

JERUSALEM
STEADFAST UNTIL VICTORY

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Palestine

P.L.O.
information
bulletin



**DOWN
WITH ZIONIST
OCCUPATION**

TO OUR FRIENDS

The «Day of the Land», the day of Palestine, was a day of protest against the Zionist occupation and colonization of Palestine. Our Palestinian people in the occupied homeland celebrated this occasion in their own way. They faced the heavily armed occupation soldiers and tanks with the most primitive weapons of mankind — sticks and stones — the only means they possess to express their refusal of the Zionist fascists.

The «Day of the Land» was but one day in the three-month old popular upheaval in the occupied territories of 1967 and in the Galilee. May this day be a warning sign to the Zionist occupiers.

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«PALESTINE» OPINION

Not by bread alone ...

Every people has a fundamental need to achieve self-determination and to defend itself against all forms of oppression and foreign domination, just as, on an individual scale, each human being has a fundamental need to strive for peace and freedom.

Resistance, whether active or passive, is the means whereby the oppressed confront their oppressors. Never in history has a people passively accepted slavery and foreign domination. And the Palestinian people are no exception. The Palestinian people will never agree to give up their national rights in their homeland, Palestine. Neither will they accept either Zionist bribes or Zionist occupation.

The Zionists, in their lack of foresight, believed that they could forever cheat world public opinion by alleging that Palestine was a « land without people for a people without land ». They believed that, after expelling the majority of the Palestinians from their homeland in 1948, the remaining Palestinian « minority » would be persuaded to tolerate Zionist rule. They believed that through offering the temptation of economic gain, they could buy the remaining Palestinians' loyalty to the Zionist occupation and erase their national identity as Palestinians.

After 28 years of Israeli rule, however, the Galilee Arabs instituted the « Day of the Land » on 30 March, mainly in protest against the continuing Zionist confiscation of Arab land. For the first time in 28 years, the Palestinians in the densely-populated Galilee area confronted the Israeli tanks by throwing stones, following the example of their brothers in the West Bank. Six Arabs were killed that day in the Galilee and hundreds were detained. This courageous stand came as a shock to the Zionist authorities, and further confirmed the failure of their racist and colonialist policies.

The « Day of the Land » was in fact the day of Palestine. Palestinians from the West Bank — who have been staging continuous protest demonstrations for the past three months — and from the Gaza Strip, waged a mass strike which paralyzed the administration. Thousands of young people took to the streets, throwing stones against the Zionist tanks and declaiming slogans in support of the PLO. Palestinians of the diaspora in the Arab capitals of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and elsewhere, demonstrated along with their Arab brothers in solidarity with Palestinians living under Zionist occupation. Similar demonstrations of solidarity even took place in some Western capitals, such as London, Rome, Bonn and Paris.

The Palestinian struggle against Zionist oppression inside the occupied territories cannot be separated from the struggle of the Palestinian people as a whole. The growing self-confidence of the Palestinians inside the 1967 occupied territories, and in areas such as the Galilee occupied since 1948, is as much due to the steadfastness of the PLO in facing the year-long imperialist reactionary conspiracy in Lebanon which aims at isolating and containing the PLO, as it is to the international successes of the PLO.

The Zionist occupiers now face a new situation in the occupied territories. They have to realize that their hollow promises of a « higher standard of living » in the Galilee are no substitute for freedom and self-determination. They cannot forever escape the Palestinian reality, the growing sense of Palestinian identity, and the increasing unity and determination of the Palestinian people throughout the occupied territories and outside occupied Palestine to confront the Zionist occupier. A new stage in the Palestinian struggle is taking place, a transformation from passive to active resistance. It is a stage which the Zionists have to face.

It must be said that the recent mass demonstrations in the occupied territories constitute a warning to the Zionists of a new front in the heart of Palestine confronting their racist and fascist occupation.

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*Schoolgirls in the Galilee
demonstrating against Zionist occupation*



OCCUPATION DIARY

OUR PEOPLE DEFY OCCUPATION

«While Arab students and Israeli forces were clashing today in Jerusalem, and curfew-bound Ramallah was eerily deserted, leading West Bank mayors were summoned to Tel Aviv by Mr. Shimon Peres, the Defense Minister. He warned them that continued rioting would not be tolerated and that if the situation deteriorated further, those responsible would be dealt with very harshly.»

The «TIMES», March 17, 1976
ERIC MARSDEN,
from Jerusalem

The Zionist racist mentality believes that it should be a grace to the Palestinians to live under Zionist occupation. For many years Zionist propaganda and Western media have labelled the Israeli occupation of Arab land as humane and benevolent. They went even further to say that the Palestinians living inside the occupied territories are completely different from those of the «terrorist» PLO. According to Zionist

allegations, the Palestinians of the West Bank are even willing to accept alien occupation of their homeland.

The Zionists fail to understand that they are considered by the Palestinians as foreign occupants and they fail to realize that they are now in the same position Hitler had with regard to the oppressed. They fail to understand that the Palestinians consider the Zionist occupation and colonization of

their homeland as but a continuity of the British Mandate which ended in May, 1948.

Since the creation of «Israel» in 1948, the Zionists have worked systematically and consistently to Judaize Palestine. After expelling the majority of its inhabitants, the Zionists completely altered the Arab character of the land and changed most of the names of cities and villages.

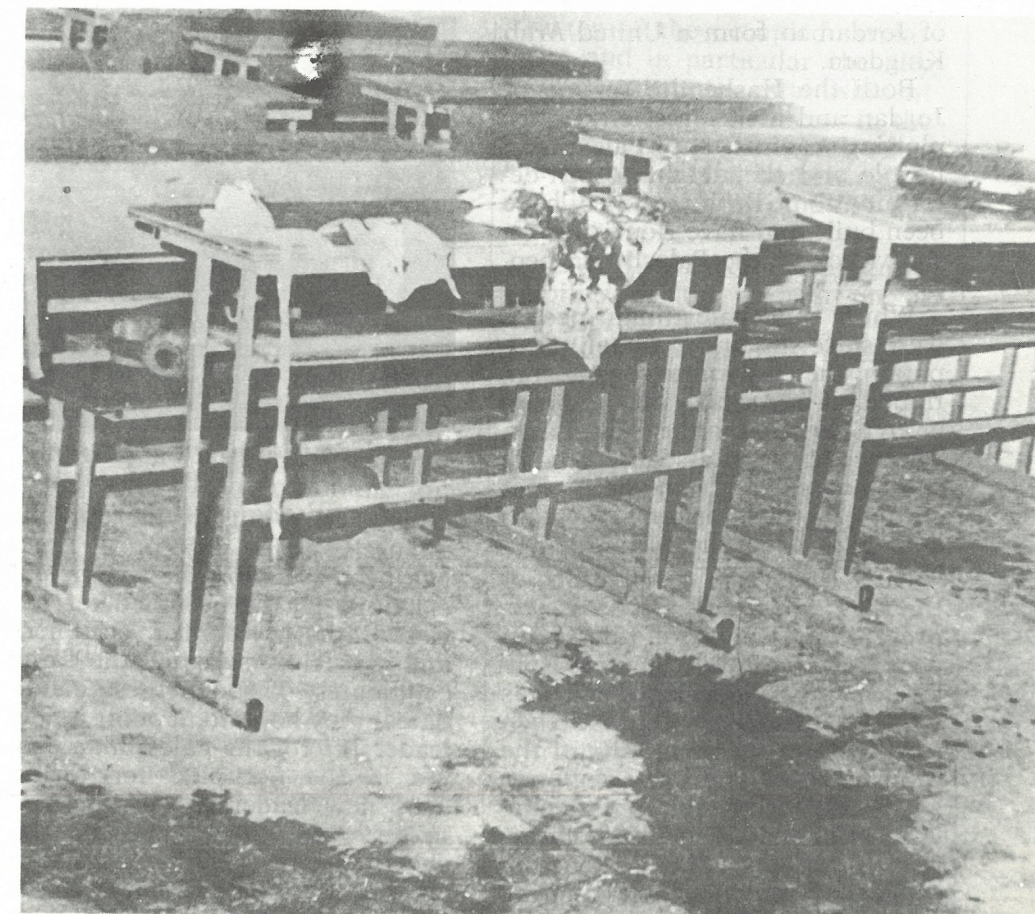
After the June 1967 war, additional Arab land fell under Zionist occupation, and the Zionists continued their colonization plans. Over 60 new settlements were built in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and Sinai. New settlers are immediately encouraged to live in these settlements which will serve as new bases for future invasions and wars.

HAMMER AND ANVIL

The Palestinian people's determined efforts to throw off the yoke of occupation have never stopped. It is ridiculous to believe that the occupiers will retreat on their own initiative and for philanthropic reasons. The Palestinians in the occupied territories, therefore, have to struggle on two points: against the Zionist hammer and the Hashemite anvil.

According to official Zionist declarations, the Israeli colonizers never intend to withdraw totally from the territories occupied in 1967. Even in the case of a separate agreement with King Hussein, and the establishment of a local administration in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Zionist colonizers intend to maintain the right to build settlements and implant new immigrants in these territories. In addition, the colonizers consistently violate Palestinian rights in every domain, and act with complete disregard for the traditions and beliefs of the Palestinian population.

At the beginning of 1975, the settlers of Kiryat Arba, a new settlement near Hebron (al-Khalil), several times during the month of July and August invaded the Mosque of Abraham. With the consent of the occupation authorities, they finally succeeded in



*Nablus: bloodstained and deserted classroom
after Israeli break in*

building a wall in the Mosque and opening this part of the Mosque for Jewish prayers.

In Jerusalem, Zionist archaeologists early started excavations under the Mosque of al-Aqsa, the third holy place of Islam, supposedly searching for the mythical temple of King Solomon which was destroyed by the Romans 2,000 years ago. Due to the resentment of the population, the excavations were interrupted for a while but they have since been resumed. Provocations reached their peak when, on 29 January of this year, a Zionist magistrate passed a ruling allowing Jews to pray in the al-Aqsa Mosque. This was followed by the invasion of the Mosque by a group of Bitar fanatics at the end of February.

In addition, Zionist fanatics of the Gosh Emmunim, a fanatic religious sect whose members consider all Palestine as their promised land, are active in establishing new settlements in the

West Bank. They recently started building a new settlement near the village of Sebastia, in the Nablus region. This new settlement near Sebastia built with the consent of the occupation authorities, gave rise to a passionate debate in the Knesset, and added considerably to the growing friction between the inhabitants of the West Bank and the occupation authorities.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Since the occupation of 1967, many plans have been elaborated envisaging a solution for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. All these plans have been worked out by the enemies of the Palestinian people. These plans completely fail to satisfy the national aspirations of the Palestinian people. They represent only the conceptions and the interests of their initiators. The most famous plan to date is the so-called Allon Plan, proclaimed in 1969. This plan proposed the annexation of the West Bank to the Hashemite Kingdom

of Jordan to form a United Arab Kingdom.

Both the Hashemite regime of Jordan and the Zionist entity are plotting against the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination. Both regimes have been built and have flourished on the wreck of the Palestinian people.

While our Palestinian people were suffering under Israeli occupation, the Hashemite regime continued to pay salaries to its former civil servants in the West Bank. These civil servants also receive the same salary from the Zionist occupiers thus bribing them to agree to glorify the occupation.

King Hussein's recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people at the Rabat Summit Conference in September, 1974, was a mere bluff. He was unable then to withstand the unanimity of the Arab heads of state who supported the PLO leadership. At the Rabat Conference, King Hussein agreed to accept a PLO presence in Jordan, a promise which the King never fulfilled. Moreover, he never stopped his maneuvers against the aspirations of the Palestinian people. In accordance with the Zionist occupation, the King has intensified his activities in the West Bank over the last three months. Huge subsidies, amounting to some 12 million dollars were transferred to his agents in the West Bank. The Zionist occupation authorities even agreed to open a Jordanian Bank on the West Bank.

On the other hand, King Hussein reconvened his dissolved parliament which included former representatives of the West Bank, thus demonstrating his political power. Despite his assertions that this step did not infringe on his old commitment to the Rabat Summit resolutions, it is evident that the King has never given up his old dream of representing the Palestinians and restoring his control over the West Bank. This maneuver is a part of an overall Middle East conspiracy against the Palestinian people aiming to by-pass the PLO leadership, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians.

The other part of the conspira-



Kissinger with his friend Hussein

cy is carried out by the Israelis themselves. The date of 12 April has been set for the municipal elections in the occupied territories. Both the Zionist occupiers and the King support the same candidates. Through these candidates, they hope to appoint a new leadership for the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. This new leadership is intended to serve the Zionist and the Hashemite plans: causing a split among the Palestinian people, both inside and outside the occupied territories; isolating the PLO leadership on the international level; annexing the West Bank to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; perpetuating the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS

Peace and freedom are the genuine demands of every human being. The fundamental demand of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories is to throw off the yoke of occupation and to be able to live in freedom and peace in their homeland, Palestine.

Our Palestinian people understand the background to the Zionist-Hashemite plots and refuse to continue living under Zionist occupation or to have their land re-annexed to the Hashemite Kingdom of Hussein. Zionist provocations, such as the building of settlements and the violation of religious traditions have but served to pour oil on the fire. These provocations may be considered but a pretext for the population to express their dissatisfaction

and resentment against the Zionist occupation and the Hashemite plots.

The Palestinian people's struggle inside the occupied territories is not isolated from the struggle of the Palestinian people as a whole. There is no doubt that the victories of the PLO on the international level, and in withstanding imperialist conspiracies in Lebanon, are significant incentives to Palestinian resistance to the Zionist occupation. Since January, demonstrations and strikes have overwhelmed West Bank cities and villages. These began with the US Veto at the Security Council on 27 January supporting Zionist expansionist ambitions, and intensified in reaction to the 29 January Zionist ruling allowing Jews to pray in the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Demonstrations and strikes then spread to other West Bank cities. In Nablus, Palestinian youngsters demonstrated blocking the streets with barricades and confronting the Zionist tanks with stones. When the occupation army rushed into the schools in the area — on 8 March — the Nablus Municipality Council immediately responded by resigning *en masse*.

Hundreds of stonethrowing Palestinian youngsters were detained and fined high fines. According to Israel radio, the *International Herald Tribune* of 18 March reported that «the six weeks of West Bank unrest shows no signs of abating.» Shopkeepers shut their shops, and schools were closed in Nablus, Hebron (al-Khalil), and the Arab quarters of Jerusalem.

The *Tribune* report continued: «There were sporadic stonethrowing incidents in various West Bank towns, but military sources credited the show of force with preventing serious confrontations. The patrols included paratroops, recruits, border patrolmen and helmeted policemen... Defense Minister Shimon Peres toured the occupied territory with top military officers».

It is evident that the occupation authorities are attempting through the use of additional troops to quell the mass uprising in the occupied West Bank.

OCCUPATION DIARY

Another US Veto

Since the establishment of the United Nations 31 years ago, the USA has used its right of veto 14 times: 11 times over the first 30 years, and 3 times, over the past four months alone. It is worth noting that the last three times the USA used its veto were over the Palestine Question: against the condemnation of Israel's aggression on the south of Lebanon and Palestinian camps; against supporting the Palestinian people's «inalienable right of self-determination»; and, against the resolution condemning the Zionist state's measures against «the inhabitants of the occupied territories.»

This USA stand conforms to the basic American policy regarding the occupied territories and it corresponds completely to the true nature of the Zionist-American alliance.

But our people inside and outside occupied Palestine will escalate their uprising and intensify their just and legal

struggle after the US Veto, just as they did after the previous veto, which was one of the detonators of the popular revolution inside occupied Palestine, which has been continuing for more than two months.

Following is the text of the UN Security Council resolution of 25 March, on Israeli violations of human rights in occupied Palestine. The resolution was presented by Benin, Guyana, Panama, Tanzania and Pakistan and received 14 votes in favour from the 15-nation Security Council.

«The Security Council having CONSIDERED recent developments in the occupied Arab territories, deeply concerned at the serious situation which has arisen in those territories as a result of continued Israeli occupation,

Deeply CONCERNED further at the measures taken by the Israeli authorities leading to the present grave situation, including measures aimed at changing the physical, cultural, demographic and religious cha-

acter of the occupied territories and in particular the city of Jerusalem, the establishment of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and other violations of the human rights of the inhabitants of those territories;

EMPHASIZING the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by war;

RECALLING and REAFFIRMING the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;

CALLING upon Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist from taking any further action which would alter the status of the city of Jerusalem and the character of the occupied Arab territories;

NOTING that, notwithstanding the aforementioned resolutions, Israel persists in its policy aiming at changing the physical, cultural, demographic and religious character of the city of Jerusalem in particular;

REAFFIRMING the urgent need for establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East:

1 — DEPLORES Israeli's failure to put a stop to actions and policies tending to change the status of the city of Jerusalem and to rescind all measures already taken to that effect.

2 — CALLS on Israel, pending the speedy termination of the occupation, to refrain from all measures against the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

3 — CALLS on Israel to respect and uphold the inviolability of the holy places which are under its occupation; and to desist from the expropriation of, or encroachment upon, Arab land and property as the establishment of Israeli settlements thereon in the occupied Arab territories; and to desist from all other actions and policies designed to change the legal status of the city of Jerusalem; and to rescind measures already taken to that effect.

4 — DECIDES to keep the situation under constant attention with a view to meeting again should circumstances so require.



« DAY OF THE LAND »

The date of 30 March, 1976 has now entered Palestinian history as the « Day of the Land », a day which was chosen as a day for the Palestinian people's protest against the Zionist occupation and continued confiscation of Arab lands; a day of struggle for the whole Palestinian land.

