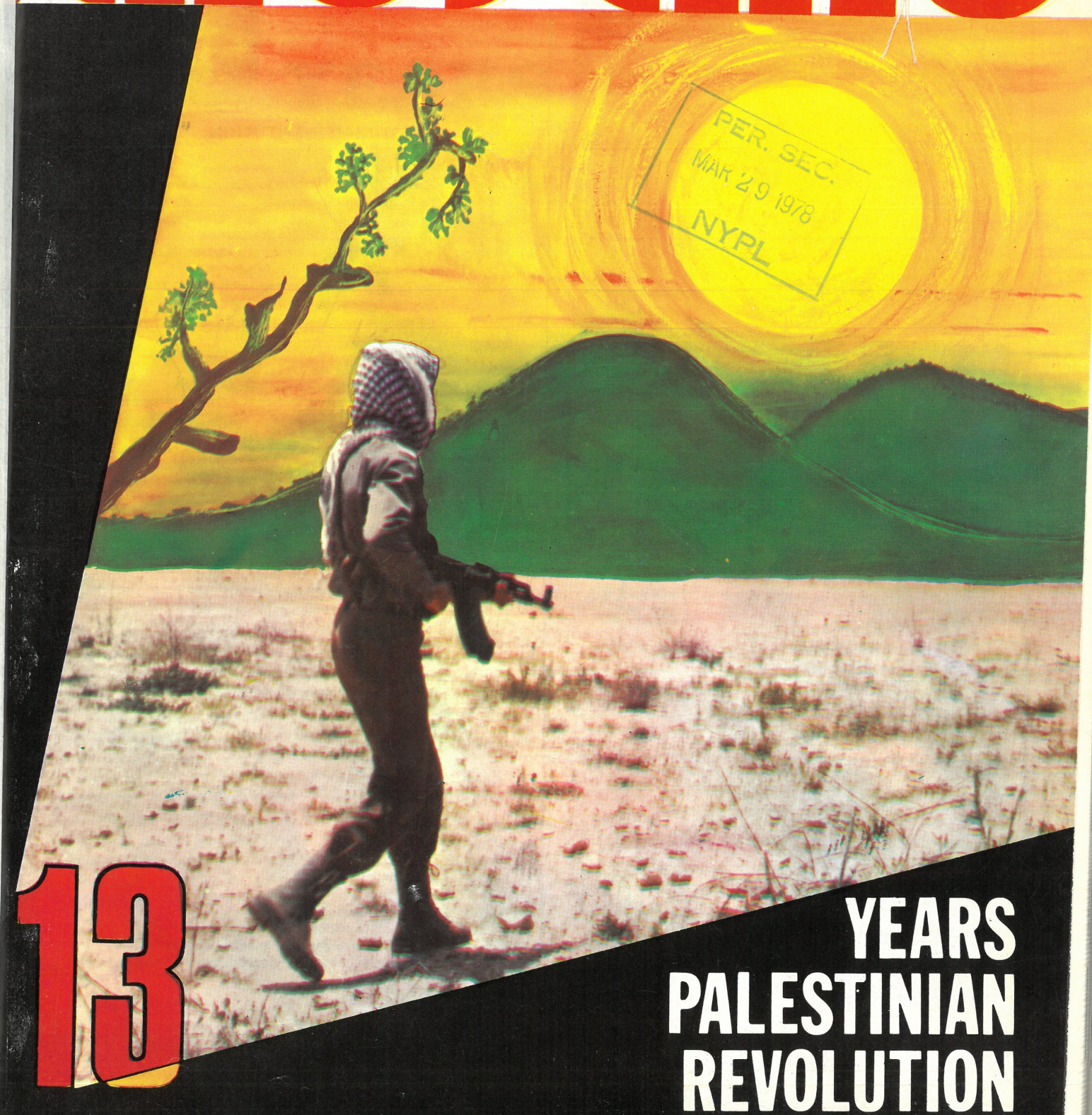


**P.L.O.
information
bulletin**

Vol. 4, No. 1
JAN. 1978

Palestine



TO OUR FRIENDS

On the 13th Anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, we the staff of "Palestine" are publishing our third annual issue. "Palestine" has already appeared for three years and we will now be stepping into the fourth volume of our Information Bulletin.

In the past year, the staff of "Palestine" has done its utmost to improve the quality of the Bulletin and expand the number of issues printed.

Despite trying circumstances and the fact that we do not have enough qualified cadres, we have been trying to appear every two weeks. We hope that we have been fulfilling the expectations of our readers. One problem which still has to be solved is that of assuring organized distributions to our subscribers. We hope to overcome this problem also.

Many thanks to our friends who have corresponded with us throughout the year, and we apologize for not being able to respond to all of the letters sent. As a matter of fact, we have received — from all over the world — many letters of encouragement for our "Palestine" Information Bulletin, as well as letters of sympathy and solidarity with the Palestinian cause and just struggle.

We hope to continue our work of informing you as objectively as possible and hope that peace and freedom will prevail all over the world...

Friends: Let us struggle for a better world.

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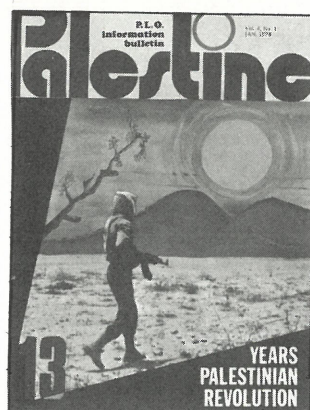
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EDITORIAL

13 YEARS OF PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

Thirteen years of Palestinian Revolution have passed; thirteen years of hard struggle and sacrifices but not without victories and successes too. The 14th year of the Palestinian Revolution leaves it as determined as ever to continue toward the realization of its main goal, the achievement of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

1977, was a quiet and successful year for the Palestinian Liberation Movement if compared with that of 1976, a year of fighting and bloodshed in the Lebanese Civil War. In its thirteenth year the Palestinian Revolution concentrated on consolidating unity amongst the different Palestinian resistance groups and reinforced its ranks. With this framework the PLO summoned the 13th Palestinian National Council in Cairo in March. For the first time the Council was expanded to include a broader participation of the Palestinian people in all meetings. Palestinian delegates from the occupied territories were prevented by Zionist occupation authorities from participating in the Congress by threats of not allowing them to return home to Palestine. After nine consecutive days, the Palestinian Congress produced a new political platform to cope with the current political developments and conditions in the Middle East. This National Council demonstrated Palestinian unity and solidarity that exceeded all expectations. The political platform was accepted by the vast majority of the delegates with only 13 votes out of 293 in

opposition. Two organizations which ceased participation in the PLO executive bodies for almost two and a half years, again resumed their activities in the PLO. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine remained the only Palestinian organization to continue the rejectionist line.

At the 13th National Congress, the PLO declared its willingness to establish an independent Palestinian state for the Palestinian people on any part of Palestine liberated by political or military means. This goal was proclaimed by the PLO so as to face all attempts of isolating or intimidating the Palestinian people.

In Lebanon, the situation was rather quiet and the country was restored to its normal way of life but with prudence. The relationship between Syrian forces and the Palestinians ameliorated, and both sides regained confidence and a mutual understanding. The military confrontation between Syria and the Palestinians proved useless and both reconsidered their previous attitudes.

Sadat's single handed initiative, and his visit to Israel, drew Hafez al-Assad and Yasser Arafat even closer to each other on the same political line. Both the Syrians and Palestinians are in a similar situation, and both parties are the target of U.S. - Israeli political manoeuvres and conspiracies.

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On the Lebanese level, the relationship with the Lebanese national movement was consolidated. The Palestinian Liberation Movement still considers the Lebanese national and progressive movement as its strategic ally. This alliance was strengthened during the Lebanese civil war while facing the fascist forces, the common enemy of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. In southern Lebanon, the Israeli forces are still holding approximately ten Lebanese villages under their control. They are giving full support to Lebanese rightist elements in order to keep tensions high and terrorize the region. Israeli ambitions in the South have not changed, with ever increasing expansion into South Lebanon with its rich water sources. Their present tactics of continuous bombardments of these villages is to empty the South of its population in order to isolate the Palestinian forces and then launch a massive attack and liquidate those forces. Consequently the South would be free for Israeli ambitions and Israeli settlements near the Litani River and its tributaries. The heated situation in the southern Lebanon can be considered as the potential spark for a new Middle East confrontation.

In the occupied territories, our people are still suffering from atrocities of the occupation authorities. In spite of daily Zionist oppression, our people in the occupied territories are struggling and carrying on the struggle with active and passive resistance. Demonstrations by Palestinian youth, as well as military operations are launched against the occupation forces. Our people have never given up their hope for freedom and independence. Some who collaborated with the Zionist authorities were shot down by Palestinian patriots who have orders to carry out death sentences of the Revolution. The Israeli prisons are full of Palestinian patriots who oppose the Zionist occupation. Despite the

continuous humiliation and daily torture the occupation authorities will never succeed in breaking the will of our Palestinian patriots. Even collective punishment will fail to intimidate our people and never bring them to their knees.

The Sadat visit to Israel, and his visit to East Jerusalem, brought upon him additional disdain and disrespect of our Palestinian people. A seven thousand strong demonstration gathered in Jerusalem, thus defying the severe security measures in force. The Palestinian demonstrators chanted anti-Sadat slogans calling him such names as "traitor". The Imam of the Al-Aqsa mosque gave the sermon on the Islamic feast day wishing that Sadat had come to Jerusalem as a "conqueror". Our Palestinian people who have been suffering from Zionist expansion and oppression for sixty years well understand the nature of Zionist ideology and character. The theory behind Zionism is not peaceful. It is aggressive and fanatic, and the Palestinian people know that, because they are the victims of this fanatic and chauvinistic ideology which is the origin of all injustice and war in the Middle East.

On the Arab level, the Palestinian Revolution consolidated its Arab position. All attempts to isolate the PLO failed and it is still recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Arab countries are still committed to the Rabat Summit resolutions of September, 1974, recognizing the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Although King Hussein of Jordan always tries to by-pass those resolutions by renewing his claim to re-annex the West Bank. Our people in the West Bank have already chosen the PLO and gave a clear "no" to the Hashemite monarch. The Palestinians are angered with always being ruled by foreigners. They want to be their own rulers. They want to have the right, like all

people of the world, to determine their own future and destiny.

The so-called self-rule and autonomy under Jordan and Israel, as envisaged by Israel and the U.S., which is similar to the Bantustan of South Africa, is a new cover for the term occupation. Our people will not be tricked by such false and misleading peace projects. The U.S. - Israeli plan for the occupied territories is but a perpetuation of occupation. The Zionists in fact are setting forth their settlement policy in the occupied territories. Even in the Sinai and the Golan Heights, the Israeli expansionists are establishing newly "authorized" settlements. Begin himself even wants to retire to a settlement which would be built in the Sinai.

The U.S. is not a neutral mediator in the Middle East confrontation. They are supporting Israeli aggression and Israeli intransigence. They are incapable of convincing their friends and proteges of withdrawing from the occupied territories and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Israelis, taking into account the weakness and incapability of the U.S. to take decisive measures to impose a just and durable peace in the region are challenging world public opinion. The Israelis are pushing the Middle East towards a new destructive war. Even Sadat, who gave the Israelis secure borders and recognition and went to Israel to show his good will, will not be rewarded. The Sadat initiative will end in an impasse, and after a few months of useless bargaining Sadat will be confronted with the same old realities.

On the other hand, the Arab peoples were outraged and the majority of the Arab leaders disagreed with Sadat's single handed step. Demonstrations against Sadat took place in Arab capitals, including Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad and Tripoli, and Arab public opinion in general

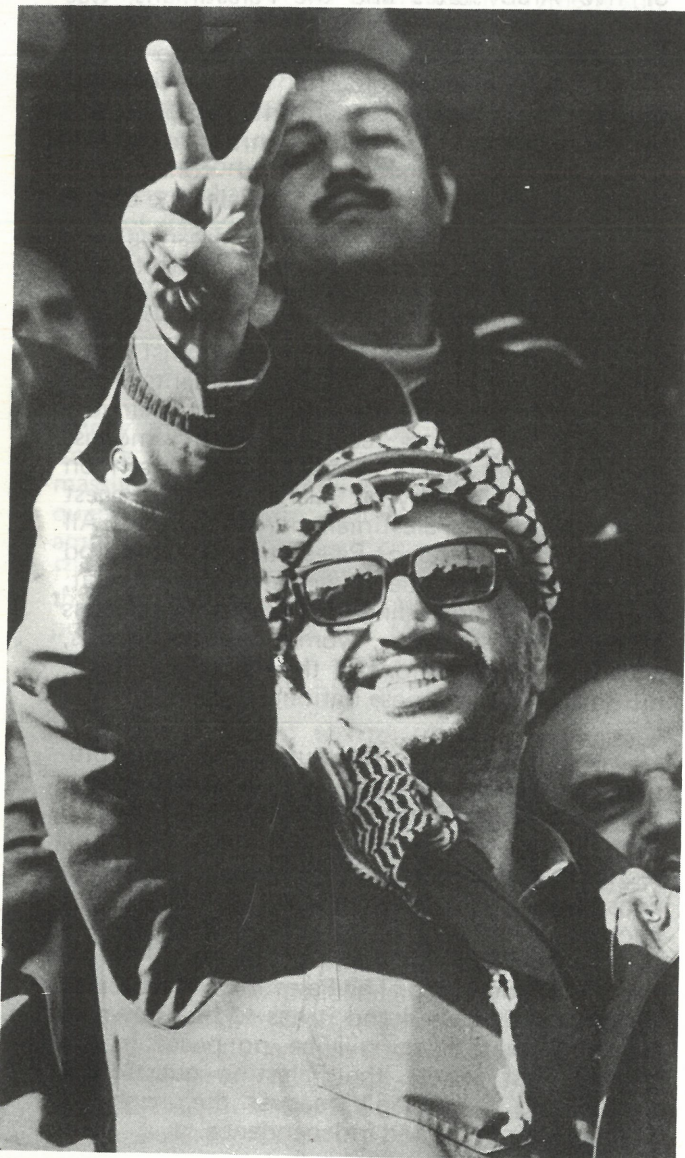
was against the visit. Sadat is now more isolated than ever. In Tripoli, an Arab summit consisting of five Arab states and the Palestinians, was called. Libya, Algeria, Syria, Iraq, South Yemen and the PLO discussed Sadat's visit to Israel. They proclaimed a solidarity front which was called the Steadfastness Front and issued a platform condemning Sadat's initiative and all U.S. - Israeli manoeuvres and conspiracies against the Arab peoples and the Palestine cause.

Simultaneously, the Palestinian organizations which took part at the Tripoli summit became more unified and issued a political program to consolidate their ranks and to push forward their common struggle against the Zionist occupation and to foil all political settlements at the expense of the Palestinian people and their just cause. This political reappraisal amongst the Palestinian organizations reflected itself on the 13th anniversary of Al-Fateh, the biggest and strongest Palestinian organization. All leaders of the different Palestinian groups stood on the tribune beside Chairman Yasser Arafat, cheering and applauding for the passing columns of fighters, militiamen, women, youths, scouts, and other organizations of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese national movement.

Yet the Palestinian Revolution, while celebrating its 13th anniversary, is well aware that it still has a long and hard march in the future. But the Revolution is determined to endure all sacrifices and to carry on the struggle against all conspiracies and manoeuvres to isolate our people and to deprive them from their right to live in peace, freedom and dignity like all peoples of the world. The Palestinian Revolution cannot be by-passed and it has to be known to everyone that there will be no peace in the Middle East unless the Palestine question is settled and our people recover their right to self-determination and independence.

ARAFAT:

1978 THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONARY DECISION



Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, on December 31st, made his yearly address to the Palestinian and Arab masses on the 13th anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian Revolution. Following is the text of his message:—

"Another year in the life of our Revolution has gone by, with all it has borne in the way of surprises, challenges, confrontation and steadfastness. The Revolution is now entering its 14th year through history's widest doors; with its head held high in dignity; after 13 blazing years like stars in the skies of Palestine and the Arab world, bearing the aspirations of our people, of the Arab nation, and of all free and honest man in the world; and telling the whole world that we are advancing into the future, heading for our homeland however high the price and the sacrifices.

"For in spite of all the plots and the conspirators, this Revolution was capable of legendary steadfastness and confrontation, of proud defiance of political and military storms on all levels and fronts; and is today stronger and more determined than it ever was in the past.

"The year which has ended, the year of 'confrontation and challenge, which witnessed the eruption of the Arab political volcano, brought about a series of consecutive explosions which aimed to blast apart the Palestinian Revolution — the difficult factor in the Middle East equation — in order to clear the way for the ugly conspiracy by removing the firm reality of the Palestinian revolutionary presence from this equation.

"For the lines of this conspiracy are carefully and expertly drawn to tame, contain and abort this great procession and its deep-seeded, long-term effects on

● NO SOLUTION IN THIS REGION AT EXPENSE OF OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR RIGHTS

● OUR UNITY IS TARGET OF ENEMY PLOTS

the Palestinian and Arab arenas and on the world as a whole. For all these reasons, our cause is the cause of the Palestinian and Arab individual, as well as the cause of humanity in our contemporary world.

"Our revolutionaries in their trenches inside and outside the occupied homeland correctly understand these basic truths and realities, they understand the justice of their cause and the historical inevitability of its victory. They also understand, through their persistent struggle, that they are building a new dawn in this region, which differs from other regions geographically because of its vital central position, and because of its strategic dimensions for the Arabs and the world. All of this is in addition to the tremendous riches of its soil, most important of which is oil, the blood flowing into the arteries of a world tired by economic, military, psychological and spiritual crises, which will last at least until the end of this century...

"In view of all this, no one in this Arab region should feel safe from the dangers of this phase or assume that he is distant from the epicenter of explosions.

"Therefore, you revolutionaries and heroes should know that every battle you have fought in this tumultuous situation has had more than one meaning for the future of struggle in this region, and of the plots of the imperialist — Zionist alliance sponsored by the USA, which strives to include this area in its permanent sphere of influence...

"In this context, the meanings and the struggle will be crystallized and revolutionary selection will take place; in the vastness of these events, it will be decided whose will shall be victorious in this region.

"Our enemies have unmasked their ugly faces and their dangerous ambitions: for they want this region to be a sphere of influence and a new slave market.

"But we — the Arab Nation — want it to be a land liberated from all forms of oppression and military, economic and political occupation.

"Under the leadership of the USA, they are manoeuvring to create a variety of Bantustans, not only in the West Bank and Gaza, as proposed by this arrogant terrorist Begin, but in all parts of the Arab Nation. For, though the names and types vary, this remains a new mode of the old occupation of our region. Its aim is that they may have more policemen and police stations in the region, by the side of their Israeli policeman, to protect their vital interests in this strategically and economically important part of our land, which is Arab in origin and in roots.

"Therefore, our clear and principled stand of opposition, as we take into consideration the weight of Egypt and its people in this struggle of destiny with President Sadat as regards his visit to our beloved Jerusalem and our usurped land, the ensuing dangerous long-term repercussions on the Arab situation as a whole, and the destructive imprints it left on the essence of the Arab—Zionist—Imperialist conflict in this region. This touches the vital interests not only of our generation, but of future ones, something which it is not our right to do in the face of this expansionist Zionist ideology which dreams of Jerusalem as the capital of the kingdom of greater Israel.

"But let those near and far, and those who distort truths and history under the cover of the joint power of the US and Israel, let them all understand that such false ideas cannot be imposed on our Arab Nation, which is capable of correcting the course of history as it has done over the ages, in order that this land may remain for its people, those who hold the right, a right that cannot be snatched away by any power, however great it may become at some stage in time.

"Comrades-in-arms, the situation is critical, the conspiracy huge and complex and the enemies nume-

rous; but let the whole world know that this Palestinian Revolution and this Arab Nation are able to confront, defy and remain steadfast. This was the basic meaning of the Tripoli Summit of Steadfastness and Confrontation because it represented a program of committed action towards the goals of the Arab Nation and against all the plots concocted by Zionism...

"From this revolutionary committed starting point and this militant program, Palestinian revolutionaries move as a vanguard in the civilized procession of the Arab Nation; and our militant people under occupation sacrifice in the face of the most vicious forms of neo-colonialism imposed on us by imperialism and racist Zionism. And in the same vein, came the courageous stands which proved that our people in occupied Palestine are fully capable of confronting the conspiracy in the face of all the temptations intended to split their ranks. This people nevertheless remained proud in their struggle, holding together in their ideology and strong in their struggle, attached to their Revolution, registering in the annals of history that this land is Arab and will remain so. They also recorded the fact that so many conquests were crushed against the walls of Jerusalem, and in Marij Dabek, Ain Jalout, Hittin and Yarmouk, smashing the dreams of empires, while the land remained in all its greatness, watered by the sweat and blood of its peoples and the wounds of its militants and prisoners; for in this land lie the bones of our ancestors, and there also our grandchildren will be buried.

"However hard and bitter the path, victory is near with patience. The enemy intention is to falsify your will, for you are the difficult and basic factor in the Middle East equation. We are a giant Revolution, which grasps the details of the Arab and international situation with all its short and long-range dimensions. Militants like you are needed: for the ultimate solution will only come with you and through you; and their capitulationist peace will pass only over the bodies of our martyrs.

"This is a stark truth, so be aware and be vigilant and grip your guns more tightly, because from their barrels will emerge the answer to all capitulationist solutions, as well as the peace we look forward to; under their shadow the olive trees in our liberated land will grow tall.

"...We are not war-mongers or spreaders of devastation; all we seek are our rights; we are a people which

was unjustly and deliberately oppressed and expelled from its land through an international imperialist-Zionist conspiracy. Were we today to judge it according to international standards, we would find that the US, the leader of the conspiracy, should be the one to pay its price before us. Indeed it is the farce of modern times and the lie of the 20th century. Thus we are determined to confront it for the sake of our children, for their future, and to preserve our rights. And we are not alone in this conflict. Together with us are freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, and many friends in Socialist, Non-Aligned, Islamic, African and Latin American countries. Because they are all conscious of the striking injustice to which our people was and is still subjected, and are all aware that what is taking place leaves dangerous and immediate repercussions on our region and all those involved with this region.

"International resolutions are the best proof of this stand of support.

"These valuable and reliable stands give us further firmness and strength in our militant march to eliminate injustice, liberate our homeland, return to our homes, and establish our independent state on our Palestinian national soil. This is a right and a reality recognized by all international charters and laws.

"In the name of those militants and of the Palestinian revolutionaries we strongly and openly declare that no definitive solution will pass at the expense of our Palestinian people and its inalienable national rights.

"These rights cannot be defined by agents or protected by mercenaries who are chosen as puppets and alternatives: some of them are rotten personalities worn out in the diverse roles they have played for this or that state. Each one of these puppets acts according to his respective conspiratorial role and to his size, and appears on the stage of conspiracy exactly at this present time. But all this is to no avail.

"That is the way it was in the march of the Algerian Revolution, of the Vietnamese Revolution and in all revolutions. They have won at the end just as the militants and revolutionaries of the PLO will win at the end.

"Let Begin announce his plans from occupied Palestine or from Egypt; and let Peres voice his



opinions and let all the fanatic Israeli parties put forth various slogans and phrases. The truth will remain the truth. The land of Palestine is not a land without owners, and the people of Palestine are not a commercial article to be bought and sold at the bargaining table. Our people lead a giant revolution, one of the greatest in contemporary history. Our people, have turned from refugees into revolutionaries and from numbers on ration cards neglected in the UNRWA files into the chief and the most difficult factor in the Middle East equation. This people does not flinch at a threat nor is it terrified by a conspiracy, nor intimidated by difficulties encountered along its path.

"This people has lived with hardships and is able to subdue them and even tame them in favour of its principles and set goals. This people is able to continue on its revolutionary path, illuminating it with torches for our future generations, torches which we have kindled and carried along with free brethren in Lebanon, in every corner of the Arab Nation and all over the world, directing our attention to a common goal and a common destiny...

"Thus it is inevitable to look at the events in South Lebanon and at the courageous, bold, patient and perseverant stand of the southerners before the

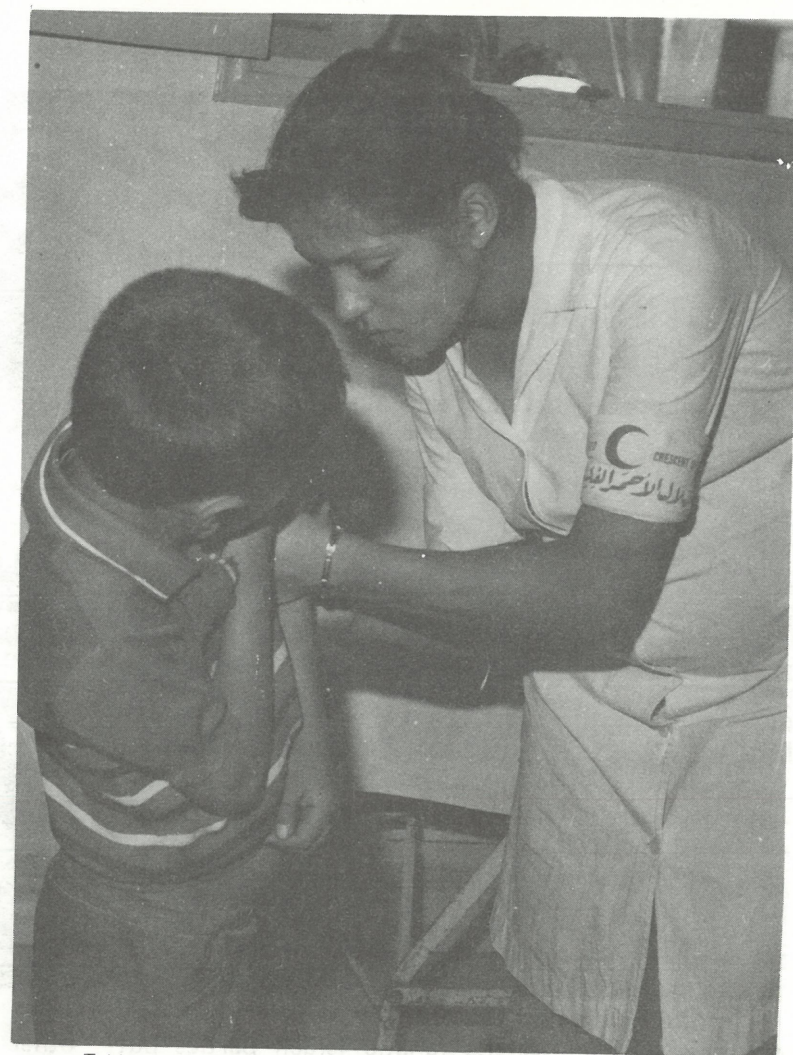
other vicious facet of the conspiracy. In the name of the Palestinian Revolution and people, I note with all appreciation and loyalty the courageous stand of the people of South Lebanon in spite of daily suffering. I salute all militants and nationalists there, and I say we have a duty there: an Arab, nationalist and patriot mission which we cannot ignore.

"National unity is our sustenance and our strength, and therefore we should reinforce and consolidate it. In his vicious battle with us, the enemy makes no differentiation and bullets fired at us do not discriminate between us. Let us join ranks and become united. The enemy has uncovered all its cards. Shall we continue to quarrel over the imaginary bear skin? Has not President Carter revealed the entire plot? Has not Begin unfolded his expansionist dreams? Aren't we watching the conspiratorial moves of the puppets and alternatives?

"I call upon you for further determination; let all hands be raised united and let us escalate our military struggle against the Zionist enemy, for the required unity is itself the essence of this national goal.

"Comrades of the long march, in our 14th year, the year of revolutionary and decisive decision, let us be full of confidence. With firm steps, let us head towards victory."

THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT SOCIETY



Taking care of the new generation is a revolutionary duty.

The dispersion of the Palestinian people after the forceful usurpation of their homes by Zionist colonial settlers has resulted in one of the major atrocities committed against a people in our era.

Nevertheless, the Palestinian people are fully committed to attain their legitimate rights and revive a fallen nation, and have resorted to every measure possible to gain their objectives.

One of the achievements in the bitter freedom struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, has been the setting up of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society.

On this, the 13th anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian armed struggle, and following the difficult circumstances it has had to confront, we shall examine the Red Crescent Society which has proved to be a symbol of the Palestinian people's determination to exist and regain their homeland from the Zionist Occupation.

To find out more about the Society, "Pales-

time Bulletin" visited the Akka Hospital in Beirut, and met Samir Ayyoub, Director of Information and Public Relations, who answered some questions on the Palestinian Red Crescent:

Q — Could you please brief us on the origin of the association?

A — The Palestinian Red Crescent is the Society which specializes in offering medical and social services for the Palestinians. Before it was officially announced in January 1969, it functioned as the Red Crescent Society Medical Services of Fateh. Later in 1969, it was endorsed by the Palestinian National Council. Since that period it has had parallel functions; social services and medical services.

Q — What is its international regional and local status?

A — After its establishment it was accepted as a full member in the Arab National Societies and has been admitted as an observer member

in the International Red Cross, Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun societies. In October of this year, we attended the International Congress of National Societies in Bucharest, Rumania. We received observer membership and at the same time succeeded in getting a resolution passed denouncing Israeli violations of the Geneva conventions.

The Palestinian delegation, which was headed by Dr. Fathi Arafat, was greeted by President Ceaucescu who put stress on a political solution in the Middle East and the need for an independant Palestinian state on our own land.

Q — What is the source of income of the Palestine Red Crescent?

A — Such national societies, as you know, are independent. We are following Geneva Conventions and our income sources are friends and supporting committees from Europe, America and the Arab World. We receive nothing from the PLO's National Fund and the balance of our budget is covered by help we get from Fateh.

Q — What have been the major achievements of the Society during the war in Lebanon?

A — We were the sole society offering medical services throughout the war. We opened up many emergency hospitals and brought in medicines from all over the world. If it were not for us, some hospitals in West Beirut would not have been able to run.

The oxygen and nitros factories were at the time on the other side and most of the hospitals were out of stock, so we were bringing vital medical stuffs from Egypt, Syria, Cyprus and elsewhere.

Since we were recieving the majority of patients at the time, we set up several emergency hospitals like that of the Arab University, which had 500 beds, and we offered, to the best of our ability, everything including food to private wards. So I am proud to tell you that we played the main medical role in Western Beirut and Lebanon in general.

Most doctors and nurses had left Lebanon at that time, and to meet the shortage, we gave long and short courses to boys and girls, enabling us to have semi-qualified and qualified people to help.

Many friendly delegations came to help us out, for example from Sudan and Bangladesh, and they were replacing those who were leaving.

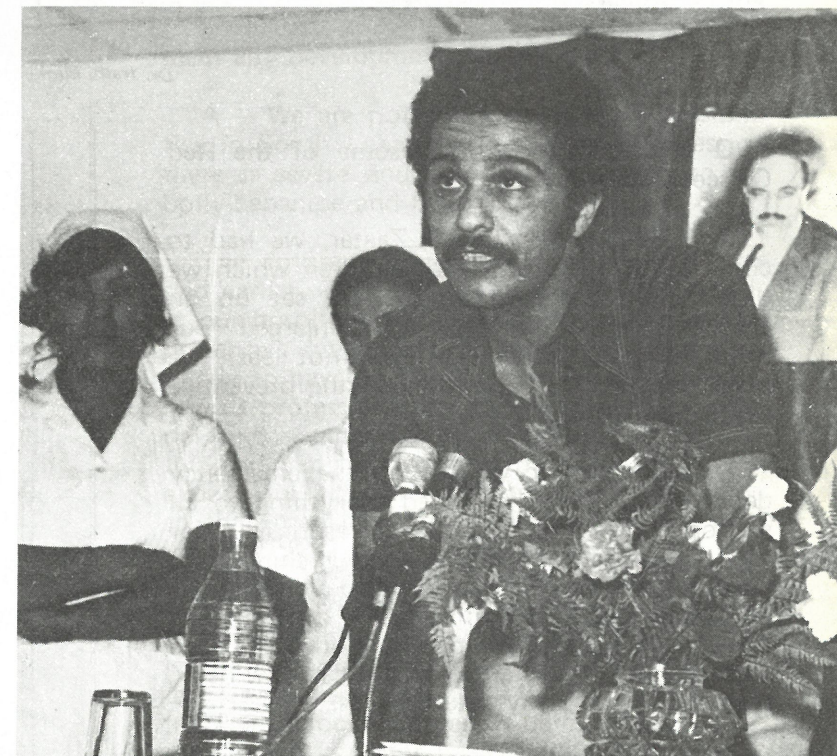
Q — What means of action and medical innovation did the association come up with in response to the war needs?

A — Before the war we had our own emergency schedules and programs but we were not expecting the severity of the war. So suddenly we found ourselves short of many things. We urgently sent delegations to ask for help all over the world and to meet our needs. Here we trained personnel, opened new hospitals and increased the capacity of the existing hospitals. For example, after the destruction of Jerusalem Hospital, which was located in Hazmieh, we had to set up new emergency hospitals. So, the Arab University was transformed into one of the biggest hospitals in the country. Other emergency hospitals were set up at Haikal Center in Hamra, Kayfun, Saida and the like.

To meet electricity shortages we brought movable generators, and we brought tankers to supply the hospitals with water.

To meet the shortage of medical personnel, our doctors, instead of working the regular 8 hours a day, worked from 16-20 hours in different hospitals.

So we met the shortage by increasing the capacity of what we had and by trying to the best of our abilities to find means of support. We followed both lines.



Samir Ayyoub, director of the information office of the Red Crescent.



Dr. Iraqi, Minkowski and La Rivière

Q — Can you mention some of the Red Crescent innovations?

A — Well, after Tall El-Zaatar, we had to come up with hospitals for children which we didn't have before the war. We set up an artificial limbs factory and enlarged our physio-therapy center. Last but not least, we tried to focus our attention on the preventive medicine section.

During the war we set up the emergency department, which provided everything to all sections. This department was responsible for finding, storing and providing everything from oxygen and food to transportation and drivers. Anywhere we heard of a shell explosion in Beirut, the department provided an ambulance on the spot. This vital department is now being enlarged to meet any future needs.

Q — What is the association's conception of medicine in a revolution?

A — In a revolution like ours, the emphasis should be more on preventive medicine than the curative, and more emphasis has to be put on child and mother care. This way we cut down on the need for constructing more hospitals and the high cost of medicine.

Q — The Red Crescent helped both Muslims and Christians during the war, which gives it its non-confessional nature. Would you comment on this?

A — We don't discriminate on the basis of race, colour or creed; in our hospitals we treat everybody who needs our help without reference to his political or religious affiliations. Because of the humanistic nature of our association we even treated several Phalangists. During the war, I was at Hazmieh Hospital, when a mother and her 17 year old daughter walked in to donate blood. We accepted the mother's offer but we couldn't take blood from her daughter, who was under

age, and anyway, was having her period. But the girl insisted, and the mother told us that her daughter wouldn't let her rest easy at home if the girl didn't give blood. So we took a token 1c.c. of blood from her. Before leaving the hospital she asked us to give her blood to a Palestinian Muslim. Astonished I asked her why? She replied: 'By giving my blood to a Palestinian, I as a Lebanese want to crush the geographical walls between Palestine and Lebanon, and by giving it to a Muslim, I as a Christian want to crush the religious walls between Muslims and Christians'.

This is the sort of lesson we learn from normal ordinary people. We at our hospitals and clinics treat many different nationalities, and Palestinians comprise less than 50 o/o of our patients.

Q — What help or solidarity did the association receive during and after the war?

A — The Lebanese people and those of other nationalities have been volunteering to work with us as cooks, nurses, janitors and so on. Several doctors and qualified technicians have come to our help from all over.

Another expression of solidarity we received was in the form of medicine, food and financial help. Lebanese and others gave us their homes to be used as clinics and hospitals while others took our patients and treated them in their homes.

