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Palestine

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17 YEARS PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

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TO OUR READERS

Solidarity is an important weapon for helping the peoples of the world overcome oppression and injustice. The support and solidarity which the Palestinian people receive helps us to continue our just struggle for our just cause. We are grateful for the solidarity and support we get, but although we have many friends around the world, our enemies are still strong and formidable. They are better armed, better equipped, and much wealthier than we.

Nevertheless, though we may possess limited means, our determination and willingness to sacrifice is unlimited. The world forces of liberation, of which we are proud to be a part, are the emerging forces, and it is to us that the future belongs. The forces of oppression have had their day, and shall be consigned to the dustbin of history.

We thank all of our friends throughout the world for the letters of support and encouragement you have sent to us. Surely, we and other liberation movements will continue on the road to victory.

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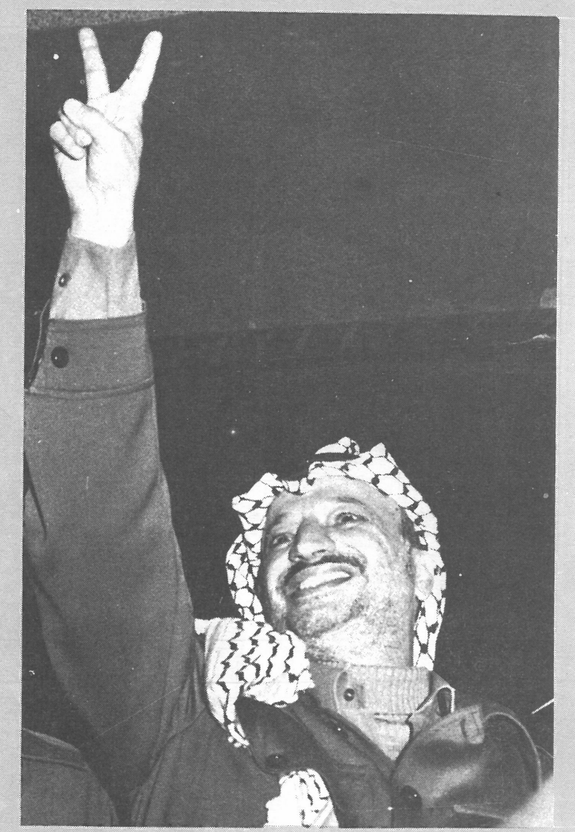
Arafat on Revolution's
17th Anniversary:

1982
THE YEAR OF THE VICTORIOUS DEPARTURE TOWARDS PALESTINE



In his yearly message to the Palestinian masses, broadcast on the 'Voice of Palestine' on December 31, on the anniversary of the launching of the palestinian Revolution, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, described 1982 as the 'year of the victorious departure towards Palestine', and gave a broad assessment of the Palestinian Revolution's achievements in 1981.

The following is the full text of the message:

"Dear brothers, comrades-in-arms, our heroic people:

"As we witness the beginning of the 18th year in the life of our great Revolution, we recall a year that was rich in struggle and in important and fateful victories. With these victories, you crowned the history of your Arab nation. For in these difficult and critical times for the Arabs, only heroes can remain steadfast, and only revolutionaries imbued with faith and well practised in the various meanings of sacrifice can confront the heavy seas.

"In this period in the history of our Arab nation, a struggle is now being waged on its behalf by our people who were uprooted from their land, together with other pioneers from the Arab nation and free men from the world over, grouped within this Revolution and believing in the inevitability of victory and in attaining the goal.

"You, heroes and revolutionaries of this world, have recorded a great victory in the annals of history against your enemy, both during the 15 days of the Sixth Palestinian-Israeli War waged in the month of Ramadan over the soil of steadfast south Lebanon, and before that, during the war of attrition which lasted 11 consecutive months, and in which we bravely and strongly confronted together the sophisticated and modern US-Israeli war machine attacking by air, sea and land. These offensives were smashed by your steadfastness, and the Zionist enemy's arrogance and conceit were crushed under your feet; followed by all his allies, strategic and tactical, local and international, imperialists and agents.

"We have scored these military victories against a Zionist enemy which enjoys the unlimited military, political, diplomatic and economic support of world imperialism, led by the USA. This backing increased the enemy's arrogance, conceit and pig-headedness, and led him to believe that, via military operations and the powerful war machine and developed technology provided by America, he could bring to their knees this people and their powerful Revolution, whether in the occupied territories or in steadfast south Lebanon.

"But what happened? What the enemy thought to be uncontested facts and self-evident realities in the Arab region were transformed into fierce battles and new miracles which consolidated the realities of the capability, steadfastness and confrontation of our Revolution and people.

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The parade in Beirut on the 17th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution

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"The enemy thought that, on the basis of those *faits accomplis* which he had imposed on the region for a long period of time, he would spread fear among these brave revolutionaries in the Palestinian Revolution and the Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces. The enemy believed he could terrorize these heroic fighters. He forgot that these giants had overcome the barrier of fear that used to terrify our region. He forgot that these heroes are the makers of the new history of this glorious Arab nation and of its renewed legend, and that their strong hands bearing their guns will build the new dawn of this nation and the dignity of the region. He forgot that they have become the difficult number in the complex regional equation because they have generously watered the earth with their pure blood and have dug roots in it with conviction and strength, thus embodying this nation's will to survive and to realize victory. The enemy forgot that these fighters strike fear into the hearts of the enemies of the Arab nation, and create a new and splendid reality through their daily sufferings, their constant sacrifices, and through the flow of blood which did not stop for a single moment in the long and difficult procession. He forgot that they have become the symbol of vigour, the legend of glory and the miracle of faith, through the Palestinian-Lebanese cohesion and unity which is unique in the modern age in this Arab nation and which was baptized in the common blood and sacrifices of both peoples. These comrades share the same forward trench at this important and impressive juncture of the struggle, defending the homeland and the dignity of the Arab nation against the invasion and piecemeal absorbtion of Arab land by the Zionists and imperialists in their new Tartar invasion. They do this while most of the Arab states are distracted from the terrible dangers threatening our nation with various narrow regional considerations.

"Thus, my brothers and comrades in battle and in destiny, you have entered history through the sacrifice of your blood in order to realize the aspirations of your Arab nation. This nation looks upon you with hope and confidence in a smiling and generous future. In the words of the Quran:

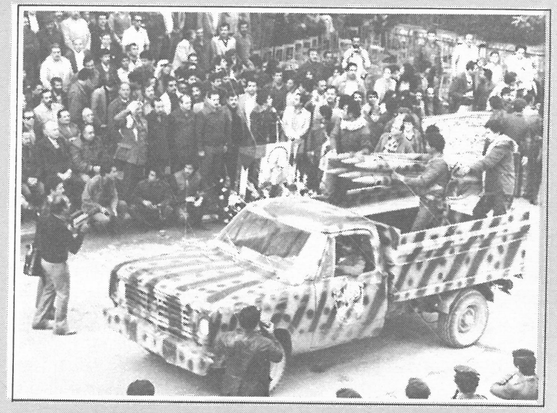
God appointed it only as good tidings, and that your hearts thereby might be at rest. Victory cometh only by the help of God Lo! God is mighty, wise.
(Sura 8, verse 10)

"Heroic people in the occupied territories, militant masses in your positions outside the homeland, comrades in the trenches, all brave heroes:-

"Now, right has appeared and the vision has become clear. Our people in the occupied homeland stood with courage, determination, firmness and conviction confronting the Zionist enemy and his gigantic war machine, and they were able, in the West Bank, the Triangle, Galilee, Gaza and the Naqab, young and old, men, women and children, to turn the land into an inferno shaking under the feet of the despotic colonizers. Our masses challenged the enemy's tanks with their bare chests, and were able to emerge with the latest great uprising, which astonished enemies and friends alike and which gave the arrogant enemy a sharp slap in the face, exposing the latter's naive and silly farce of a new form of military rule disguised in civilian garb. You have thus unveiled more of the flaws and faults of the enemy, and have uncovered the conspiracy in all its dimensions and its ugly and dangerous forms.

"But can anyone be fooled by this ruse? The enemy has forgotten or pretended to forget that there are strong nations who know how to make history and how to deal with it in its negative and positive sides; and how always to transform the nagatives into positive achievements with which to defy the enemy and those who stand with him or behind him.

"Militant brothers detained in the enemy jails, you defy all forms of torture and suffering with your patience, faith and resolution. Your faith has drawn you closer to your Revolution, your people, the justice of your cause and the sacredness of our right to return, to self-determination and to liberate the dear homeland. On this great day, we salute you in all pride and appreciation, and we renew our solemn



pledge to you heroes, on behalf of your people, Revolution and revolutionaries, that the procession is advancing towards Jerusalem and towards the dear soil of Palestine. Therefore more patience, steadfastness, hope and faith, despite the oppression and sufferings, for you are blessed standing on our sacred soil, in Palestine, which has become a huge prison for all its people. We shall meet in the liberated land of Palestine in the near future, with God's help.

"This is the Palestinian miracle in the Arab nation in this age, which forms a creative confirmation of the Algerian and Yemeni miracles and of the miracles of struggle emerging from the heart of this great Arab nation against the wave of conquest and oppression and the challenges facing our nation and masses.

"Thereby we can understand the tremendous concentration and size of the conspiracies and the increasingly fierce confrontations against your giant Revolution, which is blazing a trail in the procession of struggle waged by free men the world over. We can also understand the great pressures put on us; for they are trying to stop the flow of history or to deviate its course. But they try in vain, because the stubborn will to struggle has been strengthened by patience and suffering, shaped by experience and pain, watered by sweat and blood, and consecrated by long processions of martyrs, headed in this year which has just ended by the beloved leader Majed Abu Sharar, the brother and friend Naim Khader, the militant comrade Abdel Wahhab al-Kayyali and many other brothers who raced towards martyrdom, handing over the banner to the ranks advancing behind them:

If you seek the assistance of God, victory will be granted you, but if you die, martyrdom will be better.
(Sura 8, Verse 19)

"The battles we have waged in this year that is ending were numerous, of every shape and size and at every level and in every place. But the most important battle, after our great military ones,

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whereby we shattered the enemy's illusions and exposed the falseness of their statements and boastings, was our main political battle in which we were victorious with the independent Palestinian decision, and which bears with it the battle for Palestinian destiny. It was a difficult battle because we were and still are the ones who hold the burning coals of the fire in the most vicious and dangerous confrontations in this context and in this direction. Some were disheartened because it is a battle of wills, but the vanguard of the Revolution and revolutionaries was not disgraced, nor will it be humiliated, because this believing and militant group, these men who have offered themselves in sacrifice for the just cause of their people, have declared loudly, since the beginning, that there can be no protectorate, no domination, no submission. They have declared that the Revolution is not dominated or subjugated or controlled, except by the will of our masses, and for the noble goals for whose sake we launched the Revolution.

"Today, militant men and women of all sectors and affiliations assemble to defend this Revolution and to safeguard this independent Palestinian decision which today personifies the free will of our genuine Arab masses who rally around the Palestinian Revolution. They protect it and form a shield around it and an impermeable fortress before it.

"Blessed is this generation and the generations who live in this Revolution. Blessed are all the militants and mujahideen for you are not terrified by oppression nor by any leader who relies on the devil.

"Brothers, the responsibility is heavy, and the circumstances difficult, but they represent the painful labour before the great birth, not only the birth of our state, but the rebirth of our Arab nation. As the viciousness of the enemy increases, so our faith in victory and our firmness on the road leading to this victory also increase. Violence will only add to the vigour and resolve of this people. We make revolutionary victories crowned by suffering, pain and hardship. We make legendary struggle through self-sacrifice and blood. And because we fashion these legends, these epics, we register victories at all levels for our people and nation, and we light the path of return before our masses, the best of whom are martyred on the way, making of their bodies bridges into the homeland, and watering with the constant flow of their blood the land which longs for its sons.

"Here we must stop to consider our successes and achievements, in view of the responsibility we shoulder vis a vis our cause, our people and our nation. The gains we have achieved were neither charity nor a gift from anyone. Their price was very high; the price was the blood of processions of martyrs, of free men and mujahideen. We must know how to harvest the fruit of these victories, these achievements and gains, for our people and our nation. For history does not wait for those who hesitate, and does not waste time on the heedless. Our blood is the price of our land and our blood will not be shed in vain. Therefore, all must be aware that when we fight so courageously and when we achieve these victories and accomplishments, we must know how to utilize them to the benefit of the great goal, in the direction of Jerusalem and of Palestine. That is why we named the past year, 1981, 'the Year of the Palestinian Option", which alone will be decisive in any question in the region. That is why we are not ready to be a subject of compromise in the political slave trade, nor are we ready to divert these victories, achievements and gains to the benefit of any other than our people and their just cause, our children and their future. All should know that.

"Our cause is not the 'Shirt of Uthman' , it is not a cover for the ambitions of others; we say this in accordance with the responsibility we shoulder, a heavy and difficult responsibility because we are at a point of strategic change in the Arab national march, and in all revolutionary marches of free men the world over. Blessed are the men who live in this phase of our nation's history, who make that history and lay the foundations of its future. Blessed are those brave knights who do not fear any criticism and who do not hesitate. Their equipment is courage and their virtue is faith, for theirs is a great responsibility for Jerusalem and Palestine, whose dowry is huge and for which many martyrs will fall on the path to the Aqsa, on the path of Golgotha.

"Our people, in heroic steadfast Lebanon, masses of Lebanon:

"I declare on this Arab and Palestinian occasion, from my position, and on behalf of our people and revolutionaries, that Lebanon is in our heart and soul. Consequently, the return of the Lebanese to one another through rational dialogue, and inspired by the national patriotic conscience which seeks the interest of Arab Lebanon, is something which vitally affects our struggle, for, in addition to being a response to the call of the mind and conscience, it can restore security, stability and calm to the fraternal people whose struggle is linked to ours. Such a reconciliation will also safeguard Lebanon from Zionist expansionist ambitions, and enable our Palestinian struggle to intensify its activities, concentrate on its cause, escalate its struggle and cut short the difficult times in its joint path of struggle. This is our firm position, which we voiced in the past, which we repeat today, and which will remain unchanged until the smile returns to the people of Lebanon, until its population is reassured and its people and land are reunited.

"On the basis of this principled and firm stand, we

consider our presence in Lebanon and in the other Arab states to be temporary, until the Revolution is victorious, and until we return to our homeland Palestine. We declare this frankly, in all awareness and understanding. We reject resettlement and any alternative homeland, and will never accept a substitute for Palestine, or a capital other than Jerusalem.

"Arab masses, what happened in Fez in terms of a momentary breaking-up of Arab solidarity confirms the correct line and logic we uphold of attachment to Arab solidarity as a goal in itself. Arab solidarity represents strength for our nation and an effective weapon in all fields, especially since Zionist and imperialist challenges emphasize that our Arab nation is in pressing need of meetings, discussions and taking decisive, effective and objective resolutions to confront the important events in our region. These events include the death of Sadat, the dead end reached by the Camp David accords, the administrative autonomy scheme, the continuation of the regrettable Iraq-Iran war despite our constant and responsible attempts to stop it and the resulting material, human and moral losses, the new and political moves undertaken by brothers, friends and others, the Lebanese incidents, the Bright Star manoeuvres of the Rapid Deployment Force, the US bases, the US-Israeli strategic alliance, which represents a great danger to our nation, the Israeli threat of aggression and war, and finally the Israeli decision to annex Holy Jerusalem.

"Was not the attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor in Baghdad a practical translation of the decision to disrupt the scientific and technological development of the Arab nation? Were not the attack on Beirut — the second Arab capital to be hit after Baghdad — and the thousands of martyrs and casualties of the official war of annihilation waged by Zionism against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples also an exact translation of this policy, which threatens the very existence of our nation and our future and civilisation?

"These challenges represent an attempt to dwarf our Arab nation and oppress it. The Arab nation, however, is bigger and greater than all that; for it has its own civilization, history, ideology, principles and faith. It never was, and never will be, in the position of weakness premeditatedly drawn for it, whatever the sacrifices. Here emerges the greatness of your Revolution which, in the midst of all these storms and difficulties, continues to pave its path and to face its destiny and the destiny of its nation, digging its trenches over time and in the annals of Arab history and moving from achievement to progress and from gain to victory on all levels and in all fields. It is imposing its presence in its capacity as the difficult and essential factor in the Middle East equation, and because there can be no peace, no settlement, no stability or security by overlooking the inalienable national rights of our people, including the right to return, to self-determination and to establish their free independent state over our Palestinian national soil.

"With confidence, faith and awareness of the dimensions of the conflict and our place in it, we began our intensive political action in all directions. Our visit to Japan was meant to win us new friends and to develop their stands with regard to our just cause. So were our visits to China, Democratic Korea and Vietnam new steps towards consolidating old friendships with over one billion people who stand with us and back our struggle and translate this support politically and military. These were followed by the historic visit to the friendly Soviet Union, the vanguard of the Socialist, progressive camp. The USSR took a great initiative when Comrade President Leonid Brezhnev, in the name of the friendly peoples of the Soviet Union, accorded full diplomatic and legal recognition to the PLO and raised its representation in Moscow to ambassadorial level, equal to all recognized states. This qualitative step in Soviet-Palestinian relations constitutes a political event which will greatly affect the formulation of international political resolutions. This is an occasion for me to praise this firm and comradely stand on the Palestine cause of the Soviet Union and all the friendly Socialist states. This is also an occasion for me to express gratitude for all the principled and courageous positions of support for our Revolution by our friends and brothers in the Non-Aligned, Islamic and African states. These states did not hesitate to give firm, strong and effective assistance to our Revolution and our just cause and rights.

"That was followed by the visit to friendly Greece and its new Socialist government headed by the militant Premier Andreas Papandreou. The visit was an occasion for Europe to express — via its ancient and historic Greek door — the real feelings of sympathy for our people and struggle. Thus, Greece registered this friendly and principled stand by its full recognition of the PLO and of its representation

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there. And the courageous Greek position has today become the true measure of the stands taken by Western European capitals within the EEC.

"Alongside that, we can never forget our major responsibilities towards our militant comrades in all the national liberation movements all over the world, responsibilities which our Revolution is proud to shoulder in support of these peoples and their just goals of national liberation. We will continue to bear such responsibilities, in accordance with the principles and ties that bind us to them.

"Our great people, our brothers and comrades who carry arms,

"We must here stress the genuineness of the unity between all our people inside and outside the occupied territories, a unity which we consider the main pillar of our national struggle and our consecutive victories. This unity also represents an element of national vigour which surrounds the guns of our Revolution, serving as a shield which protects it and is protected by it, and as a tributary stream giving it life and revolutionary fervour. This unity is backed by the civilisational depth emerging from genuine and enlightened democracy which has become one of the blessed characteristics of the Palestinian Revolution, and a unique experiment in revolutionary democracy in our contemporary age. We should therefore all preserve it, strengthen and consolidate it without deviation, extremism or over-reaction.

"We start off with this democracy in our revolutionary course, in all consciousness, knowledge, understanding the assimilation of it and the ways to deal with it, because it is the basis on which our people rely, and the resting place for the fighters in our Revolution.

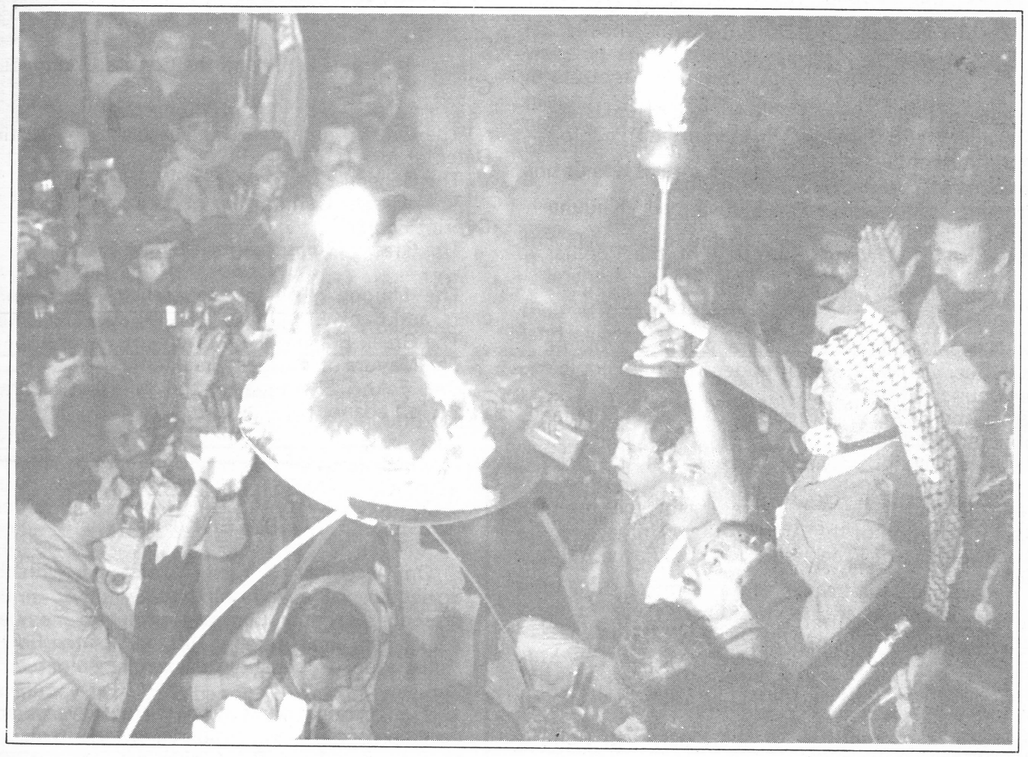
"Our brothers and fighters, our militant and heroic people, masses of our Arab nation, let all hands unite, all the guns intertwine, all the wills merge, all the forces come together, and all the guardians of the good sacred earth rally, for victory is near, dawn is approaching and the future is ours and the coming generations'. This is the year of the victorious departure towards Palestine.

"I therefore salute you brothers, comrades-in-arms, comrades of the same trench and joint destiny. We march along with hearts filled with faith and with determined spirits, because we are close to the homeland, and we have a date with our heroic, steadfast people there and with our flag, which will be hoisted over liberated Jerusalem, over its mosques and churches, over its soil, hills and mountains.

"We can smell the homeland and the fragrance of the earth; we have a date with these faithful, patient and loyal masses, a date with the new fate, with the bright daybreak after the long dark night.

And to enter the Mosque even as they entered it the first time, and to erase utterly all that they had raised up....

(Sura 17, verse 7)



Torchlight Procession

On December 31 evening, Yasser Arafat lit the main torch which marks the beginning of a new year in the life of the Revolution and gave the starting signal to the traditional torchlight procession.

The ceremony was attended by various leaders of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement L.N.M. The first military communique of the Assifa Forces was read out, and processions of Palestinian and Lebanese scout groups and of symbolic units of the Joint Forces fighters took to the streets, carrying banners and shouting slogans.

At the same time, fireworks lit the skies of Beirut as the Palestinian and Lebanese masses gathered in the street and squares to watch.

Other ceremonies were organized in Sidon, Ain al Helweh, Miyeh wa Miyen, Tyre, Nabatiyeh and Shuhaim in south Lebanon, as well as in the north, the Beqaa and Akkar.

In Damour, where persons from the Tal al Zaatar refugee camp live, Arafat himself lit the first torch, amidst slogans stressing the continuation of the procession of struggle and sacrifices until victory.

ARAFAT RECEIVES CABLES OF SOLIDARITY ON REVOLUTION'S 17TH ANNIVERSARY

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution received many cables of solidarity on the 17th anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian Revolution. The cables expressed support for the national rights of the Palestinian people and for their struggle under PLO leadership.

Some of these cables were from:

— President Muhammad Zia al-Haq of Pakistan;
The President and Foreign Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos;
President of Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba;
President of Mauritania, Muhammad Khouna Khouna Ould Haidallah;
Ahmad Jibril, General Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command;

Ali Nasser Muhammad, General Secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party and President of the People's Higher Council of the P.D.R.Y.;
Qadi Abdel Sattar, President of the Popular Republic of Bangladesh;
Chadli al-Quleibi, General Secretary of the Arab League;
Habib al-Shatti, General Secretary of the International Federation of the Arab Workers Union;
The President of Progressive Socialist Party Walid Junblatt;

Dr. Abdel Majed al-Rafi'i, Secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party in Lebanon;

The National Political Bureau of the Arab socialist Labor Party;
The Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Workers Party;
The General Secretary of the Mauritanian Workers Union;
The Egyptian Communist Party 'January 8';
The President of the Federation of Arab Youth;
The General Secretary of the Arab Youth Organization;
The African National Conference, SWAPO;
The Workers Union in Gaza;
The General Union of Palestinian Teachers;
The General Union of Palestinian Lawyers, Iraq branch;
Palestinian Alumni of USSR Universities;
Arab Student Oranizations in Cuba;
GUPS-Tunisia, Mauritania, Algeria, Qatar and Berlin;

Khaled Salam, President of the Arab Emigrants Federation in Panama;

The Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party;
The Central Committee of the Internal Greek Communist Party;
The Central Committee and the Youth Section of the Greek Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK);
The President of the Greek Anti-Imperialist Organization;
The Central Council and the Central Committee of Greek Communist Youth;
The Greek — Arab International Society;
The Greek Committee for Peace and International Detente;
The General Union of Greek Workers;
The Greek Committee of Solidarity with the Cypriot People;
The Greek Committee for Children's Rights;

The Unions of Greek Journalists, Women, Teachers, and Bank Employees;
The Greek Educational Movement;
The Mayors of Various Greek cities;
Col. Fakhri Shakoura, of the Palestine Liberation Army in Lebanon;

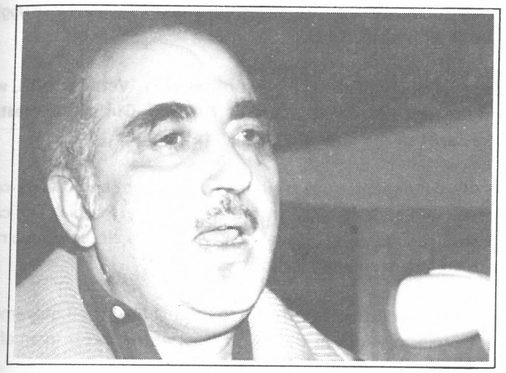
ARAFAT MEETS SYTENKO

On December 6, Yasser Arafat met with the Soviet special envoy, Mikhail Sytenko, in the presence of Fateh Central Committee members Abu Jihad and Abu al-Walid; and of the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon, Alexander Soldatov.

The meeting dealt with current events and developments in the Arab region and their impact on the Arab, Palestinian and international levels, in particular after the Arab Summit in Fez. The meeting also dealt with the Israeli military concentrations in south Lebanon, the situation in the occupied territories, the 'autonomy' conspiracy, the Sharon Plan, and Israeli terror and oppression practised against the Palestinian people inside the occupied territories, and the latter's massive uprising against the occupation forces.

During the three-hour long meeting, which was described as positive, Comrade Sytenko confirmed the stand of the Soviet Union with the just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their national rights, including the right of return, self-determination and establishment of an independent state.

Abu Iyad on Revolution's Anniversary: "WE MUST FIGHT, UNIFY RANKS AND END THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR



Addressing a rally at the Beirut Arab University on January 1, 1982 to mark the 17th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, Fateh Central Committee member Abu Iyad delivered the following speech:

"After our cause reached the steps of the United Nations, as a 'refugee question' and the 'problem of a dispersed people', we are now present inside the UN as the Palestinian Revolution speaking on behalf of the Palestinian people. We say to them we have restored to this people their freedom, their will and their dignity.

"On this day we do not wish to speak about the conspiracies which the Revolution has passed through since that September in Jordan and in Jerash. Nor do we want to delve into the conspiracy here in Lebanon against our beloved Lebanese people: This heroic people which has given of the blood of its sons; this great and heroic people. I don't wish to recall these conspiracies which the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement have faced together. Nor, do I want to bring up the conspiracy of the traitor Sadat and the road of Camp David, since the Revolution has been able to step over all these conspiracies bearing its flags and determined to continue this Revolution until victory.

"During the current phase, and with what we can quickly glean from the past, we look to the future and to south Lebanon and what is planned for us there. But I say to Begin and Sharon and to their military junta and their backers, the United States, that despite all their base deceits they will not overcome our Palestinian Revolution. They will not be able to strike this Revolution because it is strongly rooted deep in the soil, and they will not be able to tear it up, neither from the occupied territories nor in south Lebanon or any other place...

"On this anniversary of Fateh, the Palestinian Revolution, the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, we are determined to fight, to struggle until we reach Palestine, all of Palestine.

"Yesterday they sacrificed the Golan, as we proclaimed out loud that the only course for the Arab states is to fight, since the Zionist enemy has already annexed Jerusalem. What has all this weeping and wailing achieved? What have the resolutions of the United Nations accomplished? What have we done? We have done nothing. Therefore the only course available is to fight, to unify the ranks of this Arab nation, and to end the Iraqi-Iranian war.

"We have fought enough fruitless wars. On this day... and in the name of the Palestinian Revolution, we call on the Iranian and Iraqi leaderships to end this war and instead devote their efforts to liberating Palestine and the Golan Heights.

"Although the Israeli threats are increasing with the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, the Arab nation has yet to become unified under the guidance and inspiration of one man.

"On this day of Fateh, we pledge to the Palestinian and Arab peoples to seek deeper Palestinian national unity, and we will not allow the agents and plotters to conspire against this solid and patriotic unity forged in the framework of the PLO and under the leadership of Yasser Arafat. We shall not relinquish this unity until we reach the whole of Palestine in cohesion with the unified Palestinian forces and the Lebanese National Movement. Let us extend hands from the reality of this unity to fraternal and steadfast Syria. Let us say: We too urge the Syrian leaders to establish Syrian, Lebanese, and national Palestinian cohesion, so that this cohesion can spread to include the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and every country in the Arab world. Nothing can unite us but fighting. Starting from this firm and strong Palestinian — Lebanese — Syrian ground we can achieve Arab solidarity, which is concerned only to fight. This is because we have no other options.

"In the name of you all, I direct my speech to our people in the occupied territories, to our detainees in the Zionist jails, and to these children carrying stones in their hands, to those old men, these steadfast women in the occupied territories. We say to them that we promise to make this Revolution victorious over all the plots and suspect schemes until the flags of Palestine reach the land of Palestine ..."

PALESTINE CHRONOLOGY

December 3: **The Secretary of the International Union of Students (IUS) cabled the General Union of Palestinian Students, congratulating it on the 22nd anniversary of its foundation.** The IUS praised the role of the Palestinian student movement, and reaffirmed its solidarity with the Palestinian people who are struggling to establish their independent state under the leadership of the PLO.

December 7: **PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat received the special envoy of the President of the Cape Verde Islands, with whom he discussed the latest developments on the local, Arab and international levels. During the meeting, the envoy handed Arafat a message from the President of the Cape Verde Islands Republic.**

Members of 29 Latin American, Asian and African organisations studying in Cuba sent a solidarity cable to Yasser Arafat on the occasion of the International Solidarity Day with the Palestinian People. The cable expressed support for the Palestinian people's struggle under PLO leadership to regain their legitimate right of self – determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

The cable also praised the roles of the Palestinian Revolution and the international liberation movements in the Socialist camp in their struggle against imperialism, Zionism and world reactionary forces in an effort to achieve peace and halt the exploitation and expansionist ambitions of imperialism.

December 10: **Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, received a letter from Todor Zhivkov, President and Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in reply to Arafat's letter of congratulations on the anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.**

Zhivkov thanked Arafat for his warm wishes and for the appreciation he expressed with regard to Bulgaria's internationalist policy.

The Bulgarian leader also referred in his letter to the long struggle waged by the Bulgarian people and the victories realized through the attainment of independence, defence of the nation and socialist construction.

He expressed sympathy for those calling for peace, justice and social progress in the world.

Zhivkov finally confirmed that, as a member of the Socialist bloc, Bulgaria will continue to support the struggle of the Palestinian people against imperialism, Zionism and reactionary forces in order to realize their inalienable national rights.

December 12: **Yasser Arafat inspected one of the 11 centres set up for the 'general mobilization' units in Beirut. He was accompanied by PLO Executive Committee members Dr. Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajani and Abu Maher al-Yamani; Fateh Central Committee member Hani al – Hassan; and the members of the general mobilization committee.**

Yasser Arafat spoke to the mobilization forces about the current position of the Palestinian Revolution, the Arab region, and the immense tasks which lie ahead for the Palestinian Revolution and its fighters.

He also praised the quick and extensive response to the decision to call for general mobilization.

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The Secretary General of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, Yahya Yakhluf, confirmed the militant role of Arab national culture in the battle against colonialism and the Zionist occupation of Arab Palestine.

In a press conference in Kuwait, Yakhluf spoke about the Palestinian cultural week sponsored by the Kuwaiti National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature. He said, that this cultural exhibition comes within the framework of consolidating Arab national culture, and of turning the written word into a weapon against the enemies of the Arab nation.

December 13: **PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat met with the Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan in the presence of Fateh Central Committee members Abu al-Hol and Abu al-Walid.**

The meeting, held in the home of the Prime Minister, was a continuation of the discussions held between Arafat and President Elias Sarkis prior to the Fez Summit meeting. These talks dealt with the local, Arab and international situation in the light of the latest developments, including the Israeli military build-up on the Lebanese frontier.

The meeting with Wazzan also dealt with moves to advance the Palestinian and Lebanese causes, in particular the positive efforts aimed at creating an atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence among the steadfast and courageous Lebanese masses who have proven their patriotism and Arab character in many different ways.

Following the meeting, Arafat made a statement in which he said, "In spite of everything, I am optimistic about these meetings. I sincerely hope that we can give whatever is possible to the Lebanese masses who have borne so much in recent times, and for whom we should strive to provide all means of security and comfort. At the same time we must not neglect the masses, during our confrontation with the enemy who uses all his military power against us."

December 17: **A cooperation agreement was signed in Baghdad between the PLO and the Arab Labour Organisation (ALO).**

The agreement covers cooperation in the technical, cultural and labour fields. After the agreement was signed, the two parties addressed those present and expressed their hope that cooperation between them would be successful.

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December 19: **Chairman Yasser Arafat sent a telegram of congratulations to Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and President of the Supreme Soviet, on the occasion of his 75th birthday.**

Arafat praised the USSR's true, principled and firm stand with the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

Arafat transmitted to Brezhnev his "warmest congratulations and best wishes for health and happiness", on behalf of the Palestinian people, the PLO Executive Committee, and in his own name.

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Arafat met with Enrique de la Mata, President of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. They discussed the latest developments of the Palestinian cause, the Israeli military concentrations in south Lebanon, the international situation and the U.S. role in escalating world tension.

December 20: **Arafat headed a meeting of the PLO Executive Committee. The meeting dealt with the Israeli military concentrations in south Lebanon, the threats made by Sharon and Eytan, Begin's recent declarations and the Knesset decision to annex the Golan Heights. The meeting also reviewed the political and military situation in the occupied territories.**

December 21: **Yasser Arafat received a cable from Lebanese President Elias Sarkis thanking Arafat for his cable of congratulations on Lebanese Independence Day.**

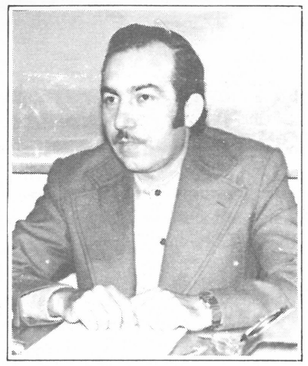
December 23: **Chairman Arafat sent a cable to Comrade Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party in the German Democratic Republic, in reply to the latter's message on Palestine Solidarity Day.**

In his cable, Arafat affirmed that the GDR is still offering its support to the struggle of the Palestinian people at a time when U.S. imperialism and its bridgehead Israel are intensifying their attacks on the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

"The Palestinian Revolution is regarded as a revolution for all peace-loving peoples in the world struggling together against Zionism, US imperialism and their puppets, and for the victory of all the peoples striving for a world where freedom, independence and progress prevail", Arafat said.

Abu Jihad in Interview with *Palestine*

OUR PEOPLE COURAGEOUSLY FACE THE DARK AND BLOODY TERROR OF THE OCCUPATION



At the end of the year 1981, Abu Jihad, member of Fateh's Central Committee and deputy commander in chief of the military forces of Fateh, gave the following account to Palestine on the development of the Palestinian struggle during the past year, in particular on the situation in the occupied territories, and the confrontation of the Israeli aggression in southern Lebanon and elsewhere.

— The Palestinian people in the occupied territories, and even in the 1948-occupied parts of Palestine, are continuing their mass protests against the occupation. What are the plans of the Zionists? What is the meaning of the popular uprising of our people?

"The Palestinian people have strengthened their rejection of the Israeli military occupation of Palestinian territory and homeland. This stand is manifested in the popular uprisings and the comprehensive popular mobilizations against Zionist fascist repression. These Zionist attacks are similar to the Nazi repression of European peoples during the Hitlerite occupation. These acts were resisted strongly by the people struggling for their freedom.

"Since the beginning of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, the Palestinian people have never ceased their confrontation with the occupation authorities. The Palestinians have always expressed their rejection of the occupation by strikes, demonstrations, popular conferences and the declarations and resolutions issued by the various popular institutions and organisations in the occupied territories. The Zionist authorities have suppressed these activities in a brutal and terrorist way. This is in order to spread fear among the Palestinian people. Insteed, these Israeli attacks on their freedom have made the people more determined in their struggle against the Zionist occupiers.

"Observing what has occurred in the occupied territories since the signing of the Camp David conspiracy provides a clear example. Since the day of the signing of that agreement between Carter, Begin and Sadat, the Palestinian people have expressed their total opposition to the conspiracy by organising continuous demonstrations in every town and village of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Massive popular strikes closed schools, universities, factories, shops and markets, and stopped the movement of transport.

"The pickets of school students, workers and peasants carried placards and banners expressing their full support for the PLO. They demanded freedom, national independence and the building of a Palestinian state under PLO leadership. They also expressed their strong rejection of the proposed "autonomy" for the Palestinians as put forward in the conspiratorial plans.

"To illustrate the Palestinian people's continuous political activity against the Camp David and the "self-rule" conspiracy, in 1980 alone, there were 281 days of political struggle organised by Palestinian school and university students inside the occupied territories. The Zionists responded by encircling the students with large numbers of soldiers who pursued the university students and school girls with truncheons, including electric ones. The students were beaten about the face, head and body, many were injured, some permanently. Many hundreds were jailed, where the second part of the savage treatment begins, as they face interrogation and torture. Such actions are part of the Israeli policy of creating and spreading fear among the students.

"The Israeli army has improved its methods of confronting the people, students and youths. They encircle and storm schools, universities and classrooms. They then attack with tear-gas, even inside the rooms, causing suffocation and unconsciousness. This results in many students requiring hospital treatment. This happened at the Teachers' Training College in Ramallah and at the Universities of Bir Zeit and Bethlehem. The Israeli army has also fired on demonstrators, killing many students and girls for expressing their opposition to the Zionist occupation and its repression by holding demonstrations, strikes, conferences, sit-ins, or supporting detainees' strikes or a parents' declaration or political meetings. In 1981, there were at least 180 days of political struggle despite savage Israeli repression.

"Through dark and bloody terror they try to instil fear in the Palestinian masses who have faced these measures courageously, heroically and unflinchingly.

"Alongside the political struggle there were military operations carried out by Palestinian commandos against Israeli economic, military and other strategic targets of the occupation. 293 of them were admitted by the Israeli military authorities during the last year.

"The Palestinians who live under Zionist occupation have to deal with many methods of terrorist aggression. Any Palestinian peaceful anti-occupation demonstration is responded to with violence by the Israeli army. Taghrid Al-Batma, a girl, was killed by Israeli army bullets in Ramallah, and Lina Nabulsi in Nablus and Muhammad Abu-Nahla in Rafah were killed during the demonstrations on December 17, 1981. Large numbers were injured and many more jailed. The Israeli army closes and encircles the towns and villages when any activity occurs. People are forbidden to enter or leave. Curfews, which can extend for weeks, are imposed. People are forbidden to obtain permits to travel to the West Bank via the Jordan River bridges. People with commercial interests in the West Bank, or outside the occupied territories, are unable to conduct their business. Workers and farmers are prevented from leaving their towns and villages and are therefore unable to attend work. Hundreds of people are detained for savage questioning. Homes are stormed and wilfully damaged by the Zionist occupation forces. The inhabitants are terrorised, their foodstuffs are ruined, crockery broken, fruit is thrown away, water is thrown on the beds, and other infamous barbaric Nazi methods are utilised.

"All this repression shall not extinguish the people's revolution nor their determination to confront the Nazi-like Zionist military occupation. Despite such savage repression, the Palestinian people have intensified their belief in their national rights, and in the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of their struggle. The struggle will continue until victory, when the national homeland will be liberated from Zionist occupation.

"The Zionist plans are:

— To continue the military occupation of Palestinian territory and to employ any methods to maintain this occupation, despite the Palestinian people's opposition and despite worldwide support for the Palestinian people in their just demand for an end to the occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian national state on Palestinian soil.

— To continue with terrorist operations against Palestinian citizens, in a vain attempt to destroy these people's ability to confront the Israeli military occupation, so that the presence of this occupation would be consolidated, and the Israeli occupier would remain forever on the backs of the Palestinians.

— To seize and confiscate the people's lands in order to build colonial settlements.

— To wear out the Palestinian people by terrorism on the one hand, and by measures aimed at forcing the Palestinian population to leave their country and be replaced with Jewish settlers. Among such methods are heavy taxation, continued psychological pressure, and undermining the health, social, educational and economic conditions of the Palestinians.

"All this is aimed at driving the Palestinians out and bringing in new Jewish settlers from all parts of the world to concentrate them in Palestine under the slogan of the "Promised Land" as embodied in the establishment of the Zionist State.

"The Zionists are trying to consolidate and to strengthen the aggressive Zionist presence in Palestine and at the same time threaten the entire region with aggression. They are also committing acts of aggression against other Arab countries — take for instance the raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, the overflights over Saudi Arabian territory, the threats against Syria, and the continuous, daily aggression against southern Lebanon."

— What is the character of the "civilian" administration in the occupied territories according to Sharon's plans? Why do our people struggle against the "village leagues"?

"In an attempt to avoid recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to national independence, freedom and the establishment of a national Palestinian state, the Camp David conspirators had to close their eyes to reality — to the Palestinian national cause and struggle which has been going on for decades in order to achieve its goals.

"The "autonomy" plan is in fact far removed from real autonomy because:

— It gives the Israeli occupation control over Palestinian land.

— It gives the Israeli occupation control over water, including wells and river sources.

— It gives the Israeli occupation "security" responsibilities. Also the military withdrawal is in name only, as the Israeli troops remain stationed in the surrounding bases.

— It gives the Israeli occupation the right to build more colonial settlements on Arab land.

— It also gives the right to the Zionists to introduce more settlers to live in these settlements, while restricting the entry of Palestinian Arabs.

"This is an outline of the plan which Sharon and Begin want to impose on the Palestinian people through the Camp David agreements. To complete this picture we may refer to the discussion which took place during the international Zionist Convention held in Jerusalem in 1979. Begin was asked in one of the sessions what he would do if the 'autonomy board of directors' raised the Palestinian flag over the area. Begin replied hysterically: 'The

Israeli army would storm the territories, pull down the Palestinian flags, and then arrest the members of the board and put them in jail.'

"How could the Palestinians even consider such a scheme?

"The Israeli occupation wants to preserve its continued occupation of Palestinian Arab land and safeguard its 'security' and stability while ignoring the historic reality, that we live in the era of liberation and not slavery. Any conscientious person would recognise the truth and agree that the imposition of the Zionist occupation on the Palestinian people is something unacceptable.

"The freedom of the people to determine their own destiny is a matter for which humanity has suffered greatly and offered many sacrifices and blood for the sake of protecting it and preserving it — bloodshed caused by people who play with fire like Begin, Sharon, Shamir and others of the Israeli government and leadership who row always against the current of history, progress and humanity.

"The Palestinian people, through all their national institut ions, social organisations and public figures have made clear their opinion at public meetings in Beit Hanina near Ramallah, also in Nablus, Bethlehem, Gaza and Hebron, and stressed their total rejection of, and resistance to, the 'autonomy' scheme by every means. Our people stick to their struggle against this farce which violates all conventions and international law and consists of a blunt attack against the Palestinian people and their right to freedom and national independence. For this right the Palestinian people struggled throughout the 30 years of the British Mandate which accomplished the crime of turning Palestine into a Jewish state in 1948, with the collaboration of the world Zionist movement and the United States of America.

"When the truth about the so-called 'autonomy' scheme became clear to world public opinion as an oppressive scheme directed against the Palestinians' right to their homeland and their just cause, and when the partners of Camp David themselves failed, in the "autonomy" study committees, to reach a unified decision after more than three years of deliberations and talks, Sharon, the Zionist war minister, tried to preempt the scheme by announcing the appointment of an Israeli civilian governor to carry out general policy in the West Bank. He appointed Menachem Milson, who was a professor at the Hebrew University, after the latter published a study on how to impose an 'iron fist' policy on the inhabitants of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. As governor he is supposed to deal with civilian affairs while 'military' matters remain the responsibility of the Israeli military command.

"On the first day of Milson's appointment, the Palestinian people demonstrated in Palestine in order to expose this new farce before the world. It is simply an attempt to change the uniform of the military governor into a civilian suit. Dr. Milson is to wear it in the West Bank.