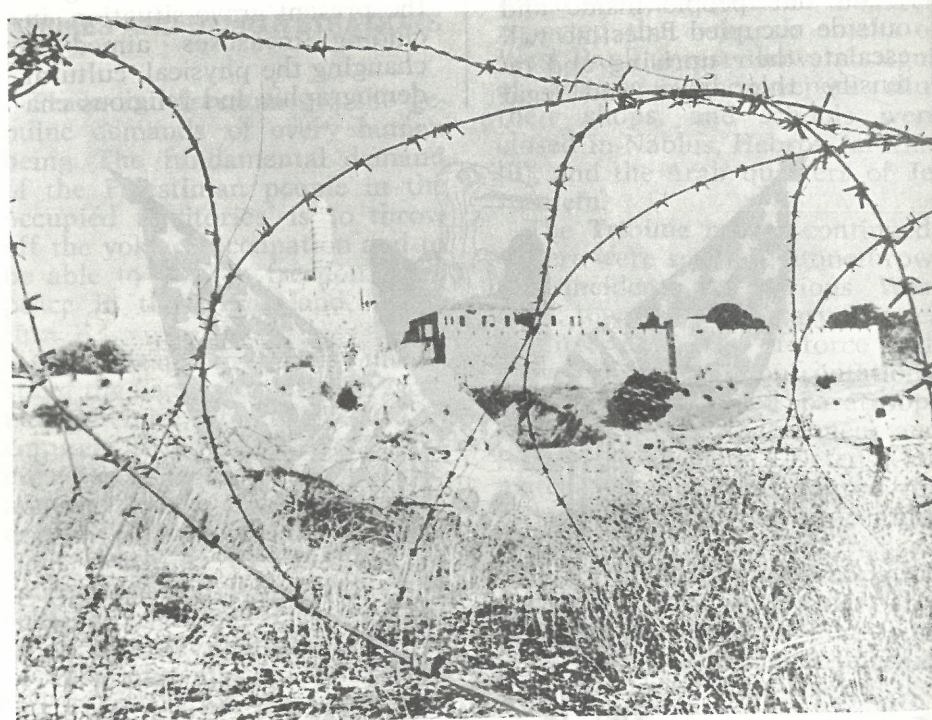
The first «Day of the Land» was marked by violent demonstrations against the Zionist authorities all over occupied Palestine, both in the 1948 occupied territories and in those occupied in 1967, from Jenin to Hebron, from Gaza to Nazareth, and Haifa and Jerusalem. In a mighty move of unity, all sectors of the Palestinian people — students, workers, peasants, women — joined together to express their condemnation and rejection of all Zionist projects, of conspiracies such as the local administration plan, and of the latest American veto. Confronting the armed forces of the occupation authorities with whatever they found to hand, the Palestinian people showed their courage and determination in the face of the occupier. Children and students threw stones at enemy tanks, Palestinian women threw boiling oil at enemy soldiers, and street barricades of burning tyres were erected to stop the advance of the Zionist forces.

On 30 March also, Palestinians living outside occupied Palestine demonstrated in solidarity with their oppressed brothers, confirming the unity of the Palestinian people under their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

The «Day of the Land» was instituted in the face of the latest Zionist moves to expropriate Arab lands in Galilee for Zionist settlement projects, the most recent of such provocations being an Israel-

li Cabinet decision to seize some 400,000 acres (1 1/2 million dunums) of land in Galilee for Zionist use. Such moves have been euphemistically described by the Zionist authorities as being for «the development of the Galilee area», but in reality constitute attempts to Judaize the region. This latest Zionist project was the final straw for the Galilee Arabs whose lands are being whittled down before their eyes for the benefit of Zionist settlers.

On 6 March, therefore, the National Committee for the Defense of Occupied Arab Land, which includes 40 mayors and heads of councils from the towns and villages of the Galilee region, held a meeting to discuss the Israeli Cabinet decision. The Committee adopted a firm stand in the face of these most recent Zionist designs, resolving to reject the Zionist decision, to refuse all compensation and take action against all Zionist measures aimed at seizing



The imprisoned homeland...

Arab land. The Committee further called upon all citizens of the areas of Palestine occupied in 1948 to declare a general strike on 30 March.

This was followed on 7 March by a meeting of local councils of Galilee towns and villages to discuss the Zionist seizure of land in occupied Palestine. The Palestinian Mayor of Nazareth, Tawfiq Ziyad, warned during the meeting, «The Government wants to suppress us. We must prepare ourselves for a fierce struggle.» He ended his speech with another warning, this time addressed to the Zionist authorities, «You want to expel us from our land, but we will stay and you must leave; you want to suppress us, but we know how to foil your attempts.»

The Zionist reaction to Ziyad's speech came the next day with a demand from Yigal Allon that parliamentary immunity be denied the Mayor of Nazareth on the pretext that he was «inciting to sabotage».

Undeterred, Nazareth continued to be the centre of protest and confrontation. The Israeli Communist Party (Rakah) presented a draft resolution to the Nazareth Municipal Council, calling on citizens to join in the general strike planned for 30 March. The resolution was adopted by a sweeping majority.

It was in Nazareth too that the Conference for the Defense of Occupied Arab Land, also organized by Rakah, took place on 25 March. The Conference was held in protest against the confiscation of Galilee lands, and the continuous Zionist attempts to strike at areas having large concentrations of Arab inhabitants. This Conference was the single event of greatest significance in the steps leading to the «Day of the Land», for it crystallized the determination of the people of the 1948 occupied territories to confront all Zionist projects, and to fight against the continued discrimination to which they are subject.

Meanwhile, Zionist officialdom did its best to persuade Arab notables on local councils in the West Bank to call off the general strike declared by the Palestinian masses under occupation for 30

March. But these attempts were met by a firm refusal on the part of council heads, and were countered by their demand that the enemy authorities stop confiscating Arab lands, and by their stress on the fact that Arab citizens will always refuse to give up their land, and are ready to defend it at any price.

None of the Zionist attempts to halt the planned «Day of the Land» were successful, however, and 30 March showed that not only the people of the West Bank, but also and very significantly, the Palestinian masses in the 1948 occupied territories, were united in their struggle against the Zionist occupation.



30 th MARCH IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

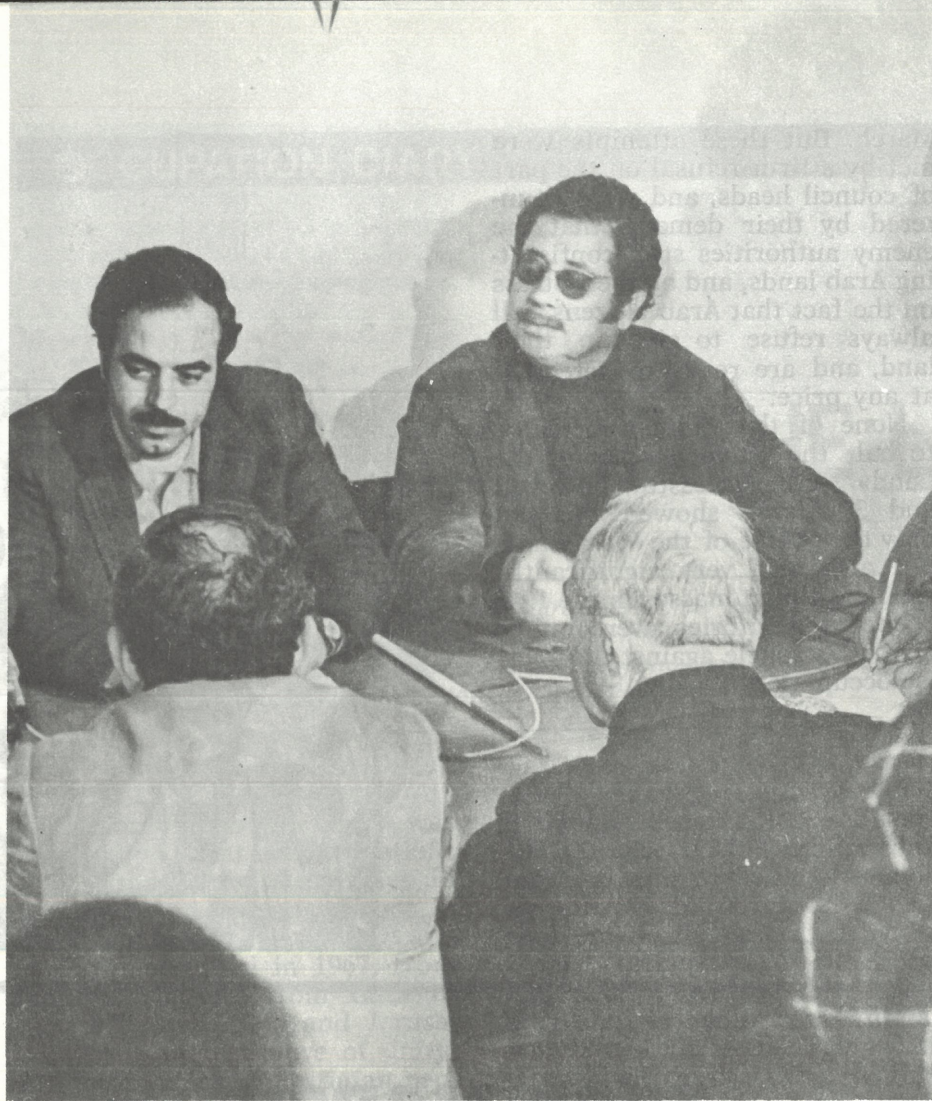
The greatest and most universal popular uprising against the Zionist occupation and its criminal practices took place in occupied Palestine on 30 March: the «Day of the Land.»

Reports from occupied Palestine said that demonstrations on the Day of the Palestinian Land developed in most Palestinian towns and villages into street-battles in which Arab citizens armed with sticks, stones and Molotov cocktails, confronted the heavily-armed Zionist forces. In these battles, the Arab citizens fearlessly clashed with Zionist soldiers who fired at the demonstrators wounding many of them.

Arab citizens launched mass attacks on Zionist military vehicles full of armed soldiers. Town and village streets filled with citizens in spite of the curfews imposed on various towns by the authorities in an attempt to quell the uprising.

The Zionist military occupiers were reportedly shocked because the Day of the Land, which they had expected to be a day of protests and demonstrations, was transformed into a true revolt against the occupation, not only in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip but in every Arab village whose resistance the occupiers thought they had completely suppressed.

Zionist information media had previously tried to impose a blackout on the revolt in occupied Palestine, but they were forced to announce that the Day of the Land had begun early on 30 March, particularly in Galilee, where thousands of citizens from Deir Hanna, Arraba and Sakhnin took to the streets. They destroyed enemy vehicles and clashed with troops, although the Zionist General Raphael Eytan — commander of the occupation forces in the northern region — had imposed a complete



Ahmed Hamzeh and Abdel Aziz el-Haj,
expelled by the Zionist authorities on 26 March

curfew on the area since dawn that morning.

During a series of violent disturbances which took place in various parts of Galilee between Arab inhabitants and Zionist forces, three Arab citizens were martyred in the village of Arraba. In the village of al-Tayba, north of Tel Aviv, Arab demonstrators for the first time used fire-arms against the police and wounded five policemen. As soon as students arrived at their schools, they gathered in the streets starting violent demonstrations, while the occupation authorities arrested dozens of them.

Reports said that those Palestinian workers who were forced to go to work under Zionist pressure, refused to continue their

labor and took to the streets to participate in the demonstrations. The Israeli authorities had warned the inhabitants of Galilee the previous day against participating in the general strike, and Zionist soldiers harassed Arab citizens in their homes during the night.

The Zionist occupation authorities took strict security measures, including army and police patrols in the streets of Galilee villages and towns. One of these patrols clashed with the Arab citizens of Deir Hanna, where one person was killed and 17 others were wounded. Citizens threw stones and sharp tools at the patrol and wounded 11 Zionist soldiers. As a result, the occupation authorities arrested a number of citizens and

imposed a curfew on Deir Hanna, Sakhnin and Arraba. At the same time, the occupation authorities increased security measures in most parts of the West Bank to confront the demonstrations taking place in solidarity with the Arabs of the lands occupied in 1948.

On this day, complete paralysis prevailed in all cities of the West Bank, especially in Jerusalem, Nablus, Bethlehem and Jenin. The authorities threatened shop-owners to withdraw their permits if they participated in the 30 March strike.

In Nablus : Demonstrations and strikes started early, shops were closed, and students left their schools to challenge the occupation forces, throwing stones at them.

Demonstrators in the morning called for the overthrow of Zionist occupation and protested against its expansionist colonialist measures, with hundreds of villagers from Sakhnin taking to the streets and clashing with the occupation forces in spite of the curfew. These clashes were described as the fiercest ever to take place in the region, with numerous people injured and many others arrested.

In Ramallah and Bir Zeit : Black clouds from burning tyres rose over the region, as Palestinian citizens closed the roads leading into the two towns, preventing the occupation forces from entering to suppress the uprising.

A report from Wafa said that the city of Ramallah witnessed an extensive solidarity strike with the Day of the Land and a massive demonstration took place led by the students of the Hashemite school.

Palestinian demonstration before the Knesset : Large numbers of Palestinians from Galilee demonstrated in front of the Zionist Knesset in Jerusalem in protest against land seizure, and Zionist police arrested 15 Arab citizens in the ensuing disturbances.

Nazareth : In Nazareth, shops were closed and students refused to go to class, as the general strike was observed by the entire Arab population of the town, in response to a call by the Municipal Council.

VERDUN : IN MEMORY OF OUR MARTYRS

A little after midnight on 10 April, 1973, Zionist terrorists, in collaboration with the forces of Lebanese reaction and American intelligence agents, attacked a peaceful quarter of Beirut in which lived three Palestinian militants : Kamal Adwan, Kamal Nasser and Muhammad Yusef al-Najjar.

The Palestinian militants lived in two adjacent buildings in the Verdun sector of Beirut, the Lebanese capital. The Zionist terrorists attacked the two buildings simultaneously, opening fire on the five guards, killing three of them and wounding the others. The terrorists then rushed into the homes of the Palestinian leaders. Muhammad Yusef al-Najjar was shot together with his wife who was trying to protect him. Kamal Adwan and Kamal Nasser were also gunned down. The latter, who was a Christian, was stretched out on the ground by the Zionists with his arms forming a cross. As well as his other wounds, the poet Kamal Nasser was shot twice in the mouth.

While these atrocities were being carried out, a second group of this Zionist gang and their agents attacked the inhabitants of al-Ouzai, on the coastal outskirts of Beirut, and Palestinian quarters both in Beirut and the southern Lebanese town of Saida.



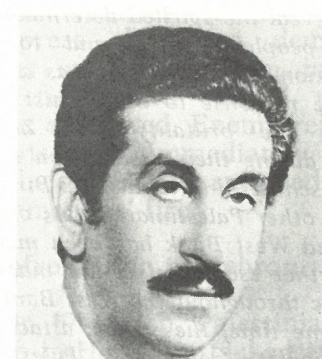
KAMAL NASSER

A graduate of political science, Kamal Nasser was at the same time a poet and man of letters, who worked in information. After the June 1967 war, he was expelled from his West Bank town, Bir Zeit, by the Zionist occupation authorities. He joined the PLO and became responsible for the PLO Unified Information and editor-in-chief of «Falastine al-Thawra», the official organ of the PLO, a post he was holding at the time of his assassination on 10 April, 1973.



KAMAL ADWAN

Kamal Adwan was one of the founding leaders of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, «Fateh». During the occupation of the Gaza Strip by the Zionists in 1956, he worked for the formation of a National Front to organize resistance against the Israeli occupiers. Until his assassination by the Zionists on 10 April, 1973, he was responsible for operations in occupied Palestine.



MUHAMMAD YUSEF
AL-NAJJAR

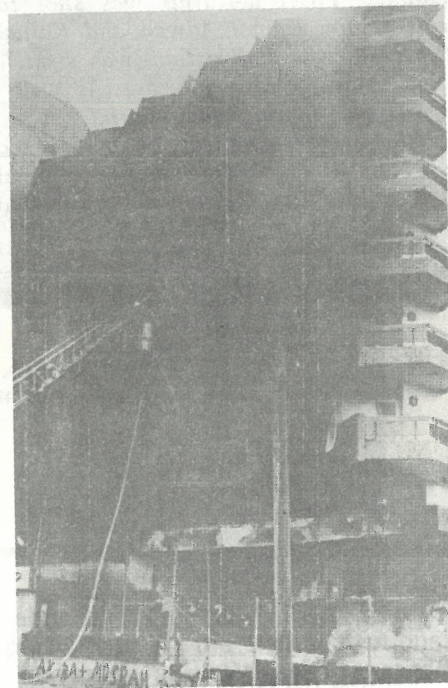
Known as «Abu Yusef», he was head of the Higher Political Committee for the Palestinians in Lebanon, founded in 1970. He spent two years in enemy jails. He was one of the founders of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement, «Fateh» and a member of its Central Committee from 1968 till his assassination on 10 April, 1973.

One Action Against Occupation

The resistance of our Palestinian people against the Zionist occupation during the period 21 February-21 March, 1976, is striking evidence of the persistent struggle of our people. Armed resistance and mass resistance have integrated in one action against the Zionist enemy. Both forms of resistance essentially reveal the spirited determination of our people to put an end to the occupation. They also come as an immediate response to the Zionist challenges. The brutality of the Zionist troops during their assaults on Palestinian schools in Nablus, in Bir Zeit and in other Palestinian towns on the occupied West Bank has been met by the further escalation of our mass resistance throughout the West Bank. At the same time, the savage attacks of the Zionist troops on Palestinian schools have been immediately answered by our fedayeen in simultaneous military operations.

TWENTY ATTACKS WITH EXPLOSIVES

During this period our fedayeen confronted the Zionist enemy in twenty-six military operations. These operations included twenty attacks with explosive charges and anti-vehicular mines on a number of enemy targets located in different parts of occupied Palestine. Of the attacks with explosives, 6 took place in the Tel Aviv region, 4 in the Jerusalem region, 2 in Nablus, 3 in Natania and Tul-



Park Hotel, Natanya, in flames

karm, 1 in Haifa, 1 on the Asdud-Askalon road, and 1 in the Jenin region. In addition, two were carried out by planting anti-vehicular mines on roads used by military patrols in the Dead Sea region and resulted in the destruction of 2 military vehicles, one of which was a personnel carrier transporting enemy soldiers.