Q — What did the association achieve in its recent visit to France, and what are its relations with the Franco-Palestinian Medical Association?

A — As you have mentioned, there is a Franco-Palestinian Medical Committee, and recently Dr. Fathi Arafat was invited and went there heading a delegation. He visited that society which had prepared a wide program for our delegation. We strengthened our ties with many friendly organizations and individuals. As a result, to mention but one, Professor Minkovsky, who is a Jew, visited us here and promised to return from time to time.

We got donations from French people to build Al-Hamshary Hospital in Sidon, South Lebanon.

Q — What is the significance of Minkovsky's visit?

A — As he once said; 'Before I knew you I was not against you or my people, and after I've known you I am with you and still not against my people.' We told him that we don't want him to be against his people as Jews, and that our aim is to establish a democratic state in

Palestine. This he understood. At the beginning, he as a European, didn't understand the real situation in our camps, the livelihood of our people and our exact political aims.

He evaluated our medical experience and gave us some advice from the knowledge he had acquired in Vietnam, China and Cuba, since he had helped those revolutions. By meeting one of the greatest doctors we have learned and will learn from his medical and political experience.

Q — What major projects are being implemented now?

A — Besides our daily programs we have projects for construction and enlarging our facilities to meet any developments that might occur in Lebanon.

We have a big hospital, Palestine Hospital, under construction in Cairo, another Al-Hamshary in Saïda, South Lebanon. These are in addition to the Gaza Surgical Hospital, and the Ramallah Hospital for children. We expect Akka Hospital, which is a surgical one, to be finished soon. More over we have many more projects. All in all when these hospitals are constructed we will have about 1000 more beds.

Due to inflation we are now short of money and we have asked friendly organizations to help us complete our projects.

Q — What are the future prospects of the Red Crescent Society, and what are its plans to meet any developments in the region?

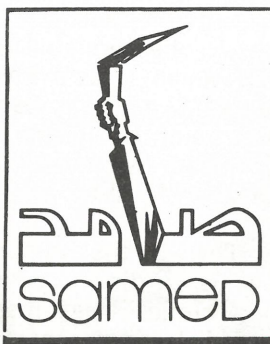
A — We are not ready to meet all possibilities in South Lebanon since Zionist aggression there is severe and our hospitals are open for both Lebanese and Palestinians.

The future of our association is bright, as said earlier. We will soon have 1000 more beds at our hospitals. We intend to have an effective preventive medicine program and moreover we intend to have several social activities. Now, we have 3 professional centers for typing, secretarial, and sewing training. We intend to increase this and make it available to all our camps. We expect our boys and girls to have a profession so that they can earn their living rather than wait for charity.

In order to provide for our needs, we intend to expand the nursing, technical, pharmaceutical, and laboratory technician training centers into major schools. A course for the training of social workers is being prepared.

SAMED

PALESTINE MARTYRS WORKS SOCIETY



SAMED'S Exhibition

People throughout the world increasingly acknowledge the just cause of the Palestinian people and support them in their plight to return to their homeland and give recognition to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Often, there is an awareness of the political and military functions of the PLO, but there is still wide-spread ignorance of the many other tasks the Revolution undertakes amongst the people: cultural, educational, medical as well as industrial.

"Palestine Bulletin" interviewed Abu Ala', the President of Samed, the Sons of Martyrs for Palestine Works Society ('sons' refers to both men and women).

Q. Abu Ala', can you please tell us about the history of the establishment of SAMED, and why was it established?

A. SAMED was established in 1969 in



Chairman Arafat with Samed's director Abu Ala'

Jordan, after a group of Palestinians were martyred fighting the Zionists in the occupied land. Our Movement was obliged to help the families of the martyrs. First of all, it began as a centre of rehabilitation for the sons of the martyrs. Unfortunately with the 1970 war (Black September) in Jordan, when SAMED faced the same fate as our Revolution there, it was transferred to Lebanon. Since 1970, SAMED's aims have been to provide work for the families of martyrs. This we think is the priority of SAMED, to furnish work for the families of people who lost their lives in action for the Revolution. Palestinian workers often suffer from poor employment opportunities in the Arab countries.

SAMED was also established as a vehicle to move toward an economic revolution, a revolutionary economy of self-sufficiency. It began in very small workshops in 1970, in the Palestinian camp of Sabra in Lebanon. The number of workers were not more than ten, but now the situation, as you can see, is very different.

The underdeveloped world generally suffers from lack of resources and meagre capital and as an integral part of the Third World, we the Palestinians suffer from the same problems. In

spite of this we are determined to build the economic base of our Revolution, to depend on our own will. This is one of the objectives of SAMED as an institute in the service of the Palestinian masses who are being lured by incentives to sell their labour abroad. We firmly believe that it is our task to encourage the Palestinians to hold their ground rather than going abroad. By offering work opportunities, we hope to put an end to this conspiracy of draining the Palestinian labour force.

Q. Can you tell us about the situation of SAMED in the 1970 Jordanian war and in the Lebanese events of 1975-1976?

A. Our work in Jordan was in its embryonic stage due to the generally difficult conditions that engulfed the Palestinian Revolution. In spite of this we were able to set up several small workshops. In Black September, these workshops were attacked by the Jordanian army and since then our work in Jordan has been paralyzed.

As for Lebanon, SAMED was working at full capacity when the war broke out. We feel proud to have been able to furnish the fighting forces, both Palestinians and Lebanese, with all



A working woman.

they needed in relation to uniforms and blankets. Our work continued even after the massacre at Tall al-Zaatar. In fact, we were able to set up four additional workshops that helped to rehabilitate around 250 Palestinian workers, belonging to the families of martyrs of Tall al-Zaatar, Jisr el-Basha, Karantina and others.

As well, SAMED workers during the fighting, acquired an important role side by side with the fighting forces. Many of our own SAMED workers gave up their lives fighting for the Revolution and in defence of its legitimate existence and action in Lebanon.

Q. What difficulties do the Palestinians face in trying to find work?

A. The Palestinians living in the different countries harboring them, do not enjoy the same rights as local citizens. The first thing confronting the Palestinian seeking work is his identity. The situation became further complicated after the emergence of the Palestinian Revolution, with many workers identifying with military tasks. Thus SAMED, as a revolutionary institution, tries to provide the Palestinian working force with rights to work and share in the responsibility of running production. Our situation is much more advanced than the industrial laws existing in some of the different countries where Palestinians live and work.

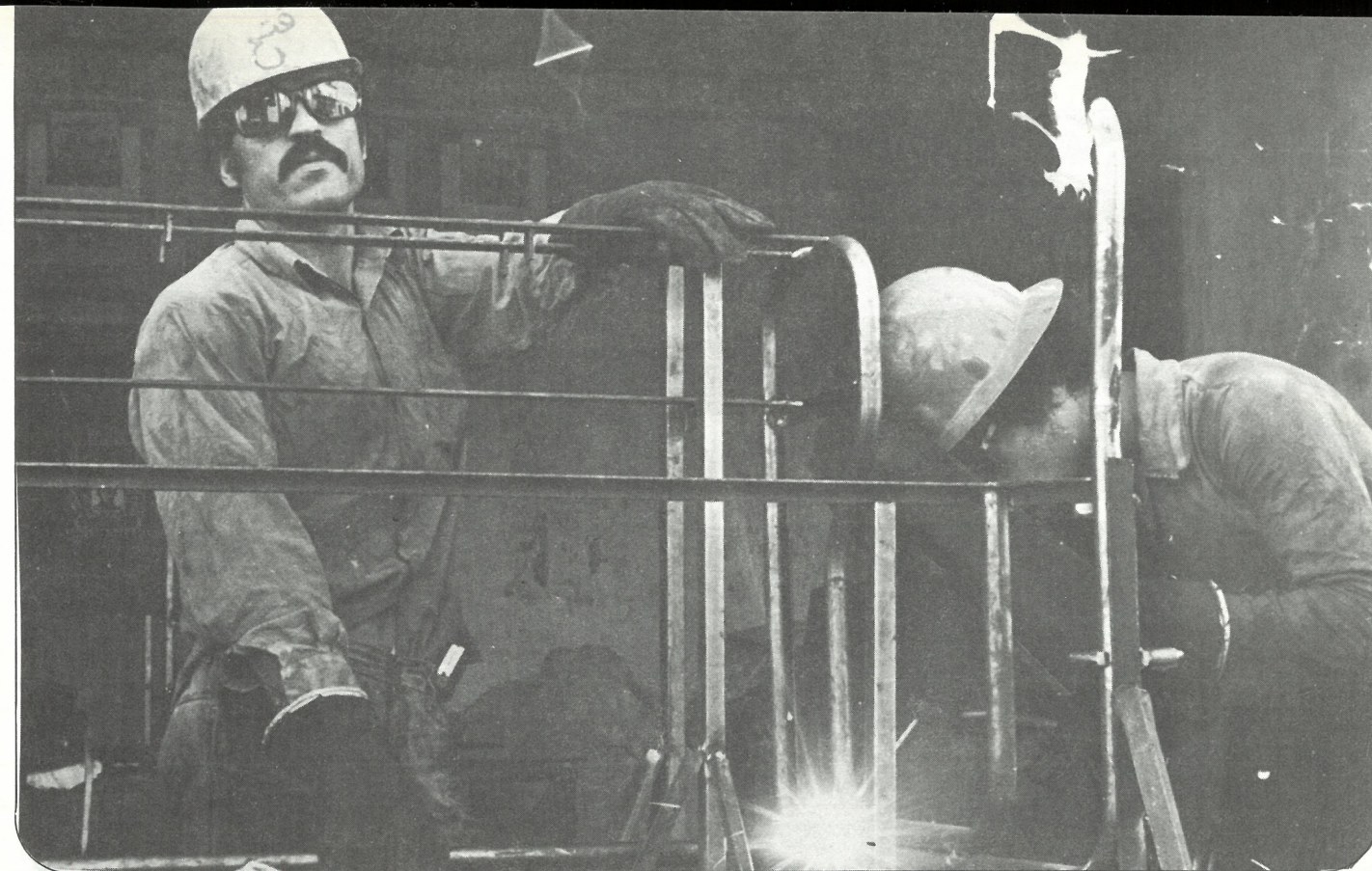
Q. What are the new work regulations and

working conditions that SAMED has put forward?

A. If we went into detail about all of the rules and regulations drafted by SAMED, we could fill a book. In summary, however, they are: First, an increase in wages as compared to the local working class. Wages are determined by need and skill, in that order, with an average of 500 to 600 L.L. (\$150 - \$200) per month, as compared with the Lebanese minimum wage of 325 L.L. per month (\$106). Second, we strive to establish total equality between working men and working women in our institute. The labour force in SAMED numbers about 3,000, of whom 80% are women. An executive member of the General Union of Palestinian Women is also on the Executive Committee of SAMED.

We are proud that our workers are entitled to social welfare measures which are more developed than in any other similar institution in the Arab world. While the Executive Committee appoints administrative and technical advisors, each workshop elects a Revolutionary Cooperative Committee which is the highest socio-political decision making unit in the workshop. It deals with vocational training, political education, social activities and environmental problems of the workers. All Revolutionary Cooperative Committee first secretaries are represented on the SAMED Central Council.

Q. What is the relationship between



Workers in a SAMED Workshop

SAMED and the General Union of Palestine Workers?

A. As SAMED was established by Fateh, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, we consider ourselves to be an institute of the Palestinian Revolution. Consequently the relationship between SAMED and other organs of the Palestinian Revolution is a comradely one. The workers of SAMED are organized and active members of the General Union of Palestinian Workers.

Q. What are some of the training programs that SAMED coordinates?

A. SAMED undertakes the responsibility of training vocational cadres, people who are specialized in various trades. In this, we use our alliance with friendly countries to send cadres abroad to receive training and return to work in the institute. A recent agreement which has been made between SAMED and the Italian Cooperatives will allow SAMED working men and women to receive training in Italy in the near future.

We also have a campaign to wipe out illiteracy, as well as the political education that everyone receives. This political education is related to the history of the Palestinian problem dating back to its origins, that is, since the beginning of this century. The SAMED workers also receive education about international experiences, such as the Vietnamese and Cuban

revolutions and certain Latin American and African Liberation struggles.

Q. Could you mention a little more about SAMED's relationship with international organizations?

A. Wherever the Palestinian Revolution has friends and allies, SAMED has relations. We have fraternal relations with cooperatives in the socialist camp. Many agreements have been signed between SAMED and these organizations which are binding in the sense that they are very similar to legal protocols. A fraternal agreement has just been signed between us and Polish organizations. As well as the cooperation with Italian groups already mentioned, SAMED has links with democratic and progressive forces all over Western Europe. As for our relations with Third World countries, we are pleased to offer assistance through **agricultural projects in Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Yemen, and Guinea.** This is of course within the limits that our resources allow, involving mainly technical assistance.

Q. What are some of the products that SAMED is now involved with?

A. Our products are determined by two factors: the priority of the revolutionary struggle of our people and the question of marketing.

We devote major attention to military clot-



Samed's Exhibition

hing for the fighting men, but this has been enlarged to include sections for the production of civilian clothes at reasonable prices so that our people in the camps can afford to buy them. This is in addition to the production of blankets and tents.

We produce games and toys for the children, that are concerned with the development of culture and education in relation to the Palestinian problem. We also make Palestinian traditional clothing and small artifacts. We are concerned with celebrating and stressing Palestinian folklore because the Zionists are trying to obliterate it and co-opt it for their own use. Thirdly, we produce furniture, tables and chairs to meet the needs of offices of the Revolution, the camps, the schools and all of the people in general. Finally, we have our embryonic cinema industry. In spite of our meagre resources, we are trying to expand production to include a colour section besides the present black and white section. We produce both documentary films that are historical and show the problems of our struggle, and features depicting the Palestinian way of life.

Q. What are SAMED's future projects?

A. In early 1978, we hope to set up a factory for the production of military as well

as civilian shoes, to meet both the needs of our fighters and our camp dwellers. Another project is the establishment of an industry for the production of under-wear garments — we are awaiting the arrival of equipment which is the fruit of our alliance with the Italian Cooperatives.

Q. The word SAMED itself means "steadfastness". Would you like to conclude by commenting on SAMED as a base of the masses of the Palestinian Revolution?

A. In the aftermath of the 1967 defeat of the Arab world, small bands of Palestinian freedom fighters undertook the task of reviving the national liberation movement again, and their "steadfastness", (SAMED), has become the slogan of people directly facing Zionist aggression. We chose the word "SAMED" because it has this militant significance.

In line with the militant cry of these bands of freedom fighters, SAMED is an integral part of the whole process of revolutionary action. SAMED's mission is accomplished within the achievements of the Palestinian Revolution as a whole until victory is ours.

PALESTINIAN INSTITUTIONS

The Palestinian Cinema

HISTORICAL MILESTONES

The birth of the Palestinian cinema is closely linked to the launching of the armed revolution on 1 January 1965, and more specifically to the emergence of Fatah. At that time, a number of Palestinian intellectuals placed themselves at the disposal of the Resistance.

1967-68: A cinema unit, under Fatah's auspices, was formed in Amman, Jordan, with limited means, by Hani Jawhariyya, Sulafa Jadallah and Mustafa Abu Ali. Owing to the shortage of cinematographic material in the strict sense of the term, its activities were initially photographic. A dark room was set up in a kitchen.

1968: Hani Jawhariyya filmed "Scorched Earth", a documentary on Zionist acts of aggression in the Jordan Valley region.

1969: The first public showing of the cinema unit: an exhibition on the battle of Karama.

1969: The production of a film to denounce the Rogers Plan: "No to the Defeatist Solution", which can be considered as the official birth of Palestinian cinema. The cinema unit was given collective credit. The first showing was held for the leadership in an underground shelter with a bare earth floor. Although its standard was still weak technically, its first spectators, seated on stones, watched this first Palestinian film with emotion.

September 1970: The members of the cinema unit filmed the mas-

sacres by the Jordanian Army in Amman and its suburbs. This undertaking was all the more useful since Hussein's security services prohibited foreign journalists from taking their pictures out of the country. Those that Hani Jawhariyya was able to take were brought by Abu Ammar (Yasser Arafat) to the Cairo meeting to be shown to the Arab heads of state and reveal to them the extent of the genocide. With the documentary material it had filmed, the cinema unit produced a short film entitled "With My Soul and My Blood".

1971: The cinema unit was established in Beirut, where it was strengthened in both human and technical terms.

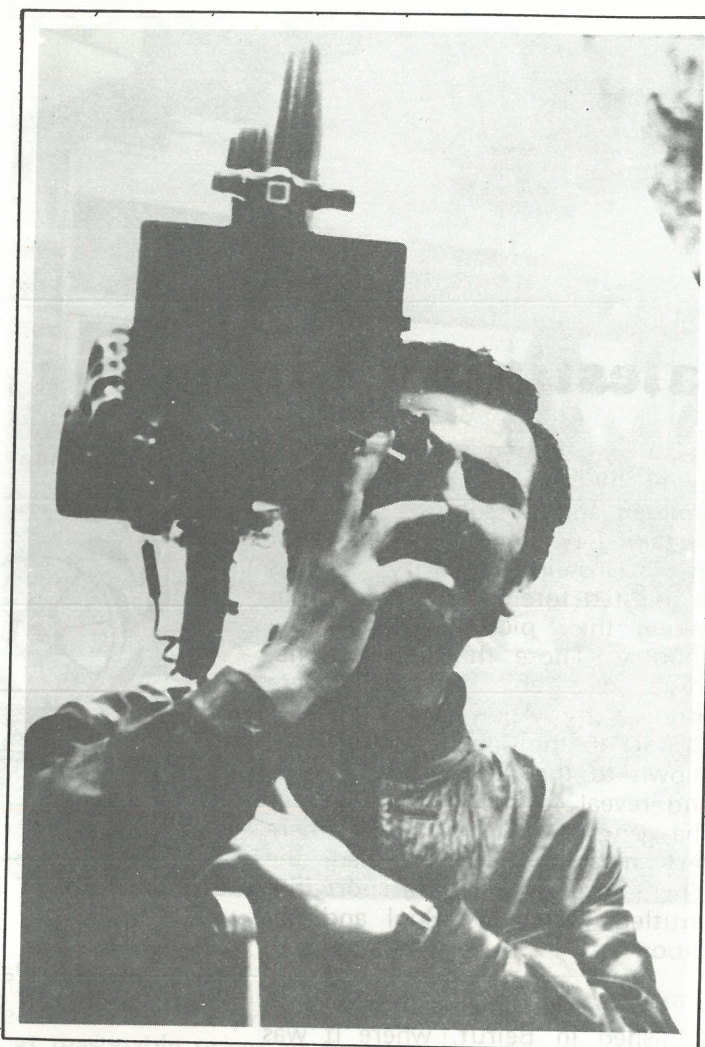
1971: The PFLP Central Committee (Information Section) brought out its first film, "On the

Path of the Palestinian Revolution", produced by Fuad Zantout.

1972: The first festival of the young Arab cinema industry in Damascus, where the film "With My Soul and My Blood" attracted great attention in a survey on the



A scene from Tal-Al-Zaatar



THE HEROES OF THE PALESTINIAN CINEMA

It is insufficient to say that Palestinian cinema is combat cinema. It must be added that, as with the Palestinian people themselves, it is its militant attitude which gives it life and guarantees its existence. By virtue of its origin, the conditions of its emergence and its development, it is closely linked to combat and is an integral part of it. Palestinian cinematographers are faced with the task of (re)constructing a memory of life and struggle which can mobilise, in fact be a motivation for the future: a future which exists deep within every Palestinian refugee in Palestine and outside it. To return, to destroy the artificial colonial space on the soil of Palestine so as to build a space there open to all its inhabitants without discrimination, this is a programme of decolonisation and of national liberation. It is thus up to the cinematographers to take this programme actively into account in their films by relating it at each point to concrete historical circumstances as well as to the everyday life of the masses. They must recall the objective and illustrate the means, long-term people's war, and reappraise and link up past and present scenes to further this objective.

With regard to pre-1968 past images, in fact everything that tells the story of the British Mandate period, the 1936 revolution, the 1948 war, the subsequent expropriation, exile, the June 1967 war, all these scenes of Palestine have been filmed from other people's point of view, most often by the colonisers themselves (news, Zionist documentaries, etc.) but not always (Arab films on the 1948 and 1967 wars and foreign sympathetic or denunciatory reporting and Western reporting after 1967).

Thus one of the tasks that Palestinian film makers are trying to carry out is collect scenes of themselves, filmed by others, which are scattered throughout the world, pieces of their national memory, proofs of past existence, symbols of



identity. When the Palestinians undertake to put these scenes together, they are faced with a peculiar problem related to the character of Zionist colonisation which needed (in order to make its ideological impact on the Jewish masses and with regard to non-Jews) to ignore the Palestinian people's very existence, and therefore to keep them out of the pictures which it produced on its enterprise.

As far as present scenes are concerned, the problems and themes of the Palestinian people's mobilisation can be found on film through people who, although they are mainly real people (the essential material of short films is documentary, there is very little fiction), end up as simply figures: figures with many faces which do not look like the face of a particular film star but are those of the real social actors;

the faces of the Palestinian people themselves.

The themes are those of daily life: life in the camps, the bombardments and all the attacks on Palestinian life perpetrated by the Israelis, actions against the enemy, the powerful moments of popular mobilisation, and then the lines of force, the transversal themes: armed struggle and its organic links with daily life; the presence of death everywhere in all its forms (individual and collective, physical and political); the threat which the Palestinian people have to face at every moment, the total determination, popular enthusiasm or serene calm.

All these themes, like the objective to which they are connected, are expressed through figures that emerge from the real movement of the Palestinian masses.

They occur on two different levels which, for the purpose of analysis, we may term the levels of implication and explanation.

Figures of implication: for example, that of the Martyr's Mother, ever-present in so many Palestinian documentaries, a transversal, implicit figure who embodies in herself the two terms of the liberation struggle: the Mother, traditionally the place of identity, the "guarantee of origin" one might say, the one who gives life and survives passing death, and the Martyr, symbol of the fight to the death for liberation, a marking point of the historic conflict, an emblem of the struggle and the solemn moment in the language of long-term people's war. Palestinian cinematographers do not invent anything, they borrow from reality in the struggle. The Martyr's Mother "contains" all the elements of the programme (the

theme of Palestine in the cinema, and received a prize. For the first time, Palestine as a nation was mentioned at a film festival.

1973: The first film festival on Palestine in Baghdad.

1974: The Palestinian Cinema Group dissolved itself. Fatah's cinema unit resumed its autonomy and its activities under the name of Palestine Films, Palestinian Cinema Organisation.

1976: Hani Jawhariyya was killed in Lebanon. Several long films telling of the determination of the Resistance, particularly at Tal Al Zaatar, were undertaken.

Around the PLO's Paris office, which in 1974 had produced a short film on the assassination of Mahmoud Al Hamshari, "Dead for Palestine", produced by Mamoun Al Bounni, a French unit of "Palestine Films", the Palestinian Cinema Organisation was established.

1972: The PLO's Culture and Arts Section began producing films, in particular by Ismail Shammout.

1973: The Fatah cinema unit played an active part in forming the Palestinian Cinema Group. In addition to cinematographers and technicians, this group included writers, painters and journalists. It produced a film (which was to be its only one), "Scenes of Occupation in Gaza" by Mustafa Abu Ali.

1973: The PFLP produced its first film, "The Path", produced by Rafiq Hajjar, followed in 1974 by "The May of the Palestinians" on Maalot.



return to the land) which is expressed through other transitive figures which themselves are explicit, with which we shall deal, but it is important to note that this type of figure which we term one of implication can be found in the cinema of other national liberation struggles such as that of Vietnam, or of Socialist construction such as the Chinese cinema, in which one sees (in both fiction and documentary films) familiar prototype people who in one way or another symbolise deep-rootedness, permanence and also wisdom. These are characters like an uncle (the fact that the Vietnamese masses called Ho Chi Minh "Uncle Ho" is certainly along the same lines), an aunt, grandfathers and grandmothers. Ancient ideas, such as the family, are used to build up new ones, such as that of a national entity in the struggle for its liberation.

Similarly, these films show active, explicit characters, made possible by the setting in place of their origin, of their places of implication. The chief of these transitive figures are:

The Guerrilla, whose organic link with the people is stressed: an objective link (guarantee of both existence and national liberation) or a more subjective and emotional link (that of family, a brother, sister or others). The Guerrilla's courage is underlined throughout these films.

The Martyr, the symbol of total sacrifice, who challenges the threatening death decreed by another (the enemy) with resurrection-death (a major theme of Palestinian poetry), who looks towards the future, towards life: "the opposite of the tragic spirit, namely an individualistic one which looks to-

wards the past, which is the attitude of the ruling classes towards death," as Pascal Bonitzer wrote. This revolutionary concept of death and its representation can also be seen at work in "Kafr Kassem".

The Combatant Poet, who has occupied a fundamental place in

the Palestinian revolutionary process since its beginnings. It is known that many Resistance leaders are also poets or novelists; some were targets for assassination by the Zionists (like Ghassan Kanafani and Kamal Nasser). This is because the cultural struggle has assumed great importance for the Palestinian people from the start. In the years following 1948, when political disarray was at its height, poets were the Refuge for the violated identity and its means of preservation and privileged expression. It was by chanting poems that demonstrators then acquired the habit of defying the forces of repression. Were the Zionists not trying to deprive the Palestinians of their culture? Today this field of culture remains vital, and scarcely a meeting or rally is held in which it is not part of the proceedings. Thus in Palestinian cinema a poet is represented not as an esthete cut off from the struggle but as a combatant whom one loves (and mourns) like so and so.

Different figures, therefore, "play" on different levels and in different chapters whose articulation enables film makers to give an account of the Palestinian Revolution's historical programme at the present time.

These truly Palestinian productions are presented in various ways. The films are all short or medium length documentaries, but in their economy of scenes they sometimes include fiction (for example, "With My Soul and My Blood" and "They Do Not Exist"). Most of them are constructed and conceived as didactic films, but some of them happen to provide elements of information just as they stand (Palestinian News, No. 1 and No. 2). In all of them can be found always, nevertheless, a concern to learn from the event, to draw material

for thought from it. While the scenes are generally filmed by Palestinian cinematographers themselves, it also happens sometimes that they were filmed by others and put together from the Resistance's point of view ("Scenes of Occupation in Gaza"). As part of a Memory in the process of formation, these films are the active evidence of awareness of the historical itinerary of a people who have begun their process of liberation.

Serge Le Peron.

Excerpt from
"LA PALESTINE
ET LE CINEMA"
a collective work
edited by Guy Hennebelle
and Khemais Khayati.

MILITANT CINEMA AND REVOLUTIONARY COMMITMENT

Revolutionary cinema is defined as covering films of a committed nature, whose main function is to convey a well defined political revolutionary line to the masses concerned.

Militant cinema must adhere scrupulously to the aims of the Revolution. In addition, it should address itself directly to the masses. These are the necessary conditions for the preservation of its militant character. Two preliminary questions arise with regard to defining the actual impact of this form of cinema:

- How does it contribute to the service of the masses?
- How does it contribute to the progress of the Revolution?

For militant cinema is not an aim in itself, but one of the forms of political struggle. The camera is a gun which shoots 24 photos per second.

A committed cinematographer

should in the first place be a militant in the ranks of the Revolution, before being a cinematographer. If the actual criterion is the service of the masses, it henceforward becomes the cinematographer's duty to know the masses well. This knowledge should be the result of militant practice among the masses, practice which is systematically balanced against theoretical work.

A certain tendency developed among some Arab cinematographers who were opposed to traditional cinema. These cinematographers undertook to produce experimental works which undoubtedly constituted a quest for new forms. Unfortunately, these cinematographers were too inward-looking; and this introversion had the result of limiting these works to a closed circle of intellectuals.

In addition, an unfortunate trend of identifying militant cinema with reportage cinema also emerged. This trend considered that the essential aim was simply to produce documentary films on our people's struggle. The films "The War in Lebanon" and "The Events in Lebanon" which appeared recently are an illustration of this: they tell of the events which occurred during a specific period in a purely historical manner.

The mistake here again is the result of ignorance of the real nature of militant cinema, which only uses filmed documentaries in those specific cases where they would serve the main idea that the cinematographer wishes to convey to the masses. Thus it would be completely useless to present scenes of poverty and misery among the refugee camp population in an intrinsic manner. On the other hand, these same scenes -- if fitted into a film which, in a direct and clear way, put forward the revolutionary alternative -- would inspire a desire for change among the masses and thus become a dynamic force.

This by no means implies that one should stop filming and photographing our people's struggle, but one must avoid limiting oneself to the "reporting" format which too often assumes an aspect of neutra-

lity and should be left to foreign journalists.

A militant cinematographer must always be concerned, when filming an event, with the positive and dynamic elements which it contains. Thus, during an Israeli attack for example, the cinematographer should not be content with filming only scenes of destruction and ruin, but in particular should concentrate on scenes of struggle and resistance.

Foreign Information

Some people might disagree, on the grounds that these "documentary films" are in fact directed at a foreign public and should consequently have a different form and a completely different perspective. This is true. These films were produced essentially with a foreign public in mind. But this does not solve the essential problem, and in fact poses it in a different way: almost all Palestinian cinema production is directed at the outside world, and not at the masses con-

cerned. Nevertheless, in general the cinematographers who are campaigning within the Palestinian Revolution seem to agree with each other on the following point: that films intended for the Palestinian masses have an indisputable priority over films intended for foreign information.

The Palestinian Revolution, now more than at any other time, is in need of a real militant cinema. This should be a dynamic means of developing the numerous factors that will enable the Palestinian people's political consciousness to be awakened, their energy to be concentrated and their participation in the Revolution to be increased. In addition, it would help to enrich the national culture. There are numerous themes which can be treated, and the choice of the form for them is a matter for the cinematographer, whose sole restriction is that he must adhere strictly to the aims of the Revolution.



Izzyeh, a village in South Lebanon: Innocent victim of Zionist terrorism.



This account is about the general aspects of the national struggle of the Palestinian working class movement, its unionist and political dimensions. This report has been realised with the cooperation of Comrade Mousa Jiryes, member of the Executive Committee of the General Union of Palestinian Workers' in Lebanon.

The Palestinian Trade Union Movement

AN ORGAN AND BASTION OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION.

Despite the objective and subjective factors that hindered the process of the establishment of an effective Palestinian trade unionist movement, particularly because of the small numerical strength of the Palestinian working class in a predominantly agrarian — peasant society, and the hegemony of the religious and traditional leadership over the Arab nationalist movement. Leading workers managed to organize the nucleus of the General Union of Palestinian Workers in 1921.

Owing to the fact that Palestine was subjected to systematic Zionist colonization and British oppression, the working class movement was the most advanced in comparison to other segments of Palestinian society because it acquired a high level of political as well as



The Workers participate in the sit-in with other Palestinian workers.

unionist consciousness.

The advocacy of the so-called "Leftist" movement, wielding the motto "exclusive pure Jewish labor," meant the further deprivation of an Arab labor force of working opportunities. Consequently, the Zionist Histadrut drew a wedge between the Arab and Jewish workers thus leading to the sharpening of nationalism in the Arab working class and blocking the way to future solidarity between the Jewish and Arab working classes.

From its conception, the G.U.P.W. followed a difficult path. It was ruthlessly suppressed by the British Mandatory authorities, in favor of the Zionist Histadrut. By 1925, the Union was again active on the scene where it drew its



strength largely from the Palestinian railroad workers. As the Palestinian National Liberation struggle gained momentum, the Palestinian Arab working class assumed an important role. The bulk of the fighting effort and heavy sacrifices bore heavily upon the workers and peasants. It is in the trenches of the protracted anti-imperialist-Zionist struggle that the union and fusion of urban workers and rural agrarian laborers took place. During the 1936-1939 Palestinian armed insurrection, the union played a significant role in mobilizing and organizing segments of the working class and peasantry by presiding over the work of the people's committees. The committees undertook militant responsibilities at base level.

By 1948, with the establishment of the Zionist entity, the G.U.P.W.'s activities came to a halt. This was exclusively due to the newly prevailing circumstances whereby the majority of the Palestinian people were made refugees in neighboring Arab countries. These regimes suppressed Palestinian identity. The rights to self-determination of the Palestinian people were terminated along with trade unionist activities. Unionist leaders were jailed

and the Palestinian working class was denied their basic right to conduct independent trade unionist activities. For example, in Jordan, the remnants of Palestinian trade unions were subordinated to the Hashemite state sponsored unions.

Systematic repression of the working class movement however, did not put an end to the Palestinian worker's attempts to protect their interests as well as pursuing their efforts for the liberation of Palestine. Unionists resorted to clandestine action and under difficult conditions of political oppression, they managed to lay the basis for the convening of the General Congress of the Palestinian Worker's Union. The preliminary National Congress took place in Gaza in 1964. It was until 1965, that the Palestinian trade unionist movement effectively rose again.

With the rise of a new revolutionary and nationalist tide in the Arab World, more favorable conditions allowed the vigorous re-emergence of the Palestinian trade unionist movement. Still a member of the Palestinian Trade Union was relatively unable to escape the containment imposed by the existing status quo.

However, the failure of strategy used by Arab regimes vis a vis Zionist aggression in 1967, and the following disintegration of police machines and other oppressive tools, provided the Trade Unionist Movement with more freedom of action. The decisive factor in securing independence of the movement, was the rise of the Palestine Resistance, whose presence and impact protected and developed the potentialities and activities of the Union.

Meanwhile the G.U.P.W. became a source of support closely associated with the Palestine Resistance Movement, and ascertained a degree of autonomy. The rise of the Palestine Resistance and its world wide recognition, provided the G.U.P.W. with access to the progressive and democratic international labor organizations and unions.

By 1965, the General Union of Palestinian Workers was admitted as a member to the International Union of Arab Workers. G.U.P.W. participated in the works of that international organization's 3rd congress held in Cairo in 1965 and also in the work of the 4th and 5th congresses held in 1969-1971. The G.U.P.W. was also represented on the General Secretariat of the I.U.A.W.

Internationally, the G.U.P.W. and the Palestinian working class movement began to play a significant role in the progressive inter-

nationalist labor movement. In 1969, the G.U.P.W. was acknowledged as a member in the 7th congress of the World Trade Union in Budapest. In 1970, the G.U.P.W. participated in the works of the 20th plenary session of the General Council of the W.T.U. It also participated actively in the W.T.U.'s 21st session held in the German Democratic Republic's capital, Berlin. The G.U.P.W. was instrumental in the 22nd plenary session held in Bucharest and Varna, which was held in 1971-72 consecutively.

The Palestinian Trade Unionist Movement was acknowledged as the representative of Palestinian working class interests on a world wide scale. This demonstrating the Palestinian social, progressive and revolutionary content of the liberation's struggle achieved by the Palestinian National Liberation Movement. The new role of the Palestinian working class put an end to the distorted picture advocated by the Zionist society.

International successes achieved by the G.U.P.W. were coupled with equally important achievements in the Arab World and abroad. For in spite of the unfavorable conditions that were already mentioned, the G.U.P.W. managed to broaden its base and activities by establishing 15 new branches in different countries of the Arab World and Europe.



The Workers in defence of their social rights

FUNCTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE G.U.P.W.

As a mass organization representing the social and economic interests of the Palestinian working class, organizational and disciplinary measures have been adopted to ensure the maintainance of its democratic character.

Internal rules and regulations pertaining to the members' rights and obligations were adopted during congresses. These were to complement the process of practical action during the Palestinian National Liberation Struggle and came to be illustrated in the G.U.P.W.'s constitution.

The following provisions form the guidelines which determine the policies of the Union:

1 — The G.U.P.W. undertakes the task of defending and preserving the rights and interests of the Palestinian working class.

2 — The G.U.P.W. defends the material and moral interests of its members. It strives to alleviate the worker's status, their social and cultural life and trade standards.