"In the Gaza Strip, they could not find a civilian to do the job. So Sharon appointed the military governor of Gaza as 'civilian' governor. However, Dr. Milson reacted to the demonstrations and the massive uprising with orders for a bloody confrontation. The 'academic professor' also ordered the closure of the universities of Bir Zeit and Bethlehem. He ordered the troops to storm these universities using tear gas and even bullets to confront the students, among whom were many women. The 'security' forces then arrested hundreds in a bloody pursuit.

"The popular uprising exposed the Israeli farce of replacing the military uniform with civilian dress to continue their occupation.

"Through their resistance and mass movement our people express their rejection of the Israeli occupation and their rallying around the PLO, in the struggle against it. Faced with this resistance, Sharon tried to push forward with the policy of the "village leagues" put together from some people who seek to profit from the occupation and its lackeys. The Israeli occupation wants to make a propaganda fuss about these leagues and to inflate their importance. Yet the truth is that the people of the towns and villages are aware of the truth and therefore boycott them and avoid having any relations with them, despite all the manoeuvres and pressures on the side of the authorities. Instead, the demonstrators raise their slogans against the stooges. All that is happening proves daily that all the manoeuvres of Sharon to prop up these leagues as an organisation aim at creating a new factor. The Israelis have the illusion that this could serve as a starting point for them to confront the rallying of the people around the P.L.O. However, the occupation authorities are well aware of the vanity of this manoeuvre, and thereforeit is doomed to fail and to vanish. It is an attempt which can never flourish amid the hatred of the people towards the occupation and its profiteers and agents."

— What were the main developments in the armed struggle of the Palestinian people and the PLO inside and outside the occupied territories during the last year, in particular in southern Lebanon?

"The Israeli army continuously raids the bases of the Palestinian Revolution, Lebanese villages and the Palestinian refugee camps in south Lebanon. The Israeli aggression includes "special operations", attempts to bring in heli-borne troops, landing forces from the sea, bombing the region by warplanes or shelling it by artillery across the border or from off the coast. The operations are directed against civilian targets like roads, bridges, villages and refugee camps. The number of these aggressive acts ranged from 20 to 45 per month. After each operation, Sharon and Begin announced that it is part of the continuous war waged against the Palestinian revolutionaries and the centres and leadership of the PLO, and which is 'justified' anywhere and at any time. This is how they always comment on their operations — continuous war, relentless and without mercy. For this they use the most sophisticated weapons, and American and Israeli planes in the attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. Thus the PLO has no choice but to confront this aggression and improve the strength and capacity of its forces, in order to defend itself against this continuous war of aggression waged with the most developed and sophisticated American and Israeli weapons.

"The Palestinian Revolution has proven its ability to face this continuous aggression and inflict casualities amid the ranks of the attacking Israeli soldiers. Even if the Israeli military spokesman tries to conceal the full truth about their losses in their attacks, the post-battle evidence always proves that the number of casualities is much larger than admitted.

"Inside the occupied territories, our revolutionary cells are continuously struggling against the occupation, by attacking strategic military and economic targets and eroding the morale of the occupiers. Despite all the Israeli security measures, and despite the permanent state of alert and emergency declared for the army, the "border guards" and the local security units, the military operations of our fighters have continued. In 1980 alone, there were 393 military operations confirmed by the Israeli military spokesman. On December 31, 1981, the Israeli army spokesman announced that 315 military operations, in which 17 Israeli soldiers were killed and 157 wounded, had taken place during the year.

"Zionist spokesmen always stress alleged losses among the civilian population, especially women and children, in order to pave the way for planned aggression against us in which hundreds of civilians will be killed, such as the raids committed by the Israeli planes on July 18, 1981, when their aircraft attacked civilian traffic on the coast in which at least 40 were killed and dozens wounded; or the massacre that was committed by the Zionist planes when they attacked the densely populated civilian residential district of Fakhani in Beirut on July 17, 1981. Over 160 civilians were killed and 700 wounded. Begin boasted about this operation, and in his recent message to Reagan he attempted to justify the action by reminding him of the American aggressive operations against civilians in Vietnam and during the Second World War. In this message Begin stressed that he would do the same again anytime whenever he deemed it necessary.

"Thus we are expecting this aggressive Zionist policy to be continued against our people, both in the occupied territories and outside. In the occupied land, they will continue to terrorise the people and exercise a policy of the 'iron fist' in order to cement the occupation. This means that we bear a heavy responsiblity to be prepared, at all times, to confront their expected operations."

— On July 24, after the 15 days war with Israel, the PLO, through U.N. mediation, agreed to a cease-fire across the Lebanese borders. What is the military and the political significance of the cease-fire?

"It is the Israeli army that started the aggression against the civilian population of both the Lebanese and Palestinian people. During the period of the Israeli elections, the front in southern Lebanon remained completely quiet, and this is proof that the one who always stirs up the trouble is the Israeli army. For, if the Israelis wanted things to calm down, for instance during the elections, everything was indeed calm. Before Begin had formed his new cabinet, Sharon was already charged with taking care of the defense portfolio, and on July 10, 1981, the Israeli air force, without any reason or being 'provoked' in any sense, bombed the Jarmak and Nabatiyeh areas; and on July 12, the air force again bombed the Damour (Tal al-Zaatar) refugee camp and the surrounding area. Two days later, the Israeli air force bombed the bridges which connect southern Lebanon with the northern parts of the country. These bridges were used by the civilian population. After that came the barbaric bombardment of the Fakhani area of Beirut.

Confronted with these continuous acts of aggression, the Palestinian Revolution had to answer by shelling the Israeli artillery positions and military concentrations and colonial settlements. The aim of this counter-shelling was to deliver the message to the Israelis that they, too, would have to pay the price for aggression. It had its impact on the Israeli settlements, as it turned out, when the settlers screamed with anger and disgust into the face of Israeli Chief of Staff General Raphael Eytan, when he visited the settlement of Kiryat Shmoneh. They blamed the Israeli army for starting the troubles by attacking southern Lebanon and forcing the PLO to respond by shelling those settlements.

"That is what the people of Kiryat Shmoneh told Eytan, and that is what was reported in the Israeli press. There were also numerous voices from the people living in the north calling for a cease-fire. Academics and university professors signed a petition demanding the cessation of the Israeli aggression.

"When Urquhart, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations in charge of Middle East affairs, conveyed to us the wishes of the UN Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council for a cease-fire, our immediate answer was that 'we didn't start the fighting. When they stop their aggression, the cease-fire will be in effect immediately.' We are sticking to what we have previously announced in the Arab summits, and even in the Security Council, as well as in our commitments with the Lebanese authorities — that we shall not direct artillery or rocket fire across the Lebanese borders; notwithstanding the right of our people to conduct the struggle inside the occupied territories and from other borders.

"As a matter of fact, a cease-fire went into effect on July 25, 1981. It had many meanings to it:

1 – For the first time there were strong voices from within Israeli society demanding a cease-fire.

2 – For the first time, the Israeli government came under internal pressure to abide by a cease-fire.

3 – The nature of Israel's aggressive policy was clearly exposed during the massacres of Fakhani and on the bridges. Condemnations were issued all over the world. Even the friends of Israel, like Reagan and others, could not help but issue statements against the aggression.

4 – The fierce Palestinian response and its strength, and its impact on the settlers, had its influence on the Israeli decision to abide by the cease-fire.

5 – All the world knows that the PLO is the only force that is strongly confronting Israeli aggression, which again proved its existence despite the fact that the Israeli authorities tried to hide behind the pretext of a cease-fire with the Lebanese authorities – while they know that the latter were not involved in the fighting.

6 – The Israeli command was surprised by the strength, accuracy and organisation of the Palestinian forces and the joint Lebanese-Palestinian forces, and their abilities in combat, especially in the use of artillery and rocket launchers.

7 – Israeli and international circles were gambling on the PLO not being able to control the cease-fire and to abide by its commitment, and that it would create confusion within the ranks of the Palestinian Revolution. But the PLO proved the unity of its military command and its disciplinary commitment as a whole. It presented itself before the world as a force that sticks to its commitments and agreements with the United Nations in a responsible way. That was of great significance for international observers.

8 – I consider the agreement a victory for the PLO. For it guaranteed that the continued waves of Israeli aggression from the air, the land and the sea would come to a halt."

– Why do the PLO and its friends expect another widescale Israeli aggression in southern Lebanon? How will you confront such an aggression?

"Israeli policy distinguishes itself as a policy of aggression against the Palestinian people and their revolution. This policy has never ceased since the exiled Palestinian took up his rifle and began his armed struggle to confront the Zionist occupation which had usurped his land and his country and drove them out of their homeland.

"Zionist attacks against the Palestinian Revolution began on a vast scale at the battle of Karamah, when the Israeli army attempted to destroy a guerrilla base near Al-Karamah Palestinian refugee camp. This battle was a complete failure for the military record of Dayan, who used to boast about his military victories. In this battle, for the first time, the Israeli army left behind no less than 18 tanks on the battlefield, after suffering heavy casualities, when it tried to destroy a guerrilla base in Karameh.

"After that, Zionist aggression continued with large-scale military operations, on the ground and in the air and through special operations, against Palestinian forces in Jordan before 1970 and in Lebanon during the past ten years. In 1975-1976, during the Lebanese civil war, direct Israeli aggression was reduced. But after the open war ended, Zionist violence increased, culminating in the vast Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in March 1978. All the south was occupied by Israeli forces except for the city of Tyre, which they could not enter. The Israeli Chief of Staff, General Gur, admitted, "I cannot confront the people in Tyre, who have barricaded themselves in, and are willing to face death." After the resolution issued by the United Nations and the Security Council calling for the immediate withdrawal of the aggressor, the Israelis withdrew partly but kept a ten kilometre-wide strip of land along the border as a "security" belt, under the control of one of the Lebanese Army officers, Major Saad Haddad, following orders from Israeli Intelligence. During the three years from 1979 to 1981, Israeli military operations were frequent and violent, aimed at annihilating the Palestinian Revolution and destroying its capabilities and potentials and its nerve centres and camps. Forthermore, they continuously extended their targets to include attacks on Lebanese villages and many other civilian targets, in an attempt to isolate the Revolution from the Palestinian and Lebanese masses. However people reacted to this with more support for the Revolution, the PLO and its forces, protecting them and even sharing in their tasks.

"Israeli aggression has amounted almost to daily war over the past three years, and it is still going on. As former and present Israeli military and political leaders say repeatedly – this is part of the continued and constant war against the Palestinians at all times and everywhere.

"Therefore we are expecting more Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, for the aims which the Israeli leadership is proclaiming continuously are:

– Striking at the forces of the PLO.

– Continuous pursuit against posts and commands.

– Pressuring the civilian population, by inflicting heavy casualties, in an attempt to pull them away from the Palestinian Revolution. This is where the Israelis fail every time, because this aggression deepens the relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

– To weaken the PLO militarily and politically and to limit its political activities in the international arena which have caused the Israelis' entity political isolation.

– To break the steadfastness of the Palestinian people inside the occupied territories as a means of implementing Zionist colonial policies.

"Therefore, the Palestinian Revolution has to stand firm and confront the expected aggression relying on the Palestinian people's support inside and outside the occupied territories, and the support of the Joint Forces and the Lebanese people and all the peoples of the Arab nation. We also rely on the support of all forces of liberation and progress, and the honourable patriotic forces in the world for our Palestinian national rights to stand up to Israeli aggression whatever it may be and whenever it may occur."

– What character has the "military option" for Arab national resistance in general, and for the Palestinian Resistance in particular?

"It is well known that the Palestinians, along with other Arabs, act only in self-defense. They have never started aggression. They lived a normal life, building and struggling for their freedom and national independence from British colonialism which brought with it the policy of creating a Jewish state in the heart of the Arab nation. and on the ruins of the Palestinian people. Many thousands of Palestinians were killed. Pre-British Mandate statistics show that the number of Jews living in Palestine was less than 50,000; but the British had opened the door to immigration and the number rose to 650,000 by 1948.

"The Zionist movement, led by Weizmann, Ben Gurion and Sharett, launched an aggressive campaign in 1948 against the Palestinian people and their land, which they occupied by force of arms, and under artillery bombardment they expelled the Palestinian population from their towns and villages. They were forced to become refugees outside their own country in order that the Zionist colonial settler could build his state. The truth is that Ben Gurion and Moshe Dayan led a large-scale war of aggression in 1956 in collaboration with France and Britain in order to occupy Sinai and the Gaza Strip.

"During the 1967 war the Israelis occupied what was left of the Palestinian homeland, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and then Sinai and the Golan Heights, with their expansionist military force. They are the ones who are continually attacking south Lebanon with ground, sea and air forces. Therefore, the Arab people, including the Palestinians, are acting in self-defense in order to protect the Arab nation from new occupations.

"The Israelis daily and constantly threaten the PLO with the destruction of its institutions, its command posts and its people's refugee camps. They are also threatening Syria with the forcible removal of the missiles from Lebanon, which were brought in to protect the Syrian army only after the latter was attacked by Israeli aircraft in the Beka'a Valley. Then they announced the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, and they issue constant threats, in case Syria acts to assert its rights.

"They also bombed the Iraqi nuclear reactor, and their planes violated Iraqi airspace several times in order to reconnoitre the area, while they issue threats for a new aggression. They have threatened Libya, Algeria and Saudi Arabia and their planes continually overfly on reconnaissence missions. All this is part of the aggressive Israeli policy which has now been exposed before the whole world, even in the heart of the United States, which is supporting Israeli aggression, without limits.

"Therefore the PLO and the Arab States in general have the right to defend themselves against this aggression. They have looked at the possibility of a political solution for the Palestinian cause, which depends upon the recognition of the historic national rights of the Palestinian people, their rights to national independence and freedom and the establishment of a national state on their own land, Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories and an end to the policy of aggression. The Israeli leadership refuses, flatly and violently, any such solution. The solution in the opinion of Begin, Sharon, Shamir, and their government is to maintain their aggressive policy, the occupation of Arab lands, the policy of rejecting the existence of the Palestinian people, and to maintain their colonial settlements and the rejection of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East.

"The Arabs clearly see that the military option cannot be neglected and that they must be prepared for it. This choice is imposed by the Zionist entity and its leadership through their declared plans which are based on expansionism and imposing their will on the region through the policy of aggression and threats. The Palestinian people, along with the Arab people in general, backed by all honest and freedom-loving people in the world, reject this Zionist control.

"This policy is doomed because all peoples and humanity in general reject it, on the basis of mankind's past experience. It is a policy that was already buried with Hitler and Mussolini and their bloodthirstiness. It will be buried again with the bloody policy of Begin, Sharon and Shamir. This was the verdict of history in the recent past; and likewise in the future, history will relate of the Israeli aggressors who carried with them the policy of invasion, conquest and aggression, a policy doomed to failure.

"The victory will be for the oppressed people and those who have been subjected to aggression. It will be for the Palestinian people whose determination will be victorious, and their wish to return to their own homeland and live in freedom will become a reality. That day peace will return to the people of peace in the land of peace, Palestine."

Another Palestinian Breakthrough
In Europe:

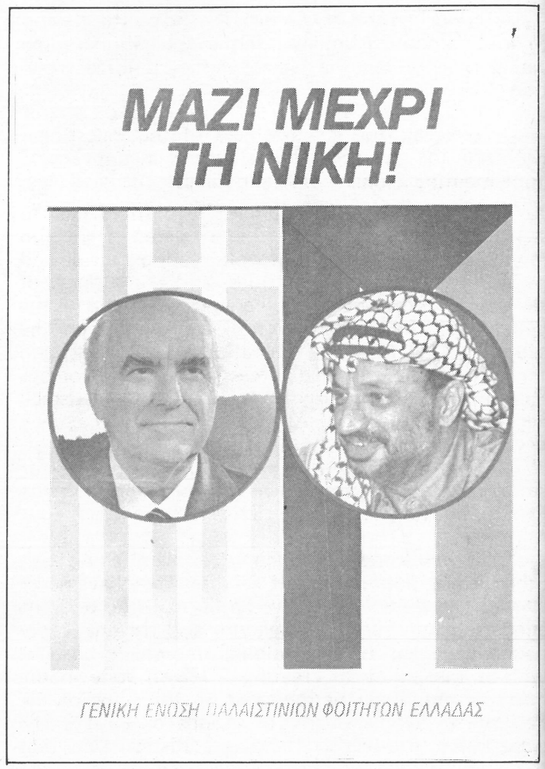
GREECE ACCORDS THE P.L.O. FULL RECOGNITION

On December 14, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO and Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, accompanied by a large Palestinian delegation, arrived in Athens on an official visit to Greece. Arafat was met at the airport by the Greek Prime Minister Mr. Andreas Papandreou, as well as the Minister of Coordination, the Minister of Information, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Deputy Minister of Defence, the heads of police and internal security and a large number of Greek government and party officials, the Syrian, Algerian, Libyan, Lebanese, Kuwaiti, Jordanian, Sudanese and Saudi Ambassadors, the PLO representative and members of the PLO Office in Athens and a crowd of Palestinian and Arab students.

The Palestinian delegation accompanying Chairman Arafat included Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department; PLO Executive Committee members Abu Maher al-Yamani, Dr. Ahmed Sidqi al-Dajani and Dr. Hanna Nasser; and Abu Riad, member of the Politburo of the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front.

A special plane transported Arafat and the accompanying delegation to Athens from the military airport where they initially landed and where they were met by a representative of Prime Minister Papandreou and a number of Greek army officers. Arafat reviewed the guard of honour and greeted the officers.

At 2.15 p.m. Arafat attended a lunch hosted by Premier Papandreou, after which the first official meeting took place. During the one and a half hour meeting, the two sides exchanged points of view.



Since the early morning, masses of Greek citizens had gathered at Syntagam Square, carrying Palestinian flags, pictures of Arafat and numerous banners on which slogans were written. These included: 'Long Live Greek – Palestinian Friendship', 'Long Live the PLO, Sole Legitimate Representative of the Palestinian People', 'Long Live Free Democratic Palestine', 'Revolution Until Victory', 'Victory to the PLO', 'Down with Zionism and Imperialism', 'American Bases out of Greece' and 'The Greeks Reject Membership in NATO'.

The main streets and squares of Athens were heavily decorated with posters and pictures of Arafat and Papandreou as well as the flags of Palestine and Greece.

In the afternoon, Arafat visited the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and greeted the crowds of people gathered in the main squares and the streets leading to it.

A guard of honour saluted Arafat and then played music as he put a wreath of flowers on the tomb. After that, Arafat reviewed the guard of honour and greeted several prominent military officers who were present.

Arafat Meets with Heads of Greek Parties

On the second day of his visit, Yasser Arafat received at his residence in Athens the heads of the parties represented in the Greek Parliament. They expressed their support for Prime Minister Papandreou's decision to invite Arafat to Greece. They also confirmed their support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people to realise their inalienable rights.

At the end of the meeting, Arafat invited the Parliamentarians to visit the PLO's institutions to see for themselves its achievements. After the meeting the President of the New Democratic Party informed *WAFA* (the Palestine News Agency) that the meeting with Arafat was very important. "We discussed relations between our country and the Arab nation and spoke about the Palestine cause in detail. The talks were fruitful and constructive, and many things became clearer to me about the Palestinian Revolution", he said.

The President of the Greek Communist Party in his statement to *WAFA* said "I confirmed to Arafat my Party's solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle.

At noon Arafat visited Prime Minister Papandreou at his office. The two leaders held a closed meeting which lasted one hour.

Athens Municipal Council Honours Arafat

Later, a reception was held in honour of Arafat, in which the Mayor of Athens delivered the welcoming speech, greeting Arafat as "the leader of a steadfast, struggling people, in spite of their being one of the oppressed peoples of the world."

Arafat Addresses Greek Parliament

Later, Chairman Arafat visited the Greek Parliament, where he was received by the Speaker and other deputies. The Speaker delivered a welcoming speech in which he affirmed a deepening of Palestinian-Greek friendship. Arafat replied with the following speech:

"I feel deep sentiments regarding this place and this Parliament of democratic Athens, with has a long history of democracy which has been a beacon to the world.

"As I visit this sacred land, I feel deep appreciation for this people who stood from the very first moment with the cause of the Palestinian people. I stand, just like all the others who called for democracy and liberty throughout the ages."

Arafat added: "Your brave stand now is but an extension of your other courageous stands through

Chairman Arafat and the Mayor of Athens exchange gifts.

these ages. And I thank you for these stands, in the name of the PLO Executive Committee, of the Palestinian people and revolutionaries and in my own name. You have experienced occupation and oppression and you have experienced fascism; and at this very moment, we face the same circumstances and therefore reiterate the same call for democracy and liberation.

"Because of our historical and geographic position, we have a role which we must play. I am sure that here, in this place and as I stand before the representatives of the Greek people, we will find all forms of support and backing."

The Speaker of the Greek Parliament gave a short speech in which he said that Arafat now represents the most important force in the Middle East, and that no problem can be solved without a solution to the Palestine question.

He added that the Palestine cause had been pushed forward as a result of Palestinian struggle to return and for self-determination. "We know", he said, "all about lost homelands, refugees, and coexistence. We know this from the Cypriot problem. And brother Abu Ammar is well aware of what is happening to that people."

The Speaker then welcomed Arafat and the delegation accompanying him, on behalf of the Greek people and Parliament, and handed Arafat a symbolic gift, a small copper jar encrusted in gold. Arafat in turn offered him an illustrated history of Palestine.

Arafat Press Conference in Athens

On December 18, Chairman Arafat held a press conference at his residence in Athens. A number of Greek ministers, the Palestinian delegation accompanying Arafat and a large number of foreign and local correspondents attended the conference.

Arafat first thanked Greek Prime Minister Papan-

GREECE ACCORDS THE P.L.O. FULL RECOGNITION

dreou for inviting him to visit Greece, and for his hospitality. He also saluted and transmitted his heartfelt wishes to the Greek people, through Papandreou and his Government, "whose invitation and welcome reflected the historic ties of friendship between the Greek and Palestinian peoples and between the Greek people and the Arab nation."

Arafat than said that he and Papandreou had discussed, during their last meeting, the level of Greek recognition of the PLO, which he said had now become total. The PLO office in Athens now enjoys full diplomatic status, he added, a step which he described as extremely important in terms of support for the struggle of the Palestinian people, especially at this period.

Answering journalists' questions about PLO-Greek relations, Arafat said that the Palestinian representation in Greece enjoys full diplomatic status and the same privileges as other diplomatic missions. He added that relations between the Palestinian and Greek people go beyond diplomatic exchanges, because of the cultural, educational, and historical ties that they have shared, since the days of the Canaanites and Accadians, the Palestinians, the Phoenicians and the Arabs. "That is why we consider Greece to be the gateway to Europe. With this new Greek stand, Palestinian-Greek and Arab-Greek relations have entered a new phase.

"There are many points and positions from which this help and cooperation between us and Greece can emerge, and we are well aware of the position of Greece on the Arab, Mediterranean, and European levels, and its role within the EEC, especially after France's opening up to Israel." Arafat stressed that the role of Greece increases in weight with the principled position declared by Papandreou.

Asked about the current situation in Lebanon and the possibilities of further Israeli aggression on the south of the country, Arafat said: "We expect an Israeli military attack and we know that between three and four Israeli divisions are concentrated on the northern Palestinian border so as to launch an attack against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. We also know that they will use the most modern American weapons, including those whose use is internationally banned, from the air, land, and sea.

"At the same time the occupation authorities are practising terrorism and oppression against our Palestinian people in the occupied territories, as the latest uprising of our Palestinian people there enters its seventh week.

TEXT OF PLO – GREEK JOINT COMMUNIQUE

The PLO and the Greek Government issued the following communique the end of Chairman Yasser Arafat's official visit to Athens.

"The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Mr. Yasser Arafat, visited Greece from 14 to 16 December, 1981 on the invitation of the Greek Government. Mr. Arafat was accompanied by Mr. Farouk al-Kaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department.

"Mr. Arafat had talks with the Prime Minister Mr. Andreas Papandreou in the latter's office. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mr.Arafat and the members of the Palestinian delegation had talks with Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs Mr. Karolos Papoulias and the members of the Greek delegation.

"During the aforementioned discussions, there was an exchange of views on the Middle East situation and the problems connected with the area, and both parties stated their desire to continue contributing in a constructive manner to the promotion of just solutions.

"While examining the Middle East issue, the Palestinian side expressed its appreciation for the support of the Greek Government of the struggle of the Palestinian people for the recognition of their inalienable rights including the right of return to their homeland, self-determination and the establishment of their independent state on their own soil.

"Both sides condemned Israel's decision to annex the occupied Golan Heights and stressed that this action is contrary to international law and UN resolutions, and constitutes a threat to peace in the region.

"While examining the Cyprus issue, the Greek side praised the support the PLO is giving to the Cypriot people in their just struggle. Referring to the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean, both sides underlined the need for a just solution of the Cyprus issue, based on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the island, as well as the need to secure Greece's sovereign rights, according to international conventions and practices.

"The Greek Government, believing in the basic role the PLO plays in the process for the settlement of the Middle East issue, and recognizing the Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, announced to Mr. Yasser Arafat its decision to grant diplomatic status to the Office of the Organisation now operating in Athens.

"The Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee expressed his satisfaction at this decision of the Greek Government.

"The talks were held in a cordial spirit of friendship and understanding."

CHAIRMAN ARAFAT HOLDS TALKS IN BUCHAREST

Following his successful visit to Greece, Chairman Arafat arrived in Bucharest on December 16 at the invitation of the Rumanian government, accompanied by a high-level PLO delegation. They were met at Bucharest International Airport by a senior Rumanian delegation, and the PLO Representative in Bucharest. Shortly after his arrival, Arafat met with Stefan Andre, candidate member of the Rumanian Communist Party Politburo and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Chairman Arafat and his accompanying delegation returned to Beirut the following day. During their stay in Bucharest they held two sessions of talks with president Ceausescu and other Rumanian government and party leaders.

The General Secretary of the RCP and President of the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee expressed their satisfaction at meeting once more and at the resumption of their friendly dialogue on bilateral and international issues of joint concern. In this regard, both Nicolai Ceausescu and Yasser Arafat noted the good relations between the RCP, the Rumanian Socialist Republic and the PLO, and also between the Rumanian and Palestinian peoples.

"The two sides considered that the solution of the Middle East conflict requires the participation of the PLO as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and on an equal footing with all parties concerned.

Chairman Arafat with Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu

"Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasser Arafat strongly condemned the recent decision of the Israeli Government to annex the Golan Heights, considering that this decision will lead to tension in the region, to new obstacles in the way of a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem, and to an increase in tension in this part of the world.

PALESTINIAN CULTURAL WEEK IN KUWAIT

The Palestinian Cultural Week, sponsored by the Kuwaiti National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature and the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Jornalists (G.U.P.W.J.), opened with a poetry reading, in which Mahmoud Darwish read his poem, "Good Morning Majed".

The opening was attended by Kuwaiti Minister of State Abdel Aziz Hussein, PLO Executive Committee member Yasser Abed Rabbo, Fateh Central Committee member Abu al-Adib, G.U.P.W.J. head Yahya Yakhluf, and Awni Battash, Director of the PLO Office in Kuwait.

Next day, the Palestinian Popular Arts and Theatre Group performed at Andalous Theatre in Kuwait. Attending the event were Fateh Central Committee members Abu Iyad and Abu al-Adib; the Director of the PLO office in Kuwait; and several other PLO, Kuwaiti and Arab officials and diplomats.

On the same day and as part of the Palestinian Cultural Week a literary evening was held during which Yahya Yakhluf, the Secretary General of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, spoke about the development and currents of Palestinian literature and the circumstances in which it developed. PLO Executive Committee member Yasser Abed Rabbo and members of the G.U.P.W.J. as well as a large number of Palestinian and Kuwaiti writers and poets, attended the lecture.

The activities of the Palestinian Week included theatre productions, folklore and film shows, and exhibitions of political cartoons and plastic arts.

ARAFAT IN ABU DHABI
MEETS WITH KREISKY

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, accompanied by a number of PLO officials, met with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky on December 9 in Abu Dhabi in an atmosphere of cordiality. They dealt with the points of view of the two sides concerning issues of joint interest and relations between the PLO and the Federal Republic of Austria, in addition to the latest developments in the Middle East and the world. During the meeting, Chancellor Kreisky confirmed his principled support for the Palestinian cause and the struggle of the Palestinian people. He said he could understand the difficult circumstances which the Palestinian cause is facing, since he himself lived through similar circumstances when he lived in exile, during the occupation of Austria. Kreisky once again expressed his principled support for the Palestinian struggle. Chancellor Kreisky confirmed his country's position, saying that a comprehensive, just, and durable peace in the Middle East could not be obtained without the recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of an idependent state over their national soil under the leadership of the PLO as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

P.R.C.S. HOLDS SIXTH CONFERENCE

Under the slogan: "For the Development Of Medical And Social Services", the Palestinian Red Crescent Society opened its sixth Annual Conference in Beirut on December 16, 1981. Among those attending the opening were Fateh Central Committee member Abu Iyad, PLO Executive Committee member Yasser Abd Rabbo, Assistant Secretary-General of the Lebanese National Movement Inaam Raad, and representatives of various medical institutions.

In his address, Abu Iyad praised "the merciful hands which in the coming days will have to deal with an increase in conspiracies because war is being forced upon us from all fronts."

On December 21, the Conference issued its recommendations and resolutions. The conference highly praised the role of the Society's various sections, its staff and volunteers; and assessed its achievements over the previous period.

The Conference also saluted the uprising in occupied Palestine, and decided to contribute a day's wages from all P.R.C.S. staff to support the Palestinian masses under occupation.

It also greeted all the Palestinian doctors inside the occupied territories, and appealed for material and moral support to be given to them in their confrontation with Israeli oppression.

The Red Crescent denounced the extradition of the Palestinian militant Ziad Abu 'Ain. It praised the role of foreign and Arab doctors who shouldered their responsibility during the war launched by Israel against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, particularly after the barbaric raid on the Fakhani quarter in Beirut.

Following are some of the Conference recommendations:

– Building up social and health care facilities, particularly in the coccupied territories.

– Consolidating and expanding the P.R.C.S.' relations on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels, with special concentration on Western Europe and America; and consolidating relations with associations in the Socialist bloc.

Lebanon: Interview with Ina'am Ra'ad:

THE L.N.M. STRUGGLES FOR A UNITED AND DEMOCRATIC ARAB LEBANON

On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, *Palestine* interviewed Mr. Ina'am Ra'ad, President of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) and Vice-Chairman of The Lebanese National Movement (LNM). The interview was conducted at the headquarters of the SSNP in Beirut, Lebanon.

Historically, the party's foundations were laid by the visionary Arab leader Antoine Sa'adeh, who founded the SSNP in 1932. He believed that Arab nationalism should unite present-day Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, occupied Palestine and Iraq into a Greater Syria extending up to its natural geographic boundaries. The bases for the formation of the Syria of the Fertile Crescent, Sa'adeh professed, were the historical ties that have traditionally bound the Fertile Crescent economically, socially, culturally and politically.

Another basic premise in the SSNP's ideology is that differentiation between the state and religion be practised.

Sa'adeh was also among the first to speak out to the Arab nation at large about the imminent dangers of Zionist colonialism and the threat it posed to all Arab people. In the name of Arab nationalists the SSNP continues today to stand by the Palestinian Revolution and its just struggle for the rights of the Palestinian people and all the oppressed peoples of the world.

– On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution we would like to ask you to say a few words about it and its significance for all Arab national liberation movements.

A. "In November we celebrated our 49th anniversary with a mass rally at the Arab University of Beirut and *Hani al-Hassan*, member of Fateh Central Committee, was a guest speaker representing the Palestinian Revolution.

"My message is one of solidarity, not in words only but in sharing the same position of steadfastness throughout the past six or seven years. The combatants of our party were fighting side by side with the PLO and Fateh on all fronts and in particular in southern Lebanon. As you know our party sticks to a position of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle which is neither strategic nor tactical but is based on ideology and principle.

"In the principles of our party, it is clearly stated that it is the duty of all Syrian Social Nationalists to resist and repulse Zionist colonialism. This has been our policy since 1932 and is contained in the text of our principles. So it is a matter of faith and belief, both of which are essential parts of our ideology. From 1921 and mainly in 1925, seven years before the foundation of the party, our founder, Antoine Sa'adeh, in the magazine *al-Majalla* which was organised and edited by his father, Khalil Sa'adeh, and published in Brazil, and of which Antoine Sa'adeh himself later became chief editor, wrote several articles appealing to the Arab nation to be aware of the Zionist colonial settlement and the implications of the Balfour Declaration and the Sykes-Picot Agreement. From the early twenties, he considered the Zionist danger as the main danger threatening the very existence of our Arab nation and he emphasised that it was not the duty of the Palestinians alone to resist that danger, but the duty of all the states surrounding Palestine. This was one of the main motives for founding our party because in one of his major articles of that period, under the title, *The Zionist Plan,* Antoine Sa'adeh stated that the Zionists were working according to very systematic methods and that although it is a plan based on falsehood it was apt to succeed because of its systematic nature. ' Unless we organise a national systematic plan that could rebuff the Zionists, success will be the result their of endeavours to occupy Palestine. ' This was written in 1925.

"On the basis of these principles our position with the PLO is more than strategic. Our strategy is based on ideology and principles. Therefore, on this occasion, I would like to salute the Palestinian people on their stubborn resistance in the occupied lands and the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine and elsewhere."

– How do you evaluate the work of the Arab Follow-up Committee in Lebanon?

A: "We are with any Arab effort because we are against internationalising the Lebanese crisis, although it has been already internationalised through the Israeli connection with the Phalangists and through the affiliations of this party and their isolationist project, including Haddad in the south, with the Camp David alliance. We reject any internationalisation on the official level and on this basis we have, with the Lebanese National Movement and as a party within the LNM, facilitated the efforts of the Arab Follow-up Committee and dealt with it positively. We insisted on the Committee sticking to its programme because there were some efforts on the part of some officials in the Lebanese state to make it a part of their programme. Its own programme starts with the point of being assured that the Israeli connection is cut. There were some efforts to make partial security plans come first but we insisted that they should stick to their programme because we cannot have any discussion about national reconciliation unless we are sure that we are making a national reconciliation with Lebanese and not with pro-Israelis. This is a precondition. But we did not reject any security plans that would help to ease the situation on the one condition that the Lebanese army would not be used in any of these security plans, as the status of the Lebanese army is one of the items of the national reconciliation and it could not be used within the context of any security plans before the national reconciliation takes place."

"WE BELIEVE THAT THE LEBANESE NATIONAL SHIELD PROTECTS THE P.L.O. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT THE P.L.O. NEEDED BADLY IN JORDAN IN 1970 and 1971,"

– What is the present role, in your view, of the Lebanese National Movement in Lebanon?

The Syrian Social Nationalist Party's rally at Beirut's Arab University to celebrate its 49th anniversary

A.: "At present, one of the basic points is to help build the majority of the Lebanese into a national consensus because we believe that the majority of the Lebanese are against any connection with the Zionists and are for the Arab character of Lebanon, for its unity and its democratic development. The potentialities are scattered and grouping them together in a wide front could give Lebanon the real representation of the people. This could challenge the false intentions and claims of the fascists that they represent the Lebanese because up to now these fascists try to make this crisis appear as if it is a Lebanese-Palestinian crisis , a Lebanese-Syrian crisis, a Lebanese-Arab crisis, although it is basically a Lebanese-Lebanese crisis. It is one in which the fascist elements are in the minority, and the majority of the Lebanese uphold the unity of Lebanon and its Arab relations and are against the Zionist infiltration. But as I said, we should unite these scattered efforts into one front. Therefore the LNM as a nucleus, as a central force, should work on this grouping together of all the different tendencies into this wide front."

– Where do you place the Palestinian Resistance in terms of the Lebanese arena?

A: "I think the Lebanese National Movement has given more than once, over the years, evidence that it protects the presence of the Palestinian Resistance and its right to exist and its right to defend itself and protect its rifle. We have fought this fight in order to protect the PLO from the international conspiracy. I think that any progress that the LNM can achieve in the balance of power in Lebanon will be directly and indirectly to the benefit of the PLO."

– Do you consider the PLO outside of the balance of power equation in Lebanon?

A: "The PLO, as brother Yasser Arafat announced on November 22, after meeting with President Elias Sarkis, wants to keep itself out of the Lebanese balance; it does not want to meddle. It would injure the PLO if it were to meddle in Lebanese domestic politics. This is left to the LNM. Not that we are isolationists. We are nationalists, we are for unity but we believe that the Lebanese national shield protects the PLO more than the PLO meddling in domestic politics would. I think this is something that the PLO needed badly in Jordan in 1970 and 1971 because there was no Jordanian national movement that protected its presence and rights."

– What is the solution to the Lebanese crisis in your opinion?

A : "We maintain perhaps a very distinct analysis of the Lebanese crisis. We believe that the Lebanese crisis should be solved according to the principle of national security. This involves the following items: First, the Syrian and Palestinian presence in Lebanon should not be looked upon as a foreign presence or as a presence that is a burden to Lebanon. This is a major departure point of our party and I have stated its underlying principles in answering the first question. Second, the fate of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, the fertile crescent of the Arab world, is one versus the Zionist scheme, and therefore, if we share this same national destiny, we should achieve the same national formula which is the formula of a unified national security.

"On the basis of this, we as a party have advocated the concluding of a defensive treaty in which Lebanon, Syria and the PLO will be partners. This is the triangle of national steafastness in the Arab east. And according to this a treaty should be concluded between the Lebanese Republic and the Syrian Republic; a defensive treaty, whereby the Syrian army will not be situated here just on the basis that it is an Arab deterrent force but permanently as part of the national security plan against Israel. The PLO forces will be considered an Arab ally and therefore they will have this status also. How could the European states tolerate the presence of American bases and American troops although they are national sovereign states? We and the Palestinians and the Syrians are from one nation. We are not different nations, and therefore the PLO (cannot be compared to the American army. Yet the chauvinist Europeans are tolerating the presence of the American army on their land.

"We all know that in 1914 and 1939, Europeans made world wars on the basis of the national state and its sovereignty, yet now they are tolerating, through the Atlantic Pact, the presence of foreign troops, in different lands.

"So, how can we get away from the idea of the city-state that prevails in Lebanon? That was the system that prevailed in ancient Greece when Sparta and Athens were city-states. We should finish with this. National security necessitates that we look upon the Syrian presence as part of the national security formula which defends the sovereignty and security of Lebanon against the Israelis.

"On the basis of this we say that the Lebanese army should be rebuilt as part of the eastern front against Israel, in coordination with the Palestinians and the Syrians and not that the Lebanese army has only one role, that of replacing the Syrians and the Palestinians. It should be part of the national security plan in order to replace the Israelis. Without this foundation we cannot reach any solution to the Lebanese crisis.

"In 1943 there was a situation whereby Lebanon was neither Arab nor Western. What was the result? The 1958 and 1975 civil wars. Therefore we need to find a radical solution. Of course, there is the reform of the system and this should be part of the national reconciliation discussions. We stand for instance, as a secular party, for the abolition of sectarianism and for a secular democratic state. But that would be part of reforming the system, and you cannot reform a system unless you clarify the national bases."

OCCUPATION DIARY

ZIONIST REPRESSIVE MEASURES FOILED, PALESTINIAN PROTESTS CONTINUE IN GAZA STRIP

Palestinian people throughout the occupied territories continued throughout December their uprising in protest against Zionist occupation and its attempts to impose the "civil administration" scheme. The Palestinians are also protesting the repressive and terrorist measures practised by the Zionist authorities against them. All signs point to the escalation of the uprising. It began over 6 weeks ago and assumed a violent character since the protests have been met with savage repression and terror.

Palestinian Youth Shot Dead in Rafah

The Gaza Strip has been declared a "closed zone" by the occupation authorities in the wake of the largest popular uprising for nine years. Despite the brutal measures, strikes and demonstrations have been increasing throughout the Strip.

In the city of Gaza, the citizens continued their general strike, and all business activity in the city came to a standstill. The streets have been filled with occupation troops. The so-called "Border Guards" threatened the striking shopkeepers with arrest if they didn't open up their shops. The threats went unheeded. On December 9, in the city of Rafah, families and students demonstrated in protest against the murder of the student Muhammad Salem Abu Nahleh who was shot by the occupation troops on December 1 for his participation in the anti-occupation demonstrations. The protestors threw stones at the Israeli military vehicles, as "security forces" tried to disperse the demonstration by force. Troops fired at the demonstrators and threw tear gas canisters, before placing the whole town under curfew.

General Strike in Khan Younis

The town of Khan Younis in the Strip also witnessed a massive uprising. Schools, shops and public institutions continued to observe the general strike which began on December 5 in response to a call by the town's municipal council. Soldiers have been trying in vain to force shopkeepers to open their shops. Several young Palestinians were wounded when troops opened fire on the demonstrators. Demonstrations also broke out on December 9, in Jabalia refugee camp and Beit Hanoun in the Gaza Strip. Huge demonstrations were staged in protest against the Israeli occupation. The inhabitants of Beit Hanoun erected barricades and burned tires to prevent the Zionist military vehicles from entering the area. Barricades were also set-up in Jabalia camp. The Israeli soldiers later entered the Camp and tried to disperse the demonstrators.

Towards the Annexation of the Gaza Strip

The uprising in the Gaza Strip began on November 25 when physicians and pharmacists, along with the rest of the population went on strike in protest against the so-called civil administration which was engineered by Israeli War Minister Ariel Sharon, a step towards the annexation of the region. The struggle against the occupation authorities was intensified when Zionist authorities imposed exorbitant taxes on the inhabitants.

West Bank Towns Demonstrate in Solidarity with Gaza

The so-called "Employment Officer" of the Gaza Strip military government called in a number of striking physicians and threatened that he would fire them if they go on with their protest action. However, the strike continued despite the threats and has been supported by all national institutions and unions throughout the occupied territories. West Bank cities and towns also went on general strike in solidarity with the Gaza Strip demonstrators. The strike which was called by various municipalities in the West Bank led to the closure of all businesses, social and civil institutions and public schools. Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarem, Ramallah, Dora and Bir Zeit were among the striking cities and towns, where Zionist military vehicles have been subjected to several attacks by Palestinian youth, who hurled rocks and empty bottles at the occupation forces, proclaiming their rejection to all forms of occupation. However, the Israeli forces failed to disperse many demonstrations due to the large number of demonstrators, and the military vehicles faced great difficulty in getting through the barricades and the burning tires which were set up by the inhabitants.

Town Councils Denounce Zionist Measures

On December 1, the town councils of Ramallah and al-Bireh denounced the arbitrary measures taken by the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian Physicians' Association in the Gaza Strip and the mass arrests of Palestinian doctors and pharmacists there.

The statement came in a joint communique in which the councils gave their unconditional support to the just decisions taken by the Gaza Physicians' Association in protest against forced taxation and the arrest of physicians, pharmacists and veterinarians in Gaza.

The communique demanded an "immediate end to these measures which are in violation of international laws and norms."

On December 13, a member of the Gaza municipality said that the talks between the Zionist authorities and the recently formed Gaza strike committee ended in failure because of the Israeli's blind obstinacy. The source said that if the Israeli authorities stuck to their position, the general strike would be declared open until all the Palestinian demands were met, despite the Israeli claims that the strike has ended.

Israeli Official: P.L.O. Enjoys Influence in Gaza.

In an interview conducted by Radio Israel on December 9, the former Military Governor of the Gaza Strip said he was extremely worried about the popular uprising taking place in Gaza. He added that what was going on was a struggle between Israel and the PLO over the control of the Gaza Strip.

The former Military Governor tried to justify Israel's aggressive and fascist measures against the Gaza population by saying that the blood which is shed today, the demolition of houses, the breaking up of demonstrations, and the forceful reopening of shops is a cheap price to pay for the elimination of the PLO's power and influence.

He admitted that the PLO has tremendous power and influence among the population of the Gaza Strip, and held the PLO responsible for supporting the demonstrations, strikes, and clashes with the Israeli army. He said that the students who are demonstrating and throwing stones at Israeli vehicles are carrying out PLO instructions via their school administrations.

The former Military Governor of the Gaza Strip concluded by "urging the Israeli authorities to strike at the PLO politically and military."

On November 10, the mayor of Gaza, Rashad Shawa, predicted that Sharon would fail to create an alternative leadership to the P.L.O. The Palestinians inside and outside the occupied territories were united in demanding self-determination and an independent state. They have never wanted to live under Israeli sovereignty and never will.

ASSAULT ON PALESTINIAN STUDENTS CONDEMNED

The Hebrew University in Jerusalem recently witnessed a wave of assaults on Palestinian and progressive Jewish students by officially condoned Zionist fanatics. According to a report in the newspaper of the Israeli Rakah party *al-Ittihad* of December 22, this has aroused widespread indignation. Knesset member Tewfiq Toubi has sent an urgent appeal to the Knesset concerning the assaults, to be included in the agenda of its next session, the paper said.

The regional Arab Students' Union, the Progressive Lecturers' Committee, the Campus Organisation and the Arab Students' Committee in Tel Aviv University also issued statements denouncing the planting of mines at the Hebrew University on December 21 and condemning the complicity of Israeli policy with the aggressors. Arab students in Haifa University also expressed their full solidarity with their fellow students in Jerusalem.