Tel Aviv-Haifa Train Derailed

One of our fedayeen units, on 24 February, planted a number of remote-controlled mines under the railway line near the Zionist

settlement of Zikhron Yakov between Haifa and Tel Aviv. As a train was passing at 7.15 p.m. the same day, the unit exploded the mines. Part of the railway line was blown up and the train was derailed.

Bomb in Police Car

Unit 'A' operating in occupied Palestine, on 4 February placed a bomb inside an enemy police car parked in Strauss Street in the occupied city of Jerusalem. At 6.25 p.m. as the car was heading to Yemin Nevo Street, the bomb exploded, destroying the car and killing and wounding all its police passengers.

Six Commando Operations in Tel Aviv

Palestinian fedayeen attacked 6 targets in the Tel Aviv region with explosive charges in six separate operations over the same period. The most significant among them were the two following:

Our commandos placed timed explosive charges in several furniture warehouses and shops in Hemesjir Street in the city center. The charges exploded at 6 p.m. on 5 March, setting fire to the furniture depots and shops.

The second, and more effective operation, took place on 14 March when our commandos from special units placed timed explosive charges in a number of military factories and depots in the industrial region south of Tel Aviv. The charges exploded the same day for five consecutive minutes. All factories and depots at the site of the explosions were set on fire. Three military factories, a clothes and a cotton factory were demolished. A truck full of goods was also burnt and another factory building collapsed.

Explosives in Nablus Central Square

In answer to the brutal measures used by the occupation authorities against our people in the West Bank city of Nablus, and their attempt to suppress the po-

pular uprising, one of our units placed powerful explosive charges in the central square of Nablus, amidst a large grouping of enemy vehicles and soldiers brought there to suppress the demonstrations. The charges exploded at 12.15 p.m. on 10 March, killing or wounding a number of enemy soldiers, damaging a number of military vehicles and starting a fire in one of them.

Vehicle Destroyed in Jenin

Our fedayeen placed timed explosive charges inside an enemy military vehicle parked on the main road between Jenin and the village of Rummama in the occupied West Bank. The charges exploded at 10 a.m. on 15 March as the vehicle was heading to Rummama, completely destroying the vehicle and killing its four passengers.

Answer to Zionist Crimes

In answer to the most recent crimes committed by the Israeli occupation troops against our people on the occupied West Bank — the killing of the 10-year-old boy, **Ali Hussein Afana**, is one example — our fedayeen immediately acted. Unit 'A', on 20 March, placed timed explosive charges inside the night-club, the reception hall and the storage rooms of the Park Hotel in the coastal city of Natanya. The unit then cut the electricity in the western part of the city and returned safely to base. At 4.25 a.m. the same day, the charges exploded, setting fire to the hotel and destroying its 1st, 3rd and 7th floors. The Zionist authorities admitted 50 casualties.

Another commando unit, on 20 March, placed timed explosive charges inside the waiting room of the central bus station near Bab al-Amoud in Jerusalem. The charges exploded at 9.30 a.m. destroying a large section of the station and a number of Egged buses parked there.

The rest of the targets attacked with explosive charges within this period were: a garage belonging to the Zionist Ministry of Agriculture in Nablus; the railway station in Natania; telephone cables

between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, resulting in the disruption of telephone communications; Haifa Police Station; the Zionist labour office in Tulkarm; a bus parked near the Intercontinental Hotel in Jerusalem; a military truck on the coastal road between Asdud and Askalon.

ARMED CONFRONTATION

As the occupation authorities mobilized additional troops to join those already engaged in suppressing our people in the occupied territories, the Palestinian masses and fedayeen stepped up their resistance. On 27 February, a commando unit set up an ambush for enemy patrols on the Bethlehem-Hebron road and set fire to an enemy bus. Near the village of Dora on the main Hebron-Bir Sabe' road, another commando unit two days later attacked an enemy bus, killing its driver and wounding its passengers. Also in the Hebron region, one of our combat units, on 4 March, prepared several ambushes for enemy patrols near the town of Bani Na'im south of Hebron. At 11.45 a.m. on the same day, as a military vehicle and a jeep full of enemy soldiers were passing, our fighters attacked them with bazookas and hand grenades, destroying the jeep, damaging the military vehicle and killing or wounding a number of the enemy. Enemy radio later admitted that one of its military patrols had been attacked with automatic weapons on 4 March, and reported that a Palestinian citizen had been arrested south of the city of Hebron.

Enemy Patrol Ambushed in Golan Heights

One of our commando units prepared an ambush for enemy military patrols on the main road leading to the al-Saqi region in the middle sector of the occupied Syrian Heights. At 9 p.m. on 7 March, as an enemy patrol composed of two half-track vehicles and an engineering unit was passing on that road, our fighters attacked it with bazookas, hand grenades, and automatic weapons, destroying one vehicle and killing

or wounding a number of the enemy soldiers.

Clashes in Nablus

On 8 March, Nablus citizens confronted fully-equipped Zionist troops who were backed by tanks and half-tracks. Violent clashes ensued. The enemy troops opened machine-gun fire on demonstrators, killing 7 Palestinian citizens and wounding sixty-four others. Our masses immediately answered these criminal attacks using RPG's (anti-tank rockets) and other weapons. Enemy losses were the destruction of a tank, and two half-tracks. Four enemy soldiers were killed and 13 others wounded.

Two days later, on 10 March, Palestinian commandos engaged in a 2 1/2-hour battle near the occupied West Bank town of Tulkarm. There, our commandos had prepared a number of ambushes, and planted a number of anti-vehicular mines on the main road leading to an enemy military camp in Kfar Yuna, east of Natania, on the main Kfar Yuna-Tulkarm road. At 6 a.m. that day, enemy vehicles on their way to suppress the mass demonstrations in Tulkarm ran into the minefield, and several vehicles were destroyed. Enemy reinforcements, who immediately rushed to the scene, were surprised by our commandos' fire.

Confrontation in Hebron

On 17 March, Palestinian fedayeen in Hebron attacked two enemy military vehicles in the city's main street, destroying one vehicle, damaging the other, and killing or wounding a number of enemy soldiers.



Exploitation of Palestinian Workers From West Bank and Gaza

The oppression practised by racist regimes throughout the world is well-known, but it took the recent UN resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism (UNGA 3379 (XXX) November, 1975) to draw the world's attention to the racist nature of the Zionist state. For the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs who live under Zionist rule in occupied Palestine, however, the experience of exploitation and discrimination at the hands of the occupier has long been a daily reality.

The Zionist racist policy is evidenced first of all in the complete Israeli disregard for the terms of the 4th Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (August 1949), of which « Israel » is nevertheless a signatory. Under the terms of the Convention, the social, economic and political life of any population under occupation is to remain unaltered until such time as a settlement of the political issues is forthcoming.

Yet, conforming to its well-known pattern of arrogant disregard for any international declaration, recommendation or resolution, the Zionist occupier has, from 1967 up to the present, drastically altered the social and economic nature of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by the following discriminatory practices :

- forced emigration of Palestinian citizens (240,000 in 1967) ;
- exile of community leaders (1,500 since 1967) ;
- imprisonment without trial (administrative detention) of some 40,000 people ;
- the demolition of 19,000 homes and the destruction of villages ;

- the building of Israeli settlements (over 60 since 1967) throughout the occupied territories, and the immigration of Jewish settlers ;
- the expropriation of property ;
- the exploitation of agricultural, construction and industrial labourers for Israeli benefit ;
- causing a freeze on urban and rural development in the 1967 occupied territories, due to the extensive employment of Palestinians (some 100,000 daily) in the 1948 occupied territories rather than in their own municipalities ;
- the unavailability of funds for local development, except with pre-conditions ;
- the absence of employment opportunities for educated professionals ;
- neglect of health and community services ;
- the disruption of family life.

This is a damning list of the methods employed by the occupying power in a concerted attempt to demoralize the Palestinian people. But this is not all. The enemy exercises a policy of economic exploitation — which has a disastrous effect on social conditions — both of the occupied territories and of the Palestinian labour force these territories can supply. Additionally, employment opportunities for Palestinian workers are severely limited by the occupation authorities, so that the only choice open is either to accept these opportunities — most of which are in the construction industry, agriculture or menial tasks in hotels, restaurants and cafés — or to face severe deprivation. Thus, the occu-

pation authorities make use of the Palestinian workers as fuel to stoke up the faltering Israeli economy.

In the Israeli Ministry of Defence report on « Development and Economic Situation in Judea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip and North Sinai », the view of the occupiers with regard to the 1967 occupied territories was characterized in the following terms :

« The areas are a supplementary market for Israeli goods and services on the one hand, and a source of the factors of production, especially unskilled labour, for the Israeli economy on the other. » (1)

Thus, the Zionist authorities practise a form of double exploitation with regard to the occupied territories, using them both as a market and as a source of unskilled labour. This double exploitation has the effect of depriving the occupied territories of their own manpower resources, and of ensuring that the benefits from Palestinian toil go, not to the indigenous population, but to the Zionist state.

High Taxation

Supporters of the Zionist entity — and the Zionists themselves — frequently claim that the occupation has economically benefited the people of the area. The facts of Zionist labour policy, however, totally disprove this rationale. While in terms of real numbers, the number of Palestinian workers has increased, the ever-rising cost of living and high taxation combine to make sure that the worker has little chance of reaping any real economic benefit from his labour.

In addition to recruiting from 60,000 to 100,000 Palestinians (2) from the occupied territories to work as unskilled labourers in Israeli industries, the Israeli Government has made the occupied territories the primary market for Israeli produce. By 1972, these territories had become second only to the United States as a market for Israeli goods, while by 1973-74, the occupied territories had replaced the US to become the first market. Since the beginning of the 1967 occupation, and up to mid-1974, the balance of trade

between the Zionist state and the occupied territories has consistently been in the former's favour, amounting to a cumulative total of well over 2 billion Israeli pounds...

Palestinian workers are subjected to the same high rates of taxation as Israeli workers — although their wages are so much lower. Taxation runs at some 40% and provides a healthy income for the Zionist entity. From 1967-1973, income from taxation on Palestinian workers' earnings amounted to 650 million Israeli pounds (108.3 million dollars) (3). The income derived from taxation goes not only to finance the health and welfare programmes from which the Palestinians do not even benefit, but what is worse, part is apportioned as war tax and goes towards the maintenance of the Israeli war machine. This money is used to preserve the existing Zionist entity and to further its aggressive expansionist policy through the purchase of planes and armaments to attack the Palestinian people, both inside and outside the occupied homeland.

As well as the high rate of taxation, the spiralling cost of living in the Zionist state is a further tremendous drain on the workers' remaining income. The very nature of occupation itself ensures that the workers' earnings are also fed back into the Israeli economy indirectly, through the purchase of Israeli-produced goods. Yet another example of Zionist exploitation of the '67 territories « administered » by the occupation authorities is their appropriation of the income derived from tourism in Arab Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which now amounts to tens of millions of dollars annually. It should be noted that the Zionist state's illegal annexation of Arab Jerusalem has been consistently opposed by a number of UN bodies (UN General Assembly, Security Council, UNESCO), which included the votes of France, Britain, and even the US.

Israeli Labour Policy

The Zionist entity applies a carefully-planned labour policy designed to maintain the Palestinians as unskilled labourers. It has set up

recruitment offices — operated by the Israeli Ministry of Labour — in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for this purpose, attempting to attract the Palestinian away from his own local habitat, away from the cultivation of his own lands and the development of his local economy.

Israeli Land Policy

After 1967, the Arab agricultural economy — which had been the main sector of employment for Palestinians up to that time and the foundation of the West Bank economy — was subjected to tremendous pressure by the Israeli agricultural economy. This pressure expressed itself in different ways, as outlined in the statement made by the Observer for the PLO at the eighteenth session of the Conference of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO), at the end of 1975.

The Observer referred to the occupation authorities' continuous efforts to weaken the traditional agricultural cropping programme, and to encourage « agricultural programmes aiming at limiting the opportunities of agricultural integration between occupied territories and the Arab States with a view to transforming the agricultural economy of the occupied areas into a sector of the Israeli economy and entirely dependent thereon... » At the same time any agricultural crop likely to compete with Israeli agricultural production on foreign markets was discouraged.

In addition « the area of agricultural land was, and still is, being reduced for military or settlement purposes with subsequent destruction of agriculture therein... » Through these policies, the Palestinian farmer was subjected to enormous pressures, making it impossible for him to strike a balance between rising agricultural costs and the realization of essential profits. His income could not rise in proportion to the rising cost of living which resulted from the very high rate of taxation.

As a result of these insurmountable difficulties, « thousands of such farmers were compelled to abandon their farms and to work as hard labourers and unskilled workers in the service of the Is-

raeli economy, which led to the negligence of their agriculture... » As the only alternative for so many one-time agricultural workers and small farmers was to work under the occupation authorities, thousands of dunums of land remained untitled.

The Zionist manoeuvres to deprive the Palestinian peasant of his land and his livelihood from the land are nothing new. Already by the late 1920's, the expropriation of Arab land by the Zionists, or the purchase of land by Jewish capital from feudal (and frequently absentee) landlords, was well and truly underway.

This process was documented by Ghassan Kanafani in a study on the 1936-39 revolt in Palestine (4) in which he detailed the growing difficulties of the Palestinian masses under the triple pressure of Zionist invasion, Arab feudal ownership of the land and the heavy taxes imposed by the Mandatory Government. This triple oppression facilitated Zionist purchase and expropriation of Palestinian land.

Describing early moves, Kanafani writes : « Ownership by Jewish groups of urban and rural land rose from 300,000 dunums in 1929 to 1,250,000 dunums in 1930. The purchased land was insignificant from the point of view of mass colonization and of the settlement of the « Jewish problem ». But the expropriation of nearly one million dunums — almost one-third of the agricultural land — led to a severe impoverishment of Arab peasants and Bedouins. By 1931, 20,000 peasant families had been evicted by the Zionists. Furthermore, agricultural life in the underdeveloped world, and the Arab world in particular, is not merely a mode of production, but equally a way of social, religious and ritual life. Thus, in addition to the loss of land, the Arab rural society was being destroyed by the process of colonization. »

This process continues today. As in other sectors, Palestinian agricultural production has been geared to meet the needs of the occupying power. Thus, the Arab farmer is encouraged by the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture to grow his crops in certain seasons, and his produce is sold to Israeli can-

ning factories replacing produce previously imported by the Israelis.

Construction Boom

Over fifty percent of those employed from the West Bank work as unskilled daily-paid labourers in construction projects, especially in the area around Jerusalem. Tragically for the Palestinian, most of these projects are being carried out on arbitrarily expropriated Arab land used for the housing of new Jewish settlers. From 9,300 workers in construction projects in the Zionist entity in 1969, the number had risen to almost forty thousand by the end of 1973, a sure sign of the amount of building being undertaken by the occupation authorities.

The attempt to attract the Palestinian away from his traditional work goes hand in hand with the Zionist occupation policy of expropriation of land, demolition of houses and exile or imprisonment of community leaders, all of which ensure that the Palestinian worker is left with no alternative but to accept employment on Israeli terms if he wishes to survive. A further aspect of Israeli policy is the denial of professional opportunities to the many Palestinians who are able to hold such positions, thus leading to economic emigration, further depriving the area of its potential leadership.

The Israelis take advantage of the disruption of family life which they themselves have caused through the arrest, imprisonment or exile of one or more male members of a family. As an example, they encourage young students to drop out of school to work in unskilled jobs, and frequently harass students at examination times so that they do badly. Female members of the family, including the mothers who are responsible for family income in the absence of the male breadwinner, are often obliged to go to work in small industries, further contributing to the break-down of the traditional pattern of Palestinian family life.

Work permits are denied Palestinians from the occupied territories for those jobs deemed appropriate for unemployed Israelis. In 1973, the number of Palestinians who received work permits was

68,500, while an additional number had jobs as labourers but had no permits. (In 1969, 10,200 had 'legal' permits to work) (5). Permits are given to unskilled or semi-skilled workers, some of whom receive a 'crash' programme in vocational training. Since 1970, 19 vocational training centres have been established by the occupation authorities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with a heavy emphasis on menial construction skills. As an incentive, trainees are given a stipend of £2.50 per day while training. Trainees in other skills are paid less (6). This is clear evidence of the Israeli policy of setting up vocational training merely to meet the needs of its own industries, in this case the construction industry.

Labour Conditions

Arab labourers employed in the Zionist entity are paid 50 per cent less than their Israeli counterparts. They are remunerated only for the specific amount of work undertaken, with no days off, no vacation, no health insurance, and no employment benefits. In 1972, the average wage for an Israeli worker was £34; for a Palestinian, £17 (7). A large part of a Palestinian labourer's wages is spent in the Zionist entity on food, taxes, lodging and other purchases, so that take-home pay is limited. Some 40% per cent of the Palestinian's wages go to the Israeli treasury. While the same is true of the Israeli labourer, he nevertheless receives social benefits, pensions, health insurance, and unemployment benefits.

Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza who work in the Zionist state are denied the right to form trade unions to protect their interests and fight for improved conditions. As a result of the lack of labour organizations or guilds, whenever economic and political difficulties arise within « Israel », the Arab labourer is always the first to lose his job (8).

Often travel to and from the place of work in the Zionist entity takes four to six hours a day, thus adding to the length of the working day. Those who wish to save the time and the money spent

on travel, sleep in make-shift shelters near their place of work. Many of the labourers spend their nights in the cellars of buildings under construction, in kitchens of restaurants, etc. (9).

By 1973, one-third of the total Palestinian labour force was employed in the Zionist industries.

It has always been the policy of the occupying power to make « hewers of wood » out of the Palestinians; to create an uneducated working class and maintain the Palestinians in this position.

But the Palestinian people are determined to struggle against all exploitation and discrimination. Even after 28 years of occupation the spirit of our people remains strong. Thus the 1967 occupied territories have, over the past two months, been the scene of huge Palestinian protest demonstrations, in which children, teenagers and adults have shown the occupation authorities that they will never accept the Zionist occupier. These demonstrations are now spreading to the 1948 occupied territories.