3 — The Union strives to represent the Palestinian case in the Arab and international spheres.

The G.U.P.W. as a revolutionary mass organization carries out the following tasks:

1 — Taking an active role in supporting the Palestinian Revolution, through the mobilization of the working masses in order to wage the struggle for national liberation and realization of a democratic progressive Palestinian state.

2 — Strengthening the ties with the other fraternal mass organizations in such a manner that would promote revolutionary objectives.

As a part of the Arab working class movement the Union struggles for:

1 — The realization of Arab working class unity and solidarity as a necessary step towards insuring the working class in its obtaining of the role in achieving liberation of Palestine and other occupied areas and the establishment of a unified Arab, Socialist society.

2 — Consolidation of fraternal and comradely relations with the workers of the socialist countries and the progressive and democratic movements of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the progressive working class movements of the Imperialist countries who support the just Palestinian cause of liberation.

3 — The Union confirms the leading role of the working class and emphasizes its vanguard position in defending the nation's interests and achieving their independence and the total control over their natural wealth as a necessary prelude to world peace.

4 — The Union stands against apartheid racist policies and national or sectarian chauvinism of all forms. It also professes its full support for national liberation movements in their just struggle for freedom and self-determination.

As for the structure and framework of the G.U.P.W., it is composed of the following organs:

- 1 — The National Congress.
- 2 — The Executive Committee.
- 3 — The Supreme Council.
- 4 — The General Secretariat.

According to the internal rules and regulations of the Union, all members of the G.U.P.W. are eligible for the leading posts as long as they abide by the provisions of the Union's constitution and profess to defend and protect the interests of the working class. Provisions related to the rights and duties of the Union's members are embodied in the constitution.

THE PALESTINIAN WORKING CLASS AND THE G.U.P.W.

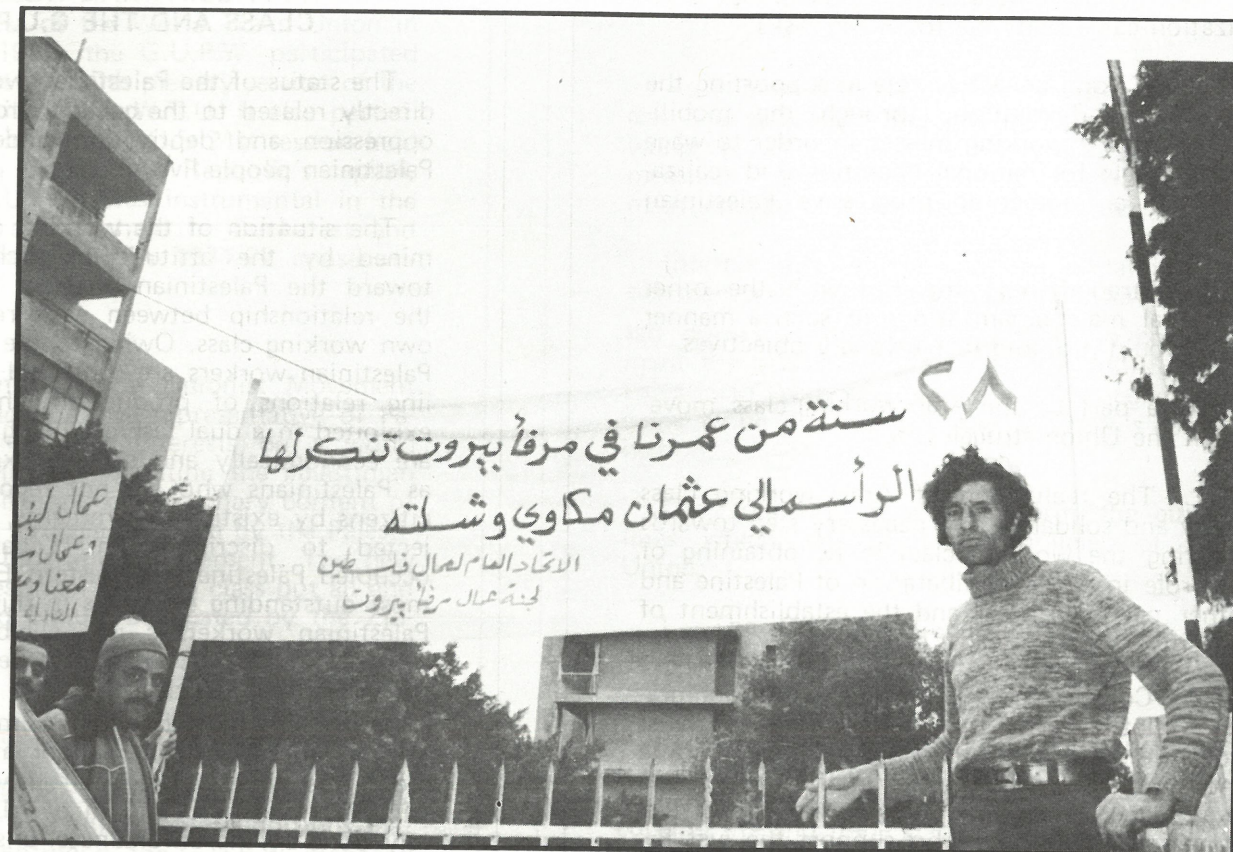
The status of the Palestinian working class is directly related to the general circumstances of oppression and deprivation under which the Palestinian people live.

The situation of the working class is determined by the attitude of each status quo toward the Palestinian problem as well as to the relationship between each regime and its own working class. Owing to the fact that the Palestinian workers are subjected to the prevailing relations of production, they are being exploited in a dual fashion; being workers they are economically and socially exploited, while as Palestinians who are not recognized as full citizens by existing governments, they are subjected to discrimination. Lebanon, Jordan, occupied Palestine and Western Europe are the most outstanding examples in this respect. The Palestinian worker is not eligible for social welfare, and is thus kept in a permanent state of insecurity. Besides this, the Palestinian is liable to lose his job at any time. This leads workers to sell off their labor at any cost in order to survive. It follows from what has been said, that the hard and dirty labor is exclusively done by the unfortunate, unskilled Palestinian laborer.

In Lebanon, 85 per cent of the Palestinians make their living working as cheap labor. They are treated as foreigners and therefore have to abide by laws and restrictions that have a negative affect on their lives. A Palestinian applicant for a job runs into a reluctant bureaucracy and is forced into situations of bribing officials in order to get a work license. Not to mention that according to existing laws and regulations, Palestinian workers cannot work unless they also get work permits signed by several officials, including the manager of the enterprise concerned.

For the working class in occupied Palestine, the situation of suppression is all encompassing. Despite this, the working class managed to organize itself into spontaneous unions. In regard to the workers of the 1948 occupied territory, they are denied the right to organize outside the framework of the sponsored Histadrut. Unless they are on the list of Mapam-Zionist labor, they cannot be admitted to the Histadrut. This offers them an additional obstacle and reflects on their actual status whereby their standard of living is thoroughly suppressed.

The inability of the 1948— Arab working force in occupied territory to organize outside the framework of the Histadrut deprived them from establishing their own unions. Therefore,



they toil in hard labor without basic rights. The small minority organized in the Histadrut are equally without benefit, particularly since the Histadrut often works against the interests of the Jewish workers themselves. On many occasions, the Histadrut adopted the position of the capitalist owners against the claims of the workers. In fact, the Histadrut itself owns a number of capitalist enterprises, for example, the Labor Bank in Tel Aviv. The Histadrut state-sponsored union, maintains its role as a tool of regimentation of Jewish workers for the fulfillment of the general expansionist tasks of Zionism.

It is noteworthy, that key posts of the executive committee of the Histadrut are held by military hawks such as Generals Habbash and Amet.

The situation of the Palestinian working class in the Western capitalist countries is not better. There, they are subjected to laws that apply to foreign workers, downgrading technical qualifications that they may have. Consequently, this means the placement of Palestinian and other foreign workers, in inferior conditions in comparison with indigenous workers. Besides, cheap unskilled, Palestinian laborers are subjected to discriminatory racist measures. They are constantly harassed and watched by

the police under the false pretext of being suspected of "conducting acts of terrorism." This racist attitude as well as the well known pretext of preserving the so-called "law and order" of the bourgeois system, permits the monopolies to exercise a more concentrated exploitation against foreign members of the working class, including Palestinian workers.

Under the described circumstances, the G.U.P.W. faces difficult tasks related to the betterment of the general conditions of the Palestinian working class in its various locations of existence.

The G.U.P.W., alongside and allied with local democratic and progressive unions, wages and continues to struggle for the preservation of the rights of the Palestinian working class. For example, solidarity and alliance with such unions achieved successes in Lebanon, whereby working class hours were limited, and higher wages were achieved. Still the large task awaits towards full mobilization of the Palestinian working class, by a series of confrontations for the achievement of social and economic rights side by side with local fraternal working classes; and the endorsement of its leading role in the national liberation of Palestine.

PALESTINIAN INSTITUTIONS

The General Union of Palestinian Students

AN IMPORTANT OUTPOST OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE



This account of the history and activity of the General Union of Palestinian Students has been carried out with the co-ordination and co-operation of Sakher Beseisso, head of the Executive Committee of GUPS who has recently been expelled from Cairo by the Sadat regime.

As in any other social revolution or national liberation movement, the progressive intelligentsia of the Palestinian people are the mirror which reflects the national aspirations and consciousness of the masses. It is in the front lines of the Palestinian national liberation movement that intellectuals, loyal to their people and its just cause, had to contribute their share in the major fields of the struggle.

However, prevailing social and economic conditions before 1948 did not permit the emergence of a coherent student movement that would be able to rally the nationalist movement around definite programmes of action. The preponderant character of Palestinian society where illiteracy prevailed and the nature of the religious and feudal leadership of the people were the decisive objective and subjective factors contributing to the hindrance of the formation of an autonomous student movement.

This does not suggest that Palestinian students and intellectuals were far from politics, for many of the Palestinian parties and organiza-

tions opposed to Zionism and British colonialism were formed and led by urban intellectuals. The failure of the Palestinian intelligentsia to grasp the meaning of the armed struggle movement, that was to a great extent spontaneously "organized", caused the intellectuals and their parties to lag behind the rising tide of the Palestinian mass movement.

With the eviction of the majority of the Palestinian people from their homes, allowing the Zionist entity to rise on their ruins and agonies, the long established Palestinian traditional leadership role was terminated. A new phase now set in for the Palestinian people who were forcibly transformed into refugees in the Arab countries adjacent to Palestine. Some years lapsed before the shattered Palestinians could catch their breath, and during this time many realized the importance of academic education as an essential means of combating Zionism, and to help restore their usurped homeland. By the mid fifties, scores of Palestinian students enrolled in Arab colleges and universities. The emergence of an organized Palestinian student body was coupled

with the rise of a new Arab nationalist tide which was partly a reaction to the Zionist-imperialist threat. The first nucleus of organized student action took shape in Cairo in 1948 under the name of the "League of Palestinian Students". The existing political situation and its contradictions reflected on the formation and function of the League at that time.

As a whole, the League strove to preserve the interests of Palestinian students in Egypt and the Gaza strip. The League also extended its help to include those Palestinians who suffered under extreme conditions. As the only standing body to represent the Palestinian entity, pressing needs impelled Palestinians to organize in order to be able to defend their basic rights. Student leagues along the lines of that in Cairo, were established in Beirut, Damascus, Alexandria and other areas. The newly established branches, besides helping students and defending their interests (within the limits of available potentialities) worked to broaden their scope of activity to include other Palestinians.

Circumstances affecting the emergence of these branches at the early stage of their foundation prevented the establishment of direct links between them and each branch operated on a local autonomous level. In 1958, out of necessity these branches were unified. The prevailing nationalist and pan-Arabist political trends considered the idea of setting up a general union of Palestinian students. On the 29th of



November 1959, as a fruit of the nationalist movement's endeavours, the first National Congress of the General Union of Palestinian Students convened at the stadium of the Faculty of Economics in Cairo. Asiout's branch supervised the work of the Congress and thus Cairo became a centre for the GUPS. During the fifties as imperialist and Arab reactionary forces struggled to maintain the Arab World under their grip. Palestinian students manifested relentless courage in rallying and mobilizing mass Arab support and solidarity with Egypt when it faced the tripartite aggression of 1956 and political confrontation over the Baghdad Pact. Many students were killed, wounded or imprisoned in the course of the anti-colonial, anti-reactionary and anti-Zionist struggle.

By 1960, with the rise of the new nationalist tide in the Arab World, the Palestinian students rallied around their organized body, the GUPS, as they foresaw the importance and necessity for Palestinians to set up a political organization of their own. The GUPS Administrative Council called for the establishment of a Palestinian national liberation front which was formed to undertake the task of the Liberation of Palestine. By then GUPS became an organization with worldwide recognition and contacts between the GUPS and the International Union of Students (IUS) took place.

Due to the absence of Palestinian mass organization, GUPS was instrumental in pressing forward to-



The GUPS conference in Algeria, 1974

wards the mobilization of Palestinian women into an organization of their own calling it the General Union of Palestinian Women. GUPS, along its adopted general mass line, also was active in the establishment of the Palestinian Workers' Union.

In the P.L.O.'s preliminary conference in Jerusalem, GUPS was represented on the P.L.O. Executive Committee. In 1964-65, with the emergence of the armed Palestinian Resistance, the GUPS members on the P.L.O. Executive Committee insisted that the organization adopt revolutionary violence as a means for liberating Palestine.

GUPS and the 1967 aftermath

As a consequence of the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, the GUPS was encountered by new challenges precipitated by the defeat of the Arab regimes and the general atmosphere within the P.L.O. to radicalize the structure and function of the P.L.O.; GUPS struggled in two directions:

1 — It strove for a change in leadership of the P.L.O. in favour of those who would adopt armed struggle and guerrilla warfare.

2 — GUPS strove to rally the Palestinian student movement and mobilize it into the general fighting effort.

As a result of the concerted efforts of the GUPS, a considerable number of Palestinian students quit their schools and universities to join the armed struggle. GUPS leaders, such as As'ad Abdul Rahman, Tayseer Quba' and Ghazi Husseini, devoted much of their energies towards the promotion of national struggle inside occupied Palestine.

By August 1967, scores of students poured into training camps in Syria in order to join the ranks of the Resistance movement. Student resistance to Zionist occupation and Arab reactionary regimes collaborating with it ranged from passive resistance, beginning with sit-in strikes, distributing political pamphlets, and ending with military operations which are the highest forms of political struggle. Mazen Abû Ghazaleh, martyred in a battle with Zionist troops in Toubas, the mountainous area in the West Bank, was an active member of the Union and Fateh, became the symbol of the student fighters.

Facing the Jordanian regime's

attempts to thwart the course of the Palestinian Revolution, Palestinian and Jordanian students mustered great courage on several occasions in defending the revolution. During the confrontation with the Hashemite monarch's repressive apparatus in November 1968, unarmed and peaceful highschool demonstrations were put down ruthlessly by Jordanian armored cars and tanks. Scores of students were massacred or wounded. However, GUPS arose victorious from the battle in defence of the resistance's right to operate from Jordan. This opportunity to destroy the student movement was snatched from between the regime's claws after long years of suppression of any unionist or political activity.

The growth of the impact of the armed Resistance movement is an influential factor on the Arab and international scene, and the embodiment of the aspirations of the Palestinian people induced the major transformation in the structure and function of the GUPS. By 1969, the GUPS underwent a process of change and was dominated by the major guerilla groups, namely the Palestine National Liberation Movement — (Fateh) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — (PFLP). The 1969 GUPS national congress finally came to crown the aspirations of the Palestinian student movement, in that for the first time it was genuinely part of the active political and military representation of the Palestinian people.

The Arab and International Roles of GUPS

A variety of objective and subjective factors left their impressions on GUPS and the policies it adopted. Inter-Arab and Palestinian and the common destiny of both Palestinian and Arab nations facing the same threat, coupled with the rise of a new pan-Arab anti-imperialist wave, provided GUPS with its ideological and political premises. The political and ideological struggles during the pre-1967 period reflected themselves in the policies GUPS adopted.

As a student organization which

considered itself an integral part of the Arab student body, GUPS achieved through the rallying of the Arab student movement one of the means leading to the restoration of Palestine. Following this accomplishment in 1959, the Union began its struggle further to achieve Arab student unity. However, for reasons pertaining to the anti-democratic atmospheres prevailing in the Arab World, it was not until 1967 that a more favourable condition was present to establish the General Union of Arab Students. GUPS was elected as the acting chair-union of the GUAS. As the struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reactionary forces became more acute, need arose for further mobilization of the Arab energies, therefore GUPS advocated the idea of the organization and unity of the forces of the Arab youth movement. By 1974, the Arab Youth Organization was established.

Internationally, GUPS was active even in its early stages of development. At the time of the Cairo Student League, contacts were made with the International Union of Students and by 1956 was admitted as a supervising member of the IUS. There the Palestinian union waged a consorted struggle to reveal the facts and nature of Zionist aggression. As a result, the expulsion of the Zionist Student Union was achieved in 1962, and was replaced by GUPS, which received membership in 1964. GUPS began in the international arena with the intention of making the union a world wide acknowledged organization able to voice the Palestinian case. In 1964, GUPS was instrumental in calling for the convening of the World Debate on Palestine, in which Anthony Nutting, Karanjia and the Moroccan martyr, Almahdi Ben Baraka, participated in addition to 250 intellectuals and journalists from all over the world. The debate produced a political manifesto confirming the inalienable historic rights of the Palestinian Arabs to Palestine and affirming the illegality of the Zionist state. Under the threat of Hashemite aggression in 1970, the Second World Debate on Palestine was held and was witness to Hussein's Black September massacres

against the Palestinian people. Despite the ensuing massacres, 200 members took part in the debate. The second half of the debate took place in Kuwait in 1971. It was a demonstration to the world of progressive opinion and thought backing the rightful Palestinian nationalist cause. Four hundred participants took part in the assembly which passed a resolution condemning Zionism as a racist policy and calling for the adoption of the concept of the Palestinian secular democratic state. The assembly also arranged committees on Palestine and the Palestinian Revolution in the respective participating countries. A central committee was appointed to supervise the function of those committees that are still active all over the world. Tunisia was supposed to sponsor the next meeting of the debate in 1976, but was hindered in doing so because of the Lebanese civil war.

Following its principles of solidarity and alliances with friendly progressive and democratic world organizations in joint pursuit of the same objectives including national salvation and social progress in face of the common enemy represented by world imperialism and Zionism, GUPS established comradely relations with the World Progressive Youth Movement. GUPS also actively participated in the work of the preparatory committee of the Congress of Student Unions of non-Aligned Countries.

GUPS and the Civil War of 1975-1976 in Lebanon.

Benefiting from its international contacts, alliances and solidarity affiliations, GUPS launched a massive campaign in favour of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement who faced the Zionist-imperialist and local reactionary plans aimed at liquidating the resistance and containing the Lebanese growing mass movement. To reveal the true facts and intentions of Lebanese fascism and its connections with Zionism, GUPS staged rallies and demonstrations, circulated petitions and collected funds for those displaced Palestinians and Lebanese who were evicted from the nationalist areas of



Naba', Karantina, Maslakh, and Tal-al Zaatar. Information campaigns were also conducted to shed light on Zionist ambitions and expansionist designs in South Lebanon. As a part of the mass mobilization and defence of the achievements of the Palestinian Revolution, Gups organized suitable channels for those Palestinian students who wished to join and defend the resistance and the National Movement in Lebanon.

Structure and Function of GUPS

As a democratic and mass organization intended to represent and organize the energies of the Palestinian students, and as a procedural matter related to the question of the division of labour within its ranks, GUPS uses the pyramidal system of structure and function. In all, the General Union Palestinian Students has 83 branches in countries all over the world. Within their capacity these branches strive to embody the Palestinian character related to student affairs and the defence of their unionist as well as nationalist interests. Consequently, GUPS' ability to operate depends on the prevailing political atmosphere in each country. In Palestine and Transjordan for example, GUPS operates in a clandestine fashion because it is banned there.

In the aftermath of the Munich operation of 1972 GUPS was banned and harassed by West German police on the false accusation that it was an organization used to harbor 'terrorists'. After Sadat's visit to the Zionist state of Israel, the Egyptian regime harassed and expelled the known figures of GUPS and put an end to any open activity of the Union.

The formation of the Union is arranged in such a manner as to genuinely represent the Palestinian political forces as well as the Palestinian student body. Lists representing the different Union branches are elected according to percentage representation, their political attitudes and programs. The General Assembly has secret ballot elections every two years for the administrative committee of the branch, while the assembly elects two members for the same period to the higher organizational post which is the General Congress of the General Union of Palestinian Students. The General Congress elects its representatives and preserves the right to draft organizational as well as administrative programs for up to years beyond their term. The General Council elects 27 members to the Central Administrative Council. Immediately during the first convening of the Administrative Coun-

cil meeting they elect 9 members who constitute the members of the Union's Executive Committee.

Since its foundation, in line with the framework and procedure already described, GUPS held congresses every two years from 1959 to 1965 and then in 1969, 1971 and 1974.

Even with the many achievements and struggles that GUPS has already undertaken on behalf of the Palestinian masses at large, huge tasks lie ahead of the student movement in general. For as long as national emancipation is not accomplished, the General Union of Palestinian Students will be permanently dealing with questions of preserving and defending the rights and interests of Palestinian students. The promotion of education and the preservation of its national character in Palestine, which the Zionist authorities have tried to eliminate as part of their anti-Arab ideological campaign, remains as the foremost task confronting the Union, since the Zionist authorities incessantly strive to distort or obliterate this as part of their organized anti-Arab ideological campaign.

PALESTINIAN INSTITUTIONS

THE PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE.



The history of the struggle of Palestinian women. Its trade unionist, economic as well as political and military aspects was written in cooperation with Comrade May Sayegh, member of the Executive Committee of the General Union of Palestinian Women.

With Palestine changing hands from Turkish dominion to British colonialism, the Zionist scheme to usurp Arab Palestine from its people began taking concrete forms. The Palestinian people who rose up in defence of its very existence, opened their eyes to British-Zionist colonialist conspiracies. The masses saw in the Balfour Declaration, a landmark indicating the level of British commitment towards Zionist endeavours. Long before the traditional conservative leadership of the Palestinian Patriotic movement, the Palestinian masses were able to pinpoint their true enemy camp. This ran contrary to the compromising attitude of the leadership who chose to maintain certain ties with the British colonial authorities.

The Palestinian masses, especially the rural poor, were the most affected class of Palestinian society. Their insecure future and the constant, British-supported Zionist aggression to uproot and replace them by Zionist immigrants, allowed them to clearly see who their enemy was. Under such extraordinary circumstances of external invasion taking the form of colonial settlement, the Palestinian masses' response, including women, was violent.

The very fact that the British-Zionist plot implied the negation of Palestinian Arab existence, pushed a considerable mass of women from sections of society out of their social state of seclusion. The extreme challenge posed by the British-Zionist

threat, placed women side by side with men into the arena of political action.

Still a long and arduous march awaited Palestinian women who sought emancipation within the context of the people's objective of national liberation and social progress. Prevailing social and economic circumstances offered obstacles to the free action of women who were traditionally confined to the household. Patriarchal relations, to which women were subjected and which are characteristics of agrarian Asiatic societies, slackened with the emergence of the Zionist threat.

The introduction of capitalist production relations in Palestine was undertaken by Zionist capital as well as Western imperialist enterprises. However, the newly formed Palestinian bourgeoisie could not compete with the highly invading developed capital. This is why the nature and function of the weak Palestinian middle class could not alter the fundamental structure of Arab society. It follows that the status of women was hardly affected. Women were socially and economically restricted to household functions. Patriarchal relations still hindered the process of women's emancipation. For this reason women's participation in the national liberation struggle was relatively limited.

As Zionist-British pressure intensified against the Palestinian people. Women began to appear on the



World Congress for International Women's Year.

scene. By 1921, contrary to existing values and traditions that existed for centuries, women for the first time took part in mass demonstrations in all Palestinian cities against the Balfour Declaration and British policies in regard to the Zionist immigration. In 1921, patriotic women belonging to the urban middle class, who had educational opportunities, realized the importance of the organization of women. They distinguished themselves and felt the "special" status of women in society and thereby, established the nucleus of the Palestinian Women's Union in 1921. By 1929, the Union became an effective mass organization. Zleekha Shehabi and Wadad Sakakeeni were prominent in setting up the organization.

The 1930's witnessed the rise of a wave of Palestinian resistance. More segments of women were attracted into the struggle. Basic military tasks such as smuggling arms to the rebels in the mountains, as well as food provisions and ammunition were exclusively carried out by women.

It is worthwhile mentioning, that the militant women of the P.W.U. actively agitated for the success of the protracted six-month general strike of 1936. The longest strike ever recorded in history. The P.W.U. launched and sponsored many local committees that undertook, among other militant tasks, the agitation for boycotting Zionist and British goods.

As the armed insurrection progressed, more wo-

men, especially in rural Palestine, were drawn into the struggle. Some women were fighting alongside of men. Fatmeh Ghazal, became the Palestinian symbol of women martyrs who gave up their lives to obtain the future life of the people.

City-dwelling women, due to their economic and social status (in comparison with the poor stricken peasant women who had nothing to lose in fighting), engaged in passive resistance such as the setting up of committees in charge of tending to the wounded and bereaved families.

To the left of the P.W.U., other more radically oriented women's organizations sprang up. The Society for the Advancement of Women (a Marxist organization), was the first organization of its kind to realize the importance of the concentration of political agitation in the countryside. Through the establishment of centers in poor stricken areas the Society came into contact with Izz-eddin Alkassam's groups and coordinated with them. This society was able to mobilize certain segments of poor Palestinian women though it could not influence the general course of the struggle.

When the revolutionary wave receded, Palestinian women like the rest of the people received a major setback; thus, the minor political and social achievements of the revolt could not be permanently maintained.



The second congress of the G.U.P.W. in 1974: a demonstration of solidarity with all liberation movements and progressive forces.

Palestinian Women in the Aftermath of 1948:

During the 1947-48 war, Palestinian women once again rose up in defence of Palestine and its Arab people. They manifested courage, enthusiasm and steadfastness as usual and paid their share in sacrifices by contributing scores of martyrs. In the Arab village of Deir Yaseen, women along with the rest of population were indiscriminately butchered by the invading forces of Israel's present day rulers, namely Menahem Begin's terrorist group, the Irgun Zvai Leumi.

When Palestine was usurped by the Zionists, aided by world imperialism and Arab reactionary "defeatism", the Palestinian people were transformed into a nation of refugees. The uprooted Palestinian people underwent a process of social and economic change. The former Palestinian social and economic setup, had to give way to new formations suited to their conditions of exile. The segments of the people left under Zionist occupation also underwent a certain degree of change. Rural women were now forced to live in the miserable refugee camps, largely built of tents that were supposed to withstand the varying climatic conditions.

Eventually, rural women were transformed into urban city dwellers. Owing to the fact that they were unskilled, some worked as servants in rich households while others joined small existing factories. Some Palestinian women for the first time were



Representative of the G.U.P.W. with Comrade Fidel Castro during the Second Conference of Cuban Women (Havana, December, 1974).

able to break the patriarchal obstacle and seek work away from the family as far as Kuwait and the Arab Gulf; this was a clear index of a change taking place. The Palestinian people as a whole and women in particular, began to seek education both for the sake of working opportunities as well as a means of liberation as they understood it. Education thus became widespread. Some women engaged in secretarial and executive types of work.

In the early fifties, the Palestinian Women's Union resumed its activities which predominantly took the form of social welfare. The Union established branches in Lebanon, Syria and Gaza. By the fifties and early sixties, many Palestinian women had already joined political movements that were characterized by the existing pan-Arab nationalist trends. They were instrumental in the struggle against imperialist endeavours to bring the area into a direct imperialist orbit and domination under the pretext of alliances. Many lost their lives or were detained after taking part in mass demonstrations. Raja' Abu Amasheh is an example. She was martyred in 1955, at the hands of Jordanian police, while demonstrating against the Baghdad Pact.

The Palestinian Women's Movement in the 1960's:

With the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1965, operating women's welfare groups were brought together in an arbitrary fashion under the auspices of the General Union of

◀ Palestinian Women. This process, however, did not qualify the Union to be a truly representative body of the Palestinian women's movement. Interests of the Arab regimes had been considered instead and it was later on, that elements representing the Palestinian armed resistance movement managed to penetrate the Union and modify its structure and function.

As part of the resistance against official Arab attempts to contain Palestinian identity, the Union's branches in Jordan and the West Bank led an arduous and heroic struggle. The regime responded by putting an end to the Union's activities and arrested its prominent members. Despite oppression and intimidation, the G.U.P.W. undertook steps to widen the scope of its activities to include Occupied Palestine, Jordan, the Gulf area, Lybia, Algeria and Kuwait. However, for reasons pertaining to the existing social and political conditions, the Union still has to struggle in order to become an effective mass organization.

G.U.P.W's Organizational Structure and Function:

As has been mentioned, the G.U.P.W. underwent a process of change stimulated by the rise of the Palestinian armed resistance movement. New blood was injected into the veins of the Union. However, the organizational structure was finally consolidated during the Union's first National Congress held in 1974. The Congress, for the first time, held elections for its leading posts in a representative manner. Definite internal rules and regulations, such as the definition of the rights and duties of members, were adopted. Election to the different posts of the Union takes place according to the principle of percentage representation; the representative functions are in a pyramidal form starting from the base level to the supreme Executive Committee.

The first National Congress of the G.U.P.W. represented the culmination of a rich experience in Jordan and Occupied Palestine; the flocking of large numbers of Palestinian women to the ranks of the Union, necessitated proper assimilation and organization. The Congress came to consolidate the process by striving to realise an advanced degree of self-consciousness of women as well as their role and task in revolution. Thanks goes to the resistance movement, which contributed efficient and experienced cadres, who formed the backbone of organizational and administrative functions.

Training centers and camps for additional cadres in political as well as military fields were set up. In refugee camps and other Palestinian population centers, local elected committees at the base level choose their delegates to the regional supreme committee. Five to eight regional committees appoint their delegates to the League. The League then sends its delegates to the leadership of the branch or region which in turn puts them on the National

General Congress which undertakes the election of the Union's Executive Committee.

Internationally, the G.U.P.W. emerged as an acknowledged movement by the bulk of the world's democratic and progressive women's movements. In 1969, the Union was admitted as a member of the **Women's International Democratic Federation**. By 1975, the G.U.P.W. was nominated as a member of the permanent bureau of the **WIDF**. In the international sphere, the G.U.P.W. had to wage a relentless struggle in order to voice the facts related to the issue of the Palestinian national liberation, especially when certain progressive and democratic organizations showed reluctance to condemn outright, the Zionist movement and what it stood for.

The G.U.P.W's efforts were crowned with success; consequently world Zionism and "Israel" began to suffer from isolation and condemnation on a world wide scale. A considerable shift has been noted in the stand of several unions who previously showed pro-Zionist sympathies. For example, the Women's French Union came out in full support of the Palestinian women and cause. During the year 1975, the year of international solidarity with women, the rightful Palestinian cause ranked among the primary international issues of which world women's organizations showed interest and understanding. In the International Congress of the World's Progressive Women's Organization, held in Mexico in 1975, the general final communique voiced condemnation of Zionism as a brand of racism embodied in the cloak of a false fanatical and chauvenist nationalism.

G.U.P.W's Role in the Civil War of 1975-1976 in Lebanon:

As a result of the Zionist-imperialist, local, and Arab reactionary conspiracy against the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese nationalist mass movement, the G.U.P.W. along with the rest of the mass organizations and trade unions were confronted with heavy tasks related to the general situation brought about by the ensuing war. The biggest task was to find the means of consolidating pressing steadfastness of the masses in camps and Lebanese popular areas. The fact that such areas were subjected to systematic terrorism from the Fascist right wing compelled thousands of people, Lebanese and Palestinians, to seek refuge in relatively safer areas. The G.U.P.W. did all that it could to demonstrate the necessity of digging in and holding ground. It strived to ensure an adequate level of services by calling on the people to continue with their normal routine as much as possible.

With meager material resources at its disposal, the G.U.P.W. provided elementary first aid services by setting up field hospitals and infirmaries. The Union also established a network of such medical services in the Lebanese popular areas. It is worthwhile mentioning, that the Arab University Hospi-



Women of Vietnam and Palestine; common struggle, common enemy.

tal was founded at the initiative and active material contributions of the Union, after the closure of the Jerusalem Hospital by the Phalangists, the Arab University Hospital had to tend to the bulk of the wounded and victims of fascist aggression.

Campaigns for inoculating children were conducted. Besides the normal daily functions of the Union, namely in the sphere of politically mobilizing women, joint military tasks were undertaken by women and men in the people's militia and also in other fighting efforts. Besides this, the Union was instrumental in pushing forward with the construction of shelters as a part of the effort to encourage the people to stay.

Taking the nature of the alliance between the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Nationalist Movement into account, the G.U.P.W. was aware of the strategic importance of the common destiny of both the Lebanese progressive movement and the Palestinian revolution. In fact, the Union was one of the first Palestinian mass organizations to trans-cut the comradely alliance with fraternal Lebanese organizations into practical terms.

For as early as May 1973, the G.U.P.W. established a joint action committee with the Lebanese Progressive Women's Union. The joint action committee, produced a political manifesto which contained general guide lines related to the struggle of women in particular and the national liberation question in general. Provisions of this manifest called for:

1— The necessity of launching permanent informational and political campaigns in the midst of the Palestinian and toiling Lebanese masses. The media and other means of communication are to be put at the disposal of the joint action committee, starting with local broadcasting microphones, publications and ending at the level of personal contacts and mass meetings.

2— The Joint Committee sets up local committees for the purpose of providing necessary items

such as food stuffs and clothing for the worst affected areas. This is part of the committee's general orientation for laying the foundation for protracted steadfastness of the masses facing the Lebanese Fascist-Zionist conspiracy.

3— The Joint Action Committee, struggles for the establishment of first aid centers, infirmaries and field hospitals. The committee, with the cooperation of the Palestine Red Crescent, was able to extend its services in this field by founding a network of such centers in Palestinian camps, as well as in Lebanese poverty areas.

These practical and political lines, defined in the wake of the aggression of Lebanese reactionary forces against the Resistance in May 1973, continued to provide the bases of practice during the 1975-1976 Lebanese civil war. The sharp escalation of fighting, with outside intervention in favour of the Fascist camp, imposed new problems upon the Action Committee which was able to cope with them with relative success. Problems were immense in the fact that there were a great number of people displaced by Fascist aggression (Palestinian and Lebanese homeless reached over the 100,000 mark). Despite its limited and meager resources, the committee and the G.U.P.W. was able to perform well within the area of its influence.

During the battle of Tal Za'atar, Palestinian women fighters and members of the militia displayed relentless courage and steadfastness, which recalls to memory similar displays in the recent past, namely in Jordan with Black September of 1970, and the Great Palestinian Revolution of 1936-39. Two hundred and fifty gave up their lives in defence of the camp and for the right of the Palestinian people to wage their struggle of liberation from all Arab territories occupied or otherwise. This number does not include the other thousands of women that were slaughtered after being assaulted by Fascist soldiers, nor the women killed in the quest of precious droplets of water, or those who were crushed under the shelters that caved in as a result of direct Fascist bombardments.

As a result of the Tal Za'atar massacre, perpetrated by Lebanese Fascism, the whole population of the camp, including the Lebanese citizens of adjacent popular areas, were forcibly evicted from their homes. Thus, the G.U.P.W. was confronted with huge problems related to the housing of the swarms of displaced people. One of the consequences of the massacres of Tal Za'atar, was that hundreds of children were left parentless. More than 100 of those children were accommodated at the children's Home, which was established by the G.U.P.W. The purpose of this home, is to provide a normal atmosphere for the children, similar to that prevailing in the average house. Specialized cadres, volunteers and nurses tend to the children. The Home, houses an age group of children 1 to 12 years old, however, thousands of other children are in need of urgent help. As many as 300 young girls are in need of training in order to be able to earn a living, not to mention that a large proportion of those have large extended families to support.