The statement of the Regional Students' Union said: "We strongly denounce the assault by the 'Castel' fascist group on Arab and progressive Jewish students in Jerusalem University, and the attempts of the state-run media to distort the facts and claim that Arab students had gathered in advance and were carrying knives and sticks. *Al-Ittihad* added that the students staged a sit-in and presented the following demands: to establish a commission of inquiry, including members of the faculty and excluding the University administration and the police; the immediate expulsion of two notorious Zionist fanatics from the University because they led the savage attack against the Arab students and bear full responsibility for the consequences of their aggression; to set free all detained Arab students as soon as possible.

The newspaper reported in detail the raid by the facist "Katz" gang which attacked the Arab students' dormitories on December 20, using knives, sticks and metal chains. Two Arab students were injured and hospitalized. The "Katz" gang was confronted by the Campus Democratic Movement. This led to the arrival of Israeli policemen and border guards who ordered the

immediate dispersal of the Arabs who would otherwise face severe reprisals.

The newspaper also confirmed the report that glass bottles were thrown at the Democratic Jewish youths and their Arab colleagues, and that one Jewish girl was wounded in the face. Later the same evening, the "Katz" gang broke into the room of two Arab students and proceeded to destroy its contents. The students were not in their room at the time. The University, the paper added, did not take any action against the assailants for these repeated attacks. The only conclusion to the drawn from the University administration's attitude to these repeated assaults, the newspaper said, is that it tacitly or overtly supports the activities of the fascist Zionist gangs.

U.N. UPHOLDS PALESTINIAN RIGHTS OVER RESOURCES IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

On December 8, the UN Special Committee for Economic and Financial Affairs adopted a resolution upholding the right of the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples to permanent control over all the natural resources to be found in the occupied territories. The Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly confirmed the resolution by 105 votes. Israel and the United States voted against the resolution, and the West European countries abstained.

The Committee affirmed that the resolution stipulates control over other resources including economic and health institutions. The resolution also condemned the Zionist measures inside the occupied Arab territories and the illegal harnessing and misuse of natural resources.

RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON PALESTINIAN FARMERS IN GALILEE

In early December, Palestinian farmers in the territories occupied since 1948 declared that the Israeli authorities have recently reduced the areas of land set aside for the farmers' vegetable cultivation.

The land is in Galilee and the Triangle, and the new restrictions seriously threaten the farmers' livelihood.

On December 3, the Israeli newspaper *Al Hamishmar* reported that vegetables are the only agricultural goods they are allowed to produce. The Israeli Ministry of the Interior has already barred them from raising poultry and cattle, or planting orchards.

The occupation authorities recently plouged up 12 dunums of land in al-Tireh village, rendering it unfit for cultivation. The pretext given was that the owner failed to get a license to cultivate his land. The Vegetables Council, which is part of the Interior Ministry, is responsible for issuing these licenses, but it is in practice used as a means to impose restriction on Palestinian farmers. For instance 'Arar village was authorised to plant only two dunums of vegetables.

HUNGER STRIKE IN TULKAREM PRISON

On December 7, the Palestinian political prisoners held in Tulkarem prison announced that they have been on an open hunger strike for eight days. The hunger strike was in protest against the oppressive measures practised by their Israeli jailers and the abominable conditions in the prison.

In a communique explaining the reasons for the strike, the prisoners said that they are constantly subjected to physical and psychological torture. They added that they are kept in cells seven metres underground which lack proper ventilation, and they are subject to bad water and food shortages. As a result, a large number of prisoners had fallen seriously ill, but were not allowed to receive any medical treatment.

The prisoners also told of an incident when Warden Rahayim Pierce savagely beat up one of the detainees. When the prisoners complained about the incident to a Red Cross representative, Pierce resorted to even more savage measures against them.

The Tulkarem prisoners said that the number of Palestinian prisoners who had died in Israeli jails showed the hollowness of Zionist claims that Jewish and Arab prisoners are accorded equal treatment. Tulkarem Mayor Hilmi Hannoun has declared his full support for the strike.

49 ANTI-ZIONIST JEWS ARRESTED

On November 29, a large number of Zionist soldiers and so-called Border Guards were brought into the West Bank city of Ramallah in an attempt to disperse a Jewish anti-Zionist demonstration. Dozens of tear gas canisters were fired into the crowd.

Forty-nine of the protestors, including Jewish professors and students of Israeli universities, who had organised the protest against the military government's closing down of the University of Bir Zeit, were arrested.

Participants in the protest said that the Zionist army had reacted more harshly than it had previously to anti-Zionist Jewish demonstrations.

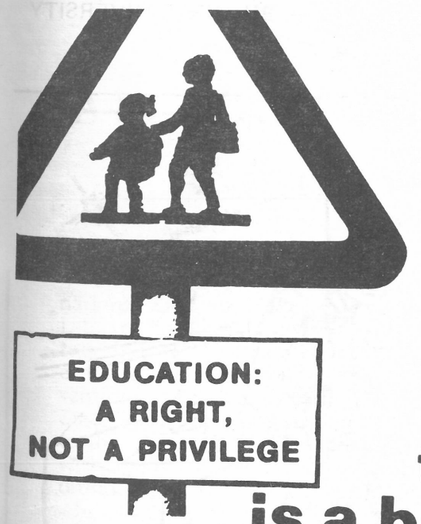
Zionist Harassment Policy against Palestinian Educational Institutes Continues

BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY CLOSED

The following statement was issued on November 24, 1981. The Bir Zeit University will be closed until January 4, 1982.

Bir Zeit University remains closed. Despite mounting international and local indignation and protest, the Israeli military authorities are still pursuing their policy of collective punishment and repression of academic freedom. As part of this escalation, the closure of Bir Zeit University has been followed by a systematic campaign of harassment and intimidation directed against members of the administration, faculty, and student body. On November 9, only five days after the closure, Dr. Gabi Baramki, Vice President, was summoned by the Military Governor to Ramallah Military Headquarters at 10.00 p.m. He was released around midnight and asked to report the next morning. When he did, he was confined to Ramallah and was told not to hold any meetings or attend any functions related to the University during the closure period. Other members of the University Council (the University administrative body which includes all vice presidents and deans) were also detained at different hours the same night. Dr. Izzat Ghurani, Vice President for Financial and Administrative Affairs, was placed under house arrest for three days. Ramzi Rihan, Assistant to the Vice President for Academic Affairs, was confined to Nablus. All three, as well as the deans of colleges in the University, were told not to hold or attend meetings or perform any functions related to the University. Individual faculty members were also harassed; as an example the University faculty apartments were raided on the night of November 14 by army and plainclothes personnel, terrifying the residents who happened to be American nationals. In addition, other members were detained, or interrogated, or confined to certain towns.

The students, however, fared the worst. Members of the Student Council were hunted down one by one and detained; they were subsequently placed under down or house arrest at the towns of their residence and ordered to report daily to their local police stations. Some who were not immediately found suffered the



the right to education is a basic human right

birzeit university should be reopened !

further injury of having their parents mistreated or detained in their place until the students themselves were located. In at least two instances, it was confirmed that the students were badly beaten. The President of the Student Council, Mufid Abed-Rabbo, is still in detention, without any charges filed against him. Such actions are not isolated instances of repression and intimidation directed solely against the Bir Zeit University community; rather, they are concrete examples of a determined campaign which seeks to undermine existing Palestinian institutions and prevent the development of others — in essence, to deny the Palestinian people their right to self-determination.

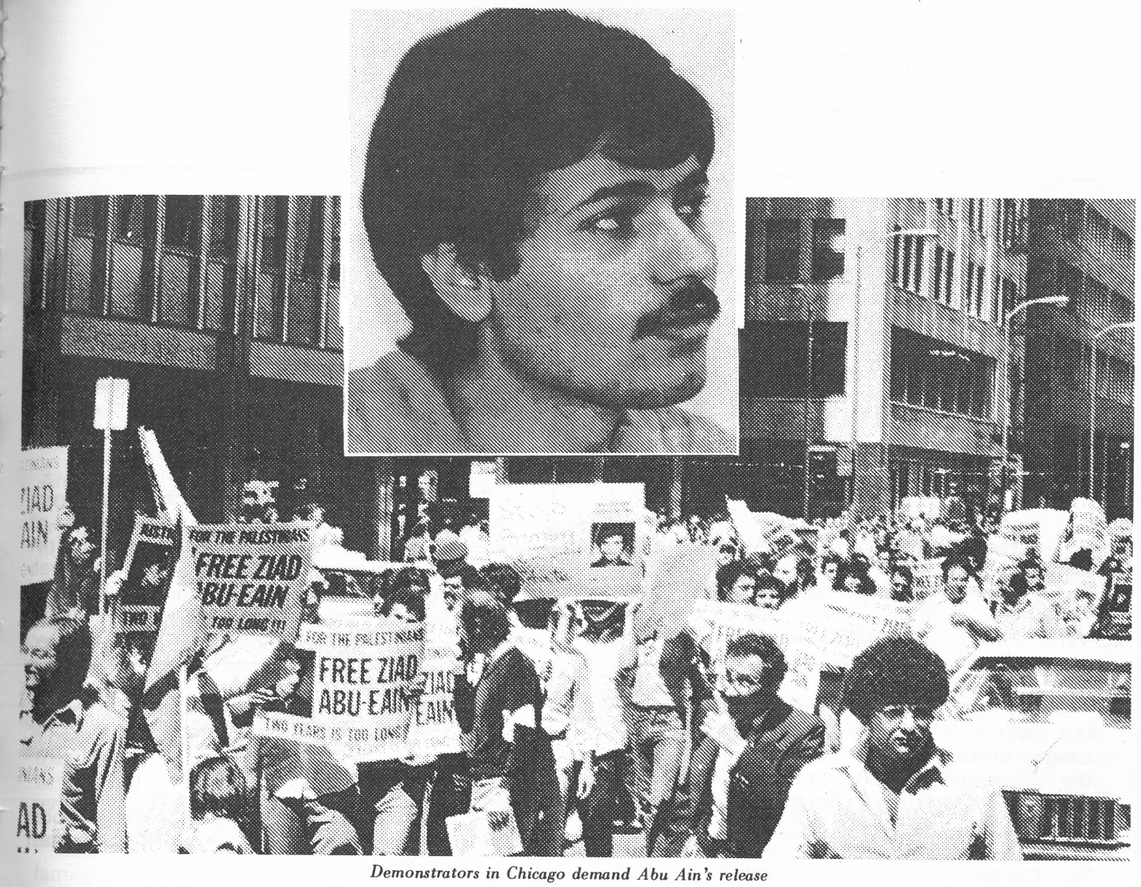
In response to an order by the Supreme Court which convened at the request of a member of the faculty and three students, the Military Governor of Ramallah, Colonel Shmuel Penial (Shmulick), "limited" the period of closure to two months as of November 4. Also in compliance with the same court order Shmulick later detailed in writing the "reasons" for the closure. It is unfortunate that cultural and educational activities such as the annual Palestine Week and the current Adult Education (Literacy) Programme were viewed as subversive activities by the military authorities. Previous closures were also cited as justification, although no system in the world condones "double penalty", and no form of logic justifies an error (or an oppression) by citing others. Furthermore, unsupported accusations of political activity and incitement were levelled against the administration, faculty, and the Student Council in generalised abstractions that bear no relationship to objective reality. Predictably, the whole document is dominated by the parroting of traditional Israeli propaganda which presents Bir Zeit University as a "centre and source of incitement and instigation in the area as an expression of its active resistance to the Military Governor and the state of Israel."

Again, the Israeli military authorities have distorted reality in an attempt to justify their arbitrary actions and repressive policies. They have ignored not only the widespread resistance to the occupation which has swept the whole Occupied Territories, but also the academic functions and integrity of the oldest academic institution in the area. The occupation authorities delude themselves in attempting to deceive the rest of the world by projecting a false image. Furthermore, such rationalizations cannot disguise the fact that the occupation is the cause of trouble in the area and not Palestinian institutions or individuals.

Your solidarity with Bir Zeit University and your efforts to reopen the University are a significant contribution to the cause of academic freedom and internationally recognized human rights. We call upon you to intensify your efforts to get the University reopened and to protest at the Israeli policy of harassment and intimidation.

BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY

November 24, 1981



Demonstrators in Chicago demand Abu Ain's release

U.S. Extradites Ziad Abu Ain to Israel:

A BLATANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND PREJUDICE AGAINST ARABS

On December 12, 1981, the Palestinian national Ziad Abu Ain was extradited from the U.S. to Israel after being jailed in the U.S. for two and half a years, without bail. His extradition took place despite Arab countries' intervention in his favour, which finally made the State Department promise the Arab ambassadors to the U.S. that it would discuss Abu Ain's case with them on December 17, before his extradition. This turned out to be a mere ploy.

The *Guardian* newspaper on December 14, 1981 reported, according to eyewitnesses, that Ziad was handcuffed between two security men as he was taken off an El-Al flight from New York so quickly that he fell to his knees at the bottom of the steps.

The Beirut English language weekly magazine *Monday Morning* December 21-27, 1981 reported that his lawyer, Felicia Langer, had told Abdeen Jbara of Ziad's defence team in the U.S. that his hands were bruised, his hair had been pulled out and he was still in his Chicago prison clothes on his arrival at Ben Gurion airport in Israel. Abu Ain will face a military mock-trial on a charge of allegedly placing a bomb which exploded in the market place of Tiberias in occupied Palestine.

The charges against Ziad are based on a 'confession' in Hebrew, signed by another Palestinian under torture. The 'confession' has since been retracted on two occasions in the presence of Israeli attorneys. Ziad has at least a dozen witnesses who can attest to the fact that he was nowhere near Tiberias at the time of the explosion.

Responses in the U.S. and at the U.N.

The spokesman of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, James Zogby, declared that this move by the U.S. State Department is a slap in the face to the Arab world, adding that 30,000 Arab-Americans had signed a petition against Ziad's extradition.

Dozens of Palestinians and Arabs living in the U.S. held a sit-in on December 13 at the Arab League offices in Washington to protest against the US decision to extradite Ziad Abu Ain to the Israeli authorities. This sit-in lasted 4 days.

Supporters of the Palestinian Revolution in San Francisco sent protest cables to the Arab ambassadors accredited to the USA, in which they criticized the ambassadors for failing to halt the extradition order. In a statement they issued on December 16 they also recorded their outraged protest against official Arab neglect, irresponsibility, and failure to protect their legitimate humanitarian rights; adding that any Arab citizen could, now, be detained or extradited on false accusations.

The General Union of Palestinian Students, Washington D.C. Chapter, on December 15 issued a statement of protest which called upon the Arab governments to take the following measures:

1 — To sever all diplomatic relations with the U.S.
2 — To stop the flow of Arab oil to the U.S.
3 — To withdraw all Arab assets in the U.S.
4 — To terminate all facilities given to American companies operating in Arab countries.

The General Assembly of the U.N. on the night of 17-18 December came up with a resolution condemning the U.S. measure. The resolution was passed by 71 votes to 21 with 43 abstentions. Among those opposing the resolution were the U.S.'s allies in the Atlantic Pact.

Many U.S. church groups had urged the U.S. government to refuse Abu Ain's deportation. The National Council of Churches, the Church of the Brethren, the Reformed Church in Geneva, the United Church of Christ and the United Methodist Churches, all directed appeals to Secretary of State Alexander Haig in last-minute efforts to free Abu Ain.

The U.S. decision met with anger from Arab-American community organisations at large. The anger was directed not only against the U.S. government, but also against Arab governments and their ambassadors in Washington, who are accused by the Arab-American community of nelgecting Abu Ain's case.

Angry Reactions in the Occupied Lands and the Arab World

On December 13, Palestinians in the occupied territories came out in their thousands to protest at the extradition.

In Nablus, 5,000 students from al-Najah University and schools in the town staged a demonstration for Ziad in which they denounced this latest American hostile action and the Zionist occupation. Shops, businesses and institutions in Nablus also staged a strike.

In al-Bireh, Palestinian demonstrators clashed with Israeli troops, who were trying to disperse them by force. The demonstrators, who shouted slogans in support of Ziad, responded by throwing stones and bottles at the troops.

More strikes and demonstrations were held in the nearby al-Ama'ari refugee camp and other towns and villages in the West Bank.

On the wider Arab level, Arab League Secretary General Chadli al-Qleibi denounced the extradition, which he said revealed the extent of Zionist influence on US policy.

The Algerian, Jordanian and North Yemeni governments issued communiques denouncing the extradition and the Soviet news agency *Tass* issued a commentary attacking the new American violation of Palestinian rights.

In the West Bank, the Israeli military authorities were prevented from demolishing the home of Abu Ain's family by an Israeli Supreme Court temporary injunction. The injunction was issued following a suit by the Abu Ain family who were afraid that their home would be demolished in accordance with the occupation authorities' policy against Palestinians suspected of being engaged in resistance activities.

In a memorandum delivered to the U.S. Ambassador in Amman on December 20, Ziad's wife Hiyam said that she considered illegal and arbitrary the U.S. decision to extradite her husband to the Israeli authorities, and requested the following from the U.S. Government:

First, the resumption of Ziad's trial in occupied Palestine, and the guarantee that he will be allowed to defend himself before a civil court.

Second, permission for a doctor from outside the prison where Ziad is held to examine the detainee, who had been beaten by Israeli secret service agents at Kennedy Airport in New York;

Third, guarantees that the property of Ziad's family is not confiscated, and that their home is not blown up, and permission for his sister in Chicago to receive his private belongings, left in the Federal jail, so they will not be handed over to the Israeli authorities.

Hiyam finally denounced the inhuman manner in which the American authorities exradited Ziad to Israel.

In Tripoli, Libya, the General Secretary of the Arab People's Conference sent a message to the Head of the Executive Committee of the P.L.O, Yasser Arafat, in which he described the extradition as a "new hostile American position directed against the Palestinian people and a blatant aggression against human rights."

The Kuwaiti government condemned the action, stating that "the American State Department did not take the Arab reactions into consideration." A Jordanian government spokesman expressed his surprise at American conduct and described the resolution as "lacking wisdom".

Chairman Arafat received cables of denunciation of the US conduct, including some from the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, the Teachers and Lecturers Union at the Faculty of Sciences in Tunis and the Arts students at Tunis University.

These three messages described the US decision to extradite Ziad Abu 'Ain as a grave violation of human rights, and a proof of the existing collaboration between the USA and Israel.

P.L.O. Denounces U.S. Measure

Fateh Central Committee member Abu Iyad on December 13 issued a statement on Ziad's extradition, which he described as "another filfthy crime" by the United States against the Palestinian people. "By committing this crime", Abu Iyad said, "the U.S. administration clearly confirms through action, and not rhetoric, the reality of its strategic alliance with the Zionist enemy. The U.S. has disgraced itself in front of all the Arabs who still have illusions about the possibility of its being impartial, and those who still trust its promises that it remains determined to achieve stability in the Middle East."

"This dangerous precedent means to us that the life and security of any Arab student or citizen residing in the U.S. has become directly threatened by the U.S. and Israel."

Abu Iyad concluded that "the US administration, by extraditing Ziad Abu Ain to the Zionist authorities, is practising the ugliest form of terrorism and international piracy. The U.S. administration, by carrying out this action, proves to the whole world that it is the leader of international terrorism."

In a telephone interview with Ziad, made by the Arab weekly magazine, *al-Mustaqbal*, two hours before his extradition, and published on December 10, 1981, Ziad concluded by saying: "There is one thing I want to tell my Arab brethren. I am not afraid, I will remain steadfast, for my life does not matter, it is a small sacrifice. If I am extraditied, when I go to Palestine, I will shout loudly in their faces, this is my land, my father's land and you must go away."

WEST BANK AND GAZA:

THE IMPACT OF THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION ON THE PALESTINIAN ECONOMY

Introduction:

At the start of the Israeli war of aggression on June 5, 1967, the Israeli government issued a declaration: "We have no aim of territorial conquest." By the cessation of hostilities the Zionists had taken control over Syria's Golan Heights, the Egyptian Sinai peninsula and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel now controlled all of Palestine and almost a million more Palestinians were brought under Zionist domination. The Zionist entity had increased its land area by 300%.

Throughout the period of the war the Zionist policy of depopulation was sharply revealed. The Israeli army drove 15,000 inhabitants of Tulkarem over the border with Jordan. Zionist bulldozers razed three villages on the West Bank in the immediate aftermath of the war. Altogether, more than a quarter of a million Palestinians were forced, at Israeli gunpoint, to flee the West Bank and Gaza. When about 160,000 refugees applied to the occupation authorities to return shortly after the end of the war, the Zionists, under strong worldwide pressure, issued only 18,000 residence permits. None were granted to residents of Jerusalem, however. On June 21, the Israeli government annexed East Jerusalem.

The brutalities suffered by the people of the occupied lands have been widely documented. The Palestinians, every day, are confronted with deportation orders, demolition of their houses, collective punishments, arrests and torture in Zionist prisons. Hospitals and other social services have been cut, while schools, colleges and universities are under vicious assault. Zionism's aim is to destroy any trace of resistance and any assertion of Palestinian national identity. In this respect, Zionist colonisation matches the chain of events that happened in Palestine prior to 1948.

There exists one significant difference however: Zionist colonisation, prior to 1948, was based on land – grabbing and a policy of 'Avoda Ivrit' (exclusively "Jewish labour" i.e. employing only Jews in Jewish enterprises). By 1967 however, the crisis in the Zionist economy was more clearly in evidence. There was a very dangerous balance of payments situation and a cheap labour shortage in important sectors of the economy. The drying-up of the reparations payments from Germany seriously affected the Zionists' industrial development programme. The demands of the Israeli economy pressured the Zionists, in some measure, to give up their pledge to racist purity in their labour policy by employing cheap Arab labour from the occupied territories.

It was against this background that the plan for 'economic integration' between Israel and the occupied territories was presented as a move towards a solution to these problems, while simultaneously continuing Zionist rule over the West Bank and Gaza without direct annexation. The basis for 'economic integration' is the supply of cheap Palestinian labour from the occupied territories to Israel, the diminution of the Palestinian agricultural and industrial bases and the control of marketing and trade. This is the economic policy that has been pursued throughout the 14 years of occupation in conjunction with the Zionisation of public services, the restrictions on water resources for irrigation purposes and the erection of Zionist colonial settlements on Palestinian land. The impact of Zionist settlements policy has weighed heavily on the economies of the occupied territories.

Zionist Settlement Policy

The areas under occupation provided the Zionists with more land and vast new water resources. Soon after the 1967 ceasefire, settlements were set up. An army unit would initially provide an infrastructural base for the settlement including housing, power lines and water supply. Then settlers would be introduced to carry on the job. World opinion blindly accepted the 'security reasons' cited by the Israelis for confiscation of the land.

On the West Bank, the Zionists clustered the settlements on the border areas in order to cut off the occupied territories and to make impossible communication with the adjacent Arab states. The Zionists' settlements policy led to the formation of two belts of colonisation. The first belt stretched from south of the Dead Sea to the northern limit of the West Bank with the 1948-occupied territories, following the valley of the river Jordan. These settlements were, for the most part, involved in cultivation.

The second belt commenced from the southern end of the Jerusalem-Ariha (Jericho) road and was joined to the first belt. These settlements were involved in both agricultural and industrial production.

By 1978, 51 colonies had been established on the West Bank, encircling the Palestinian inhabitants from all points of the compass. The Zionists took control of nearly three-quarters of the farming lands in the Jordan valley and have built up a wide-ranging infrastructure including wells, irrigation channels, an electric power grid and telecommunications cables which supply and link the two belts of settlements.

In the Gaza Strip, swathes of colonies cut the area grill-fashion isolating the Arab population from Egypt and enclosing them totally. 25 settlements were constructed in the Golan to cut off the area from Syria.

The Israeli Likud government of the terrorist Begin has proceeded to establish a third strand of colonies in the West Bank stretching along the western mountains into the north, its aim being to push the Israeli border into the heavily populated areas and shear in two the north part of the West Bank.

Israeli occupation troops in Jerusalem

While Mapai (the Israeli Labour Party) has constructed the most colonies overall (76 settlements from June 1967 to July 1977), they have been purposely located in such a pattern as to establish 'facts' for a territorial compromise along the lines of the Allon plan.

Since 1977, under Begin's government, not only has the construction of settlements been accelerated (44 new settlements in three years), but they are being concentrated in areas heavily populated by Palestinians in order to establish a different set of 'facts' – the Zionisation and annexation of the occupied territories, leaving no room for a political settlement.

According to Israeli statistics in November 1980, more than five times as many Jews live in the West Bank than when the Likud came to power. In 1977 there were 3,200 Jews living in 24 colonies on the West Bank while in 1980 there were 17,400 in 68 colonies.

Begin has now under study a new project to introduce 1.5 million Jews into the West Bank by the year 2010. The principal focal point of the immigration would be 'Greater Jerusalem' – a gigantic urban development extending from Ramallah and Bethlehem halfway towards the Dead Sea, populated by half a million Israelis. The Palestinian population would meanwhile be confined to tiny enclaves.

The Zionist authorities plan to augment the number of Jews living on the West Bank to 120,000 in the next 3 years.

Water Restrictions

Immediately following the end of the war, a stretch of land was cleared of occupants along the Jordan river. Access to its waters was forbidden and

THE IMPACT OF THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION ON THE PALESTINIAN ECONOMY

wells were sealed or destroyed. Likewise, wells on "unoccupied land" elsewhere in the occupied territories were blocked up or tainted. As regards water on occupied land, meters were attached to the wells and the military authorities exercised strict control over the quantities drawn. Exceeding the allowed ration was punishable. The Palestinians were forbidden from developing water resources for irrigation purposes. Today only 4% of cultivated land under Arab ownership is under irrigation.

Israel has meanwhile sunk about 25 new deep wells to supply the colonies. It is obvious that the Zionists' plans to dominate the West Bank are intimately connected to their demand for water. The West Bank now supplies about one third of Israeli water requirements.

Agriculture under Attack

Farming being the principal source of income in the occupied territories, the Zionist policy is to undermine the agricultural base, firstly by restricting the traditional patterns of cultivation, and then, by maintaining control over the buying and selling of farm produce. The principal export markets, particularly those of the West Bank, were Jordan and the neighbouring Arab countries. In order to weaken the peasant-based agriculture, the consequences of the Zionist agricultural policy offer no choice to Palestinian farmers but to turn to the Israeli economy for survival.

Futhermore, Zionist policies in the occupied territories are directed towards limiting any diversification in farm products; the Palestinian farmers are restricted to that production dictated by the demands of the Israeli market.

loyment of residents in the Occupied Territories, 1968-1979
(Thousands)

	1968 a/	1969	1974	1979
otal labour force	146.5	172.8	212.5	214.2 (est)
otal employed	127.4	162.8	210.4	212.1
mployed in Israel	5.0	12.0	68.7	74.1
mployed in ccupied Territories	122.4	150.8	141.7	138.0

Source: UNCTAD, Document TD/B/870, 26 August 1981.

The Zionists undertook a general survey of agriculture, land use and related industries in order to orientate West Bank and Gaza agricultural production towards their final goal of annexation. Zionism has continuously attacked the traditional farming methods and employs irrigation control in such a way that the Palestinian farmer becomes dependent on the Israeli economy.

New kinds of cash-crops (strawberries in the Gaza Strip, for example) have been introduced at the expense of citrus fruits and grains, in the hope that the latter crops could not enter into competition with Israeli produce on international markets. The Zionists also acquire surplus profits by imposing export charges. Israel is now in a position to destroy completely and rapidly the basis of Palestinian agriculture in time of war due to the fact that these new cash-crops spoil very quickly.

From 1967 onwards, the Zionists attempted to prohibit the growing of some seasonal vegetables and fruits (eggplants, cucumbers, watermelons, etc.) on the West Bank, resulting in a diminution of areas planted with these crops by 50%. The watermelon harvests in Nablus, Jenin and Tulkarem were disastrously affected.

Until 1968, the Zionists had encouraged the cultivation of labour-intensive crops such as tobacco and sesame. This policy must be viewed in the historical context of the increasing strength of the Palestinian Resistance, which the Zionists tried to undermine by temporarily encouraging a higher employment rate in the occupied territories. Later, on the contrary, crops such as cotton were introduced, needing methods of cultivation of which the *fellahin* had no experience. The resultant crop failure led to a serious imbalance in the farming sector, forcing farmers to emigrate and abandon their land.

Citrus fruits: the Gaza Strip's only source of hard cash

The Zionists have also encouraged Palestinians to leave their plots of land by inducing them to work in industry with comparatively higher pay. This has produced a serious deficiency of farm labourers in the occupied territories, making it harder for farmers to cultivate their land.

Israel has also vandalised crops and expropriated large areas of cultivable land for "security reasons". In Aqraba village in Nablus the occupation authorities sprayed thousands of acres of arable land with toxic chemicals.

Because of the unfamiliarity of the Arabs with the cash crops introduced by the Zionists, farmers' incomes tumbled. In addition, the Palestinian farmer had to find the money for seeds and fertilisers imported from Israel at very high prices. The farmer was forced also to rent machines and equipment from the Israeli settlements. These factors boosted the costs of Palestinian farm produce and reduced their competitiveness vis-a-vis Israeli goods.

Zionist agricultural policy is reflected in the everyday life of the farmer and the rural labourers and in the deterioration of farms in the occupied territories. The farmer is not able to deal with the rising costs of farming tools and seeds. Furthermore, his income has not kept pace with the rate of inflation in the Israeli economy (133% in 1980).

It is clear that the Zionist agricultural policy imposed on the occupied territories aims at weakening the agricultural base while simultaneously modifying it to meet the requirements of the Israeli

Percentage contributions to GDP in the West Bank and Gaza, 1968 and 1977

	1968 %	1977 %
WEST BANK		
Agriculture	35.5	21.0
Industry	8.0	4.7
Construction	3.5	11.7
Services/trade/transport	50.0	37.6
Remittances from abroad and wages from Israel	3.0	25.0
	100.0	100.0
GAZA STRIP		
Agriculture	28.1	22.9
Industry	3.5	7.6
Construction	4.2	11.5
Services/trade/transport	62.5	29.1
Remittances from abroad and wages from Israel	1.7	28.9
	100.0	100.0

Source: Al Ard Bi Weekly Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 20, 7 July 1979.

THE IMPACT OF THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION ON THE PALESTINIAN ECONOMY

economy. Small farmers and labourers were faced with a large gap between their incomes and expenditures, forcing them to abandon their land and follow other groups of Palestinian labourers to work in Israel.

The Labour Force

The demand for cheap labour in the Zionist economy was satisfied by the increasing numbers of landless Palestinian peasants from the territories seized by Zionist settlers.

About 60,000 workers from the occupied territories are registered and employed through official labour exchanges. However, few Israeli employers accurately report the number of workers from the occupied territories they employ, in order to avoid paying income tax and insurance. A Zionist police commander said that in 1977, in Tel Aviv alone, 70,000 workers arrived daily from the occupied lands.

For every 5 workers registered through employment exchanges there are 4 who work unofficially and without a doubt the number of workers from the occupied territories who work in Israel reaches 100,000, with more during the busy seasons in the farming and building sectors.

The significance of this workforce is also stressed by the fact that, in Israel, only one third of the population is actively involved in the productive sectors of the economy. This is due to the Zionist war machine which devours massive amounts of manpower. Israel's quickened pace of development would not have been possible without the huge quantities of cheap Palestinian labour from the occupied territories.

About 32% (28% in the West Bank and 35% in Gaza) of the total employment of the population of the occupied territories is accounted for by the Israeli economy. Among production workers (excluding the self-employed), the percentage working in Israel is much higher — government figures putting it at about 50%. This figure has been growing constantly since 1967 due to the shortage of employment in the occupied territories.

Practically all the labour supply from the occupied territories are day workers. They have no secure monthly wage and their income is dependent on the actual number of days worked. Acording to the Israeli Ministry of Labour, the number of days worked in a month has been, on average, about 21.

Wages are poor and from pay is subtracted income tax and other deductions on which the worker has no claim for rebate and from which he does not benefit: Palestinian workers recently had money to cover election expenses deducted from their pay even though they had no voting rights. Travelling expenses are also astronomic as Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza are forbidden by Israeli law to spend the night inside Israel. It is very common for Palestinian workers to receive, after deductions, only 50% of their gross pay.

The wages paid to Palestinian workers from the occupied lands are in general much lower than those paid to Israeli workers. An Israeli worker can earn 40% more than a Palestinian. Often the range of welfare benefits and other transfer payments distributed to an Israeli employee exceeds the take-home pay (disposable income) of a worker from the occupied territories.

Most Israeli workers have security of job tenure, and cannot be laid off without redundancy pay. They are also usually safeguarded by the Israeli labour union, the Histadrut, and an entire system of political pressure, against sackings. In contrast, Palestinian workers have little job security, being employed on a daily basis. Also they posses little trade-union or political defence against lay-offs. In periods of recession, when workers must be laid off, the Zionists can escape the political repercussions of mass unemployment by firing workers from the occupied territories.

Over 85% of Palestinians working inside Israel are employed in unskilled jobs with over half of them working on building sites. Farm labour in many cooperatives and kibbutzim is dependent on Palestinian workers. During the harvest season, thousands of extra workers pour into Israel daily and it is they who carry on the various farm labouring jobs.

Industry eroded

The economies that were seized by the Zionists in 1967 possessed narrow industrial bases which accounted for only 7% of Gross National Product in the West Bank (3.3% in Gaza). Due to this weakness, Israel has been able to integrate these economies very easily into its own.

Most of the industries of the occupied territories are based on agriculture — olive oil, soap, tobacco, etc. Only 4 companies on the West Bank and none in Gaza employ more than 100 people. Most "industrial establishments" are in fact small family-operated businesses providing essential services for farming or staple household goods.

Due to the low level of industrialisation in the occupied territories and the agricultural orientation of those few industries of any size which existed,

Palestinian day-labourers wait hopefully for work in occupied Jerusalem

Israel did not plan any developments initially that would be able to compete with its own economy.

Links with the international market were cut as the occupied territories were integrated into the Zionist economy and as their economies came under Zionist control. The import controls employed by the Israelis to protect their own industry were imposed on the industry of the occupied territories, but the latter was denied the benefits of that protection. The Palestinian industrialist has no access to the grants, loans and other incentives available to Zionist settlers.

The existing structure of industry is fragmented and under-capitalised. The industries are either oriented to the local market or depend upon Israel for both inputs and distribution and sale of goods. Zionist expioitation of West Bank and Gaza labour by farming out semi-finished goods. for completion and repurchase is widespread.

The industrial base of the occupied territories is being forced into a middleman position in key sectors of the Israeli economy and is losing its own foothold in the economy of the occupied territories. The number of industrial establishments has been diminshed by 35% between 1969 and 1978. In the last quarter of 1980 alone, 239 firms were closed down. New development is practically non-existent, the financial resources necessary being denied to Palestinian industry while special incentives exist to encourage Zionists to initiate manufacturing activities in the settlements which will exploit surplus Palestinian labour.

Activities are focused on those areas where petty traders rely on personal service and local demand. the predominance of specialised services, including repair shops and small-scale metal and wood workshops, reveals the underdevelopment of industry in the occupied territories.

Of the seven industrial sectors employing over 100 persons, four existed prior to occupation. The cloth and garment industry (360 firms, 80% of which employ less than 10 workers) has concentrated on sub-contracting work from large Zionist manufacturers and being paid by the piece for finished garments. Locally produced cloth and garments can only find an outlet in Israel where, if not put onto the Israeli market, they are directed onto the international market through Israeli middlemen. Machinery and equipment for textile production can only be imported from Israel at very high costs.

The soap industry is traditional in the area around Nablus and based on the large quantities of olive oil produced in the region. All 27 establishments in this sector are in the West Bank and only employ 6-10 workers each. The pharmaceutical industry, developed after 1967, employs about 250-300 workers. They produce exclusively for the local market.

The building-materials industry, because of the low level of housing development and construction activities in the occupied territories, is heavily dependent on the Zionist economy and is very much conditioned by changes in it. Only 22 of the 468 establishments employ more than 10 people.

Furniture-making has come under a lot of pressure recently from more modern plants in Israel. The industry has found it impossible to adapt to alternative products due to economic restrictions. The low possibility of getting other jobs in the West Bank has forced the workers in the industry to stay in conditions of low pay and under-employment.

Car repair workshops employ a great deal of labour, particularly close to the border areas with the 1948 occupied land.

Trade and Finance under Occupation

The occupied territories being underdeveloped, and more significantly, entirely under Zionist control, very rapidly became captive markets for Israeli commodities.

The occupied territories are second only to the U.S. as a market for Israeli exports. More than 85% of West Bank imports derive from Israel, some of them being goods imported from abroad and then re-exported by Israel at higher prices. Many inferior goods, not finding a market inside Israel, are dumped on the occupied territories' markets.

With the high protection of Israeli industry, many products, especially household goods, are sold at prices about 70% higher than the normal import prices for foreign commodities. As Israel controls the flow of foreign merchandise, the Palestinian buyer has no other option.

The balance of trade deficit of the occupied territories with the Zionist entity is phenomenal and has progressively widened since 1967. In 1977, according to Israeli trade figures, the West Bank had a deficit of I. L. 1.6 billion (I. L. 1.4 billion in Gaza) more than three times the deficit in 1974.

The Zionists control import-export licenses forcing

THE IMPACT OF THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION ON THE PALESTINIAN ECONOMY

Palestinian industry to rely completely on the Israeli economy for the supply of raw materials and for an export market. Zionist companies market directly in the West Bank and Gaza. Most of the West Bank and Gaza trade with Europe is controlled by Israel also, leaving the Palestinians the limited field of internal and Jordanian trade. The 'open bridges' policy allows Israeli goods to find a market in other Arab countries under the guise of the West Bank trade with Jordan. The internal market is under tight Zionist control over banking and investment.

The military occupation authorities allowed the Israeli banking system to conduct operations in the West Bank and Gaza, but activity has been low and confined to transactions involving Israeli and foreign companies. The more important function of offering credit facilities for investment and development does not exist. Any loans must be approved by the Zionist authorities and they are subject to Israeli law. All banking and commercial documents and forms are in the Hebrew language. The banking system in the occupied territories operates solely in the interests of the Zionist settlements.

Relevant also is the transport and communications infrastructure constructed by the military occupation government. Under the Sharon scheme, three motorways criss-cross the West Bank and connect it to Israel. This aids the plans for economic integration and is also designed so as to control the Palestinian inhabitants effectively. Another pertinent issue is electric power. The Zionist government has forced Palestinian town councils to connect their towns to the grid supplying the Israeli settlements. In the merger of the utilities, the Zionists are seeking to increase the dependence of the 1967-occupied territories on Israel while extracting maximal economic gain.

Conclusion

The seizure and occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip not only entails the national oppression of the Palestinians, but also the control and exploitation of Palestine's resources, particularly land, labour and water. The economic domination is intimately linked to the political repression.

The Emergency Laws which the Zionists employ to coerce the Palestinian people are also instruments of economic terrorism. A blanket curfew, for instance, introduced for 'security reasons' can also lead to the ruin of whole fields of crops.

Towards their goal of permanently integrating the 1967-occupied territories into the Zionist entity, the Israelis have invented a set of economic 'facts', in the same way as settlements policy was used to erect 'facts' on the ground. The main consequences of the Zionist project on the economies of the West Bank and Gaza have been stagnation and dependence. Where some economic growth has occurred, as in some cash crops, this has been oriented towards benefiting the Israeli economy. Zionist policies have constructed a complicated network of dependent relations, especially in trade and labour. This dependence chains the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Zionist entity in very much the same manner as would direct annexation.

However, these plans to integrate the economies of the 1967-occupied territories have not rescued the Zionist economy. Recently, the economy of Israel has been in deep trouble — triple-figure inflation, devaluation of the Israeli pound and a monstrous balance of payments deficit. Unemployment has become a real possibility also for Israeli workers and now Begin has imposed a tight austerity programme cutting government expenditures all across the board except in military spending.

This crisis is inherent in the nature of Israel as a colonial settler state. Such an entity demands a massive war machine and armaments expenditure. In 1979-80, the war budget was over 30% of GNP.

In order to take advantage of its high industrial capacity and productivity and to narrow the trade gap, it would be necessary for Israel to find a way into the economies of the neighbouring Arab states. The entry of the Zionists into the Camp David "peace process" was an attempt to provide such a solution.

In recent years, there has been an upsurge in the popular liberation struggle in the 1967-occupied territories as well as in the 1948-occupied territories, linking this struggle to the specific economic and social demands of the Palestinians.

This steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied homeland has consistently proven an impenetrable barrier to the success of such a "solution". The deep-rooted crisis of the Zionist economy will continue to grow worse.

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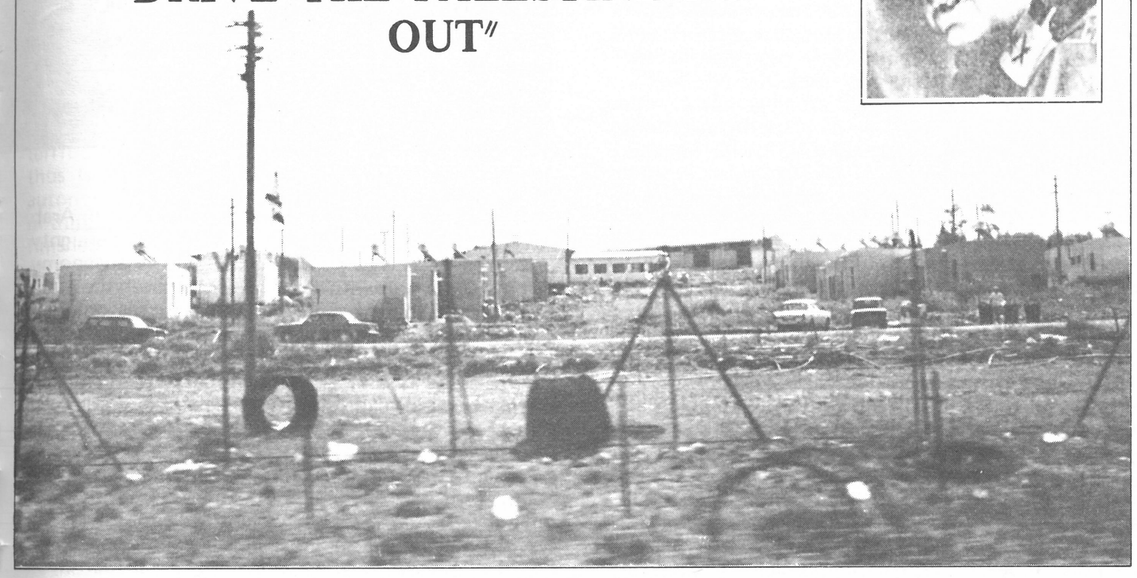
THE SHARON PLAN:

"THE ULTIMATE AIM IS TO DRIVE THE PALESTINIANS OUT"



An Israeli colonial settlement in Ramallah

In 1981, the Begin government initiated a significant policy shift in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The occupation authorities devised a "civil administration" scheme which was to try and lend a Palestinian cover to the eventual annexation of the 1967 occupied territories. Reserve army officers were put in civilian clothing and installed as the new administrators of the occupied areas of the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian collaborators were actively sought for the scheme through the Zionist-concocted "village leagues." Not many Palestinian collaborators surfaced and instead the response of the general Palestinian population living under occupation was a militant mass uprising against this new threat to the Palestinian right to self-determination.

To understand the full dimensions of the Zionist "civil administration" scheme, Palestine interviewed **Dr. Elias Shufani.** *Dr. Shufani is a senior researcher in the Hebrew section at the* **Institute for Palestine Studies** *and a member of the* **Palestine National Council** *as well as the* **Fateh Revolutionary Council.**

Strategic Dimensions of the Sharon Plan

Dr. Shufani: The ultimate aim of the Begin government's policies in the territories occupied since 1967 is annexation. This government had an article in its election platform talking about the historical right of Israel to the occupied territories and the totality of Palestine. They have been indoctrinating their population about the historical right to the occupied territories. They have been talking about the vitality of these territories to the so-called "security" of Israel. They have been talking about their ability to defend these territories under any circumstances. A leadership that talks about historical right to a certain territory, about its vitality to the security of that political entity, and its ability to defend it under any circumstances — cannot turn about and say that it wants to withdraw from that land. So the Likud government wants to annex the territories.

Under the present circumstances there are some impediments. One could divide these impediments into two parts: internal and external. As far as the external impediments are concerned, first and foremost comes the process of the so-called "peaceful settlement" in the area which is actually a cover for the American plan calling for the establishment of a military-political formation in the area incorporating Israel and some Arab states around the security of the Gulf. Israel is very interested in integrating itself in

that formation and wants to be a party to this multilateral alliance. Israel thinks that this is a great opportunity to integrate itself into the global strategy of the United States, thus securing for itself a position of primacy in that strategy which Israel considers as the cornerstone of its national security. Israel wants the American plan to be implemented and wants to be an integral part of it.

Israel is not ready for such a settlement. No Israeli leadership at the present time is capable of taking the decision to solve the Palestinian dimension in an acceptable way. On the other hand, should Israel move to annex the occupied territories formally, it would be a major impediment to implementing the American plan which should incorporate some Arab states – which under most circumstances could move into an alliance with Israel, while Israel annexes the occupied territories de facto. This is one external impediment.

The other one is internal – the demographic danger. We know that the Zionist project has failed on its Jewish side. They were not able to bring in millions of Jews to Judaize Palestine land, people and economy. So Israel and its leadership is apprehensive about the demographic danger because of the lack of settlers and lack of immigration. Jews are not coming to settle in Palestine. Incorporating another million Arabs into Israel, constitutes in the eyes of the present Israeli leadership, a demographic danger to the Jewishness of the state. There is quite an opposition to the incorporation of another million Arabs into Israel. The opposition is internal and comes mainly from the Labour movement.

