the Geneva conference, in which they expressed their firm support for the Arabs for the liberation of their land and the establishment of

the national state for the Palestinian Arab people.(43)

The Soviets were closely in touch with the situation in the Middle East, especially with regard to the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon as well as in the occupied territories. The Soviet news agency *Novosti* vehemently denounced Zionist terrorist practices against the Arab citizens under Israeli occupation, particularly the expropriation of land for the establishment of Zionist military settlements.(44)

The departure of Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin from Damascus in early June 1976 coincided with the Syrian military intervention in favour of the isolationists in Lebanon. The timing of this Syrian initiative led to a great deal of confusion in Palestinian-Soviet relations. Although there were no clear indications that the Soviets agreed to such a Syrian step -- for the Syrian initiative was urged on by imperialist circles led by the United States and Israel -- there were voices raised in the Palestinian Revolution asking the Soviet Union for a clear stand towards the Syrian military intervention. Later in the year, the Soviets declared that they were misled by the Syrian statements concerning the situation in Lebanon, although the Syrians participated in the battles in the North and at Tal al-Zaatar.(45)

The Soviets felt that the Syrians had gone too far in their military intervention and really were trying to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. At this time the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee issued a communiqué in which it vehemently denounced the conspiracy being implemented by Lebanese reaction against the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese National Movement, as well as the Syrian involvement which had seriously aggravated the situation. It also called for support of the Palestinian Revolution and for a political solution in Lebanon, free from foreign intervention.(46)



Abu Iyad.

This was not enough for the Palestinian Revolution, for *Pravda* had published an article in late September in which it criticised what it called the "extreme leftists" without naming the Palestinian Revolution or the Lebanese National Movement. Abu Iyad, a member of Fatah's Central Committee, commented: "I was unable to comprehend the *Pravda* article. And regardless of the reference in it to Syria's intervention, its reference to extremists served the interests of the isolationists. The latter exploited the article to full advantage. This is exactly what makes me say that our Soviet comrades are sometimes too hasty and sometimes too slow. But once more I say this as a friend."(47) But it was clear that the Palestinian Revolution was confused and astonished by the timing of that article. In an interview with *Palestine* on November 7, 1976, Abu Iyad summarised the Soviet stand as follows: "In the first phase the Soviets did not understand what was going on in Lebanon, or they did not now what they wanted. In the second phase the Soviets began to understand the Lebanese crisis, but after that they acted in a normal and routine manner, while in the third phase the Soviet action was confined to a protest."(48) This means that the Palestinian Revolution was unsatisfied with the recent Soviet attitudes. For the Palestinian Revolution knew that the Soviet

Union was able to pressure the United States, which had given the green light for the Lebanese war and could pressure the Lebanese rightist forces. The Soviet Union also could have broken the naval blockade which Israel and the Lebanese isolationist forces imposed on the Lebanese national ports. The Palestinian Revolution warned the Soviet Union that, if it was hit, "the Soviet Union will lose a strong ally that will be hard to replace in the region,"(49) emphasising the weight of the Palestinian Revolution in the balance of power in the area and its seriousness in its relations with the Soviet Union, although with an acidic tone this time.

Conclusion

We can notice that Palestinian-Soviet relations were constantly developing and flourishing, regardless of obstacles. That was due to their joint interest in defending peace, democracy and justice against imperialist-Zionist schemes.

We can also state that, with the deterioration of Soviet-Israeli relations after the June 1967 war, the Soviet Union established a good relationship with the Palestinian Resistance and supported the Palestinian cause at all levels. The most significant pointer in Arab-Soviet relations is that Soviet-Palestinian relations were not affected by one-sided tactical considerations, as was the case with some Arab regimes which collapsed under imperialist pressure from one side and uncommitted leadership on the other.

It is also worth mentioning that the existence and strength of the Palestinian Revolution played a significant role in the struggle against imperialist schemes in the Middle East. This fact affirms the strategic links with the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union as well as with the world liberation movement in their struggle for liberation, independence, democracy and progress. ●

Footnotes

- (1) *Al Ahram*, 2 September 1965.
- (2) *Pravda*, 14 May 1966.
- (3) *Pravda*, 27 April 1967.
- (4) *Pravda*, 24 May 1967.
- (5) Moscow press, 11 June 1967.
- (6) *Pravda*, 13 July 1967.
- (7) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 124, 24 December 1974.
- (8) *Pravda*, 22 December 1969.
- (9) *Pravda*, 24 September 1970.
- (10) *Pravda*, 3 October 1970.
- (11) *Wafa*, 10 May 1970.
- (12) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 57, 22 August 1973.
- (13) *Pravda*, 4 December 1970.
- (14) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 105, 14 August 1974.
- (15) *Ibid.*
- (16) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 115, 27 October 1974.
- (17) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 105, 14 August 1974.
- (18) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 107, 28 August 1974.
- (19) *Al Muharrir*, 1 December 1974, p. 16.
- (20) *Falastin Al Thawra*, special issue No. 124, 29 December 1974.
- (21) *Al Nahar*, 8 September 1974.
- (22) *Al Nahar*, 1 December 1974.
- (23) *Al Nahar*, 4 November 1974.
- (24) *The Guardian*, 22 January 1975.
- (25) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 129, 9 February 1975.
- (26) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 130, 16 February 1975.
- (27) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 129, 9 February 1975.
- (28) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 131, 23 February 1975.
- (29) *Ibid.*
- (30) *Falastin Al Thawra*, No. 132, 2 March 1975.
- (31) *Al Muharrir*, 11 May 1975.
- (32) *Al Nahar*, 30 April 1975.
- (33) *Al Kifah Al Arabi*, 1 May 1975.
- (34) *Al Nahar*, 1 May 1975.
- (35) *Al Muharrir*, 5 May 1975.
- (36) *Wafa*, 17-20 September 1975.
- (37) *Al Muharrir*, 21 October 1975.
- (38) *Ibid.*
- (39) *Wafa*, 7 January 1976.
- (40) *Wafa*, 11 January 1976.
- (41) *Pravda*, 24 January 1976.
- (42) *Wafa*, 24 February 1976.
- (43) *Wafa*, 29 March 1976.
- (44) *Novosti*, 20 April 1976.
- (45) *Wafa*, 8 July 1976.
- (46) *Wafa*, 10 July 1976.
- (47) *Monday Morning*, 27 October 1976.
- (48) *Palestine*, Vol. 2, No. 6, 15 November 1976.
- (49) *Ibid.*

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND PALESTINE REVOLUTION: TWELVE YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY

By Sami Fayed Musallam

The relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Arab countries go as far back as the early fifties, a few years after the proclamation of the PRC. Although the exploration of this relationship is beyond the scope and content of this brief study, two important milestones in the process have to be mentioned: First, the Bandung Conference of non-aligned countries where, for the first time, leading politicians of the PRC and the Arab countries -- notably the late President Nasser of Egypt and the late Premier Chou En Lai of the PRC -- met and instituted relations on a sound basis; second, Premier Chou En Lai's 1963-64 tour of a number of Arab countries -- notably of North Africa -- which more than any other factor, prepared the general framework of relations with the Arab world. Referring to this tour, in a joint meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Council and the State Council in late April 1964, Premier Chou En Lai outlined five principles based on his experience of the tour.(1)

1. The PRC supports the African and Arab peoples in their struggle against old and new imperialism and in their struggle for the achievement and preservation of their national independence;

2. The PRC supports the Arab and African governments in adopting a policy of peace and non-alignment;

3. The PRC supports the African and Arab peoples in their struggle to achieve unity, solidarity and in the manner of their choice;

4. The PRC supports the Arab and African states in their attempts to solve their differences by peaceful means;

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5. The PRC considers that the sovereignty of the African and Arab states must be respected by other states. The PRC further condemns any interference or aggression against these states from whatever source or direction.

China and Palestine: A Common Struggle

It is therefore important to remember this essential frame of reference when dealing with the Chinese support for national liberation movements in the Third World. From this framework, support for the Palestine resistance in general and the Palestine National Liberation Movement, "Fateh," in particular, sprang forth. Because the Palestine revolution is part of Third World national liberation movements, it enjoyed and still enjoys the support of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the Chinese government and the Chinese people. Furthermore, the Palestine revolution is the first to employ armed struggle against the unholy alliance between imperialism and Zionism, in a new stage of intensity. Chairman Mao Tse Tung vividly portrayed the importance of the struggle of the Palestine revolution to the first Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) delegation visiting Peking in March 1965. Comparing Taiwan to Israel, he affirmed to his Palestinian guests:

Imperialism is afraid of China and of the Arabs. Israel and Formosa are bases of imperialism in Asia. You are the front gate of the great continent, and we are the rear. Their goal is the same... Asia is the biggest continent in the world, and the West wants to continue exploiting it. The West does not like us, and we must understand this fact. The Arab

battle against the West is the battle against Israel. So boycott Europe and America, oh Arabs.(2)

This eloquent message of Chairman Mao remains as significant today as it ever was: the unity of revolutionaries against the imperialists and their outposts in Asia -- Taiwan in the South and Israel in the West. For revolutionaries this struggle is one and the same. To fight US imperialism, it is necessary to fight its outpost, Israel. This struggle can achieve its aim only by unity, and by implication, in this case the unity of the Arabs. Since the meeting these are recurring themes on the solidarity between the PRC and the Palestine revolution.

Based on this common perception of the validity and legitimacy of the Palestinian struggle, the PRC extended an invitation to the PLO -- immediately after its establishment -- to visit China. Led by Ahmed Shuqairy, first Chairman of the PLO, the Palestinian delegation arrived in Peking on March 16, 1965, where it was warmly greeted by large numbers of flag-waving Chinese, beating drums and gongs -- a ceremony which the PRC usually accords only to visiting heads of states. The visit culminated in three major forms of solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people which in time became more intensified: 1) recognition of the PLO; 2) material and military assistance; and 3) establishment of a Palestine Solidarity Day in the PRC.

Firstly, the PRC recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. As a result, a PLO office was opened in Peking. The PRC was the



Mao Tse-tung: a great friend of the Palestinian people.

first non-Arab state to recognize the PLO in such a capacity -- at a time when the PLO was still struggling to achieve that recognition from most Arab countries and which was finally extracted at the Rabat Arab Summit Conference in October 1974, ten years after the Chinese recognition.

Ahmed Shuqairy, former Chairman of the PLO, expressed his deep recognition of this fact to his Chinese hosts when he said: "In fact, the Palestinians should feel grateful not to other Arabs but to the gallant and generous Chinese people, who helped our revolutionary movement long before the Arab heads recognized the PLO."(3)

Secondly, military and material assistance was presented plentifully to the Palestine revolution within the framework of Chinese support

for the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Third World. It is no secret that this generous help included weapon systems, ammunition and equipment, as well as training facilities in China for Palestinian fedayeen, including attendance at military manoeuvres with live ammunition. Ahmed Shuqairy has, on different occasions, confirmed that Palestinian fedayeen are trained in the PRC, and that the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) receives military assistance from that country.(4)

On a recent visit by a Fateh delegation led by Abu Jihad to Peking, there was ample opportunity to assess the progress of Palestinian students being trained at a military academy in China.(5)

Thirdly, May 15 was recognized in the PRC as Palestine Solidarity Day in commemoration of the

struggle of the Palestinians to achieve independence from British as well as Zionist imperialist-colonialist hegemony over Palestine. The PRC was thus the first non-Arab country to make that day the day of solidarity with the Palestine revolution. Yearly rallies are held in Peking, attended by high-ranking Chinese officials and PLO representatives, to express the unrelinquishing support of the Chinese people for the struggle of the Palestinian people. For example, one such rally among many took place on May 20, 1966 at the end of Palestine Week and was honoured by the presence of the late Chou En Lai and the late Foreign Minister Chen Yi, both of whom are fondly remembered by Palestinians.

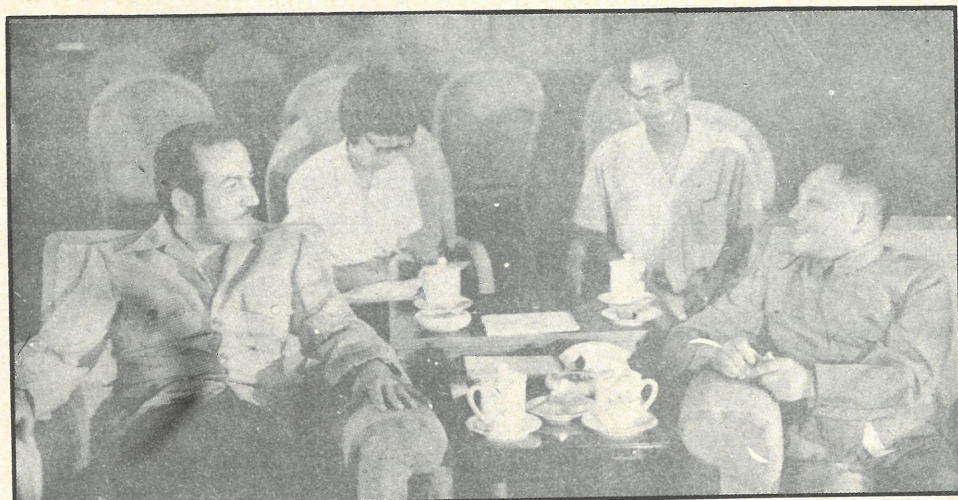
This was not the only help which the PRC extended to the Palestine

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revolution. Already prior to the establishment of the PLO in 1964, Fateh, still in its formative phase, had initiated relations with the PRC. The mutual relations and solidarity between Fateh, as the vanguard of the resistance of the Palestinian people, were based on a mutual perception of the anti-imperialist struggle. When Fateh was in the embryonic stage, other groups and political parties in the Arab world incorporated, in their political programmes, themes of Arab unity, the liberation of Palestine and the struggle against Zionism. However, it was only the political genius of Fateh and its commitment and identification with the Arab and Palestinian masses which brought the anti-imperialist Arab struggle against Zionism to a new and higher stage of confrontation. Fateh formulated its general frame of action in three strategic principles: 1) the struggle to liberate Palestine is the road to Arab unity; 2) protracted people's war is the only road to the liberation of Palestine; 3) the independent will of the revolutionary masses together with the rejection of tutelage by the Arab regimes of this independent will is the real guarantee for the continued existence of the revolution and the people's war. Thus the liberation of Palestine would be assured.

With the three strategic principles as firm foundation, the mutual solidarity between Fateh and the PRC was consolidated. It is therefore not surprising that the relationship of the PRC with the Palestine resistance movement as a whole was first begun with Fateh. Yasser Arafat, PLO Chairman and General Commander of the Palestine revolution, expressed his profound recognition of this fact before his Chinese hosts when visiting the PRC in March 1970. He asserted, "It is no secret if I say that Fateh, initiator of the Palestine revolution, received aid first from Peking." (6)

The common bond between the Palestine revolution and other revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America was, and continues to be,



Abu Jihad (left), member of the Central Committee, during Chinese visit.

stressed by representatives of the Palestine revolution and the PRC. Besides the aforementioned citation by Chairman Mao Tse Tung, in which he drew parallels between Israel and Taiwan, thus illustrating the common denominator between the Chinese and Palestinian revolutions in their anti-imperialist struggle, the Chinese see the Palestine revolution in a three-dimensional manner. Firstly, it is a national struggle for liberating the homeland -- Palestine; secondly, it is a part of the Arab people's struggle against imperialism and its outpost Israel; and thirdly, it is part of the international revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world against oppression and exploitation. (7)

This position was confirmed by Deputy Foreign Minister Ho Yeng of the PRC when he welcomed a Palestinian delegation led by Abu Jihad, member of Fateh's Central Committee in July 1975:

We invited a Fateh delegation to visit our country. It came from the front line of the struggle against international imperialism and imperialist hegemony in the Middle East, carrying with it a deep revolutionary friendship to the Chinese people from the Palestinian people... Ten years of the Palestinian people's resistance war have passed since Fateh fired its first shot in 1965 inaugurating the military struggle. The march of this people recalls to us Chairman Mao Tse Tung's statement in 1938:

"Experience teaches us that the problems of China could be solved only through armed struggle." Our militant friendship and our revolutionary unity are able to withstand all possible tests. (8)

In reply, Abu Jihad, speaking for the Palestine revolution, expressed the deep gratitude of the Palestinian revolutionaries for the solidarity of the Chinese people with the struggle of the Palestinian people. He also explained the significance of the liberation of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos from imperialism and its lackeys, for the struggle of the Palestine revolution, stressing that such human experiences confirm that man is superior to technological progress. He also emphasized that the "armed struggle is the principle form of the continuing political fight against US imperialism and its stooge, the Zionist base. Armed struggle plants the seed and political struggle reaps, and he who does not sow, will not reap." (9)

It is clear, then, from these expressions that the Chinese communists see the Palestine revolution in a dialectical three-dimensional manner. Since the beginning of relations between the two revolutions, two additional major issues have been stressed by the Chinese authorities and press in official statements, as well as on the occasions of Palestinian visits: firstly, the independence of the Palestine revolution, and secondly, the unity within the Palestine resistance and

with the Arab masses.

In his meeting with the first visiting PLO delegation, Mao Tse Tung emphasized the independence and integrity of the Palestine revolution. He told his guests: "Do not tell me that you have read this or that opinion in my books. You have your war, and we have ours. You must create the principles and ideology on which your war stands. Books obstruct the view if piled up before the eyes. What is important is to begin action with faith. Faith in victory is the first element of victory -- in fact, it may mean victory itself." (10)

Of course, there was no intention to minimize various revolutionary experiences which derive from a common heritage of history, but rather to warn against the danger of mindless imitation. There is no doubt that the theory and practice of Mao Tse Tung's thought and its application throughout the whole Chinese revolutionary process is an abundant spring from which valuable lessons are drawn, particularly by the Palestinians.

Calls for unity also appeared in many articles and editorials of the Chinese press, particularly during the heyday of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)* wrote an editorial on May 15, 1967, Palestine Day, calling upon the Palestinians and other Arab peoples to unite and stand steadfast in their struggle against "US imperialism and its tool of aggression, Israel." (11) Chairman Mao was quite frank when he told his Palestinian guests in 1965 to unite, reminding them they were not alone in the struggle. "You are not only two million Palestinians facing Israel," he told his guests, "but one hundred million Arabs. You must act and think along this basis. When you discuss Israel keep the map of the entire Arab world before your eyes." (12)

Taking this Chinese perception into consideration when discussing the mutual relations between the PRC and the Palestine revolution, it is hardly surprising to witness this tenacious support and solidarity of the Chinese people with the Palestinian people. This assessment of

the Palestinian struggle explains the whole story behind the refusal of the PRC to have any relations with the Zionist state established on Palestinian soil, and which will be elaborated upon later in this article.

The 1967 War and its Aftermath

In the face of continued Israeli aggression against Jordan and Syria, in the latter part of 1966, the PRC called upon Syria to launch a people's guerilla war to repel the Israeli aggressors. The PRC called the people's war the "most effective method to face the aggressors with." The experience of the Chinese revolution has shown that it is necessary to face imperialism and reaction on an equal footing, to fight them on every inch of land and since the aggressors are the first to take up arms, it is necessary for those people on whom the aggression has been inflicted to counter with the same method, (13) i.e. to take up arms against imperialism and reaction.

The eve of the 1967 war was characterized on the Chinese level by three major developments:

1. On the internal level the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was in full swing (against the followers of the capitalist road).

2. On the external level, US imperialist circles were waging their dirtiest war aggressively on the Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The PRC (party, government and people) as well as other peace-loving and revolutionary peoples including the Palestinian people, stood by the side of the heroic Vietnamese people.

3. On the strategic level, the PRC broke the nuclear monopoly of the two superpowers, by detonating its first hydrogen or thermonuclear bomb which came only three years after the detonation of its first atomic bomb in October 1964. The H-bomb explosion took place on June 17, 1967, only one week after the massive defeat of the Arab regimes before the invading Israeli forces. The communiqué released by the PRC on this occasion (14) declared that the detonation was put ahead of schedule exactly for that purpose and in order to strengthen and encourage the Arab

peoples in their struggle against US imperialism and Israel.

On June 6, 1967, one day after the outbreak of the war, the government of the PRC issued a communiqué denouncing Israeli aggression supported by US imperialism -- the "ringleader" in the plots against the masses and peoples of the world. The war was a crime committed by US imperialism and its tool Israel against the Arab peoples. The communiqué said the war was a great provocation against the peoples of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. It reaffirmed the support of the Chinese people for the Arab people in its just war against US-Israeli aggression. (15)

Chinese Premier Chou En Lai sent cables to President Nasser of Egypt, Atassi of Syria, and Chairman Shuqairy of the PLO, expressing the resolute support of the Chinese people for the Arab and Palestinian peoples. So the Chinese government saw the June war as a war "planned" by US imperialism where the US supplied arms and ideas while its stooge, Israel, supplied the men to fight the war (for the US) and committed massacres against the Arabs.

The Chinese government did not accept the ceasefire resolution, nor the "peaceful settlements". Since 1967 these have been formulated and circulated to participants in the Middle East conflict. The Palestine revolution headed by Fateh rejected them. These resolutions and settlements included Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), the Jarring mission, the Rogers plan, the Hussein plan, the Bourguiba plan, the Allon plan, etc... In all cases the settlements were rejected, because they were and continue to be detrimental to the national interests and inalienable right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. In addition, these peaceful settlements spring from one very "basic fact", i.e. the acceptance of the state of Israel in occupied Palestine, the existence of which is camouflaged in these proposals by the formulation "peace and security for all states" (including that of Israel) in the Middle East area.

The *Hongqi (Red Flag)* drew

many lessons from the 1967 war. Only one lesson will be quoted here, which seems at this historical moment in our struggle to be particularly important and appropriate. *Hongqi* stressed that to resist an armed imperialist aggression, the oppressed peoples and nations cannot but depend on the theory, strategy and tactic of people's war to thwart such aggression. Oppressed peoples and nations should not only depend on modern armament but also on the political consciousness of the people. It also called upon oppressed peoples to set up a united leadership with a united strategic planning.

In the aftermath of the defeat in 1967, the Palestine revolution was the only hope of the Palestinian and Arab masses to overcome and transcend the defeat. The Palestine revolution and its vanguard Fateh led the military and political struggle against the Israeli enemy. With the support of the Palestinian masses, Fateh and other organizations in the Palestine resistance movement rejected the "peaceful settlements". Thus the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces joined hands to crush the Palestine revolution. In 1970 the Jordanian regime was entrusted with this task and unleashed a military campaign against the Palestine resistance and the revolutionary Jordanian-Palestinian masses.

The PRC condemned "the reactionary Jordanian government" (16) because of this role, and declared its support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people who acted in self-defence. The alert of the US imperialist forces in Europe to "stop" Syria's "invasion" of Jordan in 1970 was denounced by the PRC as follows: "It is a shameless act of intimidation on the part of US imperialism against the Palestinian people, the Syrian people and peoples of other Arab countries, which completely unmasks its ferocious features as a gangster." The September massacres and the subsequent suppression of Palestinians in Jordan was nothing but "another insidious ap-

plication of the so-called 'Nixon doctrine' of using 'Arabs to attack Arabs' with the money and guns supplied by the United States." (17)

In order to smash the Palestine resistance, the ringleader -- US imperialism -- coordinated between its two lackeys, Israel and "the reactionary military Junta" in Jordan. The ringleader supplied money and arms and ordered the two "running dogs" to do the job. The military junta tried to put down the resistance "with one fell blow", and the Israelis were told "to bomb and shell the guerrilla bases, to coordinate action with the Jordanian forces." (18)

The plot against the Palestine revolution did not stop. The Jordanian regime led its forces to expel the Palestine resistance from Jordan. For that reason it initiated the battles of Ajlun and Jerash. On that occasion a *Renmin Ribao* commentator writing about the Palestine revolution on July 23, 1971, explained:

V.I. Lenin, the great leader of revolution, said: "Revolutions are subjected to the most serious tests in practice, in struggle and in the fire of battle." It is in the raging flames of struggle for national liberation that the Palestinian guerrillas have tempered and tested themselves and grown in strength. Neither the enemy's gunfire nor intrigues and plots, various hardships and difficulties can overwhelm them or force them to submit. On the contrary, they have grown even stronger through every severe struggle. They are invincible because they maintain flesh-and-blood ties with the broad masses of the Palestinian people. They are the heroic sons and daughters of the Palestinian people, embodying the latter's hopes. Standing on their side are not only the people of the Arab countries but also the people of all countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world. The cause of the Palestinian guerrillas and people is a just one, therefore, it is impregnable. (19)

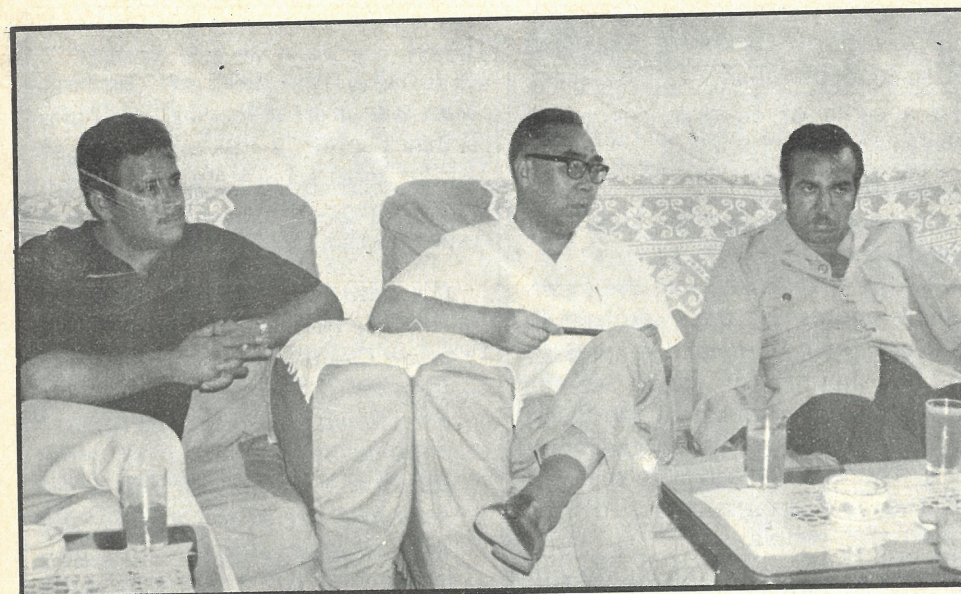
Faced with the brutal challenges of 1967 the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular embarked on the difficult road to negate what Israel, assisted by Western imperialism, had accomplished. The Arabs, acquiring better military capabilities and displaying more dedication toward this objective, were confronted by increased Israeli intransigence and arrogance in clinging to territories occupied in the 1967 war. Thus war became unavoidable and the responsibility for it lay solely with Israel.

True to itself and its traditional policy of friendship and solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of the Third World against oppression and imperialism, the PRC rallied to the support of the just and legitimate struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples in the October 1973 war. Hence it denounced the "Israeli-US backed aggression" (20) against the Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian peoples. Premier Chou En Lai and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei expressed this solidarity to Sadat, Assad and Arafat.