The G.U.P.W's Economic Projects:

In dealing with social and economic problems of the Palestinian people and Revolution, the G.U.P.W. takes into account pressing needs according to their priority. This is how it embarks upon social and economic projects applicable to the general situation and circumstances of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

One of the major priorities is to devote attention to the Revolution's coming generation. In this context, the G.U.P.W. undertakes the task of establishing child care centers. The purpose is to achieve a dual objective:-

1- To contribute a solution to mothers who wish to devote their energies to the Revolution, so that their commitments to the house no longer hinder them.

2- To bring up a Palestinian generation that would be fully compatible with carrying on with the protracted struggle for the liberation of Palestine.

Such child care centres, intended to lessen the burdens on working women, were founded in Lebanon's major cities. There are three centers in Tyre, 2 in Tripoli, 2 in Sidon and 2 major day care centers in Beirut. Besides providing working opportunities for women, the G.U.P.W. conceives in such institutions a means of mobilizing the masses of women. Additional centers, adjoining productive projects were set up for political, military as well as technical training. Sewing, embroidering, typing and artisan work are enterprises undertaken by the Union. The G.U.P.W. also set up agencies for the marketing of products of Occupied Palestine, such as the aforementioned.

The G.U.P.W. and the Palestinian women in general, have achieved much in their march towards liberation, but still large tasks await them; the tasks of breaking away from an accumulation of patriarchal tradition dating back through the centuries could only be achieved within the general social and economic context of the revolution. Until the ultimate objective of self and national emancipation is reached, women and progressive society as a whole face big challenges, namely the elimination of all obstacles on the way towards equality between men and women.



Emancipation through participation in the national liberation struggle

PALESTINIAN INSTITUTIONS

The Palestinian Association For The Blind

In an interview with comrade Ribhi Abu-Jamal, who lost his sight during the encounter between the Palestinians and the Hashemite reactionary forces in Jordan, is in charge of the Palestinian Association for the Blind. He gave us the following responses to our questions:

Q: Could you tell us about the conditions accompanying and leading to the establishment of the PAB, and what are its main objectives?

A: As a matter of fact, the idea of creating this association was suggested in 1975, but due to the current events at the time in Lebanon, putting it into application was postponed until the 16th of April, 1977. As for the main objectives of the Association, they could be summed up in the following:

- * To strive to ensure the Palestinian blind a collectivist life intended to compensate for their handicap, thus helping them to surmount their agonies.

- * The initiation of manual labor, handicrafts and diverse artisan skills so as to avoid the possibility of begging for charity.

Q: What is the number of members benefitting from the Association and what activities does this institution undertake?

A: The number of members actually present is 150. Unfortunately we still suffer from the lack of cadres specialized in tending to the blind. As for the normal activities carried out by our association, they consist of:

- * Teaching manual skills such as mounting pictures and paintings on frames.

- * Production of straw baskets.

- * The organizing of a musical team which gives concerts in hospitals. In addition, the Association strives to promote and develop the aptitudes of certain blind persons.



Production of straw baskets.

On the other hand, financial and health services are accorded to all members to ameliorate their conditions of life.

Q: What are your future projects?

A: Efforts are being deployed in order to create central sectors in all Arab countries where Palestinian blind people are found. We look forward to having a school for the blind in Lebanon and a workshop for artisan skills. We also hope to establish housing centers for the blind.

Q: Is the humanitarian aspect of the struggle in harmony with the armed struggle?

A: In fact struggles exist in different forms and dimensions but all lead to the common objective. There is the armed struggle and the social and humanitarian struggle, but what concerns us and the Palestinian Revolution, is to maintain a level of agreeable conditions of life in order to enable the people to persist in their protracted arduous fight.



MONSEIGNEUR GREGOIRE HADDAD:

A MAN WHO HAS FAITH
CANNOT ESCAPE SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL DEMANDS

Monseigneur Grégoire Haddad: Who has real faith, cannot escape from social and political demands:

Q.: Mgr. Gregoire Haddad, you have been the bishop of the Greek Catholic community of Beirut. Can you tell me the conditions under which you were dismissed?

A: In 1968, I was chosen by the Greek-Catholic synod (the group containing the patriarch and bishops) to be the bishop of Beirut. I tried with the priests and the laity of the diocese to introduce those reforms we deemed necessary, that is, to answer to two exigencies: that of Christ and his Gospel on one side, and that of the members of the diocese on the other. Many reforms had already been made, or were in the process of being completed when, with a group of friends, we decided to start a publication which would further these reforms. It would have several precise objectives:

- To revitalize those Christians who were too settled in their "religious" and "confessional" tranquility.

- To allow them to ponder upon the great difference there is between religion and faith... and to realize how little faith we actually have, the Christians of Lebanon and the other Arab countries.

- To reinstate certain expressions of our Christian vocabulary, to reach the real exigencies of Christ.

- To invite Christians to reflect on their social and political obligations in Lebanon and in the Arab world, where they must be embodied in the logic of the incarnation of Christ.

- To participate, through the publication, in the socio-economic, political and cultural development of the Arab World, and to be courageous in the face of radicals who question our Christian faith.

Those for whom this publication was chiefly aimed were the Christian university staff members, 90% de-Christianized after certain investigations made at the beginning of the '70's; those other Christians who are searching, and finally those who are too well off and who no longer care for anything except their comfort and financial affairs.

The monthly publication, called "Afaq" (Horizon) appeared in January, 1974. It stirred up critical interest the first month, then slowly a struggle evolved and grew against the publication and those who contributed to it, even more against myself who managed the religious review, which had already given me the chance to ask certain radical questions on the subject of the criterion of our faith and our Christian life.

The Greek-Catholic synod had "doubts" concern-

ing my faith. It made up a dossier and sent it to the Vatican so that a judgement could be given on the subject of my propositions judged to be heretic. "The Congregation for the Faith", put in charge by the Vatican to rule on this type of conflict, judged that there was no heresy at all. However, the Vatican sent back the dossier to the synod and entrusted it to decide, on the administrative angle, if I should remain bishop of the Diocese of Beirut or not.

The synod, in its session of August, 1975, decided that in spite of not finding any theological heresy, it would be necessary to remove me from the diocese. A clause in the ecclesiastic canon "Droit", allowed the synod to transfer me to an honorary diocese, while maintaining all the other prerogatives of a bishop, especially as a member of the synod.

Q: Does that mean you are still considered a bishop, although without administrative duties?

A: Exactly, I have no more function inside the ecclesiastic institution.

Q: But you are not unemployed! You are a founding member of the "Social Movement" and of the "Enlisted Christian". Do you think the vocation of a man of religion and social obligations are compatible?

A: I would like to specify, first of all, that I am not a founding member of the "Enlisted Christians Movement". I did participate in some of their meetings and I was in agreement with their aims and their work, with rare exceptions, but I was neither a founder nor a member.

Regarding the compatibility between being a "man of religion", according to the way we speak, that is to say among the Christian priests, bishops and patriarchs, I would like to answer you in this way, according to the meaning given to the word "social" and the conception of a "man of religion".

If a "man of religion" means a man specialized in religion, that is to say, in religious services, as a doctor is specialized in medical services, and the professor in scholastic or university services, he should limit himself to the domain of baptisms, marriages, funerals, liturgies and religious assignments... the man of religion always has a function and should not trespass on the domain of others, and

therefore he should leave social problems to a social specialist!

But if a man of religious faith (which is, unfortunately, not always verified), if "faith is dead without action" as our scriptures say (the Gospel according to St. James); and if works of faith can be recognized as the love of fellow men, as Christ said (Gospel according to St. John), then everything changes. Because love of fellow men means love of all that is human, not only of the eternal soul (as has been falsely included in certain spiritualities which pretend to be Christian). And the love of all that is human demands the complete service of all men in all their needs, including material needs, economic, health, professional... therefore in all and diverse social fields.

He who does not work in the social area cannot pretend to be a real man of faith consistent with himself. Your question, therefore, is upside down: it should ask if a man of religion not engaged on the social scene can feel himself, one with the faith of Jesus Christ "who came to serve, not to be served".

One can ask oneself whether the social field is more compatible with the mission of each man of religion, then how long can be continue without prejudicing his "religious mission"... but it is, after all, only an affair of nuances and proportions.

The question becomes more complex when the social field, to become useful, that is to say, to really serve men, demands a political engagement more than a social engagement, or in the political field, for example, the changing of certain political structures or economies which maintain social injustice or the exploitation of alienation of certain parts of society. There, also, I believe that a man who has faith cannot escape these demands and keep a clear conscience under the pretext of "not mixing in politics" because "politics corrupts all it touches".

But the danger to be avoided in political engagement for men of religion is to tie in this relative and partial engagement to Christ and to defend the interests of Christ and religion in political activities.

Q: Can you tell us what the projects are of the Social Movement?

A: We have started six groups of projects since the war:



— service for orphans, above all in their family atmosphere, more than in orphanages.

— the workshops of the artisans which can give work to the unemployed with priority to war widows.

— dispensaries and soon socio-medical centers in collaboration with Minister of Health, the office of social development and UNICEF.

— social habitations, according to normal methods of administration (prefabricated).

— rapid courses, especially for those engaged in construction work.

— teacher's colleges where educators and social workers can learn and study, especially in the lower class areas of Beirut.

Q: How do you envisage the solution to the social problems of Lebanon, in the light of the events which have taken place?

A: Social problems in Lebanon are those of the Lebanese, the Palestinians, the Syrians, and all the Arabs and foreigners who live in this territory and who are in need.

One first remark: any group or any person should not be absent from the minds of those who are searching for solutions to the social problems, the social field must be non-religious and non-political. If not, it is no longer useful except as a political project of the priority should be given to the social, not the political, that is to say, to men, to all men, not to a certain category so that the misery and suffering of certain groups does not become the targets of politics.

A second remark: Society is a part of the socio-economic development plan, global and harmonizing. The State must collaborate with those who are interested, that is to say, the population. If not, no real development can take place. "Participation" is one of the human of the world today to be discovered and realized.

A third remark: The responsibility for society and development, after this destructive war, cannot only be on the local scene: the Arab countries and all the powers which participated in our destruction and our underdevelopment must participate in our reconstruction and redevelopment. For all countries have participated in this destruction, either by their action or their silence and passivity.

A fourth remark: Total and harmonious development can only be achieved with a scientific plan which will free us all from the jungle in which we live where the strong devour the weak.

Q: You have, more than once, taken the defense of the Palestinian cause. What made you do this? What does the Palestinian cause represent to you?

A: I think that the Palestinian cause is the clearest case of humanity, and the most just of our age. The most monstrous injustices have been committed against these people and continue to be committed, either by action or by omission, silence and passivity. If a man is a real Christian, he cannot remain indifferent to this injustice.

Unfortunately, I am no longer able to serve this cause in view of the tasks I must assume, and in view of the immense needs of this cause. Above all, believing in the value of non-violent struggle, I could not join in any violent struggles.

The thing which frightens me most is to see the peace project in the Middle East starting to be realized against the Palestinian interests and its demands. Violent means have not succeeded. Due to a violence from the larger countries, all peace is unjust, even if it is only tactical. One sacrifices the target: the liberation of Palestine and the just rights of the Palestinians. If one accepts certain accommodations imposed by the "balance of forces". Those who believe in non-violence do not accept capitulation, an unjust peace, accommodations, even temporary ones.

Dr. Subhi el-Saleh:

THE ZIONISTS WANT TO BUILD UP THE MOST DANGEROUS RELIGIOUS-REACTIONARY NATIONALISM



Dr. Subhi El-Saleh, Vice President of the Islamic Supreme Council, was born in 1926 in Tripoli, Lebanon. After studying for seven years in Cairo, he obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree from the Egyptian University and doctorate in theology from Al-Azhar.

In 1945, Dr. El-Saleh taught in Baghdad for some time and then in Damascus for seven years.

In 1963 he began teaching at the Lebanese University as well as the Arab University of Beirut since its establishment. In addition he was head of the Department of Theology at the Jordanian University. Practically speaking, he taught at all Arab Universities. Sheikh Saleh published 17 books.

Dr. Saleh became member of the

Islamic Supreme Council in 1961. Since 1970 until the present, he has been the Vice President of the Council. In addition, he is secretary general of the Spiritual League and the Permanent Committee of the Spiritual Communities in Lebanon.

Q: What place does the city of Jerusalem occupy in Islam first of all, and then in Arab national sentiment?

A: In Islam, the city of Jerusalem has a very important place. Because of Al Aqsa, the Blessed Mosque, Jerusalem is regarded as a holy city on an equal footing with the two revered cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina. The Prophet explicitly said: "Three mosques in the world exclusively deserve every sort of effort in order to visit them:

the Holy Temple at Mecca, the Mosque which I have built at Medina and Al Aqsa in Jerusalem."

However little one may have studied Islam from its own sources, one can easily understand the motives behind such deep reverence for Jerusalem and its blessed surroundings. Jerusalem, which had been made sacred by Prophets and prophecies, acquired an even holier status, particularly in Islam. In brief, it is the city of peace and holiness, as is indicated etymologically by its numerous Semitic names throughout history, whether it be simply Salam, which means peace, or Vreshalem, the City of Peace, or Quds, which means Holiness, or Bait Al Maqdis, the House of Holiness.

It should also not be forgotten that this Holy City was the first qibla (direction to face while praying) to which the Prophet of Islam turned each time he prayed before the Hijra (emigration from Mecca). In the eleventh year of his mission, his miraculous night journey, known as the Isra in Arabic, was from Mecca to the blessed mosque of Al Aqsa in Jerusalem. The mere fact that this event was mentioned in the Quran is in itself enough, from the Islamic view-point, to affirm the very special spiritual importance of this sacred place chosen not only for the Isra but also (and this is where the symbolic value really lies) as the starting point for the Mi'raj, which means the Ascension or heavenly journey.

Authentic tradition going back to the very words of the Prophet, reported by some 40 of his companions gives a wonderful illustration of the idea of harmony between the revealed religions by stressing the spiritual role of Jerusalem in this respect, for it was there in Bait Al Maqdis, beside the blessed rock, that the ancient Prophets symbolically greeted Muhammad, and held a prayer service which he led. In this same symbolic sense, in the case of Jerusalem, one discusses not only a piece of territory down here, but



also a part of paradise in the here-after.

Apart from its spiritual wealth which derives as much from Islam as from Judaism and Christianity, Jerusalem was also a symbol of religious tolerance and liberty throughout the period of Islamic sovereignty and control from the Arab conquest up to 1967. It is enough to recall Khalifa Omar Ibn Al Khattab's well-known attitude towards the people of the Book when he entered the city in 637 AD.

It was a sort of ecumenism that Islam wanted to establish in Jerusalem, the holy city and symbol of spirituality. It was in fact an essentially humanist world ecumenism, common to all religions and embracing all human beings equally, without distinction of race, type, colour or culture. This is why the impassioned disputes over the fate of Jerusalem simply give an idea of what the controversies are over all the rest of Palestinian territory, which we regard as completely sanctified by the revealed religions.

Therefore for us, Arabs who are sincerely motivated by our national sentiment, we believe the Zionists (as opposed to the Jews) want to build up the most dangerous religious-reactionary nationalism history has ever known. They favour atheism and the abolition of Islam and Christianity, but in order to achieve their reactionary nationalism, they use their historical traditions so that God's chosen people, as they claim, can regain the Promised Land extending from the Euphrates to the Nile.

Thus, in the Promised Land, Jerusalem for them remains the capital, the irreplaceable city of the covenant with God. This means that in their eyes the conflict goes far beyond the framework of conflicts of a territorial and political nature and is related to the ancient wars of religion.

However, in the face of their

challenges which never cease, all Arabs are required, with all their hearts and the greatest effectiveness, to defend the cause of the Palestinian people expelled from their own country, not just from Jerusalem and its holy places but also from all occupied Arab Palestinian territory. All Arabs now owe it to themselves firmly to maintain the demands of their peoples who are already fully aware: namely that the question of the Palestinian people's representation, at Geneva or elsewhere, is the prerogative of that people themselves.

Q: What distinction do you draw between the "return" in Judaism and that put forward by Zionism?

A: To clarify this distinction between these two positions, it is appropriate to draw a demarcation line between the Jewish spiritual aspiration and Zionist political movement. With regard to the first position, we respect the Jews' beliefs and take into consideration any idea they have regarding a sincere return in Judaism, since in all this we apply the practical content of the divine word in the Quran: "No compulsion in religion".

On the other hand, insofar as the second position is concerned, we state that since Theodor Herzl, who gave Zionism its theory and diminished the spiritual dimensions in Judaism by enlarging the scope of Yahwe's promises on the political and not the religious level, the Jews who became Israelites and the Israelites who became Israelis are only thinking of achieving the kingdom of Israel which, in their eyes, is a worldly one and which, they claims, extends or at least should extend to all the Arab territories in the present region of the Middle East.

To have an accurate idea of this Jewish position, preached by Zionism, we have only to glance at the scandalous results of the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem and other Arab cities in Palestinian territory

to know the desecration not only of Muslim holy places (Al Aqsa Mosque, the Shrine of Abraham and others) but also of Christian cemeteries and church property. Suffice it to say that the famous Greek Orthodox Mount Zion cemetery, very near Jerusalem, was transformed by the occupation forces into a night club, and on the entrance they dared to inscribe in Hebrew: "Do you feel lonely tonight?"

This means, in other words, that the "return" in Judaism by Zionism is purely and simply the symbol for the usurpation of the right to violate and desecrate everything sacred.

Q: Doesn't Sadat's trip to Israel, as a de facto recognition of the Zionist colonisation, cause damage to the Arab cause?

A: You are quite right, this trip is a *de facto* recognition of the Zionist colonisation. Consequently, it is causing blatant damage to the Arab cause, to the Palestinian people's rights to return to their homeland, the land of their ancestors. What is even more outrageous and indeed catastrophic is that Sadat naively thinks that everything, with Israel, can really be settled miraculously in a very short time.

But in fact, will Sadat be so naive as to be unaware that on the road to peace there are still hurdles to be overcome, hurdles of which each one threatens to be an impasse?

In any case, one person's mistake should not compromise the dignity of a whole nation, particularly when it is the Arab nation whose national sentiment and total revolution has led it to a constant awareness and a plan of action designed to serve the Palestinian cause in every situation and by all available means.

Q: What do you think are the

dangers that threaten the Arab peoples, and how can they confront them?

Unfortunately there are numerous dangers that threaten the Arab peoples. However, two dangers remain worse than all the others: Zionism and materialism. When contemplating the horrors of Zionism, one can sometimes come to the point of totally denying any possibility of a peaceful solution to the Israeli occupation. The whole world, as we can see, now feels itself involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and at the same time too many uncertainties remain regarding the conditions for the only possible, real peace, peace based on justice.

It is clear that if it were really only a question of "secure and recognised boundaries" for Israel, blinded by Zionism, one could say that every Israeli would find his security outside Israel far better than in it. It would be much calmer in Paris, London, Rome or New York than in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv. But what is important to the Zionist movement is something quite different. This is to achieve, I repeat, the kingdom of Israel, to the detriment of the legal rights of the Palestinian people and all the Arab peoples.

To face up to the Zionist danger, therefore, we owe it to ourselves to undertake intensive activity to bring about a real revolution and use all means that will result in brotherly solidarity with the Palestinians and a well organised charity that begins with ourselves.

With regard to the danger of materialism, we believe that nobody can underestimate its very damaging results. The Palestinian drama is not an exclusively Arab one. It is also the drama of dehumanised modern man, whose internal conscience is torn apart and whose soul has been murdered rather than awakened by technology and plenty. Rather than understanding each other better, men misunderstand each other

better. Rather than adhering to spiritual values, men are more and more becoming consumers of material goods. To remedy this, we must at all costs try to make man more truly human, and this is even more necessary when speaking of oppressed Arab man and particularly the Palestinian Arab expelled from his country.

Q: As a Muslim religious leader, how do you view political activity?

A: I am against any policy based on hypocrisy, opportunism, parasitism, fanaticism, chauvinism, sectarianism, and in other words lies, nothing but lies.

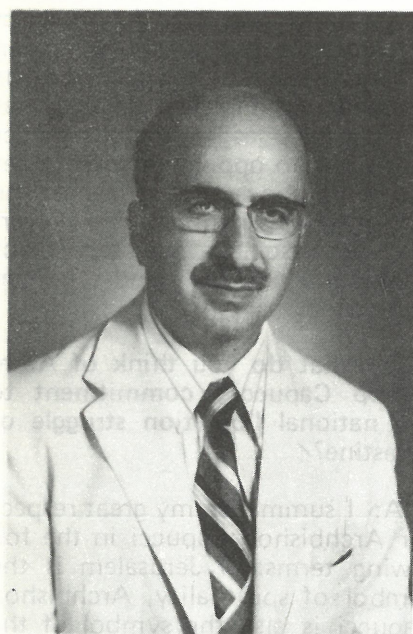
On the other hand, I am very warmly with any dynamic revolutionary creative policy which aims at the complete liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere in the world. While I stress that the clergy and clericalism do not exist in Islam, which is deeply egalitarian in its intimate feelings and its humanist principles, I declare that my capacity as a religious leader leaves me no opportunity to forget that I am above all a citizen at the service of my nation and a university professor at the service of thinking, culture and human civilisation.

Q: What do you think of Archbishop Capucci's commitment to the national liberation struggle of Palestine?

A: I summarise my great respect for Archbishop Capucci in the following terms: if Jerusalem is the symbol of spirituality, Archbishop Capucci is also the symbol of the noblest spirituality, fervent, profound and sincere. His commitment to the Palestinian national liberation struggle was and will remain a very fine example of a solemn commitment to transform the world of the oppressed and alienated who suffer and sigh in a world of happy men who breathe freedom in joy, charity, brotherhood and a just and lasting peace.

The Palestinians Liberators And Unifying Force

by Dr. Michel Ghorayeb,
lawyer and professor at
the Lebanese University
Law Faculty.



The Palestinians constitute a liberating and unifying force in the Arab world. First, how and who are they going to liberate, and can they then unify?

LIBERATING FORCE

The current Arab world, in the majority of its states, plunges into the darkness of feudalism and servility to foreign imperialist and capitalist powers. This majority consisted of monarchies, emirates and republics, governed by feudal families or bourgeois cliques which have devoted themselves to Western powers to protect themselves against the rising tide of Arab socialism.

This total and blind worship of foreign imperialism is done even at the expense of the interests of the local people and with the sole egotistic concern of preserving the personal privileges of feudal governors. Such states, closely bound to and subjugated by the Western imperialists, who have themselves created and constantly supported Israel, consequently cannot support the Palestinian Revolution. One cannot simultaneously approve of and help two adversaries which are radically opposed.

It is due to such considerations that these backward Arab regimes can only be classified as hidden enemies of the Palestinian Revolution.

tion. These regimes attempt to present a different face and proclaim their solidarity with the Revolution, but judging from experience we know better.

The logical and scientific conclusion we can draw from this state of affairs is that the Revolution, represented in truth by the PLO, faces two adversaries: Israel and the reactionary Arab regimes. Which adversary should the Revolution attack first in this imposed and inevitable struggle?

At first sight, it seems to be better to do away with the Revolution's internal enemies, which are the Arab regimes, before opposing the external enemy, Israel. But Israel, being a belligerent and oppressive state, cannot postpone its constant battle with the progressive Arab states. Hence the position of the PLO, which ought to face at the same time these two hostile forces, which are often in a common camp against it without wishing so. The bloody events of the last two years in Lebanon clearly prove the veracity of our thesis. The Lebanese regime, thoroughly capitalistic, feudal and sectarian, and which often pretended to be an ally of the Palestinian Revolution, has not hesitated to declare a war of extermination against it in contemporary history. This occurred under the rule of former President Suleiman Franjeh.

II. UNIFYING FORCE

The Palestinian Revolution is not only a force of liberation from the reactionary Arab states, as we have just demonstrated, but also and indirectly it is a unifying force in the Arab world. How and why? It is evident that the oligarchies governing the Arab states constitute an obstacle to Arab unity. They are not ready to renounce aristocratic privileges which they have inherited and wish to bequeath to their descendants in perpetuity. They do not want to abandon their thrones and forsake their power solely for the

good of the future federal united Arab state.

Hence our conviction that the overthrow of these backward regimes represents an essential and important step forward towards the unification of all the Arabs. This will definitely take place in the more or less distant future. Marxist-Leninist theory and developments all over the world are sufficient proof of this. The aged capitalist world is doomed to succumb in the face of the natural and spontaneous development of the socialist spirit among the world's peoples.

Moreover, the Palestinian people tried by wars and embittered by life in refugee camps, will be the first people able to guide the other Arabs towards unity. They constitute the glory and pride of our nation. Any oppressed and deprived people, develop a revolutionary soul which strives to rectify the march of history and compensates for the past.

It is possible to include here an application of the theory developed by the Arab philosopher Ibn Khaldun, who compared the life of human societies and individuals. But this natural and obligatory development of social matters is often found obstructed and retarded by the intervention of other foreign states who have the interests of maintaining the status quo. In the Middle East, these states are the US and the other Western capitalist states orbiting in the US axis, which vigorously block this development in favor of Israel, the advance spearhead of imperialism in our region. To confront this American superpower, it is inevitable that it must be opposed with an equivalent power. This is the USSR and the other socialist bloc countries, which are friendly and allies of the Arabs.

Let a friendly and sincere hand be extended once and for all.

THE REVOLUTION AND ITS PAN-ARAB NATIONAL DIMENSION



By Ina'm Raed,
Vice President, Political Council
of the Lebanese National Movement,
Member of the Supreme Council of the
Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

The first bullet of the Palestinian Revolution was fired on the eve of 1965. Certainly, this bullet was not the first, historically. This means that there were several bullets fired in Palestine against the Zionist project aimed at Judaization of Palestine and usurping it since the 'twenties. The 1936 Revolution was a glorious and bright page in our national history; the 1936 revolution which the Arab Kings in collaboration with their British Lords foiled. Thus, the reactionary front stands always with imperialism against its people. 1965 was the dawn of a new era. After the 1948 catastrophe and the occupation of parts of Palestine and the establishment of the Zionist entity, the Palestinian has been changed from a refugee in a camp into a revolutionary. The Palestinian Revolution took on its actual range and depth after the 1967 defeat. When the Arab regi-

mes' war ended in a defeat and the individual in the Arab world lost faith and hope, the rifles of the Palestinian revolutionaries lit up the nights of depression and defeat, because they recreated the people into a source of every hope, trust and aspiration. The people had the initiative and took the reins of their cause.

The dialectical outcome which was raised between this historical operation of the popular armed struggle that took the reins of the cause between its hands following the regimes' defeat and its need for strategic and unionist depth in order to promote its continuation to escalate it into a national war for liberation. This was the hallmark of the whole stage from 1967 to 1977.

The Revolution was surrounded by regimes and circumstances

OPINIONS

which do not want the revolution through fear for their territorial integrity. The 1970-1971 Jordan massacre and 1975-1976 Lebanese war were the outcome. Israeli terrorism drives the regimes to slaughter the revolution to insure their safety from being erased and overrun. Israel slaughtered the Revolution in the name of the Arab regimes! The United States'



role was the godfather of all those massacres!

Thus, the Palestinian Resistance was a motive for revolutionary maturation throughout the surrounding pan-Arab Society on the one hand, and on the other hand was always threatened by liquidation, for it leads to the undermining of stagnant and rotten entities.

In this atmosphere of historical challenges, a unique phenomenon was born in Lebanon, namely thousands of nationalist Lebanese in the patriotic, national and progressive parties were either taught by their national ideologies or guided by their strategic analysis to the idea of cohesion with the Palestinian Revolution. Thousands of national and progressive Lebanese fought in the same trench with the Palestinian Revolution, confronting a conspiracy aimed at liquidating the Palestinian Revolution led and directed by the collusion of the Fascist isolationist Lebanese right wing, Israel, the Arab reactionaries and US imperialism.

Instead of the conspiracy of liquidation, the Lebanese progressive rifles were allied to the Palestinian revolutionary rifle. Thus, the unified national trench was born which the Palestinian Resistance needed at the time when it was surrounded. Thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians were martyred in defending the same national cause.

The imperialistic and reactionary forces do not always win their wars, but, sometimes, the computer's calculations create unique revolutionary human phenomena as happened with the cohesion and alliance between the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Resistance. This cohesion of the left in Lebanon is in the same trench with the Palestinian Resistance and in defending our national cause.

I cannot talk about social jus-

tice with those who lost their land, because without land there is no production. All words on confronting imperialism need practical criterion: What is the stand against Israel, the colonial, imperialist, racist state which was established on the land of a people deported into refugee tents to establish the ghetto of Nazi-racial supremacy of European groups repeating the crusader invasions of the Orient!

Today, we confront a new challenge as a result of Sadat's visit to Israel under the US imperialist umbrella. It is not easy for the successor of Nasser to abandon all the heritage of his leader who was hostile to imperialism and Zionism. We feel that the Revolution is in a dangerous situation unless it is supported by unified Arab national depth.

From the above mentioned premises, the strategic slogan of this stage necessitates the unity of Damascus and Baghdad to establish the required national equilibrium, especially after the harm which has been caused by Sadat's move. In our view, we must confront the aggressive, strategic Israeli slogan:

"Israel, your boundaries extend from the Euphrates to the Nile".

This slogan, which is raised on the Knesset, means that Israel needs to take over all the fertile crescent region. Sadat delivered his speech in the Knesset under the umbrella of this slogan. Therefore, it is a necessity and a must for this territorial region to unite so as to be a stronghold and fortress to face aggressive Israeli ambitions and support the struggle of our people in Palestine to liberate their usurped land, backed by an Arab progressive front throughout the Arab World, hostile to imperialism and Zionism.



a scout



CHILDREN'S HAPPINESS

Sacrifice and selflessness are the prime requirements of the struggle for liberation and independence. The Palestinian people, whose country was usurped in 1948, have taken up arms and adopted armed struggle as the sole means to achieve their aspirations to return to Palestine, to regain their identity and recover their right to self-determination. Hundreds of martyrs have fallen on the road to liberty, leaving behind them families and children. The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which is the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative, has the aim of finding solutions to the problems of Palestinian children whose fathers and mothers have sacrificed themselves for the Homeland.

The "Children's Happiness" school is one example of the constant efforts exerted by the Revolution

to meet Palestinian children's needs. This boarding school was specially set up for these children, and is located in the Lebanese mountains, at Souk Al Gharb.

The plan for this establishment was set in motion by the General Union of Palestinian Women in 1957 and completed in 1967. Fateh assumed responsibility for the school in 1970. The school at present accommodates 450 daughters and sons of martyrs aged between 3 and 16 years. The pupils are divided among six dormitory-floors. Each floor is named after a town in Palestine and contains children of the same age range, for example "Jerusalem" for children aged 10 to 12 years, "Haifa" for boys from 12 to 16 years, "Tiberias" for girls from 12 to 16 years, and Nazareth for children from 3 to 6 years. The pupils' daily timetable is as follows:

6 a.m. waking-up time; 7 a.m., breakfast; 8 a.m. — 12 noon, lessons; 12 noon, lunch, 1-3.30 p.m., lessons; and 3.30 p.m., various activities. The school covers the primary and secondary stages. The curriculum followed is that of the Lebanese government, so the pupils can pass the Lebanese advanced level certificate and then do their university studies. On holidays, the school organises various excursions and walks for pupils who remain in the school; some have an uncle or aunt who looks after them in the holidays. The school provides its pupils with extra-curricular activities which enable them to develop their natural gifts: music, Palestinian folklore, manual work or scouting. The orchestra, the folklore troupe and the scout group of the "Children's Happiness" school take part in all the Palestinian Revolution's ceremonial occasions.



Abu Walid, the director of the school

Pupils of the school have represented Palestine in several international camps, in the USSR, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania and several Arab countries.

The Palestine Bulletin team interviewed some of the children of the martyrs who are pupils of the "Children's Happiness" school:

Khadija Lababidi, aged 12:

Q: What activities do you take part in at school?

A: Scouting, for the past three years.

Q: Why did you choose scouting in particular?

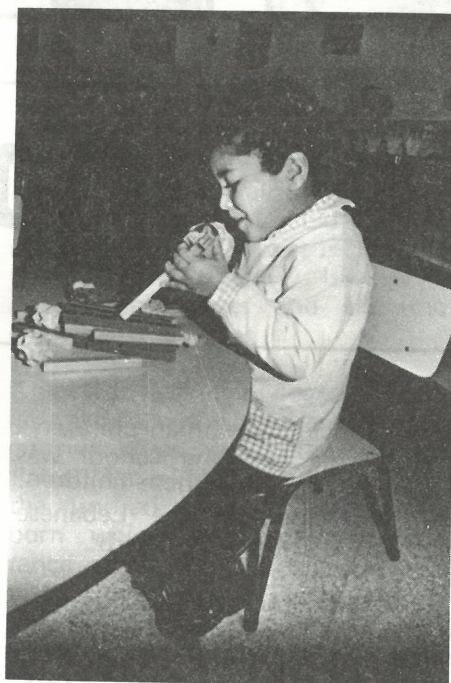
A: Because it is my own vocation, and it is directly linked to my homeland and the land. I learn how to be brave, have a spirit of comradeship and orderliness and this will be very useful to me in helping my people, particularly after we return to Palestine. Also, this enables me to take part with my group in all the Revolution's celebrations.

Aida, aged 10, scouting:

Q: What group do you belong to?

A: Fatima Barnawi. So my group has been called after the woman who was imprisoned and tortured by the Zionists in Palestine. She's a heroine.

Q: Do you take part in activities outside the school?



A: Yes, I took part in the Martyrs' Day and Karama celebrations. They were very beautiful and I was very proud.

Fida Shaalan, aged 5, scouting:

Q: How long have you been in the scout movement?

A: Two years.

Q: Have you already taken part in activities outside the school?

A: Yes, on Martyrs' Day.

Q: Do you love your country?

A: Yes.

Q: What should we do to return to Palestine?

A: Study, and then take up a rifle.

Sana Najami, aged 4 years, folklore:

Q: Were you at Tal Al Zaatar?

A: Yes, in the shelter.

Q: Did you lose anyone at Tal Al Zaatar?

A: Yes, Daddy, my brother and my sister's husband. I didn't see it, but afterwards Mommy told me.

Q: What is your greatest wish?

A: I like school and I want to stay there now; then I want Palestine to be restored to go there with Mommy and my aunt, and then, I don't want to go back in the shelter.

Houda Shaalan, aged 13, Folklore:

Q: How did you enter the school?

A: I lost my father in 1969, he died while on a mission in Gallili. My mother brought me to the school and she later died. I was 7 years old at the time and I have been living here ever since. I never missed anything and I feel at home, moreover I love my teachers.

Q: Why did you choose folklore as an activity?

A: I chose it because I belong to a people whose identity was stolen, and through folklore I can express my identity and prove my existence. I have represented Palestine in France and Italy, and in the meantime I have found out that the Israelis have stolen our folklore and presented it as their own.

Sanna, aged 12, Folklore:

Q: Did you participate in any activities outside of Lebanon?

A: Yes. I have been to Cuba, Algeria, and Italy.

Q: Would you tell us about your trips?

A: I felt that I was contributing to the Revolution in my own way. These trips were useful because people understood that the Palestinians are not a people who ask for food and other aids but a people with rights and who will fight to liberate their country.

Q: What are your aspirations?

A: To return to Palestine and see all of the people in the world living in peace.

Q: What activities do you participate in?

A: Music and folklore, and I am also a member of the security force.

Q: What is the security force?