To sum up this point, one would say that the Begin government is in a dilemma. It wants to annex the occupied territories, but it cannot. Yet since it has a vital interest in the American plan, it cannot really become a stumbling block in the way of its implementation. On the other hand, it has this problem internally – that a sizeable number of Jewish settlers in Palestine oppose the idea of icorporating another million Arabs into Israel. To avoid this dilemma, the Begin government has introduced an interim programme called the "autonomy plan."

Palestinian Refugees on their Own Land

The autonomy plan as conceived by the Begin government is a way of turning the population of the West Bank and Gaza into refugees on their own land.

Leading "village leagues" quisling Mustafa Dudin, protected from the people by armed guards.

It is in a way levelling their situation with Arab Palestinian refugees outside. Israel wants sovereignty over the land and to give an administrative autonomy to the population with no sovereignty over the land. That means these people will be refugees on their own land, their situation will be similiar to that of the rest of the Palestinian people outside, in other Arab territories. The Israeli government could then say that there are Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Palestinian refugees in Syria, others in Jordan and there are some Palestinian refugees in Israel – thus everybody is equal and the solution will be postponed. This is a complacent way out of a political dilemma which was introduced by the Begin government in the Camp David agreement. The other parties to the Camp David negotiations accepted the Begin plan. It was one side of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty and there was some sort of a linkage between the two – the Egyptian side of the treaty and the Palestinian side.

During the negotiations between Israel and Egypt concerning the normalization of relations between them on the one hand, and the negotiations on the "self-rule" on the West Bank on the other, it is obvious that the Begin government does not want to execute the agreement that was concluded in Camp David. The way the Egyptian side interprets the agreement would for the Israeli side block the possibility of future annexation. What the Begin government wants is an implementation which facilitates the annexation in the future. Furthermore, it is obvious that the Begin government does not want to give the Egyptian regime a foothold in the West Bank. The Israeli government is opposed to the idea of having any Arab side interfere in the settlement of the Palestinian problem, for several reasons. One is that Israel does not want to give any Arab regime a claim to Arab leadership through the solution of the Palestinian problem which is considered a national problem – an Arab pan-national problem. It doesn't want to give credit to any Arab regime which could claim credit for leadership in the Arab world and hence improve its position in Washington. That would be competition with the privileged position of Israel in Washington. Secondly, the Begin government thinks that any Arab interference in the solution to this problem will make things more difficult, in the future, to annex the territories. Thirdly, any Arab government at the present time would not accept the Begin plan. The Begin government wants to have a "solution" to the occupied territories which is in accord with what its future plans are. They want a unilateral "solution", a "solution" which is imposed by the Israeli government itself without any interference be it Arab or otherwise.

This idea of unilateral imposition of an autonomy plan originated with the late Moshe Dayan. It is not Begin or Sharon's idea. Dayan thought that to face the Egyptians with a *fait accompli,* the Israeli military government should form a kind of authority by appointing several dozen officers in the occupied territories whom you could call a civil authority and thus Israel would have implemented the self-rule or autonomy in the West Bank and there would be nothing to negotiate any more. Things would be finished and Israel would seemingly have fulfilled its obligations to the other parties to the Camp David agreement.

The Egyptian side seemingly did not accept this idea. Therefore, the autonomy negotiations have been actually in a kind of a vicious circle. They meet in order to designate the time of the next meeting. Nothing is coming out of these negotiations after the annexation of the Golan Heights. Now if the Begin government insists upon annexation of the Golan Heights, how could anyone think that they could really withdraw from the occupied territories in the West Bank which they insist upon calling "the cradle of the ancient Jewish state"in Palestine?

The Sharon plan, which is now being put into action, is based on some ideas which were expressed by Professor Menachem Milson, a professor of Arabic at the Hebrew University, in an article which he wrote for *Commentary* several months ago. These ideas were in agreement with Sharon's ideas. So Sharon called upon Menachem Milson to come and implement these ideas. The idea is to exchange the military administration, as has been the case up to this time, with a civilian administration headed by Menachem Milson. It's a replacement of military officers by possibily the same officers in civilian clothes. Once the Sharon plan began to be implemented, there was strong opposition by the population in the occupied territories. For several weeks we have been witnessing strikes and demonstrations, both in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as suppression by the Israeli authorities.

The vehemence of the opposition to this Israeli plan is indicative of the resistance of our people inside not to accept this Sharon plan, this unilaterally imposed so-called self-rule. The Israelis have tried these means before and did not succeed. I don't think that the military authorities will succeed this time. They have resorted to another means of action through the "village leagues". They have been arming some stooges, heads of villages, who have cooperated with the military authorities for a long time. They have been arming them and preparing them for a forceful implementation of the Sharon plan. They are trying to make them a leadership, replacing the elected mayors of towns in the Gaza Strip as well as in the West Bank since *these* mayors have proven to be supporters of the PLO interim programme for an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. The Sharon plan is meant first and foremost to smash the support for the PLO among our people inside the occupied territories mainly through isolation and political pressure against the political leadership which has grown up in the past few years and which supports the PLO. At the same time, they want to knock out the old leadership which was pro-Jordanian. They are trying to create a leadership which cooperates with the military authorities. However, these individuals which they have succeeded in recruiting (which are very few) – are discredited among our people inside. I don't think they can make them into a kind of leadership which is capable of leading our people inside to settle with the Israeli authorities on the basis of the Sharon plan.

The Economic Squeeze

Q: What are the economic implications of the Sharon plan?

Dr. Shufani: They have been trying to entice these heads of "village leagues" through some sort of economic assistance such as hooking these villages to the general Israeli electrical grid. However, the amount of Israeli economic support to the occupied territories is nothing in comparison with what we have given our people inside through the Joint Committee and particularly after the Baghdad Summit Conference where a sizeable amount of money was assigned to support the steadfastness of our people inside. The military authorities in the occupied territories are apprehensive about this new policy of the PLO to channel large sums of money to support our people inside through a variety of projects.

The Israelis' ultimate aim is to drive these people out. They do not want them to stay and so they will not give them long-term economic support which would help them remain on their land. If they want to annex the land without the population, without affecting the demographic situation in Israel, they would not be interested in supporting the Steadfastness of these people. They do not want them there. It is a kind of joke, a hoax. There is nothing serious about Israeli economic support for these people. They are very afraid of *our* support which is meant to help our people stay where they are. The longer our people stay inside, the more the Israelis feel that there is a danger to the exclusivist Jewish nature of the Zionist project. If the ultimate aim of the Zionist project is to Judaize Palestinian land, people and economy, the success of Israeli settlement in Palestine is conditional on two things: First is a Jewish consensus around Zionism leading to a continuous flow of Jewish immigrants to Palestine; second is the Palestinian people. If a new relationship

Israeli occupation troops patrolling Rafah after killing a Palestinian youth.

Israeli slogan: "Death to the Arabs. A good Arab is a dead one."

is to be struck between the Jewish settlers and the land, the old ties must be cut. While the Zionist settler movement is trying to establish a new relationship with Palestine, they want to sever the old relationship between the natives and the land.

To say that the Begin government wants to give economic support to the people is only a deception. The village leagues are clearly exposed. We know the individuals involved. They have been collaborators with the Jordanian regime; now they are collaborators with the Israeli military authorities. However, as you know, the Palestinian Revolution has taken a decision to move strongly against them and even physically to liquidate them. They have started with one stooge like this, with one collaborator — Youset al-Khatib in Ramallah. I do not see how the Israeli authorities would be interested in helping our people inside because as I said the ultimate aim is to annex the land without the people. What they want is to squeeze these people out. Now there are some impediments to driving them out, but once they have found the opportune time, they will not hesitate to do that. In fact there were some studies done, about a year ago, referring to driving out something like 600,000 or 700,000 Arabs from the occupied territories in order to maintain the demographic balance.

Q: ,They stopped the Joint Committee money from coming into the occupied territories last summer?

Dr. Shufani: They have taken a decision. They have been trying to prevent this, such as in the case of the East Jerusalem Electricity Company. They were trying to prevent us from helping Nablus build a new electricity plant. Of course, we expect them to do this. But we have to find ways. Ways are there. Money did not stop flowing. There are a variety of ways to do it. I think we shall be capable of channeling this help in the future in one way or another.

Resistance in Gaza

Q: Why was there such a strong resistance in the Gaza Strip when the Israelis moved to implement the civil administration plan there?

Dr. Shufani: There has been some talk recently that they will try to implement the Sharon plan in Gaza first. That is, to try autonomy *à la* Sharon in Gaza first. This has been going on for some time. People were saying that this would satisfy the Egyptians because they feel that they have some sort of obligation towards the Gaza Strip while they can be exonerated from any obligation towards the West Bank which was under Jordanian occupation. Probably this is the reason why the opposition in Gaza is so strong now. But I don't think that this is actually the case. The thing is that there is one whole plan for the West Bank and the Gaza. It began in the West Bank then it moved to Gaza. The relationship between the two parts of the 1967 occupied territories is quite strong. The relationship exists on a daily basis. To state that the resistance occured so strongly in the Gaza and not in the West Bank, is not exactly correct. The West Bank struggle has been going on too. It is true that things subsided in Gaza for some time. But before that, Gaza was the focal point of resistance.

You remember a few months ago, some of our people inside were able to hit at the military governor of Gaza. Now what has happened is that against the whole Israeli plan, there was a general reaction, including Gaza. The Israelis moved against the leaders of this movement — teachers, mayors, lawyers, doctors — which triggered a reaction by the people in Gaza. I don't see anything unusual in it.

Let us not forget one point. What happens inside is to a large extent dependent upon what we do outside. In the last two or three years the PLO organisations have been actively engaged in what takes place in Gaza. This might be another reason. I wouldn't go too far in trying to find an explanation to this phenomenon. Many times things are triggered spontaneously through one single move which triggers another move. Our people inside, in both the West Bank and Gaza, are resisting the Sharon plan. Now how things have been triggered — it depends on the tactical plans of the parties concerned, and things flare up. The resistance is continuous.

A Green Light for Zionist Aggression:

U.S.-ISRAELI "STRATEGIC CO-OPERATION" AND IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

U.S. troops leaving for Egypt for the "Bright Star" manoeuvres

On November 30, 1981, at the National Geographic Society in Washington, Zionist war minister Ariel Sharon and his U.S. counterpart, Caspar Weinberger, signed a 700-word document formalising the agreement on "strategic cooperation" which emerged from the U.S.-Israeli negotiations just before mid-September. The agreement included systematic military cooperation, beginning with joint naval exercises in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, increased U.S. military presence in Israel through more frequent joint manoeuvres and stocking U.S. military equipment in Israel for "emergency" use. There are also secret clauses, which, according to Israeli military circles, are related to the sharing of information gathered by U.S. spy satellites and Israeli participation in America's new Rapid Deployment Force.

The signing of the treaty thereby acknowledges U.S. responsibility for every act of terrorism recently committed by the Zionists including the wreckless bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in June and the savage Fakhani massacre in Beirut in July 1981. It also guarantees U.S. backing for future Israeli aggression against the people of Palestine and other Arab countries.

On his return from Washington, Sharon declared that Israel's new military strategy includes plans to launch a series of devastating attacks against the Palestinian Revolution and Lebanese National Movement in south Lebanon and occupy the land up to the river Zahrani. In June and July, Israel increased its attacks against the Palestinian Resistance and in August, the U.S. air force shot down two Libyan reconnaissance planes in the Gulf of Sidra. On December 13, Syria's Golan Heights, occupied by Israel, were formally annexed. These attacks and provocations are an attempt to threaten and destroy the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front which, along with the heroic struggle of the people of the occupied territories in Palestine, is the main foil, to Camp David.

Anti-Arab, Anti-Soviet Front

As with the imperialist military build-up around the world, the intensification of U.S.-Israeli strategic relations is being defended in terms of combating the Soviet Union and its "proxies" in the region.

Camp David was viewed by both the Carter and Reagan administrations as part of an anti-Soviet garrison in the Middle East and part of an American effort to curb national liberation movements not only in the Middle East, but also on the African continent. The Reagan administration is pursuing this effort to create a pro-West, anti-Soviet axis in the Middle East with the "strategic cooperation" agreement. The document itself reads, in article one, "U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation.... is designed against the threat to peace and security of the region caused by the Soviet Union or Soviet controlled forces".

Although specifically targeted at the Soviet Union, the agreement could be set in motion by political developments in any of the countries of the Middle East.

U.S.-ISRAELI "STRATEGIC COOPERATION" AND IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

The agreement provides clear evidence that for the first time since its creation in 1948, Israel has openly aligned itself against the Soviet Union and has revealed itself as a pawn in the aggressive imperialist strategy of the U.S.

The Basis of U.S. Strategy

The Reagan administration is more than maintaining its reputation as the symbol of imperialism's renewed belligerency, although it certainly did not give birth to this policy. It was under the Carter administration that the U.S. reaffirmed that it would resort to force to protect its "vital interests" as the leading imperialist power's response to feeling itself threatened by the forward march of the popular liberation struggles around the world. Reagan's job is to strengthen this policy of aggression and provide it with an institutional framework. This renewed warmongering has its foundation in the attempt to resolve the deepening economic and political crisis that plagues the U.S.

By 1978, U.S. economic and military dominance both in the Middle East and worldwide was no longer absolute. The U.S. share of international markets for manufactured goods had constantly decreased due to rival competition from Japan and Europe. The dollar had been decisively weakened in its role as the world's reserve currency and therefore as a tool of U.S. economic domination.

The American economy has become unprecedentedly reliant on world markets for imports, exports and investments and is more vulnerable to developments not under its direct influence.

Since the Second World War, Middle East oil production has been of central importance to the U.S. in the world economy. In the ten years from 1966 to 1975, the annual average rate of return on U.S. investments in the Middle East was 66.4% (not including 1974 when the figure jumped to 332%)| compared to an average return on all direct investment overseas of 11.9%. In the same period the Middle East accounted for only about 3% of all U.S. investment but this represented 20-25% of total returns from overseas investments.[1] In recent years, the countries of the Middle East bought more than a tenth of all U.S. exports not to mention purchases from U.S. multinationals based overseas. The reliance of the principal industrialised nations, the main arena for U.S. investment and trade abroad, on Middle East oil is virtually incalculable.

The susceptibility of U.S. capital vis-a-vis events in the Arab world coincides with a period of deep crisis in the international economy. The current U.S. policy of military build-up and aggression in the region underlines this vulnerability.

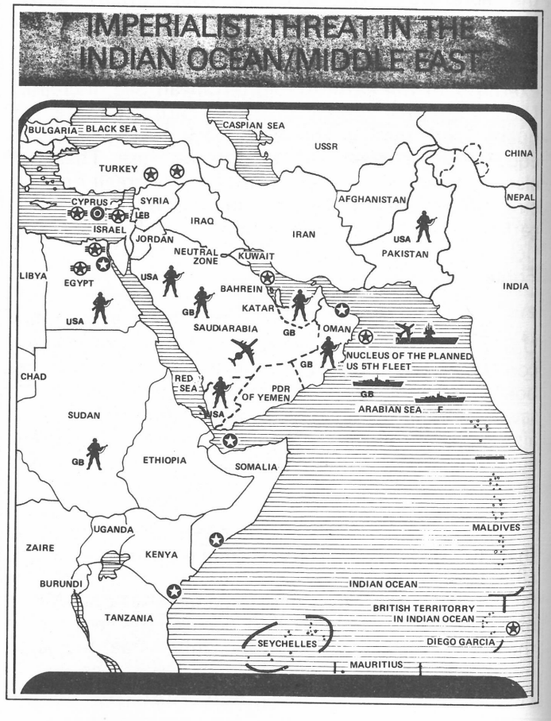
The Turn to War.

The U.S. military relationship with the countries of the Middle East is evidence of the central strategic importance accorded the region by U.S. capital.

From 1970-1974, U.S. armaments sales in the Middle East averaged $3.2 billion annually — more than the total sales ($2.3 billion) over the preceding decade and a half. Arms sales almost tripled again from 1975-1979 to an average of $8.9 billion annually. As a percentage of total U.S. arms sales, the region accounted for 19.7% in the period from 1955 to 1969. This leapt to nearly 52% in the first half of the 1970s and 69.4% in 1975-1979. The Middle East's portion of global U.S. military grants and credits in 1979 was 89.3%.[2]

The U.S. alone possesses 2,500 military bases, including more than 400 large naval and air bases in 114 countries, staffed by nearly half a million personnel.[3]

U.S. defence spending for 1981 was estimated at $157.5 billion — the largest single item of the entire Budget expenditure. Weinberger recently instructed Pentagon chiefs to evaluate means of directing 50% of



A U.S. AWACS aircraft at Cairo air base

the GNP into the war industry in time of emergency.

The U.S. began to augment its military presence in the Middle East in 1975. This process was considerably accelerated after the successful Afghan and Iranian revolutions in 1978 and 1979. Following the Begin-Sadat-Carter talks at Camp David I, U.S. military presence in the area escalated terrifyingly.

U.S. naval forces sail from bases in Oman, Somalia, Kenya and Bahrain and use port facilities in Israel and Egypt. The new Fifth Fleet roves the Indian Ocean and is based on the island of Diego Garcia,a link in a chain of U.S. bases stretching from South Africa to Australia.

Saudi Arabia recently received 4 AWACS radar planes and 300 troops to add to the 1,200 advisers already there. Egypt and Sudan also received a set of these planes and the U.S. air force uses "bare base" facilities in these two countries.

Israel receives a constant flow of military materials and equipment from the U.S. and now, with the new treaty for aggression, Israel will be offering base facilities for the new rapid strike force — the RDF. Only recently massive war manoeuvres (Bright Star 82) have been held in the region to test the ability of this force.

The recently created Rapid Deloyment Force is manned by the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, notorious for its atrocities in Vietnam. This 110,000-man force is only part of a planned several hundred thousand-strong intervention force. It comprises 3 marine divisions, 2 airborne divisions, hundreds of transport aircraft and dozens of warships.[4]

It will be used to intervene militarily at rapid notice in any situation as desired by the U.S. It will operate from bases on Diego Garcia island, Oman's Masira Island and Israeli bases in Sinai. There are plans for joint Israeli-Egyptian forces to support the RDF in any military adventure.

P.L.O. ON U.S.-ZIONIST TREATY OF AGGRESSION

On December 4, 1981, the Palestine Liberation Organisation commented on the renewed threats imposed on the people of the Middle East by the signing of the agreement on strategic cooperation between the Zionist entity and imperialism headed by the U.S. An official spokesman for the P.L.O. declared:

"This American-Israeli alliance confirms once again the role of the U.S. as the primary enemy of the Palestinian people, the Arab nation, the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab liberation movement. The truth behind this American-Israeli treaty, however much it is concealed in false slogans and camouflage, is clearly apparent to everyone in the Arab nation.

"Since the 1950 s and up until this moment U.S. imperialism has hidden behind these imaginary slogans in order to strike at the Arab liberation movement and threaten the security, stability and peace of the Arab people, while at the same time exploiting their resources. This is all in addition to the continuous war waged against the heroic struggle of the Palestinian masses under occupation whose steadfastness and determination to challenge the occupation is only increased by the fascist repression to which they are subjected. In view of all this and to confront it, the Palestinian Revolution calls on the Arab nation to take an effective stand against these prevailing dangers."

Commenting on the blatant anti-Soviet position of the Zionist-U.S. aggressive treaty, the PLO spokesman went on to say:

"The Palestinian Revolution, under the leadership of the PLO, while calling for the confrontation of this dangerous alliance, judges it imperative to reinforce the ties with all the friendly nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Socialist states, headed by the Soviet Union, which day after day confirm their stand beside the struggle of the Palestinian people and the aspirations of our nation."

Affirming the increased danger for the Arab nation, he added: "The Palestinian Revolution considers that this Arab nation has enough arms with which to defend its existence and the liberty and rights of its people and notably their central cause, that of Palestine."

U.S.-ISRAELI "STRATEGIC COOPERATION" AND IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

Israel's Special Relationship

Israel's close military ties to the U.S. have always held a highly strategic meaning for both countries. The Zionists have increased their combat strength by over 150% since the October War in 1973. They possess a highly developed military-industrial complex built up with substantial U.S. aid following a 1971 "memorandum of understanding".

The U.S. supplies 40% of Israel's military equipment and American exports to Israel alone jumped by 30% in 1980. Between 1973 and 1975, U.S. aid to Israel reached $3.5 billion and in the period 1976-80 it leapt to $9.6 billion.[5]

It is clear that the Zionist entity continues to be undoubtedly the principal ally of U.S. imperialism, the only state in the region to which the leading imperialist power accords full confidence and to which it will grant military power unequalled in the Middle East. As an instance, when Egypt was offered 50 F-5 jets in 1978, Israel actually received 75 F-16's and 15 F-15's.

The special role that Israel plays in the Middle East as an aggressive base for imperialism rests on two factors: First, the Zionist entity, a direct product of imperialism, could not have become a reality except through the support accorded to it by imperialism. It was specifically designed in order to carry out its function of an imperialist economic and military spearhead in the Arab world.

The second factor is related to the specific nature of the entity set up by Zionism — a colonial settler state, which required the uprooting of the Palestinian people from their land and the implementation of an aggressive expansionist policy.

As a result of how Israel was created and the essence of the state and Zionist ideology, it was inevitable that it would fulfill the role of an aggressive gendarme reflecting the needs and interests of imperialism in the region.

With the advance of the revolutionary forces in the region, imperialist interests have been dangerously threatened. The U.S. now feels that the time has arrived to try to play down the secondary antagonisms between the reactionary Arab regimes and the Zionist entity in order to form a reactionary alliance against the progressive forces of popular liberation.

Reagan and Begin: strategic allies

Tripartite Alliance for Strategic Cooperation

In recent years, prospects for forging Israeli-Arab reactionary alliances, which serve imperialist demands in the region, have increased. A major obstacle to such alliances has disappeared with the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. Meanwhile, further developments, including Camp David and the Sudan-Egypt axis, have attempted to pave the way for the Zionist reactionary coalition.

However, while reactionary, feudal and comprador voices in Egypt, Oman and Sudan may openly declare their complete subservience to U.S. imperialism, it is still necessary, in the eyes of imperialism, that Israel maintains military superiority in the Middle East. Both Israel and the U.S. know that a Zionist-Arab reactionary alliance would be relatively unstable while the basic weapon that protects imperialist interests is Israel — its political reliability being assured by its very nature. Within such a regional coalition, Israel would necessarily play a special role. This is not limited to smiting the progressive and revolutionary forces — a role allocated to Arab reaction itself so that the latter exercises its function and in order to shield it from revolutionary change.

At the Camp David talks, the subject of a Middle East Treaty Organisation, along the lines of NATO, was broached, involving Israel, Egypt and other Arab regimes. The Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty was a first step, as Ezer Weizman, ex-war minister of Israel, called it, "one of the first links in a chain that could be an American chain"

Following on that link, the military presence of imperialism is being escalated throughout the region. The U.S.-Israeli agreement on "strategic cooperation"

Carter, Begin and Sadat at Camp David

is the latest step in the sequence which aims to establish total U.S. hegemony over the Middle East through a tripartite alliance of imperialism with Zionism and Arab reaction.

No Way out for Imperialism

However, imperialism's economic and political crisis is ever deepening. The nature of U.S. militarism and its reliance on the war machine to stimulate its failing economy, along with the renewed arms escalation and the spread of atomic weapons, all constitute a threat to world peace, but can never solve the basic contradiction between the oppressor and the oppressed.

Imperialism is not operating in a void, but in the context of a rising revolutionary struggle throughout the world. The successful revolutions in Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Iran, the heightened mass popular resistance throughout occupied Palestine, the patriotic stand of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front against Camp David, and the ability of the Palestinian liberation forces to hold their position in Lebanon are outstanding evidence of this fact.

There is no doubt that imperialism's presence in the Middle East and throughout the world has no future. Its days are numbered. This is the course of history. The armed resistance and popular masses will be victorious in harmony with their aims, in the Arab world and everywhere that people are struggling against brutal imperialist oppression.

References:

1) *Joe Stork, The Carter Doctrine and U.S. Bases in the ME. Middle* East Research and Information Project MERIP Report No. 90, September 1980, New York
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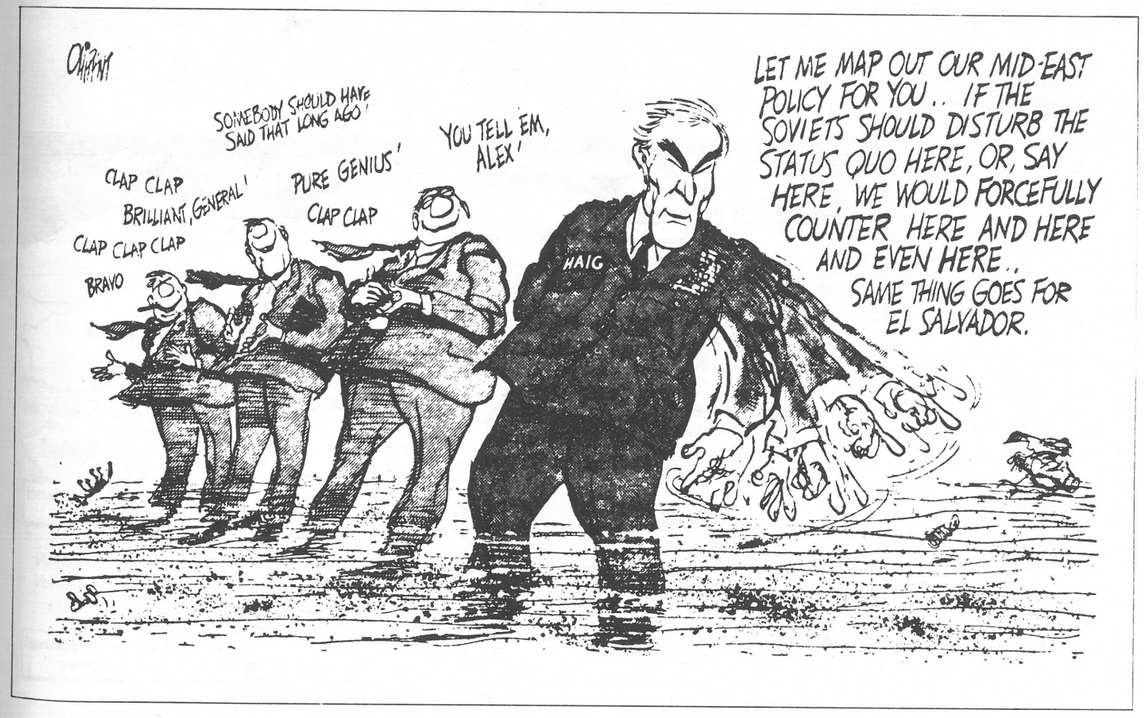
3) *Report by Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee* March 1980
4) *Le Monde Diplomatique* December 1979, quoting Michael Kane of Washington Institute of Policy Studies.
5) See Stork, *op. cit.*



WAR AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

AFTER "BRIGHT STAR" MANOEUVRES: U.S. ATTEMPTS TO SET UP PERMANENT MILITARY BRIDGEHEADS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

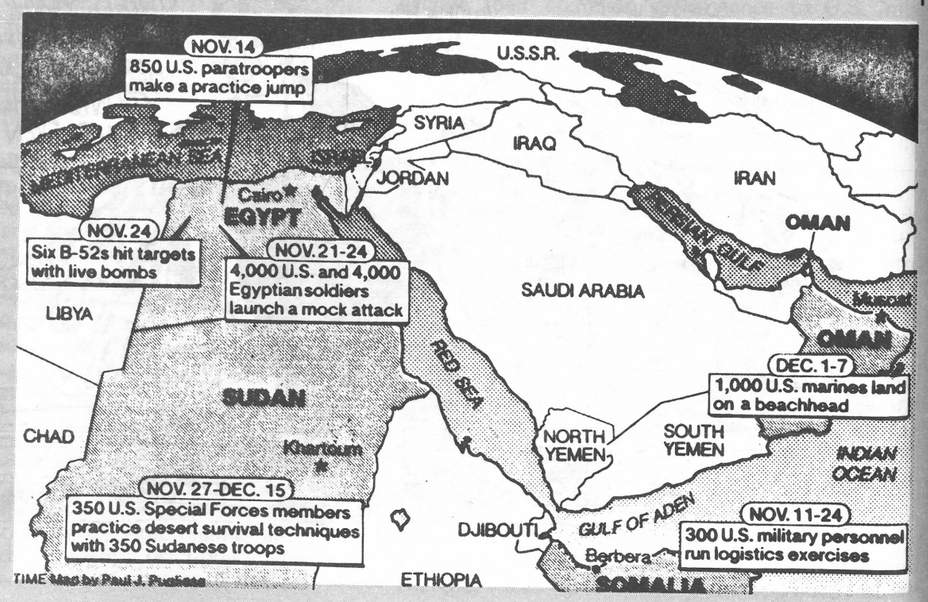
Following the provocative U.S. military manouevres in the area during November and December 1981, the United States is trying to expand its aggressive moves throughout the Middle East. It wants to push through with a permanent military presence in countries like Egypt, Oman, Sudan and Somalia, in addition to the "strategic collaboration" with Zionist Israel. The aim, of course, is not to bring stability and peace to the region or even to save "Western" interests, but to establish a neocolonialist hegemony over the entire region, similar to U.S. interference in Latin American countries, and with the help of bloody regimes like the one of the late Shah. The United States tries to suppress the movement for national liberation and intends to put the riches and potentials of *all* the peoples and nations in the area into its exclusive service, to the detriment of the entire rest of the world.

All this comes at a time when the United States is crying wolf and is shedding crocodile tears over the temporary establishment of military rule in Poland, which cannot even be compared with the terror reign of Israel in the occupied Arab territories and of all the military dictatorships propped up by the United States around the globe.

At the end of the notorious "Bright Star" manoeuvres, which according to officially released figures, involved over 6,000 U.S. military personnel in various Middle East countries, and cost about $69 million, the Pentagon announced plans to establish a permanent forward military headquarters in the region, as if it was an area under American military occupation.

The *New York Times* of December 18 reported that the commander of the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Forces", Lt. Gen. Robert C. Kingston, disclosed in Washington on December 17, that the U.S. government had begun negotiations with several countries in the region. "The effort to set up a forward headquarters in the Middle East", the paper reported, "was one more step in a long-term plan by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to establish a continuing U.S. military presence on the ground, military officials said."

Reporting on the recent deployment of his force to Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Oman for the "Bright Star" was games, General Kingston said that all four countries "had invited" his force to "return for more extensive manoeuvres." Gen. Kingston added that he would also like to send a U.S. force to train in Egypt's upper Nile area next summer.



TIME Map by Paul J. Pugliese

NEW ISRAELI PROVOCATIONS AGAINST LEBANON, SYRIA, P.L.O. SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAQ

After the conclusion of its "strategic cooperation" agreement with the United States, and while the U.S. "special envoy" was once more touring the Middle East, the Israeli militarists escalated their provocations and threats against their Arab neighbours on all levels. On December 11, Radio Israel reported that war minister Sharon had told the Knesset of his talks with Philip Habib which centred on Israeli intentions to launch another war against Lebanon and the PLO. Sharon described the war which Israel plans to launch as "completely different from previous wars". The same day, the Abu Dhabi daily *al-Wahda* commented that Philip Habib's tour in the region is drawing in its wake a Zionist threat of aggression against Lebanon and the Syrian peace-keeping forces there, if the Arabs do not give in to Zionist demands to remove anti-aircraft missiles in order to give Zionist warplanes a chance of flying freely over Lebanon.

On December 11, the Israeli chief of staff General Raphael Eytan, while repeating threats of a military strike against the Syrian anti-aircraft missiles in Lebanon, extended the threat of Israeli military intervention to Saudi Arabia. "We could be prompted", Eytan said, "to take measures which for the time being seem impossible to us, as was the case with the Iraqi nuclear centre..." (*Agence France Presse*).

On December 30, 1981, two U.S.-Israeli F-15 war planes intruded 50 km into Iraq in the region of Makrul Naam, in the southwest of the country, violating both Iraqi and Saudi airspace, until they were intercepted by Iraqi aircraft. On January 3, 1982, U.S.-Israeli fighter planes repeated their provocation intruding up to 60 km into Iraqi airspace. The Israeli government refused to give any explanations for these new aggressive acts. A military spokesman in Tel Aviv arrogantly commented on the violation of Iraqi airspace: "Israel is not in the habit of publishing details on the movements of its forces, in the air, on land or by sea."

U.S. TO INCREASE MILITARY AND FINANCIAL AID TO ISRAEL

The U.S. is going to arm Israel, its main military stronghold in the Middle East, even more intensively than before despite what is publicised as a quarrel between the two countries following Tel Aviv's annexation of the Golan Heights. According to the *Associated Press* of December 30, 1981, Pentagon officials confirmed that in the 1983 fiscal year, starting on October 1, 1982, the United States would grant Israel a huge loan of $1,700 million to buy U.S. arms. This is $300 million more than was allocated for the same purpose in the 1982 fiscal year. The Pentagon officials did not conceal that the U.S. was selling arms to Israel to assure its military superiority over the Arab countries.

At the same time, it was announced in Tel Aviv that U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig was due for a visit to Israel in February 1982.

U.S. ANTI-ARAB ACTIONS SOURCE OF TENSION IN M.E.

The fresh escalation of subversive actions against the Arab countries by the U.S. and Israel is a source of deep concern for all who cherish the interests of justice and lasting peace in the Middle East. This alarm is linked with the so-called "memorandum on mutual understanding in the field of strategic cooperation" between the U.S. and Israel, says a statement which was issued on December 25 by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

This "memorandum", the statement points out, furnishes a contractual legal basis for the sinister U.S.-Israeli military-political alliance, which brought countless calamities and sufferings to the Arab people. By signing this document the American ruling circles openly assume the role of an accomplice and assistant of Israel's expansionist course. The U.S.-Israeli memorandum, the statement stresses, is in crying conflict with the efforts of the international community for a comprehensive and just Middle East settlement.

The far-reaching consequences of this new aggressive alliance are particularly clearly manifest against the backdrop of the ambition of Israel's ruling circles to obtain neutron weapons, the statement says. It is not fortuitous that after the signing of the "memorandum" the Reagan administration increased military-political pressure and crude provocations against the Libyan Jamahiryah. At the same time in Lebanon, a new wave of bomb blasts and terror, directed against Palestinian and patriotic Lebanese targets, raged through the country, while Tel Aviv is toughening the regime of occupation and terror on the West Bank of the Jordan River and Gaza sector and declared on December 14 the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, which were occupied in 1967. Nobody will be deceived by the farce staged by the Pentagon, which declared a "suspension of the memorandum".

G.D.R. CALLS FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE WITH P.L.O.

– An international Middle East conference, with the Palestine Liberation Organisation participating on equal terms, was advocated by

WAR AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Peter Florin, Deputy Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic, at the United Nations General Assembly session on December 14, 1981. He said such a meeting would open up a realistic way to solving the Middle East conflict. Efforts at reaching stability and security for all states in the region, he went on, had to include the establishment of a state for the Arab people of Palestine. Mr. Florin termed the provocative exercises of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and the war hysteria unleashed in the U.S. against Libya, attempts at reviving the imperialist gunboat policy. Israel must necessarily take this policy for an encouragement to continue its course of aggression. He also denounced plans of NATO states to participate in a so-called Sinai force.

A COWBOY GOING WILD WITH LIBYA

On December 7, U.S. President Reagan said that he had evidence of a Libyan plot to assassinate him. It seems the Hollywood Reagan has not disappeared. From cowboy films, he is now looking over his shoulder and peering around corners for "Libyan death squads". An anti-sniper team crawls over the roof of the White House, decoy cars travel in bogus Presidential motorcades, and Reagan is keeping to his room a bit more often.

It is incredible and frightening to think that this man has control over the button that could destroy our planet three times over.

After the hysterical attacks on Qadhafi by Numeiri of Sudan, and the traitor Sadat (and now Mubarak) over alleged war preparations, now Reagan is starting to jitter. It appears that Reagan cannot get the Gulf of Sidra out of his mind, after U.S. jets shot down two Libyan reconnaissance planes last August.

For some time now, Western governments have been screaming abuse at Libya, accusing Qadhafi of sending "murder squads" around the world, of subversive activities in Egypt, Tunisia and Sudan and of military occupation of Chad.

Reagan's lies are part of a chain of accusations having the aim of isolating Libya from the Arab and African states in order to defeat the progressive regime there and replace it with some American puppet. A revealing report in the *Los Angeles Times* of December 16, 1981, said that Israeli intelligence sources had also played a major role in propping up the horror stories about Libyan assassination squads in the United States, and had "tipped several reporters as the same time." Israel's interests, the report said, were to try to "build American public support for a strike" against Libya, in which Israel's participation would be required; Israel would "go in and bash Libya for a long time."

There is another basic reason behind the hysterical smear campaign: Libya is a member of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front which groups it together with the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Syria, Algeria and Democratic Yemen, and this has been the main foil in the attempts to impose Camp David on the Middle East.

U.S. PREPARES FOR MILITARY ACTION AGAINST LIBYA

Local newsmen, citing U.S. military sources in Naples, report preparations by the United States for a military action against Libya. This was reported by the Soviet news agency *TASS* on December 29, 1981. The action is to be launched at the beginning of 1982 by the Rapid Deployment Force stationed in the United States. According to the plans of the U.S. command, its airlift to the area of the operation is to rely mainly on the Portuguese military base Lajes. At present, consultations to this effect are being held between Washington and Lisbon.

The choice of the base as the chief intermediate staging area for the planned military action against Libya is due, among other things, to the lukewarm reaction of the rest of the West European states to the American appeal to join in the pressure on the Libyan leadership. As is known, most of the European allies of the United States stick to the view that Washington's line with respect to Libya leads to unnecessary complications in a highly important and potentially dangerous area of the Middle East.

Under the cover of Camp David and the "strategic alliance";

A QUICK GRAB AT GOLAN

Immediately after the June 1967 war, the Israeli Parliament passed a law to extend Israeli jurisdiction to the eastern part of Jerusalem. This de facto annexation was followed 13 years later by formal annexation, the Knesset adopting, on July 31, 1980, a new law proclaiming Jerusalem "indivisible" and the "eternal capital of Israel".

Now after 14 years and 7 months of Zionist occupation, the Syrian Golan Heights have been "officially" annexed. This decision was reached at an extraordinary session of the Israeli cabinet held at Prime Minister Begin's house on December 14, 1981 and the legislation was pushed through all three readings in the Knesset in only six hours – a lightning speed without precedent in the history of the Zionist Parliament.

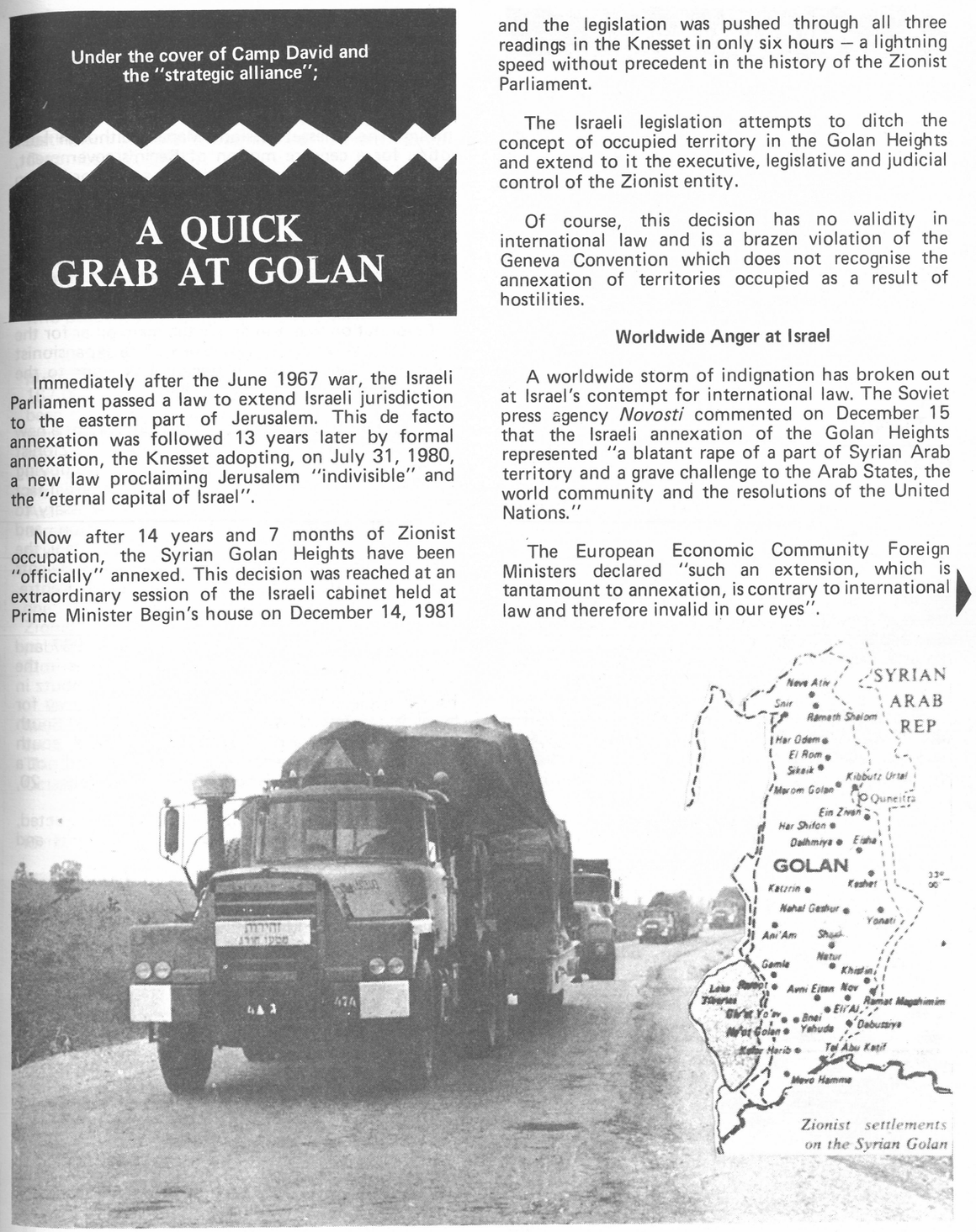
The Israeli legislation attempts to ditch the concept of occupied territory in the Golan Heights and extend to it the executive, legislative and judicial control of the Zionist entity.

Of course, this decision has no validity in international law and is a brazen violation of the Geneva Convention which does not recognise the annexation of territories occupied as a result of hostilities.

Worldwide Anger at Israel

A worldwide storm of indignation has broken out at Israel's contempt for international law. The Soviet press agency *Novosti* commented on December 15 that the Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights represented "a blatant rape of a part of Syrian Arab territory and a grave challenge to the Arab States, the world community and the resolutions of the United Nations."

The European Economic Community Foreign Ministers declared "such an extension, which is tantamount to annexation, is contrary to international law and therefore invalid in our eyes".



Israeli reinforcements in occupied Golan after annexation decision

A QUICK GRAB AT GOLAN

The Arab League and Non-Aligned Movement expressed their total denunciation of the Israeli action and Syria called the Israeli decision a blatant aggressive act and has declared the ceasefire on the Golan to have been broken.

The United Nations Security Council unanimously approved a resolution declaring the annexation to be "null and void" and called on the Israelis "to rescind their action forthwith". During the discussion of Israel's illegal action, the instigatory role of the U.S. came under sharp criticism. Washington attempted to block a condemnation of Israel in the U.N. Security Council.

Zionist Expansion.

The Israeli government emphasized that no action would be taken to revoke the annexation of the Golan Heights as a result of the U.N. resolution. On December 20, Begin declared that "no power on earth could persuade the Knesset to repeal the Golan law".

As clear evidence that Israel has no intention of responding to the U.N. call, swift measures have already been taken to put the annexation law into practical effect. Military courts in the Golan have been replaced by civilian courts and, administratively, the area has been proclaimed part of Israel's northern district.

The Israelis seem to be preparing themselves for further aggression. The *Times* of December 17, 1981 reported considerable movements of Israeli troops and tanks and a military buildup in south Lebanon, Golan and northern Israel.

In the Knesset, most of the opposition Labour Party (Mapai) declined to take part in the vote on December 14, although Mapai in principle has long supported annexation of the Golan Heights. They boycotted the vote, not because of any objection to the application of Israeli "sovereignty" to Golan, but because of the way in which the measure was rushed through the Knesset session. Mapai, although later voting for a censure motion of Begin's government, refused to co-sponsor it. They did so, according to Labour leaders, so as not to appear "unpatriotic", at a time when the country is under heavy international pressure.