Yet another expression of PRC solidarity was manifested during the 1975-1976 Lebanese civil war, the latest in the series of imperialist plots to liquidate the armed Palestinian struggle. In an interview with the PLO representative in Peking, the PRC underlined its staunch belief in the final victory of the Palestine revolution, under the guidance of Chairman Yasser Arafat. (21)

China at the UN: a Triumph for the Palestinian Cause

By resolution no. 2758 (XXVI) of October 25, 1971, the United Nations General Assembly decided "to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-Shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it." (22) This restoration of the PRC was not only a great victory for the Chinese people but



Members of the Palestinian delegation during discussions in China.

also for the Palestinian people. The Chinese people took their rightful place at the side of other revolutionary peoples at the UN, which gave added impetus to the Palestinian cause. On his return from his China tour in April 1976, Farouk Qaddoumi, member of the Executive Committee and head of the Political Department of the PLO, explained in an interview the profound significance of the presence of the PRC at the UN for the Palestine revolution:

Our relations with China have always been strong. China's solidarity with the Palestine cause has been on the moral, political and material levels. At the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, its stand has always been a principled stand of support to our struggle aimed at establishing a unitary, secular and democratic state in Palestine. China has refused and continues to refuse, to recognize Israel. (23)

This principled stand, to which Farouk Qaddoumi was referring, has been expressed by the first Chinese delegate to the UN General Assembly. Comrade Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of the PRC delegation, outlined in his inaugural speech at the UN the PRC's understanding of the Middle East conflict:

The essence of the Middle East question is aggression against the

Palestinian and other Arab peoples by Israeli Zionism with the support and connivance of the superpowers. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against aggression and believe that persevering in struggle and upholding unity the heroic Palestinian and other Arab peoples will surely be able to recover the lost territories of the Arab countries and restore to the Palestinian people their national rights. The Chinese Government maintains that all countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice have the obligation to support the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, and no one has the right to engage in political deals behind their backs bartering away their right to existence and their national interests. (24)

In effect, Chiao Kuan-hua outlined the following points:

1. The essence of the conflict is the usurpation of Palestine by the Zionists and their supporters;

2. Palestine can be regained by the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people and by their unity;

3. International solidarity means the support of the Palestinian people in their struggle in liberating their country and regaining their national rights. Thus,

4. No guardianship should be placed on the Palestinian people by superpowers or lovers of "political solutions";

5. The struggle of the Palestinians has the unrelinquishing support of the Chinese people, government and Communist Party.

Of particular relevance is the fact that the PRC's chief UN delegate, Chiao Kuan-hua, in his speech on the Middle East question on December 8, 1971, unmasked the myth of so-called "secure borders" (the concept frequently invoked by Israel and its Western allies) drawing the parallel between the Israeli usage and that of the Japanese militarists who in the late 30's and early 40's employed the same hypocritical subterfuge to cover their brutal occupation of Chinese territory. (25)

... To put it bluntly, by "secure borders" the Israeli Zionists mean that whatever place they invade and occupy, that becomes their boundary. They may consider such boundaries as secure today, but tomorrow they will say that these boundaries are insecure and therefore it will be necessary to embark on further expansion. The Chinese people had their own bitter experience in this respect. Before World War II, Japanese militarism first invaded and occupied the north-east of China and set up a "Manchukuo", but later they claimed they were insecure because of "communist threats," and on that pretext they invaded and occupied north China and launched an all-out war of aggression against the whole country. And in the end they even went so far as to unleash the Pacific war. The theory of demanding "secure boundaries" is a theory of the aggressors. To accept this theory is tantamount to recognizing as legal all aggression and expansion by Israeli Zionism.

Kuan-hua's perceptive analysis is reminiscent of Chairman Mao's 1965 parallel drawing of the roles of Israel and Taiwan in Asia.

Israel's attempts at diplomatic relations with the PRC repulsed

On numerous occasions, Israeli sources, or pro-Israeli Western sources propagated the news that relations between Israel and the PRC were about to be established. Such propagated news would be leaked to Western news media whenever certain opportunities presented themselves. These included:

1. Whenever the question of admitting the PRC to its lawful seat at the UN would arise, Israeli sources would then try to manipulate their voting "in favour" of admitting the PRC to the UNO for propaganda purposes; (26)

2. During or after a plot in which the Palestine resistance had to defend itself (e.g. Jordan 1970), Israel would seek to drive a wedge between the Palestine resistance and the PRC, leaking rumours about the near establishment of relations with China. (27)

3. Israel would seek to manipulate the improvement in state relations between the USA and the PRC following the Nixon visit to China in February 1972 in order to secure recognition. (28)

Such rumours, of course, have no basis in truth. The PRC has more than once announced and assured the Palestine revolution that it will never recognize Israel as a state. (29) Israel to them represents the incarnation of the suppression of the Palestinian people in its homeland and the eviction of the larger part of that people from its homeland. Israel is the tool of US imperialism in the Arab area and watches the Mediterranean for US imperialism in much the same way as Taiwan watches the China sea for US imperialism. For the PRC there is no retreat from solidarity with revolutionary fighting peoples. No matter how much the Israel-Zionist circles or their supporters try to fish in shallow waters they will not be able to divide the Chinese from the Palestinian people or vice versa.

The most recent refusal by the PRC to have any kind of contact with Israel was when Israeli ruling circles tried to take advantage of

the death of Chairman Mao Tse Tung in September 1976 by sending a cable of condolences which was rejected by the PRC.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can state that the PRC was:

1. The first to support the Palestinian people in their struggle to liberate their homeland, expressed in its support of Fateh as the vanguard and initiator of the Palestine National Liberation Movement.

2. The first to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

3. The only non-Arab country to declare May 15 to be Palestine Solidarity Day.

4. One of the three non-Arab countries -- the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea being the other two -- to refuse to recognize



Israel.

Finally, the loss of Chairman Mao was a great loss for the Palestinian people, a loss which Yasser Arafat most accurately expressed in his message to the Chinese comrades on this sad occasion:

We have received with deep sorrow the news of the death of the great Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, a loss to both the Chinese and Palestinian peoples and to all peoples of the world. With his death the peoples of the world have lost one of the great leaders who struggled for freedom, liberation and the building of their country's future.

In the name of the Palestinian people, of the PLO Executive Committee and in my own name, I express to the friendly Chinese people, to the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and to the Chinese Government our profound condolences.

Our Palestinian Arab people greatly respect and highly appreciate this great leader who stood by the struggle of our Revolution and our just cause since its first moments. We are fully confident that the great Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party and under your wise guidance, will overcome this difficult phase, determined to complete the revolutionary procession of the late leader, Chairman Mao Tse-Tung. The whole Chinese people accompanied the great leader's militant procession, offering him support and prodigious efforts in continuing on their course, relying on themselves and on the leadership of this great party. (30)

In expressing our condolences for the loss of this greatest of revolutionaries we are comforted by the fact that the bond of everlasting friendship between the Chinese and Palestinian peoples is indissoluble, and that they both march together on the revolutionary road to victory. ●

Footnotes

1. Translated from the Arabic text, *Palestine Yearbook 1964*, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, (1966), p. 318.
2. In *al-Anwar*, Beirut (April 6, 1965), as received from the New China News Agency (NCNA), quoted from John Cooley, "China and the Palestinians," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2 (1972), p. 21.
3. Cited in Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
4. *Palestine Yearbook 1967* (Arabic), Institute for Palestine Studies, 1963, pp. 102 and 119.
5. *Falastin al-Thawra*, (Beirut) No. 153 (July 27, 1975), p. 24.
6. *Peking Review*, Vol. 13, No. 13 (March 27, 1970), p. 15.
7. See editorial of *Renmin Ribao* ("People's Daily") in *Peking Review*, Vol. 10, No. 21 (May 19, 1967), p. 30.
8. Translated from the Arabic text, *Falastin al-Thawra*, No. 153 (July 27, 1975), p. 24.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
10. Cited in Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
11. Cited in *Palestine Yearbook 1967* (Arabic), Institute for Palestine Studies (1970), p. 945.
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13. *Palestine Yearbook 1966*, Institute for Palestine Studies (1968), p. 519.
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28. Nadav Safran, "Israel and China", *Yedioth Ahronot*, Tel Aviv (May 28, 1971); and Isaac Ivry, "Can Israel-Chinese relations improve?", *The American Zionist* (October 1971), pp. 35-38.
29. See *Peking Review* commentary denouncing reports of alleged contacts between Israel and the PRC to establish diplomatic relations, *Peking Review*, Vol. 14, No. 34 (August 20, 1971), p. 15.
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SOLIDARITY NEWS

BERLIN FILM FESTIVAL SENDS MESSAGE TO ARAFAT

The Third International Seminar of Progressive Documentary Cinema, held in Berlin between November 28 and December 1, sent the following message to Yasser Arafat:

"On behalf of the participants in the Third International Seminar of Progressive Documentary Cinema meeting in Berlin, we declare our solidarity with the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and declare our support for the struggle of your people against imperialism, Zionism and racism, towards achieving their rights, including that of establishing their independent Palestinian state.

"We also condemn the imperialist conspiracy in Lebanon launched against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement, supporting at the same time all efforts aimed at restoring peace and unity to Lebanon, and guaranteeing the interests of the

Lebanese National Movement and the continuation of Palestinian struggle."

The seminar has moreover unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

1. The establishment of Palestinian documentary film archives in the GDR.

2. Complete support, and all possible aid, for the Palestinian documentary cinema in order to help it continue its struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

3. Considering the struggle against imperialism and its tools, Zionism, racism and colonialism, the ultimate goal of the progressive documentary cinema all over the world.

4. Sending copies of Palestinian documentary films to the GDR and Cuba, which will then be used in different spheres.

120 film-makers of various nationalities took part in the seminar, including Arab film-makers from Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Sudan and Palestine. ●

Celebrating its anniversary over the weekend of December 11-12, the Cypriot Communist Party organized a rally in Nicosia, in which Abu Yehya, Head of the PLO Office in Nicosia, took part, representing the PLO and Fateh.

The Secretary-General of the Party gave a speech on December 12, confirming his party's principled stand on the necessity of the Palestinian people regaining their national and legitimate rights. He said: "From the first day that the Zionists expelled the Palestinians from their land, our party has stood with the Palestinians, who are fighting against the Israeli Zionists and their imperialist allies to recover their land and their rights." He then went on to express support for the Palestinian, Lebanese and all Arab national liberation movements which, he said, will ultimately be victorious.

In his speech at the rally, Abu Yahya saluted the Cypriot CP's stand in support of the Palestine cause and all world liberation movements, and praised the existing relations between the peoples of Palestine and Cyprus. He concluded his statement by stressing the Palestinian Revolution's stand in solidarity with the Cypriot people in their struggle for the unity of their country, condemning imperialist intervention in Cyprus and calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the island.

Also in Nicosia, Abu Yehya on December 13 held a meeting with Cypriot President Archbishop Makarios, and with the Speaker of the Cypriot Parliament, which dealt with the latest developments of the Palestine problem and with Cypriot-Palestinian relations. ●

OCCUPIED PALESTINE THE YEAR OF CONFRONTATION



Resisting Zionist violence.

In his message of January 1, 1976, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the Palestine Revolution, made an appeal to the Palestinian people to "face this year of confrontation in our occupied land with a strong faith and noble principles, and to be ready to offer great sacrifices and ever-increasing revolutionary potential in order to protect our achievements and gather the fruits of our victories."

During the year 1976, the Palestinian people both in Lebanon and in occupied Palestine have had to confront the bloody imperialist-Zionist plot aiming at the weakening of the Palestinian Revolution, if not its total liquidation to destroy our people's achievements over the 11 years of armed struggle at the expense of the blood of thousands of martyrs.

Throughout 15 months of war, imperialism, Zionism and reaction have tried ferociously -- but in vain -- to neutralise the Palestinian entity and its independence.

In spite of all these attempts, the PLO, the leadership of the Palestinian people, was gaining increasing recognition on the international level in its capacity as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Thus on November 15, 1976, the General Assembly, at its 31st session, began its discussions on the "Palestine Question" in the presence of a PLO delegation.

The discussions took as their basis the following important points included in the report of the "Committee of 20":

- 1- The Palestine Question is the essence of the Middle East problem.
- 2- The exercise by the Palestinian people of their right to return to their homes, of their right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty will make a decisive contribution to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.
- 3- The necessity for PLO participation, on an equal basis, in all

the efforts and conferences on the Middle East, under the auspices of the UN, and on the basis of resolutions 3236 and 3376.

- 4- The necessity for a speedy withdrawal from all the territories occupied by force.
- 5- The responsibility of all the parties concerned to allow the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights.

Following stormy discussions, the General Assembly on November 24 adopted a resolution -- with 90 votes in favour, 16 against (including Israel) and 30 abstentions -- calling for a total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories between that time and June 1, 1977; the return of the Arab refugees to their homes, and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

The General Assembly requested the Security Council to take the measures necessary for the implementation of these recommendations for the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights.

The resolution stipulates that the territories (West Bank and the Gaza Strip) from which Israel withdraws be temporarily administered by the UN, which would station a UN peace-keeping force there and would later hand the territories over to the PLO.

Thus, while the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement were halting the plot in Lebanon, our masses in occupied Palestine, under the aegis of the PLO, defeated imperialist-Zionist-Hashemite designs and projects:

- the local administration plan.
- the policy of settlement and judaisation.
- the municipal elections.

I. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION PROJECTS

The local administration "ball" was thrown by the Zionist enemy at the time when the Palestinian Revolution was in the throes of its battle against the conspiracy in the

Lebanon, the aims of which were to establish a compromise in the region under American tutelage and in the wake of the Sinai agreement, and to place the Palestinian Revolution under Syrian tutelage within the framework of a Syro-Jordano-Palestinian confederation. Why Local administration?

Since the 1967 occupation, several plans have been made for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the most famous being the so-called Allon plan of 1969, which proposed the annexation of the West Bank to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan within the framework of the creation of the United Arab Kingdom.

As for the "local administration" plan, it aimed to create a leadership other than the PLO for the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. This new leadership was supposed to serve the Zionist and Hashemite plans:

- Disregard the resolutions of the Rabat Summit and of the United Nations which recognised the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- Provoke differences among the Palestinian people, both inside and outside occupied Palestine.
- Annex the West Bank, either to the Hashemite Kingdom, or to the Zionist entity (project for a Federation between the Zionist entity and the entity created in West Bank and the Gaza Strip).

II. RESISTANCE TO COLONISATION PROJECTS

Galilee

On February 29, 1976, the Zionist Government decided on the confiscation of 20,000 dunums (2,000 hectares) of land in Galilee, the aim being the strengthening of the settlement policy.

The confiscated lands, which according to the Minister of Housing are said to be "rocky", are situated in four different regions in the Galilee: *Ma'ariv*, 3.3.76.)

- 1- The Nazareth region: 4,730 dunums to the north-east of the

new Jewish village of Nazareth. The confiscation of new lands aims to expand this colony in such a way as to increase the number of its inhabitants from 20,000 to 70,000.

- 2- the Carmel region: 7,485 dunums. This confiscation will allow an increase in the number of inhabitants of this colony from 8,000 to 100,000 persons. (It is to be noted that this colony was established on lands confiscated in 1961.)
- 3- to the east of Acre, near the village of el-Maker: 2,069 dunums.
- 4- the Safad region: 5,819 dunums.

This is not the first time that the occupation authorities have confiscated Arab lands in order to carry out their colonisation projects in Galilee. Since the creation of the Zionist entity, Arab villages have had to face the problem of the confiscation of their lands.

The aims of this confiscation are:

- to reinforce the Jewish presence in Galilee -- "the danger lest the Jews become a minority in Galilee" (*Davar*, 7.7.76.) -- is one of the principal reasons behind the colonisation policy.
- the fear lest the Palestinians demand the annexation of this region to those which it is at present demanding, given that the Galilee is part of the region granted to the Arabs in the 1948 Partition Plan. "If Upper Galilee does not become demographically Jewish, we must seriously worry about its political future one of these days." (*Ma'ariv*, 1.3.76.)

The Negev

The Arabs of the Negev have once again refused the compensation proposed by the occupation authorities for their lands which were confiscated in the fifties (one and a half million dunums). They demanded, at their meeting with the Zionist Prime Minister, the evacuation of their lands.

On March 6, representatives of the local Arab committees met in Nazareth in order to study the measures to be adopted to con-

OCCUPIED PALESTINE

front the decision taken by the Zionist Government on February 29, 1976. Several resolutions were adopted:

- March 30 proclaimed the Day of the Palestinian Land.
- General strike in the Arab sectors.

- Organisation of demonstrations to march to the Knesset and present the occupation authorities with a demand for the annulment of the resolution.

Forty-eight mayors and officials from the Land Defence Committees signed the resolutions.

The occupation authorities used every possible means to abort these resolutions. But on March 30, demonstrations, sometimes armed, took place in all the villages and towns of the Galilee. Thousands of the inhabitants of the villages of Deir Hanna, Araba, Sakhrin, Kfarkana, Taibeh, Oumelfahm, Taireh, and of the towns of Acre and Nazareth defied the measures of the enemy forces: arrests and curfews. Clashes took place between our masses and the occupation forces.

The towns and villages of the West Bank also took part in the demonstrations and the general strike on March 30.

Press agency reports, confirmed that the general strike paralysed all activity in occupied Palestine without exception, even in the Israeli sector which employs Arab labour (such as factories, hotels).

According to the agency reports, the clashes caused dozens of wounded among the Palestinians. More than 300 of them were arrested.

This occupation forces attempted to isolate the Arab villages (especially Sakhrin, Araba and Deir Hana), using tear gas bombs and truncheons in order to disperse the demonstrators.

Our masses made use of all the means at their disposal in order to face the occupation forces -- stones, burning tyres, Molotov cocktails. In Taibeh they even made use of automatic weapons. The best description of the state

of our masses was made by a group of young Palestinians from Galilee during an interview with a Zionist paper: "It is of little importance to us whether these lands are rocky or fertile, for us these are Arab lands and we will prevent their confiscation by every means possible. The lands of the Galilee are, and will remain, ours. Isn't the Kfarkassem massacre enough for you? In the past we appealed to the United Nations and to the International Red Cross when you confiscated our lands. But today the position of the Arabs within the United Nations is much stronger." (*Ha'aretz*, 3.3.76).

In Lebanon, and in spite of the violent fighting, the Palestinian masses responded to the appeal of March 30. A demonstration of hundreds of people marched to the Unesco Palace building where the festival of the Day of the Land took place under the sign of unity, national Palestinian unity.

III. THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The municipal elections in West Bank took place on April 12, while the popular uprising of our masses was growing in intensity.

It was the second time that municipal elections had taken place under the occupation. The occupation authorities had planned and encouraged the elections in the hope that these would serve their local administration plan. The Zionist authorities even modified the Jordanian law, increasing the number of electors from 35,000 (in 1972) to 88,000.

Five hundred and fifty-seven candidates fought for 205 seats.

The national and progressive elements close to the PLO carried off a crushing victory in El-Khali' (Hebron), Ramallah, Tulkarem, where the majority of municipal seats had been until that time in the hands of the conservatives and the traditional leaders linked to the Hashemite regime, or collaborating with the occupation authorities.

Thus, our masses voted in 148 new mayors to West Bank municipalities, and of the 22 ex-mayors, 10 were not re-elected. Collaborators such as el-Joubari, Maazouz Masri and Hadi Kanaan, withdrew from the elections.

Thus the results of the elections put an end to the conspiracies of the Zionist enemy. Commenting on the results of the elections on Israeli radio on April 14, 1976, Doctor Yaho Shawaa Borat said: "Until now Israel has made use throughout the world of the slogan according to which the PLO did not represent the Palestinian people. I think that from now on we will be the object of world irony if we persist in using this slogan."

Foreign press agency commentaries have all maintained that the results of the elections were a serious blow to the occupation authorities, and have proved that the Palestinian people under occupation recognise only the leadership of the PLO in their struggle for the achievement of their national aspirations. The Mayor of Ramallah, Karim Khalaf, declared to the *Jerusalem Post*: "Our political representative is the PLO and we shall oppose all Israeli attempts to create a substitute for the PLO." The Zionist enemy has been obliged to admit this fact. The official *Davar* commented: "It seems that the majority of the inhabitants of the West Bank consider themselves as being part of a Palestinian entity under the aegis of the PLO, and does not recognise Hussein as their representative."

Following the elections, the Palestinian masses found themselves strengthened, and continued their struggle on a larger scale and in different forms against all the arbitrary and repressive measures of the Zionist authorities. Our masses did not, however, only express their anger against the discriminatory and fascist measures of the occupation forces, but also strongly condemned the crimes committed against the Palestinian



Palestinian detainees in occupied West Bank.

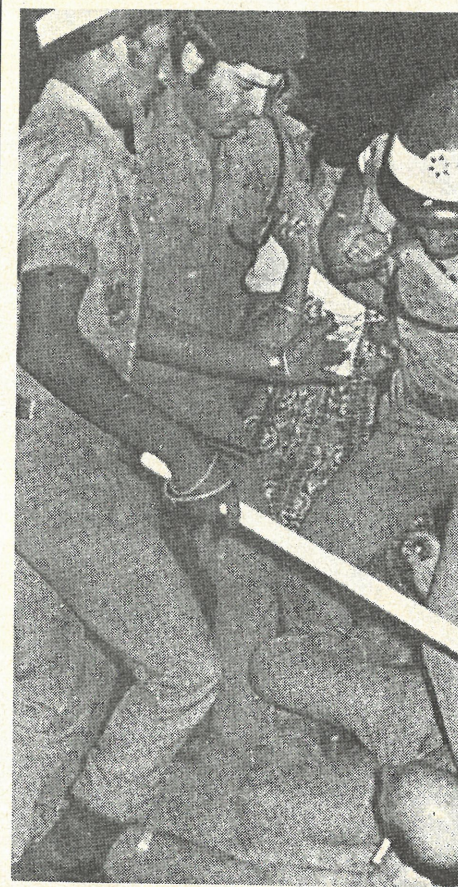
Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement in Lebanon.

On June 10 and 29 in Nablus and in the Palestinian camps of Balata; on June 14 in Jerusalem and el-Khalil (Hebron); on July 1 and 3 again in Nablus, slogans were raised directly condemning the Syrian military intervention.

In addition, leading citizens and the Palestinian municipal councils on June 21 organised a collection for the Lebanese and Palestinian victims of the war in Lebanon. At the beginning of July, the officials and leaders of Palestinian camps in the Nablus region issued a communiqué condemning Syrian intervention in Lebanon: "The officials, the old people, the young people and the children of the refugee camps in the Nablus region condemn the bloodshed in Lebanon and the siege imposed on the Palestinian camps by the isolationist forces supported by the Syrian forces. We hold all the Arab regimes -- who are watching what is going on without doing a thing -- as responsible for what might be the outcome of the lack of food, the lack of water and medicines. We appeal to all the Arab regimes to intervene speedily to save the Lebanese and Palestinian citizens and to work to end the siege, even

if they have to make use of force in the place of mediation."

On July 14, the mayors and the deputies of West Bank municipalities sent a message to Arab Foreign Affairs ministers and to the UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, declaring that the PLO was confronting the barbaric crimes perpetrated by the Syrian invaders and their isolationist allies against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and calling on the Arab ministers to shoulder their national responsibilities in order to put an end to the attacks against the Palestinian refugee camps and the regions controlled by the forces of the Lebanese National Movement, and in order to ensure the withdrawal of the Syrian forces from Lebanon. On the same day, leading citizens in Gaza addressed a similar message to the Egyptian President, Anwar el-Sadat. Finally, on July 16 the fighters of occupied Palestine addressed a message to the PLO Executive Committee, led by Yasser Arafat, to the Palestinian revolutionaries and the



Practicing their racist fascist ideals.

OCCUPIED PALESTINE



Arab demonstrator under arrest.

fighters of the Lebanese National Movement: "We respectfully salute the advanced guard revolutionaries of the legendary camp of Tel al-Zaatar, of the Bekaa, of Sidon, Sofar, Sannin, the hills of Aintoura, Tripoli and Koura. Each one of us in occupied Palestine is proud of your heroism. We are not at all surprised at this attack against the Revolution, because considerable differences exist between us and certain Arab regimes. Conflict with these regimes is inevitable; it is but a question of time. All reactionary regimes linked with US imperialism fear revolutionaries and progressive movements. This is how we explain this attack. Our Palestinian masses stand firm beside the Revolution and will not surrender."

In spite of the countless martyrs who fell in Lebanon, our fighters in occupied Palestine have demonstrated each day through their operations against the occupation forces and the vital installations of the Zionist entity, that the Palestinian struggle is one struggle.

Recently a wave of demonstrations and strikes took place in the towns of the occupied West Bank, the apparent cause being to protest against the Value Added Tax

OCCUPIED PALESTINE

imposed by the Zionist authorities on tradesmen in the occupied territories, and against new land confiscation measures in the region of Nablus. In fact, the demonstrators -- who marched in their hundreds through the streets of Ramallah, Nablus, el-Khalil, Jenin and Jerusalem, shouting anti-Zionist slogans, burning tyres, throwing stones at the soldiers -- were essentially demonstrating their support of the Palestinian Central Committee which was then meeting in Damascus under the chairmanship of Yasser Arafat.

The Central Committee had taken a decision setting aside 1/3 of the seats in the Palestinian National Council (compared of 151 members and soon to meet in Cairo) for Palestinians living under the occupation.

The Israeli Government has forbidden the Palestinian personalities invited to the 10th session of the Palestinian National Council to participate in it. Karim Khalaf, Mayor of Ramallah, commented in these terms on the decision: "How can one take seriously the proposal of the Prime Minister of 'Israel' to the West Bank mayors to take part in the Geneva Conference, while the Israeli Minister of Defence continues to forbid these same mayors from all political activity." (*Nouvel Observateur*, 20.12.76).

Twelve years ago, on January 1, 1965, the Palestinian movement for the liberation of Palestine, FATEH, declared in its first military communiqué: "Where our commitment is concerned, we have taken our inspiration from a Palestinian position which is closely

bound to the soil of our land. The greatest force which guides us is our conviction that this is the most sure means of tearing our cause from the vicious circle in which it has been caught up... without thinking of the sacrifices which we shall have to make before the Palestinian flag is raised once again in our beloved land. We also swear to our people to continue on this route and not to lay down our arms until the achievement of the final victory."

Today the struggle of our masses gives concrete illustration to the fact that the unity of the Palestinian people, wherever they are, is no mere slogan; the people themselves are showing this in all circumstances, and our masses in occupied Palestine have confirmed it in their daily and violent confrontation of the occupation. ●



Occupation soldiers "pacify" Palestinian demonstrators.

ENEMY NEWS

THE INTENDED POLITICAL CRISIS

On 19-12-76 a split took place in the Zionist Government which has led to the coalition government losing its majority in the Knesset. During a Cabinet meeting that day, Prime Minister, Yitzhaq Rabin announced his decision to expel the National Religious Party from the coalition government and to force the party's three ministers to resign. After losing the 10 votes of the National Religious Party, Rabin's Government commanded only 57 votes in the 120-member Knesset.

Meanwhile, Rabin on 19-12-76 met with ministers of the National Religious Party and explained to them that it could no longer participate in the Government after two of its ministers had refused to support the Government in the Knesset vote the previous week on a motion of no-confidence.

Representatives of the different parliamentary blocs, commenting on Rabin's decision, called for the necessity of advancing the date of the general elections which are supposed to be held before November of next year.

Radio Israel, on 19-12-76, reported that the Zionist Interior Ministry can take all necessary administrative measures to hold the general elections within 60 days after the Knesset votes to dissolve itself. The law says that elections are not to take place less than 43 days after the Knesset decision.

The Likud bloc on 20-12-76 presented a motion of no-confidence in the Government to the Knesset.

Radio Israel, in its Hebrew-



Rabin cheered by schoolchildren: campaigning for re-election as a 'peace candidate'.

language broadcast, on 19-12-76, reported that Rabin will propose to the Labour Party that elections for the Knesset be held before the scheduled time. If this proposal is accepted, then Rabin will present his resignation to the Zionist President, Ephraim Katzir, but will continue as caretaker Prime Minister until the elections, which may take place in May or June of next year.

Al-Shaab newspaper, published in occupied Palestine, in its editorial on 19-12-76, said: "This expulsion, from the parliamentary point of view, means that Rabin's Government has lost its majority, indicating that it is on the edge of collapse."

Al-Shaab added that if controversies and splits on Zionist domestic and foreign policy between the Labour and Mapam parties, and within the latter, are taken into consideration, then the difficulties that Rabin's Government is facing may be understood. In reality, the internal difficulties in Israel, ranging from high taxes, rising prices and consecutive workers' strikes to other problems even more complicated than those of foreign policy, all weigh heavily on Rabin's Government, hindering it

from following up all the above-mentioned issues."

The newspaper concluded: "...regarding these events, any observer can see that the current Israeli Cabinet is unlikely to be able to bear the responsibilities of government until next November, the date of the parliamentary election, and that it has become almost certain that the date of the elections will be moved forward."