The proclamation of 30 March as « The Day of the Land » in Palestine is further proof of our people's will to struggle and of their determination never to allow their land to be the prey of Zionist or Hashemite designs.

- 1) Israeli Ministry of Defence, *Unit for Co-ordination of Activity in the Administered Areas; A Summary* (October 1970).
- 2) *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1973, p. 719.
- 3) Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, *Quarterly Statistics of Administered Territories*, Vol. III, No. 3, 1973, p. 112.
- 4) Originally published in Arabic in *Sho'un Falastina* (Palestine Affairs) of the PLO Research Centre.
- 5) The Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* stated on 5 September, 1974 that the 'real figure' of labourers was 80,000.
- 6) Israeli Ministry of Defence, *Four Years of Military Administration, 1967-1971*, 1971, p. 76.
- 7) *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1973, pp. 717 and 301.
- 8) *ibid.*, p. 719.
- 9) *Haaretz*, 3 August 1972, p. 17.

A National Education for Palestinian Children

The enforced exile of the Palestinian people in 1948, and their consequent dispersal over the Arab world, enabled the Zionist movement to assert its presence on Palestinian soil. For the Palestinians this forced emigration meant much more than simply depriving them of their homes and land. On the one hand, it resulted in the complete dislocation of Palestinian society from its context, thus severely impeding its development, and robbing the Palestinian people of the national structure embodied in their heritage, laws, social relations and values, educational and technical skills. On the other hand, the new situation of the Palestinian people outside their homeland meant that they were obliged to accept wretched living conditions, poverty and deprivation. The majority of them fell under the heading « Palestine refugees » and became wards of the international community under the auspices of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). They were thus placed in a situation of dependency which the West did its best to maintain in order to preserve so-called peace in the Middle East.

For the Zionists and their allies, liquidation of the Palestinian presence, wherever it may be, is an essential pre-condition for the achievement of a political settlement between « Israel » and the Arab countries. The attempted liquidation of the Palestinian people takes varying forms, among them the direct form of Israeli military suppression, as well as a more subtle attempt to liquidate the Palestinian people (and identity) through their assimilation into the Arab societies in which they are living. This latter has been attempted principally through the type of education offered to the Palestinians which ensures that the process of social dislocation is maintained.

The education of Palestinian youth (from six years) is largely in the hands of UNRWA, the UN agency which was set up in 1949 to provide « temporary » relief, health, welfare and education services to the Palestinian « refugees » living in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

A FALSE SOLUTION

The Western political manoeuvring behind UNRWA's apparently humanitarian concern for the Palestinians is evident when one looks at the work of the Economic Survey Mission — the interim report of which on 8 November,



1949, led to the establishment of UNRWA — and to an early statement on US financial support for UNRWA made by the then Assistant Secretary of State.

The establishment by the UN Conciliation Commission in August 1949 of an Economic Survey Mission was an attempt to shift the Arab-Israeli conflict from political to economic ground. This was done through basing all planning on the false premise that the economic future of the « refugees » was bound up with the Arab countries of refuge, and not with return to their country of origin.

The Economic Survey Mission, although remarking that « economic development cannot of itself make peace... where the political will to peace is lacking », nevertheless discussed the requirements for long-range economic development in the Middle East, concentrating on the countries bordering Israel. This was clearly a misguided attempt to encourage assimilation of the Palestinians through providing development projects and employment in the

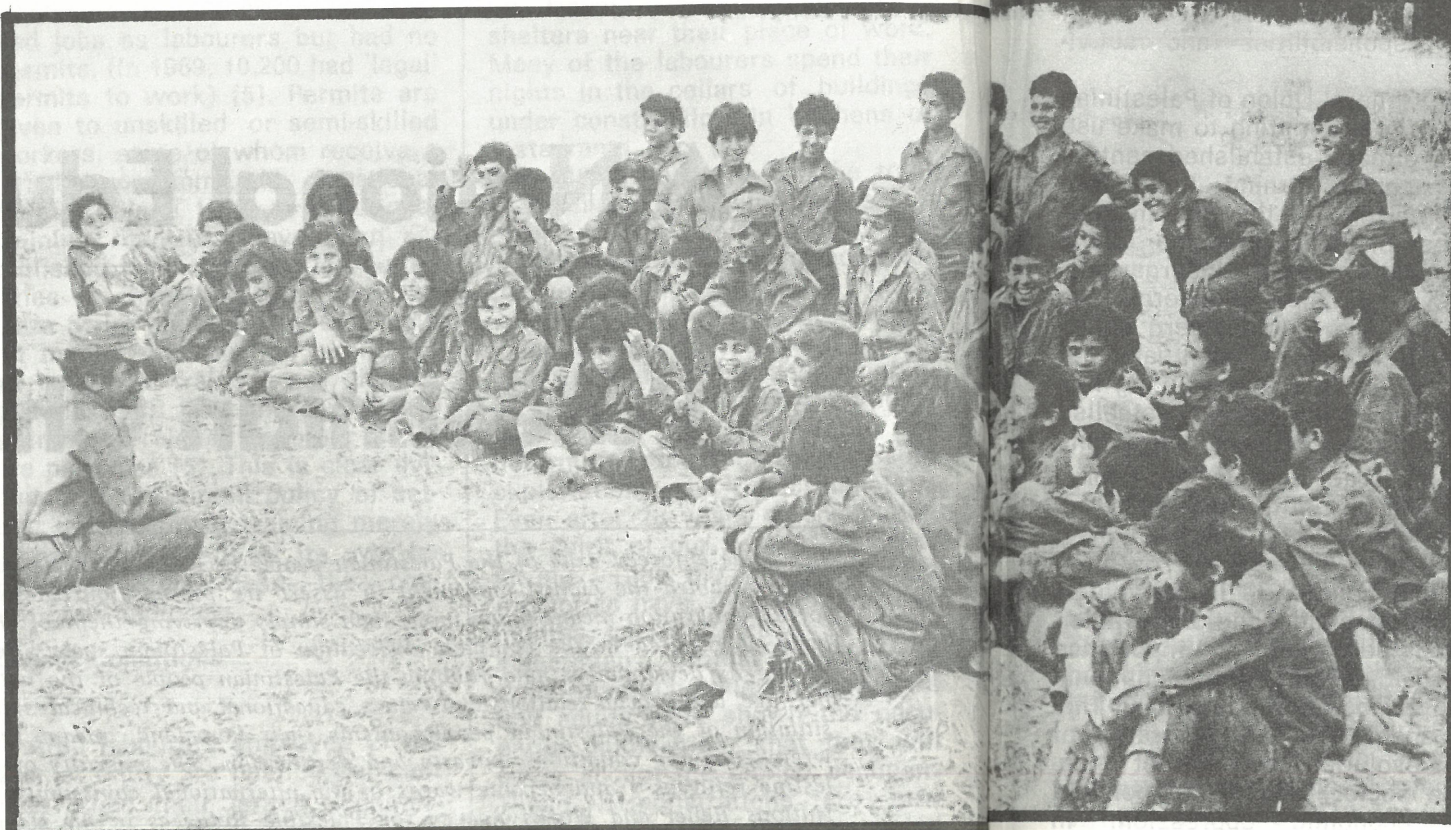
countries of refuge, rather than dealing with the real problem — the right of the Palestinians to return to the homeland from which they had been uprooted.

Similarly, the US attitude to the Palestinians and to the work of UNRWA was clearly revealed in the statement made on 16 February, 1950. h^v Assistant Secretary of State George McGhee, on behalf of US financial support for UNRWA (the US has consistently contributed not less than fifty per cent of UNRWA's budget and sometimes as much as seventy per cent) before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. McGhee expressed American fears of « the political loss » of the Arab area to the Soviet Union, which he said would be a « major disaster ».

« Against this background », he continued, « our solicitude for the Palestine refugees, partly based on humanitarian considerations, has additional justification. As long as the refugee problem remains... unsolved... attainment of a political settlement in Palestine is delayed... (and) the refugees... will continue to serve as a natural focal point for exploitation by Communist and disruptive elements which neither we nor the Near Eastern governments can afford to ignore... The presence of three-quarters of a million idle, destitute people — a number greater than the combined strength of all the standing armies of the Near East — whose discontent increases with the passage of time, is the greatest threat to the security of the area which now exists.»

The Western world, therefore, had its own reasons for encouraging UNRWA's role in the Arab area. Although the implementation of large-scale development projects was later to prove unrealistic, there was another means of encouraging assimilation — the adoption of a certain type of education programme for Palestinians.

The main objective of UNRWA's education programme is to equip the Palestinian student with skills and training liable to find a market in the Arab countries in which the student is living, thus facilitating his absorption into those and the other Arab countries. For this reason it best suited UNRWA's objectives to adopt the education



Palestinian «Ashbal» learn to love their homeland, Palestine

programmes of the Arab host countries themselves.

But the education programmes operating in the various Arab countries have their own particular difficulties which make them peculiarly unsuited to the needs of the Arab masses in general, and the Palestinians in particular. These programmes neglect the fundamental needs of the people, as the only incentives for education and progress stem from the needs of government institutions and of the parasitic system of services connected with these institutions. Education in these countries therefore has a certain number of general characteristics.

Firstly, educational possibilities are concentrated in urban centres, and rural areas are neglected. Secondly, the number of those receiving education is in general restricted to the number of qualified individuals needed by the government institutions and their system of services. There is, finally, a tendency of the education systems in force to produce, through their stress on rote learning, people lacking independence and creativity and, equally serious,

to produce individuals who lack concern for, and awareness of, the problems of the less privileged members of their society. These are the failings of the education system which confronts the Palestinians, either under the auspices of UNRWA, or under the auspices of the Arab governments for those students who live outside UNRWA's area of operations.

In addition, as far as the Palestinian student is concerned, this system appears designed to create an individual who is deprived of his Palestinian identity and cut off from all that binds him to his homeland, his struggle and his cause. Instead, the system aspires to give him an identity which is in sharp contrast to his hopes, aspirations and determination to achieve liberation and progress.

In spite of all their bitter experiences, however, the Palestinian people have not lost their determination to achieve liberation in order to build a humane society devoid of opportunism, oppression and poverty. This is one aspect of the struggle of the Palestinian Revolution, and is typified in the Revolution's concern for its people.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

Because building up the revolutionary human being in both the national and social spheres should start at a very early age, the Palestinian Revolution devotes special attention to the establishment of kindergartens for children up to six years old. Such kindergartens aim to be the means of accentuating the Palestinian identity and the militant identity of the Palestinian Revolution as part of the Arab revolution, and of demonstrating the Palestinian people's ties with Arab society and with the Arab struggle against Zionism and imperialism.

At the same time, the kindergartens aim to provide a meeting place where mothers can obtain both social and health guidance concerning the welfare of their children. Such kindergartens have the additional purpose and advantage of providing mothers with time free from the care of small children, enabling them to take part in social and political activities. The kindergartens, as well as creating in the child an awareness



of the society in which he lives, provide the Palestinian child with a healthy and constructive alternative to playing in the narrow, unhealthy streets of the camps, many of which are crossed by open sewers.

The Palestinian Planning Centre (established in 1968) has been responsible for supervising the educational aspect of the kindergarten scheme, especially the curriculum and the training of teachers. Other associations also involved in the establishment of kindergartens are: The General Union of Palestinian Women; the Ghassan Kanafani Foundation, and the Association for the Resurgence of Palestinian Camps.

At the kindergarten stage and particularly because of the deficiencies in later schooling, education of the Palestinian child focusses on certain principles, especially the fostering of commitment to the Palestinian homeland and to the child's community as a whole.

Love of the homeland is inextricably linked to devotion to a peo-

ple, for a homeland is also the people who belong to that land, their history and continuing heritage. Love of the homeland requires a readiness to work and sacrifice for the people. As far as the child is concerned, dedication to the homeland and to his people is initially directed towards his immediate local community, the camp.

Other qualities stressed are perseverance, optimism, and love of knowledge. The child is encouraged to develop initiative and self-confidence, and the ability to express himself and to evaluate. He is encouraged to think independently and creatively. The same educational principles apply for boys and girls, who receive identical training.

In Lebanon, there are some 8,000 Palestinian children in the 4-6 year age group. Only a fraction of that number, however, can be accommodated in the ten kindergartens which have been established to

date in 7 Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. The setting up of kindergartens in Lebanon is due both to the particularly bad conditions which face Palestinian children (and Palestinians in general) in this country, and to the fact that the institutions of the Revolution have their head offices there. In Jordan and Syria different situations prevail. In Jordan, Palestinian initiatives on behalf of the Palestinian people have been forbidden since the Jordanian massacres of September 1970. In Syria, Palestinian children have the right to attend Syrian Government schools.

For these reasons, development of the kindergarten programme is at present taking place in Lebanon only, but will later extend to other areas.

One kindergarten, in Burj al-Bajneh camp, has already adopted a pioneering role in that, in addition to the 92 children it teaches in four classes, it is running a special class for mentally retarded children. This kindergarten, which is well-equipped with educational toys, and is brightly and freshly painted, also has an underground shelter, and a playground on top of the building in which the school is housed. Later, it is planned to expand the facilities by adding a library, and lecture rooms to be



«Zahrat»



«Ashbal»

used for literacy classes. It is also hoped to find a site suitable for a playground for all the children of the camp area. This kindergarten will be used as a training centre for teachers taking the kindergarten training course, given by the PLO Planning Centre.

Despite the lack of financial support for kindergartens, which is at present an obstacle to increasing their number, the Revolution has been able, in co-ordination with the Palestine Red Crescent Society, to provide some nutrition and health supervision for the children. This is of particular importance in view of the difficult and poor circumstances in which these children and their families live.

Because of the particular problems arising from camp life, the responsibility of kindergarten teachers is considered as extending beyond the scope of the school itself to encompass establishing a close relationship with the child-

ren's mothers and the family in general. In this way it is hoped to extend the benefits obtained by increasing the child's awareness to the entire family. Social health training takes place within organised groups of mothers using the « dialogue » method which encourages the asking of questions and the stating of opinions. It must be said, however, that such training alone cannot dramatically improve the care of Palestinian children in the camps, for by far the most difficult and permanent problems stem from poverty and the nature of camp life itself. To overcome the wretched housing and health conditions which exist in many areas requires both the collective work of the camp inhabitants and the assistance of the PLO.

The location of the kindergartens within the refugee camps not only enables the mothers easily to take their children there, but also encourages mothers to visit the

kindergartens and to participate in their responsibilities and activities.

The General Union of Palestinian Women is attempting to make use of its already established centres in the camps, turning them into kindergartens in the mornings. A number of clubs are also doing double-duty as kindergartens. These impromptu kindergartens still lack the most modern equipment. It is hoped eventually not only to improve the existing kindergartens, but also to establish more. None of the kindergartens will be large, however, and for a good reason: in the case of Israeli raids, the children can be given immediate shelter.

The Revolution is increasing its efforts to build additional kindergartens because of the importance of providing one form of national and democratic education. This will enable the new generation of the Revolution to construct a humane society devoid of political and economic oppression, in which all individuals are equal in terms of opportunities, rights and duties, regardless of race, colour or creed. This progressive society will fight imperialism, and assist and respond to national liberation movements throughout the world, supporting their struggle for liberation, self-determination, justice and equality.

Education of the masses is an essential step to liberation. The Vietnamese experience proves its success, and the words of Comrade Le Thuan confirm it: « It is only through organization of the masses in one way or another that one can create the proper atmosphere for educating the masses and for building up that fantastic power supporting the revolution. For as soon as the masses are organized, the power of the revolution increases a hundred-fold. It is for the sake of the liberation struggle that we organize and educate the masses, and it is through the struggle that the masses get organized and educated, and that augments the power of the revolution. Therefore, propaganda, organization and struggle should continue side by side towards one common goal: the formation of a political army of the masses. »

International Children's Day

« Because I believe in
The dispersed and oppressed people,
I took up arms,
So coming generations might hold the sickle. »

(From a Palestinian song)

A few years ago, an American journalist was visiting the Gaza Strip, where thousands of Palestinians from other parts of Palestine took refuge in 1948 following the Zionist military occupation of their homeland. The journalist stood listening to Palestinian children singing « A'idoon » (Returning), in front of the Palestinian flag. He learnt that this national song was written after the 1948 occupation, and expresses the Palestinian's desire to return to his homeland, a place where « there will be no boundaries ». When the words of the song were translated for him, the journalist expressed great astonishment, for in his eyes the children singing it, who were born in the refugee camps of the Gaza Strip, already had a home.

« So, where do they want to return to and why? » he asked. Later the journalist insisted on speaking to the children to ask

them this question.

One of the youngsters tried to give him an answer. « Tell him we want to go back so as to... » The child was unable to continue. His voice shook with emotion, but again he tried to answer the question. « Tell the American that we want to return because it's our country. » This time the child burst into tears.