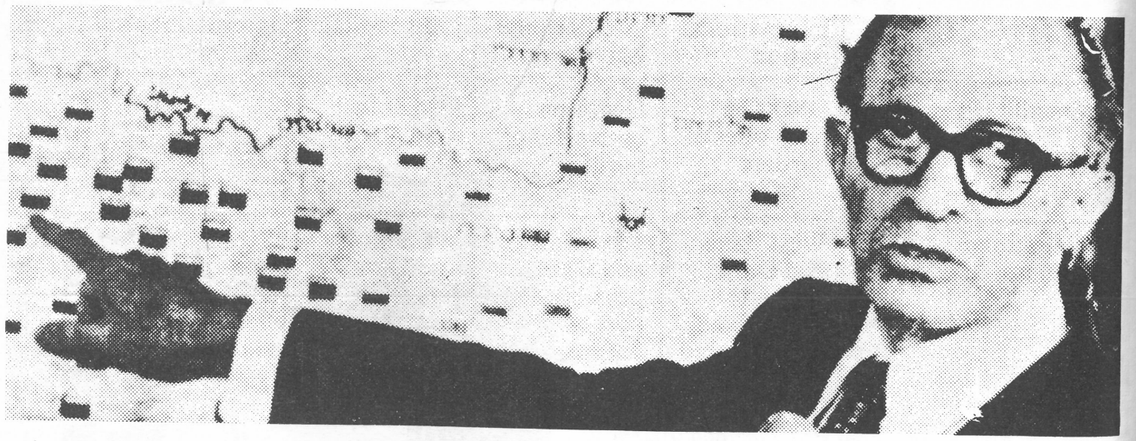
The Golan – A Long-Standing Aim of Zionist Expansion.

Colonisation was and still is the main pillar for the establishment of the Zionist entity. The expansionist policy of Zionism can be traced back prior to the official creation of the state in 1948.

The annexation of the Golan Heights is not a new plan. At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference the Zionist Movement revealed its interests in occupying southern Lebanon and the Golan: "The essential fact regarding Palestine's borders is that it is necessary to include the water necessary for irrigation and hydro-electric energy and this includes the Litani, the sources of the Jordan river and the Golan Heights snows". (*Palestine Affairs* No. 14, Research Centre, Beirut).

Israel first seized the Heights in June 1967 and kept a hold on them after violent tank battles in the October 1973 war. In a speech at a Golan kibbutz in 1968, Moshe Dayan had declared, the next prey for Israel will be the East Bank of the Jordan and South Lebanon. Three years later, Golda Meir said, south "the Israeli frontier is where the Jews live and not a line on a map". (*L'orient-le-Jour,* December 20, 1981).

By 1978, 25 settlements had been constructed, creating a barrier between the Golan Heights and Syria. Today, there are 8,000 Zionist settlers in 31 settlements (including the town of Katzrim with 1,500 inhabitants) in the Golan. Shimon Shevas, Chairman of the Golan Settlements Committee, said "my big hope now is to double the population of Golan. The new law will give a new push to settlement here". (*International Herald Tribune,* December 17, 1981).



Begin with plan of new colonial settlements

In 1979, Ariel Sharon engineered a petition by Zionist settlers in the Golan with the aim of immediate annexation and in September 1980, 80 members of the 120 of the Israeli Knesset supported a draft to annex the Syrian Golan Heights. This bill was presented by right-wing extremist Geula Cohen who proposed the bill to annex Jerusalem.

This latest act of territorial robbery had been prepared with the mass expulsion of Syrian Arabs. Of 167,000 Arabs living in the Golan, some 155,000 had been driven out by Zionist aggression and 77 villages were completely destroyed. The remaining 12,000 had been robbed by the Zionist occupation authorities of virtually all their bases of existence – 75% of the land was confiscated for "security reasons". The Arab farmers received only limited agricultural acreage and were forced to sell their produce at low prices to the authorities.

Social services are non-existent and there is only one hospital to serve the entire population. The Zionist authorities only allow one newspaper to be published in the Golan – *al-Anba',* sponsored by the Zionists.

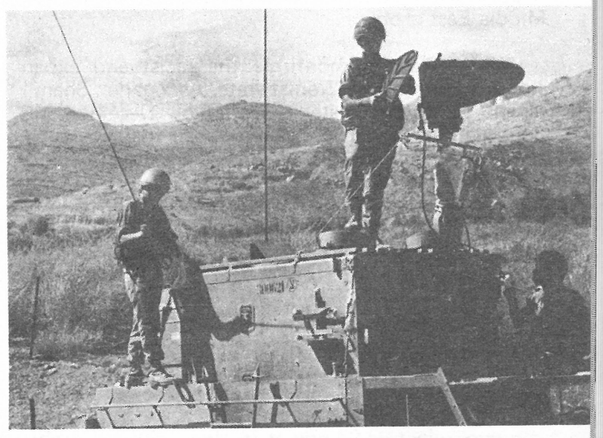
On June 23, 1980, the Zionist occupation government issued the Golan Druze with Israeli identity cards. Of the 13,500 Druze, only 384 accepted them. The latter were subsequently sent to Coventry and in October this resulted in 250 cards being returned.

Five leaders of the campaign against Israeli identity cards were arrested on May 31, 1981 and placed, by the authorities, under three months administrative detention – a legacy of the British Mandate emergency laws. A massive general strike in support of the five leaders erupted throughout the Golan plateau.

In September, the detentions were extended for three months, but under pressure from the mass movement the five were released at the end of the month.

Occupation Becomes Annexation.

On December 8, 1981, the Israeli government decided to create two new settlements in the northern region of occupied Golan. According to representatives of the Israeli settlers in Golan, the building of the settlements would allow them to counter the mass movement of the Druze population of the Golan who feared annexation. The creation of these latest settlements exposes the myth of the security value of the Golan Heights to Israel.



An Israeli radar-equipped armoured car

SHARON: AGREEMENT WITH U.S. STANDS; SAMIR: NO MORE WITHDRAWAL

"The agreement on strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel remains in force and will be given effect as soon as circumstances demand it." This was stated by Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon in an interview with the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* in late December 1981. He made it clear that Prime Minister Begin's declaration that the agreement was finished is nothing but a means to get additional benefits for Israel in American-Israeli bilateral relations. Sharon reaffirmed the invariability of Tel Aviv's policy aimed at seizing age-old Arab lands. Touching upon the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, he stressed that Israel is possibly thinking of other actions of this kind.

Some days later, Sharon's cabinet colleague, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, boasted that after Israel's withdrawal from Sinai next April, it would have reached the limits of its concessions, and that there would not be any further withdrawal from occupied Arab territories. Finally on December 30, former Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban declared in Paris that he was "convinced that the strategic agreement between the United States and Israel would be quickly renewed because the Israeli-American disagreement was only a temporary problem."

A QUICK GRAB AT GOLAN

Begin claims that one of the reasons for implementing annexation was that Syrian artillery units had used the topographical advantage of the plateau against the Zionist settlements. This was clearly exposed as a lie when Zionist General Matityahu Peled, in the Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz* on October 30, said that today the Syrian artillery occupies almost the same place as before the June 1967 war. All the Hula Valley settlements are within firing range of the Syrian artillery, just as before the Zionist invasion of the Golan.

Begin's other excuse that Syria had constantly refused to negotiate or recognise the Zionist entity is obviously irrelevant, for immediately following the 1967 war of Zionist aggression, Zionist leaders declared that the occupied Syrian Heights are not negotiable, even if Syria joins any negotiations relating to what is called a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem.

The annexation confirms the racist and expansionist nature of the Zionist state. As Yitzhak Shamir, Israeli Foreign Minister, declared on December 13, "one thing is certain: there shall be no Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 lines". (*L'Orient-le-Jour*, December 14, 1981).

'WASHINGTON POST': U.S. WAS AWARE OF ISRAEL'S ANNEXATION PLANS

The Reagan government was put in the know beforehand of Israel's intention to annex the Golan Heights. This was reported by the *Washington Post* with a reference to officials in the State Department. "The U.S. Ambassador in Israel, Samuel Lewis, the *Washington Post* wrote on December 29, "warned Secretary of State Alexander Haig in due time that during his planned visit to Tel Aviv, Israeli Prime Minister Begin or Foreign Minister Shamir would announce the annexation of the Golan. Haig later cancelled the visit because of events in Poland."

Golan Arabs Steadfast

The Zionist authorities have been carrying out a campaign of mass repression against the inhabitants of the Golan Heights since their decision to annex the occupied territory. The arrests have been made on the basis of the Zionist policy of racial and religious discrimination and as a punitive measure against those who reject Israeli citizenship and refuse to cooperate with the occupation authorities.

Zionist "border guards" have so far arrested ten Arabs including a 69 year old man. One man from Mas'ada village was sentenced to two months imprisonment and a 1,200 shekel fine for opposing the Israeli annexation decision.

The Zionist authorities' land theft and their policy of mass repression have resulted in a wave of outrage throughout the occupied territories. On December 16, a general strike closed down all schools and shops. Daily life came to a standstill in the four largest villages and huge numbers of workers stayed away from their work.

A meeting held in Majdal Shams on December 16 was attended by over 3,000 people who confirmed their determination to confront the occupation and annexation by all available means.

Mass demonstrations in Quneitra, Qudsayya and Sayyedah Zeinab expressed total rejection and denunciation of the Zionist decision.

On the Golan, national leader Shaikh Mahmoud Safadi declared, "We are Syrian and we will remain Syrian and we will never be separated from our mother country whatever the price..."

Shaikh Kamal Kanj, a former Syrian member of Parliament, said "The purpose of this general strike is to tell the world that we are against the decision taken by the Israeli government. The Golan Heights are a part of Syria.... We are Arabs and Syrians and intend to stay so."

Representatives of the Golan Druze declared that they were ready to continue the strike for many months, even a year, and they could do this by working together to help each other through the period.

In occupied Palestine, Qalqilyah Mayor Hajj Amin al-Nasr commented, "Israeli — U.S. strategic cooperation is the main factor behind the adoption of the annexation resolution. The annexation is a clear reflection of Israeli expansionism. In the Israeli view their "secure boundries" stretch from the Nile to the Euphrates."

Bethlehem University students staged a hunger strike on campus and closed all roads leading to the university. The people of Duheisha refugee camp fought with Israeli troops and raised the Palestinian flag over the camp.

The Golan Arab Women's Society expressed outright rejection of the annexation and presented detailed historical and religious analysis of the Golan's cultural and social heritage which irrefutably establishes the Arab identity of the area.

The Israeli repression has in no way weakened the

U.S. – ISRAELI THEATRE

The Israeli aggression is integrally linked to U.S. Middle East policy following upon the conclusion of the "strategic alliance" between Israel and the U.S. This israeli act of war is meant as a threat to all Arab States and parties who reject U.S. policy in the region and who refuse to accept the Camp David conspiracy and those who are hostile to U.S. presence in the Middle East region.

The U.S. decision temporarily to "suspend" the strategic cooperation agreement and "not to proceed" with a plan to buy hundreds of millions of dollars of defence equipment from Israel is little more than a token rebuke no doubt influenced by the call from the National Assembly of Kuwait to answer the U.S. encouragement of Israel's expansion by imposing an embargo on oil deliveries to the U.S. The U.S. expressed their "concern" and "disapproval" about the annexation but stressed the need for Israeli-American relations to revert to their normal pattern. U.S. Secretary of State Haig said the annexation of the Golan did not affect the fundamentally close relationship with Israel. War secretary, Caspar Weinberger declared that the basic alliance between the countries was strong and permanent. Already, on December 26, U.S. president Reagan declared, in an interview with the *Miami Herald*, "Divergences may occur amongst friends and this is what happened with Israel." He added that the administration will lift the suspension of the strategic cooperation agreement with Israel.

Begin's statement that Israel considers the strategic cooperation agreement "annulled" must be likewise seen as a cover for the close military cooperation between the U.S. and Israel and as an attempt to mislead world public opinion.

In political circles in Jerusalem, hopes were expressed that the U.S. measures would only be temporary. These sources recalled that the deliveries of F-16 planes suspended by the U.S. administration, after the Israeli raid of June 7 on the Iraqi reactor of Tammouz and that of July 17 on Beirut, had been resumed in August.

The material, military, political and economic assistance which has virtually turned Israel into the 51st American state makes the U.S. Tel Aviv's partner in any act of aggression staged by it, no matter how Washington tries to feign surprise and innocence.

The U.S. can hardly deceive anyone as it grants continuous aid to the Israeli war machine and enables Israel to pursue the pclicy of expansion and annexation towards Arab countries.

During the Knesset debate Israeli Communist Party (Rakah) deputy Tawfiq Toubi said that the decision came in collaboration with the U.S. administration.

The "coincidence" of U.S. special envoy Habib's visit to the Middle East only 10 days before the annexation is significant. During the Knesset debate on December 14 it emerged that President Ford had given a signed undertaking in 1975 to Yitzhak Rabin, then Israeli Prime Minister, pledging that America would not oppose Israel's demand to remain on the Golan Heights in the event of negotiations with Syria. Carter received a copy of the document after Begin took office in 1977. It was written on White House stationery (*The Times*, December 24, 1981).

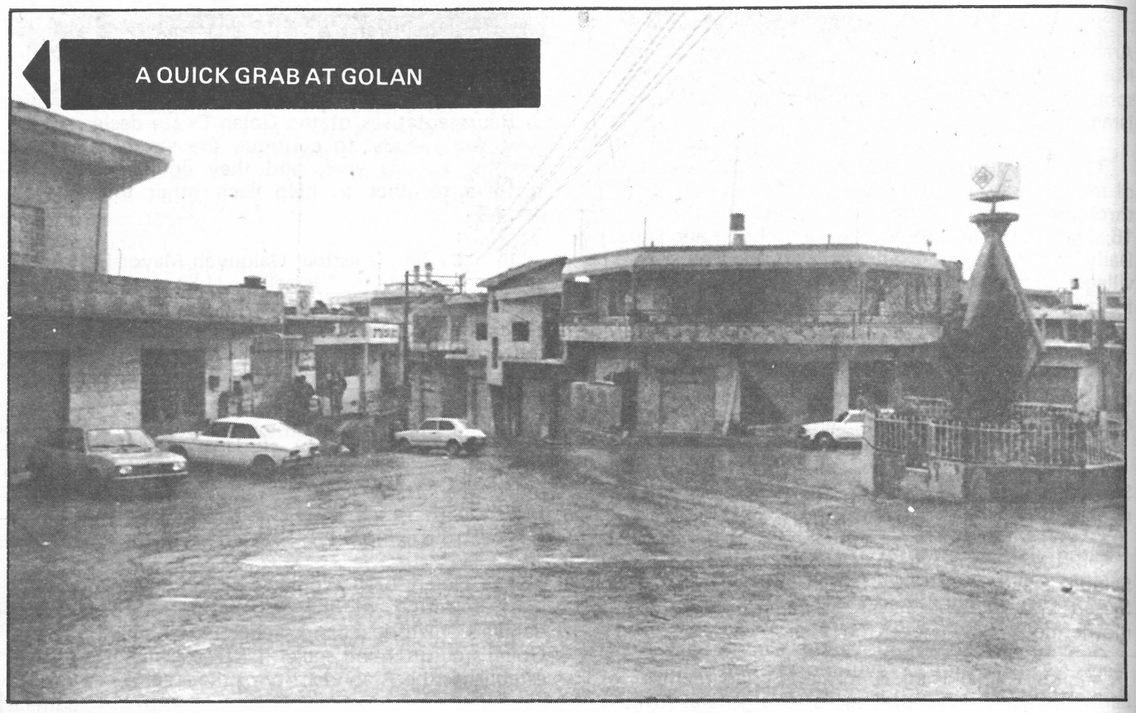
The suspension of the strategic cooperation agreement is clearly a gimmick. This new act of aggression is tightly linked to the militarist policy of the U.S. and is the direct consequence of the anti-Arab conspiracy of Camp David and the policy of separate deals. It would have been impossible for the Israeli authorities to carry out such an aggressive act had they not received unprecedented U.S. military aid and concluded the strategic alliance with the U.S.

PLO Official Comment

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, in a speech to the Palestinian Red Crescent Society on December 21, declared that no one should be deceived by the apparent shifts of position by the U.S., following the Israeli decision to annex the Golan Heights. He said, "They (Israel) announced the annexation of the Golan on the basis of a previous agreement with the U.S." Reminding the audience how easily Jerusalem had been annexed, he continued:

"Have not crimes been committed since 1948 until the present by means of unlimited American aid, including military, political, diplomatic, economic and media support, without which neither Begin nor Sharon nor Shamir would dare take such a decision? We all know that they are unable to do anything without a green light from the United States."

A QUICK GRAB AT GOLAN



Majdal Shams, occupied Golan's largest town, during a general strike

resolve of the Golan people who remain steadfast and committed to their struggle against occupation and annexation. The history of the Golan Heights does not end with the Israeli annexation. This territorial robbery is invalid and not a hundred resolutions of the Knesset will make it a law. There is a historical fact that the Druze in Golan are part of the Syrian Arab people, just as the Druze in Israel are part of the Palestinian Arab people and those in Lebanon are part of the Lebanese Arab people.

This latest Zionist provocation confirms that it is not possible for Tel Aviv to think in terms of a political settlement, and that Israel depends on brute force as the only means for it to impose its capitulationist conditions on the Arabs.

Disrupting any Prospects for a Comprehensive Middle East Settlement

The formal annexation of the Golan Heights by the Begin government, strategically backed by the U.S., not only aims to grab additional land. It is also carefully designed to block all further prospects for any sort of lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis, and even to kill the last illusions still hedged in some minds about the pledge of the Camp David agreements of working eventually for a "comprehensive" peace solution. In reality Camp David was simply meant to break Egypt out of a united Arab national front, and that the "peace" fervour of the Camp David conspirators has come to a sudden end, once the separate deal had been imposed on the Egyptians. For the rest of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestine problem and the occupied Syrian territories, the United States and Israel in fact are more interested to uphold tension and conflicts in the region, in order to promote both U.S. intervention and military build-up and further Israeli expansion.

With the annexation of the Golan, Israel tries to create a precedent for the previewed, gradual incorporation of the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip in Palestine. In practical terms, Israel sabotages any prospects for negotiations on Palestine — even under the terms proclaimed at Camp David. For the Israeli and U.S. governments are very well aware that any further movement on any front cannot be achieved without the backing of all Arab parties concerned and involved, in particular Syria. As long as Syria is excluded and the Golan question is blocked, the Palestinians will not and cannot enter any meaningful efforts towards a peaceful solution.

Once more, Israel, and behind it the United States, are out for more wars, not for peace, in the Middle East. But only the distorted brains of the Zionist militarists and their imperialist backers in the White House can speculate that they will always be able to control the powder keg and get away with the short term gains from their aggression.

ZIONIST TRADITION OF TERRORISM

Israeli terrorism dates from even before the birth of Israel, and continues to this day. The recent raids on south Lebanon and Beirut, which were in fact massacres of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, are the latest examples.

Here are a few of the numerous examples which show the real face of Zionism:

DYNAMITING OF HOTELS AND BUILDINGS

4 January 1948
Dressed as Arabs, Zionists placed a booby-trapped truck loaded with boxes of oranges in front of the office of the Arab National Committee in Jaffa. The explosion destroyed the building, a police station, some shops and a Barclay's Bank branch. The list of nine Arabs killed and 71 wounded is probably incomplete.

5 January 1948
The *Haganah* (the official secret army of the Jewish Agency, founded in the early 1920s, which became the Israeli Army after the Israeli state was founded) claimed responsibility for the explosion which destroyed the Semiramis Hotel. Twenty people were killed, including the Spanish Consul.

16 January 1948
Zionists blew up three Arab buildings. In the first, eight children aged between 18 months and 12 years were killed. In the second, five Arabs were killed and five others stayed a long time buried under the rubble.

30 January 1948
The *Haganah* blew up a house in Katamon, but the tenants of the building were saved by firemen.

At Yazour, between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, Zionists destroyed a house, killing the owners.

9 February 1948
Zionists blew up an Arab building in the commercial centre of Jerusalem.

8 March 1948
The Stern Gang (a group which broke away from the Irgun towards the end of the 1930s and was named after its founder Abraham Stern) claimed responsibility for the attack on the Salam building in Jerusalem, in front of which a military truck exploded, killing 14 Arabs and wounding at least 26.

13 March 1948
Zionists blew up houses in the Katamon area of Jerusalem, fired on a region near Jaffa and dynamited 12 houses in the village of Husayniya, in Northern Galilee.

16 April 1948
Zionists attacked the former British military camp of Tel Litvinsky, massacring 90 Arabs.

10 April 1948
Fourteen Arabs were killed in Tiberias under the rubble of houses dynamited by the Zionists.

ATTACKS ON ARAB VILLAGES AND MASSACRES OF VILLAGES

12 December 1947
Twelve Arabs were killed in the Zionist attack on a village near Haifa.

14 December 1947
An Arab village near Tel Aviv was attacked by Zionists with military caps and uniforms. 18 Arabs were killed and 100 wounded.

19 December 1947
On orders from the Jewish Agency, the *Haganah* carried out a raid on an Arab village near Safad and blew up two Arab houses there. The bodies of ten Arabs, five of them children, were found under the ruins.

20 December 1947
The village of Qazaza was attacked for three hours by the *Haganah*, which blew up the house of the Mayor of this Arab village.

29 December 1947
The *Irgun* (a faction which broke away from the *Haganah* in the mid-1930s, commanded in the 1940s by Menachem Begin, Knesset member, leader of the Herut Party, Israeli cabinet member from 1967 to 1970 and now Israeli Prime Minister and leader of the Likud) claimed responsibility for an attack on Jaffa by a "marine commando", causing 30 Arab victims.

30-31 December 1941
In the night of 30-31 December, a joint force made up of the First Battalion of *Palmach* (*Haganah's* mobile strike force commanded in 1948 by Yigal Allon, Israeli Deputy Prime Minister after 1967) and the Carmel Brigade commanded by Haim Avinoam, attacked the village of Balad Al Shaikh. In this operation, more than 60 Arab "enemies" were killed in their homes. The assault units entered the village and immediately went into action in the interior of the houses. Because of the intensity of shooting in the rooms, it was impossible to spare women and children.

19 January 1948
A group of 200 Zionists attacked the village of

Tannoura in the Acre sub-district. Two Arabs were killed and three seriously wounded, including a ten-year old boy.

10 February 1948
Twelve Arabs returning to Tireh village near Tulkarm were arrested by a large group of Zionists who fired on them. Some took refugee in a house but were pursued and killed. The result of the massacre was seven Arabs killed and five wounded.

14-15 February 1948
A force from the Third Battalion of *Palmach* carried out a raid on Sa'sa village. In this operation, long considered a model raid because of the way it was carried out, 20 houses were blown up, with their residents. Nearly 60 Arabs were killed, mostly women and children.

20 February 1948
The Zionists made a mortar attack on the Arab quarters of Haifa, killing at least six Arabs and wounding 36.

13 March 1948
The *Haganah* destroyed the Arab village of Kafr Husayniya, killing 30 villagers.

5 April 1948
Zionists attacked the Arab village of Sarafand, killing 16 Arabs and wounding 12. Most of them were victims of a mortar attack on a house.

9 April 1948
On the night of 9-10 April, the Arab village of Deir Yasin was captured by the *Irgun* and Stern Gang. A general massacre followed. When the slaughter ended, the Zionist authorities tried to prevent an impartial inspection. A policeman reported the death of a lone Arab. However, on 10 April, the International Red Cross discovered and dug up the corpses of 254 men, women and children.

12 April 1948
The *Palmach* attacked Kolonia village, blowing up houses and killing at least 14 Arabs.

12 April 1948
The Zionists blew up houses in Abu Shusha village on the Nazareth-Tiberias road.

16 April 1948
The Arab village of Saris south of Qastal was attacked by Zionists. Its main houses were destroyed with mortars.

20 April 1948
The Zionists carried out raids on Beit Surik and Biddu, blowing up houses in each of these Arab villages.

ATTACKS ON ARAB TOWNS AND FORCIBLE EXPULSION OF THEIR INHABITANTS

1) Haifa
22 April 1948
The Zionists attacked Haifa after midnight from Hadar Hacarmel, occupying streets and buildings. Fifty Arabs were killed and 200 wounded. Taken by surprise, the Arabs evacuated their women and children to the port area, to send them from there to Acre. While evacuating, the Arab refugees were attacked by Zionist forward positions, with 100 Arabs killed and 200 wounded.

b) Jaffa
25 April 1948
The large-scale bombardment of Jaffa sowed panic among the Arab inhabitants of the town, who began to abandon it by sea and by road. Their evacuation was accelerated by the unprecedented dimensions of looting and destruction of their homes by the Zionist assault forces.

12 July 1948
After the detachment entered Lydda, the local Arab population rebelled. An order was given to fire on anyone seen in the streets. Men from *Yiftah*, a *Palmach* brigade, opened heavy fire on passersby and mercilessly crushed the revolt in a few hours, moving from house to house and opening fire on any target in range, killing 250 Arabs in this repression.

ASSASSINATION OF U.N. MEDIATOR

17 September 1948
Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations mediator in Palestine, was murdered by members of the Stern Gang in the Israeli sector of Jerusalem. His aide, the French Colonel Serot, was also killed. The Stern men who took part in this crime found their escape made easy. Those who received prison sentences had these steadily reduced. Stern Gang leader Friedman Yellin was sentenced to eight years in prison. But he had scarcely been imprisoned than he was released to take his seat in the Israeli parliament.

TERRORISM AGAINST THE NEIGHBOURING ARAB COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE PALESTINE WAR AND THE TRIPARTITE AGGRESSION ON EGYPT

1) Attacks against Arab villages and massacres of villagers

11 January 1952
Israeli forces attacked the West Bank village of Bait Jala, near Jerusalem, killing seven unarmed civilians, one man, two women and four children.

28-29 January 1953
Israeli forces attacked the West Bank villages of Falama and Rantis, killing the mayor of Falama and wounding seven other villagers.

22 April 1953
Israeli forces fired on unarmed civilians in front of the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem, killing ten people.

14-15 October 1953
An Israeli detachment estimated at half battalion size attacked the West Bank village of Qibya, blew up 41 houses and a school, and then slaughtered 42 men, women and children in cold blood.

28-29 March 1954
Israeli forces attacked the West Bank village of Nahhalin, killing nine inhabitants and wounding 19.

1 September 1955
A group of Israeli attackers went through Bani Suhaila village, machine-gunning at random.

11-12 December 1955
The Israelis raided Syrian villages around Lake Tibarias, killing twelve civilians, three of whom were women, and destroying several houses.

11-12 September 1956
Israeli forces blew up a police station and a school at Rahwa, killing 15 people. A building containing a school built by UNRWA which had just been completed was also dynamited.

13 September 1956
The Israelis destroyed a police station and a school at the Jordanian village of Gharandal, killing nine policemen and two civilians.

25 September 1956
Israeli forces blew up a police station near Husan, in Jordan, killing 39 people, and blew up a school near Wadi Fukin village.

ATTACKS AGAINST REFUGEE CAMPS

28 August 1953
Armed Israelis attacked the refugee camp built by UNRWA at Buraij in the Gaza Strip. The attackers threw grenades into the huts and fired on refugees who tried to escape. Twenty people were killed and 62 wounded.

4-5 April 1956
The Israelis fired 120 mm. mortars at the centre of Gaza, killing 56 men, women and children and wounding 103.

BOOBY-TRAPPED LETTERS

13 July 1956
Lieutenant-Colonel Mustafa Hafez, an Egyptian Intelligence officer in the Gaza Strip, was killed by the explosion of a booby-trapped letter which he opened.

14 July 1956
Salah Mustafa, Egyptian Military Attache in Amman, was seriously wounded by the explosion of a parcel which appeared to contain a book. A few days later he died of his wounds.

THE 1956 WAR & OCCUPATION

Massacre of Arabs in Israel: Kafr Kassem
On the eve of the Israeli attack against Egypt in 1956, Israel imposed a curfew on all the Arab villages in Israel near the Egyptian border, including Kafr Kassem.

On 29 October 1956, Israeli border guards arrived at 4.30 p.m. and announced that the curfew would be imposed on the village at 5 p.m. that same day and that anyone found outside his house after that hour would be killed. Several inhabitants of the village were still working in the fields away from Kafr Kassem and thus could not be informed of this. As they returned home unsuspectingly after 5 p.m., they were shot down by the border guards who killed 47 people, nine of whom were women while seven were children.

Two years later, the guards responsible for the massacre were sentenced to prison terms ranging from seven to 17 years. However, with the sympathy of Israeli public opinion, all the imprisoned guards were freed at the beginning of 1960. The second-in-command of the guards at the time of the massacre, Lieutenant Gabriel Dahan, was even appointed as the Arab Affairs officer for Ramleh Municipality in September 1960. Two years earlier he had been sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for direct complicity in the massacre of 43 Arab inhabitants of Kafr Kassem.

MASSACRE OF CIVILIANS AND REFUGEES

The following examples illustrate the Israelis' behaviour towards Arab civilians in the occupied areas:

3 November 1956 – Khan Yunis
On the morning of 3 November, the town of Khan Yunis and the adjoining UNRWA-built refugee camp were occupied by Israeli forces. A large number of civilians were then killed, but the accounts of the massacre give different reasons for the civilian deaths. The Israeli authorities claim there was resistance to the occupation of the town in which the Palestinian refugees in the camp took part. The refugees state that all resistance had ended by the time of the incident and that several unarmed civilians were killed

when Israeli forces were searching the town and the refugee camp for arms caches. The UNRWA Director received, from reliable sources, a list of 275 people killed on 3 November.

12 November 1956 – Rafah

On 12 November a serious incident occurred at the UNRWA refugee camp at Rafah. Both the Israeli authorities and UNRWA sources admit that a certain number of refugees were killed or wounded in this incident by the occupation forces. Rafah being a very large camp, containing over 32,000 refugees, the Israeli loudspeakers which called on the men to assemble at certain specific points were not heard by some refugees. Furthermore, the time the Israelis allowed for the men to come on foot to the assembly points by the specified time was not enough, so many refugees had to run to these assembly points for fear of arriving late. Apparently panicking from the confusion thus created, Israeli soldiers then fired on the running crowd.

From reliable sources the UNRWA Director received a list of the names of 111 people killed in Rafah on 12 November.

20 November 1967

The Israelis shelled Karama refugee camp, killing 14 people, including a primary school teacher and three children, and wounding 28.

9 February 1968

The Israelis shelled Karama refugee camp, killing UNRWA officials and hitting refugee huts as well as a boys' school. Fourteen people were killed and 50 wounded.

15 February 1968

The Israeli Air Force carried out a napalm attack on over 15 villages and refugee camps along the River Jordan, killing 56 people of whom 46 were civilians, wounding 82 of whom 55 were civilians and forcing 70,000 people to flee towards Amman.

4 June 1968

Israel launched attacks on Irbid, using surface-to-surface missiles among other things. Thirty people were killed and 59 wounded.

4 August 1968

Israeli forces attacked the town of Salt with napalm, killing 28 people, of whom 22 were civilians, and wounding 82.

2-3 December 1968

The Israeli Air Force bombed the village of Kafr Asad, killing 16 civilians and wounding 18.

26 March 1969

The Israelis bombed and rocketed roadside cafes at Ain Hazzir near Salt, killing 21 people and wounding 22.

9 January 1970

The Jordanian government announced that, during the last five months of 1969, 69 people had been killed and 180 wounded as a result of Israeli attacks.

10 July 1970

The Israeli Air Force attacked the village of Kafr Awan, near Irbid, killing seven civilians and wounding 27.

Attacks against Lebanon

A similar strategy was followed by Israel in its attacks against Lebanon, as the following examples show:

December 1968

– Zionist commandos raided Beirut International airport. 13 commercial airliners belonging to the Middle East Airlines (MEA), were completely destroyed. This raid was condemned by all international circles at that time.

3 January 1970

Two Israeli units made up of 200 paratroopers attacked and looted the village of Kafr Kala, seizing 21 hostages, 11 of them civilians.

22 May 1970

Israeli forces attacked Bint Jbeil and three other villages, killing 20 civilians, including at least three women and two children, wounding 32 civilians and destroying 83 houses.

25 February 1972

Israeli forces attacked south Lebanon and the Beqaa Valley, killing nine people, wounding 14 and destroying 22 houses.

27 February 1972

Israeli Phantoms and Skyhawks bombed the Arqoub region, killing 11 civilians, wounding 50 and destroying 18 buildings, including hospitals and clinics.

9 March 1972

Israeli artillery shelled the villages of Majdal Silm, Hasbaya and Shibaa, destroying several buildings and wounding three civilians.

8 September 1972

Israeli Air Force bombed the refugee camps of Nahr Al Barid, Rashaya al Wadi and Rafid, killing 15 people, seven of them children from the same family who died with their mother, and wounding 25 others, 14 of them children.

17 September 1972

Israeli forces attacked 16 villages in south Lebanon, destroying 130 houses, killing a family of seven members.

Attacks on south Lebanon have become a constant Israeli policy since 1973, and it is impossible to make a comprehensive list. The Israelis are waging a real war of genocide in this region, most of whose population has been compelled to evacuate to Sidon, further to the north, and Beirut. Those who remained are condemned to live under Israeli bombs.

We must nevertheless note a turning-point in this permanent war against south Lebanon, the March 1978 invasion which caused several hundred civilian deaths. During this operation, the Israelis used fragmentation bombs, phosphorous and napalm, among other things.

Attacks against Syria

Civilian targets were likewise attacked in Syria.

25 February 1969

Israeli aircraft attacked the villages of Al Hamma and Maysalun, on the Beirut-Damascus road, causing considerable demage to property and killing at least nine civilians and wounding 31.

1 March 1972

A school was destroyed in an Israeli air raid on a Syrian village.

8 September 1972

The Israeli Air Force bombed seven villages in Syria, killing 200 people and wounding an even larger number.

Attacks against Egypt

In Egypt also, Israeli action was not confined to military targets.

4 September 1967

The Israelis shelled Suez and Port Tawfiq, killing 44 civilians and seriously demaging a hospital and two mosques.

27 September 1967

Over 1,000 mortar shells were fired on Ismailia and other areas near the Suez Canal, killing 36 civilians.

8 July 1968

Israeli artillery shelled Suez, hitting homes, schools, a convent and two mosques. At least 43 people were killed.

8 September 1968

Israeli artillery killed 20 civilians and wounded 100 at Suez and Ismailia.

11 May 1969

Israeli artillery shelled Port Said, killing one civilian and wounding nine.

31 March 1970

The Egyptian government announced that, after the June 1967 war, 600 people had been killed and 1,000 wounded in Ismailia. Out of the town's 280,000 inhabitants, only 15,000 had not been evacuated.

In 1970, the Israeli Air Force extended its attacks to the densely populated Nile Delta, using delayed-action bombs and napalm and causing heavy losses of life among civilians.

12 February 1970

The Israeli Air Force bombed a factory near Abu Zaabal, killing at least 70 workers and wounding 98.

31 March 1970

Mansura, on the Nile Delta, was bombed by Israeli aircraft, killing 12 civilians and wounding 35.

8 April 1970

The Israeli Air Force bombed the school at Bahr Al Baqar in Sharqiya province, 80 kilometres north of Cairo, killing 46 children.

UNPRECEDENTED TERRORISM

On 21 February 1973, the Israelis shot down a civilian airliner of Libyan Airlines which accidentally flew over the Israeli-occupied Sinai Peninsula, causing a horrible death to 106 people.

On 7 June 1981 the Israeli Air Force bombed the Tammuz nuclear centre at Baghdad, Iraq. The raid, carried out by a dozen or so fighters, destroyed, the main part of the centre. The bombing killed a French technician and would have caused victims if it had occurred during working hours.

ZIONIST TERROR AGAINST PALESTINIAN AND LEBANESE MASSES CONTINUES

September 19, 1972
— Zionist troops raided the southern Lebanese village of Hasbaya and kidnapped 5 people, four of whom were civilians.

April 20, 1974
— Zionist soliders destroyed several houses in south Lebanon. Israeli spokesmen said at that time that Israel would hit any village in Lebanon where there may be Palestinian commandos. The *Guardian* April 20. 1974.

May 16, 1974
— Zionist jet fighters carried out a series of raids on the Nabatiyeh refugee camp in south Lebanon. Twenty-one Palestinian refugees were killed and 134 wounded.

May 17, 1974
— Israeli jet fighters bombed the Palestinian refugee camps of Rashidiyeh and Ain al-Hilweh. Five civilians were killed and 14 wounded in the attack. The *Guardian* of May 18, 1977 stated that there were no signs of guerrilla bases in the refugee camps devastated by Israel.

November 1, 1974
— Zionist commandos blew up two houses in the village of Yater in south Lebanon. Fifteen civilians were left homeless, ten of whom were children under 12.

December 12, 1974
— Israeli jets raided three Palestinian refugee camps near Beirut. No one was injured in the raids. Israeli source admitted that one Israeli jet was shot down.

January 11, 1975
— Zionist forces launched an abortive attack in south Lebanon and shelled the village of Rashaya alFakhar and Kafr Shuba. The raiders were repulsed

January 2, 1975
— Zionist commandos crossed into Lebanon and blew up six houses in the village of Ayteroun and Yarin Five people were kidnapped in the raid.

by a stiff resistance, and later withdrew leaving several dead behind.

January 12, 1975
— Zionist forces blew up 3 Lebanese bridges in south Lebanon. One man was killed in the raid.

January 13, 1975
— For the second day running, Israeli forces raided the village of Kafr Shuba in south-east Lebanon. The villagers, along with the Palestinian commandos, fought a pitched battle with the Israelis who suffered heavy casualties in the attack.

May 26, 1975
— About 250 Israeli infantrymen crossed the border into Lebanon where they were repulsed by Palestinian fighters. Twenty five Israeli soldiers were killed in the attack.

December 4, 1975
— Israeli jets raided 3 Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. 77 people were killed and 107 were injured.

June 1, 1977
— Over 1000 Zionist soldiers crossed the border into Lebanon and stormed into the village of Kafr Shuba. Another force stormed the village of Helta. The Zionist forces withdrew later after meeting with stiff resistance.

November 8, 1977
Zionist artillery launched the heaviest bombardment on southern Lebanon in two years. The shelling which affected an area of 20 square-miles left 6 civilians dead and 20 others wounded.

March 13, 1978
— About 32,000 Israeli soldiers raided south Lebanon, armed with tanks and under cover from the air and sea.

The Palestinian commandos fought hand-to-hand combats with the invaders who suffered heavy losses due to the stiff resistance put up by the Palestinian fighters. The attack was condemned by the U.N. Security Council, which called for the immediate withdrawal of the invading army.

August. 22, 1978
— Zionist warplanes bombarded the Palestinian refugee camps of Burj-Al-Shamali and Damour killing and wounding scores of people.

October 9, 1978
— Israeli naval vessels shelled south-west Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, no injuries were reported.

December 21, 1978
— The Palestinian refugee camp of Burj Al-Shamali was shelled by Israeli gunners, Twenty five people were killed or wounded in the raid.

December 22, 1978
— Israeli artillery units shelled the refugee camps of Burj-Al Shamali and Rashidiyeh, killing one civilian and wounding 8 others.

January 1, 1979
— Israeli vessels bombarded the southern Lebanese city of Tyre, killing and wounding scores of people.

January 14, 1979
— Israeli forces bombarded a village near Tyre wounding 6 Lebanese civilians.

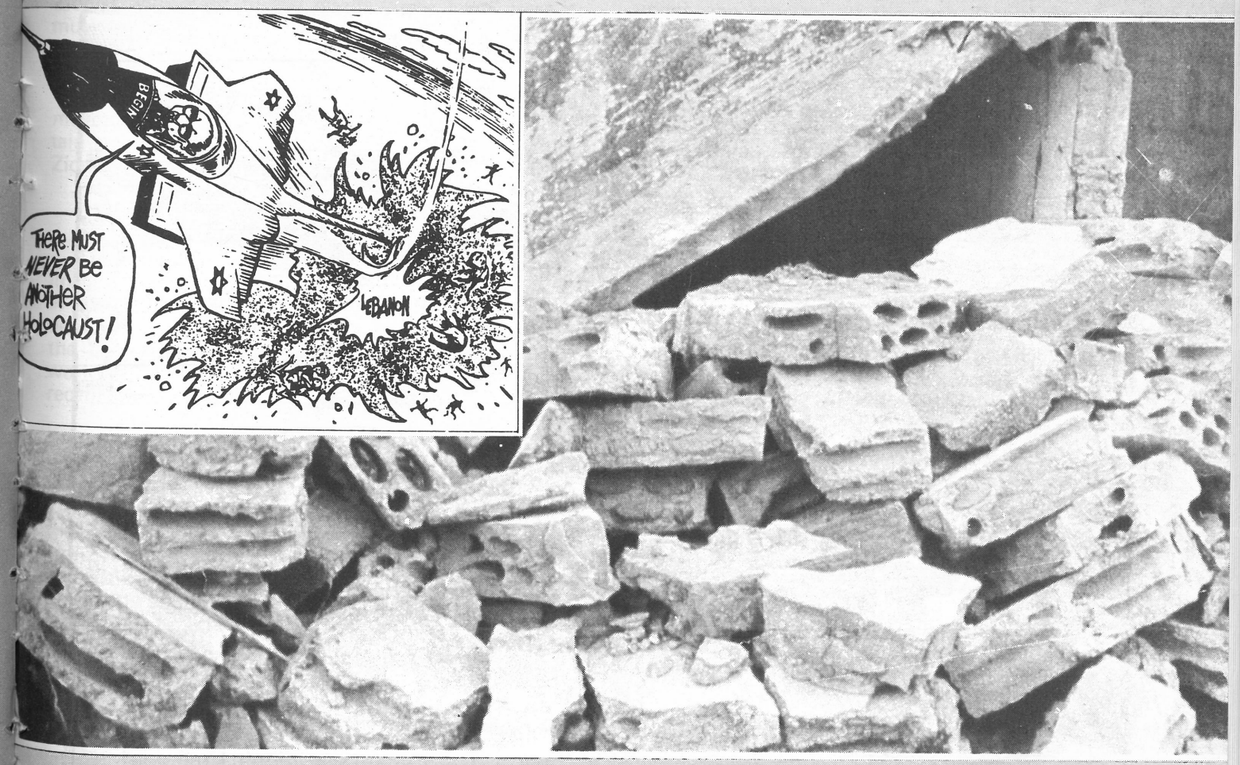
April 10, 1979
— Israeli warplanes attacked the southern Lebanese coastal towns of Damour and Ra'as Al-Ain near Tyre, killing and wounding scores of civilians.

April 12, 1979
Israeli gunners killed 2 children in south Lebanon when they shelled the town of Nabatiyeh. On the same day the southern Lebanese towns of Kafr Rumman, Kafr Tibnit and the Palestinian refugee camp of Rashidiyeh were also shelled.

April 23, 1979
— Israeli Planes raided the Palestinian refugee camp of Nahr-Al-Bared, killing 3 Palestinian people and wounded 10 others.

April 25, 1979
Israeli planes and gunboats pounded the Palestinian refugee camp of Nabatiyeh in south Lebanon for two days in a row. 23 people were killed and 36 injured. Hundreds of Lebanese people had to flee the area.

This chronology will be continued in our next issue.



ISRAELI PROPAGANDA:

INSTRUMENT OF DEFAMATION AGAINST THE PALESTINIANS

The Zionist movement, since its early inception, has used systematic and intensive propaganda to distort the facts and realities about what they consider as their arch-enemies in the Middle East. The Palestinian people — the victims of the Zionist movement in the Middle East — have been subjected to a ferocious and ruthless propaganda campaign in particular throughout the last 33 years. Defamation, distortion, slander and smear campaigns are the basic instruments of the very sophisticated Israeli propaganda machine. In this study, we try to shed some light on one of the methods of worldwide Zionist propaganda.

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The smear campaign is one of the most popular methods used by the various Zionist propaganda organisations. It is considered to be one of the most successful propaganda techniques used to paint the image of an adversary in the desired Zionist way. Zionist propaganda excels in portraying its enemy in the ugliest manner possible in order to isolate and provoke hatred of him.

Zionist propaganda is waging a war of defamation against its arch-enemy, the Palestinian people as a whole, and has succeeded in isolating this victimized people and their political vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organisation. It has succeeded in equating the initials P.L.O. with blood, terror, murder and destruction. The Zionists do not constrain their propaganda warfare against the Palestinian people; rather they have widened their theatre of operations to include all the Arabs. The defamation war carried out against the Palestinians and all the Arabs is the successor to that war waged by Nazi propaganda against the Jews in Europe. The "ugly Jew" with the "large, hooked nose" of anti-Semitic propaganda is now matched by the Zionist version of the "swarthy Arab" hidden by his headdress and carrying a rifle with which to slaughter women and children. The caricature of the Arab in national dress, i.e. in caftan and kufiyeh, poised on an oil well sucking the world's blood and riches has also become a contemporary Zionist equivalent to the Nazis' "ugly Jew." Here it must be reiterated that Zionist propaganda is an apt successor and zealous disciple of Nazi propaganda.

As a result of the continuous monitoring of the malicious slander against the Palestinian people, certain points have been recognised as the focus of the Zionist propaganda method, and they are as follows:

Terrorism

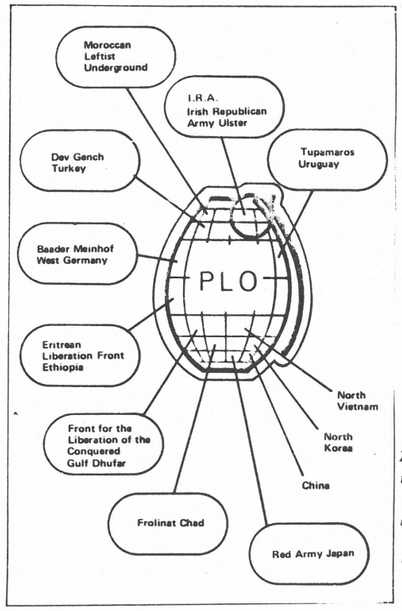
The Zionist propaganda machine has moulded an image of the Palestinian people and the P.L.O. as terrorists. This is one of the most effective weapons deployed by the Zionists and it has contributed to the creation of a negative Palestinian image on the world scale, an image which, due to the P.L.O.'s recent political victories, has begun to change.