Meanwhile, Zionist newspapers have lately been competing in publishing caricatures of Israel as a ship tossed about by waves in a stormy sea of internal and external problems, without a captain at the helm.

On the other hand, the Likud opposition bloc, headed by Menachem Begin, is passing through a difficult phase, because of financial conflicts with dozens of party members who have lent it money. In addition, the prominent members of the Herut and Liberal parties, Likud's major partners, are involved in a campaign to remove Begin from the leadership. Retired General Ariel Sharon's recent decision to resign from Likud to form an independent party is the best evidence of this decline. Sharon has further announced, during a

press conference, that the Likud leadership is too weak and impotent to be able to rule in its present state. He moreover affirmed, "It will not win at any elections in light of its current leadership."

On 21-12-76, Rabin resigned but continued as a caretaker Prime Minister, till the formation of a new government, which *Pravda* commented on by saying: "...Israel's foreign policy is in fact the main reason behind the current ministerial crisis there." The paper added that "...the aggressive policy of Israel vis-à-vis the Arab countries, together with the arms race and the development of the Zionist economy into a war economy, as well as the increase in taxes and foreign debts, have all resulted in a declining standard of living and in an increase in internal social problems in a country that has been transformed into a fortress."

The paper concluded by saying that Zionist officials are trying to exploit the crisis to serve their interests, so as to reorganize their ranks, and finally to carry on their aggressive policies.

Comrade Abo Lutf, head of the PLO's Political Department commented:

"The resignation of the Zionist Cabinet is evidence of political embarrassment among the Zionist ruling circles in the face of the growing international pressure and support for Palestinian national rights.

"This clearly reveals that Israel is not willing to have a just and lasting peace, as it is at the same time continuing its aggressive and expansionist policy, which will inevitably lead to a new war. Meanwhile, US policy continues to back Israel in its aggressive and colonialist designs. We should, therefore, stress the role of our friends the socialist countries especially the USSR, in their support of Arab potential in confronting Zionist aggression, for the regaining of our occupied territories and for the achievement of the Palestinian people's national rights."

"After the negative and dangerous effects on Arab solidarity of Kissinger's step-by-step policy, and the splits and local wars this policy has brought about, the role of the USSR was becoming clearer, and emerging as a positive, constructive and friendly role in confrontation of the US-Zionist alliance against our Arab Nation."

COMMENTS ON THE INTENDED ZIONIST POLITICAL CRISIS

ISRAELI diplomats took it as axiomatic that the Middle East peacemaking efforts would be frozen until after the elections. The Arabs, they suggested, might try to manoeuvre the new American Administration into certain positions. But there could be no real dialogue between Washington and a lameduck team in Jerusalem."

(Times, 22-12-76)

"It is idle to think that the United States has no stake in -- or influence on -- the outcome. One must therefore ask what US position will best encourage the coming to power of the "right" Israeli government."

(International Herald Tribune, 22-12-76)

The Zionist Prime Minister's decision to seek early elections. They include: "Ridding himself of a particularly contentious faction in his majority; throwing his Labour party rivals, notably War Minister Shimon Peres and Abba Eban, off balance in an election year; cutting the long campaign period between now and the regular fall elections during which his serious domestic problems -- the state of the economy and runaway inflation -- would be grist for his opponents; and disposing of the image he has of being indecisive."

(New York Times 22-12-76)

ZIONISTS ATTACK RAKAH AFTER IT PROCLAIMS SUPPORT FOR PLO. (Agencies)

Street battles took place in

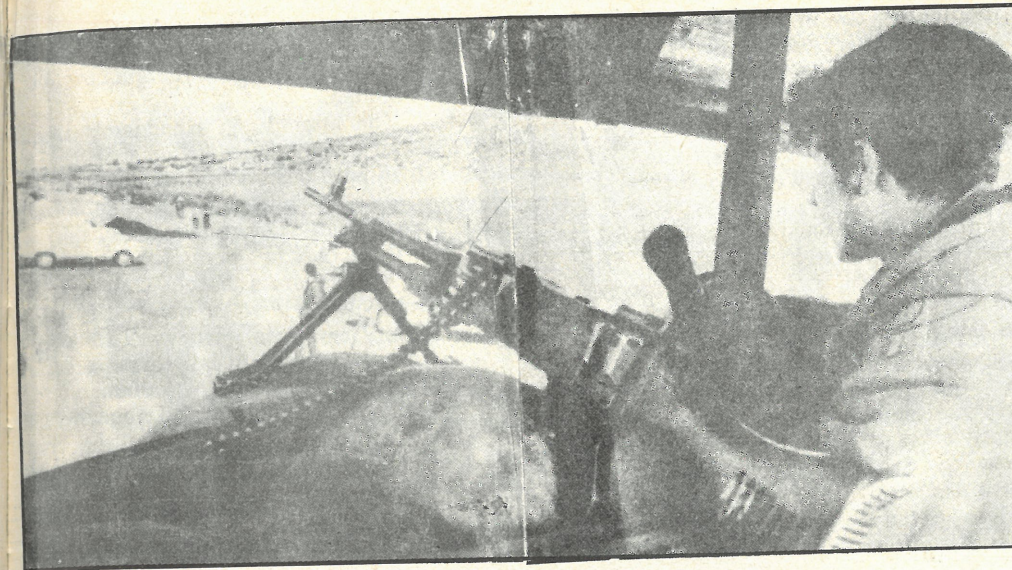
Haifa on December 18 between members of the Rakah Communist Party and right-wing Zionist settlers who were demonstrating in front of the hall where Rakah was holding its 18th Congress. News agencies confirmed that the fighting led to several casualties on both sides, and that the Zionist police arrested several persons.

Meanwhile, at the end of its meetings on December 19, Rakah called for Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and for recognition of the Palestinian people's right to establish their independent national state in their homeland. The Rakah Congress also stressed, in a second resolution, that the PLO is the sole recognized representative of the Palestinian people, and reaffirmed the necessity of the PLO's participation in any conference convened to discuss the Palestinian cause.

UNRWA OFFICIAL CRITICIZES ZIONIST POLICY. (Maariv.)

Ronald Davidson, Director of UNRWA in the Gaza region, has expressed his strong criticism of the Zionist authorities' policies in the Gaza Strip. In an interview on December with the Zionist newspaper *Maariv*, Davidson denounced the forced expulsion of Palestinian citizens from their camps and their resettlement in other regions. *Maariv* added that the Zionist authorities are currently expelling Palestinian citizens from al-Shati' camp in Gaza to another region. The paper said that meanwhile, one thousand residential units to house those expelled from al-Shati' camp are currently being constructed.

It is worth recalling that the Zionist authorities over the past few years have destroyed around 3,000 Palestinian homes in the Gaza Strip in order to force the inhabitants to leave their camps, in an attempt to suppress the roots of struggle in the region, which is one of the greatest strongholds of the Palestinian Revolution.



Israeli soldier looks across to South Lebanon. Who will be patrolling the other side?

RAKAH CONDEMNS ISRAELI INTERVENTION IN LEBANON, RABIN AGAIN VISITS BORDER AREA. (Agencies)

On December 9, the Israeli Communist party Rakah again condemned Israeli intervention in Lebanon. The party declared its firm stand against the aggressive Israeli policy towards the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the areas along the Lebanese borders, and for an end to threats of Israeli military intervention in Lebanese internal affairs. Rakah added that Israel is seeking to foil the peace plan in Lebanon, and stressed the necessity of inviting the PLO to participate in any international meeting on the Middle East conflict.

In related news, the Zionist Prime Minister, Yitzhaq Rabin, toured the border area with Lebanon on December 9, accompanied by senior army officers. An official Zionist spokesman declared that Rabin had inspected the "open fences" with Lebanon, established to aid isolationist forces in the South. Radio Israel reported the same day that Rabin had inspected Israeli army positions in Northern Palestine, and listened to a report about the situation in South Lebanon from the commander of Israeli forces there, and several other officers.

Radio Israel also reported that Israeli troops are engaged in maneuvers in Southern Palestine as training in the transport of equipment and forces in wartime, and in the use of the modern equipment which Israel has lately received from the USA.

ISRAEL TO BUY F-16s WITH 1.5 BILLION DOLLARS IN US AID.

Zionist Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, declared on December 5 that Israel will obtain American F-16 fighter planes, which are currently being delivered to NATO.

Meanwhile, an official Israeli Government declaration has mentioned that Israel has allocated a sum of 1.5 billion dollars for the purchase of weapons, out of US aid to Israel for 1977-1978, which totals 3.2 billion dollars.

The Zionist Ambassador to the USA, Simcha Dinitz, met with US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on December 4 to discuss the Ford Administration's approval in principle of the sale of F-16's to Israel.

RAKAH HOLDS ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The Israeli Communist Party Rakah began its annual conference in occupied Palestine on the evening of December 15. A Zionist demonstration was organized in front of the theater in Haifa where the conference was held.

The speakers at the opening session of the conference called for the withdrawal of Zionist forces from the Arab lands occupied in 1967 and for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. They also called for the participation of the PLO in any future talks on the Middle East conflict.

ZIONISTS IN DENMARK PROTEST FILM ON PALESTINIANS. (AFP)

Zionist elements in Denmark on 15-12-76 have protested violently against the Danish Ministry of Culture for having allowed the production of a film on the struggle of the Palestinian people inside the occupied territories. The film, which is entitled "An Oppressed People is Always Right", depicts Palestinian commando operations as heroic and as serving a just and legitimate cause recognized by the United Nations. The film also shows the savage behaviour of Zionist policemen and troops in their repression of Palestinian citizens. The cost of the film amounted to 40,000 dollars.

AFP REPORTS MAJOR ECONOMIC CRISIS IN ISRAEL.

On December 5, the French news agency, AFP, reported from Tel Aviv on the deteriorating economic situation in Israel. The report said that public dissatisfaction has been increasing, because of the huge rise in inflation which has reached 35 percent annually, the increasing deficit in the balance of trade and the increase in military expenditure which has grown by 40 percent in comparison with 1975 figures.

According to AFP, the consecutive strikes which have been taking place in Israeli industry, together with the increase in taxes, have made the economic situation for most citizens unbearable. The agency added that even in Israeli cooperative settlements -- Moshavs -- which are supposed to be socialist prototypes, the economic situation is virtually the same.



Strikes in Israel: industrial workers demonstrate for higher wages.

RISE IN UNEMPLOYMENT IN ISRAEL.

The Central Bureau of Statistics in the Zionist entity recently revealed that there has been a vast increase in the number of unemployed in Israel, and that their number has increased to 47,000. Talks began in Tel Aviv on December 17 between Government officials, the Histadrut and employers' representatives on suggestions for a tripartite agreement with regard to salaries, prices, taxes and financial aid. In this context, Radio Israel said that: "The Histadrut is keen on achieving a balance between prices, taxes and profits.

Economic observers regard the unemployment phenomenon and the strikes which are sweeping the public and private sectors in Israel as a result of the weakness of the Israeli economy, due to social problems rooted in relations of production. Since the employer is free to dismiss his employees at any moment, and does so when-

ever he pleases, unemployment is unlikely to disappear.

Another reason for the expansion of unemployment is the developing trend towards monopoly, particularly within the military sector, funded by the Zionist budget which almost completely relies on foreign aid. Consequently, inflation increases.

The increase in inflation is thus linked to the militarization of the Zionist economy, according to the American economist, Richard Barnett, and inflation, as a result, is a sustained phenomenon.

Thus the Zionist economy, a capitalist economy based on monopoly, works against the interests of workers and employees who, exhausted by the constant rises in prices and harassed by their employers, express their protest through widespread strikes. As a remedy in the face of workers' unrest, the Zionist authorities use all kinds of promises to tone down these violent reactions: the discussions announced by Radio Israel are an example in point.

At the same time, if the Zionist authorities think they can solve their economic crisis at the expense of the Palestinian local economy through their latest repressive economic measures, including the imposition of the Value-Added-Tax, they are mistaken; because the Palestinian masses under occupation are fully conscious of the causes of the overall crisis and of their own power.

ISRAEL WORRIED BY IMMIGRATION FALL.

(Guardian, 10/12/76)

(Daily Telegraph, 7/12/76)

(Los Angeles Times 9/12/76)

Israel is worried about the steady drop in the number of overseas Jews wanting to make their homes in the Zionist entity, especially Jews who emigrate from the Soviet Union.

Last month more than half those arriving in Vienna from Russia, after getting permission to leave on the grounds that they were emigrating to Israel, decided to seek homes in other countries.

For months the Zionist Government has been campaigning to cut off aid from American Jews to Soviet emigrants who refuse to settle in the Zionist entity.

The Zionist campaign has been bitterly opposed in the American Jewish community and, according to sources in Washington, may have been blocked within the past few weeks.

The Israelis want the emigrants to bolster their population. The opposition of US Jews is based on the belief that the important thing is to enable the maximum number of Jews to leave Russia.

Since late summer a "committee of eight" -- four Zionist officials and four representatives of American Jewish charitable organisations -- has been meeting to discuss the issue. Now, sources say, the committee is in virtual deadlock, with American members firmly resisting the cutoff.

The plan was conceived last July by a high-level and semi-

secret bureau in the Zionist Government which is responsible for Soviet Jewish affairs and reports directly to the Zionist Prime Minister, Rabin.

It would cut off all administrative and financial aid from such US Jewish groups as the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society to "drop-outs" -- Soviet emigrants bearing Israeli visas who chose to settle in the US. The plan would also force Soviet Jews seeking to live in the United States to apply directly for American visas from the Soviet authorities.

Opponents fear that this aspect of the plan still further would reduce the rate of emigration, which runs at about 1,000 a month -- less than half the level of three years ago. Immigration has dropped from 55,800 in 1972, including 33,000 from the Soviet Union, to an expected 15,000 this year, including 5,800 from the Soviet Union.

Nearly 50,000 affidavits are sent to Jews in Russia each year guaranteeing a home and employment in Israel, a necessary first step in securing permission to leave the country, but real facilities are not necessarily offered or given on arrival in the Zionist entity.

It is increasingly admitted that the Zionist entity is no longer an attraction for the two and a half million Jews living in Russia. Mr. Daniel Bluz, of the Soviet Immigrants Association, said "Jews leaving Russia are now doing so because of the negative aspects of life there rather than the positive aspects of life in Israel."

Though they are promised a flat, a job and other government help in Israel, many prefer to live on the edge of poverty in European capitals until they can get permission to emigrate to America or Canada. As one American source sympathetic to the Zionist position said "if the emigrants have no real Zionist commitment and it's a question of going to Israel where life is hard, or going to the US where it is easier, a lot of people will go to the United States." By

their admission, the Zionists indirectly agree that they want to bolster the population of the Zionist entity at any price and through any method, that the emigrants are getting wiser to their plan and using it to leave the Soviet Union only, and that they are not supporting Zionism, or they would have gone to the Zionist entity.

Since 1971, according to statistics compiled by Tel Aviv's semi-official Jewish Agency, the drop-out rate of Soviet Jews passing through Vienna has risen from less than one percent before the 1973 war to 37 percent in 1975 and 47 percent so far this year. In September the rate climbed to 51 percent.

The emigrants in the Zionist entity are confused by the new life around them, they are appalled by the economic situation, and often find difficulty adjusting to the commercial and social demands of individual enterprise. Israelis are faced with high housing costs and an inflation rate running at over 25 percent.

ZIONIST FOREIGN POLICY REVIEWED IN KNESSET.

(Israeli newspapers)

The Security and External Affairs Committees of the Zionist Knesset held a joint working session on December 14, during which the Director-General of the Foreign Ministry delivered a report on Zionist policy during the current session of the UN General Assembly and the UNESCO Conference in Nairobi, justifying the failure of Zionist efforts to break out of the international isolation imposed on the Zionist entity.

Both committees also heard another report submitted by the Director of the Research and Planning Center of the Foreign Ministry, on the position of the Arab states vis-à-vis the Zionist-Arab conflict, in light of the Lebanese crisis.

In related news, the Zionist Minister of Justice, Haim Tsadok, addressing the Knesset on Decem-

ber 15, affirmed that Israel has no intention whatsoever of withdrawing from Jerusalem. He added that "consequently, development projects in the city should constitute an insurmountable barrier making withdrawal impossible". He reiterated that so far, 3,000 residential units have been constructed in Jerusalem, in order to prevent the city's partition ever again.

ISRAEL TO ASK FOR 2.3 BILLION DOLLARS IN US AID NEXT YEAR.

(Washington Post, 14/12/76)

In a statement to the Washington Post on December 14, the Zionist Minister of War, Shimon Peres, declared that the Zionist entity has asked for 1.5 billion dollars in military aid from the USA in the coming financial year, in addition to 800 million dollars in financial aid.

Upon his arrival at Lydd Airport, Peres said that he had had a long meeting with the newly-appointed US Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance. Peres expressed his belief that there will be changes in US policy during the Carter administration, and that the President-elect will be generous in his support for the Zionist entity.

Peres arrived in Israel on December 14 to take part in the vote on a motion of no confidence in the Rabin Government presented to the Knesset by the National Religious Front. The motion was defeated. It is to be noted that this was the fourth no confidence motion against the Government this year.



Minister of War, Shimon Peres.

**FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS
PROTEST ACTION OF ISRAELI
MILITARY SPOKESMAN.**
(Agencies)

The Association of Foreign Correspondents and Journalists in occupied Palestine declared in a statement on December 14 that it will stop reporting news issued by the office of the Zionist military spokesman. The journalists decided on this measure because the latter prevented numerous foreign reporters from covering current developments in the occupied territories, particularly the massive uprising now going on. They are also angered by the fact that they were not informed of the arrival of the first three F-15 fighter-bombers in Israel on December 11.

The statement added that the Zionist police also prevented several television crews from filming the massive demonstrations in Nablus. The Association also complained about the confiscation of press reports and films by the Zionist authorities for 24 hours,

which makes them lose their journalistic value.

THE MILITARY EXPORTER

L'Orient-Le Jour 15-12-76.

A.F.P.

AVIATION WEEK

In Washington, the Zionist War Minister Mr. Peres met with Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, and discussions centred in particular on the supply to Israel of F-16 hunters, to which the United States recently gave its agreement in principle.

An informed source indicated that Israel hopes to acquire 250 of these planes, which are to go into service towards 1980. The total cost of the deal would normally be approximately one thousand million dollars, but Jerusalem is attempting to reduce this figure by obtaining the right to assemble a certain number of models under American licence in Israeli factories.

Military Exports

In addition, "Aviation Week" reported in its last issue that Israeli arms' exports reached 500 million dollars in 1976.

According to the estimates of American experts, the weekly adds, in 1977 Israel will export military supplies, the cost of which will exceed one thousand million dollars, but these arms sales are worrying the Pentagon, the State Department and American business circles. They fear that Israel will use the credits granted to it for military supplies not only in order to obtain armaments from the United States, but also with the aim of importing American technology. This technology could later be exported by Israel in direct competition with the supplies manufactured in the United States.

The magazine cites numerous cases of Israel attempting to obtain American manufacturing methods by concluding sub-contracting contracts with several suppliers. Orders are only made on condition that Israel obtain the

right to manufacture elements which are then resold to the supplier.

Official American circles estimate that some 35 percent of Israeli military production is intended for export, and that orders total more than 300 million dollars. The "Gabriel" sea-land and land-sea missile, for example, is at present sold to eight countries.

The Israeli "Kfir" hunter which is propelled by General Electric motor, has been put on to the market in South America, Central America and South Africa, in spite of the fact that these sales are contrary to the American policy in force.

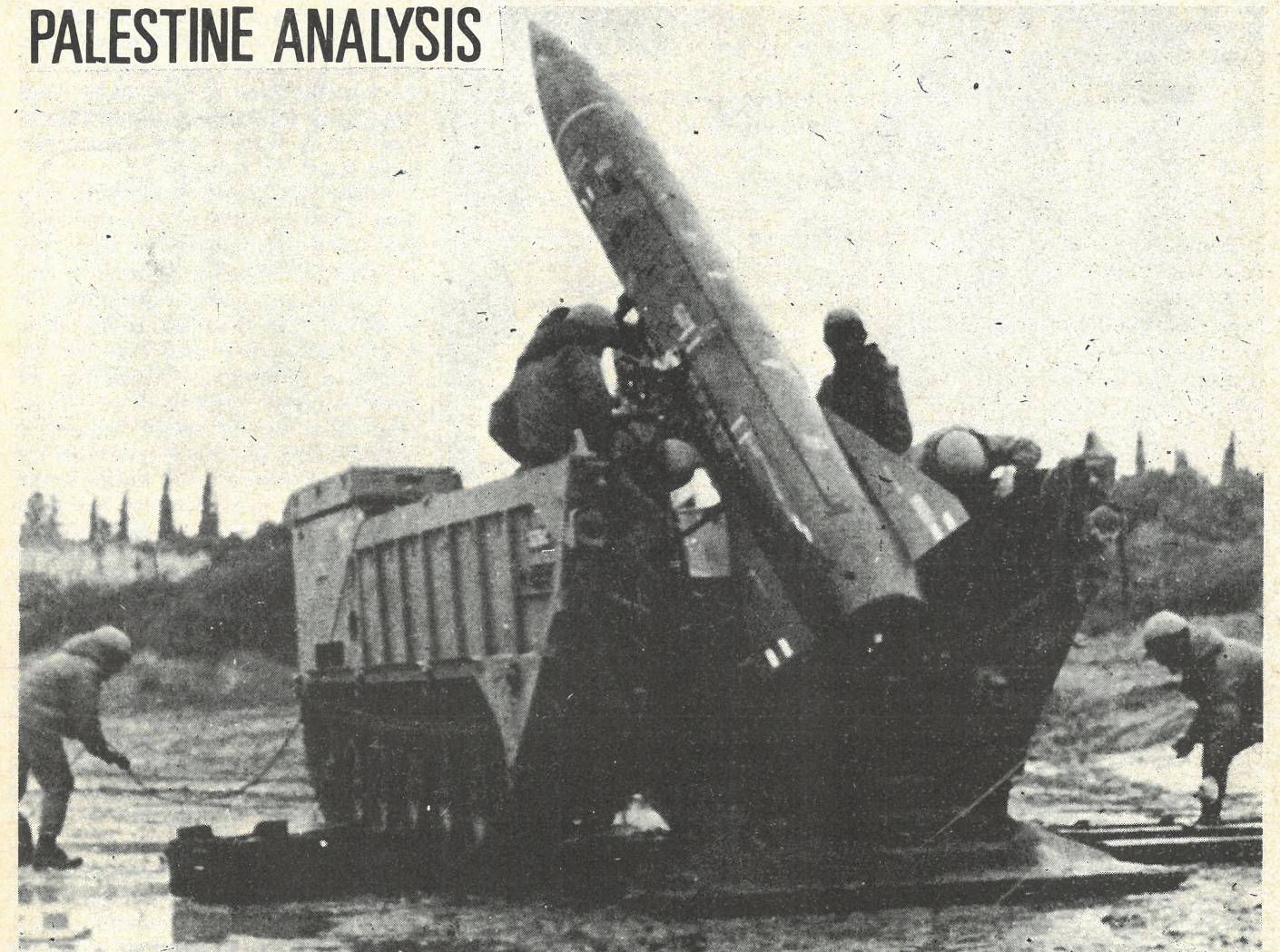
"Aviation Week" quotes another example of competition between the United States and Israel: the AN/PRC-77 radio receiver-transmitter. Israel had obtained the manufacturing rights for this model and is at present selling it at a price lower than that asked by the United States.

The credits provided by the United States to Israel enable it to strengthen its economy and to create employment. But the utilisation of American aid and technology to establish a major armaments exporting industry is contrary to the position of Congress, which is seeking to control American arms sales, the magazine concludes.

**GUR: ISRAELI MILITARY
STRENGTH TO DETERMINE
WAR OR PEACE**

Zionist Chief of Staff, Mordechai Gur, on 27-12-76 declared, at a prize distribution ceremony, that "Israel's military power has increased since the 1973 war to such an extent that Israel has complete freedom of choice between war and peace." He added that "the Israeli Army has become more powerful because of the latest US arms deliveries, which render it more capable of taking political and security risks." Gur continued by declaring that "Israel will definitely win any future war, regardless of which side starts it."●

PALESTINE ANALYSIS



American-made Lance missile for Israel: capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

THE ZIONIST NUCLEAR MENACE-A THREAT AGAINST THE WEST

Undoubtedly, the Zionist regime disposes of nuclear weapons. Moreover, it wants to be open about its «secrecy». For its nuclear threats are first of all aimed at its Western «allies». The Zionists' nuclear terror cannot solve any of their occupation problems in the face of the Arab world, of the Palestinian Resistance and of their growing internal unrest. In fact, it runs contrary to the very interests of the Jewish population in Palestine itself. But by spreading the impression of their ability to trigger off the holocaust of a multiplied «Hiroshima», the Zionists intend to blackmail and to press the West to uphold its support for their unjust and expansionist regime.

THE WELL-KNOWN SECRECY

Time and again «leaks» about the Israeli nuclear potential find their way into the columns of the international press, followed by lukewarm and appeasing declarations of Zionist officials. One of the latest of these leaks stems from a "sempublic" CIA briefing for journalists in March 1976, stating that «Israel» had 10 to 20 nuclear weapons «ready and available for use». According to the U.S. «Time», April 5, 1976, and various similar reports, the Zionist administration had been able to divert from its Dimona reactor enough Plutonium to assemble some 13



atomic bombs.

SUPPORT FROM U.S.A., WEST GERMANY AND FRANCE

After the imposition of their state in 1948 the Zionist "civilisers" started, under the patronage of the first Israeli President Chaim Weizmann, to poison the region with their greed for nuclear weapons. From the very beginning, they were supported in this by their imperialist backers, especially in the U.S.A., West Germany and France.

France allowed Israeli nuclear experts, together with those from racist South Africa, to participate since 1953 in the French nuclear programme including explosion tests, which were carried out on Arab soil in the Sahara. At the same time the U.S.A. helped the Zionists in establishing their first nuclear research reactor at Nahal Sorek, south of Tel Aviv.

To get the bomb, the Zionists "cooperated" soon even with the West Germans, at that time allegedly so odious to them because of the Nazi background. West German nuclear experts, in turn, used the secret research facilities offered by the Zionists to prepare for their early come-back after the breakdown of Nazi-fascism and to escape the international controls imposed on them. It caused an uproar among anti-fascist Jews when the Zionist government had to admit, in October 1964, that it had secretly cooperated in the field of nuclear research with the West German government for several years, through the Weizmann nuclear research center of Rehovot.

It was the French, then the Zionists' main arms suppliers, who in the early sixties assisted their clients to construct the 26 Megawatt Dimona reactor, in operation since 1964.

The Dimona reactor as well as its by-product plutonium was out of direct U.S. control, because it works on the basis of natural uranium from the Negev desert and has thus been independent of supply with enriched uranium from the U.S.A. Nevertheless, U.S. revelations in July 1975 say the U.S. administration, through the CIA, has long provided the Zionists with indispensable military nuclear technology. This took place as part of an "exchange" following the

Zionists' withdrawal from their first Sinai aggression in 1956. On the C.I.A. side, James Angelton is said to have been responsible. He is the same C.I.A. boss, who later on led the large-scale secret surveillance of U.S. citizens.

To obtain larger quantities of fissionable material for A-bombs, the Zionist war minister Dayan and his deputy Peres, proud of the Zionist aggression in 1967, secretly ordered the start of construction on a plutonium separation plant. When later on the Israeli cabinet was informed, it had only to rubberstamp the project.

Nuclear weapons are "credible" only together with effective delivery systems. The Zionists have pressed and are pressing their U.S. masters to supply them with costly and highly sophisticated missiles. As a reward for the Sinai agreement in September 1975, the U.S.A. is about to deliver "Lance" missiles to the Israeli militarists and is "studying" the delivery of "Pershing" nuclear missiles with a range of more than 450 miles. Solemn promises that the Zionists would use these NATO missiles, especially designed for nuclear warheads, "only" for conventional warheads, are nothing but eye-wash. The Zionists use U.S., French and other Western models to develop "own" copies like the now operational 280 miles-range Jericho missile. Likewise they have modified U.S. Phantom fighters, and are now producing, on the basis of the French Mirage, the Kfir fighter plane. Both modified Phantoms and Kfirs are able to carry nuclear bombs at a range covering the Arab world, large parts of Africa and even parts of the Soviet Union.