This small incident illustrates the intensity of the Palestinian's feeling for his beloved country. These children in Gaza had never seen their home villages, yet they knew everything about them and loved them. Like all the children exiled with their parents in 1948, or born outside Palestine, these children had heard many stories about their country and knew all the details of their homes, the look of their land, the smell of the oranges which grew in their orange groves. The children of

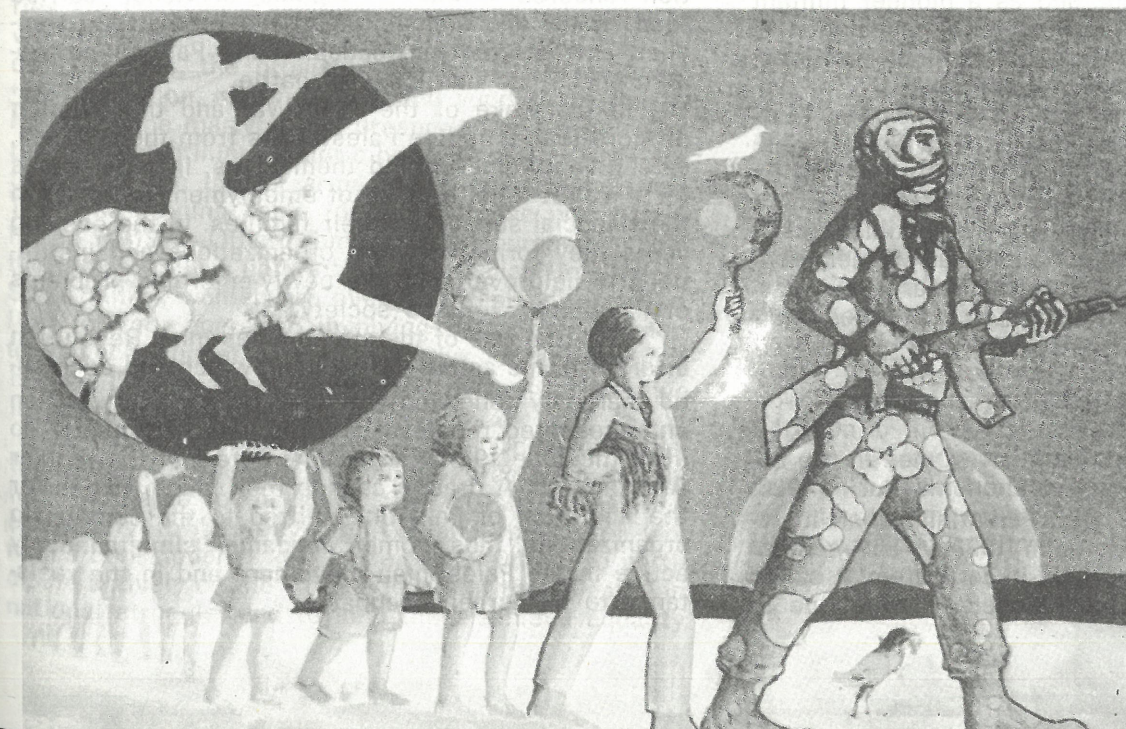
Palestine learn of their homeland in daily stories told to them by the grown-ups, who speak as if trying to explain to their children why to be Palestinian means to lead a bitter and difficult life, and who try to create in the imagination of the child a clear picture of that country which is so different from the refugee camps.

« When are we going back? » was the daily question, the dream treasured by these children who were exiled from their land in 1948, and became the fedayeen of 1965.

When thousands of Palestinian children were once again forced into exile with their parents in 1967, crossing the Jordan River, more refugee camps sprang up. The destiny of these children, now exiled, was to become « Ashbal » (Cubs), training to become the fedayeen of the future, fighting to regain their usurped land.

Our children, therefore, have no other choice but to struggle to restore their homeland. No other way is open to those whose title of « refugee » denies them the right to the innocent pleasures of childhood.

That is why on International Children's Day we think of our children and all children everywhere. The promise we make to our children is to build for them a better future, and to fight for them against all the forces which threaten their innocent childhood and safety.



THE STRUGGLE OF PALESTINIAN WOMEN

*Mother of the martyr, rejoice ;
all the young fighters are your sons.
Sister of the martyr, rebel ;
death is better than a life of humiliation.*

(From a revolutionary, popular Palestinian song)

March 8 marks International Women's Day. The celebration of this day has been linked, from the very beginning to women's struggle for equality in all aspects of life, and dedicated to those women participating in the anti-imperialist struggle all over the world. Thousands of women play a role in the international fight for peace and national and social liberation. They stand against all forms of exploitation, racism, fascism, repression and colonialism.

The Palestinian woman is in the forefront of this struggle. Since the early years of the Palestinian social unrest, she has actively participated in the struggle for national liberation. Like Fatima Khalil Ghazal. Although an exceptional woman, Fatima is by no means an exception. She is only one of many Palestinian women to participate actively in the struggle for the national liberation of her people. Martyred on July 26, 1936 during the battle of Azzoun between the British occupiers and Palestinian patriots, Fatima can be regarded as a pioneer militant who early understood that women's emancipation is not isolated from the struggle for national liberation.

This belief — presently maintained by the Palestinian Revolution — is proved daily by the thousands of new Fatimas who take part in the struggle within and outside the occupied territories, and by the thousand others who have helped, throughout the years, to write the history of Palestinian resistance. Through the struggle, Palestinian women have been able to tear down many of the barriers of traditionalism and conservatism that obstructed their progress towards total emancipation.

Historical Survey

The involvement of Palestinian women in the national struggle is not a recent phenomenon. In 1920, they stood side by side with Palestinian men in resisting the British Mandate. In 1929, a 300-member Women's Conference was held in Jerusalem. It called upon the British High Commissioner in Palestine to



Pioneer militant Fatima Khalil Ghazal (with white scarf) in the Battle of Azzoun, 1936

repeal the Balfour Declaration and terminate Zionist immigration. The Conference also gave birth to the Palestine Arab Women's Union.

During the six-month rebellion and strike of 1936, Palestinian women demonstrated *en masse* against British forces, and smuggled guns and ammunition to the Palestinian guerrilla forces.

Shortly before the 1948 War, Palestinian women in Jaffa formed an organization named « Zahrat el-Uqhuwan », The Daisy. The women of this organization rendered invaluable medical services, carried food, water and ammunition to the rebels, dug trenches and erected barricades. Many Palestinian women performed heroically in battle.

In the wake of the 1948 War and the eviction of more than a million Palestinians from their homes, Palestinian women found themselves, in most cases for the first time, in need of employment to assist in the financial support of their families. In the ensuing years they formed several organizations and institutions to help overcome the newly-emerging problems of Palestinian refugee society.

With the rise of the armed Palestinian Revolution after 1965, the activity of women, which had decreased markedly following the 1948 War, underwent an unprecedented renaissance. This was particularly so after the June 1967 War and the defeat of the regular Arab armies. A drastic change took place. Hopes for the liberation of Palestine shifted to the commando organizations, thus women became simultaneously active in the Palestinian movement and in the resistance to the Israeli occupation.

THE STRUGGLE OF PALESTINIAN WOMEN SINCE 1967

The Occupied Territories

In 1967 Palestinian women spontaneously formed groups to distribute food and clothing to the needy in the occupied territories without the permission of the occupation authorities. As early as August 1967, they demonstrated in Gaza to protest Israeli atrocities against the Palestinian population.

By 1968, large numbers of Palestinian women had joined the ranks of the resistance and were taking active part in the armed struggle. They were involved in military activity, carried guns and threw bombs. Several arrests were made on these grounds. In April 1968, 300 Palestinian women demonstrated in Jerusalem to protest against the Israeli military parade to be held in the Holy City. Some of the demonstrators were wounded and others arrested by the occupation authorities. At the same time, five women demonstrators were killed in Beit Hannoun, and many others were arrested in Hebron and Bethlehem, accused of collecting money for the resistance and distributing anti-Israeli leaflets.

In January 1969, large numbers of Palestinian women staged a sit-in strike in front of Israeli prisons and detention centers demanding the release of their imprisoned husbands, brothers and sons. In response, the occupation authorities fired on them, killing and wounding many. On October 3, 1973, some 900 Palestinian women — all relatives of Palestinian prisoners held in Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarem, Beir Saba and Askalan — staged a sit-in at Nablus town hall.

At present, Palestinian women of all ages are participating *en masse* in the huge demonstrations taking place in the occupied West Bank of Palestine, against the occupiers' plots to perpetuate their presence in Palestine, and in support of the PLO.

The Role of Women Outside the Occupied Territories

Palestinian women outside the occupied territories are involved in political, social and military activity. Their tasks include the creation of popular social organizations, the provision of material support for the Revolution, nursing, providing support for the families of the martyrs, and preserving and developing the rich Palestinian folkloric heritage. Young girls are trained in the use of arms and combat techniques. The first training camp for this purpose was established in 1968. Other women are encouraged to join the female militia units of the Palestinian Revolution. Some militia women are over fifty years of age. The first military operation involving Palestinian women took place August 6, 1970 near the Jordanian-Israeli border. In a three-hour battle two women of the five involved were wounded.

On the social level, the General Union of Palestinian Women, founded in 1965, is an active organization. Affiliated to the PLO, the GUPW contributes effectively to the development and raising of women's consciousness, to better enable them to participate actively on the various levels of the Palestinian national struggle, and to help them achieve equality

in all areas of social and economic life, through different projects. They include a varied type of activities, such as seminars, economic enterprises, fairs, folklore, educational and informational activities, and military activities, which are specially emphasized.

Palestinian women have also been active in other Palestinian unions, including the General Unions of Teachers, Writers, Journalists, Artists, Workers and Students. They have played leading roles in the Palestinian Red Crescent Society and in the Social Affairs Association for the Welfare of the Families of Palestinian Martyrs.

At international level, the Palestinian woman has participated in several international conferences, such as the UN International Conference in Mexico, the most important event during the International Women's Year in 1975. At this conference, the Palestinian woman scored her first international victory when a resolution was passed recognizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and Zionism as a form of racial discrimination.

At Arab level, the Palestinian woman has extensively contributed with vanguard ideas to the improvement of women's conditions. In Lebanon, they collaborate with the women's popular committees, and have helped them in conducting a literacy campaign in the country.

Throughout the Lebanese war, the Palestinian woman has contributed in different fields to the fight against the fascist forces. First aid, nursing the wounded, assisting the fighters and defending with weapons the Palestinian areas under attack, are some of the activities they have been conducting during this year-long drive aimed at suppressing the progressive Lebanese forces and smashing the Palestinian resistance.

With this background of confrontation, the Palestinian woman has believed it necessary to commemorate International Women's Day in the Palestinian camps. Thus, during one week, a day was dedicated to the women of each camp, where a branch of the GUPW can be found. Women had the opportunity to participate in an extensive program of activities including talks on the meaning of Women's Day, the popular war and the role women can play in it, and the role Palestinian women have played since the beginning of the struggle against Zionism and colonialism, the present participation of women in the uprisings in occupied Palestine, women's participation in the Lebanese war and other topics of concern. An exhibition of Palestinian children's paintings was also part of the program. Songs and folkloric dances from the old days of the fight, and from nowadays were spontaneously sung and danced by old and young women fighters who had participated, or are now contributing to the struggle for the national liberation of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian woman, who has awakened through her contributions and participation in the Palestinian Revolution has pledged, on International Women's Day, to continue struggling until total liberation.

COMRADE ARAFAT'S ADDRESS ON AL-KARAMEH DAY



On the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the Battle of al-Karameh on 21 March, 1976, Yasser Arafat broadcast a statement on «Voice of Palestine» radio to Palestinian fighters and masses both inside and outside occupied Palestine.

In his address, Comrade Arafat said that the Palestinian Revolution «transformed our masses from mere numbers in the records of UNRWA to freedom-fighters, heroes, commandoes with determination and will in their eyes, and pride in their spirits — the pride of our Arab Nation...

«We have achieved this in spite of the consecutive conspiracies from all sides, local and international, aimed at weakening or containing our Revolution, because it forms the corner-stone in the struggle of the Arab Nation against Zionism and imperialism led by the US, which want to place this region under their authority and domination. Hence, we can understand why Israel was established, since it is the bridgehead of these imperialist ambitions and monopolies.

«Thus, the war we are waging against the enemy is not spontaneous, but a strategic struggle against imperialist control.

«What is taking place in Lebanon is part of a plot which Ben-Gurion talked about, and which is aimed at establishing small states in the region. We

say that through the glorious unity between the Palestinian revolutionary forces and the Lebanese nationalist forces, we have performed a miracle, created a legend, and have defeated the conspiracy for the moment.

«This does not mean that the conspiracy has ended. We must be on the alert against this conspiracy planned by the CIA and Zionism, because they want to partition Lebanon and make of it a new Cyprus. But the blood and efforts of our brave heroes have repelled this conspiracy and will repel all others.

«It is no coincidence that the conspiracy against the Revolution is accompanied by another aimed at distorting the will of our people in occupied Palestine. But our defenceless masses in the interior daily defy and confront the enemy's tanks with full confidence and conviction...

«There is no better proof of this than what the occupied land is witnessing today, which has forced the enemy to use its Army and Air Force to attempt to suppress the uprising on more than one occasion. And beside this uprising, there is a continuous military escalation by the Revolution, in quantity and quality...

«Amidst all this came Jordan's attempt, about which I will not talk for long, because no protectorate will ever be

imposed on our people... for our people own the gun which has made many victories, and as long as we hold the gun, no one can impose a protectorate on us, except from within our masses... When they say that they want to impose a protectorate on our people, we answer that any people who accept that do not deserve to live...

«I ask all my brethren and Palestinian masses to give more on the path of Revolution. Everyone has his role and responsibilities, starting with Capucci and Abu Tayr, passing by the Palestinian revolutionary in Jerusalem, Nablus, Gaza, the Jordan River Valley, Galilee, and ending with the Lebanese militant.»

PALESTINIAN WORKERS ON DAY OF AL-KARAMEH

On the 8th anniversary of the Battle of al-Karameh, the General Union of Palestinian workers — Lebanon Branch — issued a communiqué on 21 March, 1976. Following are some extracts of the communiqué:

«...This occasion comes while our people in occupied Palestine are fighting the enemy on every inch of the homeland through their great uprising which expresses their attachment to their land and their belief in their vanguard Revolution. It also comes while our people in Lebanon, together with the progressive and nationalist forces are fighting the fascist isolationists, in order to repel the vicious attack against the Palestinian Revolution and the nationalist movement.»

«...In the wake of events in the Arab theatre and in the occupied homeland, we are driven to serious and faithful work in order to help our people in occupied Palestine make the «al-Ard Day» (the Day of the Land) on 30 March, a day for the unity of fighting arms and militias



UNITY ON DAY OF THE LAND
ARAFAT, HABASH AND KHATIB
at a mass rally in Beirut, 30 March 1976

for a clear political line around a militant program, to stress that all capitulationist Zionist and imperialist settlements, all attempts at imposing a protectorate, subjugating or containing the Revolution, are totally rejected by the masses. For history never goes backwards, and the blood shed in the battle of al-Karameh in 1968 will give birth to buds and branches on the course of Revolution until victory and liberation.»

COMRADE ARAFAT CONGRATULATES BREZHNEV

On the occasion of comrade Leonid Brezhnev's re-election as Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Comrade Yasser Arafat sent him a cable on 3 March, 1976, congratulating him for his re-election.

In his cable, comrade Arafat said that «the Soviet support of our Palestinian people has helped us to achieve great victories» and that the «continuity of such friendship will be a helpful factor in achieving victory over Zionism and imperialism, and in winning national independence and self-determination.»

Comrade Arafat added: «We have full confidence that you will continue your firm line in supporting the struggle of the

peoples against imperialism, Zionism, reaction and aggression until the achievement of a just peace.»

P.L.O. OFFICE IN JAPAN

The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party each sent official invitations to Comrade Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Section, to open a PLO office in Tokyo, Japan. The invitations also proposed discussion on the Palestine Question and the possibilities of future co-ordination between the Palestinian and the Japanese peoples.

Furthermore, a delegation of the Union of Japanese Writers and Journalists, at a meeting with comrade Yasser Arafat, on 25 February, 1976, confirmed its support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to liberate their homeland and regain their national legitimate rights. The delegation also visited the PLO information offices and exchanged views on the best means of co-operation in the field of information in order to serve the joint struggle against imperialism and international racism.

P.L.O. OFFICE IN WARSAW

A protocol regarding the establishment of PLO permanent

representation in the People's Republic of Poland was signed on 9 March, 1976, during comrade Abu Lutf's visit to Poland.

During his visit, comrade Abu Lutf held a series of meetings with the Polish Labour Party's Foreign Relations Committee, with the Polish Foreign Minister and the Presidential Body of the Polish Parliamentary Committee for National Unity. These discussions took place in an atmosphere of deep understanding and stressed the comradely militant ties between the Polish and the Palestinian peoples. The Polish side reiterated its support for the Palestinian Revolution and the Palestinian people's just struggle.

U.N. FOLLOW-UP COMMITTEE

The meeting of the Special Committee to Follow-up the Implementation of UN General Assembly resolutions concerning the Palestine Question started its official meetings on 27 February, 1976. This Committee of 20 states was formed last year after the adoption of the resolution of December 1974, which included a confirmation of the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and return to their homeland.

At its first meeting the Committee elected Senegal as Chairman, Cuba and Afghanistan as Vice-Chairman and Malta as Rapporteur. It also decided to address an invitation to the PLO to sit permanently in all sessions, and requested the Secretary-General to prepare a file on the Question of Palestine since 1947. In addition, it decided to ask the Secretary-General to invite all states directly concerned and five permanent members of the Security Council to participate in the Committee's work.

This Committee will study all positive steps to ensure the implementation of UN resolutions on Palestine.



Deir Yassin: A peaceful Arab village...

...whose inhabitants were slaughtered by the Israeli terrorists

HISTORY

THE DEIR YASSIN MASSACRE

Why did so many Palestinian Arabs leave their homes in 1948 ? Zionist propaganda has always had a ready answer to this important question : they left either « because their leaders told them to », or because they expected the Arab armies to bring them back to their homes in triumph after the British Mandate ended on 15 May, 1948.

That these facile and mendacious explanations of the terrified flight of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes have been accepted without question by so many, and for so long, can be attributed to many factors, not least of which has been the preponderant influence of the Zionist lobby on the media in the West for over two decades after the creation of Israel.

At base, however, the currency of such a view of the central event in the modern tragedy of the Palestinian people can only be explained by widespread public ignorance of the circumstances which prevailed in Palestine before and during the Palestinian exodus, and of the event

which, more than any other, triggered off that exodus : the Deir Yassin massacre.

The general situation in the spring of 1948 can quickly be described. The Zionists, who constituted about one third of the population of Palestine, were concentrated along the coastal strip from Tel Aviv to Haifa, as well as in eastern Galilee and in Jerusalem. Dividing each of these areas from one another were large areas of land occupied and controlled by the Palestinians, who were sure to resist fiercely any Zionist attempt to link up these areas, or to take the extensive all-Arab areas allotted to the Jewish state by the U.N. Partition Plan of November 1947.