The creation of a terrorist image for the Palestinians was necessitated by reason of their struggle and resistance against the Zionist Israeli occupation. Zionist propaganda describes any military action by the Palestinian resistance as a terroristic act directed against peaceful Israeli women and children. The political goal behind this defamation is the prevention of world public opinion from sympathising with the just struggle of the oppressed Palestinian people who were and continue to be victimized by the Zionist occupation.

Zionist propaganda continually renews its efforts as regards the fabrication and repetition of accusations directed against the Palestinian people and the P.L.O. The Zionists unceasingly dredge up certain events that took place more than a decade ago. The hijacking of commercial airliners, attacks against Israeli embassies and the Munich Olympics incident of 1972 are favourite subjects for the Zionist propaganda machine.

As far as Israel is concerned, "Palestinian terrorism" is presented and illustrated as if it is the orchestrator of "international terrorism." The Zionists, are insistent about Palestinian involvement in an international terror network. The purpose of this network, the Zionists claim, is not only to carry out actions against Israel but also against the Western nations and indeed the whole of Western civilisation. According to the Zionists, "Palestinian terrorism's" foundations lie in the innate terrorism of the Palestinian. In other words, murder and destruction are attributes integral to the Palestinian character! In the Zionist view, the Palestinian terror network encircles the globe from Latin America to Japan. There is no doubt that this defamation war has since reached its climax in its fight against the Palestinian people and their just cause.

Zionist propaganda continues to develop this concept of the "despicable Palestinian" by connecting him with other international parties hated by Zionism and imperialism. The Zionists attempt to realise this connection by gathering all of these hated groups under one heading. In this way Zionist propaganda concentrates on linking " Palestinian terror" with those parties whose political and ideological principles are considered odious to Israel and its U.S. backers, such as the Soviet Union and world Communism. In this way the Zionists have characterised the Soviet Union, Libya, the GDR, Cuba and the P.L.O. as the "dark forces" behind a world-wide terror



Zionist portrayal of the PLO published in Israeli official government information bulletin in 1974.

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network. The Soviet Union in particular has been accused by Israel of training the Palestinians for terrorism in its military colleges and institutions[1].

Israel is the ally of the West and works to sell itself as the "strategic asset" for the West in the Middle East which alone is capable of protecting the West's interests from the fabricated Communist Soviet threat. This is evidenced by the recent U.S. – Israeli strategic alliance that was concluded between Menachem Begin of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and President Ronald Reagan.

The Zionist propaganda machine attempts to create a link between the Palestinians and the Soviets portraying both as working against Western interests. This guilt by association portrayal of the Palestinians' relationship with the Soviet Union is a devious tactic with appeals to the West and Western opinion regarding the Soviets, Communism and the Socialist countries in general.

Zionist propaganda goes several steps further and openly accuses the Palestinian people of connections with the Japanese Red Army, the Baader-Meinhof group of West Germany, Turkish and Irish liberation movements and many other political groups of leftist leaning.

From another perspective, Zionist propaganda knows no political guidelines nor does it limit its smear campaign to any one political orientation.

In the recent period the Israelis' defamation campaign has altered the "leftist", terrorist portrayal of the Palestinians to that of rightist extremism. This new rightist image apparently is better suited to the ends sought by the Zionists' propaganda means. The central thesis here is that the Palestinians care only for terrorism. Whether it is committed by the left or right is immaterial, as long as it is terrorism for terror's sake or murder for the sake of satisfying the "Palestinian thirst for blood." For example, the Zionists did not hesitate to pin the rightist attack against the Paris synagogue on Copernicus Street on the Palestinian people and the P.L.O. Other acts committed by rightist European movements, in their home countries, including the Oktoberfest blast (September 26, 1980) in Munich, (the killing of the former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro on May 9, 1978) and the explosion in Bologna, Italy, at the city's principal railway station on August 2, 1980, were all woven by the Zionists, in one way or another, into the international terror network of the P.L.O.

The act of linking the Palestinian people and the P.L.O. with rightist terrorism is more suited to Zionist purposes than is that of continously exploiting a P.L.O.-"leftist" terrorist image.

The rightist ideology of Hitler's fascism allows the Zionists the opportunity to warn the world over and over again of the imminent return of Nazism in a new anti-Semitic wave to build more concentration camps for the world's Jews. The Nazi holocaust before and during World War Two continues to provide rich and fertile propaganda material for the Zionist propagandists. It is used and exploited repeatedly as the medium for intimidating Western consciences and in particular Christian public opinion.

The Palestinian people and their just struggle to liberate their homeland from the Zionist usurpers are continually the target of Zionist slander: Advertisements condemning the Palestinians appear in newspapers and magazines the world over and are financed by international Zionist organisations.

A typical Zionist advertisement against the Palestinian people appeared in the *Australian Jewish News* of Melbourne on April 3, 1981.[2] The advertisement depicted the head of a Palestinian freedom fighter masked by the traditional kufiyeh. Above the head the words "He Does Not Kid Around" were inscribed, and below the head was written "Nor Can We". In smaller print the following text appeared:

– In the past the people were safe in their homes and in the streets but the P.L.O. began to kill the children.
– In the past the international airlines used to fly in safety but the P.L.O. began to hijack the airplanes.
– In the past there was brotherhood in sports but the P.L.O. slaughtered Israeli athletes.

The advertisement continued, "This is the way the P.L.O. carries out its war against Israel. This year the P.L.O. attempted to convince the world of Arab moderation. But this year the P.L.O. member Leila Khaled announced her preparedness to speak to the Israelis only through the barrel of a rifle. This year the P.L.O. reiterated its call for the annihilation of Israel." The advertisement then ends with the following statement, "The P.L.O. did not forget Israel; as you should not forget it."

The foregoing advertisement was paid for in the name of the Organisation for Unified Support for Israel – Keren Hayesod. This advertisement shows the defamation techniques utilized by Zionist propaganda against the Palestinian people and their resistance. It is also clear that this advertisement portrays Israel as the oppressed victim who is continually subjected to attack.

Arafat's Image

Zionist propaganda does not miss an opportunity to slander its opponents and special attention has been given to the distortion of the character of Yasser Arafat, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and symbol of the struggle of the Palestinian people. The concentration of the Zionists' efforts on the caricature of Yasser Arafat has no historical precedent in modern times. As a result of the Zionist propagandists' studied and continuous defamation campaign against Arafat in the West, some Westerners imagine that he is not human; rather he is merely a murderous criminal and terrorist.

Arafat's well-known image in the West is that of the unshaven kufiyeh-clad man who wears his pistol even within the secure confines of the United Nations' World Headquarters. This man, say the Zionist propagandists, has devoted himself entirely to the destruction of the "poor Israeli state."

The human character of Yasser Arafat is carefully obscured by Zionist propaganda from Western public opinion. It would be strange if the Israelis did otherwise, since it is not one of the duties of Zionist propaganda to promote a fair or acceptable image of its enemy. The Zionist propagandists have redoubled their efforts to distort the image of that man who broke through all barriers, with his freedom fighters and the kufiyeh, to become an important political and military figure in the region. Arafat is now the symbol of all struggling nations aspiring for liberation and independence. This man has gained the respect of all freedom lovers as did the great militants Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse Tung, Fidel Castro and others.

But Zionist propaganda holds a different view of Arafat and it wants all the peoples of the world to see Arafat only through Zionist eyes. This view aims at undermining Arafat and particularly the steadfastness of the Palestinian people. In this way the Zionists continue their relentless efforts to develop and popularize an ugly image for Arafat whom, they say, is detested by all people.

David Cravit of the Israeli *Jerusalem Post* best summed up this attitude when he wrote "It is inevitable that posters of an ugly Arafat be printed."[3] The caption, Cravit wrote, would be "Do you want this man as your next door neighbor? ". Naturally in view of the ugliness of the caricature on the poster the inevitable answer would be a definite "NO"!

The use of caricature illustrations of Arafat is the most frequent method employed by the Zionist propaganda machine to shape the evil character it desires to promote. Immediately after Yasser Arafat's visit to the United Nations in 1974, the Israeli propagandists set out to compile a cartoon booklet exclusively about the chairman of the P.L.O.[4] This booklet, which was published in December 1974, contains a collection of cartoons drawn of the Chairman by American, Italian, West German, British and French newspapers and magazines. All of these cartoons depicted Yasser Arafat as an ugly man with a

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14-8-79.

"New brothers in faith?" – "No, oil." *„Neue Glaubensbrüder?" – „Nein, das Öl!"* F. Behrendt

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long nose wielding his pistol threateningly, or inside the United Nations building carrying an olive branch laden with bombs instead of leaves. Other cartoons depicted Arafat firing away with a pistol inside the U.N. under a banner that read "terrorism". Of course "ugly Arafat" was extensively depicted as the fat-lipped maverick who, whether angry or happy, desires blood to quench his thirst.

Zionists like to compare all their current foes with Nazism and Hitler. Former Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser was described as the new Hitler, as was Libyan President Colonel Muammer al-Qaddafi. Zionist propaganda likewise distributes a Hitlerian image for Yasser Arafat in the international press by way of paid advertisements. A case in point is the picture published by the rightist West German newspaper the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.* The picture is of Hitler with his foreign minister von Ribbentrop, and the French and British prime ministers Daladier and Chamberlain. These men had gathered together to sign the Munich agreement of 1938, which is considered to be one of the chief underlying causes of World War Two. At the bottom of the advertisement a picture of Yasser Arafat appears, accompanied by the following text: "The policy of appeasement followed in 1980 will help the P.L.O. in endangering the lives of 3 million Jews and may light the fuse of World War Three. Do not aid the policies of violence, annihilation and oppression; do not push Israel into a corner out of which there is no escape; prevent the occurrence of another holocaust; learn from the disasters of the past; recognize the relationship between mistakes and their dangerous consequences." This advertisement then called on the European community to work for "peace and justice." The advertisement was in the name of three Jewish individuals probably killed in Nazi concentration camps, since the names of the following three were listed: Buchenwald, Auschwitz, and Mauthausan.[5]

The central point about this advertisement is that it attempts to establish a connection between Yasser Arafat and Adolf Hitler notwithshtanding the fact that the advertisement is highly subjective. The current political situation, and in particular the European community's relationship with the PLO, in 1981, has no connection with the Munich Agreement of 1938, neither in context nor possible consequences. Perhaps the advertisement was the Zionist propagandists' response to Yasser Arafat's declaration about the similarity between the Munich Agreement and the Camp David accords which are considered by the majority of countries as a conspiracy against the Palestinian people.

The establishment of a Hitlerian image for Yasser Arafat is one of the main thrusts of Zionist propaganda and it is conducted on a world scale. The *Miami Herald* of January 12, 1981 carried an advertisement bearing a photograph of Hitler at the top and a photo of a deformed Yasser Arafat at the bottom. The text of the advertisement attempts to establish a relationship between Hitler and Arafat with an emphasis on recalling the Nazi holocaust and the concentration camps of Dachau, Auschwitz and Buchenwald. The advertisement did not stop there; rather it sought to establish a connection between the anti-Semitic attack on the Paris synagogue and the "Crystal Night" *(Kristallnacht),* when the Nazis started their organised pogroms against Jewish people.

These outrages however have nothing whatsoever to do with the Palestinians whose enemy is Zionism and not Judaism and its followers. Nevertheless the advertisement goes on to accuse Yasser Arafat of pledging a "final solution" to the Israeli problem in the 1980s. The anti-Semitic slogans ploy of the Zionist propaganda machine unsubtley strike the sensitivities of the average person. The same advertisement continues by implying that as Jewish children were sent to the Nazi death camps in the 1940's, so are the children of Israel being killed by terrorist bombs and taken hostage by terrorists, meaning the Palestinians, today. The advertisement centres on a Nazi image for the Palestinian people and their P.L.O. leadership. In this way the propaganda connection which the Zionists desire is built with its foundations lying in the holocaust, the 'final solution' and Hitler's Nazism which are all foreign to the Palestinian people and their revolution. The Zionist effort in this area of propaganda has found fertile ground, in exploiting the West's guilt feelings toward the Jews since World War Two. The constant repetition of Hitler's final solution scheme for annihilating Judaism's followers and the holocaust have been turned into a efficient blackmailing system that continues to provoke guilt in the hearts of Westerners.

The advertisement concludes with a consolidation of the basic Zionist line, grouping the Ayatollah Khomeini, Colonel Qaddafi and Yasser Arafat in a pro-Nazi context. The end result desired by the Zionists is the creation of an anti-Semitic image of Arafat as a 'Jew hater' similar to Hitler, the Nazi, in order to make Arafat as detested as Hitler in world public opinion of today. The entire Western world is continually subjected to this Zionist propaganda onslaught, with the United States in particular being the main arena of the Zionists' anti-P.L.O., anti-

Oil

Oil, in its capacity as a fundamental source of energy in the modern era, has evolved into a basic factor for world prosperity. The location of the bulk of the world's oil resources in the Middle East has given the Arabs, in one way or another, a new financial, economic and political power base. This new-found Arab power base has becoma an important factor for the Western allies of Israel who put themselves in a precarious position as far as their relations with the Arabs are concerned. At the same time it creates a situation which causes a lot of anxiety and problems for the Zionists. It is used by the Zionists as another justification to wage a propaganda war against the Arabs as a whole in order to influence Western public opinion to take an anti-Arab stand, particularly since the rising cost of crude oil is shouldered with the responsibility for raising the world rate of inflation. Thus oil has evolved into a rich material for the Zionists in their smear campaign against the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular.

Among the slogans popular with the Zionist propagandists in their blackmailing of the Europeans is that they (the Europeans) have sold out Israel in exchange for a few barrels of crude oil. Moreover the Zionists blatantly advertise that any advances made by the European community towards the understanding of the Palestinians' plight and subsequent opening of any channel of communication with the P.L.O. is due to this "oil factor". The Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yitshak Shamir, best summed up this Zionist blackmailing of European countries when he said that France, Austria and other European countries were buying Arab oil with Israeli shekels, that is to say they were expending the blood of Israel in exchange for Arab oil.[6] This statement came in response to French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson's meeting with Yasser Arafat. Begin was adept at criticising the French regime of Giscard d'Estaing. Begin is quoted in *May 1981* as saying, "The policy of France is a policy that searches for profits since it sells arms to the Arabs in exchange for petroleum".[7]

The oil rich Arabs have been popularised in the cartoons of both European and American publications. The Arab oil sheikh with his hooked nose, large teeth and ugly appearance surrounded by his harem, or carrying a weapon with which to force an increase in the price of oil are typical of these caricatures of the "typical Arab". Of course there is no lack of cartoons that portray the "terrorist" Arab in various postures of violence.

To illustrate the extent of the Zionist infiltration into European media, the case of the West German newspaper *Die Welt* is typical. Its owner Axel Springer, who is an open supporter of Israel, pleads the cause of Zionist propaganda in his newspaper. *Die Welt* has published many pejorative cartoons depicting distorted images of oil rich Arabs. Among these disparaging cartoons is one that depicts a gun-wielding Muammer al-Qaddafi standing beside a barrel of oil on which the propagandists inscribed the latest prices. Al-Qaddafi's command was, "Buy or else..."[8]

The Zionist propaganda machine has also expended some effort to build a connection between the Arabs' oil resources and Arab "terrorism". The West German newspaper the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* of December 21/22, 1973, published a cartoon of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia sitting on top of a huge oil barrel which is surrounded by a group of terrorist-type Kufiyeh-clad Arabs. The caption read "The great Arab oil power and terrorism".

Another example of Zionist propaganda was a cartoon that was published by the *Kronen-Zeitung* of Vienna, Austria, in its November 18, 1974 issue that ridiculed Yasser Arafat's visit to the United Nations. Arafat was pictured in the "typical" Arab pose, that of sitting on an oversized barrel of oil in front of the United Nations' headquarters with a wide grin on his face. Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, was shown standing humbly and carrying a case of Jaffa oranges under his arm made to look like the Torah. From his perch, Arafat says sarcastically, "And what have you to offer to the world? "

This portrayal of the relationship of the Arabs and the Israelis to the rest of the world tends to garner the leaders' sympathy for the poor Zionist Rabin and his case of Jaffa oranges. Of course the typical Western reader forgets that historically Jaffa and its oranges have always been Arab and that the Palestinians have nothing to do with the decision-making processes of the Arab oil countries.

From this overview of Zionist propaganda against the Arabs it is possible to understand the objectives desired by their defamation war. The political goal behind this war is the isolation of the Palestinian people and the arrest of any political advances towards their just cause. It must again be mentioned that Zionist propaganda methods owe their origin to the methods of the racist and fascist Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler. It follows a policy such as that adopted by the Nazi Information Minister Josef Goebbels and his cohorts. The fate of the Zionist's defamation war against the Arabs which is based on their racist policies will be similar to that of their predecessors.

References:

1) Neil C. Livingstone, *"Terrorism: The International Connection" in "Army",* December 1980

2) The Australian Jewish News, Melbourne, April 3, 1981, p. 48; United Israel Appeal 1981.

3) David Cravit: *Selling Israel's Image to the World, The Jerusalem Post,* International Edition, September 28 – October 4, 1980.

4) Milwaukee Journal, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 28, 1974; published cartoons from the world press, *"Israeli Information Centre",* December 1974, p. 8.

5) *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* June 11, 1980

6) *Sueddeutsche Zeitung,* September 2, 1981.

7) *Sunday Telegraph,* May 10. 1981

8) See for instance *"Die Welt",* December 4, 1973, and January 5/6, 1974; see *"Israeli Information Centre",* December 1974.

PRCS

دليل الخدمات الطبية في لبنان

PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE AGAINST ZIONIST ATTACKS

On July 17, 1981, U.S.-supplied Israeli warplanes devastated the Fakhani area of Beirut killing 300 people and wounding over 800. Most of the victims were women and children. Two months later on September 17, a car bomb exploded in Sidon leaving 21 people dead and injuring 96.

Then, on October 1, a car bomb went off near the Arab University in Beirut killing over 80 people and injuring more than 225.

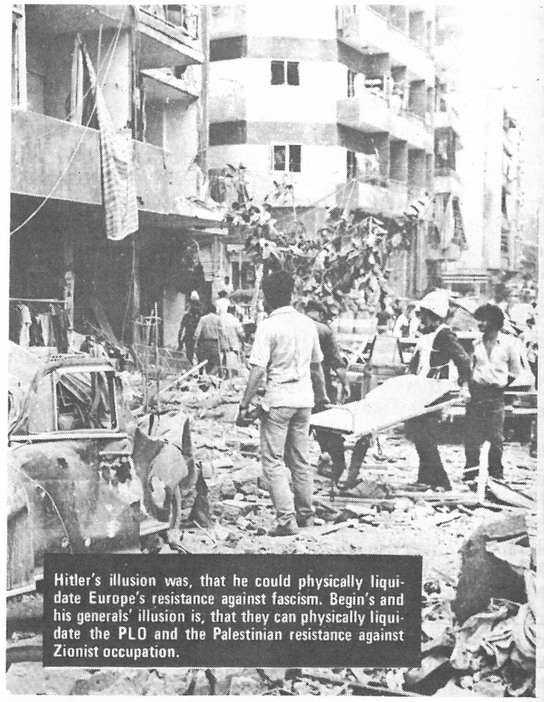
On each occasion, within minutes of the bombing and explosions, ambulances appeared on the scene, first aid teams went into action and the injured were ferried to hospitals throughout Beirut. There, the doctors, nurses and volunteer helpers of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society saw to it that all the injured received the best possible treatment as quickly as possible.

The Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS) was established in Jordan after the 1967 war. At this time the Palestinian Revolution was growing in strength and the first problem it had to deal with was that of the war injuries of the Palestinian people who live constantly under the threat of aggression. The brave work and efficiency of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society is due to the dedication of the staff and thirteen years of experience under conditions of war.

On the 13th anniversary of the foundation of the PRCS, *Palestine* staff interviewed Dr. *Abdullah Abu Hassan,* vice-President of the PRCS and Director of Medical Services, to tell us more about the work and organisation of the Society.

— The structure of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society in Lebanon obviously has to be such that it is able to deal with a continual situation of war. How do the medical services of the P.R.C.S. work in such a situation?

A: All our hospitals here in Lebanon are emergency hospitals. They are prepared to work 24 hours a day. We have 7 hospitals here in Beirut including a pediatric hospital, one for gynaecology and obstetrics



Hitler's illusion was, that he could physically liquidate Europe's resistance against fascism. Begin's and his generals' illusion is, that they can physically liquidate the PLO and the Palestinian resistance against Zionist occupation.

and another dealing with internal medicine. All these hospitals are working under emergency conditions around the clock. From the very beginning, when we planned to build our gynaecological hospital it was to be an annex to our traumatology hospital so as to be very easily evacuated in an emergency. Even the operating theatres of the gynaecological hospital are ready to do trauma operations.

At least one third of our hospitals are always ready to receive casualties. We have hospitals everywhere in Lebanon where the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese national forces are located: in Sidon, Tyre, Beirut, the Beqaa valley and our medical centres in the north in Tripoli. Besides our hospitals, we have clinics in the Palestinian refugee camps and in Lebanese villages where patients are diagnosed and then transferred to the appropriate hospital where they are able to receive the proper treatment. This is covered by a fleet of ambulance units which we call "The Emergency Department". These ambulances are equipped with life-saving apparatuses. The staff, consisting of a driver and two first aid officers, are ready to give first aid treatment to an injured person, save his life and transfer him to the nearest hospital.

This doesn't mean that our hospitals don't deal with chronic cases or what we call "ordinary diseases". Of course we have our patients with cancer or peptic ulcers or other illnesses and the percentage is about the same as in other Arab countries.

Besides working in curative medicine we have a department of preventive medicine. In every Palestinian camp we have preventive health care centres where we give vaccinations and offer child care. We also give lectures and hold meetings to instruct the people on how diseases can be transmitted. We conduct campaigns against infectious diseases, against flies and rats and things like that. Our preventive units also check water and food supplies.

— Can you tell us how the Red Crescent hospitals operate in an emergency? For instance, last summer when the Zionists bombed the Fakhani district of Beirut, all of a sudden there were 300 dead and 800 wounded to deal with.

A: You know the story of the child born during the air raid, Palestine? If you can understand such a condition — to be born during the bombardment and still living now, you can see that our ambulances and our medical officers work very quickly, otherwise such a child can be killed on the spot. I think that not only our ambulances, but all the people, give their utmost for the evacuation of casualties. At least one third of the beds in our hospitals are always left empty to receive mass casualties. In the instance of Fakhani and other events with such a great number of mass casualties, of course, our emergency departments have a limited capacity. We can see at least 10 persons at any moment in each hospital.

The patients are diagnosed by a specialist. Usually about half of the victims require emergency treatment and others can wait. So these departments must be able to handle a great number of injured persons at any one time. The beds which we keep open are also used to treat minor injuries on the spot. For emergency situations, in the Gaza Hospital, for example, we always have on duty one general surgeon, one neurosurgeon, an anaesthetist, and five resident physicians are always present in the hospital. This is why it is easy for our hospitals to cope with such numbers. But, of course, we can't say that we can cope with many casualties at the same time. The number of our beds is limited. There are private hospitals where our patients can be transferred directly, and we pay for their treatment in those hospitals.

— Does the staff of the Red Crescent have to have special training for war situation?

A: We have traumatology units in our hospitals. This is an advanced division of surgery. Such traumatology centres are not always there even in some Arab countries. We have been in a war situation since the beginning of our revolution in 1965.

Our staff has had a great deal of experience in war surgery. We have very experienced nurses especially in our emergency departments. The PRCS is planning to have 12-month courses for newly graduated doctors in traumatology. These assistant traumatologists will each be responsible for the emergency department in one of our hospitals.

Our staff, starting from the members of the Executive Committee down to the guards, do not work limited hours. Most of our staff are Palestinians or other Arabs and friends from all over the world. They come to work in the PRCS not only for the humanitarian services which the PRCS performs, but they come to work in the PRCS to work in a cause which they consider to be their own cause. We are a family and we are treating our brothers and sisters. Eight-hour shifts do not exist in the PRCS. The members of our family work extra hours for no extra pay. We also have volunteers who donate their time in emergencies: Palestinians, Lebanese, Arabs, Americans and Europeans. Sometimes the number of volunteers is so great that they become problem since we have a limited capacity. I think that during emergencies there is no lack in personnel. We lack only medical supplies and equipment.

— From your work, have you noticed any special psychological problems that the population suffers from because of the continual war situation?

A: I am living in the area which was bombarded, in Fakhani. My mother-in-law was there in the house at the time with my child, just two years old. Believe me, my mother-in-law dares not come to my house since the bombardment and my child always screams because of the severity of the bombardment of that area. So you can imagine.

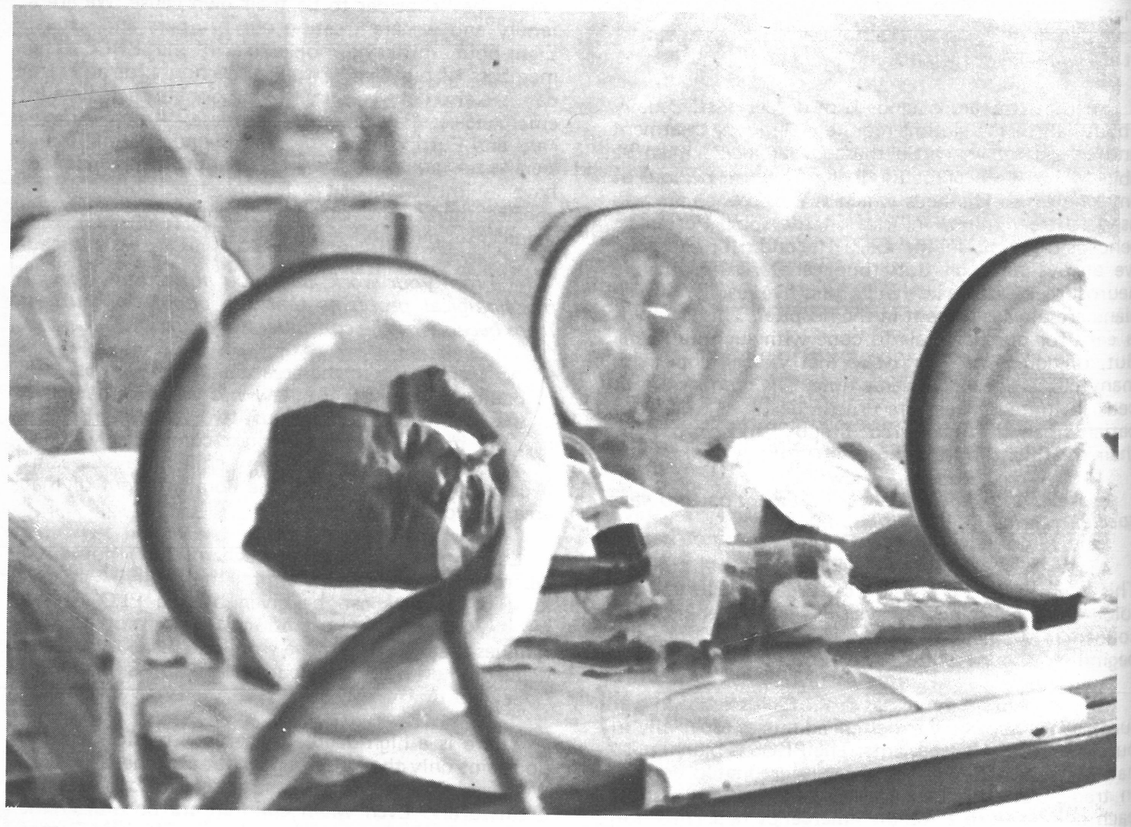
Economically speaking, when any house is destroyed it is a big problem for the family. A certain kind of support can be given by the PLO to the family. The internal migration is a big problem, for families are forced to move from one place to another depending on what the security situation is like.

There is a high degree of nervous tension exerted upon not only the Palestinians, but also the Lebanese. We have seen a high percentage of babies born prematurely. Even when children are born after the full-term pregnancy, we have found a high incidence

of malnourishment. The nervous tension has its effect on any ordinary person. It is not easy to be under the pressure of nervous exhaustion for a long time. There are many social and economic problems. The percentage of nervous diseases is increasing.

— Are there preventive programmes which can be instituted to stem the effects of these problems?

A: Of course, we do have such programmes but such plans must be long term plans. It is not easy for the PRCS to have long term plans. We don't exactly know where to begin and where to stop. We don't know our enemy exactly. We know that imperialism and Zionism are our enemy. But, for example, when we built our first hospital in Lebanon, it was built in the eastern part of Beirut. Then all of a sudden, we were in the middle of our enemy's territory — the Phalangists. Politically speaking, if we undertake any long term plan, such a plan will be hindered by the restrictions of the state, either in Lebanon, in Syria or in any other Arab state. I don't think we can succeed in long term planning, either for psychological diseases or for preventive medicine, even for curative medicine, because we are not in a stable situation. To have a long term plan, you have to have a stable population and a place where you can build a hospital, a medical centre, a rehabilitation centre, etc. In our rehabilitation centre in Burj al-Barajneh we have our own specialists in psychology and neurology, We are trying to do our best. I am afraid that we won't be successful — not because of our efforts, but because of the political situation, because of the regulations of the state.



— But we've noticed that despite the war situation, there isn't the extent of general psychological problems among the Palestinian population that you would expect. In contrast, when the northern part of occupied Palestine was shelled in the summer the Zionists had to handle a massive amount of cases of psychological disorders.

A: I think such a situation exists in a population like the Palestinian population, when someone knows he is defending his rights. Mercenaries can suffer from these problems, but with those who are defending their own rights and are backed by people from all over the world, I think that such diseases are not going to be prevalent if the people know their cause exactly. Mercenaries are not accustomed to living under difficult situations because they just take a salary to kill people. I think that those who fight for their rights — their situation will be different.

— Of the thousands wounded in the air raid, the car bomb explosions and the other Phalangist and Zionist atrocities, how many are still attending your hospitals for further treatment?

A: I can say that at least 50% of the people are still coming to our hospitals. Firstly for psychological treatment, and secondly, all war injuries are potentially infected and infection of bones is very serious. We have at least six months treatment of such injuries before we can say they are healed. Three months after the complete healing of the injury it is possible to have an artificial limb if necessary. So, more than half of them are still attending.

— Operating in Lebanon in a war situation, you must have had instances where Red Crescent hospitals and staff have been hit by the Zionists.

A: Yes, it's happened many times. We have photos. In Tyre there was a direct hit on one of our hospitals, from Israeli gunboats. Also, you must ask Israeli Television for film of when they captured one of our ambulances. One time, our previous President Mahmoud Hijazi was driving his car in the Beqaa and he was hit directly during an air raid.

— What kind of coordination does PRCS have with medical committees of the Lebanese National Movement?

A: We have a Lebanese medical committee responsible for the south and we have very good relations with them. We also have good relations with medical sections of the different Lebanese national forces. Besides that, we are planning to have a Lebanese centre for traumatology and we are supporting them because most of the governmental hospitals are in East Beirut, on the other side. Even the state hospital in Sidon is always understaffed, so our

hospitals and centres are ready to treat all casualties, military, civilian, etc, we even have our own branch for drownings and a fire service which you will be able to see at the exhibition for our Society on its 13th anniversary.

— The Americans in Vietnam used military tactics to create permanent casualties on a large scale for the Vietnamese population so that it would take up the resources of the Resistance just to deal with the casualties. Can we say that the Zionists have a similar tactic and have they been successful?

A: I do think they have a similar tactic. Of course you have heard about the sort of bombs they used — not only to demolish what they call "military" buildings. Most of the dead and injured were civilians and most of them were women and children and old people because the younger people had gone to their work and shops. Unfortunately, schools were closed at that time, so this is why most of the injured were children. I think that these are the tactics of Imperialism. Israel being the puppet of America we are not astonished to see the Israeli regime following the same tactics as the Americans used in Vietnam.

I don't think that they have succeeded in their aim, if you knew how the child was born by the explosion and shrapnel. She was Lebanese but she was named Palestine. So how can I tell you that the Zionists have reached their goal?

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

SHARON IN SOUTH AFRICA: ISRAEL SUPPORTS POLICY OF BANTUSTANS AND AGGRESSION

On December 16, 1981, the pro-Zionist West German newspaper *Die Welt* reported on a recent tour of Israeli war minister Ariel Sharon to South Africa. The report said: "Israel is the first country to declare its readiness to give economic support for the "homeland" Bophutatswana declared independent by South Africa. This was announced following talks with the Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. During his visit in South Africa, Sharon also visited the border area between Ovamboland in northern Namibia and Angola. He praised the combat force of the South African Army and called on the West to supply South Africa with modern arms. In the framework of a new Israeli diplomatic offensive in Africa, Sharon had also visited Zaire, Gabon and the Ivory Coast which all maintain contacts with South Africa."

WITH U.S. BACKING:

PRETORIA, TEL AVIV AND CAIRO JOIN FORCES IN AFRICA

Israel is trying to gain ground in Africa with the backing of the USA and the racist South African regime. The French news agency *AFP* in a dispatch of December 11 from Jerusalem quoted sources close to the Israeli Foreign Ministry as saying that Tel Aviv is planning to restore diplomatic relations with some African countries in the first half of next year. Most of the African countries are known to have recalled their diplomatic representatives from Israel in 1973 in protest against the Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

The main accomplice of the Zionists in their attempts to regain the lost political and economic positions in Africa is Washington. Agreement on establishing a "new strategic relationship" between the USA and Israel was reached in the course of the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Begin to Washington. As pointed out by Western news agencies, during his visit Begin pressured the American Administration that the USA should even more actively uphold Israel's interests in Africa. Striving to make the African governments restore their relations with Israel, the USA and other backers of the Zionists are using the whole arsenal of the means of pressure: from promises of economic and military aid to open diktat. Such a pressure was exerted, in particular, on the head of the Zaire state, who visited Washington the other day.

The role of Israel's active allies in its attempts to penetrate Africa is played by the South African regime and Egypt. According to the Lebanese *al-Kifah al-Arabi* weekly, at a secret meeting in Alexandria last autumn, which was sponsored by the Israeli Military Intelligence Service, representatives of Tel Aviv, Pretoria and Cairo drew up a secret agreement on a coordination of actions in various parts of Africa.

PRETORIA'S NEW CRIMES UNCOVERED

Over the last few months Pretoria has stepped up its aggression against the civilian people of Namibia by the formation of a so-called Southwest African Territorial Force. It is allegedly for enforcing "law and order", but in reality it commits atrocities against the population.

David Shikomba, a teacher in a northern Namibian refugee camp, described atrocities perpetrated by the Southwest African Territorial Force. In Omalala they raped women and girls, then they burnt down the huts. One of the bandits took away a child from his mother, shouting at her that she had provided SWAPO fighters with food. The woman said nothing. Then he threw the baby against a tree. It died instantly.

Special units of this force are assigned to kill SWAPO leaders. Other units are sent out at night on terror missions against the population, which South African propaganda later imputes to SWAPO.

More and more Namibians are fleeing to Angola out of fear of the racist troops. During the past few months further thousands of Namibians crossed the border and found temporary accommodation in five new refugee camps. 36,000 refugees have been given shelter here.

AFRICAN STATES NOT TO RENEW RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Israel state radio said on December 29, 1981, that some African nations have no intentions of renewing diplomatic relations with Israel because of its annexation of the Golan Heights captured from Syria in 1967, and its occupation of other Arab territories. The radio gave no source and Israeli government officials said they had no information on the report.

صامد
samed

Samed: Nucleus of the Palestinian Economy

SAMED'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN 1981

SAMED exhibits at the Leipzig Fair.

Samed came into existence as a result of a resolution undertaken by the Central Committee of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement Fateh. Being one of the Palestinian Revolution's tributaries, Samed shoulders the task of struggle on all economic and social levels. It embodies and crystallizes the nucleus of the Palestinian public sector. Throughout its 12 years of existence, Samed's commitment to the revolutionary path attained a qualitative leap forward, together with its workers' commitments in their respective positions within the revolution. This leap comprises all political, economic, industrial, vocational and labour fields of Samed's activities. Samed not only obtained achievements in adopting new work techniques, but also benefited from its experiments on how to adapt the social and revolutionary goals to practical developments on the ground on a scientific basis.

The end of 1981 sees a high point in the development and experience of Samed. In order to understand this process well, one must look back over the stages in Samed's development. It started with some small workshops for sewing, embroidery and weaving, carried out by female workers, and the sons and daughters of men who had died in the struggle of the Revolution. Nowadays, its workshops and factories extend throughout all the Palestinian refugee camps. If one compared Samed's start with its present stage, one would be stunned by the change. From handicrafts and small-scale manufacture, activity has shifted to industries with modern technologies including automated and semi-automated plants.

Samed has achieved its developments in a steady confrontation with the difficult living and social conditions of the Palestinian people and workers.

In order to get an idea about the Samed Institution, we have to review its various sectors and divisions, and the latest aspects of their development:

1 — Industrial Production Sector

This consists of 12 production sectors. Their common aim is to produce the greatest share possible in satisfying the needs and requirements of the masses as well as the Palestinian Revolution. Furthermore, they also produce for the general market and for exports.

In establishing new branches, Samed tries to make use of local and foreign expertise and co-operation, especially also from the Socialist countries. Among the most recently established branches are:

— A factory for boots, shoes and webbing. It was established following a cooperation agreement signed by Samed and a Hungarian institution which supplies modern machinery. The project is financially supported by the Belgian Oxfam Society as well as the Belgian government — a result of the efforts of Naim Khader, the late P.L.O. representative to Brussels. This factory is one of the latest and most modern plants of its kind in the entire Middle East. It employs a large number of both Palestinian and Lebanese workers, particulary from the southern part of the country most affected by Israeli aggression. It started its work in 1980.

— A plant for plastic products. It was built in co-operation with the German Democratic Republic, which provided machines and expertise, together with vocational training and a generous financing scheme. This sector now employs a large number of workers and satisfies an important mass demand, especially in the areas under the control of the patriotic National Movement in Lebanon.

— A plant for the production of chemical materials. It produces all sorts of detergent, decontamination and sterilization materials.

— The development of the capabilities of its work force. Samed has organised vocational and cultural training courses for its industrial workers and cadres, in coordination with fraternal and friendly states, both within the institution and abroad.

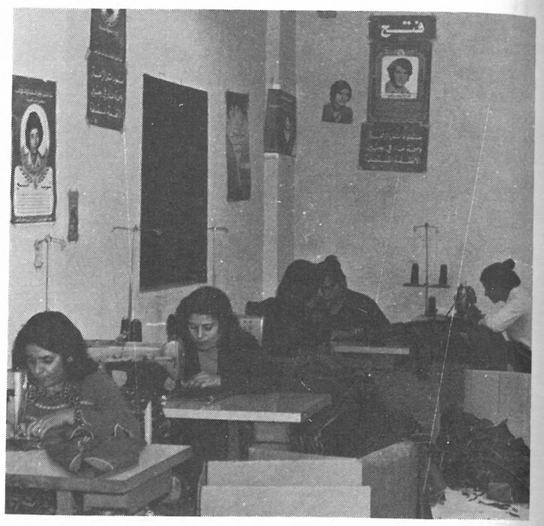
2 — Trade and Exhibitions

In 1981 Samed was able to open up new markets for its products. It broadened the scale of its commercial ties, and opened new permanent fairs for its products, among which are the exhibitions in Democratic Yemen, in the Arab Republic of Yemen, in Libya and Congo-Brazzaville, as well as the Palestinian Commercial Centre in Baghdad.

In addition, Samed was proud to participate in numerous national and international fairs as in Leipzing, Plovdiv, Budapest, Bucharest, Baghdad, Casablanca, New Dehli, Karachi, Nairobi, Tripoli, Algiers, Cyprus and other parts of the world. These fairs contributed to the development of the P.L.O.'s cultural, political and commercial relations with the host countries, and they resulted in a number of new economic and trade cooperation agreements.

3 — The Agricultural Production Sector.

It is one of the Palestinian Revolution's principles to develop friendship with the developing African countries. In accordance with this commitment, Samed promotes agricultural and industrial projects in Guinea Conakry, Guinea Bissau, Somalia, Sudan and other countries. Palestinian experts working on these projects, together with their African colleagues, have been engaged in land and agrarian reform



schemes, in establishing pilot plants and in building dams and canals. All these projects are playing an important role in the economic development of these respective countries.

Samed has achieved successive benefits for its workers, according to its belief that the workers are partners in the work and the responsibility. The workers are represented in the revolutionary union committees elected by the workers themselves, as well as in Samed's administrative broad, the executive council and the industrial production council. Samed offers social and health welfare for its workers. It also provides redundancy compensation and special allowances on family occasions.

More Aspirations

Samed looks forward to developing further all its labour, industrial, trade and administrative spheres in the future. In wants the workers to take on their planned and revolutionary productive role, as the nucleus of the Palestinian working class, committed and loyal to the principles of the Revolution and understanding the importance of its role in the struggle for self-sufficiency of the Revolution and its masses.

Samed plans to construct more plants and new factories covering all areas where Palestinian refugees are present. It intends to expand its presence in international fairs. On the level of information, Samed plans to produce a documentary film and film play showing the reality of the life of the Palestinian people. Finally Samed is determined to continue the all-round education of its work force, keeping in mind that the well-being and development of the human being remains its fundamental and most important aim.

UPGRADING THE SKILLS OF THE PALESTINIAN WORK FORCE

The director general of SAMED, Abu Ala'a, gave to Palestine the following account on the achievements of SAMED in the past and its projects for the coming years.

"First and foremost, SAMED is one of the institutions of the Palestinian revolution. We evaluate our achievements in every year according to SAMED's role within the framework of the general Palestinian struggle. The specific undertakings, which were planned for SAMED since its establishment in 1970, are divided into social and economic tasks. In the social field, SAMED has achieved a very important goal in creating jobs for Palestinian workers and providing training for these workers in order to upgrade the skills of the Palestinian workforce and to turn out Palestinian technical cadres who can employ sophisticated technologies in the industrial field.

"SAMED has also increased its presence in the Palestinian refugee camps since Chairman Yasser Arafat ordered the building of at least one SAMED workshop in every Palestinian refugee camp. SAMED has built a chain of workshops in northern Lebanon, particulary in Nahr al Barid and Beddawi refugee camps, and it has also succeeded in establishing workshops in the Beqaa and south Lebanon where there are many Palestinian people. Despite the continuous Israeli raids on our people and our refugee camps and on the Lebanese villages, SAMED was able to maintain a chain of workshops although many have been destroyed or shelled by the Israelis. We reconstructed these workshops because of our belief in the social importance of our institute in the general framework of the Palestinina revolution.

"SAMED has been successful in organising a chain of 'improvement programmes' and training-courses in some of its centres in the refugee camps, and has sent a large number of its cadres to friendly socialist bloc countries and to some Arab countries in order to improve their technical knowledge.

"Last year we sent over 150 cadres to several socialist countries. Furthermore, SAMED has managed for the first time to start a campaign for the eradication of illiteracy during the year in the camps and in its workshops. We succeeded in this field with the help of the Adult Teaching Department in the Arab League. The PLO Executive Committee adopted a comprehensive campaign for eradicating illiteracy in all the Palestinian refugee camps. This is one achievement of SAMED which we are especially proud of, because the Palestinian revolution was the first one to adopt such a campaign alongside the basic national struggle.

"Also in the social field, SAMED has increased the salaries of its workers during the last year in order to help them to meet the high cost of living in the places where SAMED operates, such as Lebanon.

"These increases take two forms. The first is a general cost of living increase paid equally to all SAMED workers. The second is in the form of special benefits. Any married worker receives special monthly payment for his or her spouse, which has been increased from 80L.L. to 125L.L. Another special benefit takes the form of a family allowance. The allowance for each child (up to a maximum of 6 children) was increased from 25L.L. to 35L.L. per child. The third increase was in the form of a bonus tied to an evaluation of the social situation of the worker with experience, improvement and needs being taken into account. Such benefits are part of SAMED's programme of social development for its workers. Medical care is also provided for all workers and their families. In the case of the death of a SAMED worker, the montly salary will continue to be paid to his family. These social benefits have been approved by Chairman Arafat.

"UPGRADING THE SKILLS OF THE PALESTINIAN WORKFORCE"

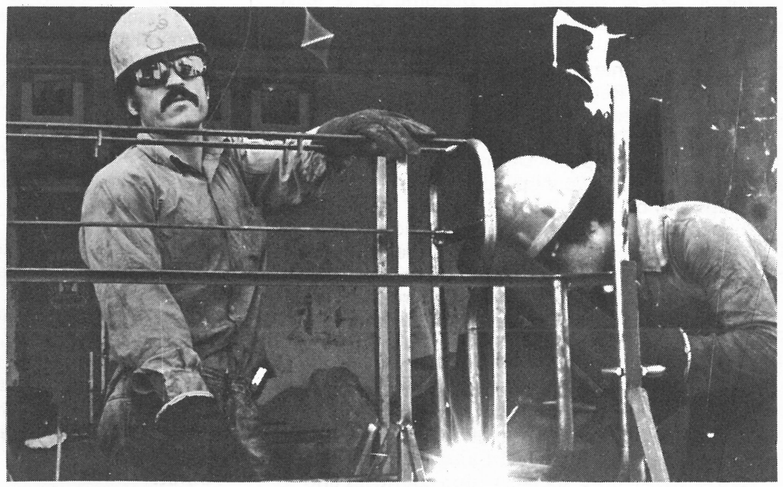
"In the economic field, one of our achievements has been the organisation of the management board of SAMED and the improvement of the management structure of the institute with the help of Arab experts. This structure aims to centralize the planning, supervision and financing of SAMED, and to decentralize the management of the various industrial, agricultural, commerical and film enterprises of SAMED.