A: It is a recently formed unit of 10 members which are rotated every three months. The security troops are responsible for order in the school. The force was organized on the initiative of the students. We presented the project to the administration and they immediately accepted it.

In concluding our visit to The Children's Happiness School, we met Abu-Walid, the director of the school who said: You are welcome into our family, and I stress into our family, because in this school we constitute a family with fraternal relations. We are all aware that our presence in this school goes beyond the framework of a job into the dimension of a duty; a duty and debt to the parents of these children who have sacrificed everything for Palestine. The motto of our educational program is education is a revolution for the purpose of changing the individual and society.

Concerning the activities of our school, I can give you an example from last year's celebration of the Day of The Land. On that day, the day of Palestine and Palestinians who are resisting occupation, we transformed the school into a Palestinian village, Kafar Bouram. We chose this Maronite village of Palestine to symbolize our non-confessional attitude. We were all in Palestinian national dress, both children and staff. It rejuvenated the natural conditions of Palestine in rituals, food, customs and the sort. The children felt that they were really in Palestine and loved that feeling tremendously. This was the real purpose of the celebration. We want the children to be aware of their identity; we want them to learn their culture and make it an integral part of their personality. Our duty is to provide for these children the real giving of their situation so that they can decide for themselves what their struggle should be.



A class-room



musical entertainment



Palestine's children in Germany

PALESTINE'S CHILDREN IN THE WORLD

Every year, several of the Palestinian Revolution's cubs go to a number of friendly countries to stay in the vanguard camps there. Last summer, 124 cubs and flowers went to Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Finland, accompanied by 14 adults who were to act as leaders for these cubs during their stay there.

The Palestinian leadership is eager for the cubs to take part in these camps and offers them the necessary facilities to enable them to reach their destinations on time. Last year, when the people

and the Revolution in Lebanon were under blockade, the Revolution found a route for these cubs by sea. They had to endure the hardships of a sea journey to Cyprus or Egypt, and from there to the friendly countries, and were exposed to the danger of search by enemy naval vessels. This year a problem arose over their passports, and the leadership was determined to overcome this by any means.

Why do Palestinian cubs take part in these camps?

In these camps, Palestinian cubs meet friends from the vanguards of the countries of the world,

which provides an opportunity for useful encounters in which information and gifts are exchanged and bold questions are raised out of eagerness for a conscious understanding of what they are asking about. They take part together in collective games, dances and songs and exchange presents from their countries as souvenirs when they part from each other. Thus, the children of Palestine carry their cause with them, they talk about Palestine and its people's struggle and convey the stories of their struggle and hopes to their friends the children of the world.

Once, at Artik, the beautiful

children's city on the shores of the Black Sea, in the Crimean Peninsula in the south of Soviet Union, the children of Palestine met their Soviet friends and told them about Tall al-Zaater (the hill of Thyme). The Soviet children saw them looking for thyme plants which grow in plenty in that place, so they asked:

"Is there any connection between thyme and Tall Al-Zaatar?"

"Thyme is a plant of our country, Palestine," they were told.

How did small children who were born outside their country know about thyme?" they asked.

"It's the great bond with their land that our children experience," we replied. "They know everything about it. We teach them and read to them."

Some days later, a journalist wrote an article which was published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* under the headline "The Children of Tall Al-Zaatar". It stated that the Palestinians are teaching their children how their country should live on in their generations, even if they are living away from it, and read their country's appeal to them every day.

In Schfetien, the noble city 90 miles away from the "Children's Republic" near Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, the inhabitants, who are all workers employed in the petroleum and derivatives industry, receive the children of the world in their homes for three days. The children are brought there by a special train, and march to the accompaniment of music to Liberation Square, where they listen to a welcome speech. Then they have lunch as guests of the party officials in the city and go afterwards to another square to meet their new fathers. A worker and his wife come to receive a child who is to be their guest for three days in a family atmosphere. They take him to dances and concerts, visit the sights of the town with him and accompany him when he is with his friends. In Schfetien, Khalid, one of the Palestinian cubs conversed with his adoptive parents there, although he did not know German and they did not know Arabic. He drew a Zionist aircraft and a child who had been

hit by its bombs. He drew a tent and he drew Palestine, and he pointed with his little finger and told them quietly: "The Zionists took it from here, and I'll return to it because it's my country. I must fight for it, and the friendly countries must help." Others talked as well as Khalid, and twenty Palestinian presents from the children of Palestine entered German homes. The children of Palestine bring their songs and dances to their friends the children of the world and, in singing "To Our Friends", they say:

"We have come to talk to you,
"We have borne arms to fight the enemy,

"And we have borne arms so children can bear blossoms and roses."

These meetings bear fruit with lightning speed in articles, statements, and further meetings. Many a time a Soviet child has stood up to support the Palestinian children

on the day of solidarity with them. Thirty years ago, the Zionists drove the children of Palestine out of their country. The expulsion of the children from their country means that they lost land, their wheat fields, their gardens, their swings, their happiness. Nowadays, in the reactionary campaign in Lebanon, puppets and reactionaries are trying to exterminate them.

In the evening, the children stayed up together writing peace messages so that there would be peace everywhere, and put them in champagne bottles on which they drew their beautiful pictures. The next morning they went out in a special ship into the waters of the Black Sea, outside territorial waters, to throw the messages and the bottles into the waters of the sea. The ending of the story of this message, for the children, is that some sailor would find such a bottle and would fish it out to



Palestine's Children leading a Palestinian dabke in Rumania



Children of Palestine in Rumania

drink what was in it, and the "drink" would be a message for peace from children which he would talk about everywhere and so peace would be propagated.

In these encounters, the children talk about their lives, their schools, and what they were learning. The Palestinians tell their friends:

"We love and adore roses.

"You will return to your countries

"And see your fathers and mothers.

"So tell whoever you see about the children of Palestine. They don't live as you live, they feel in desperate need of a country."

The encounters result in friendship, knowledge, benefit, joy and happiness. Friends gather around Palestin's young emissaries, and then they all chant in unison:

"Yes to peace,

"Yes to the freedom of peoples,

"Yes to the people of Palestine.

"No to colonialism, Zionism and imperialism."

The children of Palestine met Paul, the black boy from Zimbabwe, leader of the children from

his country, and with his guitar he sang to them:

"When I go to plant the field,"

And the children sang:

"Follow me, follow me.

"When I go to water the roses along the road,

"Follow me, follow me.

"When I bear a rifle to make peace,

"Follow me, follow me.

"When I fight for the freedom of peace,

"Follow me, follow me."

In the children's camps of the world, encounters take place, friendships are made, the flag of Palestine is raised and Palestine is talked about. When they return tears flow, and one of the stories remains in memories, the story of this child who was born outside his country wants to return to it, since his country is in his being and his thoughts. When embraces begin and sad tears flow, the story of the children of Palestine can be seen in the faces of friends, children and adults. The big question is: when will they return to Palestine?

THE CHILDREN OF TAL-AL-ZAATAR

The theme of Tal-Al-Zaatar became a worldwide symbol of heroic resistance. For it is said that "Tal-Al-Zaatar had never surrendered, it was rather martyred". The massacre perpetrated against Tal-Al-Zaatar resulted in 5000 victims with a number of widows and orphans. There are 300 children who have neither father nor mother. Many young infants who forgot their names were given new ones. For this section of orphans, the General Union of Palestinian Women established the Home for Children of the Resistance.

This home accommodates 77 children aged between six and twelve years. The Union was not able to cope with the rest of the children for material problems, because of lack of space, specialized cadres, etc. Despite this, plans are underway to provide housing for an additional number of 200 children during 1978.

The Home is run by three members of the Executive Committee of the General Union of Palestinian Women and two more independent



members. The staff of the school consists of 10 adopted mothers and thirty wage earning nurses appointed by the administration in addition to housekeepers and drivers.

Children of the same family are housed together, without distinction of age or sex in one place where their adopted mother is in charge. Adopted mothers happen to come from Tal-Al-Zaatar so that they cope more efficiently with their needs.

They live with them, and are in charge of their education and life trying to replace as far as possible the loss of their parents. The Home provides education for children up to the age of 6. Children beyond this age are educated in schools in the camps. By this the intention is to make the children feel at their proper home.

A number of the Home's children told us about their experiences in Tal-Al-Zaatar and about their present school. Nazma Talal (11 years old):

"They seized my father near a tree in Dikwaneh after separating us from him. I told them that my mother was dead and that my father did not fight. They did not believe me and... killed him. Our school became our only refuge."

Ali Mohammed (8 years old):

"In Dikwaneh, there were more than thirty girls including my sister and cousin, the Phalangists took them to a field and... they shut my eyes. What I love most in this school is the cleanliness and education, we do not miss anything. At dinner and lunch we eat meat."

Samira Ibrahim (10 years old):

"They wanted to kill my father, my mother did her utmost to defend him, she only had 75 Lebanese pounds. She gave the sum to their leader to obtain daddy's release. He refused the offer, so she threw herself on his feet... The school is our second home. We'll stay here until the liberation of all the land of Palestine."

Ramzia Adib (12 years):

"I will never forget the moans of those who stayed under the rubble of the destroyed shelter for three days, after which there was not a single voice. I have been in this school since six months. We were ones of the early people to arrive here with my brothers. Before our coming we lived with a 70 years old relative. Our school is beautiful and clean. We do folkloric dances and try to make up for the studies which we missed."

In the Home for the Children of the Resistance, the children are brought up in the spirit of the Palestinian Revolution. For they are not ordinary orphans, but children of the Palestinian people and Resistance.

The duty of the Home is to regenerate the Palestinian atmosphere for those children in order to maintain their attachment to their just cause and people.



Children of Tal-Al-Zaatar

MESSAGES ON THE OCCASION OF THE 13th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

**MESSAGE OF THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 13TH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE DAY OF
REVOLUTION OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE.**



Oliver Tambo, President of ANC

The African National Congress, on behalf of fighting people of South Africa, warmly salute the heroic people of Palestine through their authentic revolutionary leader and spokesman, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), on the occasion of the 13th Anniversary of their DAY OF REVOLUTION.

During the past 13 years, the revolutionary struggle of the people of Palestine for national self-determination has made tremendous advances, plunging the aggressive Zionist state of Israel into a permanent all-round crisis. It is only thanks to the assistance of imperialism, especially American imperialism, that this bulwark of

aggression directed not only against the people of Palestine but also against the entire national liberation movement of the Arab peoples, has survived the resolute onslaught of revolutionary forces under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Attempts by the imperialist allies of the Zionist state of Israel to ignore the important and leading role of the PLO for the solution of the dangerous situation facing the national liberation movement of the Arab people have failed. Indeed, the Palestine Liberation Organisation has not only been accepted by the people of Palestine as their only authentic revolutionary vanguard and spokesman, but it has also taken its rightful place as an important contingent of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the whole world.

The African National Congress greatly values the successful development of the fraternal revolutionary relations between the fighting people of South Africa and their comrades-at-arms, the heroic people of Palestine. These relations are an effective barrier against the aggressive instruments of imperialism in support of the fascist-racist regime of South Africa and the aggressive Zionist state of Israel. We are fully confident that our relations will be further strengthened and consolidated in the future in the interests of our common struggle.

It is, however, necessary that the revolutionary vanguard forces of our peoples must constantly maintain revolutionary vigilance against the reactionary manoeuvres of our enemies whose strategic objective is the liquidation of the revolutionary struggles of our people. The clear manifestation of these attempts of our common enemies was the two-year counter-revolutionary offensive by the reactionary forces against the PLO in Lebanon. It is thanks to the resilience of the Palestine Revolution assisted by its progressi-

ve allies first and foremost, the socialist countries, that the dangerous schemes of imperialism did not come to pass.

**THE STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

From:— The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

**MESSAGE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY
FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF
MADAGASCAR**

On the occasion of the anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian people's struggle for liberation, the AKFM-KDRSM (Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar) reiterated to the P.L.O., which directs the struggle of the Palestinian people, the expression of its militant solidarity.

The AKFM-KDRSM absolutely condemns the acts of genocide perpetrated against the Palestinian people and all manoeuvres which tend to annihilate the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national rights, for their self-determination, for their independence.

The AKFM-KDRSM is convinced that, with the solidarity of all the progressive forces of the world, the Palestinian people will triumph.

**For the Political Bureau
The Deputy Secretary General**

Arsene RATSIFEMERA

**MESSAGE OF COMRADE CAMARA
DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GUINEA**

Message from His Excellence, Comrade Daman-tang Camara, Permanent Secretary of the Political Bureau and Member of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea, and President of the Legislative Council of the Republic of Guinea.

"I would like, in the name of the Democratic Party of Guinea, Party-State, and especially in the name of our comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure, Supreme Head of the Revolution, to express all our solidarity with regard to the just struggle conducted by the Palestinian people for an ultimate restoration of their legitimate rights on their native soil. On the occasion of this thirteenth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution,

I would like to reaffirm here our determination to give our support, totally and unconditionally, to the cause of the Palestinian people. We know of all the sacrifices of this people have made for the liberation of their country and we respect them."

"We have always stated the reasons for our support of the Palestinian people. Support which is directed not by racial considerations, but by logic, itself. We consider Zionism a very real crime against humanity and we deplore and condemn strongly the imperialist manoeuvres which condemn a people to a life as refugees with misery and privations of every kind, both morally and materialistically."

"In the name of our Party-State, we reaffirm, on the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, our determination to struggle at the side of our Palestinian brothers until they have achieved the reestablishment of their inalienable rights, toward a life of dignity and progress in liberty."



Jane Niganhe, Secretary General of Women Council of Zimbabwe

MESSAGE FROM ZIMBABWE

On the occasion of the 13th Anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, I would, first of all, like to encourage the people of Palestine that the massacres committed by the barbaric Israeli forces and other reactionary forces should not discourage them. They must fight until the end. If the drops of blood they are paying is not enough, we shall add more drops, until the last drop of blood has fallen in Palestine. You have sacrificed so much.

Secondly, I would like to say to my brothers and sisters of the Palestinian Revolution, we in the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe are with you in spirit always and shall be there when victory is yours. We can sympathize with you because the crimes committed against the Palestinian People

SOLIDARITY NEWS

are also crimes against us. We must not be discouraged. We shall continue our struggle until victory. Your Liberation is our Liberation.

We are confronting common enemies and their conspiracies. When the Rhodesian racist forces committed the massacres in our camps we known what you feel because they would remind us of the massacres committed by the Zionists against the Palestinian refugee camps. We appreciate your victorious struggle for Liberation. Free the people of Palestine as well as the people of Zimbabwe, because when you are free, we are free also.

Comrade Jane Niganhe,
Patriotic Front -
ZAPU Central Committee member,
Secretary General of the
Women Council of Zimbabwe.

What do you think of the latest Sadat visit to Israel and the present situation in the Middle East?

A. — We respect Egypt very highly as a country. We have respected President Sadat very much, but now with the move he has taken in going to Israel and talking to Begin, without consulting the Palestinians and all the Arab countries, we feel it is very unfortunate. We are not for it and do not support President Sadat's visit to Israel. We thought Egypt was one of the countries very much in support of the Palestinian cause because Sadat was always speaking very highly of the PLO. But after his talks with Begin, he returned to Egypt and closed the PLO offices and expelled many Palestinians. We are very much confused, because when he went to Israel, who did he speak for? If he was speaking for the Palestinians, why does he now fight the Palestinians?

SWAPO OF NAMIBIA MESSAGE

On the occasion of the 13th Anniversary of the Revolution of the Palestinian People under the dynamic and Revolutionary leadership of Comrade Yasser Arafat and the PLO. On behalf of the Central Committee of SWAPO of Namibia and the militant people of Namibia, we extend fraternal greetings to comrade Yasser Arafat and the entire leadership of the PLO. We in SWAPO will continue to struggle side by side, shoulder



Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO

to shoulder with the comrades of the PLO against the common enemy: Israel and the apartheid regime of South Africa. We are convinced that within a short time the struggle of the Palestinian People will be crowned with victory along with the struggles of the people of southern Africa.

**The Struggle continues,
Victory is Certain**
Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO.

What is SWAPO analysis of the situation in the Middle East after Sadat's visit to Israel?

A. — SWAPO holds to the view that Palestine is occupied by Zionists who are the agents of imperialism in the Middle East, and nobody has the right whatsoever to make a decision on behalf of the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative the PLO. It is only the Palestinian people who have the right to make the final decision on the question of Palestine, no one else. We believe that those who are genuinely supporting the revolution of the Palestinian people must support what the leaders of the Palestinians are saying, whether the support is political, military, economical, or diplomatic. I think it is wrong for any state in the world to impose its decisions on the Palestinian people. The Palestinian question is purely a colonial question, it has to be treated as such. As far as we know, our brother Yasser Arafat and the PLO leadership, have decided to continue struggle to liberate Palestine from Zionists. Therefore, we support their decision unless the Palestinian people and their leadership decide otherwise.

I repeat again that all countries in the Middle East, or anywhere else in the world, who genuinely would like to support the cause of Liberation of Palestine must follow the directives issued by brother Yasser Arafat and the PLO leadership.

THE PALESTINE-AUSTRALIA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE OF MELBOURNE: UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR P.L.O.

The committee is deeply concerned about Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's visit to the Zionist entity and his subsequent unilateral actions, and publicly condemns these moves. The committee determines the following principles:

1. To support the concept that decisions of the Palestine National Council which are consistent with the final aim of the creation of a democratic, secular, Palestinian state shall have the endorsement of the Palestine-Australia solidarity committee.

2. To specifically reject Zionism, and hence any recognition, accord, or dialogue, with the Zionist controllers of the so-called state of Israel.

3. To accept the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of liberated Palestinian soil only if consistent with the principles expressed above.

4. To support the convening of international conferences where the interests of the Palestinian People and Revolution may be advanced provided that the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian People is granted representation as such.

On behalf of the committee: Bill Hartley,
Melbourne Australia 1 Dec. 1977.

RAKAH COMMUNIQUE ON BEGIN PROPOSAL

Tel Aviv,

The Israeli Communist Party, Rakah, on December 20, 1977 released a communique in which it confirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people inside and outside occupied Palestine, and that the 'self-rule' project is a cover for the

continuation of the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip; and for Israeli disregard of the Palestinian people's national rights.

The communique added that all previous attempts to reach a peaceful settlement in the area through partial solutions and without taking into consideration the rights of the Palestinian people, have failed. It finally stressed that all attempts to side-step the Geneva conference are aimed at by-passing the PLO and the Palestine problem, without which no just peace can be achieved.



THE P.L.O. AT INTERNATIONAL LEVELS IN 1977



The first Afro-Arab summit held in Cairo, March, 1977.

A natural outcome of the Palestinian people's determined struggle to raise their fallen nation is the continuous improvement of the PLO's position in the world political arena. The international public is increasingly acknowledging the just goal of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and is giving recognition to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

On the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution it is worth examining the major victories of the PLO in the

international arena during the past year.

The Palestine Debate at the UN

In 1974 the UN General Assembly took a step forward and gave the PLO observer status at the General Assembly. The US used every means at its disposal to stop the Palestinian national entity from becoming a part of the world body. This was nothing new since the US, in accordance with its interests and those of its puppets, had tried to deny the national existence of

China, Vietnam and Angola, and their legitimate rights as nations to be members of the UN. But in all encounters the determined struggle of each of these nations was victorious and the PLO's position at the international body has been daily advancing towards imminent victory.

The UN General Assembly at its 32nd annual session on 21 September 1977 once again affirmed that there can be no peace in the Middle East without the implementation of "the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including

the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty." On 25 November the same assembly condemned Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories, and after hearing the reports of the Palestinian Rights Committee, which called for a Palestinian state, endorsed the full report by 100 votes to 12 and decided to set up a special unit of Palestinian rights in the UN Secretariat to prepare studies on the question.

Members of the United Nations Security Council, fully aware that there can be no peace in the Middle East without the fulfillment of Palestinian national rights, accepted PLO participation at the Security Council debate on the Middle East. America was the only country to oppose this move, but could not apply its usual veto due to the unanimous approval of PLO participation, even by the USA's Western allies.

Specialized UN agencies have also stepped up moves to help the Palestinian cause, with the intention of solving once and for all the Middle East conflict and stabilizing world security. WHO on 16 May 1977 condemned Israel's treatment of the Arab population in the occupied territories. The UN Human Rights Commission voted 23 to 3 on 17 November to condemn Israel for the seventh consecutive year for atrocities in Arab territories.

The major victory scored by the PLO in 1977 at the UN was in the UN Economic and Social Council. On 27 July the Council's Western Asian branch, ECWA, adopted a resolution granting the PLO full membership. This motion passed despite US opposition and blackmail and was supported by 34 countries. The resolution called for close cooperation with the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The significance of this resolution is that the PLO became a full member in a UN body for the first time. This clearly points out the fact that the rights and aspirations of the majority of the world public is emerging triumphant over imperialists who have attempted to obstruct the UN's chartered role of

helping secure the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The Zionist state on the other hand, protected under the wing of US imperialism, has shown it does not intend to abide by the will of the world public. To cite but one example: Prime Minister Begin, commenting on a UN resolution of 28 October which condemned Israel (131 votes to 1) for its establishment of illegal settlements in the occupied territories, declared: "Israel does not consider itself committed to any UN resolutions." Begin's statement signifies that the Zionists have realized that the world public does not yield to imperialist blackmail, and consequently Begin has chosen to undermine the functions of the world body, which at an earlier time the Zionist entity has considered vital for legitimizing its colonial settlements in Palestine.

The Palestine Debate in the EEC

Faced with continuing Palestinian resistance, worldwide recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and growing Arab power, the Western countries have been put in a dilemma. The West is coming to realize that its goal of maintaining peace and stability in the Middle East cannot be attained by neglecting the rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people, whose plight forms the core of the Middle East crisis. But on the other hand the West, which created a Zionist settler state in Palestine as a bridgehead of Western imperialism in the Middle East, still feels the need to maintain Israel. The Palestine debate in the EEC in 1977 clearly reveals the tricky path that the EEC countries have had to wend along.

On 29 June the EEC Council of Ministers released an EEC statement outlining a common policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. The statement includes: 1) "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force," 2) "the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967," and 3) recognition that for the establish-

ment of a just and lasting peace, the legitimate rights of the Palestinians must be taken into account.

This shows greater awareness in the EEC's ranks of Zionist aggression against the people in Palestine and the Middle East. This may well represent the start of an objective Western European stand in the face of Zionist blackmail.

On the other hand, however, the EEC countries have extended over \$1 billion in financial assistance to the Zionist state. And it is worth recalling that on 1 July 1975 the EEC granted special advantageous terms to Zionist exports coming into EEC countries, while at the same time it gave protection to the Israeli war economy with reference to Israeli imports from the EEC. This arrangement was renewed on 1 July 1977. According to an AFP report of 4 July 1977. "the EEC has decided to give further economic, financial and political backing for the Zionist state. In order to realize this the EEC has now yielded to a long-standing demand by the Israeli government and announced that it will open a special representation office in Israel in 1978."

The intensification of Zionist-EEC economic cooperation, coupled with the fact that the EEC has not yet recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people raises serious suspicions. Are EEC countries trying to deceive and exploit the Arab world by throwing out a smokescreen of words and rhetoric? It would not be a new Western tactic for those countries to exploit Arab oil power, while at the same time cooperating with the Zionist aggressors and issuing noble-sounding statements. The increasing resistance of the Palestinian people will foil any renewed attempt at hypocrisy.

Nevertheless the EEC's recognition that a just and lasting peace must take the legitimate rights of the Palestinians into account is a sign that the EEC might be heading in the right direction. The Belgian Ambassador to the UN, speaking on behalf of the EEC on 28 October, said that Israel's establishment of illegal settlements on the occupied



Belgrad conference.

territories were "contradictory to the UN Charter and principles as well as Geneva conventions." It is high time the EEC accepted — without hypocritical verbiage — the imminent reality of a Palestinian national state in Palestine, and began to work accordingly against the Zionist state which exists "contrary to the UN Charter as well as Geneva conventions."

Other International Developments

The Palestine Debate on international levels in 1977 made great progress toward realizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the only solution to the so-called "Middle East crisis."

Ever since the 1956 Bandung Conference of non-aligned nations, "Third World" countries have been closing ranks to combat imperialism, racism, exploitation and oppression in all its forms. Adhering to this common cause, the Coordination Bureau of Non-Aligned States stressed on 12 April the deterioration of the Middle East situation due to Israeli arrogance. In its meeting of 30 September 84 member states called for Israeli

withdrawal from occupied territories and called on "all member states to endeavour to halt emigration of their citizens to Israel as such emigration will consolidate the occupation and establishment of settlements in occupied Palestine and other territories, resulting in forced eviction of the indigenous inhabitants." (APS, Vol.No. 14) In addition, the non-aligned foreign ministers called on 1 October for "withdrawal from all occupied territories including Jerusalem, and granting Palestinian rights including that of self-determination and statehood." The non-aligned stand in 1977 reflects once again the conviction that the Palestinian people's struggle to return to their homes is ever advancing.

The Islamic foreign ministers, in a meeting held on 22 May, "confirmed the Arabism of Jerusalem and the necessity of liberating it from the racist Zionist occupiers" and affirmed once again that the "Palestinian cause is the essence of the Middle East crisis." It is worth noting that Turkey, Indonesia and Afghanistan agreed at the Islamic foreign ministers' meeting to open PLO offices in their respective countries.

The Afro-Asian peoples through their organization "The Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization," affirmed their commitment to the Palestinian Revolution and called on "all nationalist and progressive forces to offer all kinds of support to the Palestinian Revolution" and condemned "the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary aggressors against the Palestinian Revolution." The World Peace Conference on 2 May called for the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, "including the right to self-determination and statehood."

These randomly selected facts show that the Palestinian Revolution is getting increasing support from peoples throughout the world in its struggle against Zionism and Zionism's racist and imperialist supporters. The day is drawing closer when the Middle East will truly be at peace as a result of the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, which include the right of the Palestinian People to return to their homes in Palestine and establish an independent Palestinian State led by their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

PALESTINE NOTES

ARAFAT MAKES SPEECH AFTER JOINING TAL AL ZAATER MASSES IN ANNIVERSARY MARCH



The Ashbal of Tal-Al-Zaatar celebrate the 13th anniversary of the Revolution

Beirut,

The Palestinian and Lebanese masses of Tal Al-Zaatar camp in Damour, on December 31, 1977, celebrated the Revolution's 13th anniversary, starting at 10am with a march headed by Yasser Arafat, Abu Jihad, and several other leaders and cadres of the Palestinian Revolution.

At the end of the march, Arafat made the following speech:

"In these critical moments through which the Arab Nation is passing, when the enemy led by the USA seeks to impose on us its concept of a forged peace, a capitulationist peace, we say to Carter, to the USA, to world Zionism: 'The answer are these rifles.. This revolutionary will and this inflexible determination.

"There are conspiracies being concocted against our immortal Arab Nation. On behalf of the Palestinian Revolution, the Lebanese National Movement and on behalf of all free people in our Arab Nation, I

say: this is an Arab land and will remain so. They try in vain to by-pass and ignore the Palestinian Revolution and people. But the Palestinian factor cannot be by-passed, for there can be no peace in this area without the Palestinian people and their Revolution. And there will be no surrender in this area, there will be fighting until victory.. I say this to the people of Tal al-Zaatar who offered 3,000 martyrs, for a people with such qualities cannot be made to bow and will ultimately win...

"In the name of all the martyrs and the wounded, your Revolution and Nation will be victorious. The will is that of the Arabs and not of Begin. It is the will of the rifles, of the revolutionaries and of the free people that will make victory".

ARAFAT:

- THERE WILL BE NO PEACE IN THE REGION WITHOUT THE CREATION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE
- WHOEVER SAYS BYE BYE PLO SAYS BYE BYE TO HIS INTERESTS IN THE REGION

Beirut, 1/1/1978:

The Palestinian Revolution celebrated its 13th anniversary with a popular march that culminated in a huge mass rally at the municipal stadium, where an impressive march-past of military units from all groups of the Palestinian Revolution, and of cadres, Ashbal, Zaharat took place.

At 10:30 AM, George Habash, Secretary-General of the PFLP, Nayef Hawatmeh, Secretary General of the DFLP, and Abu Jihad, member of the Fateh Central Committee had arrived at the main reviewing stand. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat inaugurated the festival by lighting the main torch and the 13 other torches placed in the center of the field. He then reviewed a parade of detachments of all units of the Palestinian Revolution, which lasted one hour.

After the parade, Arafat delivered a speech in which he addressed US President Carter, affirming emphatically: "No one can by-pass the Palestinian Revolution, and no one can create an alternate leadership to it."

PALESTINE NOTES

He continued: "Let: Carter, who is touring this region and voicing his objection to a Palestinian state, definitely know that there will be no stability in the Middle East without a Palestinian state". Hailing the Tripoli communique as a "counter current" to capitulation and compromises in the Arab region, he said that it is the only charter which can consolidate national unity.

Arafat then greeted the Palestinian masses in the occupied homeland who rallied around the PLO in response to continued attempts to create an alternative Palestinian representation. He added: "The latest joke I heard was from Brzezinski who bid the PLO bye-bye. In response, I say bye-bye to the US and bye-bye to its interests in the Arab region. There can be no alternative to the PLO other than the Palestinian rifle."

He reiterated: "We are not war-mongers; all we seek are our rights. But in the same way we believe in what the late Egyptian President Nasser said: "What has been taken by force can only be recovered by force."

He finally declared: "We are not alone in this battle, all honest men and revolutionaries over the world are standing by us: the Soviet Union, the Socialist, Non-Aligned, Islamic and African states as well as all democratic and friendly forces."



WAFI EDITORIAL ON BEGIN'S SUGGESTION

Beirut,

"What is the wonderful nature of the plan which Begin announced on December 18, 1977."

"To start with, we shall select a number of important facts which appeared in the form of proposals by Begin. It should be pointed out, however, that these are no more than the same old US-Israeli suggestions which were planned for earlier and which precisely express the US-Israeli understanding of peace in the region, as has been revealed so many times before in the Western and Zionist media.

First: Begin's US-Israeli cards, the existence of which he announced in Washington, are merely a translation of the colonialist principles in which Begin and his masters believe and for which they faithfully strive. For these are the basic ideas and principles of Zionism — US and Israeli control and colonization of the region, on the basis of the Zionist state's role of watch-dog for these interests.

"Therefore, both Israel and the USA did not and will not move towards a just and lasting peace, just as we have always confirmed and anticipated. They are on the contrary determined to impose US-Israeli conditions, exploiting all the cards in Sadat's hand, which he has offered them free of charge, relying on the

increase in US influence in the region over the past few years.

Second: Begin's ridiculous joke of a proposal does not merely contradict the aspirations of the Palestinian people and ignore the Palestinian people and their leadership as represented in the PLO. It also deliberately obliterates the Palestinian presence — through the self-rule project — under the yoke of continued occupation, while at the same time attempting to gain Palestinian, Arab and international legitimacy for this occupation. It is not too much to say that this Israeli project is a carbon copy of the colonialist projects for Bantustans in South Africa.

Third: This proposal not only ignores all international resolutions on Jerusalem, and on Palestinian rights of return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state; it not only ignores the realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights in their own homeland; it also ignores the specificity of Palestinian existence as recognized by the world following a bitter struggle and huge sacrifices over half a century and more.

Fourth: A preliminary study of the US-Israeli plan reveals that the aim of Begin's proposal is to give the illusion that Israel has given something in return for all that Sadat has offered against the will of the Arab nation. Consequently, the proposal as we understand it is merely a huge conspiracy and a trick which can only further complicate the situation.

"On the other hand, this proposal represents a further attempt to establish domination over the region, pushing it to the brink of the abyss, in order to achieve full control over it.

"Begin's proposal will not be rejected by the Palestinian people alone, under the leadership of the PLO, but also by the Arab masses, by the nationalist Arab regimes and by honest men the world over.

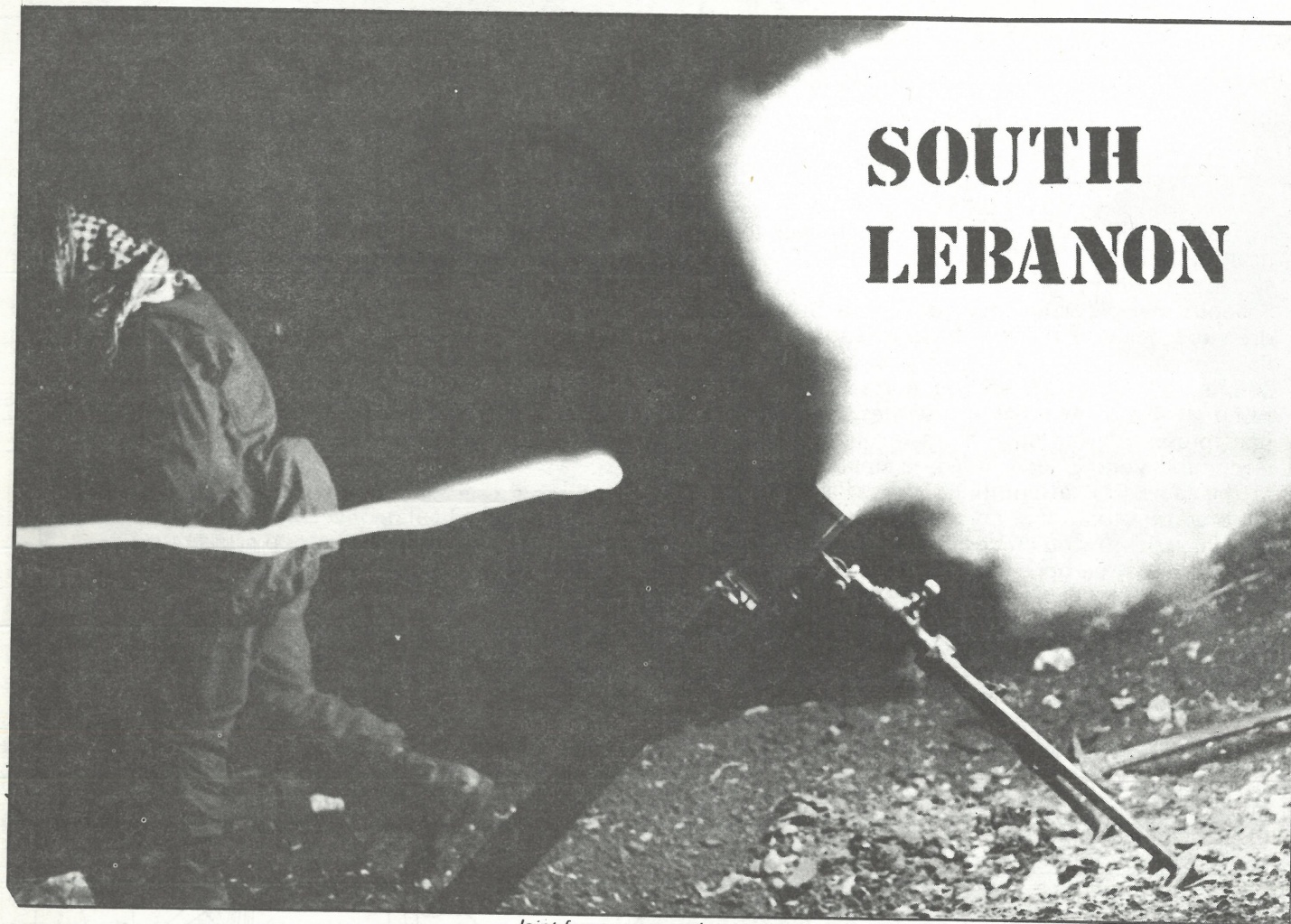
"On this basis, our people are fully determined to confront this ridiculous proposal presented by Begin today and to confront all other US-Zionist projects which in their contact reflect a conspiracy against our people and the Arab nation.