The Zionists, however, were undaunted by these problems. They were aware that the Palestinians had suffered massive losses in men and arms in the revolt of 1936-1939, that their leadership was weak and divided and many of its members still in exile. Moreover, in contrast to the poorly organized and badly armed Palestinian irregular forces, they had growing well-

trained armed forces under a unified military leadership, and were constantly receiving shipments of arms from their network of agents in the U.S. and Europe.

Finally, the Zionists seem to have realized from very early on that the only way to create a state « as Jewish as England is English » (in the words of Chaim Weizmann, the first President of this state) in an Arab land was to rid themselves of its Arab inhabitants. As a senior Jewish official of the British Mandatory Government said in December 1947 regarding the difficulties to be faced by a Jewish state created along the lines of the partition plan, and whose population would be almost 50% Arab, « Oh no ! That will be fixed. A few calculated massacres will soon get rid of them. » (1)

The first of these massacres took place on the night of 9-10 April in the small village of Deir Yassin, in the hills west of Jerusalem. The surrounding Arab villages, particularly those along the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road, had been the scene of bitter fighting since 1 April, when the Zionists began a series of clearing operations to open the road.

In the most famous of this series of see-saw battles, the Palestinian forces in the Jerusalem area under the command of Abdel Qader al-Husseini held off Zionist attacks on the strategic village of Qastal for eight days, until Abdel Qader died in battle on 8 April. (See *Palestine*, Vol. 2, No. 8, January 1976, pp. 40-41).

It was in these circumstances that the Irgun and the Stern gang, the two most fanatic Zionist military organizations, launched their attack on Deir Yassin, which by the admission of the Zionists themselves was one of the « few peaceable Arab villages around Jerusalem » (2) and had never had bad relations with the Jews of the area.

The aim of the attack was simple : it involved both breaking the morale of the Arab villagers whose stubborn resistance to the attacks of the Zionists had kept the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road closed, and in a wider context was intended to be the first of the indispensable series of « calculated massacres » without which Palestine could not be emptied of its Arab population, and a Zionist Jewish state created.

What happened in Deir Yassin has often been excused by official Zionist apologists on the grounds that the Irgun was simply an uncontrolled terrorist group not subject to the orders of the Jewish Agency or its military wing, the Haganah. In fact, by an agreement between the Haganah and other Zionist military organizations including the Irgun, the latter were obliged to submit their military plans to the Haganah. In the words of Menachem Begin head of the Irgun : « Deir Yassin was captured with the knowledge of the Haganah and with the approval of its commander. » (3)

As with most atrocities, descriptions of the Deir Yassin massacre have a somewhat unreal, nightmarish quality. When the attack began,

most of the men of the village were away at work. The approximately 200 attackers of the Irgun and Stern Group first launched house-to-house assaults, throwing hand grenades into the houses as they went. After thus overcoming the « resistance » of the small village, the attackers rounded up the survivors, most of them women and children, in the village square.

There followed an orgy of looting, rape and murder, whose details recall nothing so much as the treatment of Jewish concentration camp prisoners by their S.S. guards. The surviving women and girls were stripped of their clothes, loaded into trucks, and paraded through the Jewish sector of Jerusalem.

The Haganah units in the area thereupon sealed off Deir Yassin, and attempted to cover up the traces of the massacre, throwing bodies into the village wells and burning others. Nevertheless, two days later, a representative of the International Red Cross, Jacques de Reynier, managed to visit the village, and discovered the corpses of 254 men, women and children. (4)

The effect of the Deir Yassin massacre, combined with the death of Abdel Qader al-Husseini and the fall of Qastal on 8 April, was to seriously undermine Palestinian resistance in the Jerusalem area. But the effects of the massacre were felt even further afield, as had been intended by its perpetrators. This « calculated massacre » was a major factor in causing the Palestinian Arabs to flee before the advancing Zionist forces in the weeks which followed. Where they needed further encouragement, further massacres were carried out. The result was the collapse of Palestinian resistance in Haifa, Acre, Tiberias, Safad, Beisan and Jaffa, and the precipitate flight of their populations. Once the same pattern was repeated in Galilee in the North and the Naqab in the South, the Zionists had succeeded in emptying most of Palestine of its Arab population. **On this basis of terror and intimidation, the « State of Israel » was created.**

It is now 28 years since the massacre of Deir Yassin. Inside and outside occupied Palestine, Zionist terror against the Palestinian people continues. But both under occupation and in their camps, the Palestinian people have now taken the measure of their enemy. They now have a leadership and a level of militant organization which enable them to stand firm and to fight back. And now it is discouraged Zionists rather than Palestinian refugees who are leaving Palestine.

1) Glubb, Sir John B., *A Soldier with the Arabs*, (London, 1957), p. 99.

2) Levin, Harry, *Jerusalem Embattled*, (London, 1950), p. 57.

3) Begin, Menachem, *The Revolt*, (New York, 1951), p. 163.

4) De Reynier, Jacques, *A Jerusalem un drapeau flottait sur la ligne de feu*, (Neuchâtel, 1950), pp. 69-70.

ZIONIST DIPLOMACY BEFORE THE BRITISH MANDATE



Herzl

By FARIS GLUBB

The founder of the political Zionist movement Theodor Herzl, in his book « The Jewish State », wrote : « The governments of all countries scourged by anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want » (1).

He added that the Zionist movement would «put itself under the protectorate of the European powers.» These two principles were to form the pillars of Zionist diplomacy over the ensuing years. Indeed, the Zionist movement has adhered with outstanding consistency to the methods advocated by its founder.

Even before establishing his movement at the First Zionist Congress in 1879, Herzl had already begun putting his ideas on diplomacy into practice. In 1896 he sought support for his ideas from the Austrian Prime Minister Count Felix Badeni, who was known for his dislike not only of the Jews, but also of any ideas that were even slightly progressive. Badeni considered Herzl important, and agreed with his view that the Jews should be encouraged to emigrate from Europe. Herzl also encouraged Badeni to confirm the election of the anti-Semite Lueger as Mayor of Vienna, in the hope that this might stimulate the emigration of Viennese Jews.

Herzl's hope was that the growth of anti-Semitism would drive the Jews out of Europe into Palestine, to provide the manpower for the Zionist state he envisaged. He referred to anti-Semitism as a «propelling force», and also proclaimed: «Anti-Semitism has grown and continues to grow, and so do I.»(2)

In 1898, Herzl sought the help of members of the German aristocracy to obtain an audience with the Kaiser, who he hoped would persuade the Ottoman Sultan to allow Jewish settlement in Palestine, which was then part of the Ottoman Empire. Herzl met the German sovereign in Constantinople, where he stopped on his way to Jerusalem on pilgrimage.

The Kaiser made «some nasty remarks about Jewish usurers of Hesse, Germany, whom he would have loved to see quit Germany and go to Palestine.»(3) But despite this expression of emotional sympathy with the central aim of Zionism, the Kaiser did not give it any practical support. Doubt-

less this was because he did not want to harm relations with the Ottoman Sultan, who would have regarded any intervention in Palestine's affairs as an infringement of his sovereignty. Herzl also enlisted the aid of the Polish anti-Semite Philip de Nevlinisky in a vain effort to secure an audience with the Sultan himself.

Herzl placed particularly high hopes in Czarist Russia, whose savage pogroms had forced large numbers of Jews to seek asylum in Palestine and other countries. Although his dream of an audience with the Czar never came true, Herzl was received by the most notorious anti-Semite of his time, Wenzel von Plehve, the Czar's Interior Minister. Plehve was the organiser of many acts of persecution against the Jews, such as the Kishinev pogrom in which 45 Jews were killed. «He was brutal enough to admit that he had no objections to getting rid of as many Jews as possible; in fact, he would become a 'sympathetic' supporter of Zionism. Herzl then

proposed that Plehve should write him a letter that he would present before the Zionist Congress, to the effect that the Zionist movement could count on the Russian Government's 'moral and material assistance'. Plehve's letter became Herzl's most treasured asset. He carried it around everywhere; he showed it to the Pope. The murderer of his people had shaken hands with him, talked to him politely. Was that not wonderful? For Plehve, for the Kaiser, for the whole crowd of blackguards and reactionaries who ruled Europe, Herzl had a favourite promise: Zionism would dissolve all revolutionary and socialist elements among the Jews.»(4)

In 1903, the founder of the Zionist movement was received in St. Petersburg by another anti-Semitic leader, the Czar's Finance Minister Count Witte, who also favoured the Zionist plan to remove the Jews from Europe. Witte told Herzl: «If it were possible to drown six or seven million Jews in the Black Sea, I would be perfectly happy to do so, but it is not possible, so we must let them live. But we encourage the Jews to emigrate: we kick them out.»(5)

The most important foundations laid by Herzl for future Zionist successes were among anti-Semitic circles in Britain. A substantial number of Russian Jewish refugees from Czarist pogroms chose Britain rather than Palestine as their refuge. This was, of course, disappointing to the Zionists' hopes. But fortunately for Zionism, there were a number of extreme right-wing politicians in Britain who were only too willing to stir up a vicious campaign aimed at denying these unfortunate refugees the right of asylum.

Herzl gave his blessing and encouragement to these right wingers. In his evidence to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, which investigated the question in 1902 and 1903, Herzl called for the stream of migration to be diverted away from Britain. He thus agreed with the racist Arnold White, one of the leading theorists of the campaign to ban Jews entering Britain.(6)

Another leader of this campaign was Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, with whom Herzl also made friendly contact. In De-

cember 1904, Chamberlain gave a speech in Limehouse, London, attacking the policy of allowing Jewish immigration to Britain. At the same time, he endorsed the Zionist idea of a Jewish state and warmly praised Herzl.(7)

BALFOUR'S ANTI-SEMITISM

The most important British anti-Semite of that age, in terms of his eventual services to Zionism, was the fanatical Jew-baiter Lord Arthur Balfour. In a parliamentary debate on the immigration issue, Balfour made a speech in which he put forward a case for anti-Semitism that is all too familiar. He declared: «It would not be to the advantage of the civilisation of the country that there should be an immense body of persons who, by their own action, remained a people apart, and not merely held a religion differing from the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen, but only intermarried among themselves.»(8)

The fruits of Herzl's diplomacy did not ripen during his lifetime, although Balfour was later to play a crucial part in furthering Zionism. Indeed, at the time of Herzl's death in July 1904, he appeared to have failed. Finding the door to Palestine closed at that time by Ottoman sovereignty, Herzl considered other sites for his Zionist state, including Sinai, Libya, Cyprus and even Uganda and Argentina. All these alternatives came to nothing, either because he could not find an imperial power to back them or because his followers were not sufficiently enthusiastic about them and insisted on colonising Palestine. In this sense, the followers appear to have made a more astute assessment of political realities than their master. They appear to have sensed that the imperial powers were more likely to support a Zionist state as a base for their interests in Palestine, the crossroads of Africa, Asia and Europe, than in any of the alternative territories proposed, whose strategic location was considered less attractive. They were certainly aware that Palestine, with its religious associations, was the most effective focal point for an emotional campaign to persuade Jews to endorse Zionism.

The First World War proved a turning-point in the fortunes of Zionism, as the Western allies planned the division of the Ottoman Empire, which was fighting on the side of Germany. The Zionists followed a policy of betting on both sides during the first two years of the war. The headquarters of the World Zionist Organisation was then still located in Berlin, and its leaders there continued their efforts to form an alliance with Germany. At the same time Chaim Weizmann, then President of the British Zionist Federation, was making parallel efforts for an alliance with Britain.

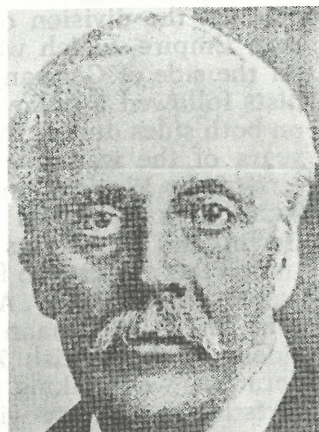
SUPPORT OF REACTIONARIES

Weizmann conducted an astute and energetic campaign in Britain. He concentrated on canvassing the support of reactionary politicians like Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil and the Prime Minister Lloyd George. Although publicly he often spoke in altruistic or biblical terms, Weizmann generally used the most opportunist arguments with these politicians, whose motivations he understood accurately.

Thus, as Weizmann himself admitted: «We had long pointed out to the British, and I repeated it again in my interview with Lord Robert Cecil, that a Jewish Palestine would be a safeguard to England, in particular in respect to the Suez Canal.»(9) Lloyd George was convinced by similar arguments. According to another British statesman, Lloyd George «does not care a damn for the Jews or their past or their future», but was eager to keep the French out of Palestine.(10)

The infamous Balfour Declaration, in which the British Government favoured «the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people», was the outcome of Weizmann's persuasive arguments. The spirit of this document, which was issued out of pure political expediency, still dominates British Government policy on the Middle East. It has caused immeasurable damage to the British people's true interests, which require a relationship of co-operation based on equality with the Arab nation.

The Balfour Declaration (issued



Balfour

on 2 November, 1917) took no account of the Palestinian people's right to determine the future of their own country, a matter which was totally outside the competence of the British Government to decide. Furthermore, it was a violation of an earlier pledge by the British Government to Sharif Hussein, the leader of an Arab revolt allied to Britain against Ottoman Turkey. In return for Arab help to defeat the German-Ottoman alliance, Britain pledged to recognise and support Arab independence in a large area of the Arab East, which included Palestine.(11)

It is interesting that the strongest opposition to the Balfour Declaration within the British Government came from its only Jewish member, Sir Edwin Montagu, who clearly recognised the anti-Semitic motivations behind the policy of Balfour and Lloyd George. Montagu wrote: «I assert that there is not a Jewish nation. When the Jews are told that Palestine is their national home, every country will immediately desire to get rid of its Jewish citizens, and you will find a population in Palestine driving out its present inhabitants, taking all the best in the country.»(12)

Montagu's predictions were all too accurate. The years following the Balfour Declaration witnessed the rise of virulent anti-Semitism in Europe, culminating in Hitler's holocaust. This in turn was followed by the dispossession of the Palestinian people.

UNDERMINING SELF-DETERMINATION

The First World War resulted in the British military occupation of Palestine. The next task the Zionist movement set itself was to secure the endorsement of the other imperial powers for the arrangement embodied in the Balfour Declaration. This was not altogether easy, since it involved a violation of the principle of self-determination contained in US President W. Wilson's Fourteen Points, which were the theoretical guidelines for the Versailles Peace Conference and the establishment of the League of Nations.

The year 1919 saw considerable political manoeuvring by the British Government and the Zionist movement over the future of Palestine, particularly at the Versailles Peace Conference. Woodrow Wilson attempted to ascertain the wishes of Palestine's inhabitants, and proposed a joint US, British and French fact-finding commission. The French and British Governments refused to co-operate, so Wilson sent a commission composed of two members of the US Peace Delegation and the Peace Conference Mandates Commission, Dr. Henry King and Mr. Charles Crane.

In their report on their mission, King and Crane admitted that they had started off predisposed in favour of Zionism, but added: «This fact came out repeatedly in the Commission's conference with Jewish representatives, that the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine.» Recalling Wilson's principle that the settlement of any question must be based on the free acceptance of the people concerned, the report stated: «If that principle is to rule, and so the wishes of Palestine's population are to be decisive as to what is to be done with Palestine, then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine — nearly nine-tenths of the whole — are emphatically against the entire Zionist programme. To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the prin-

ciple just quoted, and of the people's rights.» The Commission also noted strong Palestinian opposition to British rule.(13)

Nevertheless, the powers meeting at the San Remo Conference in May 1920 granted the mandate over Palestine to the British Government, contrary to the wishes of the country's people. This was a violation of Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant which stated, with regard to communities formerly under Ottoman rule, that «the wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory», and that «the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization.»

The appointment of Britain as the mandatory power over Palestine was the culmination of over 20 years of Zionist diplomacy which, together with British intrigues, succeeded in undermining the principle of self-determination. The result was a problem which still plagues mankind and endangers world peace more than half a century later.

- 1) Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (New York, 1946), p. 92.
- 2) Theodor Herzl, *Diaries* (Marvin Lowenthal's translation, New York, 1956), p. 7.
- 3) Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* (Institute for Palestine Studies reprint, Beirut, 1969), p. 45.
- 4) *Ibid*, pp. 46-47.
- 5) Quoted by Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe*, Vol. III (London, 1974), p. 151.
- 6) *Report of Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, 1902-1903* (Cmd. 1741 and 1742).
- 7) *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 December 1904.
- 8) *Hansard*, 10 July 1905, Vol. 149, Col. 154-155.
- 9) Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (New York, 1949), p. 243.
- 10) *Earl Asquith's Diary*, entry of 28 January 1915.
- 11) Letter from Sir Henry McMahon to Sharif Hussein, 24 October 1915.
- 12) *Memorandum on the Anti-Semitism of the Present Government*, 23 August 1917.
- 13) Harry N. Howard, *The King-Crane Commission* (Beirut, 1963), pp. 349-350.

O.A.U. CONDEMNS RACIST ZIONISM

The Ministerial Council of the OAU has strongly condemned the policy of racist aggression practised by the illegal Zionist occupier of the Arab lands.

On 1 March, the Council launched an appeal for recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and sovereignty on their soil.

The Council approved the report of the Political Committee which insisted on increasing the struggle for the liberation of the south of the African continent, and the aid granted to the Popular Republic of Angola, and declared itself in favour of the unity of the Comoro Islands.

AFRICAN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL SUPPORTS PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

The African Ecumenical Council which was attended by delegates from 31 states, closed its sessions on 28 February in Cairo. The council issued a communiqué in which it affirmed its complete support of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. The Council decided to give all the moral, material and political aid in its power to the Palestinian people and the African national liberation movements. In addition, the Council adopted resolutions concerning the strengthening of links between the African and Arab peoples.