«LET THE WORLD WORRY ABOUT IT.»

The Zionist President Ephraim Katzir, when addressing a group of visiting scientists on December 1, 1974, boasted bluntly, that the Israeli administration was "able to develop nuclear weapons, and that it would do so". Cynically he added: "Why should we worry about this? *Let the world worry about it.*" ("The Times", December 4 and 16, 1974).

This latter statement caused embarrassment even in Zionist circles, because, for a moment, it

exposed the fascist character of the Zionist nuclear blackmail strategy. It showed whom the Zionists want to threaten first of all by their capability for nuclear devastation: the whole world and especially their Western "allies".

Katzir made his statement at a time when the U.S.A. was demanding some "concessions" from the Zionists, in order to impose a further disengagement agreement in Sinai to disrupt Arab unity. It is worth noting that one can find an increase of "leaks" about the Israeli nuclear potential at times when the Zionist establishment is facing some so-called pressure for "concessions"; also at times, when the Zionists are pressing for ever huger military and financial "aid", especially from the U.S.A.

Even Western analysts have noted that the triggering-off of a nuclear holocaust by the Zionists would mean their own suicide rather than the death of the entire Arab world, and poses a more terrible threat for the Israeli population than any menace from the Arab side, where nobody wants to extinguish the Jewish population.

However, such a holocaust, if it were triggered off by the Zionists, would almost inevitably lead to a nuclear exchange between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, an exchange which most probably would spread at least to Western Europe. This precisely is the final impact of the Zionist nuclear threat.

Sometimes it looks as if people in the West were just tolerating such a horrible and scandalous blackmail, and as if the imperialist circles in the U.S.A., West Germany and France were even keen to supply fuel to this strategy of blackmail, directed against themselves.

THE SECRET NUCLEAR PLOT : ZIONISTS AND SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS HAND IN HAND

But the Zionists strive to increase their threat even more. In February 1976 — while the Zionists faced increasing international criticism because of their reckless occupation regime — Moshe Dayan, on a fund-raising trip in France, declared in an interview with French television: "I think we have now the capability to manufacture the bomb" and "the future

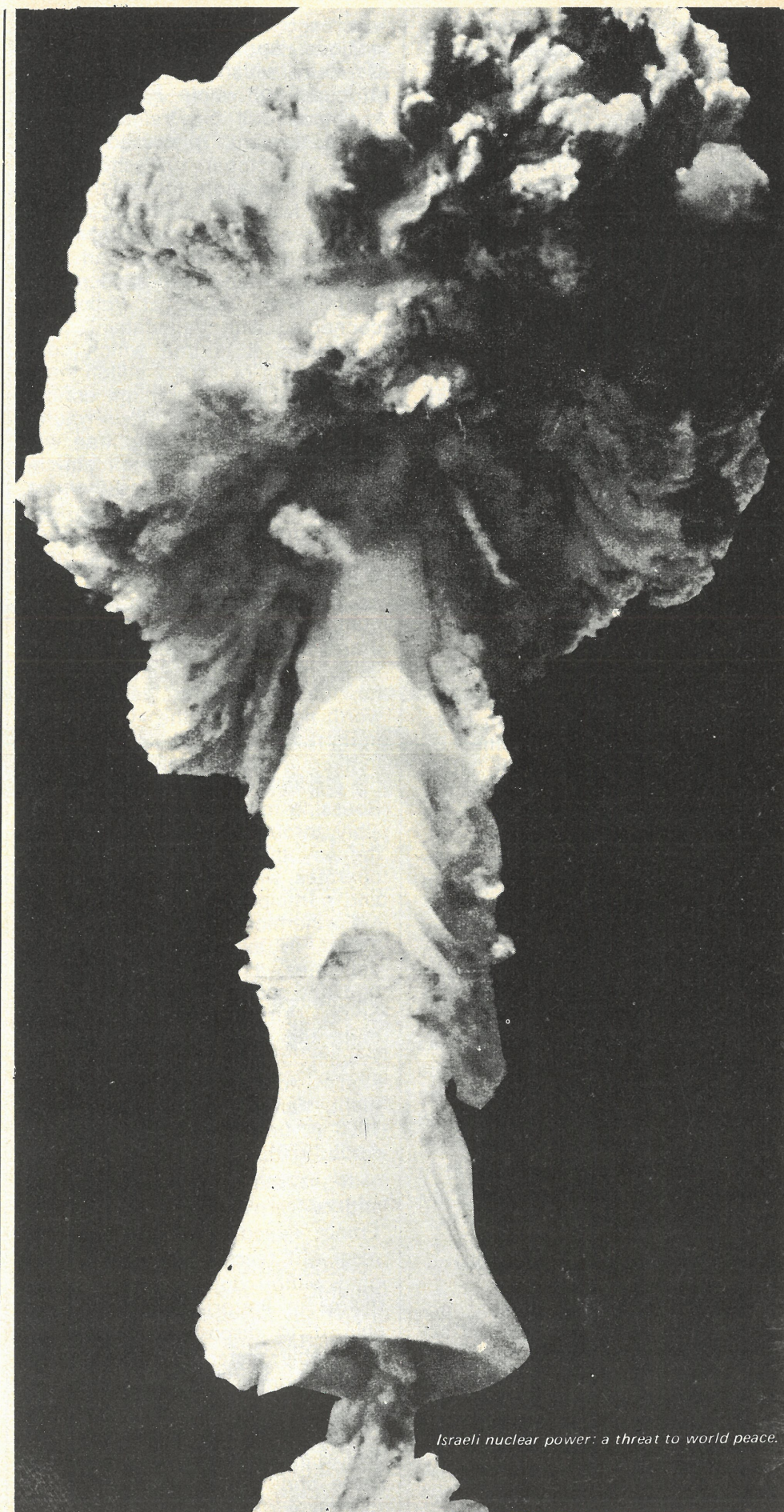
must include the possibility of having nuclear weapons *without any foreign control*". ("Le Monde", February 29, 1976), or, as the "Sunday Times" of March 14, 1976 reported, "*free of American control*".

Apparently, the Zionists want to manage this in close complicity with their companions in racism and isolation, the South African apartheid regime.

In early April 1976, the South African Prime Minister Vorster, an old fascist, who had been interned by his own country during World War II because of his pro-Nazi attitude, was allowed to pay an official visit to the Israeli state and to lay a wreath at Yad Bashem, supposed to be a memorial to the 6 million killed by Nazism. In fact, Rabin and Vorster established the closest formal links the South African racist state was ever able to establish with any other state, and signed an "economic, scientific and industrial pact". A joint governmental commission was arranged, among other things for the purpose of "increasing scientific and technological cooperation, and to make better use of South Africa's raw materials with the help of Israeli scientists."

The core of the matter is that the apartheid regime itself is a nuclear "threshold" power striving for the bomb. South Africa is exploiting about 25% of the Western world's natural uranium reserves, a greater part of them in occupied Namibia. Moreover, the South African racist regime is now offering large quantities of *enriched uranium*, from its new uranium enrichment processing plant at Valindaba near Pretoria, expected to go into full operation this year. Although the details concerning this matter of Vorster's recent visit remain secret, the U.S. "Time", on April 26, 1976, cited "Israeli leaders" as intimating that Israel would receive, among other "strategical material, enriched uranium" in return for the sale of "Kfir fighter planes, Reshef patrol boats and other military hardware to South Africa."

The enrichment of uranium is the cornerstone of all nuclear potential. It needs an extremely sophisticated and costly processing, which has so far been controlled



Israeli nuclear power: a threat to world peace.

only by the few greater nuclear powers. By controlling the market of enriched uranium, the U.S.A. has up to now had a tight control over the nuclear potentials of its imperialist «allies».

Now the South African racists are to open a sub-imperialist nuclear «black market», threatening independent Africa and the Arab world as well as the whole globe.

The Zionists are only too greedy to participate in this. Both the Israeli and South African regimes have refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The South African racists may also provide the Zionists with facilities for secret test explosions, missile tests and other experiments. «Le Monde Diplomatique», April 1976, has reported on such secret test facilities, especially in occupied Namibia near Tsumeb, which are linked with the South African Atomic Energy Board as well as with the South African Army.

In return, the Zionists will offer the services of some 1500 nuclear experts, who have links with more than 600 institutes in some 80 countries (West German «Der Spiegel», December 16, 1974). Immediately after Vorster's visit, the British «Guardian» of April 14, 1976 reported that a group of Israeli nuclear scientists would take part in a conference in Johannesburg. In addition, the Zionists may provide their special know-how in assembling bombs and in delivering them by missiles or fighter planes.

The intensified militarist links between Israel and South Africa have not only been exposed by the conference of the non-aligned nations at Colombo, in August 1976, they have been also condemned in recent reports and resolutions by the United Nations.

WEST GERMANY, IRAN AND FRANCE INVOLVED

The South African nuclear potential also offers the Zionists access to a larger reactionary nuclear arena. The South African Atomic Energy Board plays a key role in the nuclear cooperation of West Germany, Iran and France. Its Jewish President, Abraham J. Roux, has many times paid visits to West German and French nuclear

centers («Le Monde Diplomatique» April 1976). It is West Germany which gave the South Africans the whole technological know-how for the Valindaba enrichment plant. It caused uproar when in October 1975 the South African liberation movement, the African National Congress, revealed that a highest ranking West German NATO General had secretly visited the South African Atomic Energy Board at Pelindaba connected with Valindaba.

Besides, it is Iran which contributes half of the \$ 1 billion starting capital in the uranium enrichment plant in Valindaba. In return, both West Germany and Iran will receive huge quantities of enriched uranium, which gives them a stronger position towards their main nuclear master, the U.S.A.

Iran has for years been the main supplier of oil for the Zionist state as well as South Africa. The amount of 14,000 tons of enriched uranium to be delivered to Iran is far more than that country can use for the next twenty years. It is worth noting, that the «Guardian», in its report on April 13, 1976, said that South Africa would soon supply «Israel» with uranium from the Roessing mine in Namibia — possibly through a third country. By the way, this new mine in Namibia operates with West German help and participation.

Furthermore, France has established, in exchange for uranium deliveries, a close nuclear scientific and military cooperation with South Africa, since B. Goldschmidt, the Jewish head of the French Atomic Energy Commission's foreign relations department, visited South Africa first in 1963 («Le Monde Diplomatique», April 1976).

It caused international uproar and concern when, in May 1976, France agreed to sell two huge 922 megawatt reactor plants, at a price of 1 billion dollars, to the terror regime in Pretoria, which will enable it to dispose at its will of fissionable material for plenty of nuclear bombs. The Organisation of African Unity, in a stern warning in June 1976, has condemned this deal as a «serious threat against the peace and the security of Africa and the world.»

Finally, both West Germany and France have recently concluded nuclear cooperation agreements with Iran, whose content is kept secret.

THE STRATEGY OF DESPERADOS

Thus the ruling circles in the U.S.A., West Germany and France feed nuclear monsters in South Africa and in the Zionist state, which not only threaten the life and the just interests of the Arab, the Palestinian and all African peoples, but also more and more those of their own people.

The African National Council, when accusing West Germany of supporting the apartheid regime's bomb, gave a clear description of the nuclear strategy of the South African racists, which word by word also fits the Zionist strategy, if one replaces Pretoria by Tel Aviv, Africa by the Arab world, apartheid by Zionism:

«With control of nuclear material, the Pretoria regime could consolidate its military links with the Western powers, while at the same time by operating outside international controls, it could buy 'friends' by providing nuclear materials and technology to non-signatory states.

«The development of nuclear weapons would be used to demonstrate that the regime could stand alone in defiance of world opinion and internal opposition.

«The regime could and would use its nuclear muscle to weaken boycotts, embargos and sanctions; it could blackmail Africa and the international community into acquiescence in its apartheid policies at home and expansion of its economic stranglehold over the continent.

«Finally, there is nothing in Pretoria's record as a member of the international community that could leave any doubt whatsoever that a beleaguered regime would, as a final desperate move, actually use nuclear weapons.»

GROWING WORLD-WIDE RESISTANCE

Nuclear blackmail cannot replace a just cause, popular support and friendly international relations.

The Zionists cannot get rid of the tide of growing social upheaval, political opposition and

mass uprising, overcome Arab Resistance and Palestinian guerrilla fighters by nuclear bombs.

One cannot press for ever more and more financial, military and nuclear «aid» out of other countries and use it against their interests.

Indeed, the concert of the Zionist nuclear build-up is growing. It is understood, even by Western observers, that by this the Zionists will not be able to solve any of their growing social and economic problems, nor break their international isolation; that their nuclear blackmail first of all threatens the world especially the West.

All people have to face and to fight this common menace, not only the African and Arab peoples, in their struggle for justice, independence and liberation, against

racist occupation and suppression. The peoples abroad should join their struggle at least as far as peace is at stake, the peace of the whole world threatened by Zionist nuclear desperados and their allies.

«U.S. Senators' Visit To A-Plant Blocked By Israel.»

The «International Herald Tribune», on November 9, 1976, reported from Tel Aviv:

«The Israeli government has refused to open its secret atomic facility at Dimona to a delegation of 13 U.S. senators checking safeguards for U.S. nuclear reactors promised to Israel, sources close to the delegation said.

«The sources said that Israel has turned down repeated requests by

the senators to visit Dimona, which a congressional aide estimated has produced enough plutonium for 20 atomic bombs.

«The Tel Aviv newspaper Maariv, in an editorial apparently cleared by Israel's censors, hinted that Israel is engaging in nuclear research for military as well as peaceful reasons. 'Israel has much interest in developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes, but political and security realities prevent her from turning her back on multipurpose nuclear research,' Maariv said.

«Paul Leventhal, staff counsel to the Senate Government Operations Committee, said last week that Israel's 'unsafeguarded' Dimona research reactor plutonium stockpile puts its peaceful nuclear intentions in doubt.»

U.S. ARMS SALES INCREASE SHARPLY

By Dr. Abdel-Qader Yassin

«Let's face it, merchants of death are never popular," a Pentagon insider told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter. Certainly the U.S. government has done little boasting about the top place it holds in the rapidly-growing world competition for arms sales.

The U.S. is by far the largest supplier of military equipment to the world, accounting for nearly half the world's trade in weapons. Seventy percent of U.S. arms exports are handled directly by the government. Private industry negotiates the rest, subject to government approval. Once an arms deal is cleared, it moves to implementation through a network of over 10,000 military and civilian staffers in U.S. military and assistance groups and service attaché officers in American embassies around the world. In addition, technical representatives of the major U.S. defense industries, such as Lockheed,

General Electric, General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas, work in important world capitals, pushing sales, arranging details and managing supporting aid and maintenance.

The U.S. prefers government-to-government sales out of its own inventories, with the Defense Department taking the item «off the shelf» or adding it to the next Army, Navy or Air Force order and then shipping it to the government concerned. If credit is involved, the Treasury Department enters the picture.

The Defense Industry Advisory Council (Department of Defense) handles liaison between the Pentagon's sales staff and U.S. armaments firms, as well as major U.S. banks financing arms transactions. Also active in the arms sales picture are the State Department through its Office of Military Assistance and Sales, and the Department of Commerce, which

promotes sales abroad because they help the U.S. balance of payments.

Replying to a United Nations request on military exports during the past decade, the U.S. government said that less than 5 percent of all U.S. defense production went into arms exports, with over half going to the industrial countries of Europe and the Far East, and the rest to developing countries and Israel.

Overall, U.S. arms sales from 1968 to 1975 (estimated in 1975) rose from 995 million dollars to 4,988 million dollars for the government, and from 352 million dollars to 856 million dollars for commercial sales.

In current dollar terms, world arms trade from 1961 to 1971 amounted to 48.5 billion dollars. Of this, the U.S. supplied 22.8 billion dollars worth of arms to 74 countries while the Soviet Union sent 14.8 billion dollars worth to 37 countries. (International In-

stitute for Strategic Studies; Strategic Survey 1975).

DOUBLED FOR FISCAL 1975

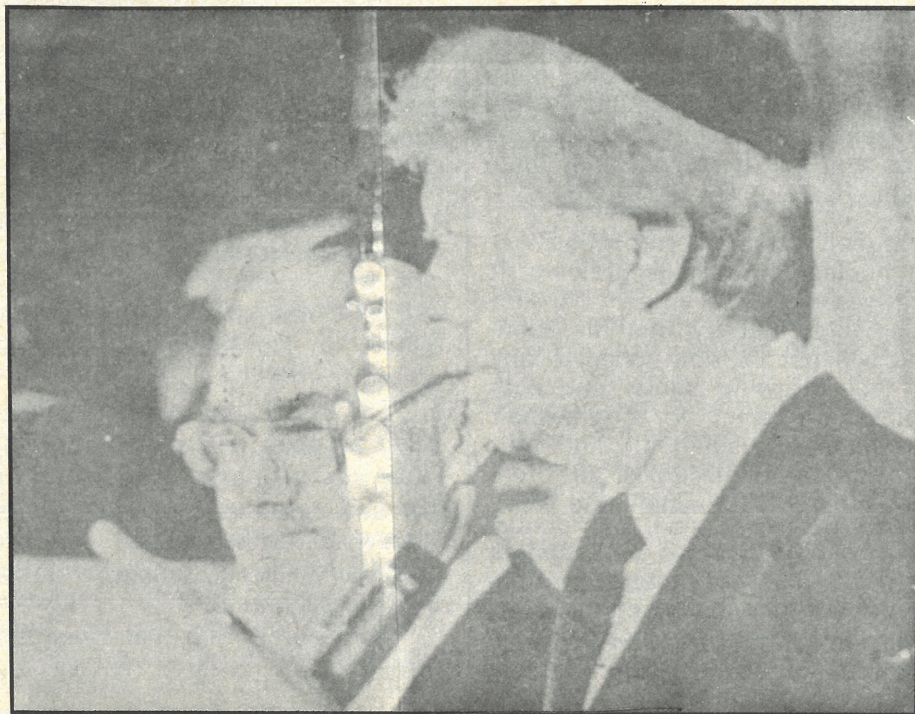
U.S. military cash sales totaled 4,176,700,000 dollars for the fiscal year 1974. The Department of Defense accounted for 3,498 million dollars and commercial sales for 669 million dollars. Major recipients were Iran (2,106.5 million dollars), West Germany (350.7 million dollars), Canada (210.3 million dollars), Israel (197.0 million dollars), Turkey (181.6 million dollars), United Kingdom (157.5 million dollars), Italy (119.9 million dollars), Taiwan (94.3 million dollars), Japan (93.8 million dollars), Saudi Arabia (77.0 million dollars), Netherlands (62.0 million dollars), Greece (44.8 million dollars) and Spain (59.3 million dollars). 422.1 million dollars worth went to all others.

For the fiscal year that ended in June 1975 U.S. arms sales almost doubled compared with those of the previous year, totaling some 8.5 billion dollars. That is almost 2 billion dollars more than all the arms sold or given away by all nations in 1971, according to official Pentagon estimates. Spurring the sales increase, says a government spokesman, is a desire to pile up balance of payments dollars as well as meeting defense and diplomatic goals.

For 1975 American sales included over 4 billion dollars for Iran, over 1 billion dollars for Israel and around 700 million dollars for Saudi Arabia. There were also sales of about 100 million dollars to Kuwait, and of several million to the United Arab Emirates, Lebanon and Jordan. (*The New York Times*, 10 July 1975).

ARMS TO THE MIDEAST

The announcement that the bulk of the 1975 arms sales -- some 7 billion dollars -- had gone to the Mideast and Arabian Gulf area focused attention on a trend



Jimmy Carter (in prayer cap) addressing Jewish congregation last June.

that had been becoming evident since the start of 1974. In February 1974 Iran contracted to buy over 2 billion dollars worth of U.S. weapons in the biggest single arms sale ever negotiated by the Pentagon. The deal included 175 modern jet fighters, 500 helicopters, air-to-surface missiles and other advanced weapons.

In May 1974, the White House agreed to sell advanced military aircraft, including F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers and F-5E supersonic fighters, to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

In the last week of August 1975, the Shah of Iran became the first foreign leader to be invited to place orders for the new Grumman F-14 Tomcat jet -- and his country became the first in the Third World to be permitted to purchase major new U.S. weapons before Nato allies.

According to Michael T. Klare, writing in the May issue of *The World Today*, the principal purposes behind the sales are to counter the growing Soviet presence in the area; to encourage and assist Iran and Saudi Arabia to assume the role of regional "police" powers and thereby assure con-

tinued U.S. access to the area's petroleum wealth; to help defend the region's conservative monarchs against internal threats; and to discourage any challenge to the U.S. role as the major supporter of the Gulf autocracies.

To facilitate the arms deal, the Pentagon arranged for the Export-Import Bank to provide a direct long-term, low-interest credit to Iran of 200 million dollars in 1975 "for exports of defense articles and services." Since Iran has earned billions of extra American dollars since the rise in oil prices, the Shah, in turn, has offered to extend credit to the financially troubled Grumman Corp. to assure continued production of the F-14 for both the U.S. Navy and the Iranian air force. (*The Wall Street Journal*, 29 August 1975).

TRAINING AND SERVICE

Arms are not just sold, delivered, and then left in the hands of the buyers. The contracts are backed up with extensive on-site training and service efforts, as reports on the fate of supplies to Saudi Arabia indicate.

During the last decade, the U.S.

has conducted major arms supply and training programs in Saudi Arabia through American defense contractors. Raytheon Corp., which supplied the Saudi air defense system with Hawk missiles and now has a 265-million-dollar purchase program for advanced Hawk ground-to-air missile batteries, keeps 450 technicians in the country to service the missiles.

Northrop Corp., which supplies the Saudis with F-5E jet fighters, trains Saudi pilots and personnel and develops facilities. Lockheed Corp., which supplies the Saudi air transport command with C-130 cargo planes, is similarly responsible for training pilots and ground personnel. Bendix Corp. has a long-term contract to maintain the trucks and armored vehicles of the Saudi Army.

The U.S. has entered into a 250 million-dollar arms and training contract with the Saudi National Guard, which is separate from the

agreement on training missions that it maintains for the army, air force and navy. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has supervised the construction of three big army bases.

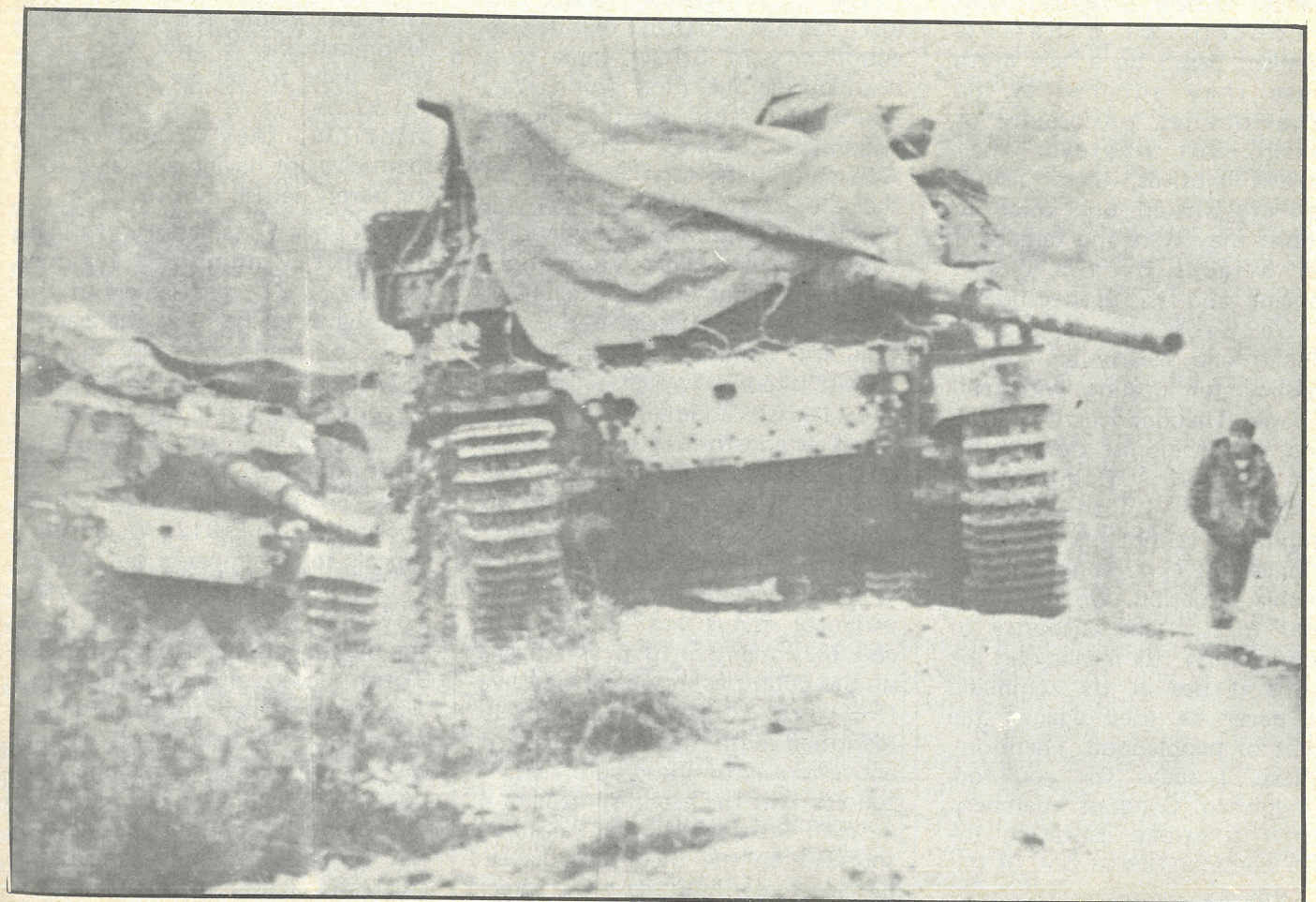
Disclosures of the expanded military relationship between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia underscore the need for Congress to reassert control of military equipment sales to other nations, said Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis), who introduced a bill in June which would require the executive branch to inform Congress of any significant foreign military sales before the transaction is agreed to. (*The New York Times*, 10 August 1976).

ARMS SALES ELSEWHERE

While there has been a sharp rise in U.S. arms sales to the Mid-

dle East, sales to other parts of the world have remained relatively constant. The 1975 totals were: East Asia and the Pacific, 320 million dollars; Western Europe, 655 million dollars; Africa, 35 million dollars; Latin America, 220 million dollars. These figures do not include commercial sales.

The U.S. has agreed to sell Chile 18 Northrop F-5E fighters and 16 Cessna A-37 attack planes for about 72 million dollars. Earlier in the year, Chile attempted to buy Hawker Hunter fighters being disposed of by Jordan. Chile's pursuit of planes was prompted by a decision of the British government not to allow Rolls Royce to renew contracts for the servicing of Chilean Air Force engines in Britain. On the other hand, in June several British companies began bidding for a 240-million-dollar order for six destroyers for the Argentine navy. (*The Financial Times*, 4 July 1976). ●



JEWISH OPPONENTS OF ZIONISM

By Faris Glubb

From its earliest days, the Zionist movement put forward a claim that the Jews constitute an ethnic or national (rather than purely religious) entity, and called for the establishment of a "Jewish" nation-state in Palestine. This viewpoint, however, did not receive unanimous acceptance in Jewish circles. Numerous Jews disagreed with it, for a variety of reasons.

Many realised that the myth of a "Jewish race" had no foundation in fact, and regarded the ties that bound them to their fellow-Jews as purely religious. Some felt a strong sense of loyalty to their native countries, and rejected any other claim on their national allegiance. Others disagreed with the concept of a narrow nationalism based on a race myth because they adhered to the internationalist philosophy of Marxism. But whatever their different motives, these Jewish dissenters shared one thing in common: they were the targets of bitter attacks by the Zionist movement and its propagandists.