"The essence of confrontation to this project will be the attachment to the programs adopted by the Palestinian National Congress and the

realization of Palestinian national unity around these programs. The essence of confrontation will also be the intensification of struggle via the 'Steadfastness and Confrontation Front' by presenting a political and organizational plan of action to give the Front serious dimensions, based on the strengthening of cooperation with our allies and friends all over the world, with the socialist countries and the USSR at their head"



SOUTH LEBANON



Joint forces commandos

ZIONIST POLICY AND THE BALANCE OF FORCES, 1977

The fabrication of political Zionism about the formula of an imaginary Jewish national entity led the Zionist Movement to call for the establishment of a "Jewish" nation state. Zionist at the turn of the century, backed by British imperial interests, started drafting "The Jewish Nation State" on maps in European cafes. Palestine was the victim and European Jewish settlements were to have the Litani River of South Lebanon as their Northern boundary. The Rationale, as pointed out by the Zionist delegation to the 1919 Versailles Conference, was that the water of the Litani River is necessary for the colonial expansion of Northern Galilee settlements.

In 1977, the Zionist state still maintained its expansionist designs on South Lebanon, and, due to the fluid character of the political situation of the Middle East, it has been applying different tactics at different times to attain its objectives.

1976 saw an end to the bloody war in Lebanon. The Israeli government, which had trained and armed its compatriots in crime; the right wing forces in Lebanon, opposed the peace settlement since Israel's ambitions of territorial expansion

and goal of liquidating the Palestinian Resistance were not met. Direct aggression at the time was ruled out by Zionist strategists due to internal crises over corruption within the major parties and the consequences of another war on the so-called imperialist "peace offensive". The only option left in Zionist hands was to utilize its puppets in South Lebanon.

Consequently, after the Riyadh Agreement and the implementation of a cease fire in all Lebanon's internal fronts. The region bordering occupied Palestine once again became the focus of attention.

The Zionist entity as part of the conspiracy pushed forward its so-called "good fence" policy to create the illusion of co-operation and co-existence between the Zionist occupiers of Palestine and the Arabs of South Lebanon. Through the "good fence" the right wing forces started openly moving in and out of occupied Palestine. Metulla settlement across the Lebanese border became the operation room of the aggressors.

After continued skirmishes and acts of provocation on July 2, the combined fascist forces launched an attack by a mechanized battalion of infantry backed by tanks and heavy artillery. The target was the Lebanese village of Yarin. The inhabitants of Yarin after displaying heroic resistance managed to launch a successful counter offensive backed by the Joint Palestinian and Lebanese Progressive Forces, repulsing the enemy. The significance of the resistance was that the enemy realized that what it had plunged into was not easy as expected, due to the manifested determination of the progressive forces and people of South Lebanon to resist its conspiracy.

The failure of the July offensive made the Zionist-right wing forces re-consider their positions. Accordingly diplomatic and press sources started confirming reports about meetings between Zionist and right wing leaders in the Lebanese port of Jounieh. The meeting was held between Pierre Gemayel, Camille Chamoun and the former Israeli Minister of War, Shimon Peres. The meeting agreed on new moves among which were:

- The establishment of more Lebanese right wing training camps.

- The creation of suitable circumstances for the direct intervention of Israel in South Lebanon to strike at the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement.

Once again the conspiracy was put in motion on September 14 through 26. Israeli troops blatantly launched attacks against Lebanese villages in the South as well as

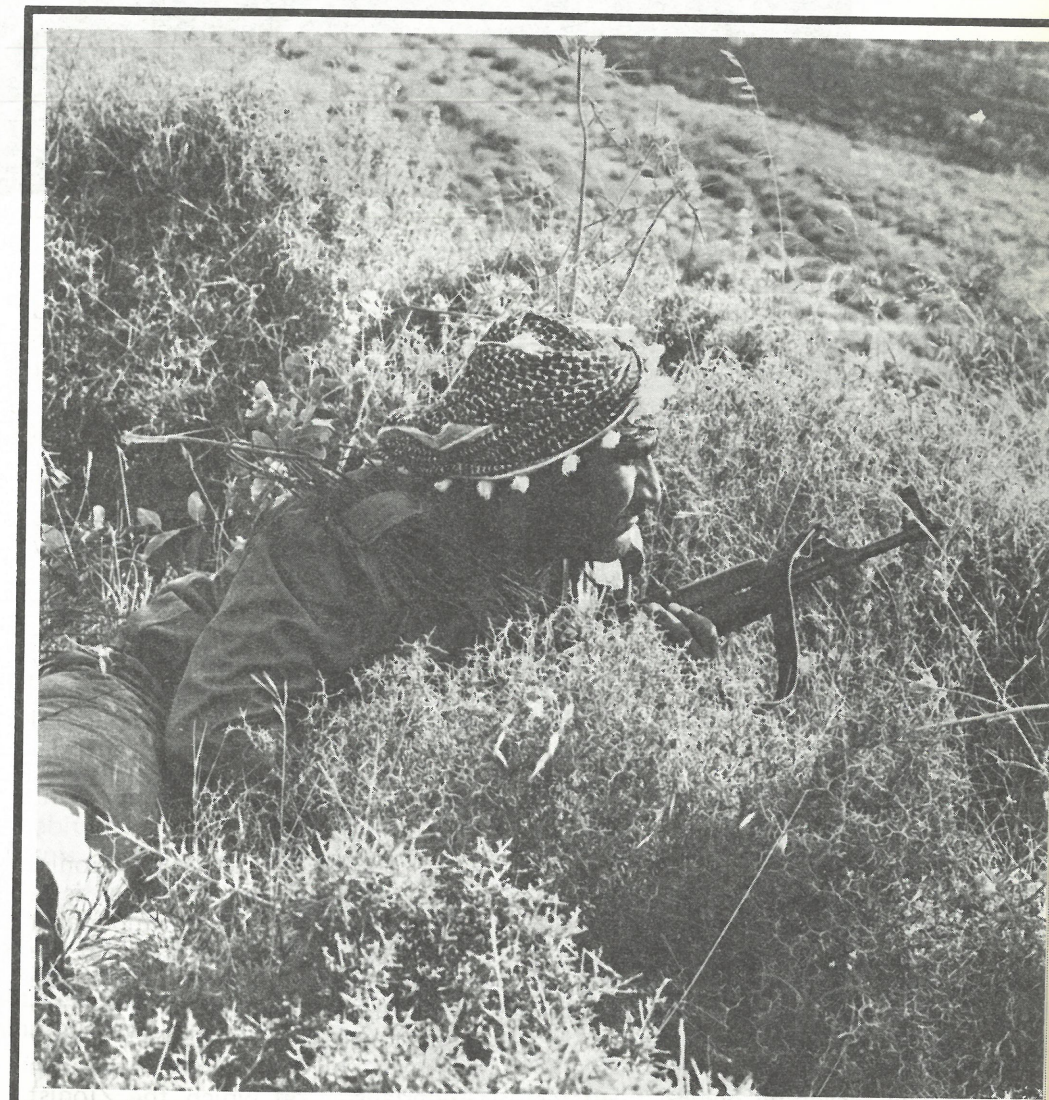
Palestinian Refugee positions. Under cover of heavy shelling, Israeli tanks and armoured personnel carriers rumbled across the border from occupied Palestine into Lebanon. Intensive fighting concentrated around the strategic Lebanese village of Khiam. But scope of Zionist aggression covered the villages of Balat, Tallat Zuheir, Iblal-saqi, Bint Jbeil, Saf Al-Hawa and the surrounding areas. Counting on swift action Zionist authorities and Western news media made no mention of this act of aggression on a sovereign state.

The Joint Forces of the Palestine Revolution and Lebanese progressives even though outnumbered and outgunned stood face to face with the Zionist war machine effectively checking it. Invading Israeli tanks were halted by Palestinian commandos successfully smashed Israeli

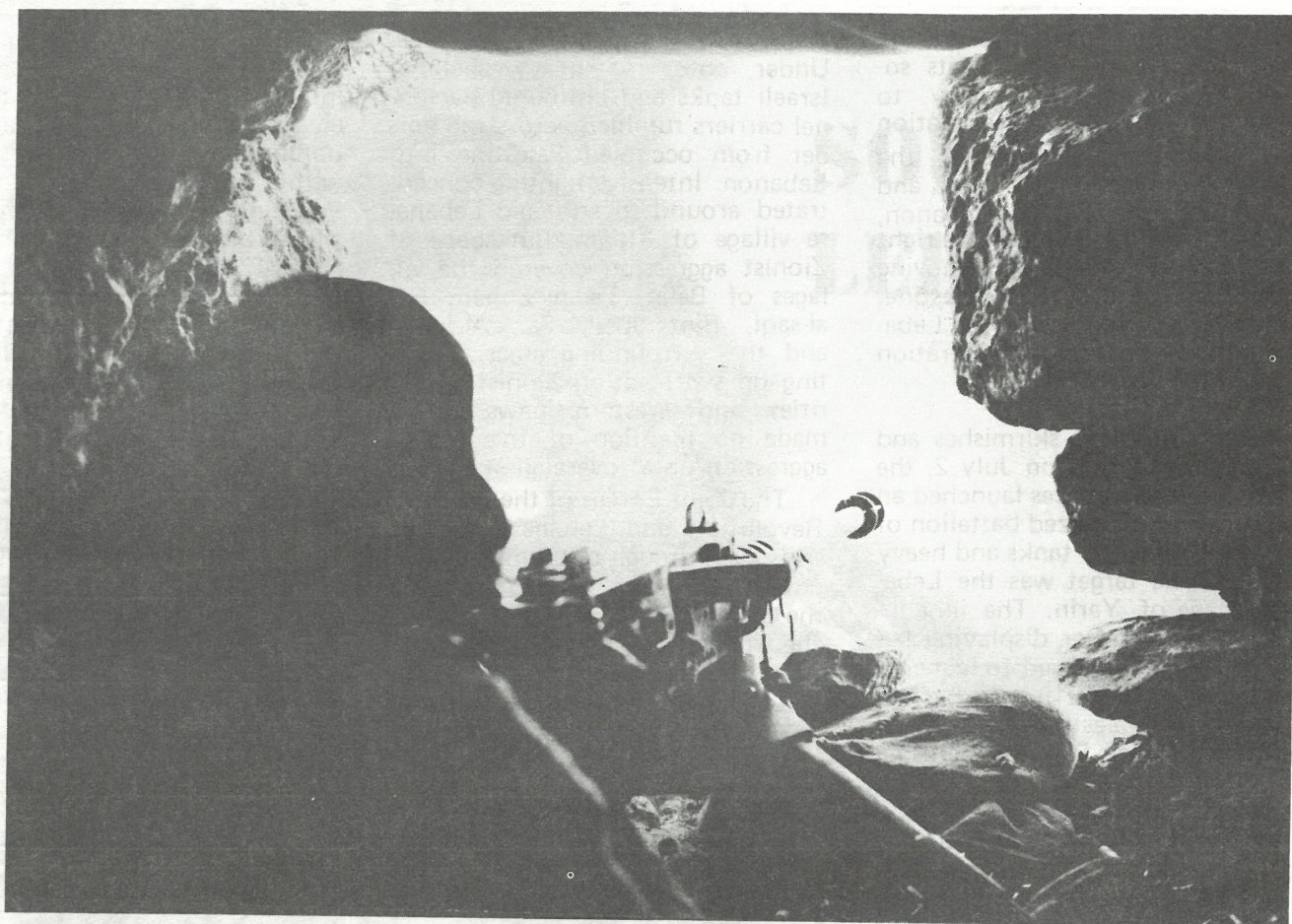
attempts to advance throughout the 12 days of fighting. In response to indiscriminate Zionist shelling of civilian positions, Palestinian forces bombarded Israeli fire bases located within settlements inside occupied Palestine. This destroyed once again the myth of Zionist invincibility.

On September 26, after the defeat of the allied fascist forces, the Zionist enemy bridging news black-outs about the presence of its troops in Lebanon invited journalists to cover the return of a military force whose entry it had heavily denied. Attempting to benefit from a battle it had lost launched propaganda campaign contained the usual Zionist rhetoric about pullbacks, guarantees and open frontiers.

The failure of its September



Joint forces commandos



Joint forces commandos

aggression made the Zionist-Lebanese right wing strategist realize the fact that the implementation of their policy in South Lebanon is not easy as cutting a loaf of bread. Once again the enemy had to reassess its policy and chose to plunge into its tradition of terrorism.

On November 8th, 9th and 10th Zionist warmongers resorting to the Likud's speciality, used war planes, gunboats and heavy artillery against civilian targets in South Lebanon. Acts of terrorism were committed against the Lebanese village of Izziyeh, Chihine, Tair Harfa, Majdel Zoun, Jibran and Um Al-Qout including Palestinian Refugee camps of Burj Al-Shamali and Rashidiyeh. Over 110 civilians, mainly old people, women and children were massacred and over 200 were seriously wounded. Some of the villages like Izziyeh were razed to the ground.

The reasoning behind this latest act of terrorism was the Zionist

concept of sowing discontent and to terrorize Arab villagers to the extent that they would leave their homes, paving the way for fulfilling Israeli colonialist objectives.

The heroic resistance of the joint Palestinian Lebanese progressive forces, and their manifested ability to meet different enemy tactics. 1977 proved once again that the fundamental aims of Israeli-Lebanese right wing conspiracy, namely the political and physical liquidation of the Palestinian people and the destruction of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon has been foiled.

It is known fact that the Zionist entity came into existence as a bridgehead of Western imperialist domination and exploitation in the Middle East. Likewise it will be difficult to imagine any activity undertaken by the Zionist enemy without the blessing of American imperialism, on which the Zionist state's existence depends. The Le-

banese right wing-Zionist alliance in South Lebanon strives to do the impossible with the direct consent of their mutual patron, U.S. imperialism. As mentioned by the Israeli newspaper "Ha'aretz" on 8th July, U.S.A. has been supplying Lebanese right wing forces with different kinds of weaponry via Israel, so as "to preserve the security of Israel's Northern border". The American government feels that Israel's Lebanese right wing card will strengthen the bargaining position of the Zionist state in case of the resumption of the "peace" conference.

Assessing development of events in South Lebanon in 1977 one is motivated to declare with confidence that all conspiracies directed against the Palestinian people and the territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon will be met bullets for bullet by the patriotic forces of Lebanon and the Palestinian Revolution.

THE MORALITY OF TERRORISM

by Faris Glubb

During the first week of November 1977, Israeli artillery on several occasions opened fire against civilian targets in villages in South Lebanon, killing at least seven people. On 5 November, the Palestinian Resistance retaliated by firing rockets at the Israeli coastal town of Nahariya, and two Israelis were reported killed. At 9.15 a.m. on 8 November, Israeli artillery laid down a heavy barrage against many South Lebanese targets, most of them again civilian, from Al Bass and Rashidiya refugee camps near Tyre to a point east of Nabtiya. At 11 a.m. the Palestinian Resistance again rocketed Nahariya, and the Israelis reported one person killed.

The following day, the Israeli air force intervened with massive air strikes against the villages of Izziya and Hinniya and the outskirts of Burj Al Shamali refugee camp. Izziya and Hinniya were literally flattened by highly accurate pinpoint bombing, as was an area some 200 metres square at Burj Al Shamali.

The Israeli propaganda services announced that the attacks had been carried out against "terrorist bases". The villages attacked were inhabited mainly by peasants who worked on nearby farms. A couple of days after the raids it was announced that more than 110 people had been killed and 150 wounded, and the search for other bodies buried under the rubble was continuing. Almost all the casualties were civilians. The Palestinian Resistance had lost three men killed, who had been manning anti-aircraft position.

Subsequent examination of the bodies of the "terrorists" killed in the raids showed that large

numbers of them were children under the age of 10 and ordinary housewives. The majority of the victims were Lebanese.

On 10 November, President Jimmy Carter condoned the Israeli air attacks on Lebanese civilian targets, describing them as "retaliation". He told a news conference that "if the provocation was absent, the retaliation would have been unnecessary."

In immediate terms, if Mr. Carter had studied the news reports of the previous few days, he would have known that in this instance the provocation had come from the Israeli side and the Palestinian Resistance had retaliated, **before** the air raids had been carried out. In longer historical terms, Mr. Carter could have asked himself who should be blamed for the original provocation that set in motion repeated acts of violence in this region for the past several decades: those who seized another people's country and expelled its inhabitants, or those who are fighting back in self-defence in an effort to regain their country?

A US State Department spokesman announced that his government was sending condolences to the families of the three Israelis killed in the rocketing of Nahariya. No such condolences were received by the families of the Lebanese victims of the Israeli air attacks. The reason for this may be that it is easier to write three letters than 110 letters, although the State Department doubtless has a duplicator at its disposal. Or alternatively it may be that, in the eyes of the State Department, the lives



Deported Palestinian families

THE MORALITY OF TERRORISM

of Lebanese peasants are less precious than those of Israelis. After all Lebanese, like Red Indians and Vietnamese, are considered "non-white" by those who hold the reins of power in Washington.

Admittedly, President Carter at the time was under some attack from the Zionist lobby because his administration had allegedly taken "pro-Arab" stands on some matters, like admitting that the Palestinians have legitimate rights and ought to have a "homeland" to live in as the other nations of the world do. Perhaps Mr. Carter wanted to take some of the heat out of the Zionist criticisms of him. Whether this justifies an abandonment of the principles of morality and fairness is a matter of opinion.

Be that as it may, the Israeli air force's action in blasting harmless Lebanese villages out of existence poses questions related to the morality of terrorism that should be given serious attention by the world as a whole, including President Carter and other distinguished Americans. The American Heritage Dictionary defines the word "terrorism" as meaning "the political use of terror and intimidation".

The slaughter of over 100 innocent Lebanese civilians is likely, and doubtlessly calculated, to instill terror in the hearts of other innocent Lebanese civilians, particularly if they live in the South of their country. Since the Israelis termed this a "retaliation" for Palestinian Resistance action, we may assume that they were hoping to translate this terror into a form of political pressure by Lebanese on the Resistance to halt its military actions against the occupiers of Palestine. It is thus apparent that the Israeli air raids constituted a political use of terror and intimidation, or in other words, a form of terrorism.

In effect, the dictionary definition of the word terrorism has been abandoned by many Western news media and leaders, who use it as a term of abuse to describe the use of force by those with whom they disagree. Thus, in the eyes of Western sympathisers with Zionism, the extermination of civilians by bombing from the air, the terror tactics of the "Jewish Defence League" or the 1948 massacre of over 250 civilians at Dair Yasin are not listed as acts of terrorism. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who organised the Dair Yasin atrocity, is not regarded as a terrorist by President Carter, who has received him as an honoured guest and treated him as a statesman. (For details on Dair Yasin and Mr. Begin's role in it, see *Palestine*, Vol.

III, No. 8, 1 June 1977).

It has become a characteristic feature of modern wars, particularly since the introduction of aerial bombardment, that the vast majority of casualties are innocent civilians. The millions killed in the Spanish civil war, World War Two, Korea, Vietnam, Bangladesh, the African liberation struggles, Chile, the four Arab-Israel wars and other conflicts have not mostly been combatants but ordinary housewives, farmers, workers and their children who have no way of defending themselves against powerful conventional armed forces with tanks, heavy artillery and air superiority. Any people seeking to defend and liberate their country from a foreign invader know that they will have to make an enormous sacrifice. Algeria lost 10% of its population killed in its fight for independence, the Soviet Union paid a similar price to defeat the Nazi invasion, Vietnam had to sacrifice some 12% of its people. Efforts to enforce a more chivalrous code of conduct towards civilians in wartime, through the Fourth Geneva Convention, have gone unheeded by invaders. Indeed the United States, for all President Carter's pious statements on human rights, has not yet agreed to sign the Geneva Conventions.

From the time that it launched its military operations in the mid-1960s, the Palestinian Resistance has been very much aware of the problem posed by the nature of modern warfare which makes civilians the main sufferers, and endeavoured to overcome this problem. The early operations by the various Palestinian guerrilla organisations were directed exclusively against "Israeli military and strategic installations". This covered military personnel, equipment and positions, and installations that enabled the Zionist forces to maintain their occupation, such as railways, bridges, factories that supplied the armed forces, etcetera, which have traditionally been recognised as legitimate targets in warfare. The Palestinian Resistance went to considerable lengths to avoid civilian casualties, since its operations were "in no way aimed at the Jewish people so much with whom (the Palestinians) lived in harmony in the past for so many centuries. Nor does it intend to 'push them into the sea'. This resistance and the liberation movement Al-Fatah is co-ordinating is aimed solely at the Zionist-military-fascist regime which has usurped our homeland and expelled and repressed our two million people, condemning them to a life of destitution and misery," according to Fatah's Press Release No. 1, issued in January 1968.



Israeli signs of intervention in S. Lebanon

However, Israeli forces have traditionally not been respecters of civilian lives. The massacres of Palestinian villagers in 1948, and subsequent attacks on Arab towns and villages such as Qibya, the Gaza Strip towns and Tawafiq in violation of the 1949 Armistice, were followed by the bombing of hospitals and ambulances in the June 1967 war. Hospitals damaged or destroyed by Israeli bombardment in June 1967, included the Augusta Victoria Hospital, Jerusalem; the French Hospital, Jerusalem; the Military Hospitals in Ramallah, Jenin and Nablus and the Mobile Army Hospital between Ramallah and Jerusalem. After the war, in August 1967, Israeli forces fired more than 40 shells into the compound of a hospital in Ismailia, and I personally inspected the damage shortly afterwards. These acts were followed by Israeli bombardment of civilian areas, both Jordanian villages and refugee camps, in the Jordan Valley in November 1967 and the early part of 1968, culminating in the massive attack on Karama in March 1968.

Palestinian Resistance spokesmen gave repeated warnings that, if the Israeli forces persisted in directing their attacks against civilian targets, the Resistance might have to reconsider its policy of taking care to avoid Israeli civilian casualties. According to international law, reprisals by belligerents are admissible only in response to acts of illegitimate warfare (see L. Oppenheim, *International Law*, Vol. II, 7th. ed. New York, 1952, p. 561 f.). In

view of the Israelis' persistent resort to the illegitimate method of attacking civilians, the Resistance clearly had the legal right to make reprisals. This right was invoked by the allies in their bombing of German cities in World War Two, following the extensive atrocities committed by the Nazis against civilian populations. Though technically justified in a legal sense, the allies' exercise of this right was certainly not carried out in a humane fashion; in the bombing of Dresden, for instance, the operation was executed in such a manner that massive fires consumed all the oxygen over a wide area, ensuring that those who were not killed by the bombs died of suffocation.

While the Resistance can claim the right of reprisal for Israeli attacks on Arab civilian targets, can the Israelis also claim the right of reprisal for military operations by the Resistance? It must be stressed that international law allows reprisals only for illegitimate acts of warfare.

The right of a people to use armed force to resist the conquest and armed occupation of their homeland is now firmly established in international law. The 1874 Brussels Conference, drew up four criteria whereby irregular or resistance forces (as opposed to regular armies subject to governmental control) are entitled to combatant status. These criteria were that they be under a responsible command, wear a distinctive sign, carry arms openly, and themselves observe the laws and customs of war. Such forces are allowed to attack the forces and strategic installations of the occupying power and their members, if captured, are entitled to prisoner of war status. These criteria, and the rights which devolve from them, were incorporated in the 1899 Hague Regulations on the Laws and Customs of War on Land and the 1949 Geneva Conventions. Although the combatant forces of the Palestinian Resistance fulfill these criteria, the Israeli occupation refuses to honour their captured personnel's prisoner of war status.

World War Two marked great advances in the status and rights of resistance movements as a result of the Nazi occupation of many countries in Europe. Several governments acknowledged the legal status of resistance organisations, allowed them official representation and extended them aid. Many were recognised as legitimate "governments in exile". Examples included the Yugoslav partisans, the French Maquis and the Anti-Fascist Partisans of Italy, all of which secured degrees of recognition from several states. This process was consolidated in the anti-colonial struggles of African and Asian

THE MORALITY OF TERRORISM



Izziyeh village sums up Zionist barbarous aggression

peoples after World War Two. The National Liberation Fronts of Algeria and South Vietnam achieved the status of "governments in exile", the African guerrilla movements against white supremacy have won recognition for their legitimacy from many states and the United Nations and other international bodies, and the PLO became the first resistance movement to be granted observer status by the UN.

During World War Two Nazi Germany, like Israel, "treated guerrillas as illegitimate combatants." (See Julius Stone, *Legal Controls of International Conflict*, 2nd. Imp., New York, 1959, p. 565). Captured resistance personnel were not granted prisoner of war status and were generally tortured, executed or sent to concentration camps. After the war, the Nuremberg Tribunal ruled that many of the methods the Nazis had used to suppress resistance constituted war crimes. The German Chief of Staff, General Jodl, for instance, was condemned as a war criminal for having ordered the evacuation of inhabitants and the destruction of houses to curb resistance activity in Norway — practices to which the Israelis resort frequently, arguing, as General Jodl did, that they are justified in order to suppress "terrorists" and "saboteurs". (See Oppenheim, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 416).

The Nuremberg Tribunal, in addition to numerous solemn and binding documents of international

law such as the Geneva Conventions, not only established the legitimacy of resistance movements beyond any doubt but also made it clear that an occupying power is forbidden to violate the laws and customs of war in an attempt to suppress resistance. Acts of violence against civilians, in particular, are outlawed. According to Article 3 of the Fourth Geneva Convention: "Persons taking no active part in the hostilities... shall in all circumstances be treated humanely."

If the world is to progress towards a more civilised code of the conduct than has hitherto been observed, it would be as well for the rulers of the United States to pay more respect to the principles of international law, particularly with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict. They would also do well to recall the words of Lady Fisher of Lambeth, who wrote in a letter to *The Times* on 26 March 1968:

"When French men and women formed themselves into resistance groups to embarrass and resist the German forces occupying their land, we hailed them (quite rightly, I believe) as heroes and heroines. Why therefore must Arabs, who try to do the same thing against enemy forces occupying their land, be referred to as 'terrorists' and 'saboteurs'? Surely they are only doing what brave men always do, whose country lies under the heel of a conqueror?"

ENEMY NEWS

COLONIZATION:

The Zionist policy of colonization accelerated since the establishment of the Zionist state. Through systematic colonization the Zionists hope to expand and consolidate their domination over Occupied Palestine.

A study of the colonization plans illustrates that:

- * The Zionist authorities do not even have the intention of evacuating the Arab occupied territories. On the contrary their intention is to maintain the territories of the West Bank as a permanent "secure border".

- * Through colonization the Zionists strive to destroy the homogeneity of Arab regions by submerging them with Zionist settlements.

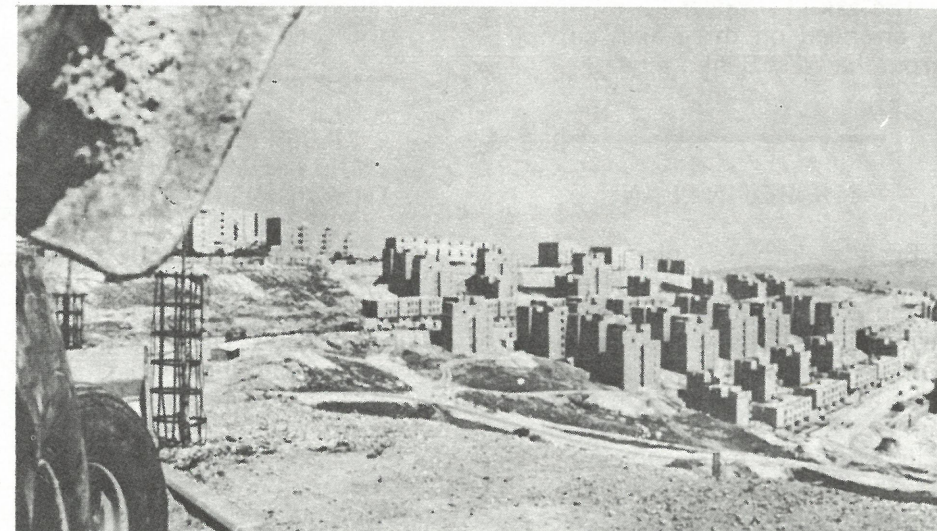
- * The Zionists equally conceive in the existence of colonies a means of strengthening the Israeli bargaining position in the case of negotiations.

- * There are no major differences between the colonization plans of "Labour" and those of the Likud faction.

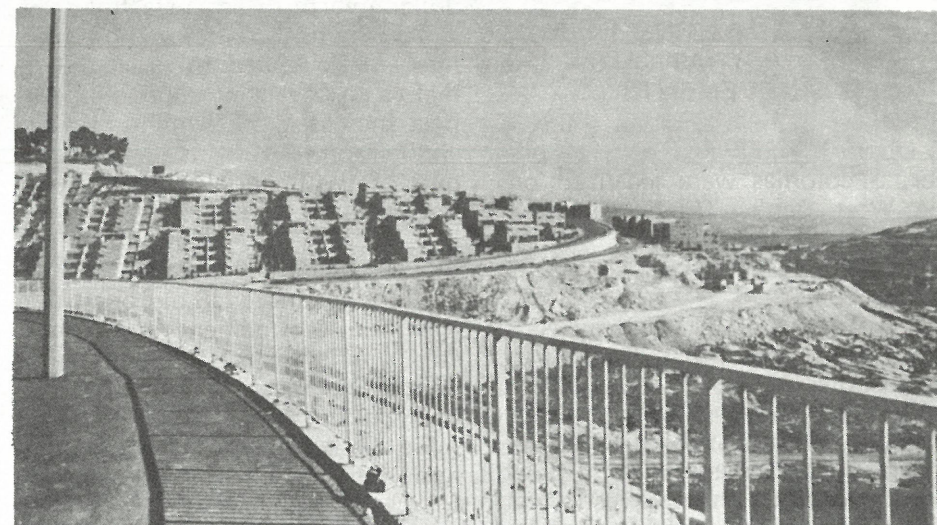
COLONIZATION POLICIES OF THE "LABOUR" PARTY:

Following the general outlines put forward, the former minister of state Israel Galili, Zionist authorities under the previous "Labour" government proceeded to colonize and Judaize the occupied territories of 1948 as well as those areas captured during 1967.

Attention has been focused on the city of Jerusalem and its suburbs. In addition to the already established 17 colonies on the occupied West Bank, 15 million pounds were allotted to establish a



Settlements in Occupied Palestine to meet "Ingathering" efforts



A settlement near East Jerusalem in the West Bank.

chain of settlements on the poorly inhabited West Bank. Towns intended to cordon off and isolate major West Bank towns such as Ramallah are under construction. These towns are usually constructed on the ruins of Arab villages, towns and confiscated lands.

COLONIZATION POLICIES OF THE LIKUD:

The Likud submitted its own plans of colonizing and annexing Arab territories as part of its poli-

tical program during the recent election's campaigns and which could be summarized as follows:

In what they call "Samaria":

- * The creation of two cities each having the capacity to receive 10,000 settlers.

- * The creation of 3 rural centres each housing 1000 families.

In what they call Judea:

The construction of three cities South of Jerusalem and the Hebron

region each of these cities can accommodate 5000 families.

The Likud proposed settlements are arranged on three axes cutting across the West Bank.

THE BEGIN PLAN:

Begin's "private" plan in addition to that officially proclaimed by the Likud extends over a 4 year period. It suggests the establishment of 27 colonies of which 9 are to be established on the West Bank, 9 are to be established on the Golan Heights and 12 in Occupied Sinai.

THE BEGIN ADMINISTRATION'S "ACHIEVEMENTS":

Upon Likud's assuming of power, 3 colonies were legalized on the West Bank. These were the encampment of Kaddum, Maale Adomim and Ofira.

By August of 1977, the Occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip were subjected to the Israeli laws.

For Begin, the annexation of the occupied territories was not a political issue rather than a question of routine in what he considered "the indivisible land of the Great Israel". Simultaneously the Zionist inter-ministerial committee adopted a decision to set up three more new settlements. In the present Likud policies of colonization are a mere continuation of those of "Labour" whereby the Labour administration set up 104 settlements during the past 30 years. These agglomerations are divided as follows:

40 settlements in the West Bank, 18 in the Gaza Strip, 19 in Sinai, 27 on the Golan Heights.

This in addition to the 33 military settlements whose establish-

ment was not disclosed by the Zionists and who were largely the work of the previous ruling "Labour" alignment.

US IMPERIALIST MILITARY AID FOR THE ZIONIST ENTITY:

US supplies of most up to date military equipment for the Zionist entity has reached the 115 million dollar mark. A US foreign state spokesman announced that deliveries of arms would hit the 280 million dollars' mark of the same month, (August, 77). In a speech delivered by Jimmy Carter which was devoted for foreign aid to Israel was to receive up to 785 million dollars worth of arms starting from 1973 American military and economic aid dedicated to safeguard Israel as an advanced imperialist outpost increased by 2 million dollars annually, this reflects the seriousness of the imperialist "peace" initiatives in the area.

Consequently, US aid permitted the Zionist armament industry to step up its exports to reactionary puppet regimes in Latin America and South Africa. In 1977, the value of exports reached 465 million dollars. According to Zionist sources they expect exports to reach billion dollars annually.

The Zionist entity besides serving as an outlet for European and American imperialist military production, Israel serves as an intermediate bridge between those countries, and a number of reactionary and racist regimes who cannot receive direct imperialist help for the number of known political reasons.

SITUATION OF IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL:

Attraction of "immigrants" on the bases of religious affiliation continues to form the cornerstone in Zionist ideology and practice. Material incentives as well as promises of a "Zionist Paradise" continues to serve as a means of propaganda. But soon after disembarking a large proportion of immigrants become disillusioned with the growing social and economic crisis which engulfs the Zionist entity. During the past couple of years 50,000 quit "Israel" for the West.

According to statistics released by Zionist sources they reveal that 50 per cent of US immigrants go back to their country of origin, the same applies to the immigrants from the USSR.