WE STRUGGLE AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY

The joint declaration made by Janne Martin Cisse, permanent representative of the Republic of Guinea and Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and Mahmoud Riad, Secretary-General



of the Arab League, was issued in New York on 9 March. The declaration invites all UN member-states to give strict observance to the resolutions of the General Assembly which forbid diplomatic, economic and commercial relations with the racist regime of the South African Republic.

The Secretary-General of the Arab League stressed that the Arab countries concerned with stamping out apartheid in the African countries, would stand in solidarity with those countries in all international meetings. He noted that the Arab people, like the African peoples, are subjected to a policy of racism applied by the ruling Zionist circles in the occupied territories.

ZIONIST ENTITY PANICS

Yigal Allon, Zionist Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared on 2 March during a press conference in Mexico, that he regretted the decision taken by the Mexican Government to open a PLO information office. The Mexican Minister of Foreign

Affairs, Alfonso Garcia Lopez, had earlier that day announced his country's support for the Palestinian people in their struggle to recover their legitimate rights and their national land, and his country's decision to open the office mentioned. Allon ended his press conference by requesting the Mexican Government to annul its decision.

It is worth mentioning that the Zionist enemy has already asked the Italian Socialist Party to annul its decision to invite the PLO to the Party's festivities, and that its Ambassador to Japan communicated its «indignation» to the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs following the resolution of the Japanese Government to open a PLO office in Japan.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION CONDEMNS ZIONISM

The International Democratic Federation of Women on 21 March condemned the expansionist policy of the Zionist racists and the occupation of the Arab territories. The Federation also denounced the acts of terrorism and oppression to which the Palestinian people in the occupied territories are subjected. The Federation declared its solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people to recover their legitimate national rights.

JOINT VIETNAMEO-IRAQI COMMUNIQUE

A joint Vietnamo-Iraqi communiqué was issued on 5 March in Hanoi at the conclusion of a friendly visit made to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by an Iraqi Government delegation, led by Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saadun Hamadi.

The Vietnamese side expressed its unconditional support for the struggle of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people against imperialism and Zionism, and for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and the re-establishment of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS UNION SUPPORT PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

On the occasion of the closing of its sessions on 18 March, the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Writers' Union issued a communiqué in Baghdad, in which it reiterated its total support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their national rights and their land.

The communiqué went on to say that to support the Palestinian people and their revolution in the face of the plots against its struggle, was one of the fundamental duties of the writers of Asia and Africa.

Commenting on the UN resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism, the communiqué affirmed that this condemnation was not only a victory for the Palestinian people whose land was usurped by Zionism, but also a victory for peace in the world, as well as for justice and right.

PEACE AND SOLIDARITY GROUP EXPRESSES SUPPORT

A Follow-up Committee representing all Arab Peace and Solidarity Committees sent a cable to the Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, Yasser Arafat, on 18 March, 1976.

In its cable, the Committee saluted, and stressed the importance of the unity of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement against imperialism and Zionist plots, and called for further international support for the Palestinian struggle.

ENEMY NEWS



Discontent

The Arab daily, *al-Quds*, published in occupied Palestine, has printed statistics concerning new settlers in the Zionist entity. A recent survey showed that 18% of the settlers who have come to occupied Palestine over the last five years, regret their departure from their country of origin, and 30% are dissatisfied with their present lives, both from the social and economic points of view. In addition, 16% of the settlers have not wanted to learn Hebrew, and have preferred to retain their mother tongue expecting to be able to return to their previous homes.

Emigration

According to a *Jerusalem Post* report of 11 February, 1976, 33% of the 1974 and 1975 emigrants from « Israel » were born in kibbutzim in occupied Palestine; 50% of them were of European or American origin; 11% of African origin, and 6% of Asian origin. The Zionist daily added that 20% of the emigrants were in the 25-29 year age-group. The paper attributed increased emigration to the present spiritual crisis in the country, and lack of religious feeling among the young.

In a speech to the Knesset on 23 March, the Zionist Minister of Immigration himself admitted that there had been some 20,000 immigrants only in 1975, compared with 32,000 in 1974 and 55,000 in 1973.

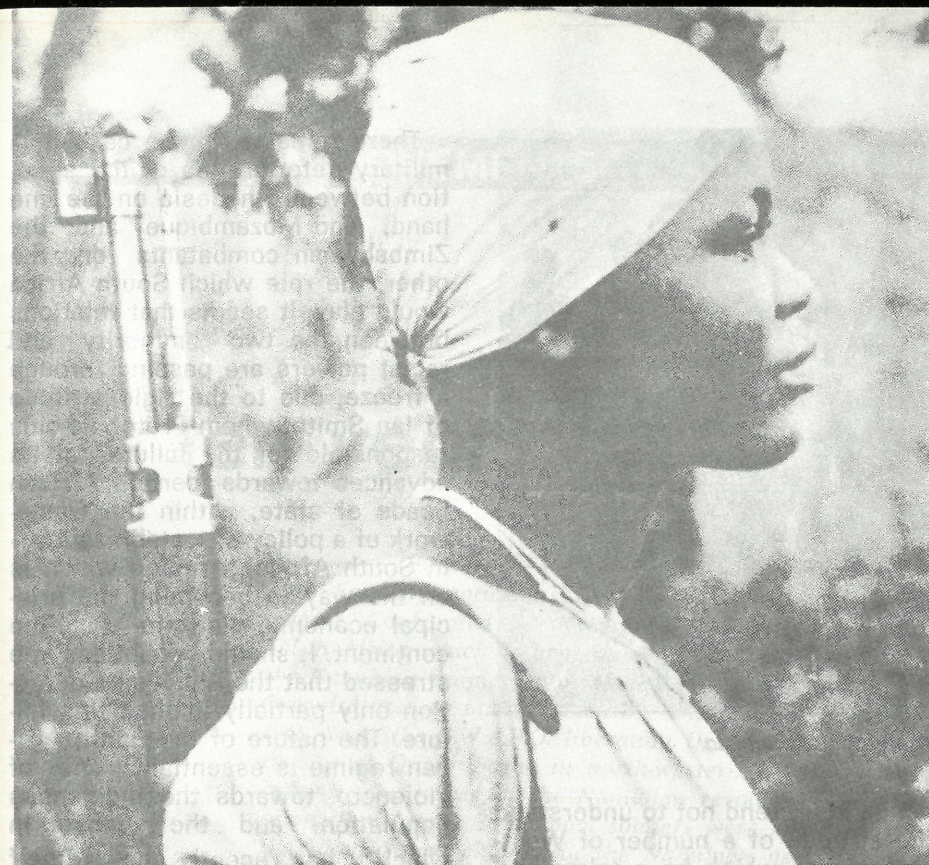
Projected Increase of Purchase Tax in Israel

Zionist economists are now stating that it has become necessary to increase the purchase tax (the value added tax — VAT) imposed on the Israeli consumer, who already pays the highest taxes in the world. The Zionist Government, which finds itself incapable of doing anything about inflation and which is in desperate need of cash for military expenditures, at the same time must limit the settlers' power of consumption in order to encourage exports. This would in turn raise the prices of goods for the consumer while narrowing the chronic deficit in the Zionist balance of trade.

Inflation in the Zionist entity (i.e. the disruption of balance between available cash and the lack of consumer goods in the local market) can only be stopped by raising taxes (and thus withdrawing money from the citizens' pockets) in an attempt to restore the balance between supply and demand.

Because the Zionist enemy find itself facing a continuous increase in military expenditures to finance wars, suppression of the Palestinian masses, and attacks on Palestinian targets in Lebanon, it is also imperative for it to devalue the Israeli pound in order to encourage exports and in turn create suitable opportunities for other currencies to buy its saleable goods.

Therefore, in facing the difficulties created by its unending war with the Palestinian Revolution and the Palestinian masses under occupation, the Zionist entity is forced to squeeze further the Zionist tax-payer and consumer so as to limit the sky-rocketing rate of inflation.



The determination of a people for liberation

Southern Africa : The Fire Spreads ...

ZIMBABWE

The victory of the MPLA in Angola is in itself a formal refutation of the proposals for a negotiated peace — which certain African partisans of dialogue with South Africa and Rhodesia were attempting with determination to put into action — between the nationalists, in particular those of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the worst and most extreme forces of coercion in South Africa. In this respect, the victory has acted as a detonator. And the liberation movements have emerged strengthened in the conviction that they are closer to attaining their legitimate aspirations by intensifying the armed struggle, rather than getting bogged down in negotiations which do not appear to offer any valid result. Strengthened by the outcome of the Angolan war and the new conditions resulting from the establishment of a progressive government in Mozambique, they have been offered the possibility of gradually freeing themselves from the too constraining tutelage of these same partisans of dialogue.

It is within this context that the accession of Mozambique to independence, under the aegis of FRELIMO, owes its strategic nature for the combatants of Zimbabwe. Already towards the end of Portuguese ultra-colonialism, FRELIMO was coordinating its struggle with these latter, bringing them its precious experience in guerrilla war-fare. Mozambique has just passed another stage, one which is determining for the future of Zimbabwe and indicative of the wind of liberation which is blowing over South Africa. The nationalists of the ANC (African National Congress) are from now on in possession of radical support and pose a more direct threat to Rhodesian fascism from a border which extends over some one thousand kilometres.

On Wednesday 3 March, President Samora Machel announced the decision of his government to close its border with Rhodesia, following the repeated territorial violations of Ian Smith's regular troops. It is worth noting that an official communiqué from the Rhodesian Government, issued at the beginning of March, mentioned the pursuit of black guerrillas inside Mozambique territory. These acts, in contravention to respect for national sovereignty, have this time been considered by Maputo (ex-Laurenço-Marquês and capital of the new Peoples' Republic of Mozambique) as a cause of war. Mozambique's decision should not be considered as a simple blow directed at Salisbury, but a real declaration of war, whatever the Rhodesian Defence Minister may have said, that very evening of 3 March, on radio and television: « President Machel has not declared war on Rhodesia and we have no intention of declaring war on him. » Mr. Van der Byle is doubtless measuring the whole importance of Mozambique's decision and the serious counterblow it will inflict on the Rhodesian economy, which is to a large extent dependent on the railways crossing the territory of Mozambique towards the Indian Ocean.

His assertions are apparently aimed at playing down the affair in the hope of reaching a compromise — or at least of avoiding the worst — and of calming the panic



The defenders of white supremacy in Rhodesia

which at once took hold of the white population who were still reeling from the shock of the deceptions experienced by the Portuguese fascists and other reactionaries in neighbouring Angola and Mozambique. Nevertheless, the very next day Mr. Van der Beyle was to adopt a more austere tone, and admit, in scarcely veiled terms, the catastrophic situation in which the Rhodesian regime finds itself, in particular due to the mobilization all along the Mozambique border, or to the infiltration of thousands of Zimbabwean combatants. This avowal only served to exacerbate the anxiety of the colonists, who see the approaching end of their supremacy, the end of the privilege of being white in Rhodesia. From this point they understand the instability of their power, knowing all too well that the Rhodesian army — which has only 4,000 regular troops, apart, of course, from the mercenaries recruited from among the sadly notorious ex-PIDE Portuguese troops, the Vietnam veterans... — is quite incapable of facing up to the « terrorists » who have infiltrated from Mozambique, even more so because these latter now reveal themselves to be in a position to carry the struggle into the very heart of urban centres.

In the face of this stranglehold, the Salisbury authorities call for defence of the interests of the Western world against commun-

ism, and pretend not to understand the attitude of a number of Western states which have taken up the cause of Mozambique. Great Britain is the first target, for it quickly seized the chance to « settle its accounts » with Ian Smith. It has not only approved the Mozambique sanctions, but has also proposed to contribute to the amortization of the loss of income which Mozambique will have to suffer. Several other countries have also set up a concerted plan aiming to give financial aid to Mozambique. For his part, UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim launched an appeal on 4 March, requesting the international bodies to take part in all actions aiming to minimize the negative effects which the closing of its borders will have on the economy of Mozambique.

Rhodesia is, therefore, far from being the most affected. Surrounded by African states which are this time determined to act in concert with Mozambique, nothing else remains than to beg the assistance of its « big neighbour », South Africa. But, with regard to what is at present Rhodesia's critical problem, that is to say the transport of goods, South Africa has few possibilities, as its ports are insufficient and it depends on transitting part of its own merchandise through Mozambique, a country which it would not in addition like to irritate too much — that goes without saying.

There remains, in the case of a military deterioration of the situation between Rhodesia on the one hand, and Mozambique and the Zimbabwean combatants on the other, the role which South Africa would play. It seems that relations between the two minority and racist powers are passing through a freeze, due to the rigid attitude of Ian Smith, whom Pretoria holds responsible for the failure of its advances towards certain African heads of state, within the framework of a policy of « stabilization » in South Africa, a region which is on the way to becoming the principal economic platform for the continent. It should doubtless be stressed that the Rhodesian defection only partially implies this failure. The nature of the South African regime is essentially one of violence towards the indigenous population, and the manner in which it has recently shown itself in Angola has provoked a hardening of African positions.

Although the Rhodesian army depends for its power of intervention on South African logistical support, Vorster's government, subjected to the strong pressures of financial groups, whose policy is to « insert South Africa into the continent », (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 1975), and learning the lessons which it must from its recent interference in the Angolan affair, shows itself reluctant to give unconditional and open military aid to Ian Smith.

Pretoria's desire to keep itself a little apart explains the moderate words spoken by Vorster on 4 March to the Parliament, bringing the matter back to « political differences » alone : « The boycott and the closing of the borders do not constitute replies to political differences, these actions tending rather to accentuate these differences. » A South African government spokesman did in addition satisfy himself by declaring that « the Prime Minister was keeping himself informed of the development of the situation. »

Unless Rhodesia decides immediately to respect the right of the black majority to self-determination, the trial of strength — in which it risks finding itself practically isolated — will be inevitable.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

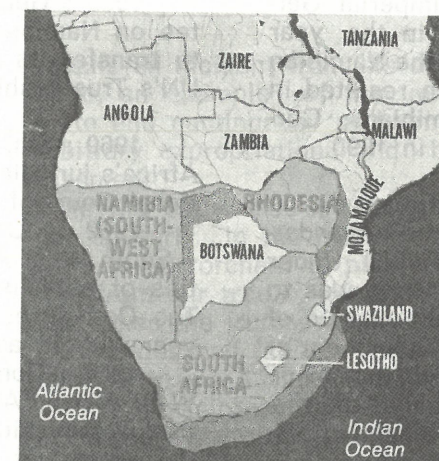
NAMIBIA: ten years of armed struggle

For any nation or people, there comes a moment of supreme decision-making. Confronted by the arrogant and racially intoxicated colonial regime of South Africa which is bent on enslaving them permanently, it was inevitable for the Namibian people, led by their vanguard (S.W.A.P.O. (South West Africa People's Organisation), to make a decision. That decision was put into effect on 26 August, 1966 when the S.W.A.P.O. liberation fighters stormed a South African armed contingent at Ongurubashe in north-western Namibia. During this first encounter between the forces of the Namibian revolution and the South African colonial occupation forces, 28 colonial soldiers were killed and several others wounded. On that day, a new chapter in the Namibian people's struggle for freedom and national independence was opened. The Armed Liberation Struggle had been launched.

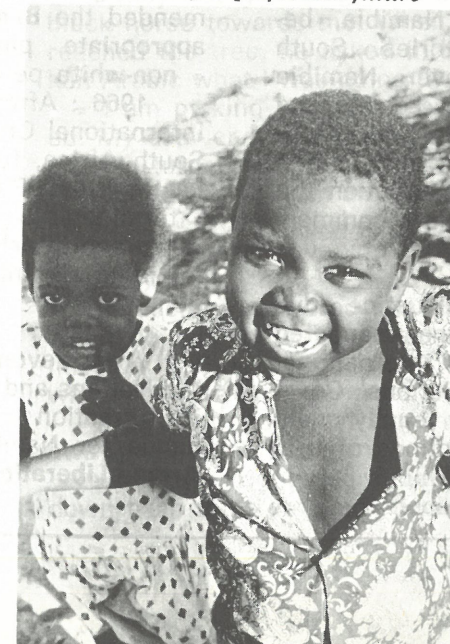
Looking back at the past ten years of armed confrontation, we see abundant evidence of the growth and progress of the Namibian people's armed liberation struggle. This growth and progress was not, however, handed out on a silver platter. These years have also meant immense suffering and enormous sacrifices by the Namibian people. But suffering and sacrifices were the price the Namibian people had vowed to pay on their arduous road to freedom and independence.

Considering the victories scored by the combatants since 26 August, 1966, one can confidently announce that the people's Liberation Army of Namibia, S.W.A.P.O.'s military wing, has not only held its ground, but has also extended the liberation war's operational zones from Kaokoveld in the north-west through Ovamboland in the north, Okavango in the north-east, the Caprivi Strip in the east, and Grootfontein district in central Namibia.

Gone are the days when the South African colonial regime could boast to the world that its Gestapo was merely conducting « mopping-up operations against a small band of infiltrators ». The colonial regime in Namibia is now warning its racist supporters that



A smile of hope for the future



« S.W.A.P.O. poses a military threat. »

The liberation war in Namibia has now become a prominent feature in the day to day life of the Namibian people. Gallantly, the oppressed and exploited masses of Namibia have defied South Africa's brutality, intimidation, torture and political victimization, and have stood by the liberation fighters. The ever-growing political consciousness of the Namibian people must be attributed to the tireless efforts of S.W.A.P.O., which in the past ten years has effectively mastered the combination of political and military actions as complementary to each other. The political mobilization of the workers, peasants, youth, students and other sections of Namibian society, has been an important factor in S.W.A.P.O.'s success.

With thousands of Namibian patriots joining the liberation forces; with the support they enjoy from their people; with the vital assistance they enjoy from African and Socialist countries and other democratic forces in the world, the victory of the Namibian liberation forces over South African colonialism in Namibia is a fore-gone conclusion.

HISTORICAL

BACKGROUND

TO PRESENT POLITICAL CONFLICT



1884-1890 : The attempt by Imperial Germany to colonize Namibia began in the year 1884. After the bitter resistance of the Namibian people to foreign occupation which resulted in the massacre of over 100,000 Namibians, Germany eventually annexed Namibia in 1890.