"SAMED, during the past year, has held discussions with some foreign countries, on the possibility of extending our range of manufactured items. For example during Chairman Arafat's visit to Japan, on which I accompanied him, we discussed, with the Japanese, the possibility of adding an electronics industry to our activities. We discussed plans for training Palestinian technicians in the electronics industry, and the possibilty of establishing electronic training centres in the refugee camps in Lebanon and elsewhere, in line with our policy of training skilled industrial workers.

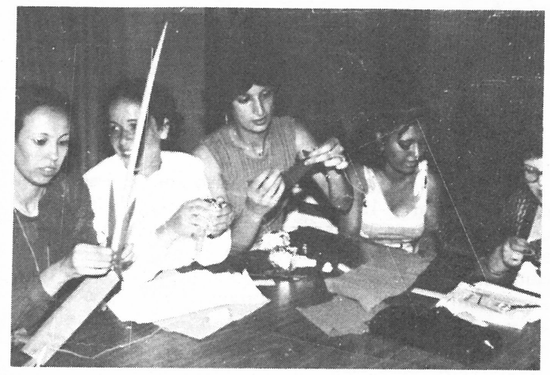
"From 70 to 100 workers would be sent to Japan each year for advanced technical training. Other middle-level skilled workers would be trained here, in our centres, built in the refugee camps. We hope that this proposition, which has been discussed with the Japanese Minister of International Trade will be able to be put into effect during the coming year. There are also plans to improve the plastics industry, an offshoot of the petro-chemical industry. We would like to improve the skills of our cadres in this field also. To this end we have signed contracts to buy a number of new machines. These machines will go into operation next year.

"In the marketing field SAMED has signed agreements with a number of friendly nations and has increased the volume of its sales with Iraq, the Gulf States, Democratic Yemen and Algeria. The demand from these countries is greater than we are able to produce. Therefore we shall build more workshops, in our camps, in order to meet these increasing demands. This, in turn, will create more jobs for our people, improve their social development and the economic situation of the Palestinian people.

"The most important aim of ours is to extend SAMED to our people in the occupied territories. Yasser Arafat once said "If SAMED can't expand its activities to the occupied territories these activities will be imperfect". There will be no real support to the steadfastness of our people in the occupied territories unless we are able to extend SAMED to these people. At present our activities, in the occupied territories are still limited. We participate in marketing the products of the occupied area in the Arab market. We hope to support our people under occupation by promoting development in education, in housing and the economy in general, in order to increase the interaction between the Revolution and its people. SAMED's aspirations are unlimited, as are the aspirations of the Palestinian people. This is a large responsibility, very large, and we hope to be successful in translating some of the wishes into real actions."



A political lecture at the General Union of Palestinian Women



Palestinian women making paper toys for a kindergarten

An Interview with Issam Abdul Hadi, President of the General Union of Palestinian Women:

"OUR COUNTRY WILL NOT BE LIBERATED WITHOUT THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN"

Q: Can you give us an overview of the accomplishments and activities of the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) over the past year?

Over the past year we have participated in many important conferences. The most important one was the United Nations conference in Copenhagen which was held on the occasion of the Decade of Women. We were especially concerned about this conference because a very important resolution was passed condemning Zionism, which is the most difficult obstacle to achieving peace. On the local level, last year we held seminars and cultural activities in the rehabilitation centres which we have. We opened a number of centres for eradicating illiteracy, for teaching the older people who never had the chance to continue their education. We devoted a lot of attention to the Steadfastness House which is a centre run by the Women's Union which cares for the children of martyrs from Tal al-Zataar and the Fakhani bombing this past summer. In general, the activities of women within the framework of the GUPW increased all over the cities and refugee camps.

Q: Besides the UN conference on women, what other activities has the GUPW participated in on the international level?

We participated in conferences which were held in Helsinki, Prague, Moscow and in every conference which was held within the framework of the Decade of Women. We participated in regional conferences in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. One of the most important activities we took part in was a meeting of the All Arab Women's Federation. Within the Federation we created a new Federation to represent all Arab women. The old Federation was founded in Egypt in 1977.

Q: What were the activities of the Union inside the occupied territories?

We have a very serious and active branch of our union inside the occupied territories. We have representatives of this union in every city, village and camp. Because they are working underground, we can't offer much help to them. But we do appreciate all the activities they are undertaking to resist the occupation.

I want to say that it's our legal right to resist occupation. But maybe the Zionist occupation is different from any other occupation in the world. It is both racist and expansionist. We know that occupation means destruction, corruption, exploitation and suffering for anyone under occupation and specifically in Palestine. Concerning women, we see that their situation is part of the general situation in Palestine and part of the struggle of the Palestinian people. Maybe their suffering in occupied Palestine is greater.

"OUR COUNTRY WILL NOT BE LIBERATED WITHOUT THE LIBERATION OF THE WOMEN"

I would like to refer to imprisonment. There are currently nearly 450 women inside Israeli jails. Some of them are sentenced for life and some of them are sentenced for many years. We can't say that the number of imprisoned Palestinians is accurate. Why? As a result of the demonstrations which are going on now, hundreds go into prison and then come out again and then go in again.

The bad treatment inside Israeli jails is known all over the world. The women face torture the same as the men. Both men and women suffer from administrative detention. It's against all international laws concerning the treatment of an occupied population. Both our men and women are put under administrative detention without any trial, any sentence or without any charge. The term of imprisonment is renewed every six months. We always mention this administrative detention, but nothing is happening to bring it to an end. Also the beatings and torture continue against both women and men.

In November we have had three unfortunate historical anniversaries which have added to the general uprising in the occupied territories: the anniversaries of the issuing of the Balfour Declaration, of Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977 and finally the United Nations partition of Palestine which has now become a day of international solidarity with the Palestinian people. As we speak, there are demonstrations and hunger strikes all over the occupied territories. You've probably heard that there have been demonstrations and a hunger strike initiated against the occupation by the women of Hebron. There have also been women's and students' demonstrations in Ramallah which have been attacked by Zionist soldiers and a number of women were injured. There is also very important work being undertaken by women inside the occupied territories within voluntary associations which have a number of different names — in Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah and Jerusalem. They care for the martyrs' children and their families as well as the children of Palestinians imprisoned by the occupation authorities. They have opened clinics and nurseries for workers' children. They are participating in an important way in the passive resistance in the occupied territories in conjunction with the active resistance. Now so many women and students are inside the Zionist jails because of their activities whether they are acts of passive or active resistance. In any awakening movement, the women are the elite of this movement.

For the past two years there has been a big campaign to open illiteracy centres. Now after the campaign we have 125 centres all over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We consider this a huge success for the women inside the occupied territories.

Women in occupied Palestine are often the targets of Israeli brutality

QQ: What is the Women's Union doing outside the occupied territories to combat illiteracy?

Our union now has 11 branches in Arab host countries and we aim to create branches in countries all over the world wherever Palestinians are found. But we are talking just about Palestinian women in the Arab countries. From the beginning of the establishment of the General Union of Palestinian Women one of its main goals was to raise the status and consciousness of Palestinian women. From the beginning we established centres for illiteracy. We succeeded to a certain extent then. But during the past three years we have had a campaign to establish more illiteracy centres. Just during the past two years our union branches have established 90 centres for combating illiteracy. The most serious concern is for the centres being established in the Palestinian refugee camps all over Lebanon.

Q: Why are there especially high rates of illiteracy for Arab women?

It's due to some backward traditions which used to exist all over the Arab world. Now it's improving. Parents used to give more concern for boys than girls and governments gave more concern to men than women. This is decreasing, but before this was the reality. The illiteracy rate among Palestinians is small in comparison to rates for all Arab countries. The most serious factor in hindering our success in eradicating illiteracy is the occupation of Palestine and the situation in Lebanon outside the occupied territories. Another factor is the dispersal of the Palestinians all over the Arab world. Something new in Lebanon is the continuous Zionist aggression against the south, against Beirut itself and the civil war. This affects the whole situation. There is poverty among the Palestinians both inside and outside the occupied territories. The low standard of living conditions does not enable Palestinian families to put both boys and girls through school. But now the concern which is being directed towards this question both by the PLO and our union is making the situation better than before. We hope that we can overcome all obstacles facing the Palestinian family.

Q: During the past year there has been a significant increase in the participation of women within the structure of the PLO.

We always used to say that the efforts of women were not appreciated by the leadership of the PLO. We've said that our women have been making so many efforts and engaging in so many activities that how these efforts could be appreciated is through the acceptance of more of our women inside the Palestine National Congress (PNC). At the first meeting of the Congress, we were 21 women out of a total of 450 members. The the role of women became more important and more serious. So we had the right to have more representatives inside the Congress. We succeeded in the last session of the Congress last year to have our numbers increased to 31. Eleven of the women members in the PNC came from the General Union of Palestinian Women. We believe that this is still a small number and that it should be increased. We now only have one member within the Central Council of the PLO. We are now struggling to have more women members inside the Central Council. The membership of the Central Council has now been increased to 70. So one out of 70 is not enough. There was a proposal to have one of our sisters as a member inside the leadership of the PLO, inside the PLO Executive Committee. This didn't occur at the last session of the PNC since there was no increase in the membership of the PLO Executive Committee. We hope that in the next session of the PNC, a woman will take up a post in the PLO Executive Committee.

Q: What are the future plans of the union?

We are aiming to make Palestinian women stronger and more progressive in all their activities. We want to liberate women from illiteracy and all the obstacles they are facing. We believe that unless women are liberated, our country will never be liberated. We want economic independence for women. Towards this end we are creating rehabilitation centres and training centres. We want to increase them. We want to further our international relationships with organisations which until now we have not been able to reach. We want to increase our activities locally and internationally to bring attention to the steadfastness of our people and our women inside the occupied territories. We want to be more active in all facets of the PLO to enable women to play their role side by side with men. In the long run we want to achieve our aspirations for a secular democratic state in all parts of Palestine. Our goal now is to resist well and afterwards to be a part in the building of a new society in Palestine.

The President of the General Union of Palestinian Women with the President of the International Democratic Women's Conference visiting Steadfastness House

THE PALESTINIAN CHILDREN OF STEADFASTNESS HOUSE

The "Steadfastness House for Children" (Beit as-Soumoud) was founded in 1976, in Beirut. One day after the fall of the Palestinian refugee camp of Tal al-Zaatar, in August 1976, the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Women responded to the pressing problem of hundreds of Palestinian, Lebanese and other Arab children orphaned. Some of these child victims were seriously disabled, and all orphaned, as a result of the continuous shelling they had suffered for seventy-six days at the hands of the Israelis' allies, the Phalangist Party, and other anti-popular forces in Lebanon, became the responsibility of the General Union of Palestinian Women. Specialists in the field of child welfare were commissioned to design a substitute caring family environment for these child victims.

The Director of Steadfastness House explained the situation: "They are not only orphans – this may be their greatest handicap, but they have also lost a home and family atmosphere necessary to give a person the stability to take a natural part in the cycle of life. This is why we created this new home for them: a home for the children of defiance.

The Steadfastness House was to have been built in the Tal al-Zaatar refugee camp if it had survived the long-term siege it underwent for months. But since the camp was completely destroyed and the area was sealed off, the House was built in a southern suburb of Beirut called Bir Hasan.

When Steadfastness House was established on August 12, 1977, it had 80 children, but it now has 216 children. In order to get more information about its development, we visited the House and interviewed its Director Qassim, who explained that the home is organised on the principle of creating small family units. "The children live in families of seven or eight from different age groups, guided and cared for by a substitute mother who lives with them and shares all their activities: eating, dressing, studying and sleeping. The mother is aided by the eldest child in the group, who is sometimes the natural older sister or brother. The substitute mother and the family unit is the nucleus of the home. All the work becomes group work aimed at helping the mother carry out all her activities, so that she may be able to give the children all her love and care and so that she may build the new family with them, within the larger family of the Steadfastness House.

"Conditions for admittance give first priority to orphaned children of martyred parents. Second priority is given to the child who has lost either a father or a mother, or to the child whose mother has been martyred and whose father is either physically or mentally incapable of caring for the child. The next priority is given to the child whose father has been martyred and whose mother has remarried and has no one to take care of the child. It should be pointed out that we have an open policy of taking all children who have been unfortunate enough to have suffered the same losses as the children of Tal al Zaatar. So we have in our "family" Syrian, Kurdish and Lebanese children.

"The first stage of our work concentrated on psychological treatment for the children to deal with their trauma and to adapt them to the planned programme. Now, after five years' experience, we have developed our potentials and have created a programme of education and activities within the framework of the "home" situation, and with emphasis on vocational training. We have courses in electrical maintenance, carpentry and welding for both males and females. We also have groups for artists; such as the Palestinian Folklore Troupe. We now have three artistic teams, and more than one nursery school besides our Kindergarten.

"Within the home we have nursery schools and kindergartens for the young children. In the beginning it was decided that it was important for the children to receive their education outside the House. The children attend the UNWRA schools in the nearby Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps so that they are able to participate actively in, and have a sense of belonging to, the development of their society.

"The children's education is for their individual future, and also for their contribution to their society. We provide for every child in our care every educational opportunity up to the university level. Educational specialists are brought into the House when necessary to cater to the special needs of the children.

"For those children either not interested in, or unable to utilize, such educational opportunities we provide vocational training or refer them to Samed, the industrial sector of the PLO, or to the Palestinian Red Crescent Society for employment and training.

"We have on the staff of the House a pediatrician, a volunteer doctor, psychologists and social workers to look after the psychological and physical needs of the children and to support the subsitute "mother" in her care of her "family."

"A special grant provided by the PLO covers the salaries and running costs of the home. This is not sufficient to cover all requirements and other donations are needed. The medical care and supplies are provided by Fateh. Nearly 50% of the children have been "adopted" by associations, committees or individuals from Kuwait, Belgium, France and Tunisia. Their contributions are used for the children's care. The "adoption" provides income for the orphans on the one hand and encourages the building of personal and social relationships."

Pipers of Steadfastness House play the Palestinian national anthem.

Reviewing their Lessons

When asked about the children's understanding and commitment to the Steadfastness House, Qassim explained that they faced many difficulties, in the beginning, in creating a suitable atmosphere in which to care for and educate the children. But they have now reached a satisfactory situation and notice that the children show a deep sense of belonging to their home. "A real feeling of family has become evident. This is reflected by the fact that there is no longer a problem with misbehaviour which had been a problem in the early years. The children are beginning to organise themselves and to play a role in their home. For example the children between the ages of 12 and 17 years have formed a committee to supervise the behaviour of the other children. It is in such ways of cooperation that we see the children expressing their commitment to the home and to creating a sense of community. We are reviving and promoting the full potential of each child. We are not giving them fish, we are teaching them to fish for themselves."

Special Solidarity Project:

A CENTRE FOR THE HANDICAPPED IN AIN AL-HELWEH

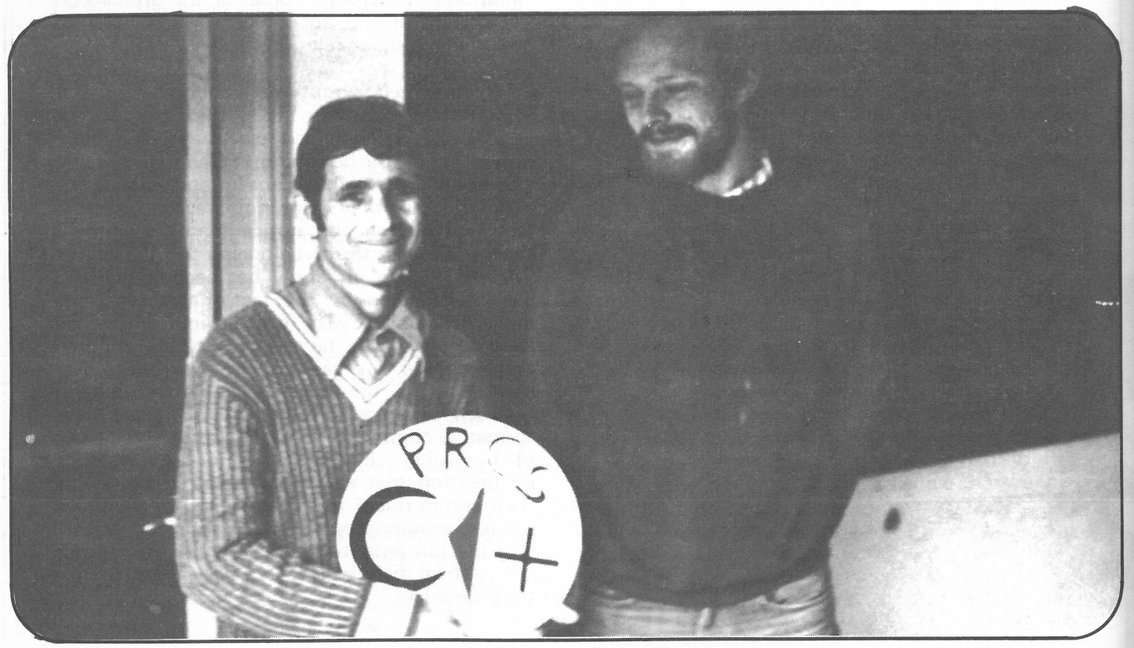
Palestine *bulletin visited a very special project in Ain al-Helweh Refugee Camp in Sidon where a group of young Europeans from the Palestine Front in Norway are building a rehabilitation centre for physically and mentally handicapped Palestinians with the help of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society. Three of the Europeans who are working on the project, which has just opened, are Kristian and Marianne from Norway and Josephine from Holland. We asked them how the project for building a rehabilitation centre came about.*

Kristian: This is actually a pilot scheme for the refugee camps in the south. It is a rehabilitation centre for both physically and mentally handicapped people. We have both children's and adult groups who come daily to the centre.

Marianne: One year ago I was working in Rashidiyeh Camp near Tyre together with my husband. It was then that we discovered that there were a lot of things for us to do as we were both working in the social field. We had been involved in the Palestine question in Norway, and so we wanted to be able to do something here in Lebanon. Before they only had medical clinics. We found that there was a great need for something to be done for the mentally and physically handicapped. We decided that we would work on it for maybe one year or more, and we have succeeded in that.

Kristian: The way we have succeeded in this shows what could be done. We have support now from what we could call "new sources." For example, even the Finish government and some governmental institutions in Denmark have contributed to this project. Maybe one of the biggest contributors to this project is the Norwegian trade union movement. They have raised at least half of the money needed for the first year.

How does the rehabilitation centre operate?



A Norwegian therapist with one of his patients at Ain al-Helweh

Kristian: First of all we have the workshop. Both children and adults come for sessions, ranging from a few hours to whole days. It depends on their own capabilities and how we can manage our time schedules. The workshop session is one of the basic tasks of the centre. Then there is the children's room where there are different kinds of groups coming. There is a group for mentally retarded children and there is also a group for physically handicapped children.

Josephine: I'm from Holland, but I came here through the Palestine Front in Norway. I am responsible especially for the mentally retarded – children as well as adults. We try to work in various ways – in the homes as well as establishing groups for children and grown-ups in the centre. Especially with the children, we have started to let them come every day to the centre for two hours. We try to work on various issues like how to look after themselves, to be more socialized and if possible, we teach them to read and write, but we have to see at first how far they can manage.

Have you found a high rate of mental retardation in the refugee camps?

Josephine: Yes, we have found this and you can see many mentally retarded people on the streets. Many families tell us that it's not just their child, but that there are many more, and we also believe that.

What has been the reaction of the people in the refugee camps to your work?

Josephine: In the beginning, they were more or less keeping a big distance. Now you see them coming more often and being more interested in what we are doing. In that way, you can see that they are beginning to accept more the mentally handicapped.

Has it been difficult to coordinate the work in the centre with how families deal with their children at home?

Josephine: Yes, the point is that what we are doing in the centre has to be going on in the home too. This is a point we have to work very hard on. So we try to keep in touch as much as possible with the families and tell them what we are doing and what they have to do at home. But, of course, this will take some time.

What are the social attitudes that Palestinians living in the refugee camps have towards mentally retarded children?

Marianne: Concerning the mentally handicapped, you can see that they are not used to it especially because there was never a rehabilitation centre to take care of them, and because of that, the reaction of the parents was to keep them at home because they felt ashamed. So, the society here is not used to seeing them. It becomes stranger and stranger and then people keep them even more at home. It becomes a vicious circle that has to be broken it you want them to be involved in society.

In the United States and Europe it is a common social attitude toward the mentally retarded to have them institutionalized and kept away from society. It there a difference in the Palestinian refugee camps?

Josephine: That's right. I think that it's better for mentally handicapped children to live amongst society. I think what we have to work on is for society to get used to them and fully accept them. I think that the way we are dealing with it in Europe and the United States is to hide them away as far as possible in institutions. The best thing is to have them near us – to accept them as people who are in some way special, but not abnormal.

Kristian: As long as there have been no centres for these kind of people, of course, no one knows what to do with them. So it's a natural thing for them to hide away these children. It's not only the mentally retarded, but it's also the physically handicapped – you find them in the homes also. The effect of staying at home, more or less isolated from the rest of the world, makes it very difficult for these children to build contacts through which they can learn something.

Can some of the existing Palestinian cultural attributes be adapted to the work at the rehabilitation centre?

Kristian: I think they have some very beautiful traditions. You can look at Acre Hospital in Beirut and you find there that the handicapped themselves are making artificial limbs for other handicapped people. This is the kind of beautiful tradition that we want to keep alive. For example, we could employ handicapped staff here if they were able to cope with the work.

Josephine: The most important thing that I have seen is that in Palestinian families the people are used to taking care of each other in a very good way. You will not find, as you do in Europe, that people become isolated as they grow older or if they have some handicap. So I think we can learn from this also. As soon as

A CENTRE FOR THE HANDICAPPED IN AIN AL-HELWEH

people become used to seeing mentally and physically handicapped people among them they can learn to care for them in a good way as they care for everybody else.

The goal is eventually to have Palestinians staff the rehabilitation centre themselves?

Kristian: This is one of the most important aims of the centre. We are a rather big group now. Eight people are working here. The centre should be completely run by the Palestinians themselves. We are now in the process of employing more people at the centre, people who want to do some kind of social work. Candidates apply and we try to pick some of these people who we think can do a good job. They will be under our supervision for at least one year. After that one of the plans is to try and give them scholarships so that they can also have the formal education in this field, but first we want to have them working for one year at the centre to see how it goes.

Josephine: Yes, that's the plan that they become as much as possible involved with and get a full understanding of handicapped people because they are not used to seeing them in society. This means a change in attitude at first, knowing how to deal with them and also what big problems they will face. But also to learn that this is one of the nicest jobs you can have.

Kristian: The general attitudes in society will reflect on this. I don't believe that there are too many people who look upon this as a nice and proper job to do. So it will take time for them to discover all the positive gains you can have from this job.

Why would a young European want to give up part of their life and come to live in Lebanon in a Palestinian refugee camp?

Josephine: I was convinced of the just struggle of the Palestinian people and I wanted to know more about how they live and live among them. In Holland you can't do that much. I think you can do more when you have been living with them and then going back and telling about what you have seen and found out about the Palestinians. They are people who even after a very hard struggle are so lively and hospitable to you as a foreigner. They want to convince you of their cause. I think you feel more alive when you are living here.

U.S. TRIPWIRE REVEALED

The United States has worked out a secret plan which previews a U.S. military invasion of the territory of southern Iran, reported the *Sunday Times* on December 13. The plan, code-named "Tripwire", envisages the defence of U.S. interests in the Middle East and has been worked out by Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Reagan, and his advisers have approved the "Tripwire" scheme.

The elaboration of the plan was started way back under Carter, but it was finally formulated after the Reagan administration came to power. The "Tripwire" includes bringing American troops into the territories of Turkey, Pakistan, the Arab Gulf States, Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Kenya, across the territories of which the United States' so-called "Line of Defence" will run.

The U.S. administration's actions have aroused growing concern among the states of the region which in an increasingly resolute way express their discontent on the build-up of American military presence in the area. The United States has already assigned more than 100 million for the modernisation and construction of new military bases in the Middle East.

PRETORIA'S AGGRESSION ON ANGOLA CONTINUES

The South African racist regime's troops of aggression have continued their attacks on the People's Republic of Angola in November and December and have used poison gas although it is internationally banned. This was said in a communique of the Angolan Defence Ministry and broadcast by the country's radio on December 20.

The Angolan armed forces have put up stubborn resistance and have inflicted considerable losses on the opponent. The towns and villages of Ngiva, Mongua, Humbe and Peu-Peu, which had been reconquered by the Angolan FAPLA forces after fierce fighting in early December, had to be given up after a massive South African counteroffensive.

The objectives of these operations, plotted with the Reagan administration, are the creation of a buffer state in south Angola under the leadership of the traitor Savimbi, obstruction of the Namibian people's liberation struggle and elimination of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) from the negotiations on Namibia's independence.

Apart from the large-scale South African aggression against Angola, Pretoria has recently committed a number acts of sabotage and subversion against other independent countries in the region. The apartheid regime wants to disrupt progressive development in Angola, destabilise people's power and, if possible, overthrow it in the long term. The racists are working against the existence of all independent African states.

Pretoria's Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, has threatened the independent African states with acts of aggression. Opening a new training centre of the South African army, he said, Pretoria would not hesitate to launch new military operations against the neighbouring states, if necessary, similar to the large-scale attack on Angola.

Employing helicopter gunships and paratroops, Pretoria has staged 50 heavy attacks against Angola over the last ten months. 150 bombing raids, which killed thousands of people, were made on towns and villages of the Angolan People's Republic. Over 160,000 Angolans have been made refugees.

WORLD EVENTS

GUATEMALAN JUNTA TO STIFLE POPULAR RESISTANCE

ADN's correspondent, Doris Kohle, made a report of the disastrous situation of the Guatemalan people.

The Lucas regime in Guatemala is trying to stifle with murder and terror the growing popular resistance in the country. The number of victims of the murder campaign has risen to about 200 every day. General Benedicto Lucas Garcia, chief of the army general staff and a brother of the dictator, has stated that the army is at present conducting "the biggest-ever mopping-up operation against guerilla fighters".

The revolutionary liberation forces, which meanwhile have further intensified their military operations, have accused the regime of having committed some 6,000 political murders over the past three years. They said the elections scheduled for March 7 next year were a fraudulent manoeuvre as opposition parties were not allowed to field candidates.

Quoting Mexican press reports, the *ADN* correspondent writes that the Guatemalan people are in a disastrous situation. Over 80 per cent of all children under five are underfed. Only one-third of all new-born babies have a chance to reach adulthood. 63 per cent of all grown-ups are illiterate, and the percentage is even higher among the Indian population.

Three-quarters of all families lack decent housing. About a third of the able-bodied population is unemployed, and a further 50 percent find work only during the harvest period. While five per cent of the people distribute far more than half the national income among themselves and two per cent own about three-quarters of the agricultural land, the majority of the people is living in abject poverty.

Hardest hit are the Indians who account for 57 per cent of the country's population. As a consequence more and more of them are joining revolutionary resistance organisations.

U.S. ECONOMY IN CRISIS

The U.S. economy is on the brink of a slump, according to a report by the Federal Reserve Board issued on December 18, 1981. The U.S. Gross National Product (G.N.P.) is contracting at an annual rate of 5.4% in the current quarter (from October 1, 1981) and Commerce Department officials estimate that a 7% decline in G.N.P. might be reached by the end of 1981. Reflecting the deepening U.S. recession, an index of leading economic indicators fell by 1.8% in October; and November production figures tumbled by 2.1% from October.

Industrial plant is operating at only 74.9% capacity. The car industry, led by the three giants, General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford, are working at only 50% capacity – in November 32,000 redundancies occurred. Said Robert Dederick, an assistant secretary of commerce, "This is not just an automobile and housing phenomenon. It's rather widespread" (*International Herald Tribune,* December 19, 1981).

October unemployment was 8.5 million, the highest since 1939, and figures released by the Commerce Department on December 18 show this to have increased to over 9 million. A further 5 million workers are employed in part-time jobs only.

In a report from the Council of Economic Advisors and the Office of Management, the budget deficit for 1982 is previewed at $109 billion and is expected to rise. The inflation index rose at an annual rate of 9.9%.

The move to slump is also seen in the decline in interest rates. Major banks have dropped the prime rate to 15.5% – the lowest level for three months. Says Robert Ortner, chief economist of the U.S. Commerce Department, "the recession is for real and it is continuing."

A caricature of Reagan and Schmidt in a Bonn peace rally.

EUROPE DEMONSTRATES AGAINST N.A.T.O. EXPANSION AND SUPERARMAMENT

The session of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in Brussels on December 9 was marked with a formal invitation to Spain to become the sixteenth member of the Organisation. From the strategic point of view, Spain would be of undeniable importance to the Organisation. NATO's expansion to the Iberian Peninsula would consolidate the Organisation's Mediterranean flank. Spain is an ideal platform for the deployment of medium range nuclear weapons and NATO also hopes to gain some 225,000 Spanish troops. On the other hand, Spain has achieved a special importance for NATO by Greece's promised withdrawal from the Organisation's military structure, which would result in a weakening of its positions in the South European sector.

Meanwhile in Madrid, the Spanish Socialist MPs handed in to the Prime Minister's office a petition with 600,000 signatures asking for a referendum on Spain's NATO membership. They promised that the campaign to collect more signatures will be stepped up in the New Year, maintaining that there was nothing binding for Madrid in the Organisation's Brussels session.

At the same time mass demonstrations were organised in West European capitals against NATO's superarmament. Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators demanded that the decision on deploying new American missiles in Western Europe be reversed.

In the centre of Athens on December 6, some 300,000 people protested against nuclear arms on Greek soil, against NATO membership and the existence of U.S. bases in Greece. The demonstrators had come to Athens in several hour marches from various towns, including Ellenikon where there is still one of the largest American bases abroad storing nuclear weaponry. On the same day one of the largest mass rallies in the history of neutral Switzerland took place when 40,000 people from all parts of the country gathered in the federal capital Bern. More than 50 parties and organisations had responded to a call by the Bern Committee for Peace and Disarmament. The demonstration took place under the slogan "For peace and disarmament, against nuclear warfare and the neutron weapon."

In Copenhagen and nine other Danish towns some 70,000 demonstrators appealed to the NATO leaders to revoke their decision on stationing new nuclear missiles. Peace rallies also took place in the Italian towns of Treviso and Naples. In Finland's capital Helsinki demonstrators demanded a nuclear weapon-free zone in Northern Europe and advocated an entirely nuclear-free Europe.

On December 12, tens of thousands of demonstrators marched through West Berlin to protest against the NATO missiles decision. More than 130 democratic organisations of the city had organised this demonstration to mark the anniversary of the signing of this decision in Brussels on December 12, 1979. The demonstrators carried banners reading "Away with nuclear missiles", "Stop NATO missiles" and "Nothing is more important than peace". At a final meeting a retired general of the West German army, Gert Bastian, called for cancellation of the missiles decision.

Young Portuguese responded to a call by the National Union of Secondary School Students for a demonstration in Lisbon in favour of a world without nuclear weapons. In choruses they demanded that Portugal leave NATO and that nuclear weapons not be stationed in their country.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE IRISH LIBERATION STRUGGLE

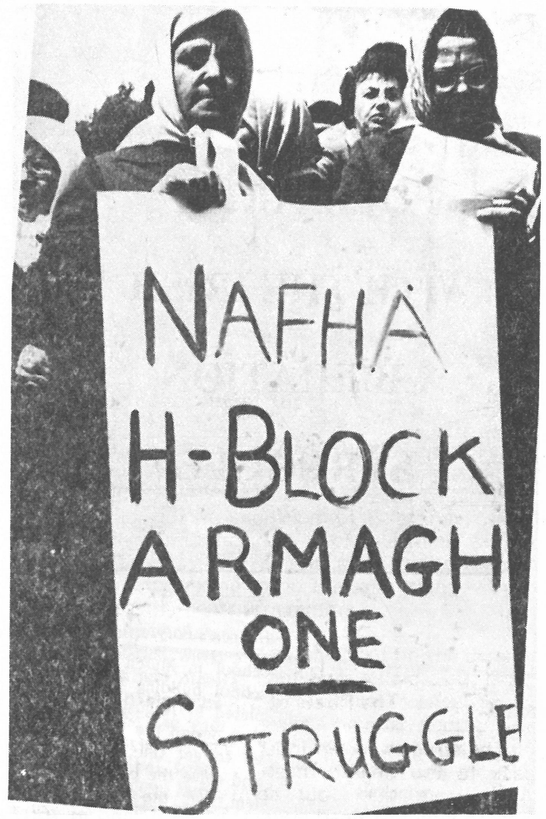
"We, the parents of Nafha prisoners, are in full solidarity with the Irish struggle. Their struggle against British *imperialism* is the same as ours against Israeli *colonialism.* "-*Um Abed Malabi (mother of 3 political prisoners in Nafha prison in occupied Palestine)*

From March to October, 1981, the Republican prisoners in the H-Block of Long Kesh prison in Northern Ireland went on hunger strike to gain political status as prisoners of war. A solidarity strike by 30 women prisoners took place in Armagh prison. The hunger strikers made five basic demands but only one was met in full – the right for prisoners to wear their own clothes.

Political status had been won by the Irish Republican Army in negotiations with the British government in 1972, but in 1976, as part of a military-political attack to crush the IRA, special category status was withdrawn. This change followed the earlier introduction of selective imprisonment by non-jury (Diplock) courts, usually upon the "evidence" of "confessions" presented by the Royal Ulster constatulary and the replacement of internment by long periods of incarceration without trial. Torture provided the "confessions" necessary for the start of this process of "criminalisation".

The immediate Republican response to the British attempt at criminalisation efforts was to refuse to wear criminal uniforms. They were forced to wear only blankets.

The "blanket-men", since 1976, had been locked naked in their cells with no heating, no sanitation, no letters, visits or reading matter. They were not allowed to see or speak with each other and sadistic



Mothers of Palestinian prisoners at Nafha demonstrate outside the British Consulate in Jerusalem

warders beat prisoners at will. Medical treatment was minimal. Prisoners were treated as less than animals because they refused to wear prison uniform or do prison work. The cells were in a filthy condition with human excrement and infested with maggots. In 1978, Cardinal Thomas O Fiaich, the Roman Catholic Primate of Ireland, declared, after a visit to the prison, "One would hardly allow an animal to remain in such conditions, let alone a human being." In the same year, the European Court of Human Rights condemned the British government for "inhuman and degrading treatment" of the prisoners.

After years of beatings and torture, in October 1980, a hunger strike was undertaken by seven Republican prisoners which ended in victory after two months when the British authorities capitulated to their demands. However, the government later reneged on the terms of the settlement. So, in March 1981, Bobby Sands began his fast. Massive popular demonstrations in support of the hunger strike took place in Ireland, Britain, and around the world. Bobby Sands was elected to the British Parliament with an overwhelming majority before he died in May. Altogether, ten leading militants were martyred for the cause of a united Ireland during the strike.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE IRISH LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The Roots of the Struggle

The struggle for an independent Irish nation dates back to the English invasion of the 12th century. After more than four centuries of struggle, the English finally gained control of all Ireland in 1607. All the lands were confiscated and shared out amongst the conquering barons. They were then plantationed by Scots and English settlers. An Irish rebellion in 1669 was brutally crushed by the occupation army.

In the 18th century, influenced by the revolutionary ideas coming from America and France, the Society of United Irishmen was formed in order to struggle for an Irish Republic. To counteract this growing liberation movement, the English government promoted the establishment, in 1795, of the Orange Order, a secret sectarian society based on the fears of the English and Scots settlers' descendants who were Protestants. This society carried out widespread terror and persecution against the Catholic majority.

Later, after crushing an insurrection in 1798, the English government abolished the Irish Parliament (which had only limited powers) and enacted the Act of Union, which established the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1800. During the 1840 s one third of the Irish people were wiped out due to enforced emigration and the Great Famine, produced by British economic and agricultural policies. The Young Ireland Movement of the 1840 s and the Home Rule Movement of the 1870 s were misrepresented by the Government as anti-Protestant movements, and this enabled the British to manipulate the (Protestant) Orangemen against the Catholics.

However, substantial electoral success for the Home Rule Movement forced the Liberal government to concede some form of Home Rule. The Tory Party, trying to bring down the government, played on Protestant fears and the Ulster Volunteers were established by the Orangemen to oppose Home Rule by violent means.

In 1905, Sinn Fein (in Gaelic language: "ourselves"), a political nationalist organisation, was founded and in 1913, the Irish Volunteers were formed in Dublin to protect the Nationalists against the Orange violence. The I.V. was later to become the IRA.

The Irish people rose up in armed struggle in 1916 and proclaimed an Irish Republic based in Dublin. The British army moved in and after heavy fighting, the leaders of the uprising were captured and executed. Hundreds of freedom fighters were jailed and thousands deported to prison camps in Britain.

In the 1918 General Election, Sinn Fein won three-quarters of the Irish seats in the British Parliament and they convened an Irish Parliament in Dublin. For three years the British army battled with the IRA until a truce was called and the division of Ireland into two separate "states" was imposed by the British in 1920. The six-county area (northern Ireland) had never existed before as an historical entity. Despite the fact that the Unionists (those who supported Union with Britain) had a two-thirds majority in Ulster, the Nationalist population was denied the right to vote, they were attacked by Orange mobs, and their houses were destroyed. The police carried out systematic repression and discrimi-

Martyred: Bobby Sands

British occupation forces' brutality against a northern Irish civilian

nation in employment, housing, and schooling was used on a large scale against the Republican population.

In 1968, a Civil Rights march in Derry was brutally attacked by the police and Unionist extremists, and a pogrom of the Nationalist population was carried out. Over 500 houses were burnt to the ground.

In 1969 the British reintroduced internment without trial. The Ulster Defence Regiment of the British Army launched a punitive military action against Republican communities in 1970.

In 1971, the 'Brits' murdered three innocent civilians and 300 men were arrested. A wave of anti-British feeling swept through Ireland and 3,000 refugees fled to the South. In 1972 at a massive rally against internment the 'Brits' shot dead 13 men. The IRA took strong retaliatory action and guerilla warfare on an unprecedented scale developed.

In Ireland as in Palestine: A Struggle against Racist Opression

The connection between the Palestinian and Irish struggles is obvious. The British used their domination over Ulster to integrate the Irish economy into its own. In Palestine, the Zionists have, since 1967, occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip and have proceeded to capture and dominate their economies. Both struggles have their roots in British colonial policy. Throughout the British military occupation of Palestine, they allowed Zionist settlers to move into Arab lands and establish exclusively Jewish settlements; just as Scots and English settlers were introduced into Ireland in the 17th century. Sir Ronald Storrs, a British colonial governor in Palestine, declared, "A Jewish state... could be for England a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism."

The 1920 partition of Ireland produced a completely artificial area made by drawing an artificial boundary and created an artificial unionist majority. In 4 1/2 counties out of the six, there is a majority for independence but the numerical strength of the Unionists in the other 1 1/2 counties enabled them to outvote permanently the Nationalist population. In Palestine, the 1948 partition and Zionist terrorism involved the violent expulsion of Palestinians from their homeland and the creation of an artifical Zionist majority. Now, in the 1967 occupied territories, the Zionists are attempting to do the same thing with an accelerated settlements programme.

Both "states" were established, not on the basis of true nationalist ideology, but on a religio-racist basis. Orangeism maintains the protestant ascendancy by asserting that the settlers were a "chosen people" – a people chosen by God to bring civilisation and culture to a backward Ireland. Later, however, this ascendancy was supported by the more materialistic basis of social and economic discrimination by the British government. Zionism too uses the same arguments to support its "superiority" over the Arab population.

The Irish people and the Palestinian people both suffer under the repression of an occupation army and the lack of basic human rights. The Special Powers Act gives the police and army in Ireland exceptional powers of search and arrest, detention, imprisonment without trial, suspension of coroners' inquests, prohibition of meetings, banning of publications, confiscation of property and torture of prisoners.

These powers are very similar to the "Emergency Laws" imposed on the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza by the Israeli authorities.

The hunger-strikes of the Irish Republican prisoners in H – Block and Armagh were a part of the struggle against British occupation just as the hunger-strike of political prisoners in Nafha prison in Palestine in 1980 was part of the struggle against Zionist occupation of their homeland.

Both strikes revealed the steeled dedication to the cause of liberation from racist oppression, that marks the people of Ireland and Palestine.

FROM BANANA REPUBLICS TO RAPID DEPLOYMENT STRATEGY

United States Secretary of State Alexander Haig on December 4 called on the nations of the western hemisphere to take collective actions against what the United States considers threats to world peace and security from Cuba and Nicaragua. He described in strong terms the "rising dangers of terror and war in the region".

"The United States is prepared to join others in doing whatever is prudent and necessary to prevent any country in Central America from becoming the platform of terror and war in the region," Haig told the Organisation of American States at its General Assembly.

Similar outbursts have often been heard from the State Department during recent months. Earlier this year Haig accused the progressive liberation forces in El Salvador of engaging in direct terrorism against the civilian population and has again accused Cuba of playing a major role in fomenting the civil war in El Salvador. The U.S. government regularly produces reports of Cuban troops in Nicaragua and of shipments of arms from Cuba to the guerrillas in El Salvador which have never been documented. These charges are nothing but part of a campaign of falsehoods and lies aimed at setting the stage for aggressive actions against the liberation movements and first of all against Cuba and Nicaragua. This latest fiction about the "rising dangers of terror and war" is aimed at veiling Washington's own preparations for direct military intervention and justifying the arms build-up before the increasing peace forces in the U.S.A. and Europe. Washington, rather than Managua or Havana, is clearly violating the principle of nonintervention.

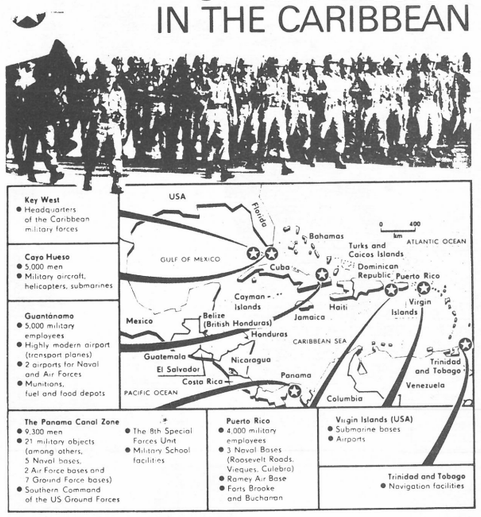
Reagan Follows his Predecessors

The ploy of the United States to disguise its aggressive intentions behind wild accusations is not new. From the beginning of the last century the United States plagued the Americas with misery in the name of liberty. Every revolution in Latin America was a direct response to United States intervention. The historical circumstances gave birth to revolutionary movements in the Latin American countries. The triumph of the Cuban revolution and the consolidation of socialism in that country ushered in a new era for Latin America in which the people's revolutionary movement has gained tremendous strength while U.S. imperialism and its allies have taken emergency political, military and economic measures to block the triumph of other national liberation movements. The United States thought that by isolating the Cuban Revolution it could keep other revolutions from coming to power in the area. It subjected Cuba to brutal economic blockade, diplomatic isolation and military attacks in order to neutralize its influence and example in Latin America.

However, the mass struggle in other parts of the continent continued to grow. The victory of the people's government in Chile was another encouraging step towards following a more independent and democratic course. It contributed to the deepening crisis of imperialist domination in the area in the early 1970s.

In 1973 the imperialists launched their counter-offensive and the brutal fascist coup unleashed the savage repression of the Chilean people and turned the national economy over to the United States. With the backing of the American government other Pinochet-like military juntas came into existence in Bolivia, in Uruguay, in Guatemala and pressures on other nationalist governments in the area increased.

US BASES OF AGGRESSION IN THE CARIBBEAN



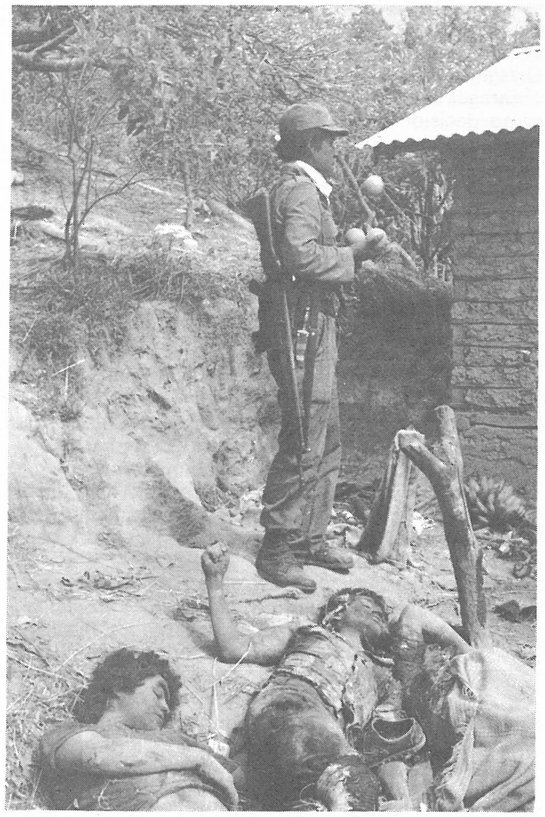
Uncle Sam's Aid Policy

Since the U.S. setbacks in Iran, Central America has assumed a special importance. To the north, Mexico's oil now looks more attractive and vulnerable than ever before. To the south, the Panama Canal still serves as a lifeline for American ships and foreign commerce. Some highly volatile nations, long dismissed as banana republics, have suddenly become vital for U.S. interests. For Latin America, the United States is the principal market for its products and raw materials, but the region suffers a $15 billion trade deficit with the U.S. Central America is asking for the transfer of $20 billion worth of resources to the area by 1990; an idea running counter to the policies of the Reagan administration which favours trade and private investments rather than traditional economic aid. Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama need one billion dollars this year to pay for necessary imports and keep up payments on a total debt of more than $8.5 billion.