Immigrant Jews



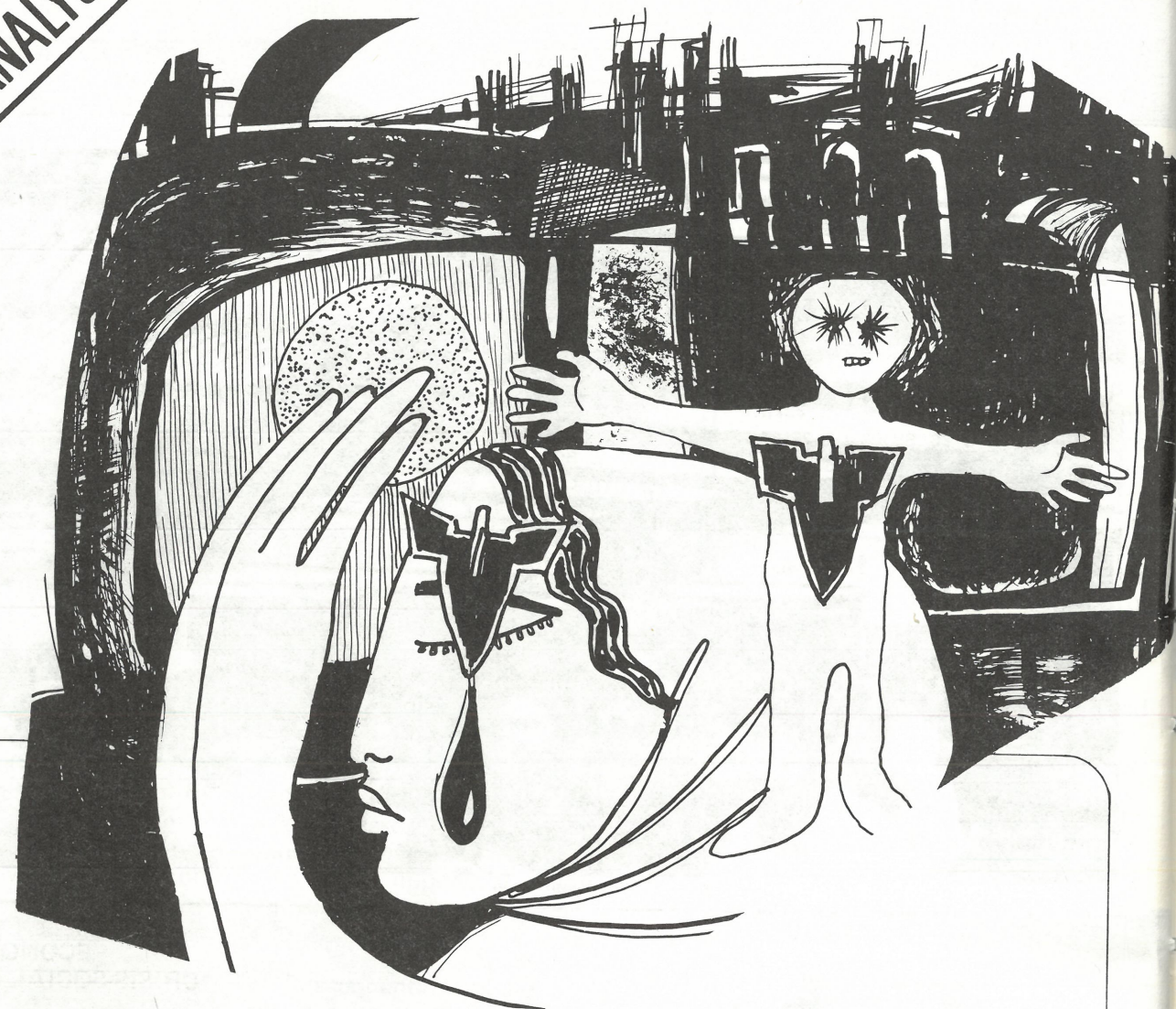
The Zionist soldiers

ECONOMIC CRISIS-SOCIAL CONFLICTS:

Trying to cope with the desperate economic situation, Begin proposed his "New economic Policy" which is not expected to remedy the illnesses of the Zionist society. The plan is intended to curb the rate of inflation which rose by 42 per cent and which vitally affects 12000 of the labour force. Prices of basic commodities and consumption articles shot up forcing large sectors of Zionist society to go on strike.



The Zionist soldiers in the West Bank.



U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY 1977/1978: A YEAR OF DESTRUCTIVE MANOEUVERING

In 1977, the U.S. administration has issued an abundant flood of various declarations, statements, promises, and even incantations and prayers, concerning the Middle East. But if one pushes through all the jumble, and compares them with the facts, one will find an unbroken thread of insincerity and hypocrisy, of continued imperialist greed for the control and exploitation of the entire area; in particular, a basically negative and even destructive attitude towards the Palestinian people; a policy of aggression, not of peace.

Oil, oil money.

To keep and get Arab oil and Arab capital, to open the Middle East markets for the U.S. and other Western multinational companies, and to increase its military control over the area, remained the basic objective of the Middle East policy of the U.S.A., despite all the alleged goodwill demonstrated by the new "healer" in the White House whose image rapidly tarnished in the course of the year. The desperate efforts of the new U.S. administration to "reform"

the national and international energy policy and to reduce the immense waste of the U.S. economic system have been brought to naught by the U.S. monopolies. The result is that, according to a study of "Independent Petroleum Association of America", in 1977, 45% of the U.S. petrol needs will be supplied by imports, increasingly from the Middle East (1976: 42% ; 1972 before the energy crisis: only 29%). And while in 1973 only 21% of the overall U.S. oil imports came from Arab countries, this share has reached already in 1976 46% and continues to increase rapidly. In value, U.S. imports (mainly oil) from the Middle East and North Africa have risen in the first half of 1977 by 40% to \$ 9.95 billion, while U.S. exports to the area increased by merely 16% to \$ 6.25 billion.

As a consequence of their energy waste and their excessive oil imports, the U.S. and other Western capitalist economies increasingly depend on a kind of "recycling" of the annually paid tens of billions of petrodollars.

Fear of open war — unreadiness for peace.

It is evident that as a consequence of increased U.S. dependency on undisturbed oil supply, trade and financial movement in the Middle East, the U.S.A. can no longer reasonably afford an overall Middle East war, and are thus indeed interested in preventing and escaping a new catastrophic explosion resulting from continued Zionist aggression against the Arab people.

However, it is a fundamentally false conclusion to think that the obvious U.S. interest in avoiding a big war in the Middle East would automatically make the ruling U.S. circles willing to work constructively for an overall and just settlement of the conflict and of the causes of the conflict, first of all for the recognition and rights of the Palestinian people.

Given the traditional entanglement of the U.S.A. in the Zionist aggression and the obviously continuing influence of the most aggressive imperialist faction and Zionist lobby inside the U.S.A. itself, the U.S.A. has proved unable also in 1977 to find any sincere peaceful cooperation of mutual interest with the peoples of the Middle East.

In order to escape the growing dilemma of its oil needs, its trade deficits and its pro-Zionist involvement, the U.S.A. is, despite all the "peace" talk, still basically committed to a course of power play, political and military adventurism. Still, U.S. imperialism considers this area and its people as a sort of "private" colonialist exercise-ground:

"The nation must reckon with the necessity of maintaining the physical security of our sources of supply in the Middle East", sounded former defence minister pro-Zionist Arthur Schlesinger, now Carter's energy adviser, in a speech to a military association, and, commenting on the approaching oil shortage in the Western world in the mid-80ies, he foresaw a

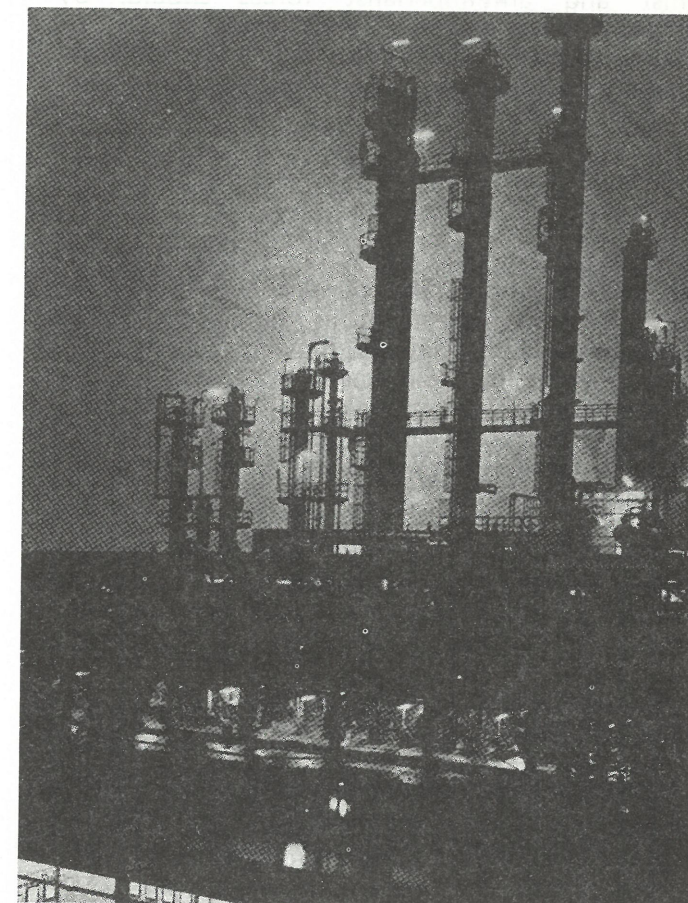
"potentially demanding military responsibility" ("Associated Press", 20 October 1977).

In general, the contradictory and dangerous game of U.S. Middle East politics involves a deceitful peace propaganda, a large diplomatic fuss, economic and military subversion and threats and a massive Zionist build up, with the overall aim to raise false hopes with the Arab and Jewish masses, to gain time, to "stabilize" the Zionist aggression, to increase and exploit inter-Arab tension, to exhaust, weaken and split the traditional Arab national front, to expand U.S. dominance and exploitation in the area.

However, the short-dated partial successes of this hazardous U.S. game remain very superficial. Overall tension and the danger of military explosions have rather increased, none of the basic conflicts been solved. The situation in the whole Middle East is, as a result of the U.S. "peace" policy, more unstable than ever, and with it the U.S. "successes".

The smoke-screen of "progress" towards Geneva and "the comprehensive settlement".

For years, the U.S. diplomacy has now been singing the litany of how earnestly it allegedly is striving for an "overall", true, "comprehensive settlement" of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and of how busy it was to bring about the Geneva peace conference involving "all the parties". In particular after the



Arab oil

take-over of the new Carter administration, the U.S. propaganda overflowed with promises and pledges about the allegedly deeply felt desire to reach, "as soon as possible", an overall peace settlement in the Middle East including a just solution for the Palestinian cause. Time and again dates were set for the imminent reconvening of the Geneva conference. In the meantime, "Geneva" and the "comprehensive settlement" have been made phantoms by U.S. politics. The deeds have exposed that all the gossip about the allegedly envisaged global peace is nothing but a cover-up and vehicle for promoting the real aims of U.S. imperialism. That is "to keep the Mideast ball in play", as columnist de Borchgrave, from the pro-Zionist U.S. "Newsweek" labelled it (21 March 1977); to protract and delay as long as possible a diplomatic game, in which the simulation of "progress" replaces real progress. Through this, all parties should be kept entangled and busy under U.S. guidance and control, while, in particular, all anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist forces should, by alternately false promises and blunt threats, be exhausted, disarmed and split, and prevented from eventually building up a clear and determined anti-imperialist front.

In the words of one of the countless U.S. statements: "There is strong agreement in the importance of moving towards negotiations, moving towards Geneva, and maintaining the momentum towards negotiations and peace" (Carter spokesman Powell, 20 July 1977). President Carter himself spoke repeatedly of a process of "maybe two years, four years, eight years or more" (9 March 1977).

Always "moving towards", but never reaching "Geneva" and a "global peace", and liquidating underway as much anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist resistance as possible, is obviously one of the basic aspirations of U.S. Middle East diplomacy.

Strengthening the Zionist aggression.

"I would rather commit political suicide than to hurt Israel", this was the declaration of submission by the U.S. President in front of U.S. Zionist leaders, on 5 October 1977.

It highlights the deadly course of a U.S. policy



US President, Carter receives Begin at the White House

orientated on the interests and the line of the Zionist colony, based on suppression, racism, violence, militarism, occupation and expansionism. The very question of peace in the Middle East is not "to hurt Israel" but to put a definite end to the Zionist aggression and, first of all, to the overall support for it at the hands of the U.S.A..

Obviously, the Carter administration has committed itself unconditionally to the very contrary.

"Since 1973, the U.S.A. has provided almost 10 billion in military and economic assistance to Israel." "The U.S.A. will not do anything which would jeopardize Israeli security, by trying to exercise pressure through the withholding of military or economic aid" (U.S. Secretary of State Vance, 10 November 1977). In fact the U.S. government has in 1977 written its blank-cheque-support for the Zionist aggression to a new peak of \$ 1.8 billion in officially granted aid (apart from the state-patronized fund-raising by all the U.S. Zionist organizations). The military "aid" runs now at \$ 1 billion a year, half of it in outright gifts from the latest most sophisticated and destructive U.S. military arsenals.

"With U.S. approval, Israel now has stockpiled enough weapons, ammunition and fuel to fight a three-front conventional war for 30 days before needing fresh supplies, according to U.S. estimations" ("Guardian", 27 October 1977).

Nobody should try to make the world believe that this was the way to appease Zionism. It is the road towards nonending blackmail, conflicts and wars in the Middle East, indeed a suicidal policy also for the U.S.A.



President Sadat with the international terrorist, Manahem Begin in Jerusalem

Military and economic penetration, bases.

Partly in order to outbalance its trade deficit, partly in order to expand its military influence, the U.S.A. has continuously increased its arms sales to the whole Middle East, in open contradictions to President Carter's earlier reservations. Meanwhile, over 65% of all U.S. military sales go to the Middle East (Associated Press, 14 October 1977) having now reached a total of over \$ 25 billion since 1974. Hereby, the Arab clients of the U.S.A. always get systems one or two generations older than those supplied to Israel.

Besides, the U.S.A. strives to expand the flock of its military and security advisers in the area, including Iran and the Gulf countries.

At the same time, the U.S.A. uses the smokescreen of its alleged peace policy to infiltrate the Arab world and to intensify the exploitation of all resources there by its multinational corporations. Already 30,000 U.S. officials, five times more than in 1971, hold key positions in the oil, business, banking, industrial and military sectors alone in Saudi Arabia, with the number to be redoubled within the next two years ("Le Monde", 29 January 1977). The U.S.A. has already worked to channel about \$ 40 billion Arab capital into their own banks. And, while all the people in the area continue to suffer from war, underdevelopment, unemployment and poverty, American business expects to top alone from Saudi Arabia, "the god damned best base we ever had", as they like to call it ("Times", 12 February 1977), "50 billion dollars in the next five years" (U.S. News and World Report (8 March 1976).

The U.S.A. is even increasing its direct military involvement in the whole area. Apart from the existing U.S. facilities in Turkey and Cyprus, it has signed in 1977 a new agreement covering air and naval facilities in Bahrein, and acquired similar facilities in Masirah (Oman).

During a U.S. visit in September 1977, the Zionist Foreign Minister, Dayan offered the U.S.A. a base for the Sixth Fleet in Haifa, and the U.S. administration was reported to "consider" the matter in the framework of a settlement ("Le Monde", 23 September 1977). Moreover, at the end of October, U.S. Secretary of State Vance strongly hinted at the possibilities of a "bilateral" defence treaty with Israel, a system which the U.S.A. certainly intends to expand, in the frame of different U.S.-sponsored settlements, also to other Arab countries. Most recently, Zionist Prime Minister Begin started to call openly for the dispatch of U.S. "peace" troops to the Middle East, and, after his War Minister Weizman's trip to Egypt, reports were leaked that U.S. spy bases should also be installed at the river Jordan.

Exploiting local rivalries and conflicts.

Contrary to its assertions, the U.S.A. still tries, in the course of its allegedly overall peace diplomacy, to sharpen and to exploit inner-Arab and other regional rivalries and conflicts. With the help of local stooges and West European "allies", it tries to deploy one party against the other and to bind and control all 1977 saw a whole chain of such dangerous manoeuvres and conflicts from the western Sahara to the Gulf, from Cyprus to the Horn of Africa.



US soldiers being trained for anti-Arab aggression.

Sadat's trip to Israel.

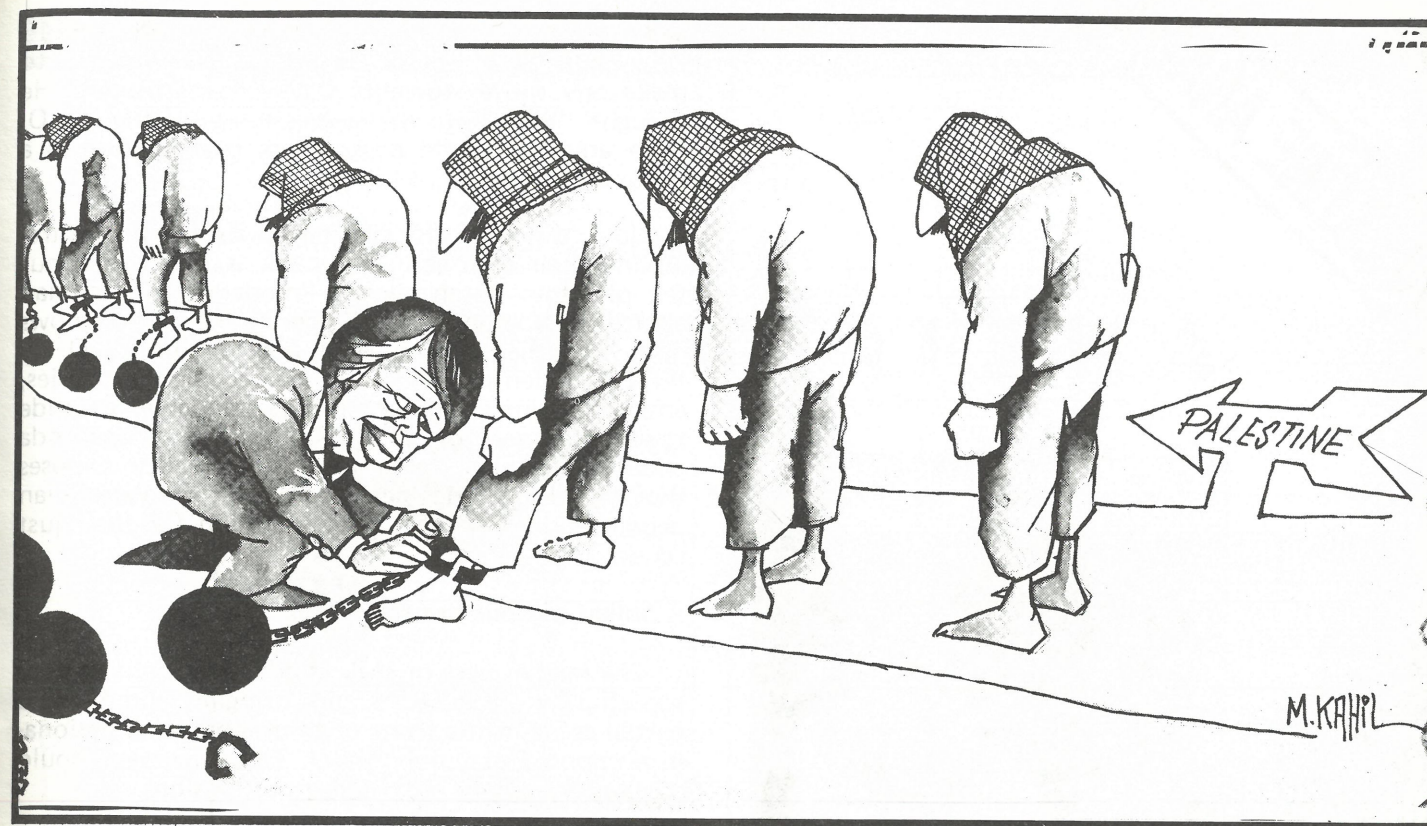
U.S. involvement in and reactions to the Egyptian President's trip to Israel shows exemplarily the strategy and tactics of the U.S. imperialist "peace" policy. Obviously, the U.S. administration was well-informed beforehand and has, in fact, encouraged Sadat's step. Anyhow, this collapse was only a consequence of the entire U.S. game: Having set all his political, military and economic stakes on the alliance with the U.S.A. and seeing his credibility and force completely exhausted after all the neverending promises for an "imminent" breakthrough towards overall peace and "Geneva next month", the Egyptian President was finally virtually forced to take to a flight forwards straight into the hands of the Zionists.

The jubilant reactions in all imperialist and Zionist media in and outside the U.S.A., exposed clearly the basic satisfaction of the U.S. policy with this development. They were already enthusiastic about a "western settlement" (Joseph Kraft in the "International Herald Tribune", 29 November 1977), which would establish new reactionary axes from Africa to Asia under the tutelage of the U.S.A. (see C.L. Sulzberger after talking with Brezinski, "International Herald Tribune", 5 November 1977) against all non-imperialist regimes and "the radical Arab masses" (West German "Frankfurter Allgemeine", 22 November 1977).

However, official U.S. reactions and comments

remained significantly more cautious. Apparently, a quick and open Israeli-Egyptian peace would also run counter to the U.S. imperialist interests. The U.S.A. fears it could lose control and influence there. Moreover, it wants to hold up the overall game, to engage further parties with promises for the "final comprehensive" settlement, to drag them along until capitulation, to prevent above all the possible emergence of a clear and firm anti-imperialist front which would necessarily link itself with the socialist camp. So, President Carter, while actively furthering a de facto U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian step-by-step policy, declared, at a press conference on 30 November 1977, "the U.S.A. still 'feels' that there should be a comprehensive Middle East settlement", and "ultimately we believe to a comprehensive consultation at Geneva. In the meantime, we don't see anything wrong." His secretary of state, declared however, on 6 December 1977, that a settlement outside Geneva was now also "possible". And Carter's national security adviser, Brezinski, in an interview on 11 December 1977, clearly exposed the option of a "variety" of separate "dealings" taking place "progressively". "Our objective has not been Geneva", he admitted now bluntly, not even an overall settlement, but, as he put it "movements towards a settlement". "I would like to emphasize", he added, "that in all of this we are engaged in a long-term process." He now saw "three concentric circles" which the U.S.A. "hoped to engage", step by step, with the U.S.A. itself, Zionist Israel and Egypt hopefully in the center of it.

The present U.S. Middle East "peace policy" turns



out to be the old destructive imperialist step-by-step tactics deployed already by Kissinger to stabilize the Zionist and to de-stabilize the Arabanti-imperialist side, to dominate and exploit the area, shabbier than ever disguised in the cover-up of "progress" towards a "comprehensive settlement".

The breach of the U.S.-Soviet Middle East declaration.

It is worth to note that the U.S. confession, "our objective has not been Geneva" represents a clear and open breach of the joint U.S.-Soviet declaration on the Middle East, issued only about one month earlier, in which the U.S.A. pledged "joint efforts to facilitate in every way the resumption of the Geneva conference not later than December 1977". Moreover, this statement also stipulates a common pledge for a "comprehensive settlement incorporating all parties" and for "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

The fact, that the U.S. government has since worked in the very opposite direction of its own declaration of intentions, exposes the basic contradictions, untrustworthiness and destructiveness of its present Middle East policy.

Attempts to cheat the Palestinian people and the P.L.O.

A main target of the insincere and negative U.S. politics remains the Palestinian people and the P.L.O.,

legitimized as the sole representative not only through various national and international resolutions, but foremost through the heroic sacrifices of the entire Palestinian people.

In the framework of the propaganda for an "overall" Middle East settlement as put forwards by President Carter at the beginning of its government, he admitted, for the first time, the injustice committed against the Palestinian people "who have suffered for many many years". He acknowledged that their cause was one of the core problems for a just and basic Middle East settlement, and committed himself to the need for a "Palestinian homeland". At his first U.N. reception, the U.S. president shook hands with the P.L.O. representative.

In summer 1977, U.S. statements repeatedly underlined that the Palestinians had to be represented at Geneva. In September 1977, U.S. ambassador to the U.N., Young, called openly for the participation of the P.L.O. without whose participation peace was not possible. At a press conference on 29 September 1977, President Carter himself recognized that "the P.L.O. certainly represents a substantial part of the Palestinians".

However, what seemed to be a sincere and constructive approach, soon turned out a mere imperialist trick. The U.S.A. only wanted to get something from the P.L.O., namely the recognition of present Zionist Israel, without giving the Palestinian people anything, namely recognition of their national rights and an end to Zionist aggression and injustice.

and the truth, President Carter scolded, on 15 December 1977, that "the P.L.O. have refused to make any moves towards a peaceful attitude". He thought "they have themselves removed the P.L.O. from any immediate prospect of participation in a peace discussion."

Now, the U.S. officials started also again, contradicting their own earlier admissions, to drive about the phantom of an alleged "moderate" Palestinian alternative to the P.L.O. Since all the world knows quite well the unanimous support for the P.L.O. by the Palestinian people also in the occupied territories, and their renewed unmisunderstandable attitude towards all sort of quislings, this U.S. propaganda about Palestinian "alternatives" in reality exposes that the U.S.A. tries again to bypass the Palestinian people and does not want a solution for their just cause.

A policy without future.

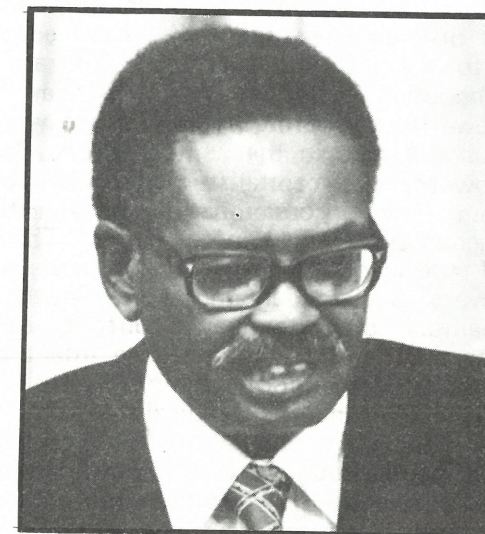
The manoeuvres of U.S. Middle East politics have superficially "succeeded" in bringing about some partial splits in the front of traditional Arab nationalism opposed to Zionist Israel. This, however, should mislead nobody to most dangerous illusions.

Basically, the present U.S. middle East policy is not only insincere but highly contradictory and inconsistent, even weak, without any perspectives for the medium future. It is a negative and destructive approach. It does not aim for a positive, constructive and prospective cooperation with the people in the area and their rising forces, their just national rights and political aspirations. It relies on the perpetuation of tension and conflicts, on the playing-off of rival forces, on the collaboration with isolated and basically weak leaders. It uses a shabby peace propaganda while in reality, dealing with and strengthening the aggressive forces in the area. It continues to trample upon the rights of the Palestinian people.

Not only the Palestinian people, but all peoples in the area begin to understand who tries to take their oil and money, who keeps them in permanent state of conflicts and war, who pays the money for aggressive settlements and organizes the bombs to kill their children, who tries to cheat them with a hollow "peace" propaganda and holds up all kind of reactionary agents and puppets.

They will not tolerate this. The prospects of the present U.S. policy in the Middle East are gloomy, the resulting explosions which will bypass the traditional Arab-Israeli wars are foreseeable as well as the catastrophic consequences for the U.S.A. itself and the West in general. So far, the U.S. Middle East policy is indeed suicidal. Peace in the Middle East is not possible without and against the people, foremost the Palestinian people.

SOUTHERN AFRICA



Neto, President of Angola



Samora Machel, President of Mozambique

The principle contradiction in southern Africa between the aspiration of black African masses and the interest of imperialism is being fought on three principal fronts: Angola-Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and Azania (South Africa). Each front represents a particular phase in the struggle against colonialism under the most repressive form of exploitation by a racist colonial minorities.

What are the common characteristics of the struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania?

The progressive forces in this region have opted at different degrees for national liberation, liquidation of the white colonialist regimes and the construction of socialism through protracted popular war. These forces, which form an integral part of the liberation movement, strategy is based on the mobilization of all social classes, especially the peasantry including the "peasant-worker" who partially work under contracts in mines and plantations.

The liberation movements in southern Africa operating from bases in neighbouring countries and rural areas, intend to close in on all white colonial settlements and cities. The harassment

of the enemy goes hand in hand with the mobilization of the masses. In this context we can say that the liberation army is a political organ responsible for the production of food, sanitary services, literacy campaigns and political education of the people. The defeat of colonialist forces in Mozambique and Angola was made possible by the interaction of political and military struggle. Samora Machel once said:

"For those who had reactionary and imperialist prejudice and thought victory was impossible, it has been proven that the peasantry and workers can smash technologically-advanced bourgeois army possessing superior fire power. Our struggle has once again proved that the people can erase any aggressor whatever his might provided they are united around a correct political line and provided they are motivated by their fundamental interests".

The war on three fronts

Azania (South Africa), during the past two years the struggle has intensified but has not yet reached the stage where military action presents itself as the main form of struggle. Opposition to the racist regime has been manifested by sporadic mass actions which correspond to a preli-

Radar equipment at U.S. base near Diyarbakir in Eastern Turkey.

Carter's "generous" offer (press conference 29 September 1977): "If the P.L.O. accepts UN 242 and the right of Israel to exist, then we will begin discussions with the leaders of the P.L.O... But I can't and I have no inclination to give the P.L.O. any assurances other than we will begin to meet with them."

When the P.L.O. failed to submit and to fall in such an obvious trap, the U.S. approach towards the Palestinian cause changed again, all the more, as the U.S.A. had meanwhile "succeeded" to bring about the political disarmament of Egypt.

At the end of October, the U.S.A. dismissed even the possibility of a Palestinian government in exile participating in Geneva. On 3 November 1977, President Carter, addressing U.S. Zionist leaders, declared Israel's "worst fears" may be justified by the P.L.O.'s refusal to accept 242. And after the U.S.A. had finally got the Egyptian president onto his amuck run, it immediately started to direct a new wave of attacks and threats against the P.L.O. and the Palestinian people. In blunt contradiction to the facts



African freedom fighter (Maquis)

minary phase of armed struggle. The A.N.C (African National Council), the predominant force in the liberation struggle due to its experience, political line and its popular base affirms that limited action such as strikes, protest rallies, and the sort, are important because they pave the way for a more advanced revolutionary phase of guerilla activity and seizing power. The protest rallies of the Azania masses

despite harsh police repression, demonstrated their determination to resist the regime and are acquiring revolutionary practices. South Africa is in a transitional phase whose duration depends on the application of appropriate instruments of struggle, first of all the drafting of a homogeneous political program and a leadership. The duration also depends on development of the regional situation particularly Zimbabwe, whose independence will offer an operation base of primary importance. We must equally take into account the fact that contrary to the Rhodesian regime, the South African regime is powerful and united. But Soweto was able to punch a hole in the white fortress. Because of Soweto, the capitalist world was forced to join in the condemnation of apartheid and aggression which emanated from it. The dilemma of the capitalist world, can be viewed from several angles. Can the white South Africans maintain their dominance putting aside their apartheid policy? Can it live intact capitalist interest with minor necessary reforms to prevent the revolutionary and radical solution?

The development of the situation lies equally on the nature of white domination: Reform or Orthodox apartheid.

NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE:

The struggle in these two countries has reached a level where it seriously threatens the minority regimes. Guerrilla operations are conducted on a large scale and is proving itself to be very effective in dealing a blow against the colonial regimes. The liberation movement has thrown the bases for the transfer of power to the native population under the direction of the revolutionaries in Namibia.

SWAPO has extended military operations into the heart of white settlements concentrated in the South. On the other hand it has defined in a clear manner the prospective for the installation of socialism. The central committee of SWAPO has revised the political programme and constitution of the movement during the August 1976 congress. The unanimously adopted resolution calls for the establishment of a society that does away with class exploitation.

In Zimbabwe the Popular Army has started the unification process of Z.A.N.U. and Z.A.P.U. under supreme command composed of 18 members. The result of this move is that thousands of Zimbabweans have joined the ranks of the revolution. Realizing the danger this poses to the illegal regime, Ian Smith has tried to

imprison the rural population into "protected" villages.

The formation of the Patriotic Front was a decisive step on the way to overcome the ancient rivalries between ZANU and ZAPU which had hindered the revolutionary process in ZIMBABWE. It was able to check intensified aggression on PATRIOTIC FRONT bases by the Rhodesian regime in neighbouring countries and to check moves undertaken by Smith to reach an accord with "moderate" leaders leaving intact the racist and colonial structure, it was also able to check the neo-imperialist manoeuvres spear headed by the so-called Anglo-American peace proposal which seeks to stabilise the situation.

The formation of the Patriotic Front, the unity of all genuine nationalist forces is in itself an essential achievement. Since it meets present necessities and also paves the way for the post-colonial period with confidence and establishes the basis for the future Zimbabwe. Amilcar Cabral said once: "Its after the acquisition of independence that the real struggle begins".

MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA

After the defeat of Portuguese colonialists, the new republics are confronted with the task of defending the gains of the revolution and the consolidation of the victory against imperialism.

In Angola a second war of liberation had to be launched against the joint forces of internal imperialist agents, FNLA and UNITA, and external agents like Zaire and South Africa. Mozambique faces constant Rhodesian air and ground raids against the civil population and the bases of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. On the other hand the regimes face attempts by imperialism to destabilise the economic, political and military situation. These attempts are factors hindering the national reconstruction by the new government, a product of national liberation struggle. Despite these difficulties the young nations have engaged in the transformation of the socio-economic struggle, inherited from Portuguese colonialism, especially relations with imperialist institutions like the Gulf Oil Company in Angola. The new organisation has been formed with the task of rooting out the remains of the colonial era especially in the social and cultural domain. It tries to direct and construct new social relations between man and woman, the people and justice, rural and urban areas, etc. These efforts mark a new stage in the process of national liberation in Southern Africa and constitute a source of inspiration for all other people struggling in the region.

OMAN

The western press has let it be understood that the massive Iranian troop invasion in 1973 brought about the Omani Revolution. These days, this type of propaganda is fairly widespread and it is all the more pernicious because it is accompanied by a total black-out concerning the activities of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), while giving a boost to Sultan Qabous, who seems to have the situation well in hand. In fact this is not true.

We will limit ourselves here to discerning the new imperialistic strategy in the Arab Gulf, began in 1970, and culminating with the invasion of Iranian troops in 1973, and above all, we will evaluate the counter-strategy of the PFLO which alone can shed a true light on the situation.



Omani revolutionaries

OMAN



Omani revolutionaries

The British acknowledge two elements of capital importance in the liquidation of the Omani Revolution:

1) To put in place a neo-colonial structure that would be capable of absorbing those reformists hostile to feudalism and which would, at the same time, constitute a basis of support for the regime.

2) The development of a military force strong enough to completely annihilate the revolutionaries.

In these two cases Britain does not have the means to discharge its mission. Britain's economic crisis prevents her from entering into an enterprise which would be ruinous: the neo-colonial development including relative "modernization" of the state apparatus, and the massive mobilization of forces would necessitate an expense that England

could not afford at this time.

There remains the recourse of a regional power under the authority of an metropolitan state, the importance of which would increase economic, political, strategic and military levels, Iran. Ever since the Second World War, American imperialism has been used to remove the country, as in the case of the majority of the Arab countries, from the British Empire and place it more directly under its own power. Iran has become along with Israel, the cornerstone of American politics in the Middle East. The reactionary Arab regimes have been given the major political and economic role and are financing the liquidation of the progressive and democratic forces of the Arab world. Their quick acceptance of this role is explained by the fact that they thus safeguard their own existence and their interests are tied

to the perpetuation of the imperialist hegemony in the region. It leaves Iran to play the police role. Although in some regards rivalries exist between Iran and some of the reactionary Arab regimes, concerning the struggle for supremacy, they find themselves allied when there is a threat to the "political, economic and social stability" of the region. It is in consideration of this closeness of interests that the United States is doing her best to create a security pact in the Arabian Gulf. In the context of this imperialist strategy, we find the neocolonial development of Oman financed by the Arab countries and also the Iranian military intervention of 1973 against the PFLO forces.

COUNTER STRATEGY OF THE PFLO

Following the Iranian invasion,

and the efforts to "modernize" Oman, the PFLO had to reconsider the strategy to adapt to the new conditions in the Gulf. Therefore, the summer Congress of 1974 studied the nature of the liaison between the PFLO and the other fronts operating in neighboring countries and affiliated with these forces. Some of the fronts of the neighboring countries lead an essentially political struggle aligned with the demands for democratic rights and do not have the same class alliances as the Omani people who are confronted with a direct foreign invasion. Consequently, it was decided to loosen the relations between the PFLO and the other fronts of the Gulf so that each one could determine its own strategy according to the local conditions.

At the internal level, the response to the imperialist offensive was to intensify military resistance and to organize all the Omani's who were opposed to the invasion, and these people followed and supported the PFLO program. Besides the British domination and the Iranian intervention, another phenomenon appeared which reinforced the conscience that revolution is doubled by a class struggle and which strengthened the determination of the Omanis to resist the expansion of the repressive apparatus. The collaboration of the regime with the forces of intervention made the masses realize the necessity of fighting their internal enemies at the same time that they were fighting the foreign invasion. The PFLO regards the steps of politicalisation as a part of the process of radicalizing the struggle, a process in which the PFLO has a vital role. For the Omani people, this program of development of Sultan Qabous is the forerunner of inflation, unemployment, and the general deterioration of the life-style.