"The Zionist apparatus developed and clearly enunciated its policy for dealing with any such Jews. Theodor Herzl told the Second World Zionist Congress in Basel in 1898: 'Campaigning against Zion in the Jewish communities cannot be tolerated any longer. It is an abnormal and untenable situation. We must put an end to it... The authority of the community, its means and the persons it has at its command must never be used against the concept of peoplehood. Therefore, I believe, I speak for you too, distinguished Congress members, when I propose capturing the Jewish communities as one of our next targets.'

"Those Jews who entrusted their national destiny to their citizenship rights in the nations where they lived were not to be tolerated, and the apparatus advocating the 'Jewish' nationality created a deliberate policy to crush them."(1)

Thus any Jew was faced with the threat that, if he held to the universalist interpretation of Judaism or to values like loyalty to the country of his citizenship or internationalist solidarity with his fellow-men, he would become "abnormal" and "intolerable" if the Zionists succeeded in capturing the community in which he lived.

CONTROVERSY AMONG JEWS IN BRITAIN

The clash between racists and anti-racists within the Jewish community of Britain came to a head during the First World War, when the head of the Zionist Federation there, Dr. Chaim Weizmann (later first President of the Zionist state), was urging the British Government to endorse Zionism. He was vigorously opposed by numerous British Jews whose representative body, the Conjoint Committee, rejected the Zionist theory "which regards all the Jewish communities of the world as constituting one homeless nationality." The Committee outlined its members' views as follows:

"They hold Judaism to be a religious system, with which their political status has no concern, and they maintain that as citizens of the countries in which they live they are fully and sincerely identified with the national spirit and interests of those countries. It follows that the establishment of a Jewish nationality in Palestine, founded on the theory of Jewish homelessness, must have the effect

throughout the world of stamping the Jews as strangers in their native lands, and of undermining their hard-won position as citizens and nationals of those lands...

"The second point in the Zionist programme which has aroused the misgivings of the Conjoint Committee is the proposal to invest the Jewish settlers in Palestine with certain special rights in excess of those enjoyed by the rest of the population... It is certainly very undesirable that Jews should solicit or accept such a concession, on a basis of political privileges and economic preferences. Any such action would prove a veritable calamity for the whole Jewish people. In all the countries

in which they live the principle of equal rights for all religious denominations is vital for them. Were they to set an example in Palestine of disregarding this principle, they would convict themselves of having appealed to it for purely selfish motives."(2)

Weizmann's reply to the Conjoint Committee's reasoned case was: "The gentlemen of this type have to be told the candid truth and made to realise that *we* and not *they* are the masters of the situation."(3) This proved to be the case, for Weizmann's campaign led to the British Government issuing the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Weizmann's appeals to the imperial self-interest of Britain's rulers proved more powerful than the ethical arguments advanced by anti-racist British Jews, although the most vigorous opponent of the Balfour Declaration in the British cabinet was its only Jewish member, Sir Edwin Montagu.

"When the Balfour Declaration was brought up later, before the supreme body of the Allied

Conference, Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister of Italy who played a part in the secret councils, protested against the words 'civil and religious rights' in the passage reading, 'nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish (Arab) communities in Palestine.' Baron Sonnino, a Jew but an integrated citizen of Italy, unsuccessfully demanded certain emendations - the substitution of the words 'juridical and political rights' for 'civil and religious rights' for non-Jews. The perceptive Jew Sonnino sensed the possibilities of some ulterior injustice implied or schemed by those 'Jewish' political nationalists who bargained for and extracted the Balfour Declaration."(4)

ANTI-SEMITISM CAN BE DEFEATED

Another distinguished Jewish statesman who rejected Zionism was the Honourable Henry Morgenthau, President Woodrow Wilson's Special Emissary to Eastern Europe in 1919. He wrote:

"Zionism is a surrender, not a solution. It is a retrogression into the blackest error, and not progress toward the light...

"I speak as a Jew. I speak with fullest sympathy for the Jew everywhere. I have seen him in his poverty -- despised, hated, spat upon, beaten, murdered. My blood boils with his at the thought of the indignities and outrages to which he is subjected. I, too, would find for him, for me, the way out of this morass of poverty, hatred, political inequality, and social discrimination.

"But is Zionism that way? I assert emphatically that it is not...

"My answer to the spiritual pretensions of Zionism is the positive answer that the solution has already been discovered -- the way out has been found. The courageous Jew, the intellectually honest Jew, the forward-looking Jew, the Jew who has been willing

to fight for his rights on the spot where they were infringed, has won his battle, and has found all the glorious freedom which Zionism so impractically describes. The brave Jews of England did not surrender their cause. They did not seek a moral opiate in an oriental pipe-dream of retreat to a cloud-land Zion pictured by fancy on the arid hills of Palestine. They stayed in England; they fought on English soil for their rights as men. Their courage enlisted the admiration of the nobler spirits among the English...

"Do not forget that in this victorious struggle the Jew made no compromise whatever with his conscience... The courageous and wise Jews of France and Italy have fought this same battle to this same victorious conclusion...

"The Jews of France have found France to be their Zion. The Jews of England have found England to be their Zion. We Jews of America have found America to be our Zion. Therefore, I refuse to allow myself to be called a Zionist. I am an American."(5)

Even after the Nazi holocaust, when Zionism capitalised on the justified but belated sympathy for the victims in order to blind the public to the rights and wrongs of its political programme, thoughtful Jews still opposed evils such as the 1947 UN partition plan. An American Jewish writer, Benjamin Freedman, stated at that time:

"If the majority non-Zionist Jews could only be brought to realise the disaster political Zionism is preparing for all Jews, and if they had the courage to act, they could break its power in a week. But they will not do this because they are afraid of being branded as 'anti-Semitic Jews'...

"Political Zionism is almost exclusively a movement by the Jews of Europe. But these Eastern European Jews have neither a racial nor a historic connection with Palestine. Their ancestors were not inhabitants of the 'Promised Land'. They are the direct descendants of the people

of the Khazar kingdom... In view of this fact, what becomes of the cry for 'repatriation' to the 'homeland'? "(6)

ZIONISM SUPPRESSES RIGHT OF DEBATE

The smear of "anti-Semitism" is used frequently by Zionists against even their Jewish opponents. This not only discredits anti-Zionists in the eyes of the ignorant, but also camouflages the common interest both Zionists and "anti-Semites" share in seeking to separate Jews from Gentile society. In its treatment of Jews who dissent from its views, Zionism follows Herzl's belief that freedom of debate should be suppressed. According to one Zionist writer:

"The observant Jew who does not accept the centrality of the modern state of Israel is not accepted and is rarely even tolerated. In dealing with those who oppose Israel we are not reasonable and we are not rational. Nor should we be."(7)

"Worst of all, criticism and self-criticism, which were the basic inspiration of the Enlightenment period, have been discredited as almost the equivalent of treason. By a kind of perverted chauvinistic reasoning, criticism of anything pertaining to the Jews, whether it is of Israel, of the dominant nationalistic party, its institutions, or of its ideology, has been defined as anti-Semitism. To criticise any policy of Israel, whether it is the rendering homeless of a million native Arabs, the treatment of the Arab minority as second-class citizens, or the transformation of the new state into a racial theocracy, is denounced not only as anti-Israel but as anti-Semitic.

"Similarly, it is considered downright anti-Semitic for a Jew or a non-Jew to find fault with the many political, financial or ideological activities in behalf of Israel."(8)

Prior to the Second World War, Zionism did not enjoy the support

Zionism = Racism

of the majority of Jews. It arose in Eastern Europe at the end of the last century as a response to the persecution of Jews, notably in Czarist Russia. But with the Russian Revolution, the discrimination against Jews in what is now the Soviet Union was abolished, and large numbers of Jews in Eastern Europe joined Communist or Socialist movements. Zionism's main support then came from Jews who had migrated under the pressure of the earlier persecution from Eastern Europe to the West.

The vast majority of the victims of the Nazi extermination campaign were Eastern European Jews. At the time, they represented the largest concentration of Jewish population in the world and in the main, being adherents of left-wing ideologies, they were opposed to Zionism.⁽⁹⁾ Thus, the largest and most effective opposition to Zionism with the world's Jewish communities was greatly reduced in numbers, and in many parts of Eastern Europe virtually exterminated, by the Nazis. The Zionists then capitalised on Jewish suffering at the hands of Nazism to prove their claim that Jews could not live in Gentile society and must have a state of their own, thereby further silencing opposition to their views in Jewish communities throughout the world.

COMMUNISM AND THE JEWS

Zionism's main opponent in the struggle to win the support of the Jewish masses has been Communism. Other leftist philosophies, such as Trotskyism and Bundism, have also won the



Arriving in the "Land of milk and honey."

support of Jews as an alternative, but to a lesser extent (Bundism lost most of its followers to Hitler's gas chambers, while Trotskyism failed to build an international mass movement on the scale it had intended). Despite their considerable losses in manpower and in many of their most talented leaders in the Second World War, the Jewish Communists survived the war as a political force. The majority of Soviet Jews were saved from extermination. In other East European countries which became Socialist states after the war, those Jewish Communists who survived emerged to play an important and influential role. As an internationalist philosophy, upheld by a number of states, Communism is still a force which can attract Jews away from Zionism.

The Communist policy towards Zionism was defined by Lenin, who declared: "Complete unity

between the Jewish and non-Jewish proletariat is moreover especially necessary for a successful struggle against anti-Semitism, this despicable attempt of the government and exploiting classes to exacerbate racial particularism and national enmity." (This is completely opposed to the Zionist thesis that "anti-Semitism is eternal" and cannot be combated by unity with the non-Jewish proletariat, and that the only solution is to segregate the Jews in a separate state).

"Lenin said that Zionism was only superficially opposed to anti-Semitism while in fact it was inclined to bring about alienation and separatism in the working-class movement... Lenin concluded that Zionism was a form of bourgeois nationalism opposed to proletarian internationalism... He pointed out that along with a biased attitude to other nations, Zionists called for a 'class peace' between the Jewish

working class and the Jewish bourgeoisie within 'a single Jewish nation.'" (10)

ZIONISM DECEIVES SOVIET JEWS

An illustration of the fact that Communism succeeded in winning important support among Jews is that the first President of the Soviet Union, Yakov Sverdlov, was Jewish, as were a number of leading Russian revolutionaries such as Maxim Litvinov, Solomon Lazarovsky, V. Volodarsky and Moisei Uritski. The Zionists have made intensive efforts to persuade Soviet Jews to migrate to occupied Palestine to swell the Israeli state's manpower. A few thousand of them responded to this campaign, but a large proportion of them were disillusioned by the experience of life in Israeli society. On 26 April 1973, a number of these migrants, who had been able to leave the Zionist state, handed the Israeli Embassy in Vienna a protest against "the continuing deception" of Soviet Jews by the Israeli Government. They declared: "We accuse international Zionism and its action force, the ruling circles of Israel, of a policy of outright deceit which results in disaster for thousands of innocent people." Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union frequently accuse the Israeli Government of deceiving them with false promises, giving them menial jobs with low pay and poor working conditions when they are not left totally unemployed, putting them in inadequate housing and forcing them to pay large sums of money before they are allowed to leave the country.

Abram Glezer, Lazar Gutman and Yakub Lam wrote to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet about their experiences as Israeli immigrants: "We have made a grave mistake. This is not a trite phrase but bitter reality. We judged Israel by attractive postcards, 'rose-coloured' letters from our relatives and Israel's false

propaganda. But after we arrived here our beautiful dream turned into black reality. Unfortunately we became aware of this only after spending several months in the 'Zionist paradise'.

"We who have been brought up in Socialist society cannot live in a country where money comes before human values, where we are looked upon as third-rate people." (11)

ANTI-SEMITISM FAVOURS ZIONISM

An interesting study of Zionism was written by the Jewish Marxist thinker Abram Leon, who was killed resisting the Nazis. He maintained:

"It is the ideology of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie, suffocating between feudalism in ruins and capitalism in decay. The refutation of the ideological fantasies of Zionism does not naturally refute the real needs which brought them into being. It is modern anti-Semitism, and not the mythical 'eternal' anti-Semitism, which is the best agitator in favour of Zionism..."

"Zionist theoreticians like to compare Zionism with all other national movements. But in reality, the foundations of the national movements and that of Zionism are altogether different. The national development of the European bourgeoisie is closely linked with the ascending phase of capitalism. But in the nineteenth century, in the period of the flowering of nationalisms, far from being 'Zionist', the Jewish bourgeoisie was profoundly assimilationist. The economic process from which the modern nations issued laid the foundations for integration of the Jewish bourgeoisie into the bourgeois nation.

"It is only when the process of the formation of nations approaches its end, when the productive forces have for a long time found themselves constricted within national boundaries, that

the process of expulsion of Jews from capitalist society begins to manifest itself, that modern anti-Semitism begins to develop. The elimination of Judaism accompanies the decline of capitalism. Far from being a product of the development of the productive forces, Zionism is precisely the consequence of the complete halt of this development, the result of the petrification of capitalism. Whereas the national movement is the product of the ascending period of capitalism, Zionism is the product of the imperialist era...

"A relative success for Zionism, along the lines of creating a Jewish majority in Palestine and even of the formation of a 'Jewish state', that is to say, a state placed under the complete domination of English or American imperialism, cannot, naturally, be excluded." (12)

ETHICAL CRITICS OF ZIONISM

While Communism has given its Jewish followers both a political organisation and a coherent philosophy with which to oppose Zionism, dissent is often very hard for individual Jews who are anti-Zionist for, say, religious or humanitarian reasons. They are subjected to great pressures within Jewish communities. Nevertheless, a number have been courageous enough to take such a stand, including some of the most prominent Jewish thinkers such as Albert Einstein, who wrote:

"I should rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish state. Apart from all practical considerations, my awareness of the essential nature of Judaism resists the idea of a Jewish state, with borders, an army, and a measure of temporal power no matter how modest. I am afraid of the inner damage Judaism will sustain, especially from the development of a narrow nationalism within a Jewish state.

We are no longer the Jews of the nation in the political sense of the Maccabee period! A return to a word would be the equivalent of turning away from the spiritualisation of our community



which we owe to the genius of our prophets."(13)

Another leading anti-Zionist Jew was philanthropist Dr. Isaac Steinberg of the Freeland League, whose efforts to obtain a refuge in Australia for Jews persecuted by Nazism were thwarted by the Zionists, who insisted that these victims must not find refuge anywhere but Palestine. "More than any other leading Jew of his time (Steinberg) helped to uncover the curse of chauvinism which has been eating the vitals of Zionism. He was also the only Yiddish-speaking Jew who dared to tell American Jews that they acted like immature adolescents in their sheep-like adoration of every act of Israel and that they were making themselves ridiculous..."

"His life, particularly the bitter years in America since 1942, was a long heart-breaking ordeal which he bore with great dignity. The mob of fanatics could manage to drown his voice with the din of their bandwagon, but they could never silence him."(14)

The list of distinguished anti-Zionist Jews is a long one, and it would require a massive volume to do justice to them. Leading Jewish humanitarians who took an anti-Zionist stand include psychologist Erich Fromm, journalists William Zukerman and I.F. Stone, author Moshe Menuhin and poet Eric Fried. Historian Alfred Lilienthal rejects Zionism because he is a patriotic American who feels that neither Israel nor any other state has a claim to his loyalty. Religious Jewish opponents of Zionism include the Neturei Karta, an ultra-Orthodox group which feels a "Jewish state" should only be established by God with the advent of the Messiah, and regards the Israeli state as a blasphemous human attempt to usurp a divine function.

Apart from the Neturei Karta, opposition to Zionism is generally less common among Orthodox Jews than Reform Jews. Initially,

Reform Judaism adopted an anti-Zionist platform, which can be summarised as follows: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."(15)

However, the division of religious Jews between racists and anti-racists did not necessarily follow the lines of the sects. Many Reform Jews became Zionists despite the above declaration. And while Conservative Judaism has a reputation for Zionism among its followers, it has refused to affiliate to the World Zionist Organisation.

One of the best-known opponents of Zionism for religious reasons is Rabbi Elmer Berger, a leader of the American Council for Judaism for many years. Berger was one of 92 Reform rabbis who met in Atlantic City in June 1942 and issued a Manifesto condemning "the conditioning of American Jewry by a Jewish flag and a Jewish army and a state in Palestine and a dual citizenship in America." The rabbis also drew up a Statement of Principles which declared:

"In the light of our universalistic interpretation of Jewish history and destiny, and also because of our concern for the welfare and status of the Jewish people living in other parts of the world, we are unable to subscribe to or support the political emphasis now paramount in the Zionist programme. We cannot but believe that Jewish nationalism tends to confuse our fellow-men about our place and function in society and also divert our attention from our historic role to live as a religious community wherever we may dwell."

The American Council for Judaism was established the following year on the basis of

these principles. A similar organisation, the Sammlung Anti-Zionistischer Juden, was later formed in Germany. When the American Council for Judaism was undermined by the Zionists after the 1967 war, Rabbi Berger and other anti-Zionist Jews in the USA founded a new organisation, Jewish Alternatives to Zionism Inc.(16)

Whatever their different inspirations -- political, religious, humanitarian or patriotic -- anti-Zionist Jews have been distinguished by their great moral courage. Eventually, when historical processes reveal the fallacies of Zionism before the masses of Jews in the world, these courageous Jewish defenders of human equality will be able to assume the moral leadership of Jewry and make a valuable contribution to the building of a democratic, non-racist community in Palestine of Jews, Christians and Muslims. ●

1. Rabbi Elmer Berger, *The Constitution and the Balfour Declaration*, article in *Issues* magazine, Fall 1961.
2. Letter to *The Times*, 24 May 1917.
3. Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (New York, 1949), p. 163.
4. Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* (Institute for Palestine Studies reprint, Beirut, 1969), p. 72.
5. Morgenthau on Zionism and Palestine (Pamphlet of League for Peace with Justice in Palestine, New York, n.d.)
6. Letter to Economic Council Letter (New York), 15 October 1947.
7. Michael J. Rosenberg, *Israel without Apology*, essay in *The New Jews*, ed. J.A. Sleeper and A. Mintz (New York, 1971).
8. *Jewish Newsletter*, 21 March 1960.
9. Isaac Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays* (London, 1968), p. 66.
10. *Soviet Jews: Fact and Fiction* (Novosti Press Agency Publishing House pamphlet, Moscow, n.d.), p. 13.
11. B. Bakanov, *Zionist Falsehoods* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 63-64.
12. Abram Leon, *The Jewish Question* (New York, 1970 reprint), pp. 248-252.
13. Albert Einstein, *Out of My Later Years* (New York, 1950), pp. 262-264.
14. *Jewish Newsletter*, 21 January 1957.
15. Statement of Meeting of Reform Rabbis, Pittsburgh, 1885.
16. Menuhin, op. cit., pp. 542-579.

ZIONISM AND THE ORIENTAL JEWS

By Faris Glubb

A central tenet of Zionism is the claim that the Jews constitute a race. That this is a scientifically unsound myth is obvious from the clear ethnic differences existing between, say, Polish, Yemeni and Ethiopian Jews. According to Zionist doctrine, both the black American of African origin Mr. Sammy Davis Jr. and the white settler of Russian origin Mr. Yitzhak Rabin belong to the same race, yet a glance at the two gentlemen concerned indicates some difference in their ethnic origins.

The only thing in common between the Jews of the various parts of the world is in fact their religion and a degree of cultural heritage resulting from it, as is also the case with Muslims or Christians of different nationalities and ethnic origins. The confusion of race and religion in the ideology of Zionism has led to both racial and religious intolerance becoming characteristic of the Israeli state, with complex definitions on «who is a Jew» and laws to safeguard the «purity of the race» similar to the Nuremberg Laws of Nazi Germany.

In theory, all those recognised as Jews are supposed to enjoy the equal status of first-class citizens according to Israeli law, with the Arabs as second-class citizens. In practice, the situation is very much more complicated, with various graduations of status among the Jews. At the top of the social pyramid are the Jews of Russian Jews, followed by the other Western Jews, known as Ashkenazim. The second-class citizens of Israeli society are in fact the Sephardim and Oriental Jews, the former being

descendants of the ancient Jewish community of Spain while the latter are mainly from Arab countries like Iraq, Egypt or Yemen.

«The polarisation of Israeli society into Oriental and Occidental ethnic groups is marked by considerable tensions. Not a few Israelis, possibly because they are overwhelmed by the irony of this situation, are adamant that 'there is no problem' — to quote a common Israeli phrase. But the evidence to the contrary is too conclusive for us to accept such denials as anything but wishful thinking at their best and self-justification at their worst.

«All the characteristic manifestations of ethnic conflict — with the exception of overt discrimination — are to be found in Israel today. Opposition to inter-communal marriages, the selection of friends according to ethnic demarcation lines, the use of pejorative epithets, frequent hostile generalisations about 'them'...

«Various incidents since 1948, including localised riots by discontented Oriental Jews and the publication of provocative books and pamphlets, have helped not only to ensure a constant preoccupation with this issue in responsible (which is not to say official) circles but also to warn of the disasters to which it can lead.

«How has this situation come about? Despite the fact that almost every aspect of Israeli life is touched at one point or another by the hostility between Oriental and Occidental Jews, there is little or no consensus among Israelis as to the nature and causes of these communal tensions.» (1)

The Jewish scholar who wrote

these words, Michael Selzer, has written a profound study on this problem. One important conclusion he reached was that the attitude of Western Jews towards those they regard as «inferior» (whether Arabs or Oriental and Sephardic Jews) is largely an imitation of the attitude of the Nazis and other anti-Semites, of which the Western Jews were the victims in Europe. Thus «the Ashkenazi Jew in Israel is compensating for a long tradition of humiliation and self-hatred by inflicting the same suffering on the Oriental Jew.» (2) To illustrate this point, Selzer quoted comments on the problem by a number of prominent Israelis.

«The Ashkenazim cannot help showing toward the Sephardim (Orientals) the same attitudes which were the customary ones in Central and Eastern Europe toward a national minority: an attitude composed of a mixture of condescension, distrust and a desire to keep their distance.» (3)

«What the Jews from Eastern Europe really dislike about their fellow Jews from the Orient is the fact that the latter tend to remind them of the social and cultural conditions prevailing only a few decades ago in their now rejected shtetl ghettos in Russia and Poland.» (4)

David Ben Gurion, at one time Israeli Prime Minister, commented scathingly that Oriental Jews have «no education. Their customs are those of the Arabs... Maybe in the third generation something will appear from the Oriental Jew that is a little different. But I don't see it yet.» (5) Ben Gurion also claimed that the Oriental Jews «come

from a society that was backward, corrupt, uneducated and lacking in independence and self-respect» and must be made «to acquire the superior moral and intellectual characteristics of those who created the State.» (6)

In this context, the attitude of the «superior» Western Jews is a condescending one where it is not overtly hostile. «The old-fashioned and short-sighted view, which unfortunately is expressed only too often both orally and in writing in Israel, holds summarily that the Oriental Jews are in need of a complete re-education, that their entire being and thinking must be reshaped in the European-Jewish image, and that when this cannot be achieved through suasion and example, the situation calls for legislative measures.» (7) Selzer termed this policy «cultural genocide» against Oriental Jews, and commented: «A unique situation has arisen in Israel where, despite the absence of legal discrimination, a minority ethnic group enjoys such power and prestige that it is able to set up its own values and practices as normative and to imbue with a sense of inferiority and alienation the majority ethnic group.» (8) For in recent years, the number of Oriental Jews in Israeli society has overtaken the number of Western Jews and is now considerably higher.

Another learned Jewish writer, Nathan Weinstock, wrote that, from the end of the First World War onwards, «the Zionist leaders showed a contemptuous attitude towards the Sephardic Jews, of Oriental origin.» This problem intensified with the forced pace of massive immigration following the establishment of the Israeli state. «The size of this migration radically transformed the demographic composition of the Jewish population of Israel. Jews born in Europe constituted 54.8 percent of the Yishuv in 1948. In 1962, they represented no more than 33.5 percent of the Jewish citizens of Israel. On the other hand, the percentage of Jews born in Asia and Africa — mainly originating from the Arab World — rose from 8.8 percent in 1948 to 28 percent in 1962...

«Up to 1948, the social stratification of the Yishuv presented the

following picture: the leadership of the Zionist movement of the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency was held by the pioneers of the second wave (Russian Jews), the middle classes were composed of German and Polish immigrants while the Oriental (Sephardic) Jews formed the proletarian layer of manual labourers...

Since the foundation of the Israeli state, the social differentiation was aggravated with the arrival of whole communities of Jews from the Middle East... Among the Jews, the old immigrants lived in the three large towns, while the Oriental immigrants of recent date were led to the new towns on the periphery of the large urban centres where shanty towns grew up. 18.3 percent of the Jewish families of Israel live with more than three persons to a room. This rate is as low as 5.8 percent for families of Western origin and as high as 35.5 percent for Oriental homes. For Oriental immigrants, settlement in Israel means integration in a Western-type society dominated by European Jews. Professionally, their 'readaptation' takes the form of unskilled or semi-skilled labour. Thus, among the new immigrants, 23.8 percent of those born in Africa or Asia are employed in agriculture as against 12.3 percent of those who come from Europe and America. There is the same disparity for the public services, which accept 13.9 percent of the Orientals but 22.6 percent of the Westerners. There is the same pattern even in the commerce and finance sector which absorbs 9 percent of the Sephardic but 14.2 percent of the Ashkenazi Jews.

«With the logic of the market economy, the oriental immigrants were relegated to inferior and lower-paid jobs where they are the first to be affected by unemployment. They became a 'coloured' proletariat beside the petty bourgeoisie of the Western skilled workers. The cultural gap between East and West was translated into a painful discrimination practised against the Oriental Jew. This ethnic-social stratification illustrates an essential aspect of the structure of Israeli social classes: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the superior elements, the bureau-

cracy and the highly skilled workers are Ashkenazim. The manual labourers, unskilled labourers, the miserable sub-proletariat are Sephardic Jews and Arabs...

«This superimposing of the ethnic structure and the class barriers is a constant source of extreme tensions. It is a situation which does not fail to evoke racial tensions in the North of the United States. In 1959 violent riots broke out at Wadi Salib (Haifa) and in Beersheba against police brutality and discrimination in general. Owing to the lack of enthusiastic pioneers, the mass of unskilled Orientals served as menials to people the arid regions at the edges of the desert and take up the lowest paid jobs. It must be added that the all-powerful bureaucratic trade union, Zionist and state apparatus is essentially in the hands of the Westerners (the proportion of Sephardic officials does not even amount to 1 percent).

«The Orientals' income is systematically lower than that of the Westerners and... this disparity is preserved with descendants of the immigrants, the ethnic factor clearly predominating over length of residence.

The tendency for the disparity to increase is incontestable. In 1964 the average income per head of the Sephardic Jews was estimated at 49 percent of that of the Ashkenazim. And we must add that Oriental homes have a higher birth rate. The lack of social mobility in Sephardic circles makes a double racial barrier of social exclusiveness. These observations are confirmed by the accommodation conditions of Sephardic Jews, employment policy and the 'Western' monopoly of higher education (60 percent Oriental children in primary school, 5 percent Sephardic students in higher educational establishments). Segregation is just as marked in the choice of spouse; mixed marriages (between Eastern and Western Jews) are infrequent: less than 10 percent in 1962.

«This ethnic conflict which simmers at the heart of Israeli society is, in a certain sense, an extension of the segregationism implicitly contained in Zionism... It derives from the colonial mentality characteristic of the Zionist lead-

ers who continually insist on the Western character of the Israeli population.» (9)

The 1959 race riots provoked the following comments from a Jewish periodical: «Since they were fights between communities, between the so-called 'black' Jews from North African countries (commonly called Oriental Jews in Israel) and the 'white' Jews from European countries, there is some justification for describing them as racial... *Davar*, the organ of Ben Gurion's party, takes the position that the riots were organised by criminal elements among the Oriental Jews and encouraged by Communists and other extremists who hope to gain power in the forthcoming election by fomenting unrest. Proponents of this view advocate stronger police measures as a means of stopping the riots. Another section of the press, led by the independent liberal *Haaretz* and other important non-governmental newspapers, takes the view that the riots were not deliberately organised, but marked a spontaneous eruption of deep-seated discontent, and that Oriental Jews have real grievances.» (10)

A Knesset Commission held an inquiry into these riots. «The picture of poverty, misery and humiliation revealed by the witnesses before the Commission shocked even the average tough-minded Israelis, who can be quite callous with individuals when the welfare of their state is involved. Witness after witness testified that thousands of North African Jewish families in Wadi Salib and other places live in basements where the sun never reaches. Families of up to thirteen live in one room and sleep in shifts: one night half the family sleeps on the steps outside, the next night the sleepers change places. Sanitary conditions are appalling. There is no privacy of any kind. Children go about half naked, without parental care or instruction, and they are mentally retarded in comparison with the European children when they reach school. 90 percent of these children do not complete their elementary education; at the age of 12 most of them go out to get jobs to help the family make a living. The result is that 80 percent

of Jaffa's delinquent boys and girls come from Oriental families. Juvenile delinquency began in the past with the age group of 14 to 15; now it has moved to the 9 to 12 group.