Nevertheless, the Reagan administration uses economic aids and loans to support its strategy in the area. In April, Washington suspended grants and credits to Nicaragua charging that the country was allowing weapons to be transshipped from Cuba to El Salvador. In the following months all aid to Nicaragua was cut off. Daniel Ortega, Commander of the Nicaraguan Revolutionary Armed Forces, described the decision as "economic aggression". The suspension of aid was the beginning of a campaign, started by the U.S. government, to isolate this country economically and politically. Besides the suspension of loans the American government is pressuring countries which have favourable attitudes to Nicaragua by similar means. The move encouraged right-wing Nicaraguan exiles to step up attacks from

The victories in Nicaragua and Grenada served as a turning point in this period of the people's revolutionary movements. They reaffirmed the need and the possibility of overcoming imperialist domination on this continent, smashing the myth that the United States could prevent the triumph of other revolutions in the area.

Changes in the international correlation of forces in favour of social progress and peace and the uncontainable development of the Latin American people's revolutionary movement have made it more and more difficult for U.S. imperialism to control and subject the region to its political decisions. The strength of the Left in Central America derives from the decades of corrupt and uncaring rule by U.S.-backed military dictators concerned chiefly with the maintenance of their power and privileges. The new political, economic and social circumstances now make America more interested than ever in continental domination.



These children were among at least 27 people killed in a January 1981 massacre by Salvadoran forces under American guidance.

FROM BANANA REPUBLICS TO RAPID DEPLOYMENT STRATEGY

bases inside Honduras and to start planning a full-scale invasion counting on U.S. help. The Reagan administration has organised training camps in Florida where the members of Somoza's former National Guard and conservative Nicaraguan businessmen are being trained for an invasion of the country and the overthrow of the Sandinista government.

At the same time, there is a permanent danger of armed confrontation between Nicaragua and Honduras. Honduran army officers are constantly seeking to provoke a war with Nicaragua by promoting armed attacks on Nicaraguan border posts. Commander Ortega said that the danger of war between Nicaragua and Honduras will remain "so long as there is no decision to restore normality and remove the bands and camps of Somoza's former guardsmen from the border zone." The Reagan administration is largely responsible for what is happening there. Washington encourages the creation of the so-called "northern triangle" including the military forces of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, with the aim of attacking Nicaragua.

The American government backs to the hilt the military juntas which came into existence with the direct or indirect help of U.S. imperialism and is ready to support the counterrevolutionary forces in the area by any means. The overwhelming anti-communist attitude in Guatemala's government and business circles goes back to 1954 when the United States helped to oust the reformist government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman who had encouraged the growth of peasant and worker unions. The fear of revolution has grown since the triumph of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. The threat of a leftist takeover in Guatemala has again set the alarm bells ringing in Washington. In June, the Reagan administration restored the military aid earlier cut off by Carter. The U.S. government has approved the sale of 50 large military trucks and 100 jeeps to the military dominated government. The $3.2 million sale serves to improve American military and political cooperation with Guatemala as part of a campaign to counter what the administration regards as a growing "Communist threat" in Central America. The U.S. Congress has barred the sale of most military equipment to governments "engaged in consistent patterns of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights" which term fits the Guatemalan military government. To sidestep that problem the State Department reclassified the equipment in such a way that it avoids this proviso. Thus they included military exports under the item called "control for regional security" in order to stimulate export sales.

ISRAELI COUNTER-INSURGENCY FOR LATIN AMERICAN TORTURE REGIMES

A report of the British *Guardian* on December 29 gave details on Israeli arms and logistic support for U.S.-backed military dictatorships in Central America. The report stated that the Guatemalan regime for instance, internationally isolated because of its appalling human rights record, was increasingly relying on help from Israel, Chile and Argentina, with the blessing of the United States government. The report said:

"According to Guatemalan opposition sources, the Government is being helped in sophisticated counter-insurgency techniques by advisers and experts from Argentina, Chile, Israel and the United States, as well as by former agents of the late Nicaraguan dictator, General Somoza. Argentinians and Chileans are specifically accused of taking part in torture sessions.

"The Guatemalan guerrillas have long maintained that Israel supplied the armed forces with a computer designed to store and coordinate intelligence and analysis about the guerrillas and other opposition groups. This was said to be housed in a building attached to the back of the National Palace which houses the President's office. This heavily guarded building, rambling across two blocks and topped by 50-foot high aerial masts, has been described by Amnesty International as the coordinating centre for right-wing death squads and other repressive activities.

"Proof of this technical aid was always hard to come by, but evidence tending to confirm it emerged last month when the Israeli ambassador attended the opening ceremony of the army's new School of Transmission and Electronics. In the presence of military leaders, General Benedicto Lucas Garcia, the President's brother and army chief of staff, said the armed forces had got up to date technically "thanks to the advice and transfer of electronic technology' from Israel."

Haig's Bloody Blackmail

The military support of the reactionary junta of El Salvador is increasing collaterally with the rise of U.S. military aid to that country. In 1981 the Salvadorean government got $35 million military aid from the United States. At a press conference held in August Haig expressed the Reagan administration's pledge to seek "social justice" in El Salvador through measures to build up the country's economy and political stability. Yet he said that this process "cannot proceed under a set of security conditions which are fed in from outside El Salvador, led first and foremost by Cuba." He said that the United States would help the Salvadorean government as long as this "external assistance" continued. In other words their support for the ruling junta will be continued while there are liberation movements in that country. Washington officially proclaims the cult of brute force and military blackmail of the country and people as the foundation of its foreign policy. It manufactures coldly planned incidents to turn them into provocations aimed at justifying the stepping up of American intervention. Every U.S. military intervention has been proceded by similar plots. In Korea, in Vietnam and in other countries the imperialists have always prepared false incidents of which they took advantage to launch or step up the participation or interference of their forces. The U.S. administration is rendering all sorts of backing to the reactionary regime in order to drench in blood the people's struggle for freedom and independence. According to recent estimates, 26,000 people alone have been killed since El Salvador's civil war began two years ago, and the persecutions, kidnapping and arrests have not stopped. The junta is stepping up bloody violence against the civilian population. On October 17, a U.S.-supplied helicopter opened fire at peasants tending their cattle, while American military personnel were on board. Chemical bombs made in the USA are being dropped on civilians. According to humanitarian organisations, on September 12 and 18, 56 persons were murdered, peasants and children being among them. During the past two years 304,000 Salvadoreans fled political violence in their country. Recently the Duarte regime announced that El Salvador needs up to $300 million more economic and military aid from the United States to win the guerrilla war.

The threat of a direct American military intervention is obvious. Haig is pressing the Pentagon to examine a series of options for possible military actions in El Salvador. He also asked the Defense Department to examine measures for a possible blockade of Nicaragua and actions around Cuba, including naval exercises and a show of air power similar to that in Guantanamo held in August 1981. The naval exercises involved five Latin American allies of the United States: Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia and Brazil. In the total exercise 120,000 men, 250 ships and 1,000 planes took part, among them 6,000 men and 16 ships from the United States. The Guantanamo base no longer has any role in the American defence system, because it has been outmoded by modern techniques. As Colonel Rodriguez, chief information officer of the Cuban armed forces, described: "It is only a base for aggression," the exercises held there are examples of the aggressive policy of the United States.

Hard Struggle — Sure Triumph

The political, economic and military value the U.S. government places on controlling Latin America is a challenge that national liberation movements in the region have met with determination. The revolutionary movements face a superpower and their struggle will not be easier in the years to come. Latin America is the scene of a decisive confrontation in the people's worldwide struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress. The characteristic of the people's struggle in Latin America is its patriotic anti-imperialist insistence on a real national independence. Imperialism and its client regimes in Latin America understand this fact and they are bolstering the defence of their positions. Direct confrontation is apparent at all levels and in all Latin American countries, in the more or less distant future. History has demonstrated that the oppressed people's just anti-imperialist struggle for independence and democratic change leads to victory.

SOLIDARITY

BANGLADESH FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

The Foreign Minister of Bangladesh Muhammad Shams on December 21, confirmed his country's stand in support of the Palestinian people's just struggle to regain their national rights.

Mr. Shams stated, during a meeting with the PLO representative in Bangladesh, that his country will give the PLO, in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, all forms of support in international forums at which Zionist withdrawal from Arab territories, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian homeland will be discussed.

The PLO representative congratulated Shams, on behalf of Chairman Arafat, on the election victory of President al-Qadi Abdel Sattar.

The two sides discussed the most important developments of the Palestine cause, and the Israeli military concentrations in South Lebanon against the Palestinian Revolution.

Shams also condemned Zionist military build-ups which threaten peace in the Middle East and in the whole world.

Finally, both sides confirmed the necessity of furthering bilateral relations.

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INDIA REITERATES SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

The Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi on December 20 reaffirmed her country's support for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and for the just struggle waged by the Palestinian Revolution. The Indian Prime Minister, who was meeting with the head of Arab diplomatic missions in New Delhi, also denounced Israel's recent annexation of the Golan Heights.

LAOS CELEBRATES PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian Revolution, a photo exhibition was opened in the Laotian capital Vientiane, on December 23.

The exhibition was officially inaugurated by the Laotian Minister of Information, Culture and Tourism who gave a speech in support of the ongoing struggle of the heroic Palestinian people.

The minister also stressed his country's stand beside the Palestinian people until liberation and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under PLO leadership.

The ceremony was attended by the PLO Representative in Laos and other Laotian and foreign dignitaries.

RIGHTS OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE REAFFIRMED

— The U.N. General Assembly session on November 11 reaffirmed the rights of the Palestinian people and decided to convene an international conference on the question of Palestine not later than 1984. The Palestine Committee was vested with more powers.

The principal resolution which was approved by 111 states reaffirms the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and to establish its own independent sovereign state.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) is recognised as the Palestinian people's legitimate representative. The resolution urges the PLO's participation in all negotiations and on an equal footing. The Security Council is requested to take all measures necessary to implement these demands and Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories.

The General Assembly also says that all agreements and seperate treaties as far as they intend to determine the future of the Palestinian people and the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, are null and void. This Resolution was adopted by 88 states. Twenty-one countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany, which also rejected the principal resolution voted against it, as did the U.S. and Israel.

INDONESIA SUPPORTS PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

— Indonesia fully backs the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for their legitimate rights, including the right to set up an independent state. This was stated on December 2 by Indonesia's Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusuma Atadja. He stressed that the Camp David accords were doomed to failure since they precluded a just solution of the question of the rights of the Palestinian people — the crux of the Middle East problem.

BULGARIA AND CYPRUS REITERATE SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINE CAUSE

Bulgaria and Cyprus have reiterated their unqualified support for the rightful Palestinian cause.

This support came in a joint communique, released on November 28 at the end of a visit to Bulgaria by Cypriot President Spyros Kyprianou.

The statement cleared that both countries emphasize that a just settlement

The statement declared that both countries emphasize that a just settlement of the Middle East problem is only possible if Israel withdraws from all territories unlawfully occupied in 1967 "and if the restoration of all rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to found a sovereign state of their own, is guaranteed,"

PLO OFFICE IN TANZANIA HOLDS PHOTO EXHIBITION

On the occasion of the Palestinian Revolution's 17th anniversary, the PLO office in Tanzania organised an exhibition of Palestinian photographs.

The Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salem Ahmed Salem, the Minister of Housing, the Deputy Foreign Minister and a number of other government officials and members of the diplomatic corps attended the exhibition, which was inaugurated on January 1, 1982.

The Tanzanian Minister of Housing addressed the gathering and confirmed his country's support for the Palestinian peoples' struggle to realize their national rights and establish their independent Palestinian state. The minister called on all liberation movements in the world to support the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their inalienable rights.

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The following report was delivered to us by the representative of the P.L.O.'s information Office in Washington, Dr. Hatem Husseini:

On November 28, 1981 more than 5,000 Americans and Palestinians marched in New York City to express their full support for the PLO, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Representatives of progressive organisations, the anti-war movement, Black Americans and Latin American groups all marched side by side with Palestinians under banners declaring full support for the PLO. This symbolic march represents a new awakening in America: the emergence of American voices that are beginning to express opposition to Zionist acts of aggression and militarism, and opposition to continued American government support for Zionist Israel. These voices do not represent only radical American groups, but they also include distinguished church leaders, politicians and human rights activists.

This emerging opposition to Israel in the United States is not new. Its roots lie in the long and hard political work of a few American pioneers which also participated in the recent march in New York. Among them are Rabbi Elmer Berger, head of the American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, and Iqbal Ahmad, a distinguished writer of the Institute for Policy Studies, and this activity is supported by hundreds of Arab-Americans. However, this opposition is now spreading due to the militarism and fascist tendencies of the Begin Government. The Israeli raid against the nuclear reactor in Iraq, the genocidal bombing of Beirut on July 17, the increasing Israeli military repression in the occupied territories and the recent Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights have all had an impact on American public opinion. Increasing numbers of articles and editorials have criticized Israeli policies, and voices in the American Congress, and outside it, have criticized Begin's policies and called for limiting American military aid to Israel. Senators and Congressmen such as Charles Percy, Mark Hatfield, Paul Findley and others have expressed deep concern, anger and frustration with recent Israeli actions. The State Department and the White House became more embarrassed by the Israeli acts of aggression, and had to issue vague statements of regret, due to the increasing public pressure and dissatisfaction with Israeli policies.

The work of Arab-Americans, Palestinians and progressive American groups which support the Palestinian cause is beginning to bear fruit. They now find a responsive ear from Americans, from the media and from the public in general. The lectures, cultural events and political activities in the different universities and cities are attended by large numbers of Americans who want to hear the Palestinian point of view and understand it. Thus the Union of Palestinian Students, the Palestine Congress, the Palestine Information Office and many other organisations are active in political, cultural and information work all to present the factual case of the Palestinian struggle. They participate in lectures, seminars, conferences and meetings in different cities to present this case. They arrange lecture tours for distinguished Palestinian leaders, such as exiled Mayors Muhammad Milhem and Fahd Qawasmeh, poets such as Mahmoud Darwish, and tours for Palestinian folk troupes of young children. Despite the restrictions imposed by the U.S. government, and its denial of a visa to Archbishop Capucci and other PLO leaders to visit the U.S. to speak to the Palestinian people, the Palestinian voice is still heard through the efforts of all these groups.

In spite of all these efforts, U.S. official policy remains totally hostile to the Palestinian people. The State Department surrendered young Ziad Abu Ain to his Israeli oppressors, in open contempt of the wide campaign in the U.S. to release him. President Reagan and other State Department officials continue to declare full support for Israel, despite its military repression in the occupied territories and its threats against southern Lebanon. The U.S. government remains the military supporter and guardian of Israel. That is why the struggle in the U.S. is still long and hard, but ultimately American peace and progressive movements will achieve their goal, and Palestine will win in the U.S.A.

Horst Sturm: Confidence in the victory of the Palestinian Revolution

Horst Sturm:

THOUGHTS GOING BACK...

In October and November 1981, Horst Sturm, a photo journalist from the German Democratic Republic, visited the Palestinian people and the PLO in Lebanon for the second time. He also directed a training course for photo reporters of the Palestine news agency WAFA. Horst Sturm, who has with his work shared in the construction of the German Democratic Republic from its beginnings out of the ruins of the Second World War, has also visited many countries and struggling peoples around the world reporting for the GDR news agency ADN. In the following he gives his impressions on his stay with the Palestinian people and friends.

Thoughts going back-

To comrades, friends, colleagues. To the men and women living in the refugee camps, fighting in the commando groups, working in the schools and hospitals. Recollections of many encounters in cordial friendship and firm solidarity.

Hope and confidence in the victory of the Palestinian Revolution.

We parted with heavy hearts, for my understanding for the cause, for the struggle of the Palestinian people, had deepened in my heart and soul during my reunion with these people.

I am very grateful that I could take a further insight into the life of this people. I met men and women who are struggling without respite for their cause, notwithstanding all their sufferings and many sacrifices. Always and everywhere I was met with great appreciation for the solidarity of the people of the GDR. I respond readily to the request from *Palestine* to report some of my experiences. Being a photojournalist myself, I would like to give here some of my impressions to accompany my photos.

The Cemetery of the Martyrs

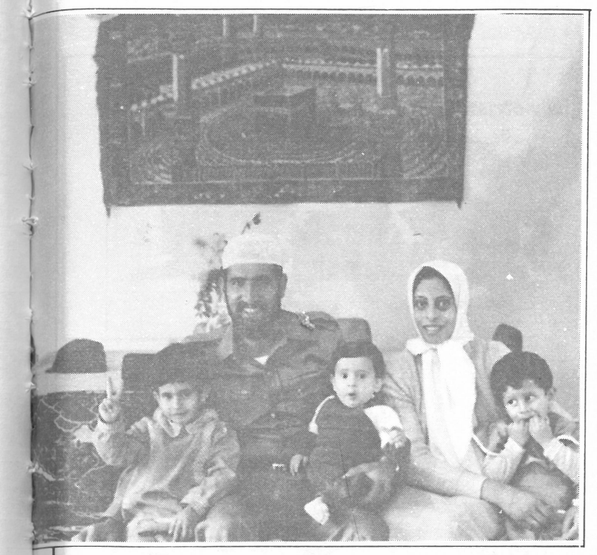
1. "Cemetery of the Martyrs" in Beirut. For the second time I visit the cemetery. Many new graves have been added – expressions of the struggle full of sacrifices and sufferings. I also stand before the grave of Majed Abu Sharar, that outstanding combatant of the Palestinian Revolution. I remember my meeting with this comrade one year before, his heartfelt words thanking us for our solidarity, his words of confidence in the just struggle of the Palestinian people. His legacy will always accompany this revolution.

At the Martyrs' Cemetery: Majed Abu Sharar's legacy will always accompany this revolution

A Visit at Latif's Home

2. I spend one day with Comrade Latif, a proven fighter and leader of a commando unit of the Palestinian liberation forces in southern Lebanon. Together with my companions I visit the family of Latif. A cordial welcome – then talk while the traditional tea is served. We talk about the daily life, the fight against the never ceasing acts of Israeli aggression. They also want to know a lot from my side about the life of the people in the GDR.

After taking a photo together with the entire family, for future reminiscence we drive to several commando positions of the PLO. I am deeply moved by the encounters with the fighters of the Palestinian liberation forces. I see confidence in the eyes of these men. Good and gentle men, who became hardened through the years full of fighting and privation in their lives. It is self-evident for them to be always ready to defend their just cause.



Latif: A proven fighter and leader

Pictures of the fallen comrades on the walls of the dug-out ever recall the casualties from among their own ranks which these fighters are mourning.

The day fades out with an evening meal together. Some of the men relieve the guards already on duty for the night. Latif offers me his bed for the night. A calm night.

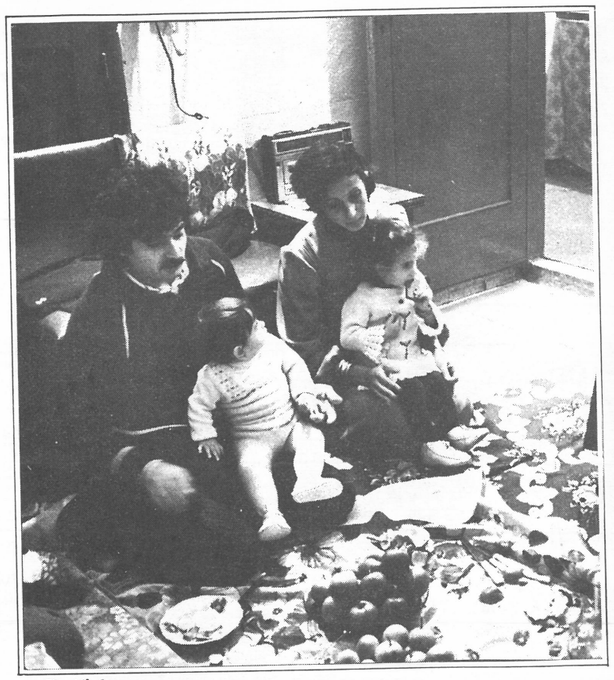
Many thoughts pass through my mind, impressions of the day before I fall asleep. The next morning we depart. It is not easy. I leave good friends and comrades.

In the Orphanage with the Children of Tal al-Za'atar

3. How much hurt have these children had to pass through in their short lives up till now. Nearly all of them have lost their parents, murdered by Israeli mercenaries or fascist militiamen. With much kindness are they taken care of and educated – a large family, united by their fate.

I enter a room where they are singing and playing. In the midst of a group of children I recognise Nawal. This year in the summer, she spent joyful holidays in the GDR, together with her brother Khudar and some other Palestinian children.

How much hurt have these children had to pass through...



At Yusif's home:
"We became friends – I would say brethren"

In a holiday camp in Mecklenburg I met her when I was working on a photo reportage. Now this sudden, unexpected reunion. In the garden I meet with Nawal and her brother Khudar. We all feel very happy. When I am seen off I take with me on the road hearty greetings for the children in the GDR from the two Palestinian orphan children.

About my Comrade, the Photojournalist Yusif

4. Yusif was born in Jerusalem in 1954. For ten years he has been engaged now in his work as a photo reporter for the Palestinian Revolution. Together with his wife and his three little children he is living in the refugee camp of Shatila in Beirut.

Once while he was on assignment, Yusif was seriously wounded by 5 pieces of shrapnel in his back during a raid by Israeli bombers. For one hour he lay bleeding, until he was found by a comrade who gave him first aid and thus saved his life.

His photos, from the bombardment, were already taken when he was wounded. One day later they reported the terrorism of the Israelis in many papers. Thus Yusif's camera has been a weapon against Zionism and fascism for a long time. I worked a lot together with these comrades, we became not only colleagues in work, we became friends – I would like to say brethren.

In the Rashidiyeh Refugee Camp

5. While I am writing these lines in Berlin, I hear on the radio about new acts of aggression launched by the Israeli army against the south of Lebanon. My thoughts go back to my recent visit to the refugee camp of Rashidiyeh.

How much harm has been done by the Israelis to this camp. From 1973 to 1981, 18,000 bombs have been fired against the refugee camp from the air, the sea and the land. Nearly 80% of the buildings have been destroyed or damaged. But despite all the losses and sufferings the Palestinian population is convinced of the strength and the success of the revolution.

I was deeply moved when I left Rashidiyeh and I reaffirm our steadfast solidarity with these brave Palestinian men and women.

They are convinced of the strength and the success of their revolution

Interview with Suleiman Mansour:

PALESTINIAN ART UNDER THE OCCUPATION

Suleiman Mansour is a leading artist and graphic designer living in the 67-occupied part of Palestine. He also works for the Palestinian weekly, **Al-Fajr,** *published in Jerusalem, which was closed down by the Israeli occupation authorities last November.*
down by the Israeli occupation authorities last November.

Suleiman Mansour himself is subjected to constant harassment and has been arrested several times. He was born in 1947 in Bir Zeit near Ramallah, and from 1967-70 he attended the Bezalel arts academy in West Jerusalem together with a group of other Palestinians. Most of them have to work as stone-masons today. Now, Bezalel doesn't accept Arab students anymore. Suleiman Mansour has become renowned internationally through his participation in exhibitions in European countries, the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan and elsewhere. The following interview with Suleiman Mansour was conducted in Jerusalem and first published in the West German cultural magazine IKA – Zeitschrift für Internationalen Kulturaustausch, in March 1981.

– What are the values and functions of plastic arts in an occupied country, as different from a free country?

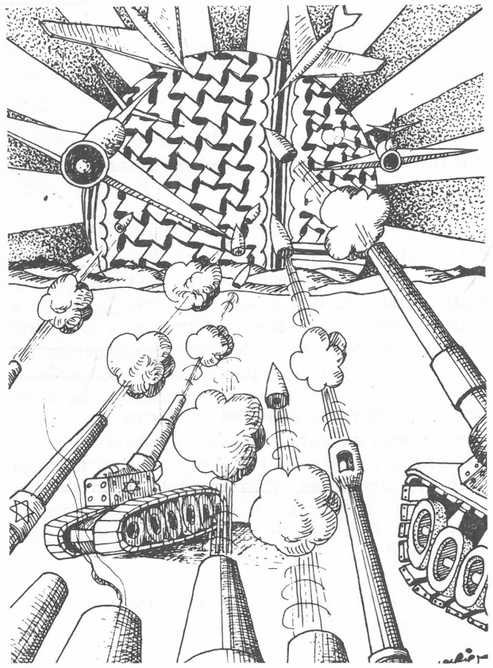
"First of all, what applies to plastic arts is not different from what applies to literature and culture in general.

"You can't compare the Israeli occupation with other situations of occupation throughout history. For the Israelis claim, that the Palestinian people do not exist; that they came to a country without a people. In such a situation plastic arts, literature, culture, altogether prove that this is a lie. Here a people does exist with its own culture, own art, own literature. In addition, one can, through the means of arts, make some things clearer to our people, explain better the brutality of the situation – due to the fact that art simplifies, that it focuses on certain aspects of the occupation. Hereby it becomes easier for the people to understand their own situation."

– What are the special problems an artist is especially confronted with under the occupation?

PALESTINIAN ART UNDER THE OCCUPATION

"The main problem, of course, is the Israeli military government. During the last years we have tried to work cautiously. We have been cautious with all that we undertook: cautious with our exhibitions, cautious even with our paintings. We didn't come forward with anything which was obviously political and directed against the occupation. But it looks as if finally the Israelis don't want to accept even that, as if they want to strangle any artistic movement here. For instance, we are not allowed simply to organise an exhibition at any place in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. For this, one needs permission from the Israelis. We have made several attempts and asked for this. But one does not receive any answer. The Israelis won't say "yes" or "no" – which is equivalent to a "no" For if we just went ahead and held an exhibition, we would break the law. So we are forced to hold exhibitions in Jerusalem or in Israel (since the Arab part of Jerusalem has been annexed by the Israelis, it is considered not an occupied territory, therefore the occupation regulations do not apply there; Ed.)



"Nearly all artists had a joint gallery until August last year, the Gallery '79 in Ramallah, the only one in the occupied territories. The Israelis have closed it down under the pretext that it was unlicensed, although such a license falls under the competence of the local municipalities, not the military government. Their argument was that every painting shown in public had to be treated as a leaflet – and leaflets need permission issued by the military government.

"Meanwhile I am no longer permitted to leave the country. The same applies to the owner of the gallery, Issam Badr, against whom, by the way, they also raised threats that he would be put on trial, and that the indictment was already prepared. However I don't think that they will drag him before the court. It is rather a sort of psychological warfare: they instill fear in him, that one day his hour would come – this is to break him down. Time and again they order one of us to the military governor, in order to question us, to intimidate us, to create an atmosphere, in which we are no longer able to work straightforwardly.

"Now we are also forbidden to send anything abroad. They have told us, that any painting they intercept at the Jordan bridges will be confiscated. Every letter which I receive has been opened. And when I travelled abroad last year, none of the many books which I sent home arrived. Once the pencils were each broken into two parts. This is the way they make life bitter for us.

"Another problem for us is arts lessons at the schools: they are disapproved of by the military government. In any case there is no arts education in the public schools. This is one way to stifle any artistic development in the occupied territories. The reason given by the Israelis is that it had been a mistake by the Jordanian government not to introduce any arts education before 1967; why then should the Israelis do so now? But there were aesthetic lessons at the time. Maybe they were not very good ones, maybe the teachers, too, were also not very good. But if you look around today in the Arab countries, you find good aesthetic education everywhere.

"There is moreover another restraint: in case we do a painting mainly in the colours black, white, red and green, this will be forbidden, too – for these are the colours of the Palestinian flag."

– Do you have contacts with artists in Israel: Arabs in Israel and Israeli Jews?

"Yes, we do have good relations with Arab artists in Israel and also with some Jewish artists.

Palestine, January 1981

"The situation of the Arab artists in Israel is very difficult, maybe more difficult than our situation. Most of them find themselves in a delicate economic situation. and do not find time to work. Many take up jobs as stone-masons or construction workers. They are very good artists – but from where are they to take the necessary time and energy to work! People there, too, have little time to visit exhibitions. But after all every artist wants his work and his name to become known. This makes him feel glad and gives him energy to continue. But the Hebrew newspapers won't write about these artists; and the only Arab newspaper (in 1948-occupied Palestine under Israeli control; *Ed.*) does not bring much. Here in the (1967) occupied territories we have Arab dailies which write continously about our work – this is our only reward.

"We also have good contacts with progressive Jewish artists, or rather I should say, liberal artists. For the greater part they do not agree with the policy of their government in the occupied territories. They recognise a similarity between what is happening here and the concentration camps of the Nazis. This makes them angry. They try to help us, because they believe, that in this way they will help their own people – and I think they are right in this. But basically they are all Zionists: none of them thinks highly of the establishment of a secular state instead of Israel."

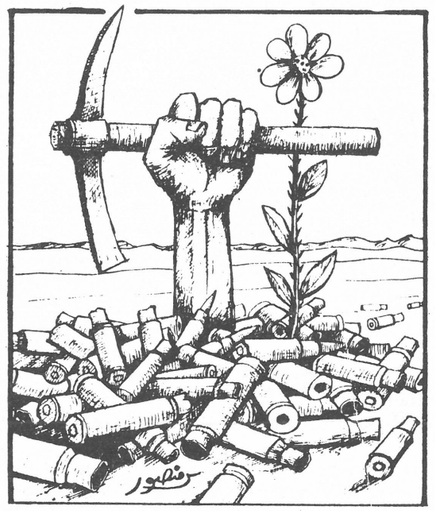
– Compared with your pictures those of Taysir Sharaf for instance are much less political, they rather show the beautiful sides of this country. Isn't there here a completely different perception of the function of arts in this country?

"People here do not esteem art for the sake of art. If I was to create only something decorative, I don't imagine that this would find a response. The majority of the people would laugh in scorn at me. On the other hand, there are some few people who like such decorative pictures. Most of them are rich people who can afford to buy originals. They will hang them in their homes to decorate the walls with them, but not for being reminded what is taking place here.

"Art for the people here means to make pictures exposing the problems of their lives in a straightforward way and at the same time giving them a certain pride about their culture, their people, their land."

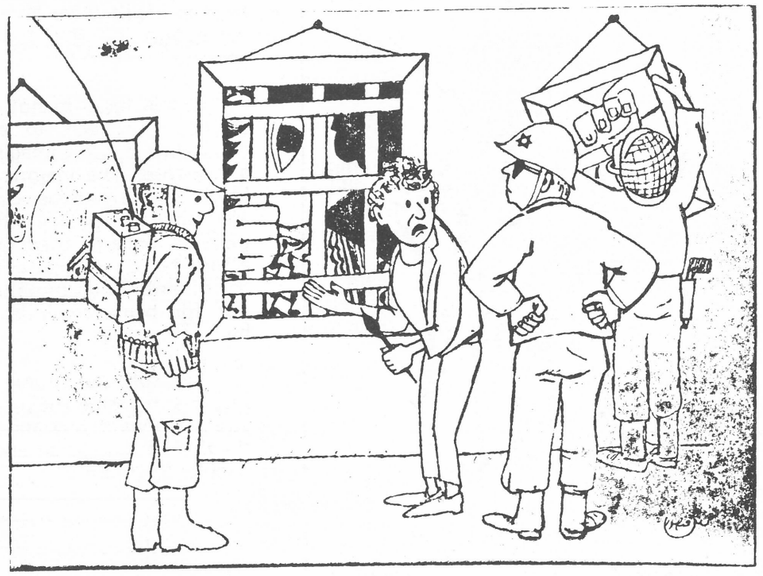
– What kind of people usually come to visit the exhibitions which take place for instance in Jerusalem?

"Most of them are students, many also pupils from secondary schools – young interested people who are usually also ready to engage themselves politically. Nearly all of them come because they also want to talk with the artists. By far the minority of them come from rich families who could afford to buy a painting. Therefore most of them are buying posters. This is for them the only way to take art to their homes."



Land Day, March 30, 1981

PALESTINIAN ART
UNDER THE OCCUPATION



. . But this one is about, a hh. . . political prisoner in. .. err, Sweden.

Sulaiman Mansour

— Does it happen that visitors of the exhibitions bring with them pictures which they have drawn themselves and which they want to show to you?

"This happens often. However most of them do not come themselves; they send friends or relatives to us. Everybody who is acquainted with the situation here says we are in need of an academy for arts to educate our talented people. Those who want to learn something are forced to go abroad — mostly to Egypt or Iraq. There you find the best academies for arts."

— Are there also women working here as artists?

"You find some here. But the problem is: as soon as they become married, they follow their husbands. Not less than three of them have left the country with their husbands. I do not even know whether they are still active — we don't hear of them anymore. Only two women artists are living and working here: Vera Tamari and Amal Rizk. Both are specialized in ceramics.

"Women here depend much on their fathers and on their families. When they are studying, they can't use the field they want. Besides, the artists' movement is still very young here: modern art finds little echo here. It takes time, until people understand this, know how to appreciate it — or at least find it worthy.

"In our society a man can promote something of that sort more easily than a woman. But the few women, who do it nevertheless, are very good. They thereby gain the appreciation of their families — a fact which again underlines the importance of the family in our society. Less talented women artists would be quickly held back by their families."

— It seems a general rule that for the people here "art" means first of all "posters"?

"Yes, this is true. Here we have to do with exclusively political posters, which at the same time have to be good art. However, the political meaning should not be too complicated. The people have to understand it, it should give them something to reflect on."

— A lot of your posters have been sold. Is it possible that artists here can make their living out of their work?

"No, nobody will be able here to live from this. Two or three of the 25 or 50 artists here come from very well-off families and thus don't have to work for money at all. The others have to work as teachers or take up one or two jobs. People here simply do not have enough money to buy paintings."

A SHORT STORY

'THE WATERMELON STALL

Translated by Shirley Eber

One must understand that the watermelons, with their black seeds, have become a symbol for the national colours of Palestine in the occupied territories. After the Israelis forbade the flying of the Palestinian flag, people have repeatedly demonstrated carrying cut-open watermelons with them.

by Murshid Khalayleh

(from Acre)

The following short story was first published in the Palestinian weekly Al-FAJR *in its issue of August 30-September 5, 1981.* Al-FAJR *is the only English language newspaper published in the occupied territories.*

Abdel Fattah awoke to the sound of his wife Hind snoring. He opened his eyes with effort and looked around the room. He inspected the human mass spread out on the floor, covered by threadbare blankets. His wife lay heavily by his side. There was a smile on the face of his youngest child, Taghreed. Then he glanced at his son Hassan and at the brown flesh which his worn-out clothes betrayed.

As he looked around that small room near the old fortress in Acre, a long deep sigh escaped from him.

Then he smiled. There was the watermelon stall, near the imaraat, in a few days time with God's help.

One evening, Abdel Fattah and his wife and children cleared the ground for the watermelon stall. This was not the first time he had sold watermelons, at the very same place and at the same time of year.

The people living in the newly-built area knew him very well. His watermelons were sweet and delicious and easy to cut up. He was often asked where his melons were grown. He answered with pride, honestly and directly, for he could speak their language. He treated them well, very well. Yes, they bought from him and they bought a lot. He felt calm and confident.

Abdel Fattah returned after midnight to his stall, as much to enjoy the sight as to reassure himself. There it was, standing in the wide open space near the main road. It was a sanctuary for his green and red delicious watermelons.

"I'll bring many watermelons and I'll make a lot of money. I'll get clothes for the children and I'll buy Hind the striped dress that we saw together. And I'll renovate the house and my life will change..."

The sea was unusually agitated that night. Why should it be so rough on a summer's night? The waves crashed against each other and pounded the rocks on the shore.

He suddenly began to feel apprehensive. Something was going to happen. But what? He did not know.

Approaching his stall, he heard the whisper of the dry grass and the rush of the trees. The leaves were thrashing against each other, just like the waves of the sea.

Then he heard muttering. It was the muttering of people, there, in that place. His body began to tremble and all his senses were suddenly alert. He could hear a light tapping noise. Whoever it was did not want to be heard.

Dawn was approaching. Everything was sleeping but for the chirping of the crickets and the squeaking of the bats. The cars had long stopped moving.

From afar he saw a dark shape moving and he could just make out the faint lines of rope. The scene was startling, totally incongruous. The sound became clearer as he approached.

"Who's there? "
"What are you doing here? "

He heard no reply save the echo of his own voice in the blackness of the night. In the silence the shape stopped moving. The black ropes were still.

"Who's there? " the shape shouted.

There were three young men, determined to pull down the supporting poles and to erect their own stall instead.

THE WATERMELON STALL

He became frenzied with rage when he saw the wooden pole which he had erected with his family the previous day lying on the ground.

"This is my place. What are you doing here? "

No one answered or even uttered a word. He was holding one of the poles in his hand and he was trying to replace it. The three stood before him, like three poles and with one voice they ordered:

"Leave the pole where it is."
"I won't..."
"Then..."
"Then...what?

Before he could finish his sentence, the three men grabbed him, assailing him with blows.

"Get back to your old area, and put your stall up there."

"My place is here. I set up my stall here every year."

"Get out of here, you scum, back to your quarter. You are a foreigner here, a loathsome foreigner."

The three started pulling out the poles again, throwing them far from the area on which the stall stood.

With bowed head he went to file a complaint with the police.

"It's their place, what do you want? "

"But it's not the first time I've put up my stall there! "

"Put up a stall in your own area! "

The poor man returned despondent to his house. What would he say to his wife the following day? How would he answer the people of his area if they asked him?

He started to think. Then he came to a decision. It was dangerous, very dangerous, but he felt content and at peace with himself.

The following day, he gathered six men from the old quarter. They set out quickly, their strides growing larger and larger. Their feet struck the pavement forcefully and purposefully, their eyes glared with such intensity that it seemed that sparks flew from them. Their hearts were beating fast and resistance showed in their faces.

They found the stall set up in front of them, two young men lying beneath it with some bottles of beer before them. Many of them were half empty, thrown on the ground in disorder, while others were waiting to be emptied.

They descended on the place all at once; it started out as a mild verbal battle between the two sides.

"Call one of the men..."
"Come on brothers..."
Everyone knows what he must do..."

They each attacked, trying to pull out a pole.

"What are you doing? "
"The stall..."
"It's already erected..."
"But it's ours...."
"Who says? "
"We do! "
"But..."

The stall shook. The wind blew, but none of them noticed the electricity in the air. Sparks flew as the two sides faced each other, then exchanged blows in a fierce battle.

"Get out, you bastards! There's no room for you here.

Soon the men of the old quarter were re-erecting Abdel Fattah's watermelon stall. It stood announcing its presence and its defiance in its former place in the new area. It overflowed with watermelons as it had before. And the customers came and went.

The human mass lay sprawled out in front of Abdel Fattah. Hind, his wife, moved, her body twisted. A long sigh escaped from him, then he took a deep breath, relaxed and smiled.

"May God help . . .

Dr. Abdel Wahab al-Kayyali

ZIONIST AGENTS ASSASSINATE DR. ABDEL WAHAB AL-KAYYALI

On December 7, the PLO Executive Committee, announced the death of the leader and militant Abdel Waheb al Kayyali, a former member of the PLO Executive Committee, who was assassinated by criminal Zionist agents.

The statement said:

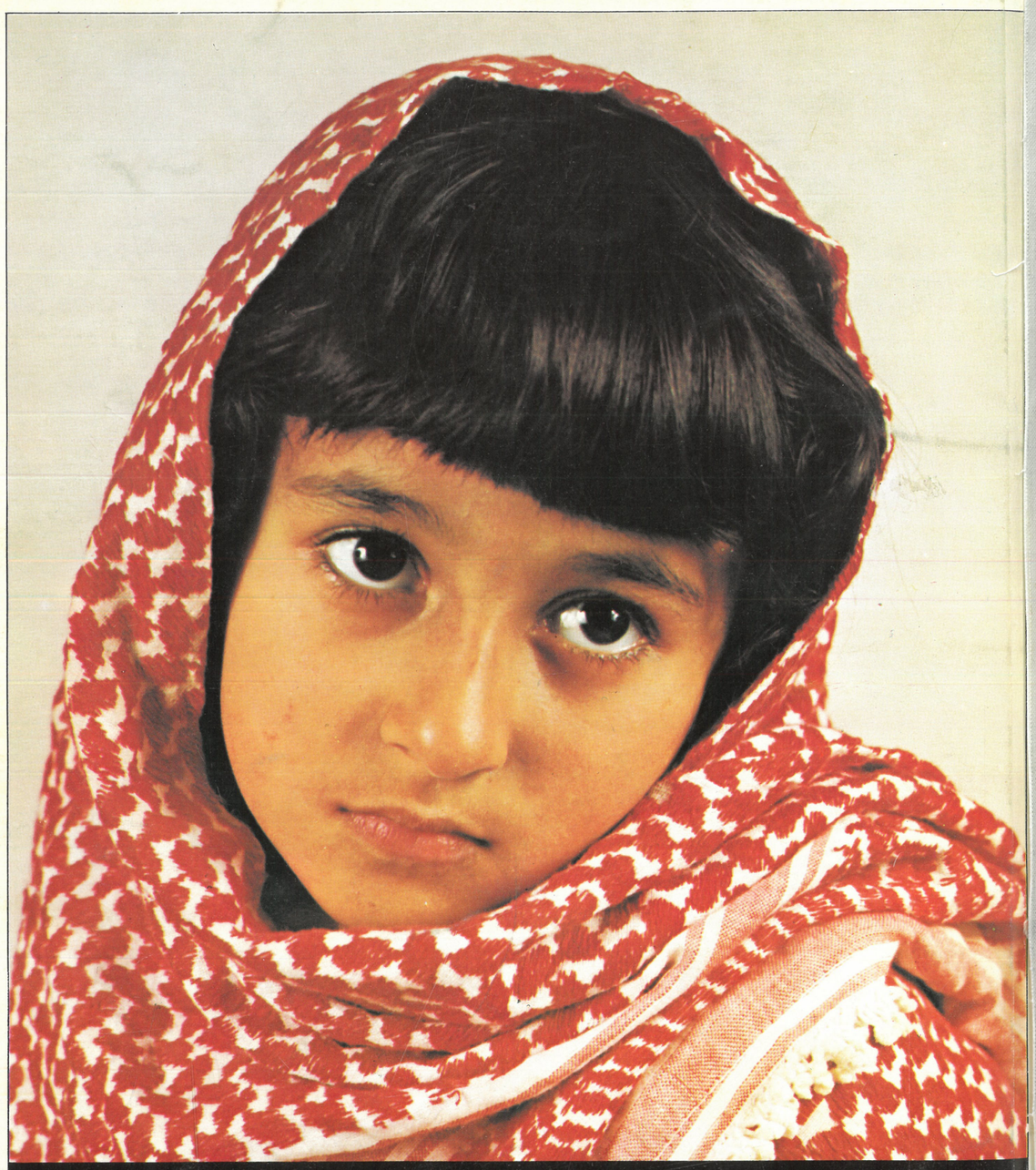
"The PLO Executive Committee announced to our heroic Palestinian people and to the masses of the Arab nation the death of the Palestinian leader, historian, intellectual and militant Dr. Abdel Wahab al-Kayyali; former member of the PLO Executive Committee and member of the PLO Central Council of the Palestinian National Congress, one of the prominent militant, intellectual and cultural banners of Palestine and of the Arab nation. He was assassinated by criminal Zionist hands, in his office at the Arab Institute for Research and Publishing.

"The assassination of Dr. Abdel Wahab al Kayyali represents a great loss for our Palestinian people and our Arab nation, because of Kayyali's intellectual qualifications, his dynamism and his contributions in the fields of political and intellectual struggle. Our people, who are well acquainted with the martyred leader, today bid him farewell determined to continue the march until liberation and victory."

A funeral procession for Dr. Abdel Wahab al-Kayyali was held in Beirut on December 8 before his body was flown to Amman for burial. The procession started in front of the Arab University Mosque, where prayers were held over the martyr's body, and headed for Arafat's office where the Palestine Armed Struggle Command (PASC) hand played the funeral march.

From there, Yasser Arafat headed the procession accompanied by PLO Executive Committee members Abu Maher al-Yamani, Dr. Salah al-Dabbagh, Muhammad Zuhdi al-Nashashibi and Abdel Rahim Ahmad, Fateh Central Committee member Abu Jihad, Muhsin Ibrahim, and a number of cadres from the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution.

The funeral procession walked all the way to Beirut International Airport, from where Kayyali's body was flown to Jordan.



PALESTINIAN CHILD THE HOPE FOR.....

Palestine

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