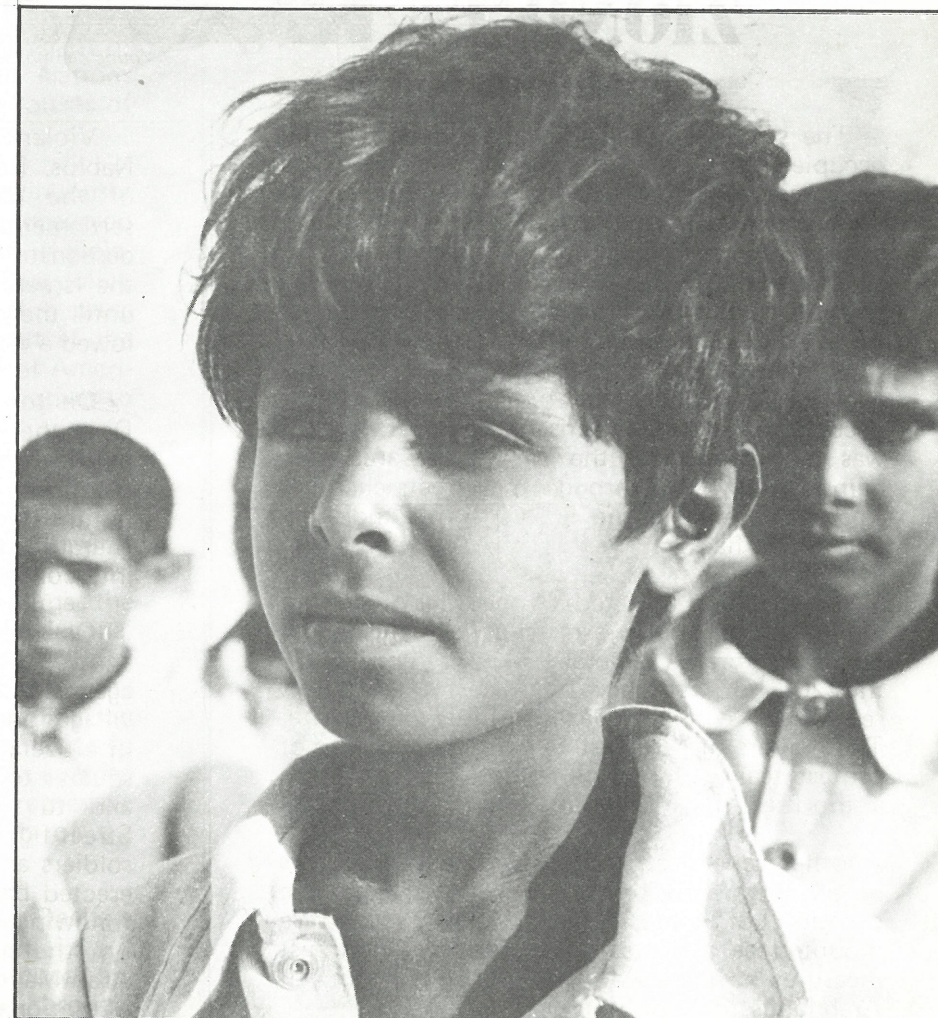
Under the guidance of the PFLO, it increasingly seems that the so-called reforms actually represent a systematic operation of enslavement, and that the revolution is, above all, a question of autodetermination.

Militarily, if the advance of the

PFLO had been contained because of the intervention of Iranian troops and air force, the Shah did not succeed in reaching his objectives which were to cut off the supply lines and isolate the revolutionary front. In effect, the line connecting the front with Yemen in the south cannot be used anymore because the Iranians have blocked it by installing a base at Sarfeet. But the PFLO has opened other roads across the desert. One spokesman for the Front has made a revue of the military situation as follows: "The communications between Yemen and the liberated regions are not cut, but it is no longer possible for large caravans of supplies to cross the border as they did in the past. You should, therefore, remember that in the first years of our struggle, in fact up until 1969, we did not depend on provisions coming from Yemen. More recently, since the Iranian invasion of

1973, the central and eastern regions are self sufficient. The relative problem of supplies coming from outside the country are not so important to the continuation of the struggle. Our most important units are dispersed in small groups and are supplied by the population. They buy the basic necessities and guns and smuggle ammunition from the auxiliary soldiers of Qabous "army".

The PFLO continues the struggle against the retrogressive regime of Qabous and his protectors, particularly England and Iran, and considers returning to guerrilla tactics which are more likely to disorganize and scatter a regular army.



Omani children.

FACING THE DESPOTIC ZIONIST



Young demonstrators facing the Zionist soldiers.

The struggle of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories intensifies each day, as much as the Israelis persist in their policy of aggression and expansion.

The year of 1977 was marked by the continuation of the revolt of the population against the Zionist plans of expropriation and colonization. Therefore, during the months of January and February, manifestations against Zionist occupation and the confiscation of Arab lands was felt throughout the West Bank area. The demonstrators ran through the streets chanting slogans supporting the P.L.O. and brandishing Palestinian flags.

The Zionists initiated, as they habitually do, a vast campaign of arrests of the Palestinian demonstrators. A general strike was decreed on the 20th of February to protest the Knesset resolution to annex Gaza to the Zionist state. The mayors of the West Bank made speeches of protest against this resolution to the occupation authorities and to international organizations.

Another general strike paralyzed all the sectors of the West Bank on the 30th of March on the occasion of Land Day. Manifestations were mounted as a protest against arbitrary Zionist measures having to do with the confiscation of Arab lands.

Violent agitation was felt in the cities of Nablus, Ramallah, El-Bireh and the other cities of the West Bank in response to the new settlements of Gush Emunim settlers. The demonstrators blocked the streets and attacked the Israeli forces with stones and empty bottles until they were forced to disperse. There followed a wave of arrests of Palestinian citizens.

On top of all this, on the occasion of Labor Day, the workers' representatives and various political personalities called upon the Arabs from all communities to demonstrate together on the first of May to demand their rights be guaranteed and to demand the suppression of intercommunal discrimination.

On the 15th of May, which was the 29th anniversary of the creation of the Zionist State, a general strike was initiated in all the cities, villages and camps on the West Bank. Thousands of citizens and students assembled in the public squares to shout their anger against the usurpers, and to affirm their support of the P.L.O.. Street-fighting broke out between the Israeli soldiers and the Arab citizens. The Arab strikers erected barricades and burned rubber tires. The following day, the Day of the Palestinian Martyr, the citizens formed long marches with the Arab Mayors at their heads, along with members of national organizations, the Women's Union

and the Students' Union. The marchers carried placards denouncing Israeli colonization and crimes, and proclaimed the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Finally the legalization of three new Zionist colonies on the West Bank of the Jordan River by the Israeli regime on July 26th, unleashed enormous protests and indignation among our population. The people demonstrated vigorously against this colonization measure (which is against the international charter) and also against the expansionist target of the Israeli enemy.

Once more, the determination to resist the Zionist occupation and the expansionist projects has been clearly shown in the West Bank, particularly among the young people. But the Israeli authorities have followed, with stronger conviction, their arbitrary acts of repression against the native Arab population. They have followed this course with complete disregard of the resolutions passed by the United Nations concerning the Middle East and the protests of world opinion.

Exceeding this, the Israelis have continuously applied a policy of terrorism in the occupied territories, against the Arab population in violation of their elementary civic rights. This policy has been denounced in the course of a press conference given on the 2nd of August at the United Nations by the National Guild of American Jurists after a trip by their representatives to Jordan, Lebanon and Israel.

The special policy commission of the UN has denounced the expansionist policy of Israel, her recourse to terrorism and arbitrary measures against the indigenous Arab population of Palestine. The commission defended several times the human rights of the Arabs in occupied Palestine. It also, at the same time, outlined the necessity of reestablishing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and their autodetermination and independence. Therefore, our population in occupied Palestine is resolved more than ever, to continue the struggle against brutality, repressive measures and the expansionist targets of the Israelis.

The 60th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration on the 2nd of November, turned into a strong challenge to the Zionist occupation. Violent manifestations were mounted through-

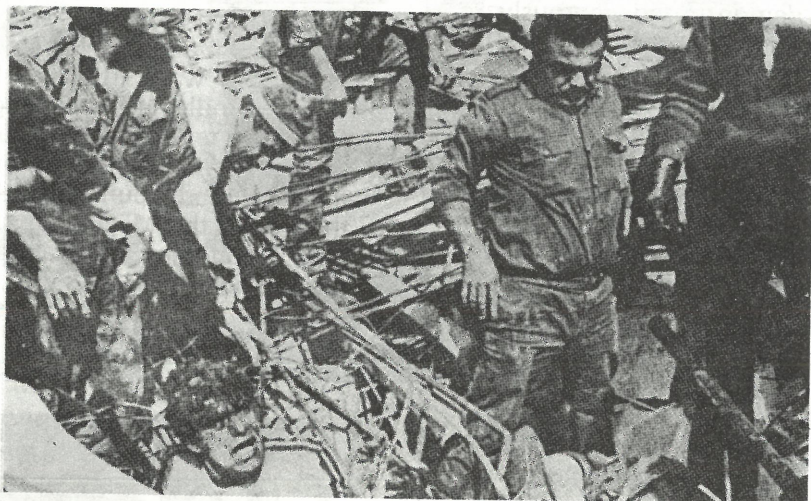
out the West Bank. The Zionist police forces were obliged, in view of the increasing demonstrations, to intervene to repress the crowds and many arrests were made. Our population has been energetically opposed to any new acts of colonization which usurps our lands and which causes the expulsion of Arabs from their homes.

At the same time, the protest of the Arab population against the visit of President Sadat, on the 19th and 20th of November, to Occupied Palestine, was intense. Palestinian citizens strongly indicated their anger and indignation. They also reiterated their support for the P.L.O. and reaffirmed that the only way to liberate their usurped country is through struggle. On their side, the Mayors of the West Bank published a statement substantially disagreeing with the reasons for Sadat's visit. They also addressed messages of support to the P.L.O. the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.



Inhuman treatment

MILITARY OPERATIONS



Post a military operation inside occupied Palestine

COMMANDO OPERATIONS IN BETHLEHEM AND JERUSALEM

Beirut,

Palestinian revolutionaries executed operations in the cities of **Bethlehem** and **Jerusalem**. The Palestinian Military Spokesman issued the following communiques:—

No. 147/77:—

In spite of the extraordinary security measures and precautions taken by the Zionist occupation authorities at the entrances and within the Palestinian city of Bethlehem over the Christmas weekend, our commando unit 'A' was able on the night of December 24th to place explosive charges near a concentration of enemy troops inside the city. The charges exploded at 10:15PM that night, killing or wounding a number of enemy guards and damaging several police vehicles.

Israeli frontier guards and police closed the area and began a wide-scale search for other charges, combing the streets and residential buildings, and checking cars. Wide-scale arrests

of Palestinian citizens were made, but our revolutionaries returned safely to base.

No. 148/77:—

A commando unit on December 25th placed several booby-trapped explosive charges near an Israeli military training school in the Rehavia quarter of Jerusalem. At 12: 45PM, the charges exploded, inflicting casualties on an unknown number of the enemy, destroying the glass windows of the military school, and damaging a number of vehicles parked nearby.

Israeli security forces immediately rushed to the scene, encircled the area and set-up several check-points, while explosive experts and troops combed the neighbouring buildings and streets for other charges. 65 Palestinian citizens were arrested as of nightfall.

Meanwhile, the enemy police radio station broadcasting from Jerusalem is still asking Zionist settlers to be on the alert and immediately inform the police if they note any suspicious objects or suspect any person.

COMMANDO ATTACK IN JERUSALEM

Jerusalem,

In their 166th operation in 1977, Palestinian commandos set off explosive charges in an Egged bus in Jerusalem. A Palestinian Military Spokesman issued the following communique:— No. 149/77:—

A group of revolutionaries on 26 December 1977, placed powerful timed explosive charges inside an Egged bus operating on line 2, on the Jerusalem — Tel Aviv-Hadria quarter route. At 9:30PM, the charges went off while the bus was still in the Jerusalem central bus station.

An undetermined number of people aboard the bus and in the station were killed or injured, and the bus was completely destroyed.



FATIMA BARNAWI Gives An Account of Her Detention



Fatima Barnawi, a long-standing Palestinian detainee recently released by the Israelis after serving a 10 year prison-sentence in Ramleh, gives an account of her struggle and the conditions of her detention:

I was born in Jerusalem, but at the age of nine my family went to Amman. This took place at the time when the Zionists usurped our land in 1948. Nobody has ever had childhood as miserable as mine. I always hated the usurpers of my country. I felt it an obligation to do something for my country. One time, upon return to Jerusalem, I worked as a nurse; I considered this humanitarian profession not to be basically different from the national struggle. I had been summoned to work at a hospital in Qalqilya (a town destroyed by the Israelis in 1956). In this period, the Zionist authorities proceeded with their acts of terrorism against our people.

These acts developed the feeling of resentment in me against our oppressors. However, I was unable to do anything in view of the conditions I lived in.

My heart beat violently once listening to Mahmoud Ashkoul, a Qalqilya inhabitant, talking about his infiltration operations into the interior of the occupied homeland. Revolutionary sentiments grew in me day by day, especially in the aftermath of the 1967 occupation of the whole of Palestine. I wanted to protest against the injustice perpetrated against my people. This is why I contacted the militants of the Fateh movement.

My first military operation that I undertook was that of "Cinema Zion" where I, with a group of militants, placed our timed explosive charges, and the members of the group were discovered and arrested by the Israeli authorities. My two sisters and mother equally suffered the consequences of detention. The Israelis came to the hospital where I was working and arrested me. Consequently after the close of my trial on 21 January, 1968 (it had opened on 14 January, 1968), I received a ten year sentence. I resisted well during the whole trial, despite all the methods of psychological torture perpetrated against me. I persistently emphasized the necessity of the liberation of the country from its oppressors and more than once rejected the offer of requesting clemency from the Zionists.

Later my life began in the extremely difficult conditions of prison. The number of Palestinian female prisoners rose and reached 29 in the prison of Ramleh where I was held. Our life was hard and monotonous but we kept ourselves occupied with agricultural, cooking and serving activities. We also had certain 'privileges'; we were able to procure a book or watch a film - all amongst comrades (where the permitted number could not exceed 3 or 4 prisoners). I was also allowed a visit by my parents for one hour every month, and to exchange letters with parents and friends.

These "privileges" were totally banned in "normal times". Despite all this we maintained a high morale. We maintained a degree of collectivism whereby we contributed to preserving a cultural and educational atmosphere for those poorly informed comrades.

We organized programmes of recreation similar to those applied to the Israeli detainees living in the neighbouring buildings, who enjoyed the following "privileges":

- 1 - Private lessons.
- 2 - Music lessons.
- 3 - They are permitted to leave the prison on every three months.
- 4 - Recreation parties.

On the other hand there is a sense of solidarity between us and the detained Oriental Jews who show understanding and try to support our cause on many occasions.

Now, my life in prison is nothing but a grim memory that would under no circumstance debar me from pursuing the struggle for the liberation of my homeland.

On the contrary, a new revolutionary favour moves me to act for comrades like Afifa Bannoura or Rasmieh Aouda and all the rest of the detainees who suffer under inhuman Zionist brutality.



Bassam Al-Shak'a, Mayor of Nablus

WEST BANK PERSONALITIES RESPOND TO SADAT'S POLICY

The visit of the Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat, to Jerusalem, as a guest of Begin's government, with all the implications of such a move, was met with objection by most of the West Bank population which has lived under the Israeli occupation for ten years. His deliberate disregard of the P.L.O. in all of his speeches brought forth many statements on the Palestinian issue - such as his suggestion that an American professor of Palestinian origin should represent the Palestinians at the Geneva conference; agreeing to the American-Israeli working paper, which disregards the P.L.O.; inviting a group of Palestinians politicians to Cairo, when they do not enjoy any support among their people - shows that

Sadat, together with the Israeli and American governments, want to push aside the authorized representatives of the Palestinians, the P.L.O., from the negotiations and decision making. The speech given by the Egyptian President Saturday, 26. 11.1977, only strengthens such fears.

Three days after Sadat's visit, I toured Jerusalem, Ramalla and Nablus in the West Bank, in order to hear reactions to Sadat's policy. Here is what well known Palestinian leaders in the West Bank had to say on the issue.

BASHIR EL-BARGUTI: "Sadat is aiming at saving the policy of the American solution"

The well known publicist, Bashir El-Barguti, from Ramalla says: "I think that most of the people in the West Bank and the Gaza strip see in Sadat's visit a logical consequence to his defeatist policy, which began in his signing the second 'separation of the forces agreement'. Moreover, before Sadat's visit, the policy of the American solution reached a deadlock. The Syrian government and the leadership of the P.L.O. rejected the U.S.-Israeli working paper. Sadat's visit was intended to help Israel and the U.S.A. in their attempts to from a solution to the Middle East conflict without the Soviet Union, or at least to minimize the role of the Soviet Union. With his visit Sadat wanted to inject new life into the policy of the American solution.

The Palestinian people and its leadership the P.L.O., trust the Soviet Union. It was in the American-Soviet communique, that the U.S. government recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinians for the first time. In the past, the term "interests" was used by the Americans, not "rights". The policy of Sadat will act towards dividing the Arab world and towards more American involvement.

The way chosen by Sadat is to cover up the real essence of the Israeli-Arab conflict, together with the Israeli and American Governments; to minimize the implications and dangers of the conflict in the international scene. Sadat is trying to raise the impression, that it is only a "family dispute", which originates in a psychological barrier. Is it so? This conflict has cost hundreds of thousands of victims; a people are denied their national rights; a majority of these people have been living for 30 years as refugees; this conflict stood on the verge of war on an international scale more than once. If this conflict were only a "family dispute", why would the world community mobilize in order to prevent it's going any further; why would they

OCCUPATION DIARY



be so much involved in trying to find a solution? This is the aim of Sadat's policy — not to allow the European countries and the Soviet Union to give their services to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Most of the leaders of the Palestinians in the West Bank rejected the aims of Sadat's visit, as a guest of Begin's government — a government which says "no" to withdrawal, "no" to the P.L.O. and "no" to a Palestinian State. Most of the Mayors from the West Bank, who received invitations through the Israeli military authorities, to come and pray with Sadat at Al-Aqsa mosque, preferred to pray at the mosque named after Nasser, at El-Bire. The hint was understood.

The Palestinian people suffered a lot, but also gained a lot of experience. This will but be the first time an Arab head of state is letting them down. The memories of Jordan 1970 and Lebanon 1976 are still fresh in spite of the fact that what happened then did not break the Palestinians and their firm will to realize their national entity. One will remember, that it was during

the worst days of bloodshed in Lebanon that the people of the West Bank elected their representatives to the municipalities, in April 1976; it did not stop them from rejecting the Israeli suggestions of "civil administration". We have learned, that the help given by the leaders of the Arab states is limited and goes up to a point. Therefore our conclusion remains, as it was in the past and now after Sadat's visit, **the Palestinian people have only one alternative: an independent state of their own.** Have you seen what some of the leaders of the Gulf States have been doing lately? They are trying to turn the Palestinians into the scapegoats for their internal problems.

We, the Palestinians, are trying to get our appropriate place on earth, in this region and on the land we are living. If we will have a Palestinian state, and realize our national rights, there will be peace and things will be better for the people in the whole region and a focus of international danger will be eliminated — with these words Bashir El-Barguti finished his statement to me.

BASAM EL-SHAK'A: "He who has been conquered is not authorized to negotiate with the conqueror"

A day before our visit to the West Bank, it was made public in the media here, influenced by informed sources in Cairo, Jerusalem and Washington, that the governments of Sadat and Begin have agreed that the Palestinians will be represented at Geneva by a professor of Palestinian origin, now teaching in an American University, and by the Mayors of Nablus, Tul-Karem and Gaza. The Mayors rejected the whole idea, and emphasized that the only authorized representative of the Palestinian people is the P.L.O.

We are supposed to meet the Mayor of Nablus, but he had to

cancel the interview because of some unexpected event, and left his response in writing in the hands of a member of the Municipality Council, in which he said:

"I have no information concerning the publications that Begin has agreed to Sadat's proposal, that an American professor of Palestinian origin represent the Palestinians at the Geneva conference, apart from the Mayors of Nablus, Tul-Karem and Gaza. I doubt very much that the P.L.O. will tell me or any other to participate in the Geneva Conference, because I see in it a deviation from a principle. I would be very surprised if I or anyone else were asked to do so. One should remember that the members of the municipalities councils, personalities and institutions in the West Bank sent an open letter to the Arab League, to the chairman and to the members of the U.N. Assembly, emphasizing once again that they reject any representation of low ranks for the Palestinians, and that they see the P.L.O. as the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people.

I think, and so do many Palestinians, that the one who is living under occupation is not authorized to negotiate with the conqueror, especially since the Israeli government insists that our land is theirs and does not recognize the existence of the Palestinians people and of the P.L.O.

We are interested in independence, freedom and in an independent Palestinian State under the leadership of the P.L.O. The masses of our people rejected categorically the idea of "civil administration" at the time of the elections to the municipalities councils. As for the proposal that that the Palestinians be represented by an American professor of Palestinian origin, this proposal has been rejected by the P.L.O. I think there is no logic and no justification for such a propo-

sal. It can only be aimed at trying to avoid facing the facts, trying to draw attention away from the real, sincere discussion, and this is fatal in the matter of peace, and deal instead in side-issues and so never solve the conflict. There can be no peace if the Palestinians do not return to their land and have their own state under the leadership of those who held their flag, and I mean the P.L.O."

KHALDUN ABD EL-HAK: "Who thinks Sadat is "brave", and since when?"

Khaldun Abd El-Hak*, a member of the Nablus municipal council, one of the Palestinian personalities who is both respected and loved by the people in the West Bank, said to me:

"The idea of the right for self-determination of the Palestinian people has been distorted by Sadat the minute he asked to break the wall of disbelief towards the Israeli government, which sees our lands as "Israeli liberated land" and denies the Palestinians the right for a national entity and for the establishment of an independent state.

Sadat proved to have no courage. Those who proved to have courage are the Palestinian Communists, who kept saying all of these years, that the right of self-determination should be given to the two peoples — to the Palestinians, so they can have their own independent state, and to the Jewish people living here to also have their independent state. When the state of Israel was established, the establishment of a Palestinian state was prevented by the reactionaries in Israel and in the Arab states and by the imperialism. President Sadat showed "courage" in backing the Israeli government in its occupation and its denial of the rights of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinians did not want war in the past, and do not want it now. They really want peace, ob-

ject to aggression and conquest and demand for themselves the right to live in an aggression and conquest and demand for themselves the right to live in an independent state. We are not afraid of violence and power, neither of those who alienate themselves to the rights of another people.

Sadat was called "brave" just because he entered the American path, only after acting towards dividing the Arab countries, and only after attempting to form a reactionary coalition against the anti-imperialist forces and against the liberation movement in the Middle East and Africa.

The real courageous people are the Israeli Communists. From the first moment it was known, that Sadat will come, they kept on saying in the Knesset (Israeli Parliament), in the media and in front of the people, that there can be peace on the basis of respecting the peoples rights, that the way to peace goes through withdrawal, negotiations with the P.L.O. and recognizing of the right of the Palestinian people for an independent state" — with these words Khaldun Abd El-Hak concluded the interview.

* Has spent nearly two years in administrative detention under the Israeli occupation — J.A.



THE RETURN

by Faris Glubb

Al Aqsa Mosque was still standing.

The small group of Palestinians standing on the Mount of Olives gazed towards this building which had been at the centre of their thoughts throughout their long and arduous journey home. Abu Adnan rubbed his eyes in disbelief, as if making sure that he had not seen a mirage. "Thank God," he murmured, scratching his thick, iron-grey beard.

After a few moments of solemn silence, he hitched his veteran Kalashnikov rifle (or Klashen as it was nicknamed) more securely on his shoulder and started down the hill, followed by the line of silent men and women.

As he walked down towards the city of his birth, Abu Adnan thought back over the long and bitter years since he had last been in Jerusalem. He had last set foot on Palestinian soil in 1975, in an attack on an Israeli Army outpost in Galilee. Then had come the Lebanese war, followed by the fighting in the South. He traced that journey through hell, the escalation of Israeli attacks, exploding finally into yet another full-scale Arab-Israeli war.

Abu Adnan and his companion had been given a special mission. The Israeli Navy had secretly negotiated the purchase of some gunboats, and was to collect delivery of them in Australia. Abu Adnan had been appointed commander of a special task force, whose mission was to ensure that these boats never sailed under the Israeli flag.

The mission had been a success, although it had been a costly one. Nineteen of Abu Adnan's companions had gone to a watery grave off the Australian coast. But Abu Adnan, together with seven other men and four women, had seized one of the gunboats and headed off into the Pacific, while the other vessels had been destroyed.

Then they had heard the news on the radio, forty miles off the Australian coast. The Middle East war had gone out of control, spreading to engulf most of the world. Abu Adnan remembered the solemn voice on the radio, in the strange pseudo-English accent affected by news announcers on the BBC Arabic service, reporting that both Moscow and Washington were under nuclear attack — before the BBC itself went off the air. Then, gradually, one after another,

the radio stations of the world had faded out.

Later, a dozen Palestinians in a captured Israeli gunboat had landed on a fertile island, with idyllic sandy beaches, palm trees and an abundance of food. After most of human life, and almost all of human civilisation, had been destroyed, Palestine survived in the hearts of eight men and four women on a remote island.

The years had passed. Fortunately, the inhabitants of the island were hospitable people, and had allowed the Palestinians to live among them. Two of the guerrillas had married girls on the island. Abu Adnan had married Salma, a dark-haired fearless girl from Haifa, who had been one of the most enthusiastic combatants in the Resistance.

Those years had been years of peace, a greater peace than any of the Palestinians had known before, but for Abu Adnan they had been filled with the constant agony of homesickness. Finally, when his eldest son Adnan reached his twentieth birthday, he had decided that the time had come to take the risk and return home.

It had not been an easy decision. In their remote outpost, this handful of exiled Palestinians and their children possessed little accurate information on the extent of the disaster that had befallen the rest of the world. How many nuclear bombs had fallen on the Arab World? The fact that all radio stations had gone off the air, or at least could not be heard on the powerful short-wave radio in the gunboat, indicated that the destruction had been extensive. Was there still serious radiation danger in Palestine, or anywhere along their route? Abu Adnan had no precise information on the types of nuclear devices exploded in the parts of the world they would have to cross, or in Palestine itself, so he could not calculate the half-life of the radiation involved. To return to Palestine might mean a painful death from radiation.

Eventually, the small community reached a compromise decision: A sailing vessel would be built (under the supervision of Mustafa, who had once been a fisherman in Gaza), and ten people would sail in it to Palestine, under Abu Adnan's command. Mustafa volunteered to be one of them, and at sea, he was the captain of the ship.

Now, early in the 21st century, these Palestinians were returning to Palestine.

Their footfalls echoed against the walls of the battered and ruined buildings as they entered the city. They still did not speak, for their minds were too filled with memories and sadness. They enter-

ed the Haram Al Sharif, the sacred area enclosing Al Aqsa mosque. Some thin blades of grass were pushing their way through ancient paving stones, a consoling sign that the radiation could not be too lethal.

Abu Adnan entered the mosque. A large beetle scuttled off, and the corners of the building were filled with cobwebs. Will the insects one day inherit the earth from humanity, or have they already done so? Abu Adnan wondered. He turned towards Mecca and prayed.

A light breeze stirred the dust as Abu Adnan and his companions came out of the mosque. There was life in the air. Patches of green could be seen on some of the surrounding hills, and a distant sound could be heard like a bird singing. The sky was a rich blue, with a few wisps of white drifting across it. There was a scent in the air, like fresh herbs.

"Look," Mustafa called out. "We are not alone."

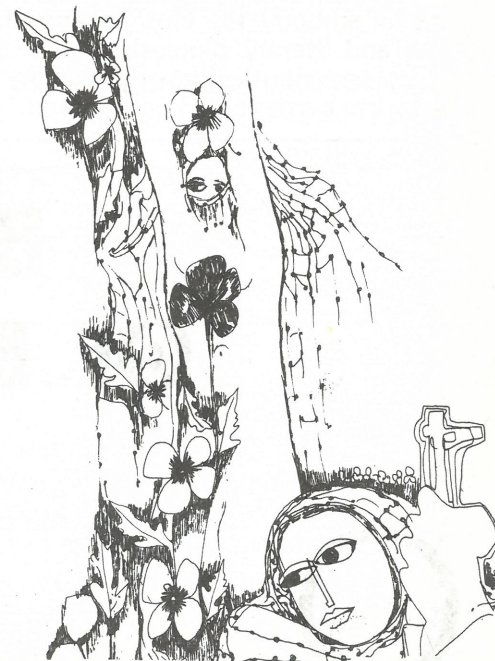
Abu Adnan looked in the direction of Mustafa's pointing finger. A man dressed in black, wearing a hat, was walking slowly towards them. As he approached, the Palestinians saw that he had a long beard, greyer than Abu Adnan's, and long grey ringlets of hair down each side of his face. He hesitated slightly as he noticed the Palestinians' rifles, but then continued walking towards them, curiosity overcoming apprehension.

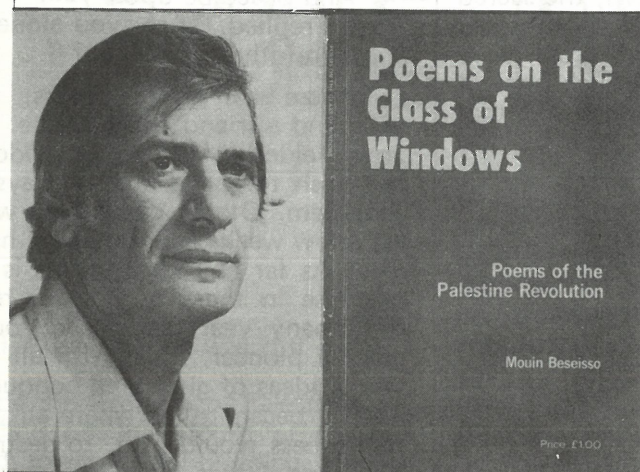
"Shalom," he said, then added, in Arabic, "I come in peace and I have no weapons."

"And peace be upon you," Abu Adnan replied. "Are you alone, or are there others with you?"

"There are three others: my wife, and a friend and his wife. We are all elderly. We are Orthodox, and wish to spend our last days in Jerusalem. Others came here with us, a few weeks ago, but they have died. As far as I know, there is no one else in the city. I came here first many years ago, as a young man, a pioneer, filled with all my young ideas of glory and conquest. Then I began to see where all that foolishness would lead, to destruction, and I fear I saw too accurately. So I left. But now the destruction has run its course. I am growing old, and wanted to see the holy city again."

"You are welcome, brother," Abu Adnan replied. "Palestine is still alive, and there is room here for you and us."





Mouin Beseisso is a well known Palestinian Arab poet. Beseisso's recent collection of poetry, "Poems on the Glass of Windows", translated into English by Ibrahim Abu Nab and Martin Walker, contains 26 poems and a verse play. These poems portray and express every single dilemma of Beseisso's personal political career and his people's struggle — a very valuable piece of literary work to say the least. His poems embody the close relationship between political and literary dimensions and deal with the just social and political struggle of the Palestinians in a historical context.

BIRDS OF EXILE 1969

At last
The plane landed
Cairo coming as a shriek
From the beaks are in my bones and blood
An airport delivers me to another
I am wanted dead
And alive
A thousand visas on my forehead
My passport
And my country
Are in the belly of the whale

Suitcases like wolves in snow
Haunted by doors and windows
Suitcases ... suitcases
In them, beasts are hatched
Spiders are milked
Our age — old trader of slaves and eunuchs
Keeps changing his and hoof
Lulled in the long nights by a poet
He chases one poet
Fills the bag of another one
And he kills a third

Please, give the poet
a bottle of wine
Even if you have to sell your hair
Give him a bed
How can he rest his wings
When he stays for one day
And roams for a year
The nest has a death touch for him
And he goes mad on the twigs

Stop this business
Of pregnancy and childbirth
We've had enough abortions
We do not have a god
We have no forehead
We've mortgaged our flags
Sold our Knives
And returned with only our throats

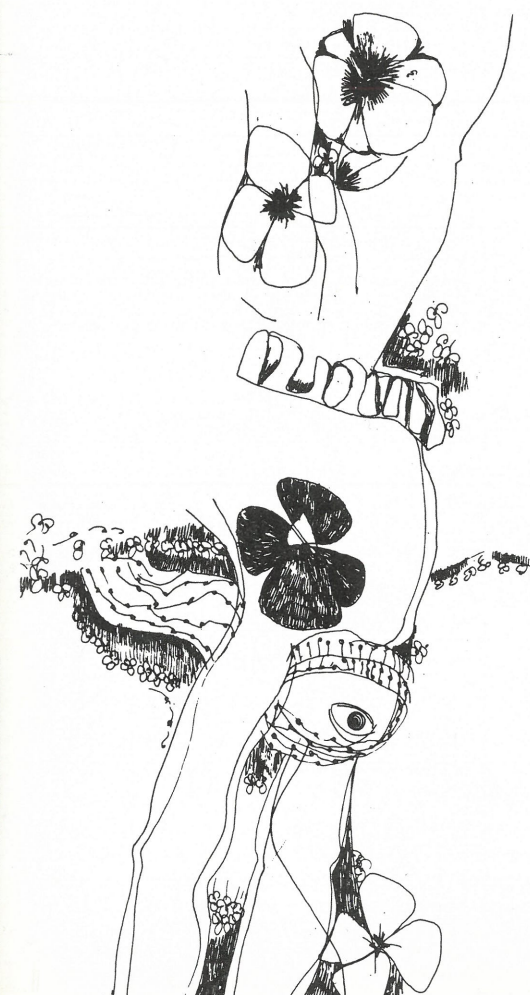
In this land of stars and myths
Isn't there any sorcerer
Any hero or any gambler
Are all the pregnant women empty
And the drums emit no throb
For a newly born child

It's only thunder
Don't listen
It's only death
Don't be scared
We've grown our finger nails
And stabbed the poet
Who told us we sold our flags
June has come back again a child
But you have only mud for milk
And the child is hungry.

* 'June' in Arabic, suggests the 6-Day War of 1967.

CHRISTMAS BELLS 1971

By Ahmad Dahbour



The bells are telling me this night
About a fighter whom the children know,
In whose hands there are two nails.
The fields grow larger around him.
And his face is a beacon
Which at times lights up
And at times says: "No."
When one of us who is weak pleads with him, he
rebukes him
And orders him to rise, so the cripple may run,
So that the country may be only a short step away,
And the exiled trees only two paces distant,
The sad one rejoices
Or the houses, the rivers and the Wilderness tell him
to rejoice.

The bells are telling me that a bundle of heads has
ripened,
And there is a harvester among us, coming in the
form of a people,
In his hands is a forest of hands,
His eyes have a hundred eyes,
In his steps is a homeland,
And there is a homeland within his sadness,
And a river will say the word of truth in front of
the tyrant king
About an ear of corn that contains a thousand
grains,
Each grain a grenade,
Encircling the tyrant king.
Then the executioner is commanded to stone the
voice of the river,
To bury it,
And to...
And when the executioner cannot murder a river,
he vanishes,
And the gallows vanish
And the gardens grow larger
Then, the bells tell me that my hour is come,
And that a Master is leaving the cross.
With his resurrection, the men and the road dis-
appear,
A city weeps with joy,
And the city clothes itself in its vengeance.

The bells are telling me that my sad sister
Is leaving off her mourning clothes and following
The bridges open their breasts to her,
And life begins.

Damascus, December 1971.

13th ANNIVERSARY OF THE
PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION
ANNIVERSAIRE DE LA
REVOLUTION PALESTINIENNE

PALESTINIAN YOUTH UNDER OCCUPATION JEUNES PALESTINIENS SOUS L'OCCUPATION



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