«Another great evil which plagues the Oriental Jews is the system of part-time work, which was introduced by the government as an emergency measure to deal with the large influx of immigrants, but which has become a permanent feature of the employment situation in the country. This system consists in giving newly-arrived immigrants, most of whom are unskilled workers without special qualification, only 12 days employment a month at some of the heaviest and most degrading jobs. Officially they are considered employed, but their earnings are not enough for living or dying. Aggravating their position is the fact that these people have been placed under petty party officials of the Jewish Agency, who use the distribution of the jobs at their disposal as a means of increasing the political strength and influence of their political parties.» (11)

Zionist race prejudice against dark-skinned Jews is reflected in the power of the Israeli Grand Rabbinate to decide on who is qualified to be considered a Jew and who is not. The criterion is based much more on skin colour than on doctrinal considerations; thus «the darker a Jew was, the more questionable was his racial fitness to be considered a real Jew, his fitness to marry anyone he fell in love with in Israel.» (12)

«Another example of the racist mentality of the Israeli Grand Rabbinate is the detailed inquisition on the ethnic ancestry which it considers necessary to judge the Jewishness of the 'Bene Israel' Jews of India, while similar requirements have never been formulated for other Jewish communities. It required several spectacular strikes from this community which demanded, failing the abolition of the religious discrimination, a return to their native land, before the Knesset on 18 August 1964 affirmed the equality of the Bene Israel with other Jews and appealed to the Chief Rabbi to cancel the discriminatory measures taken against them. The

case of the Ethiopian Falasha Jews (also dark-skinned) whose immigration is not wanted by the authorities appears similar.» (12) The Falasha have recently become acceptable as immigrants, because of the Zionist state's severe manpower shortage.

«A group of 130 Indian Jews in November 1951 sought repatriation to India from Israel where they claimed, they were being forced to do the lowest kind of labour and were called 'black' by the rest of the populace. Some even insisted that they were permitted only black bread. Speaking for this group of Indians, Isaac Joseph, an insurance salesman, said, 'In India there is no discrimination. In Israel we are Easterners and apparently inferior.'» (13)

If anything, life for Oriental Jews has become even worse in recent years, particularly after the October 1973 war. High taxes to support Israel's massive war machine, inflation and repeated currency devaluations have fallen most harshly on the poorest members of Israeli society, the Oriental Jews. Serious riots, mainly by Oriental Jews, erupted in November 1974 following the Israeli Government's announcement of tough austerity measures, including a 43% currency devaluation and the doubling or even trebling of the prices of some essential foodstuffs. The riots were centred on the miserable Oriental Jewish Hatikva slums in Tel Aviv. The police suppressed the protests with extreme brutality, injuring and arresting large numbers of people. (14)

As is to be expected, the oppression and discrimination from which Oriental Jews suffer led them to form an organisation to assert their rights, known as the Israeli Black Panther Movement. This organisation has been the target of considerable police repression. For example, on 18 May 1971, the Panthers held a peaceful demonstration in Jerusalem to demand equality for Oriental Jews. One of the demonstrators, Joseph Schwartz, related: «Already during the rally in the Davidka Square they arrested Danny Sahil and dragged him so as to provoke a reaction that would justify police intervention. The police deliberately wanted to get the demonstra-



tion to go downtown, in the direction of Zion Square, and there a police regiment, which had been assembled earlier that day from all parts of the country, was kept waiting. They were armed with clubs, shields and gas grenades.

«The police hit indiscriminately with a deliberate malicious intent to hurt and wound men, women and children. A policeman assaulted me. I did not resist. I have been through a number of demonstrations and I know that it is pointless to defend oneself. The first policeman jumped on me, and six others with clubs approached me. I did not defend myself. I claim that the way they dragged me constituted an attempt to murder. They wanted to tear the skin off my back and instead of walking with me or lifting me, they simply dragged me by my feet along the entire road. Clearly, this was done with intent to inflict bodily harm.» Other witnesses confirmed his account, and gave the additional evidence that the police had beaten up women demonstrators. (15)

In addition to seeking the eman-

cipation of Oriental Jews, the Israeli Black Panthers have recently developed the interesting idea that they can form a natural bridge for dialogue with the Arab World. The Panthers' Party Secretary Charlie Bitton and two other leaders have come out in favour of a dialogue with the Palestinians. Mr. Bitton added that Oriental Jews now form 60% of the Israeli population. (16)

The idea that the Oriental Jews can reach an understanding with the Palestinians has a sound basis to it, in that a major factor behind Zionist discrimination against Oriental Jews is the fact that the latter originate mainly from an Arab environment and their culture is Arab. Selzer summed up the psychology of the Zionist attitude on this most accurately: «At least officially, the Oriental Jew is a Jew; he too has come from abroad and been admitted into Israel because of his Jewishness. Formally, therefore, there is nothing to distinguish him from 'us' — and that is the rub. For if there were no 'primitive' Oriental Jew, there would be nothing to undermine

'our' sense of superiority over the Arab, nothing to challenge — at least in 'our' own minds — the notion that it was 'we' who brought civilisation to the Arabs.

«But of course there is an Oriental Jew; and he is nearly identical to the Arab. Since, at least formally, he is also a Jew, the end result is that we Jewish, Zionist Israelis have our identity compromised all the more because, at least statistically, the typical Israeli is nowadays culturally an Arab.» (17)

Apart from culture, the Oriental Jews and the Palestinians share another important thing in common: both are victims of Zionist racial discrimination. A dialogue between them on developing this common cause into a common struggle could be a useful step towards the building of the democratic secular state of Palestine, which is the only real solution to the problem facing both Oriental Jews and Palestinians. ●

1. Michael Selzer, *The Aryanization of the Jewish State* (New York 1967) pp. 57-59.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
3. Raphael Patai, *Israel between East and West* (Philadelphia, 1953) p. 287.
4. Nissim Rejwan, *Israel's Community Controversy*, article in *Midstream*, June 1964.
5. Quoted by David Patterson in *Prejudice in Israel*, article in *Look*, 5 October 1965.
6. Knesset debate records, 24 October 1960.
7. Patai, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
8. Selzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
9. Nathan Weinstock, *Le Sionisme Contre Israel* (Paris, 1969) pp. 121, 310-311, 337-340.
10. *Jewish Newsletter*, 7 September 1959.
11. Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* (Institute for Palestine Studies Reprint, Beirut, 1969) p. 388.
12. Weinstock, *op. cit.*, p. 319.
13. Alfred Lilienthal, *The Other Side of the Coin* (New York, 1965) p. 224.
14. *Washington Post* and other Western newspapers of 11 November 1974.
15. Black Panthers' new conference. Jerusalem, 20 May 1971.
16. Selzer, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

"Every people whose fundamental rights are seriously denied has the right to have them respected, particularly through political and trade union struggle, even, in the last resort, through the use of force."

"Liberation movements should have access to international organisations, and their combatants have a right to the protection of the humanitarian law of war."

"The re-establishment of a people's fundamental rights, when they are seriously denied, is a duty which is required of all members of the international community."

(Articles 28, 29 and 30 of the "Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples, Algiers, July 4, 1976).

In 1975, we witnessed the collapse of imperialism in South-East Asia and Africa, particularly the southern part. The fall of Saigon (April 17) was followed a few days later by that of Pnom Penh (April 30). Laos, likewise, followed a similar course, and the Americans began beating a hasty retreat from there in May, confirming the collapse of the third "domino" in Indochina.

In Africa, all the calculations were upset by the independence of Guinea Bissau (September 10, 1975), Mozambique (June 25, 1976) and Angola (November 11, 1976). In the latter country, imperialist intrigues aimed at preventing the attainment of power by the MPLA, the sole legitimate representative of the Angolan people, only made the victory of the nationalist forces more impressive. The wind of liberation which is blowing in Southern Africa can no longer be contained.

That region continued to attract attention in 1976, with the popular uprising in South Africa, the Rhodesian developments -- intensification of armed struggle, Smith's

manoeuvres to avoid the fall of his racist regime, and the Geneva conference -- and the revival of the Namibian problem.

In North-East Africa, a revolution unhesitatingly continued its progress towards national liberation, despite attempts to liquidate it and the almost total silence of world opinion. This was the Eritrean Revolution, which in 1976 foiled the genocide plan of the Colonels in Addis Ababa.

While imperialism is generally losing territory in Africa, on the other hand it is going over to the offensive in the Middle East. The events unfolding in Lebanon since April 13, 1975 have become clearly revealed as a large imperialist conspiracy aimed at strangling the Palestinian Revolution and thus

evading the key issue in the Middle East crisis, that of Palestine, within the framework of a reactionary settlement. (See article on Palestinian Revolution in 1976). Another revolutionary nucleus which is a target of the imperialist "pacification" effort is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman.

SOUTHERN AFRICA ON THE BRINK OF EXPLOSION

South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia are all in the same geopolitical category. It is now certain that Rhodesia, within the very near future, will be called Zimbabwe. As far as Namibia is concerned, white colonialism cannot delay that country's independence under the leadership of SWAPO



Zimbabwe

for ever. South Africa, already shaken by upheavals internally and on the level of the international community, will sooner or later find itself compelled radically to change its policy towards the local masses and other peoples in the region. If it continues the course of apartheid, oppression and exploitation of the Africans, it will have to face up to the extension of armed struggle to the last refuge of the white minorities in Southern Africa. The Vorster regime still seems to be trying to cling desperately to its arbitrary "supremacy" and its designs of domination.

Realising the change in the balance of forces since the independence of Mozambique, the South African regime has launched a campaign aimed at improving its image on the international level. In particular, it began its so-called policy of dialogue with African states. But its intervention in Angola, and more recently, the brutal suppression of the South African masses, dispelled the illusions of some African heads of state who had believed in the genuineness of Pretoria's open-door policy. Those who had thought they could form a pro-Western axis with South Africa had to step back hurriedly.

Since June 16, 1976, when the first demonstration occurred in Soweto (a black ghetto on the edge of Johannesburg) the uprising of almost all the black population has been the main concern of the Pretoria authorities. Needless to say, the latter reacted only with their usual violence.

Oliver Tambo, the President of South Africa's African National Congress (which has been underground since 1960), in an interview with *Le Monde* of October 6, described the riots in South Africa and defined the relationship between these events, the long struggle of the South African people under the ANC's leadership and developments throughout the whole region. The school pupils who launched the uprising "were undoubtedly acting under the in-

fluence of external struggles, in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, and under that of the ANC, the ally of nationalist movements in the region. Their movement is significant and important even if it was not planned by the ANC. In the long term, it will appear as a phase in the general struggle in South Africa."

Asked to specify the similarity between the situation in South Africa and that prevailing now or previously in other countries of Southern Africa, Oliver Tambo repeated: "There are no differences. Our situation is precisely that of a colonised people. Long before the establishment of the republic, we fought against the British. Since then, our situation has not changed, it has even deteriorated. Every Black is now considered a stranger in his own country... As in Mozambique, Angola or Namibia, the young South African Blacks are part of the revolutionary movement which demands the transfer of power to the whole people. The struggle takes a violent form and, while it is inspired by the youth, it reflects the state of mind of all Blacks in the region. In terms of conditions, the means of struggle are certainly different. The Mozambicans were able to obtain arms. For the time being, the Blacks in South Africa do not have them... but they will arm themselves and the fight will then take on a greater dimension."

THE BANTUSTAN STATE, OR HOW TO BE AN EXILE IN ONE'S OWN HOME

To preserve its colonialist policy based on intensive exploitation and extreme racism, and to give apartheid a sort of legality in the eyes of world opinion, South Africa decided the best method was to grant autonomy (a bogus kind, of course) to ten Bantustans on a tribal basis, thus creating mini-states totally under the white minority's control. The manoeuvre involves handing over 13 percent of the territory to 16 million

Blacks, while the 4 million Whites would keep 87 percent. It draws inspiration from the 1913 Land Act and the 1950 Tomlinson Commission of Inquiry on the African Regions, and is based on the idea of "separate development." This simply means the development of White areas, since the Bantustans, having none of the mineral wealth which is the basis of the country's prosperity, are only there to provide a labour force. Furthermore, each one is made up of separate groupings, and this underlines the fact that they are merely a totally subjugated enclave.

The first Bantustan state experiment is that of Transkei, which attained its meagre autonomy on October 26, 1976. Politically, it is simply a trial balloon in order to silence the riots, for which Soweto has become the symbol. It is the eternal imperialist maxim: divide and rule.

The constitution of Transkei defines the citizen of the so-called state as "any Xhosa-speaking Bantu." Thus even an African born and bred in another region is, by law, a citizen of Transkei. He is thus considered an alien everywhere else in South Africa. Economic considerations are directly linked to political aims, and the Whites' economy thus has a reservoir of cheap African manpower without compromising itself.

The Black South African masses have unanimously condemned the white minority's manoeuvre. It is noteworthy that the majority of Transkeians are strongly opposed to the scheme, which is why Pretoria and its puppet Bothe Sigcan do not dare put the issue to a referendum.

On October 27 the UN General Assembly, by 134 votes to 1 (South Africa) with 1 abstention (the United States) adopted a resolution on the "so-called Transkei and other Bantustans." The resolution strongly condemned the creation of Bantustans as a measure aimed at consolidating the inhuman policy of apartheid, destroying the country's territorial



Presidents Kaunda, Neto, Nyerere, Khama and Machel meeting in Dar es-Salaam: intensifying the armed struggle in South Africa.

integrity, perpetuating White domination and dispossessing the African population of South Africa of its inalienable rights. It rejected the declaration of independence of the so-called Transkei, which it declared null and void, and called on all governments not to recognise the so-called Transkei in any form, and to avoid all contact with the authorities of Transkei and other Bantustans.

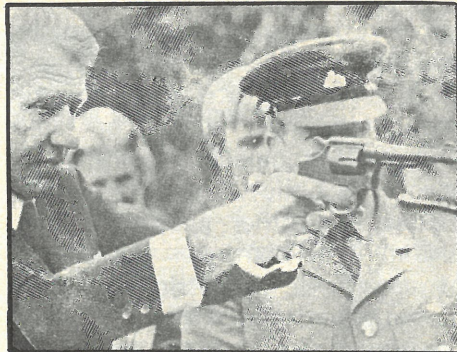
NAMIBIA: S.W.A.P.O. DENOUNCES WINDHOEK CONFERENCE

Namibia, colonised by Germany in 1881, came under a South African mandate in 1920 after the defeat of Germany, at the request of the League of Nations. But in 1946, the League of Nations was dissolved and the new United Nations Organisation decided to place all the League of Nations mandated territories under its own trusteeship. South Africa refused to accept the UN decision and simply annexed Namibia. Thus this territory, over which the UN is the legal mandatory power, has been occupied by Pretoria's armed forces since 1920, despite all the world body's measures and resolutions aimed at ending this occupation and enabling power to be handed over to the Namibians under the leadership of SWAPO (South-West African People's Organisation), the only movement recognised as the Namibian people's representative both by the UN and the Organisation of African Unity.

Established in 1959, SWAPO launched the armed liberation struggle in 1966, after seven years of essentially political struggle. It demanded the implementation of UN resolutions on Namibia and the transfer of power to the People's Organisation, which would provide a transitional authority pending the declaration of independence.

The Pretoria authorities again disregarded the Namibians' rights and world opinion by opposing Namibia's attainment of independence by a deadline which the UN laid down as August 31, 1976. The UN High Commissioner for Namibia, Sean MacBride, told the *Rand Daily Mail* on September 6, 1976 that even "if the United States cooperates with South Africa and recognises the participants in the Windhoek constitutional conference as negotiating parties, Namibia will be liberated in any case." The High Commissioner thereby sought to warn against this conference, which was aimed first of all at excluding SWAPO and then at making it "one party among 20 others," according to Vorster's statement published in *Le Monde* of September 7, 1976. SWAPO can neither be pushed aside nor considered one party among so many others. The *International Herald Tribune* of September 20, 1976 wrote that, according to testimonies collected in Namibia, SWAPO alone represents the Namibians' genuine national aspirations."

The Windhoek constitutional conference, which has been going



on for over a year in the Namibian capital, has the task of defining a new status for the territory. It is being conducted under the auspices of the so-called multi-racial committee, which is controlled by Pretoria, and aims at installing a Bantustan-type government in Namibia, whereby the population would be represented according to its ethnic origin. SWAPO has categorically refused to take part in any discussions of this kind. On the occasion of Kissinger's African tour in September, it reaffirmed that it is not opposed to discussions with the South African government, but only if such discussions are based on the following conditions:

- (a) South Africa recognises and publicly declares the Namibian people's right to independence and national sovereignty.
- (b) Namibia's territorial integrity is inviolable and must be respected.
- (c) South Africa recognises and accepts the fact that SWAPO is the only true representative of the Namibian people.

As a precondition to any negotiations, the Organisation demands the return of exiles, the release of political prisoners, the abolition of laws on apartheid, elections under UN control and on a national basis and the South African army's withdrawal from Namibian territory.

With regard to Kissinger's discussions regarding an eventual agreement on Namibia, SWAPO's President Sam Nujoma indicated in Lusaka on September 1 that he could give no credit to these and

considered that "Kissinger's main concern" was to preserve the interests of the Whites in Namibia.

In fact, the United States is currently seeking ways of keeping Southern Africa in its sphere of influence. It is now working out new formulae enabling it to guarantee American political and strategic interests in Namibia, with the participation of the South African authorities, and aimed at replacing the present form of tutelage with another one.

In order to foil the many imperialist and South African intrigues, SWAPO, strengthened by the backing of neighbouring African states, in particular Angola, began in September to step up its harassment operations against racist forces stationed on Namibian territory.

RHODESIA: AGREEMENT AT GENEVA OR ALL-OUT WAR

The expansion of guerrilla warfare against the Smith regime, parallel with political moves, marks a decisive phase in the Black nationalists' liberation struggle. From the beginning of 1976 there were operations in depth, such as the destruction of several engines and wagons on the railway linking Salisbury with South Africa, or the sabotage of railway lines between the Rhodesian capital and the Mozambique border. An operation of this type carried out on May 15, '50 kilometres from the Mozambique border clearly showed the irreversible turn the nationalists' struggle was taking. It had an immediate psychological effect. Since it occurred in an area hitherto regarded as outside the guerrillas' scope, it frightened the Salisbury authorities to the point of making them take exceptional measures, like abolishing all exemptions from military service. It also contained a genuine political motive, since it came as a reply to Kissinger's first African tour in April 1976 and Ian Smith's decision to include four tribal chiefs in this government, as

if by this ridiculous manoeuvre he could sidetrack the Zimbabweans' national demands.

Thus, to confront pressures from South Africa and the United States (which were worried about betting on a loser), and faced with imminent defeat, the Salisbury regime could find no more convincing course than to bring four tribal chiefs into its new cabinet in April. It was an incredibly incongruous and naive action, reminiscent of the attempts by colonial powers in the 1930s to bring in docile collaborators instead of the true representatives of peoples struggling for their independence.

Nobody misunderstood the meaning of this sudden concern for coexistence on the part of the same people who had always insisted that they would only let the country be in "civilised and responsible hands," namely those of well-behaved servants, the tribal chiefs.

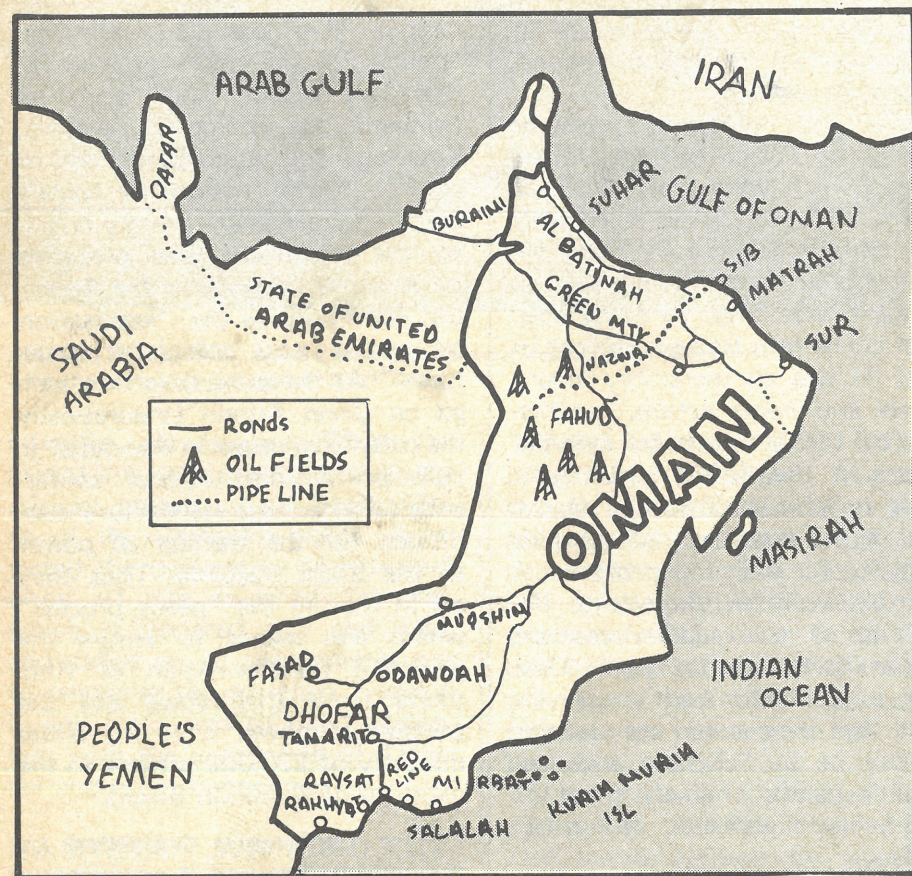
This trick by the racist minority to prevent the handover of power appears particularly ludicrous when one visualises the tribal chiefs as Jean-Claude Pomonti described them in *Le Monde* on April 26, 1976: "The minister presented a black cow to the chief to celebrate his promotion. Ladies of European high society listened with a tender smile to the choirs of children from Christian African schools, who had been brought there by bus. Later there was a gathering in the hall of the reservation around a cup of tea and little cakes, but for Europeans the chiefs, who had laid aside their capes and had their colonial hats in their hands, put in a timid appearance before climbing back into the bus which had been hired for them."

In order to halt the radicalisation of the situation in Rhodesia, and prepare the way for establishing a government which, if not pro-American, would at least be willing to safeguard United States interests, Dr. Kissinger made his second African tour in September, ending with the outlining of the

famous "Kissinger plan." On September 26, the heads of state of the five "front-line" countries (Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Angola), as well as the Zimbabwe nationalist leaders met in Lusaka and strongly rejected the settlement plan proposed by Kissinger, describing the American conditions as the "legalisation of racist and colonialist structures." At the same time they called on Great Britain (theoretically the colonialist power in Rhodesia) to summon a constitutional conference to determine satisfactory conditions for the transfer of power to the Black majority. Thus they set in motion the "peace process" which was meant to ensure the peaceful transformation of Rhodesia into Zimbabwe and the transfer of power from the White minority of 270,000 settlers to the majority of 6 million Blacks.

The conference demanded by the nationalists and the neighbouring countries opened in Geneva on October 28, under the chairmanship of Ivor Richard, Great Britain's Ambassador at the UN. The racist Ian Smith found himself compelled to attend, if only so as not to be blamed by world opinion for a widening of the conflict. Being in a corner, he clung fiercely to the guarantees he claimed to have received from Kissinger: a two-year delay before the attainment of independence and the handing of the Defence and Interior portfolios to Whites in the transitional government.

For their part, the Black leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe of the nationalist Patriotic Front are demanding the establishment of the state of Zimbabwe within one year at the latest and the placing of the army and police under the control of ZIPA (the Zimbabwe liberation army) during the transitional period. Two other leaders, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, showed themselves more moderate. But all four agree on the fundamental principles that



Omani freedom fighters.

should serve as a basis for national independence.

Ian Smith, who is in a critical position in the field and a very narrow margin for manoeuvre at Geneva, insists on his "guarantees" being applied, which means the conference has been unable to reach any agreement on the problems raised so far. British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland announced on December 14 that the negotiations would be suspended until January 17. He also declared that he hoped to put this interval to good use by going to Africa, to consult all the parties concerned in the conflict.

Since the announcement of the suspension of the Geneva conference, the Zimbabwe liberation movements have moved into a new phase of extending the armed struggle against the racist Salisbury regime by opening up a fourth guerrilla zone along the Botswana border. This development is an unmistakable warning to Ian Smith and his clique.

GENOCIDE OPERATION IN ERITREA

The Ethiopian military junta, whose army is completely besieged and demoralised by the Eritrean Liberation Army's constant attacks, attempted a desperate move -- genocide against innocent Eritrean civilians -- in order to curb the Eritrean Revolution.

The plan of the junta, whose slogan has always been "We want the land of Eritrea but not its people," was to exterminate the population of Eritrea and bring in Ethiopian peasants to colonise this land, thus finishing with the Eritrean problem once and for all. This plan consisted of arming Ethiopian peasants with outdated weapons and bringing them in to fight the Eritreans beside the junta's forces. Some 500,000 peasant militiamen, under coercion or lured by promises of land to be won in Eritrea, took part in the operation. Half the regular army -- about 80,000 men -- was sent into

Eritrea.

These forces were reinforced by the special anti-guerrilla battalion trained by the Zionists. This had the specific task of controlling the Red Sea and the outlet to the coast essential to the Ethiopian regime.

The military junta had carefully prepared its Nazi-style genocide operation, and hoped not to meet too many obstacles in carrying it out.

The following were some of the measures the regime adopted, in chronological order:

- From February 1976 onwards, the fascist regime launched a campaign to prepare for its genocide operation, with its media deluding the Ethiopian masses, calling on them to stop their attacks against the junta and asking for volunteers.

- In March 1976, the regime secretly bought outdated rifles for millions of dollars from Turkey and Italy, to arm its peasant militias. The US imper-

ialists and the Zionist entity also provided eight fighter aircraft, two radar-guided naval vessels and millions of dollars' worth of arms.

- On April 15, 1976, a large number of doctors, nurses and medical students were transferred from Ethiopia to Eritrean hospitals to care for the Ethiopian wounded.

- On April 22, 1976, all civilian patients in Eritrea were forcibly evacuated from the hospitals. Hospital beds and wards were put at the disposal of the Ethiopian occupation army on an emergency basis, to treat its steadily increasing number of wounded.

- On April 24, 1976, the enemy military authorities ordered missionaries and foreign residents to leave Eritrea to prevent them from witnessing the genocide.

- On April 24, 1976, the junta's Vice-President ordered that public buses in Ethiopia should be registered and made available to transport troops and peasant militias to Eritrea. All petrol pumps on the Addis Ababa-Asmara road were requisitioned to provide petrol for the buses and trucks transporting soldiers and militiamen to Eritrea.

- On May 11, 1976, in an attempt to impose a black-out on the massacre, the regime's news agency instructed foreign reporters to submit their reports for censorship and official approval. This measure was evidently aimed at hiding the fearful crimes committed in Eritrea from world opinion.

- Around the middle of May 1976, the first group of troops was sent in civilian aircraft to Asmara, the Eritrean capital.

The Eritrean Liberation Front launched its counter-offensive in May 1976. The Eritrean Liberation Army (the ELF's military wing) attacked the regular army and the peasant militias unrelentingly, forcing them to flee or retreat either to Asmara or to the few other areas that were still not

liberated. It was also able to face up to the constant air raids as well as guaranteeing the security of all the rural masses of Eritrea.

The Eritrean people, who have long been subjected to massacres and tortures by an army frustrated on the military level, did not regard this new plan as different from those familiar to the Addis Ababa colonels and their predecessor Haile Selassie. This genocide operation only increased the people's determination to resist side by side with the Eritrean Revolution, which it recognises as its only vanguard against the Ethiopian occupation.

ZIONIST OFFICERS TO TRAIN ETHIOPIAN SOLDIERS

Several Zionist military units were sent to Ethiopia in 1976, in the framework of long-standing cooperation between the Israeli and Ethiopian occupation forces, to train the Ethiopian army which is directing its aggression against the Eritrean revolutionary forces. On May 28 well-informed sources reported that 50 Zionist officers had arrived in Addis Ababa towards the end of February. They had immediately gone to a training camp in the south of the country.

The Eritrean Revolution issued a communiqué in Aden on April 29. In particular, this revealed that there was a secret agreement between the Ethiopian and Zionist authorities regarding the liquidation of the Eritrean Revolution. This agreement had been signed by a member of the Ethiopian Military Council during his recent visit to occupied Palestine and it envisaged sending additional Zionist experts to train some 15,000 Ethiopian soldiers engaged in the attempt to destroy the Eritrean Revolution.

OMAN IS NOT PACIFIED

In order to fully understand the scope of the "pacification" campaign waged by Qabus and his masters against the revolutionaries

of Oman which was stepped up in 1975 and 1976, it is important to bear in mind the long-standing collaboration between the Sultanate and the imperialist powers.

The "friendship" treaties between the Sultanate and the British government go back to the end of the 18th century, and since then the relations between the two parties in collusion have become most close. But it was a very peculiar friendship, essentially a form of dependence. The manipulation of local rulers, the exploitation of national wealth and the suppression of any desire for popular emancipation were its main features.

In the 1950s, British forces came to the rescue of their then protégé Sultan Said Ibn Taimur, to crush the Ibadhi rebellion. Soon realising that the Sultan's conservatism was an impediment to the development of the country for "colonial exploitation," the British government deposed him without too much fuss in 1970, and replaced him with his son Qabus, who had been educated in the purest British colonial tradition and had the advantage of being extremely willing to serve Western interests. Thus Qabus came not only to preserve but above all to perpetuate the dependence on the imperialists, first the British and then the Americans who are in the process of replacing them.

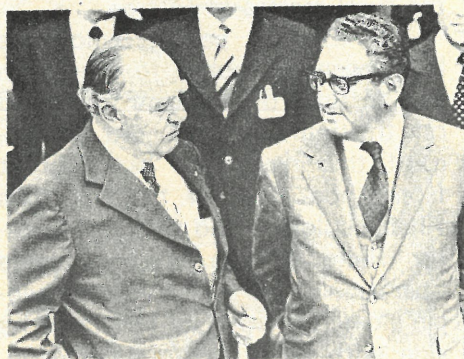
Great Britain at present admits to having some 600 troops in Oman, engaged in "hunting down Communists." But in fact they are much more numerous. There are generally estimated to be some 2,000 operating directly, as officers or pilots, or under the cover of "technical advisers" in the bases of Masira and Salala.

General Kenneth Perkins and Brigadier Akehurst are the commanders of the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF) and the Dhofar Brigade respectively. Furthermore, as Said Masoud, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) representative in Aden, stressed in an interview with *Time*

in December 1974, those in charge of the effective running of the country are not Omanis but Britishers, who receive their orders from London or Washington: Colonel Tim Landon, who has no precise function, and Colonel Denison, Adviser on Internal Security Affairs.

It is quite natural for the PFLO to reject any political discussion with the Sultan, as long as the country is under foreign domination in every respect, militarily, politically and economically.

The United States and the Sultan's regional allies, particularly Iran and Jordan, are playing a more and more active part in attempts to wipe out the Omani Revolution. The Shah is giving Qabus considerable military aid. Since he has hopes of dominating the Gulf, he is working to get rid of anything that, whether from near at hand or from a distance, might upset the status quo. This means that he is doing everything, including the deployment of his impressive war machine, to keep reactionary forces in power and abort any possibilities of progressive regimes being established in the Gulf. *Le Monde* of November 19, 1976 wrote that "Iran, in accordance with its concern to keep a military presence in the Gulf -- it has already been occupying Abu Musa and Tumb Islands since November 1971 -- sent a first contingent of troops in November 1973 following the agreement signed in Teheran on March 2, 1974 by Sultan Qabus, in order to reopen the strategic Salala-Thimrit road to traffic... The construction of the "Damawand line" completing the "Hornbeam line," barriers aimed at isolating Dhofar from Yemen, led to a second Iranian intervention, estimated at 3,000 men with full equipment, beginning in November 1974. The air base of Salala, reinforced with Iranian and British air force and anti-aircraft, became the support



Kissinger and Vorster: same aims.

point for this general offensive."

Commenting on Iranian military aid in an interview granted to *The Times* on November 18, 1975, the Sultan said it was natural, and stressed that he and his allies had the task of "fighting the Communists, annihilating them physically and destroying their ideas." But he expressed the regret that certain other regimes, particularly Arab Gulf ones, did not devote themselves more to this.

It is worth noting that Oman's total annual income of around 400 million rials (approximately 557 million sterling) is less than its total expenditure (military spending alone accounts for 238 million rials, or 45.6 percent of the annual budget and 77.5 percent of the annual income), and the deficit is made up by foreign aid from Iran and the Arab reactionary regimes.

Parallel to the economic stagnation that results from the control of the oil monopolies, Qabus' subservience to foreign interests and military expenditures, there is a serious stagnation in the social services. In fact, these have remained virtually non-existent. Medical care, for example, is mainly provided by the Dutch Reformed Church of America which has two hospitals, at Matrah and Muscat. The country also has a few dispensaries, but it is very little for a population of around 1 million.

Was Qabus being cynical when

he told Eric Rouleau (*Le Monde* of November 19, 1976) that his "people feel the need for an absolute monarch to watch over their interests."

THE U.S.A. ENTERS THE SCENE

The British still keep a privileged place in Qabus' army. The number of British officers in his service has not changed since 1970. But with all-out militarisation, and the SAF's strength rising from 4,000 to 20,000 men, there is increasing recourse to the Americans, who are considered more capable of putting an end to the revolutionaries of Oman. The British government is in any case leaving the field open to them, since the two imperialist partners have the same strategic and economic interests.

The British are preparing to evacuate the vital strategic base of Masira in March 1977 to make way for the Americans. "We do not refuse to grant logistical facilities to friendly countries," Qabus has stated. "During my last meeting with President Ford, he expressed the desire for Masira to be used by the American armed forces. If the request is presented officially, it will receive all the attention it deserves." (Interview with Eric Rouleau). Qabus leaves no room for doubt that he intends to help the Americans establish themselves.

Faced with this wide-scale offensive by Muscat and its allies, Great Britain, Iran (which has several units stationed permanently in Oman), Jordan, the United States, etc., and because of the situation in the Arab World, where reaction seems to be making headway, the PFLO has made a tactical withdrawal. But, contrary to Qabus' allegations, it is far from being beaten. The "pacification" plan has not achieved its objectives. ●

THE PALESTINIANS TODAY

Ibrahim Abu-Lughod*

When Palestine was dismembered in 1948, Palestine's Arab population numbered 1,398,000.(1) According to the best estimates, that population is now approximately 3,500,000. I say approximately advisedly: it is virtually impossible to obtain an accurate count of today's Palestinian Arab population for the obvious reason that it is a dispersed people, under the jurisdiction of different and conflicting political authorities; in view of the absence of a Palestinian national authority vested with and able to exercise the power of conducting a census, no census of the Palestinians is feasible. Further, the problem of counting Palestinians is compounded by the fact that 70 percent of the Palestinians today possess the legal nationality of other states: thus about 53 percent of the Palestinians are nationals of Jordan, probably half of them are under Israeli military control; close to 13 percent are citizens of Israel; and about 6 percent possess Lebanese, Kuwaiti, Saudi, Iraqi, and European-American nationalities. Irrespective of the current citizenship status of this population, all of them identify themselves and are frequently identified by others as Palestinians. My present estimate therefore of the Palestinian population today is based on a reasonably accurate accounting of the Palestinians calculated in 1970 (2) utilizing all available censuses of the various countries in which Palestinians reside, updated on the basis of an annual increase of

three percent or roughly 100,000 per year as accepted by demographers. The following chart illustrates the geographic distribution of the Palestinian population and their ratios.

Some Major Characteristics

Close to 60 percent of the Palestinian Arab population today is twenty years or less in age, with less than 6 percent over the age of 60. The majority of the population lives in urban or rapidly urbanizing areas. The Palestinians as a whole are highly educated. At present about 20 percent of the total Palestinian population is in school, of whom about 71 percent are in elementary school and the rest in higher grades. In terms of higher education, approximately 11/1000 of the population is enrolled in a university, a figure reached only in Lebanon in the Arab States. (Comparable figures for other countries: US 30/1000, Soviet Union 18/1000, France 9/1000, England 8/1000, Egypt 6/1000, Iraq 4/1000. (3))

The importance of the above figures is that the Palestine question today affects and is affected by a highly cohesive national community, despite its physical and legal fragmentation, highly conscious of its national identity, despite serious attempts at national subjugation and assimilation, highly educated, despite the absence of a specific Palestinian national authority to channel its educational aspirations. It is urban, young, and modern. The highly assertive

role which the Palestinians played subsequent to their dispersal in 1948 cannot be understood without reference to these qualities and personal attainments. All future attempts at settling their claims to nationhood and their retrieval of their *patrie* will have to take these attainments into serious consideration if they are to succeed.

The expulsion of the Palestinian people from those parts of Palestine which subsequently became Israel, the eventual incorporation of Central and Eastern Palestine into Jordan, and the continued administration of the Gaza Strip by Egypt resulted in several abnormalities. While Palestine ceased to exist as a political entity, it continued to exist in the collective consciousness of its own people and other Arabs. But the Palestinian people ceased to have any political or juridical institutions which could speak on their behalf and express their will. The organizations left over from the days of the Mandate regime were no longer accorded the trust which Palestinians had once reposed in them. The very severe trauma which characterized Palestinian life after the dismemberment of Palestine and their concern with the need to survive as human beings meant, among other things, that their primary concern in the immediate aftermath of 1948 was economic survival against the many odds confronting them. Much as the Palestinians criticize the international community for condoning the destruction of their homeland,

their expulsion from that homeland, and their deprivation of the elementary right of self-determination, accorded most other people of the world, and much as they criticize the shortcomings and failures of the Arab states among which they lived, it is reasonable to state that the Palestinians could not have survived physically and morally had it not been for the massive assistance which they received primarily from the Arab States and secondarily from the international community.

The Arab States without exception placed their facilities, poor and underdeveloped as these were in the fifties and sixties, at the disposal of the Palestinians. The Palestinians were able differentially to obtain employment in highly underdeveloped economies and restricted job markets. Some were able to acquire land for cultivation, particularly in Syria, Iraq, and Jordan. Many were admitted to the school systems of these States and availed themselves of other public facilities. In addition, international agencies assisted in the upkeep of the Palestinian refugees, especially those in the refugee camps. The eventual development of new States, particularly in the Gulf region, enabled well-developed Palestinian manpower to participate in their construction and development. It would be difficult to conceive of the development of Jordan, the Gulf States, and others without the active participation of the Palestinians. The relatively small Palestinian middle class was able to utilize its initiatives and capital in the formation of corporations and banks that contributed to the development of the infrastructure of the rest of the developing states of the region. Eventually this small middle class was to contribute massively to the development of the Palestinian armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine.

While the Palestinians were trying to heal the wounds resulting from their expulsion by the Zion-

ists, dismemberment of their homeland, and loss of national identity, the Arab States themselves were undertaking serious efforts to reshape their social, economic, and political systems. It will be recalled that the States which failed to stem the tide of Zionist occupation of Palestine underwent serious political revolutions. These revolutions were in part generated as a consequence of this failure. As new political initiatives in these States arose, the centrality of the Palestinian experience to the Arab world became increasingly obvious. The Palestinians themselves contributed to this increased consciousness. Now dispersed among the Arab States and sharing with them the fate of defeat and alerting them to the expansionist nature and racist character of Israel which the Palestinians experienced first-hand in their day-to-day encounters with Zionist settlements, the Palestinians became active participants in the political processes of the Arab States themselves. Although legally they were not citizens of some of these States, culturally, linguistically, morally, and historically they have always constituted an important component of the Arab national community. The increasing appeal of Arab national movements which viewed the reality of a fragmented Arab world as a legacy of imperialism enabled the Palestinians to participate in revisionist political movements. Their participation reflected their national identity as Arabs and their strong conviction that the ultimate liberation of Palestine from Zionist control is linked directly to a transformed Arab national community, one committed to the same goal and capable of achieving it.

Within less than a decade after 1948, the Palestinians were in a position to play an important role in the politics of the Arab States. Some were citizens of these States, as in Jordan which conferred Jordanian nationality on all Palestinians residing in Central and Eastern Palestine and in what used to

be called Transjordan. Others were simply incorporated into national political movements within these States. And as more and more Palestinians, particularly the younger elements that have grown in exile, became active and concerned politically, more specific attention was devoted to the liberation of Palestine itself. Several factors should be understood at this point: (1) active Palestinian participation in revisionist political movements within each of the Arab States quite frequently placed them in direct political opposition to the regimes in power; and (2) their evaluation of the seriousness and commitment of particular regimes to the liberation of Palestine made it inevitable for them to support certain regimes against others, and, in turn, this led to their support and sustenance by these regimes. Such actions made it possible for hostile regimes to undertake very harsh measures against Palestinians not as Palestinians, but rather as supporters of parties, movements, or regimes deemed antagonistic to those in control. Thus Palestinians in Jordan who actively promoted the ideology of President Nasser were severely punished by the Jordanian regime not because they were Palestinians but because they identified with Egypt's Nasser. By the same token they were alleged to be a pressure group utilizable politically by one regime or another.

In the late fifties Palestinian activists increasingly realized that the commitment of the Arab States to the liberation of Palestine was not absolute; and what is worse perhaps, when that commitment was absolute, there was a serious question concerning the ability of the Arab State in question to wage an effective war of national liberation against Israel. Thus a confluence of elements made it almost inevitable for the Palestinians to begin to undertake specifically Palestinian initiatives toward the restoration of Palestinian sovereignty over their national

homeland. These factors can be summarized as follows. First, the Palestinians retained an unwavering commitment to that restoration. At no point did they acknowledge the legitimacy or the finality of Israel's existence at the expense of Palestine. Second, negative sanctions were imposed by Israel and the Arab States. Israel constantly raided Palestinians along the Jordanian and Egyptian-Israeli armistice lines and some Arab States engaged in active political persecution of Palestinians. Third, obvious human obstacles are imposed on a people without nationality. For example, movement was difficult if not impossible. The continued neglect by the international community which, acting through the United Nations, failed to restore them to their homes despite UN resolutions to that effect simply added insult to injury. Faced with these serious questions and inspired by the success of the formerly colonized who resorted to armed struggle to liberate their homeland, the Palestinian activists began to group themselves around specifically Palestinian movements committed to the restoration of their national sovereignty over their national homeland.

The Palestine Liberation Organization

Palestinian national movements coalesced in May 1964 to convene the First Palestine National Council Meeting. The Council was attended by over four hundred representatives of the dispersed Palestinian people. It promulgated the principle that the Palestinians constituted a component part of the Arab national community, that the Palestinians constituted a distinct permanent national group entitled to independence. The Council committed the Palestinian people to the liberation of Palestine and further resolved to establish the Palestine Liberation Organization to represent and express the will of the Palestinian people, to assert their rights nationally, regionally

and internationally, and to mobilize them for the task of national liberation. Since then, the Council underwent several reorganizations in terms of its composition, method of electing representatives, and functions. It should be understood that a council representing a dispersed community that is not entirely free to participate legally in determining its destiny or which might suffer egregiously if it chose to assert its Palestinianism has serious problems. It cannot act in the same fashion nor include representatives in the same way as normal politics do. Likewise it cannot have all the functions normally discharged by representative bodies. Yet the Palestine National Council today is the highest representative body which the Palestinians possess; it is the authoritative agency which promulgates national goals and policies; in turn it elects an Executive Committee which is equivalent to a government in ordinary states. At present the Council has about 150 members representing broad sectors of the Palestinian people, and the Executive Committee has fifteen members elected by the Council. So long as the Committee has the confidence of the Council, it carries its tasks. The Council meets once each year and may meet for special reasons when it deems necessary. The Committee is permanently in session.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has acquired the legitimacy of representing the Palestinian people. It acquired that legitimacy first from its own people; while individual Palestinians outside the Arab world may occasionally differ, Palestinian associations, groups, and communities in the Arab world and the Israeli occupied areas accept the formulation of goals, the methods of achieving these goals, and the various edicts, rules and regulations which the Organization has issued as theirs. Briefly, the primary goal which has been accepted is that of the liberation of Palestine which entails the restoration of Palestin-

ian national sovereignty over the entire Palestinian national homeland. The ultimate goal of the Palestine Liberation Organization is to establish a unitary, non-sectarian democratic State for all Palestinians irrespective of creed, national origin, or language. The Organization believes that such goals will be attained only with a national struggle patterned after the wars of national liberation waged by the formerly colonized. In the conduct of that struggle the Palestine Liberation Organization sought and obtained the assistance of oppressed people throughout the world and further has obtained considerable support from established States that view Israel as an agent of the West in the Arab world. Thus the socialist system of power has supported the PLO; the Afro-Asian States have supported the Palestinian struggle; and African and Latin American movements of national liberation have supported them as well. Considerable sectors of societies in the United States and Western Europe also extended support to the Palestinians, to the chagrin of their governments.

As a consequence of this broad international support and the active political campaigns of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the international community as it is legally organized in the United Nations conferred legitimacy on the Palestinian struggle as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Initially the United Nations in 1948 recognized the rights of the Palestinian people to repatriation (Resolution 194) and reaffirmed that right almost every subsequent year. Beginning in 1969, as a direct consequence of the armed struggle of the Palestinian people and political support for the PLO from the socialist systems of power and the Afro-Asian and some Euro-American powers, the General Assembly recognized the status of the Palestinian people as a colonized people entitled to independence. Several

UN resolutions affirmed the right of the Palestinian people to struggle by all means to attain independence. The culmination of steady recognition of the Palestinian struggle for independence and the legitimacy of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people came in October and November 1974 when the UN General Assembly invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to attend the twenty-ninth session and address it on the aspirations of the Palestinian people. Subsequent to the address delivered by Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee, and the ensuing debate, the General Assembly passed two historic resolutions. One recognized the right of the Palestinian people to independence and sovereignty in Palestine. The other resolution conferred full Observer Status on the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Today no less than 105 states in the world recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinians.

Ultimate and Transitional Goals

Ever since the onset of the Palestinian-Zionist struggle in Palestine, (4) the Palestinian people had the single goal of attaining independence for Palestine. Thus they rejected British colonial control exercised between 1917 and 1948. They violently rejected British attempts to assist in the transformation of Palestine from a predominantly Arab land into a European Jewish national home. Despite their protests, strikes, and revolutions the Palestinians were denied the right of independence and in 1948 were unsuccessful in resisting the establishment of Israel.

The objective reality of Palestine altered materially in the following two decades and Israel succeeded in permanently altering the demographic ratio of the Palestinian population. But the Palestin-

ians continued their struggle for an independent sovereign Palestine. In the past such a political entity would have reflected the demographic reality of Palestine and thus would have entailed the existence of a Palestinian Arab State. The new realities would entail something altogether different. In their attempt to recognize the existence of a large Jewish population, almost equal to the Arab Moslem and Christian populations, the Palestinian movement of national liberation came forward with the program of a unitary, non-sectarian democratic State on the basis of one man, one vote. Such a goal, if realized, would assure the survival of all individuals on the basis of equality irrespective of religion or national origin.

Aware that such a program conflicts most seriously in principle and in vision with the Zionist premises entailing the establishment of a purely Jewish State for the Jewish people, and conscious of the fact that Israel exists on territory to which it has no legal title, most of which it militarily occupied in 1948 or later confiscated and expropriated, and fully aware of Israel's rejection of the Palestinian right to return to their homes in Palestine, the Palestinians formulated their goal of ultimately liberating Palestine from a regime which they view as a settler colonial regime. In confronting a colonial-settler regime, the Palestinians believe that armed struggle, waged by the Palestinian masses with the worldwide support of free people, would dismantle such a regime. Thus the ultimate goal of the Palestinians is the establishment of a unitary, non-sectarian democratic State for all those Moslems, Christians, and Jews who consider Palestine their homeland. While the goal is articulated in these terms by the Palestine Liberation Organization, there is no organized Palestinian opinion that disagrees with this formulation.

The Palestinians believe that such a goal will be attained by armed struggle over a protracted

period of time. Yet the needs of the moment and worldwide pressures for a certain degree of stability in the region introduce realities that may retard or enhance the long-range aims of the Palestinians. Furthermore, the reality of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the gradual Israeli success in integrating these areas as units of production subordinate to the Israeli economy, and the success of Israel in settling and occupying some of these areas combine to pressure

the Palestinians to address themselves to the immediate need of rescuing these areas from occupation and possible incorporation into Israel. Thus the transitional program of the Palestine Liberation Organization adopted by the Palestine National Council in 1974 addressed itself to this question. It is now quite clear that the Palestine Liberation Organization attached a great deal of importance to the liberation of any part of the Palestinian national homeland, and that when any part of that homeland is unconditionally liberated from Israeli occupation, the Palestine Liberation Organization will establish a national authority to exercise jurisdiction thereon. Thus the immediate (or transitional) task which the Palestine Liberation Organization has set for itself is the establishment of such a national authority in any part of Palestine which is to be wrested from Israeli control. The Palestine Liberation Organization believes that the transitional task is a stage along the path of total national liberation of Palestine. All Palestinian organizations actively engaged in the movement of national liberation have adhered to this program. Palestinians in the occupied areas manifested their support to the PLO through strikes and demonstrations. It is presumed that Palestinians in Jordan are equally supportive but are unable to express that support publicly in the light of their tragic experience of 1970.

American Policy and the Palestinians

Three phases characterize American policy toward the Palestinians. The first phase preceded the dismemberment of Palestine and showed serious congressional and executive concern with the aspirations of the Zionists. As dismemberment approached, American diplomatic observers on the scene alerted policymakers to the dangerous implication of American support to Zionism. It is to the credit of American diplomatic representatives that they perceived quite clearly the dangerous path which the Middle East would travel if the Zionists succeeded in establishing a State. Their realistic perception as the Middle East verged on revolution in 1948 led them to appeal for an American policy which would be fair to the Palestinians, a policy less committed to the Zionist program of dismembering the Palestinians and one sensitive to the Arab implications of the Palestinian struggle.

The second phase of American policy toward the Palestinians witnessed total support -- financial, moral, and legal -- to Israel matched by a corresponding "benign neglect" of the Palestinians. While some financial assistance to the Palestinian refugees was channeled through the budget of UNRWA, those efforts made by the US government were directed toward the promotion of various schemes that would ultimately settle Palestinians in areas outside Palestine. As would be expected, this policy failed to produce whatever design the US government might have conceived for the region.

The third phase of American policy came in the wake of the rise of the Palestinian armed struggle subsequent to the defeat of the Arab States in 1967. As the Palestinians mounted their struggle as a national liberation movement, allied to the liberation movements of the Third World, and as it succeeded in exposing Israel as a colonial-settler regime, the US

adopted a policy of total confrontation to bring about the military and political defeat of the Palestinians. Israel's conquest of Palestinian territory was immensely aided by US military, economic, and diplomatic support. Further, the US assisted regimes deemed particularly threatened by the Palestinian movement, such as Jordan.

Internationally, the US mounted a massive publicity campaign against the Palestinians. This policy of total hostility to the Palestinians, regionally and internationally, seems to be an expression of an American policy tied completely to Israel. It gradually succeeded in isolating the United States as Israel increasingly was isolated in the international arena. Following 1969, on every question affecting the rights and aspirations of the Palestinians, the United States found itself in a minority of five or six allies of Israel in UN voting. Between 1969 and 1974 the United States frequently found itself on the same side as Costa Rica, the former regime of Portugal, South Africa, Israel, and an occasional Bolivia or the Dominican Republic. The majority of other States in the world found no difficulty in voting affirmatively on the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and independence. The overall objective of this inflexibly hostile policy seems to be to bring about the total capitulation of the Palestinian people to Zionist premises and/or control. The "US-Israel Memorandum of Agreement" of September 1975 in which the US committed itself to continue to refuse to recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization so long as the latter rejects Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, among others, is an explicit invitation to the Palestinian people to accept their definition as "refugees" and to accept their national extinction.

The historical record of the Middle East suggest quite clearly that an American policy wedded to Zionist premises, over-sensitive to Israeli aspirations and needs,

and betraying total neglect, national denigration, and hostility to the Palestinians is counterproductive to peace, stability, and good relations between the Arab and the American peoples. Such a policy has already contributed to the eruption of conflict several times. Continuation of such a policy, already indicated by the memorandum of agreement with Israel, is blind to the centrality of the Palestinians to the Arab-Israeli conflict and totally rejects their aspirations and internationally sanctioned rights. It will undoubtedly lead to further instability. The time has come for the United States to adopt and pursue a policy which is more in harmony with the international community. As a beginning such a policy ought to accept the United Nations resolutions of November 1974 and recognize that the Palestinians are an essential element to peace in the Middle East. Dr. Kissinger's statement before the General Assembly, in which he reiterates the concern of the United States with the "interests" of the Palestinians and American initiatives for interim or final agreements disregarding the national rights of the Palestinians, signifies an American commitment to an enduring conflict in the Middle East.

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(1) The figures for 1948 are taken from Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Demographic Transformation of Palestine," in I. Abu-Lughod ed., *The Transformation of Palestine* (Evanston: 1971).

(2) Figures for 1970 are taken from Nabil Shaath, "High Level Palestinian Manpower," in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2 (1972).

(3) My "Educating A Community in Exile: The Palestinian Experience," in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. II, No. 3 (details the educational achievements and problems of the Palestinian people).

(4) A brief and clear analysis of the Palestinian struggle against Zionism and Israel is Walter Lehn's *Development of Palestinian Resistance*, published as Information Paper No. 14 by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1974.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF PALESTINE

PALESTINE DURING THE AGE OF HUNTING AND GATHERING

(1) Lower Palaeolithic (c. 600,000-70,000 B.C.)

In Palestine the oldest remains of human activity were found at Ubaidiya, south of Lake Tiberias in the Jordan Valley. The site was situated on the shores of an early Quaternary lake, which has since disappeared. The fossil bones that have been recovered indicate a rich wildlife of now extinct animals, such as elephants, rhinoceroses and hippopotamuses. The tools of the hunters were at first simple pebbles with artificially produced sharp cutting edges. Later on flint nodules were knapped into the shape of hand-axes.

(2) Middle Palaeolithic (c. 70,000-40,000 B.C.)

Palestine is well-known for its human remains dating back to the age of Neanderthal Man, especially the caves of Mount Carmel such as Taboun and Skhul, which have yielded an unusually large quantity of human skeletons. Neanderthal man of the Near East used the levallois knapping technology in order to produce a variety of stone points and side-scrapers which are the characteristic tools of this era.

(3) Upper Palaeolithic (c. 40,000-13,000 B.C.)

Probably due to unfavourable physical conditions, early Upper Palaeolithic remains have not been preserved in Palestine. But the



Portrait head of plaster on a human skull from Jericho; Neolithic.

later Upper Palaeolithic cultures — known as Levantine Aurignacian — are well-represented in the deposits of El Wad Cave (Mount Carmel) and the rock-shelter of Erq El Ahmar (Judaean Desert). The flint tools which have been found during the excavations of these sites consist of a large variety of end-scrapers, burins and small points.

PALESTINE AT THE DAWN OF FOOD-PRODUCING ACTIVITIES

(1) Mesolithic (c. 13,000-8,000 B.C.)

Human occupation and almost permanent settlements are very numerous in Palestine during this era. The flint industries are characteristic for their microlithic tools, some of which are geometric and in the form of rectangles,

triangles and lunates. Some backed blades have sickle sheen. The culture of the more permanent settlements is called Natoufian. At Ain Mallaha (near Lake Huleh) the inhabitants lived in round houses. Apart from fishing and hunting, seeds were crushed in ground stone vessels. Bone combs, harpoons, spatulas and needles have survived, indicating an extensive bone industry. Shells, animal teeth and bone were pierced and arranged into necklaces and bracelets, some of which were used to decorate the dead.

(2) Neolithic (c. 8000-4500 B.C.)

(A) Pre-Pottery Neolithic (New Stone Age)

Mesolithic was followed by Pre-Pottery Neolithic (New Stone Age) representing a completely new phase of culture characterized by the beginnings of settled life. Ancient Jericho, in the Jordan valley, is the best example to illustrate this period. It shows a very great architectural development. Large well-built houses made of bricks with plaster floors have been uncovered. The main rooms were flanked by small chambers and the houses surrounded courtyards. There was a great stone wall round the entire settlement, with a massive stone tower with internal stairway. These remains reveal a high degree of architectural ability on the part of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic people. Though the economy was mainly based on hunting and agriculture, foreign trade with Anatolia and the Mediterranean seacoast has been ascertained. Similar villages of the same period were discovered in Anatolia (Catal Huyuk), in north Iraq (Jarmo), and in north Syria (Ras Shamra). This development of village farming communities demonstrates the transition to a productive economy which revolutionized the living conditions of human beings.

(B) A new phase is identified in the Neolithic Period with the



Statue of human head, from Caliph Hisham's palace in Jericho; Omayyad Period.

appearance of the earliest pottery vessels. The best evidence for the pottery Neolithic phase also comes from Jericho. A pottery Neolithic culture is also found in Abu-Ghosh near Jerusalem, in the Wadi Yarmuk, and on a small scale in the Jordan valley. Relations between this area and Anatolia, Syria, Northern Mesopotamia and Egypt were extended during this period.

(3) Chalcolithic (c. 4500-3200 B.C.)

Flint tools continued to be used in the Chalcolithic period, but in contrast to Neolithic, this period is marked by the appearance of metal objects (hence, the name Chalcolithic — "copper-stone"). New means of production were developed as the new culture gradually spread through the area. The term "Ghassulian", derived from Tuleilat Ghassul north-east of the Dead Sea, has been given to this culture by many authorities. Four main occupation levels have been distinguished at this site. The settlement belonging to the upper level has no enclosure wall. The houses were well-built either of mud-brick or stone. There were exciting colored paintings on the walls of some houses. Represented on these frescos were men, the sun, stars and other figures, implying some developed religious ideas. The excavators have found

large quantities of flint tools and well-fired corpse pottery, occasionally painted. They also found several metal objects (axes, blades and points) from the early phases at this period. Important centers of this culture have also been investigated in Bir es-Sabi (Beersheba), Tell Abu Matar, Beisan (Beth Shan), Tell Duweir (Lagish), Tell Fara (on Wadi Ghazze), Gezer, Hederah, Jericho, Tel el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), the central and northern Jordan valley, and in several caves west of the Dead Sea.

PERIOD OF ARAB MIGRATORY WAVES FROM THE ARABIAN PENINSULA (Bronze Ages 3200-1200 B.C.)

(1) Early Bronze Age (c. 3200-2100)

Phase 1

The very beginning of the Early Bronze Age is characterised by the invasion of a number of tribal groups who probably came from the north and east. At present the only evidence of the nomadic people is the tombs and their contents. The first of these tombs were found in Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), Affuleh and Beisan (Beth Shan). Subsequently the same pottery was found at many places throughout Palestine.

Phase 2

During the second phase of Early Bronze, the people lived in

the valleys and plains in large settlements, even cities within a rampart; a striking contrast to the preceding phase. Many settlements were set up all over Palestine, like Jerusalem, Beitin (Bethel), Tell el-Mutesellim, Beisan, Tell Duweir, Tell Farah, Gezer, Hazor, Jericho and others.

Phase 3

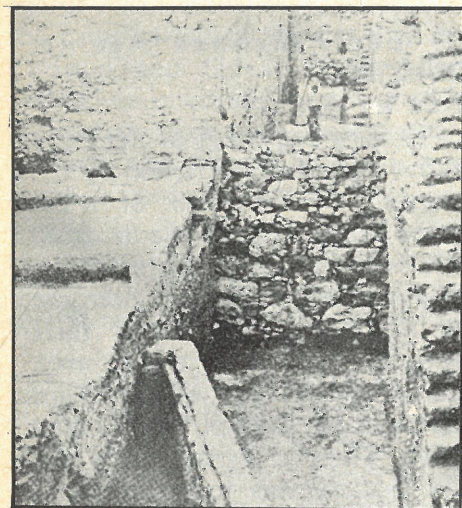
Early Bronze Age phase III is marked by a class of pottery designated as Khirbet Kerak ware, after the site, located directly south-west of the Sea of Tiberias (Galilee), where it was first observed. This ware has a lustrous red-black burnish with plastic designs.

(2) The Intermediate Period (c. 2200-1900)

The Early Bronze Age cities were heavily destroyed about 2200 B.C. by invading nomadic tribes identified as the Amorites (the Martu of the Sumerian texts). Both texts and archeological finds prove that the Amorites came from the Syrian Desert and overran Mesopotamia, northern Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.

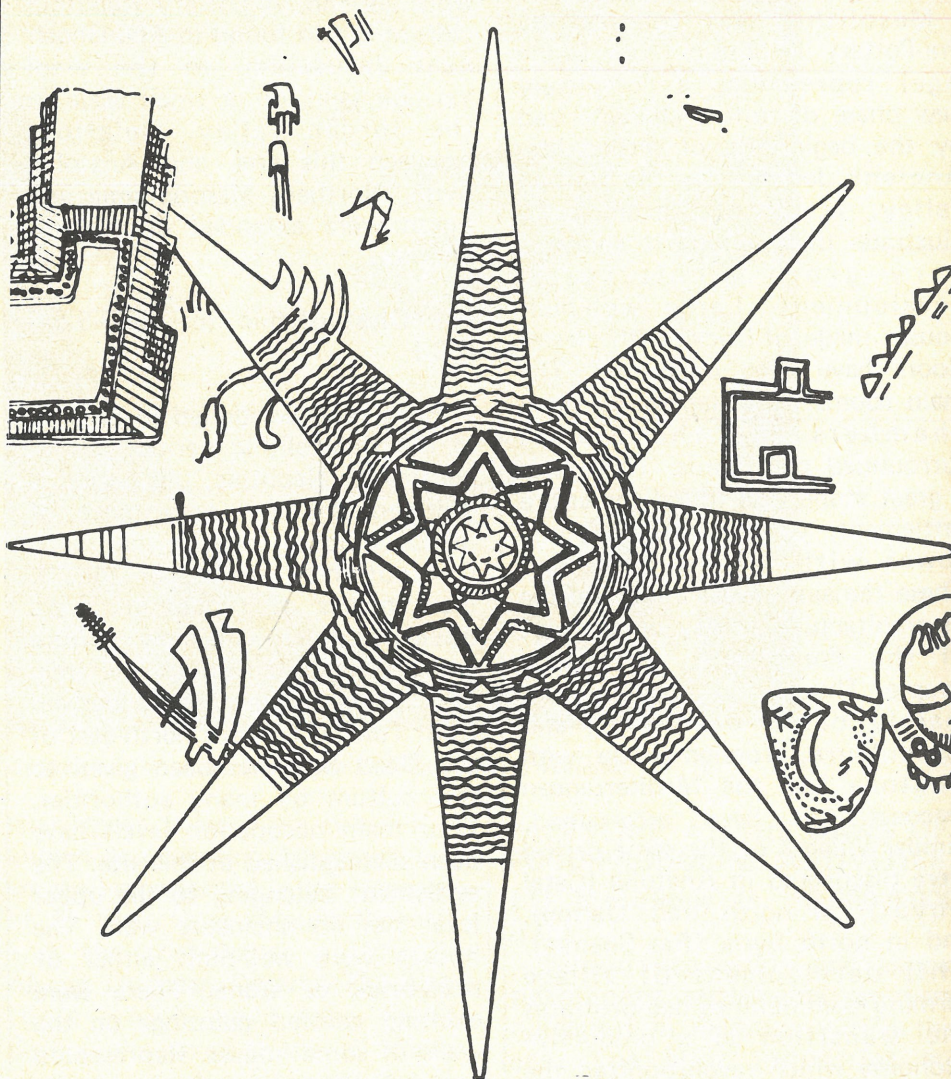
(3) The Middle Bronze Age (c. 1900-1500)

The nomads of the intermediate period were driven out by the Hyksos or shepherd kings. The new-comers seem to have come from north Syria. They brought with them new types of well-made



Revetment at base of final Middle Bronze Age at Jericho.

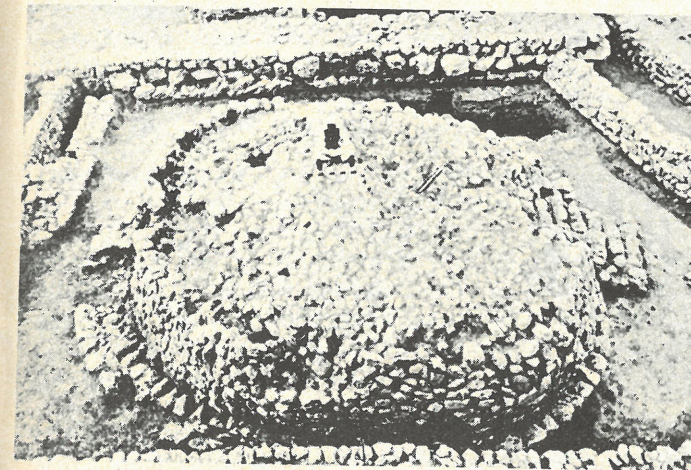
ceramic ware and new bronze weapons. They established good relationships with the local people of Palestine, the "Canaanites" who were mentioned in the ancient texts from Ras Shamra (Ugarit) in Syria and in the Tell Amarna letters in Egypt, as living in the land extending from the Amanos mountains in north Syria down to Gaza in the south of Palestine. Cities like Tell Ajjul, Askelon, Tel Beit Mirsim, Beitin (Bethel), Beisan (Beth Shan), Ain Shems (Beth Shemesh), Tell Duweir, Tell Fara (in Wadi Gazzeh), Tell Far'ah (near the head of Wadi Far'ah), Gezer, Hazor, Jericho, Jerusalem and Tell Mutesellim provided us with different objects and remains which illustrate this period in Palestine.



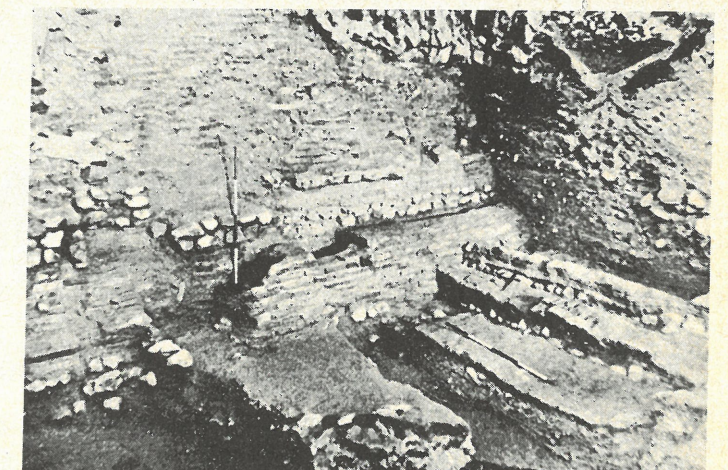
Painted wall-plaster from Tuleilat Ghassul; Chalcolithic.

(4) The Late Bronze Age (c. 1500-1200 B.C.)

The expulsion of the Hyksos by the Pharaohs of the XVIII Dynasty in Egypt introduced a new era for Syria and Palestine. The new period, known as the Late Bronze Age, was characterized by Egyptian domination over the country. Trade with Greece and Cyprus greatly improved economic conditions in Syria and Palestine. Pottery of Mycenaean and Cypriot origin recovered from Canaanite cities of the Late Bronze Age such as Tell Abu Hawan, Tell Mutesellim, Gezer, Ain Shems, Tell Esafiyeh, Askelon, Tell el Hesiy, Tell Duweir, Tell Ajjul, Gerar and Tell Fara, indicate how strong this



Altar at Tel el Mutesellim; Early Bronze.



Inner side of Early Bronze town walls at Jericho.



The Dome of the Rock (Qubbat Al Sakhra). Jerusalem, 685 A.D., Omayyad Period.



Church of the Resurrection, Jerusalem.

trade movement was; on the other hand Cyprus and Greece were influenced by Canaanite art.

HISTORICAL EVENTS IN PALESTINE BETWEEN 1200 B.C. AND 1187 A.D.

(1) 1196 B.C.: Sea-peoples migrate to Asiatic coasts. The monument of Rameses III at Medinet Habu in Egypt mentions six tribes, one of which was the Pulasati, or Philistines, who were described as coming to the Land of the Canaanites. The newcomers were influenced by Canaanite culture, and even the names of their chief gods Dagon and Ashtaroth seem to be Canaanite.

(2) 1000-722 B.C.: The original inhabitants, the Canaanites, maintained their continuous

residence in all of Palestine, and were the majority of the inhabitants of the country during the United Monarchy and Northern and Southern Hebrew Kingdom periods.

(3) The Northern Kingdom was overrun in 722 B.C. by the Assyrians, and the Southern Kingdom in 586 B.C. by the Babylonians, but the local inhabitants, "the Canaanites, continued living on their land."

(4) Foreign invasions — Persian (in 538 B.C.), Greek (in 331 B.C.) and Roman (in 64 B.C.) — followed one another, while the Byzantines were driven out of Palestine in 638 A.D. by the Arabs, who settled in the country and intermarried with the original

inhabitants. The Crusaders, who conquered Palestine in 1099 A.D., were driven out in 1187 A.D. by the Arabs, led by Saladin.

All the invasions of Palestine, from the earliest times, were essentially military occupations which, although they at times involved the settlement of new minorities, left the original inhabitants in the majority. Moreover, the Jews who resided in Palestine during the United Monarchy and Southern and Northern Kingdom periods were always a minority, and were originally a Near Eastern people. The Zionists who occupied Palestine in the 20th century, on the other hand, are mainly Europeans.●

THE MARE

by TAWFIQ FAYYAD

Tawfiq Fayyad is a Palestinian novelist who lived in occupied Palestine and witnessed the Zionist terrorist and racist practices against the Palestinian people under occupation.

In «The Yellow Road», a series of short stories, Tawfiq Fayyad reveals the sufferings and

perseverance of the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine and their determination to fight the Zionist occupiers.

This short story, «The Mare», talks about a Palestinian peasant whose land, his only source of living, was confiscated by the Zionist authorities.

«Are you going to sell the mare tomorrow, Daddy?»

Abu Hussein turned in astonishment towards his son who was standing at the door of the cave, an expression of surprise and curiosity still shining in his wide eyes whose gaze drifted away from his father's stern face, finally resting on the legs of the mare as she stood in front of her manger.

«I heard Mama telling our neighbour Umm Ahmad,» he stammered. «Her eyes were blinded with tears over it.»

Abu Hussein turned his face away from him again, without answering his question with a word or even a slight gesture. He went on filling the fold of his long coat with barley that was pouring slowly down from the opening of the cave. Meanwhile, Hussein went out to his small brothers who were waiting for him in the courtyard of the house, casting defeated glances at them and conveying failure and disappointment to their eyes which were staring at him.

After filling the fold of his coat with barley, the father went over to the manger of his mare which was grunting repeatedly. He spread the barley on the hay in the manger, mixing it up well. He made sure this time that there was a larger quantity of barley than he usually gave her, since he had to go to town early, and

she would have to move quickly so that he would not miss the market and be unable to sell her.

He went near to a small window above the manger, dusting off the bits of hay which had stuck to his sleeve, after he had finished mixing the fodder in the manger. He took a rough currycomb and began combing out dried yellow specks of dung from her fine grey hair. As his hand was about to move up to her back with the comb, it suddenly stopped and a strange cold shiver ran through his veins. He felt a deep pain inside him, like the pain he felt whenever he hurt one of his children by mistake when he was playing with him with his large hands & the joy would disappear from his innocent eyes, to be replaced by an astonished pain that spread silently over the features of his small angelic face.

Abu Hussein began looking sorrowfully and tenderly at the noticeable swelling on the upper part of her back. Then he stretched out his other hand to feel it gently, so as not to hurt this roundness, which could contain a beautiful grey filly like her mother. How delighted his sons would be if she gave birth to a foal! Particularly Hussein, who had constantly longed for the day when the mare would give birth to a filly that would one day be like Abu Zaid Al Hilali's mare, or a black white-footed colt which he would call Al Abjar (Stalwart), so that it would be strong and fast like Antara's stallion of which his grandfather had spoken so often around the fire on winter nights. How he longed for her to give birth to a filly so that he could raise her himself and watch Hussein mount her for the first time after two years, when he would have become a sturdy youth... But no, he would not allow him to mount her then, until he had broken her in as he had broken in her mother. It is not easy to tame a spirited filly for the first time. This can only be done by an experienced man who knows the character and moods of horses as he did.

His rough palm slid slowly down over her belly and stopped at the

lowest part. His coarse dry fingers moved over to her udders, and he was surprised at how swollen they were: they seemed ready to burst. He felt her teats gently, to see if he could guess how long it would be before she gave birth.

Then he straightened up and went over to the manger, stroking her neck with his hand, and began mixing her fodder in front of her again. His face was clouded with sadness and his tired eyes swam with tears. What was the point of all this, what did it matter what she gave birth to, since he was going to sell her tomorrow? His son's despairing voice rang in his ears: «Are you going to sell the mare tomorrow Daddy?»

He sat down on the edge of the manger rolling a cigarette with his trembling fingers, hoping to stifle his distress by smoking it. He wi-

ped the tears away with the edge of his striped coat for fear that Hussein's mother might notice them, thus adding to the distress she was suffering over the future that lay in store for the whole family. Now his last hope in life was about to die. Tomorrow he was going to sell the mare. For what

use would she be now that his land had been confiscated and only a tiny piece of it remained which would not be enough to preserve his children from the disaster of famine? In spite of all his efforts to recover it, nobody had listened to him, it was the law! That was the officials' reply to him, but he hardly believed it. Would he really lose it so easily? He had given his whole life for it, he had shaped its soil with the sweat of his brow which he had poured onto

it over long years of hardship. They could not smell the scent of his body arising from this soil, as he could.

Now he could no longer take his pickaxe and wander around its green fields, his soul filled with happiness and dancing with the spring breezes around him. And the harvest days. Would they also not return, when the fields would become golden and he would hurry with his wife and children to gather the blessed ears of wheat with their sickles and fill the courtyard of the house with them and fill his world with happiness, as he watched his children jumping happily around on the threshing floor? Was this the end of everything?

How could his life, to which he was used, be snatched away from him all at one go? How? And what would he do afterwards, now that his hair was grey with age? Who would provide for his children, since he could not do anything but work on the land? No... this will not happen, his children must go on with the life he had given them. Since it was he who had given them life, he must take them by the hand until he bring them out into the light. He would not sell the mare. And the land? He would not allow a single inch of it to be plundered. He had struggled so hard to keep it, he had clung to it through the hell of war when most people had left their land. He would cling to it again now to his dying breath. It was impossible for him to give it up, and he must win in the end.

He heard Umm Hussein's voice calling him for dinner. He stood up and headed for the door of the cave after sadly giving the mare an affectionate pat on her rump. Then he closed the door after giving her a reassuring farewell smile and went to meet Umm Hussein who was waiting for him with their children around the dinner table.

At midnight, while Umm Hussein and her children were deep in a world of dreams, Abu Hussein was hugging a grey filly to his chest in the bright moonlight at the door of the cave. His lips planted a tender kiss on the forehead of the mare, which bent her head to give the first kiss to her filly's beautiful blaze.●



TAL-ZAATAR HAS A LONG MEMORY

By Izzeddin Al Manasira



Welcome, welcome, welcome, my
loved one, my loved one, my
loved one.

She hugged him, and hugged him,
and hugged him until she was
exhausted

And he regained his youth, kissed
her and held her, and the
tenderness

Restored his faraway youth.

I sent him a letter

He was a long time... and did
not come to me

Mother

He was a long time and did not
come to me.

I see children like downy little
birds, and the lamps are
extinguished.

You are the guest we have not
honoured.

They all broke down in tears and
mourned.

I felt my grenade, hid myself in
my body and became small,
The lamps are extinguished; my
heart, and the angry men have
rested.

The lamps are extinguished be-
cause the ruler longs for a souve-
nir.

The lamps are extinguished be-

cause you are coming to the olive
trees

To weep, and weep, and weep,
unheard by anyone except
The snarling of the harsh night in
the wilderness, and the olive trees
do not hear you.

The lamps are extinguished be-
cause there is an attack in the
night to kill my loved ones,
The lamps are extinguished so a
woman will stumble on the broken
steps,

And a child, who might have been
like the olive trees, will fall.

Welcome, welcome, my love, and
she hugged him, and hugged him
at the decisive moment

Like a woman who had waited for
her lover at a crossroads,
Like the wife of the lovesick red
poet in Ankara waited
For her husband imprisoned in
dungeons which had become his
home, while the skies

And the whistling of the wind was
like a lark singing to him.

Or like a child in Madrid, whose
eyes were black, or some say
sky-blue,

Or grey -- differences of vision
sharpen the essence.

Why do you come to me with
your heart flooded with tears from
the sight of the massacre?

But now you are waiting for the
absent one whom they killed

Before the wall of the church or in
the mosques -- it makes no dif-
ference

That your father is wrapped in the
shroud of glory.

But now you are a guest of the
family of the sea and the loving
green Zaatar.

You were full of fire in Umayyad
times, and in peacetime you were
full of talk.

Why did you open the Book of
Songs and talk to a sleeping sun?

Why did you stop? Have the rock-
et launchers terrorised you

And were you afraid the clouds
had stopped? Then let them stop
If these clouds are against you, my
people.

Let them not rain on us, for my
heart is innocent --

Your space, o cloud, bowed to the
invaders.

At night, Tal al-Zaatar spreads out
its burdens

On the yellow grass, so as not to
remember.

It fills a cup from which no one
has ever drunk before

Nor even will again. Tal al-Zaatar
Fills a cup in the night, and drinks
to forget.

Tal al-Zaatar met me at the hospi-
tal, and its eyes were wounded,
Tal al-Zaatar met me in the street,
asking for support and courage
From some of the People's Sup-

port Committees.

And Tal al-Zaatar exaggerated -- so
said the cockroach classes
In the cafe to the left of the king-
dom of forsaken numbers.

Whenever Tal al-Zaatar entered a
kingdom, the flame of the pure
green fire spread wide,

Whenever the sea raged and the
yellow sand was stirred up, Tal al-
Zaatar became a desert,

Whenever the yellow sand appears
and the hot sun rises up like a
flaming palace,

Tal al-Zaatar became waves of
light,

Whenever people abandon a
spring* or a tower *(1)

Tal al-Zaatar restores them to the
innocence

Zaatar is the key to the revolu-
tion, Zaatar from out of the ashes,
Silence reigns.

Zaatar, despite the fascists and the
night, remains.

I will reproach you a lot, my
mother, Tal al-Zaatar said,
You throw your loved one into
the black sea, and then say, swim
In the black sea, and be proud.

Tal al-Zaatar fought in Shiyah, (2)
and in Tal al-Zaatar.

I will reproach you a lot, my
mother.

Welcome, welcome, my loved one,
my loved one, and she hugged him
And hugged him, and hugged him,
but he was a dead corpse.

I sent him a letter

He was a long time and did not
come to me

Mother

He was a long time and did not
come to me.

And she hugged him, and hugged
him, and hugged him, but he was
a dead corpse. ●

*1) Spring - Arabic Naba'a

Tower - Arabic Burj

Reference to Naba'a and Burj Hammoud, two
quarters in eastern Beirut attacked and oc-
cupied by the Phalangists.

2) Shiyah - A quarter in southern Beirut, a
frontline with the Rightists.



TAL AL-ZAATAR before



The camp, After

SOLIDARITY NEWS

ARAB COMMUNIST PARTIES EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR REVOLUTION

In a final communiqué issued in the wake of meetings held in mid-December, the Arab communist and workers' parties reaffirmed their continued support for the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement, and referred to the consolidation of the PLO's position and role, and the escalation of Palestinian mass struggle in the occupied regions.

The communiqué also reaffirmed that finding a just solution to the Palestine question represents an essential factor in solving the Middle East crisis, because the Palestine question holds a special place in the Arab World.

The communiqué of the Arab communist and workers' parties added that the Palestinian Resistance Movement holds a distinctive position within the Arab liberation movement, of which it is one of the vanguards; and that it represents an important force in the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist struggle.

The communiqué then stressed the importance of supporting Palestinian popular struggle in occupied Palestine, of expanding this struggle, and of condemning Zionist settlement operations there. It also condemned the brutal repression of Palestinian citizens and the arbitrary sentences issued by Zionist tribunals.

At the end of a one week visit to occupied Palestine in December by the Italian Parliamentary Delegation for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Mediterranean, the head of the

delegation — who is also Vice-President of the Italian Senate, said "Israel should recognize the Palestinian people's right to statehood, which is the only way to achieve peace in the Middle East." This delegation, composed of seven members of the Christian Democrat, Communist, Social Democrat and Republican parties, earlier this year visited Syria and Lebanon, inquiring into the situation in the Middle East.

THEODORAKIS DEDICATES SONG TO PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The Greek composer and musician, Mikis Theodorakis, well-known especially for his theme music for the films: 'Zorba the Greek' and 'Z', was in Geneva on December 12 for a musical performance. He dedicated one of his songs to the Palestinian Resistance and to Tal al-Zaatar camp, to which the audience responded with great enthusiasm. A recording of the song will be produced in January, and Theodorakis said he was willing to go to Lebanon and sing in the refugee camps as a sign of his solidarity with the Palestinian people.

GDR SENDS MORE AID TO PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

An airplane arrived at Beirut International Airport on December 16 from the German Democratic Republic, carrying medical supplies and foodstuffs, as part of the aid sent by the GDR to support the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in Lebanon. ●

ARAB JOURNALISTS DECLARE SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The Fifth Conference of the Union of Arab Journalists, which was held in the Algerian capital in December, at the end of its meetings declared its full support for the Palestinian Revolution and the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and establish their independent national state. The Conference also confirmed the right of the Palestinian Revolution to exist and to continue its armed struggle from the Arab countries neighbouring occupied Palestine. It called on the Arab countries to continue their armed struggle against the Zionist enemy. The Arab journalists moreover stressed the importance of the independence, unity and security of Lebanon.

LNM SUPPORTS RESISTANCE STAND ON HEAVY WEAPONS ISSUE

The Lebanese National Movement has affirmed that the Palestinian Revolution should be excluded from the plan for the collection of heavy weapons, with the knowledge of the Arab deterrent forces.

This statement came in a declaration by the Central Political Council of the Lebanese National Movement issued on December 3. The declaration added that the Political Council took note of Kamal Junblatt's discussions with Yasser Arafat, who has affirmed that the Cairo Agreement guarantees the retention by the PLO of its heavy weapons. The National Movement added that it supports the Palestinian Resistance Movement in its legitimate stand against those who demand the delivery of heavy weapons.





P.L.O.
information
bulletin

Palestine

PER. SEC.
MAR 29 1978

**Our Martyred Comrade
Mahmoud Saleh**

Hunger Strikes in Zionist Jails

**Health Conditions
in Occupied Palestine**

**U.S. Diplomacy
and the Geneva Conference**