1920 : After the defeat of Germany during the First World War, Namibia became a mandated territory under South Africa in 1920. Under the terms of the mandate, South Africa was to administer Namibia on behalf of the League of Nations for the « well-being and development of the indigenous people ; as a sacred trust of civilization and to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being of the inhabitants. »

1946 : The League of Nations was dissolved and the United Nations formed. All former League mandated territories except Namibia, became United Nations Trust Territories. South Africa claims that its mandate over Namibia elapsed with the demise of the League and proposes annexation of Namibia to South Africa. This is rejected. The U.N. claims jurisdiction over Namibia and the legal battle between the world body and the apartheid regime commences.

1950 : International Court of Justice advises that Namibia is an international mandated territory ; South Africa still has international obligation under the League of Nations' Covenant ; the U.N. General Assembly legally qualified to exercise the previous functions of League's Mandates' Commission.

1953 : General Assembly **Ad Hoc** Committee on Namibia fails to convince South Africa to transfer its mandate over Namibia to the UN's Trusteeship Committee.

1960 : Ethiopia and Liberia challenge South Africa's jurisdiction over Namibia at the International Court of Justice for a legal ruling.

1962 : United Nations Committee on « South West Africa » formed to find possibilities of establishing U.N. presence in Namibia. The Committee was dissolved the following year without achieving its aims.

1964 : Commission of Inquiry into South West African Affairs, better known as the Odendaal Commission, set up by South Africa to draw up a report of the future development of the « non-whites in South West Africa ». After its « findings », the Odendaal Commission recommended the **Bantustan** scheme as the most appropriate pattern of development for the « non-white peoples of South West Africa ».

1966 : After six years of deliberations, the International Court of Justice ruled in favour of South Africa, following the Court President's casting vote. But the U.N. General Assembly « terminated » South Africa's mandate over Namibia and later formed the U.N. Council for Namibia to administer the territory until independence.

After seven years of petitioning at the United Nations and other international forums since its formation in 1959 for freedom and independence for Namibia, S.W.A.P.O. launched the **Armed Liberation Struggle** on 26th August, 1966.

TO BE AN ARAB IN ISRAEL

by Fouzi el-Asmar

This book is the story of the life of a Palestinian Arab — a poet and political journalist — told simply and forthrightly by the man himself. On the surface it is a deceptively simple story, a series of events and incidents linked through the consciousness and experience of one man, Fouzi el-Asmar. But it is more than that, for Fouzi has lived and written down the tragic story of a generation of Palestinian Arabs, a people whose lives under occupation and oppression have to this date no impact at all on the people of the Western countries, including those liberal and even progressive people whose critical perspective does not extend to that so called beacon of democracy in the Middle East : « Israel ».

Even since the time of the Crusades, the attitude of almost the entire Western world towards the Arab world has been « romantic » and unrealistic. The media speak of deserts and mountains, nomades and camels — a storybook scene.

« During my stay in the United States, when I was asked where I come from, » Fouzi writes, « I would reply, 'Palestine'. The reaction was often, « Oh, where is that ? Is it a city ? » When he replied that Palestine is a country, a part of the Arab World, people would ask, « Do you live in tents ? Do you have schools ? Did you ride to school on a camel ? » On another level, the Zionist movement propagated an image in keeping with this distorted picture through slogans like : « A land without a people for a people without a land. » They spoke of « liberating » Palestine, of « liberating » this « land without a people. » « Liberate » it from whom ? From the people whose very existence they have tried to deny, but people they have had to deal with nonetheless ; people like Fouzi el-Asmar and his family.

Early in the book, in a section entitled « First Arrests, » Fouzi

recalls an incident from his childhood, an example of the immediate and continuous problem of arbitrary expropriation and harassment :

« In the early 1950's, I used to get up early in the morning and walk to our orchard to pick some figs from our tree. I always did that when the fruit was ripe, even after Lydda had fallen. I used to take with me a small straw bag made especially for figs, and went out without any of my family noticing. One day I heard a voice shouting and I saw an armed man with a cowboy hat galloping on a fine black horse towards me. When he reached the tree, he asked in broken Arabic what I was doing there.

« I am picking figs. » I answered. My answer made him very angry. He turned to me.

« Do you think I am an idiot ? » he said. « I can see that you are picking figs. Who gave you permission to do that ? »

I innocently answered : « Since when do I have to be given permission ? This is our land, and what's more this is my tree. »

« Get down from that tree right away, » shouted the man.

I was quite frightened. I climbed down from the tree and decided

that it would be better for me to get out of there and run home. But the man did not allow me to go down. »

Fouzi was taken to a police station and put in a cell with two Jewish boys of his own age. He was the last one called out.

« I told the police officer that I did not speak Hebrew. He asked me if I was an Arab. I answered in the affirmative, and then his attitude changed and he became insulting. Then he rudely said to me : « Aren't you ashamed of stealing, you little thief ? »

« I did not steal. It is our orchard — my father's. »

« There is no such thing as 'ours'. The land belongs to the Jews. Do you understand ? »

« No ».

« You dog, you are answering arrogantly ! »

The main impact of Fouzi's book is his presentation of the Palestinians as a people, and a people whose existence cannot be denied or ignored, although that has been their experience. They are not simply refugees in camps, dirty, illiterate and dependent on Western charity. The Palestinian Arabs in Occupied Palestine are denied the most fundamental human

rights in every aspect of life by the Zionist authorities.

Political freedom is severely limited, and potential political leaders are crushed, jailed, or forced into exile. There is Fouzi's account of the formation in 1960 of **al-Ard** (the Earth), an Arab organization through which some Palestinian Arabs determined to fight for their rights and against discrimination, the military government, and the expropriation of land. But, as with every previous attempt at forming an Arab organization in « Israel », this was seen as a « potential danger to the security of the State. » **Al-Ard** following was immense and so were the attacks of the Zionist authorities and press.

The founders of the group were accused of attempting to create an « underground movement », and of harboring « anti-Israeli ideas », although the majority of them favored a combined front with Jewish organizations which were prepared to fight for the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. Such co-operation did take place on numerous occasions such as the demonstration on 19 February, 1963, when **al-Ard** members and members of Jewish organizations demonstrated together, calling for an end to the military government **over Arab areas**. They publicly referred the allegations against them, and attacked the

efforts of the Secret Service to recruit informers and collaborators from their ranks. They published their demands and the principles of their organization. It was hardly a secret underground organization. And as Fouzi notes, « the mere fact that **al-Ard** members accepted the UN Partition Plan, and their decision to participate in the Israeli elections were enough to prove wrong the newspaper accusation that **al-Ard** supported the destruction of the State of Israel. »

Fouzi's book is no polemic. His numerous accounts of harassments by the occupation authorities concerning what he wrote and published are complemented by the many accounts he gives of close political and personal friendships and alliance with Jews in the continuous struggle against repression in « Israel ».

In August 1968, Fouzi was arrested on the spurious charge of being a PFLP « agent ». He was held for 15 months without trial or even formal charges being made, and then kept under house arrest for several more years. His account of the degradation and systematic oppression of prison life is not significant merely because jails in « Israel » are worse than those in other countries, but because the

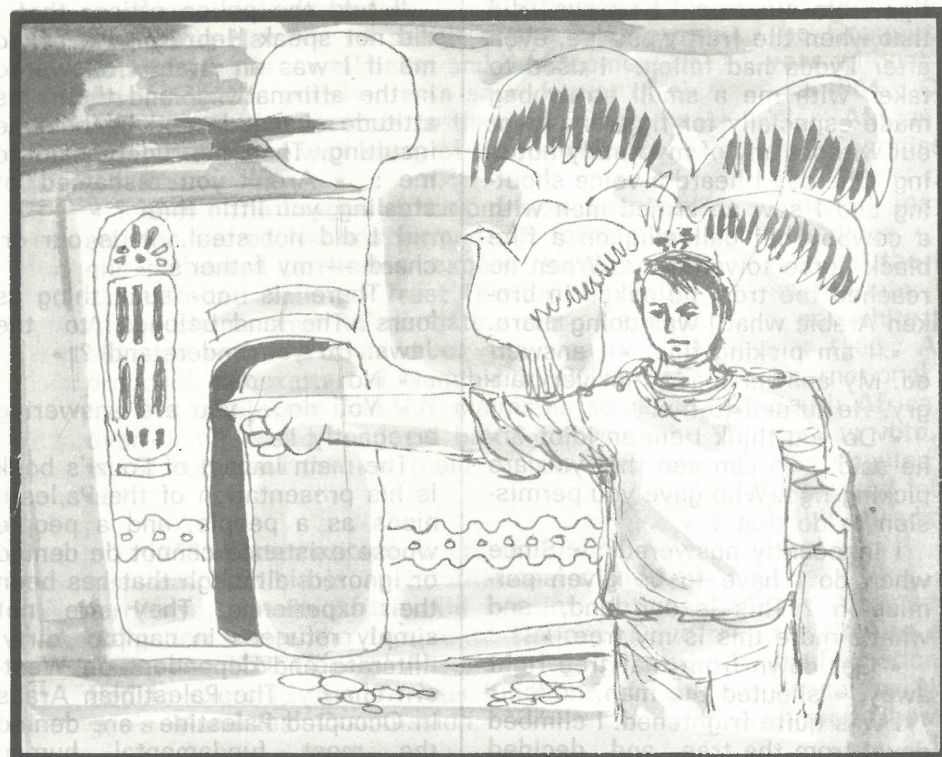
simple fact of being an Arab, an articulate and politically-conscious Arab, is a political crime in « Israel ». The aim of the Zionist authorities is to force such potential leaders into submission, to remove them from the scene politically and, if necessary, physically. It is no accident that Fouzi's jailers constantly tempted him with the offer of release if he would leave the country and not return. It is to his credit that he consistently refused this alternative.

The book encompasses a wide range of events and issues : the wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967 ; the confiscation of land, and the Israeli left. The book is not a political discussion, but it raises political and social issues which, though presented on a personal level are characteristic of the situation of the Palestinians under Zionist occupation. Every one of his stories recalled for me an incident I experienced during the first months of the Zionist occupation of 1967. It called up the constant anxiety that is part of being an Arab in « Israel ». How many times, while reading Fouzi's book, I would subconsciously pat my wallet, to reassure myself that my identity card was with me, that « my papers are in order ». I could not sit and read for very long at any one time, because my mind would become filled with my own stories, and my anger and frustration become overwhelming. Fouzi's book is one of the only means we have of communicating our experience to people in the West, thus showing them the reasons for our struggle.

It is worth mentioning that Fouzi el-Asmar wrote this book in Hebrew. The English translation is far from smooth, and detracts somewhat from the flow of the book, but this should be overlooked. This book should be read, although it doesn't agree in all its details with the PLO viewpoints.

At present, Fouzi's book has been rejected by 18 American publishers, and this very good book will therefore not be available to American readers unless an American publisher is found who is willing to ignore Israeli and Zionist opposition to the circulation of Fouzi's story.

□



CULTURE



THE RISE OF PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARY CINEMA

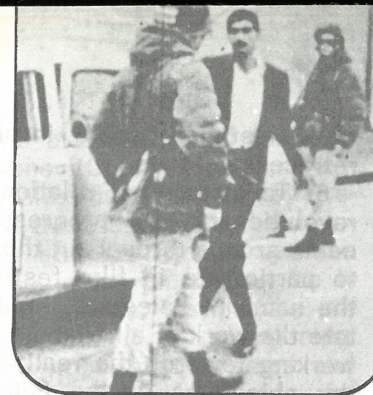
When the Palestine Film Unit of Fateh was formed in 1968, its three members soon realized that they had to search earnestly for the characteristics that would distinguish their cinematic activity, so that they would be working within the same general political line as the Palestinian long-term Revolution and people's war, and not stepping aside from it.

They started by asking themselves an important question : can the artistic and aesthetic values we have studied be adequately applied to our people, who have been introduced to armed struggle ? Can we communicate with them using the same methods we have studied in London and Cairo — or do we have to learn new methods in addressing our Palestinian and Arab masses ? In addition, is it possible for us to interpret an armed revolutionary experience by using methods that are known to apply under different conditions ? Should we seek to imitate artistic forms and methods created and used by a cinema associated with imperialism ; or should we evolve new forms and methods, and our own special cinematic language related to the Arab cultural heritage in general, and to the characteristics of the Palestinian Revolution in particular ?

The answers to these crucial questions were to determine the path followed by the Unit and the general direction of its work. It was clear that the way would be long and hard, but it was equally clear that it was necessary to strive to develop a people's cinema capable of expressing a people's war.

With its limited means, the Unit started searching for an authentic Palestinian cinema, one which would serve the struggle for cultural de-colonization and national liberation. While the Palestinian cause continued to be grossly ignored or under-illustrated both at the militant and commercial cinema levels, the cinema cadres of the Unit devoted all their efforts to building and developing new and effective methods to re-establish the truth about the oppressed Palestinians which had for so long been distorted on the Hollywood screens of imperialism.

The years following the launching of this new struggle saw set-backs and successes. Good and bad films were produced and invaluable experience was acquired.



Scenes from occupied Gaza



They Don't Exist



Palestinian Night



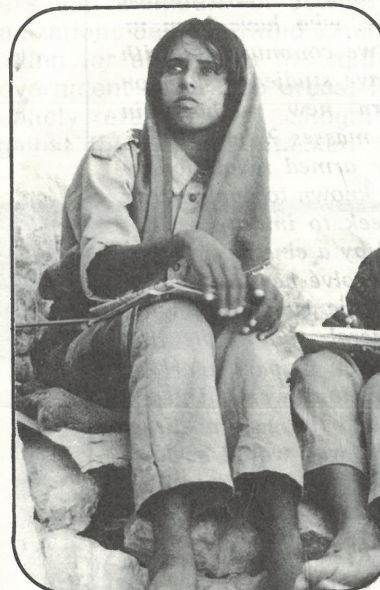
Sirhan



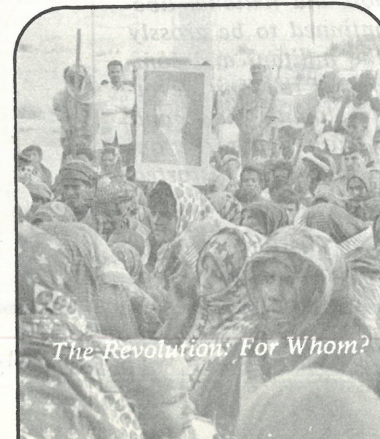
Newsreel: Funeral of Verdun Martyrs



The Winds of Liberation



The Revolution Goes On



The Revolution: For Whom?

By 1972, the idea of using cinema as a new weapon in the struggle for the liberation of Palestine had advanced considerably. Several commando groups inside the Palestinian Resistance were, by that time, attempting to produce and distribute their own documentary films. The first step taken by the Palestine Film Unit of Fateh in 1968 had been followed by those of the PFLP in 1970, the PDFLP and the Cultural Center of the PLO. The necessity of uniting became apparent, and the common idea that Palestinian cinema should become a fighting arm of the Palestinian Revolution brought the different groups together. Thus, the Palestinian Cinema Group was established in 1972 with the assistance of the Research Center of the PLO, and with the presence of progressive Arab film-makers.

The first manifesto of what Palestinian cinema should be was published by the Group at this time:

"...It is in fact important to develop a Palestinian cinema capable of supporting the struggle of our people, revealing the facts of our situation, and describing the stages of our Arab and Palestinian struggle to liberate our land. The cinema to which we aspire will have to devote itself to expressing the present, as well as the past and the future...

It is towards this end that we, men of the cinema and men of letters, distribute this manifesto and call for the creation of a Palestinian Cinema Group. We assign to it six tasks:

1) To produce films directed by Palestinians on the Palestinian cause and its objectives, films which originate from within an Arab context and which are inspired by a democratic and progressive content.

2) To work for the creation of a new aesthetic to replace the old, one able to express coherently a new content.

3) To put the entire cinema at the service of the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab cause.

4) To conceive films designed to present the Palestinian cause to the whole world.

5) To create a film archive which will gather film and still photograph material on the struggle of

the Palestinian people, in order to retrace its stages.

6) To strengthen relations with revolutionary and progressive cinema groups throughout the world, to participate in film festivals in the name of Palestine, and facilitate the work of all friendly groups working towards the realization of the objectives of the Palestinian Revolution.

The Palestinian Cinema Group considers itself an integral part of the institutions of the Palestinian Revolution.

Although it may be noted that the manifesto does not state in detail the nature of Palestinian revolutionary cinematic work, some of its items can be regarded as an intellectual and political basis for it. In addition, the manifesto is of historical importance since it draws the basic theoretical lines Palestinian cinema was to follow.

After producing one documentary film, **Scenes from Occupied Gaza** (Mashahed min al-Ihtilal fi Gaza), and after only six months of existence, the Group was dissolved for organizational reasons, the same reasons that had originally led to its creation. The film produced, however, was presented at the Baghdad Festival in 1973, where it won a golden award. It also won a prize at the 1973 Leipzig Festival. The film shows scenes of the daily persecution practiced by the Zionists against the Palestinian population, and their heroic armed resistance. The film was based on documentary material shot by a foreign journalist in the occupied territories under the supervision of the occupation authorities. The material was edited, and further material from the Palestinian archives added. The film was thus transformed from a weapon in the hands of the enemy into a weapon in the hands of the Palestinian Revolution.

A study was also presented at a debate held during the 1973 Baghdad Festival, in which the main characteristics which should define Palestinian film-making were started. In this, concepts were further clarified. After acknowledging the existence of a newly-evolving revolutionary cinema trend in the Third World, especially in those countries which

have had or have armed people's revolutions (Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, Palestine), the study reaffirmed the idea that "the revolutionary struggle film serves the revolution in its functions, be it mass propaganda, instigation, political education; or in exposing enemy or imperialist regimes and their lackeys, while glorifying the liberation struggle of different peoples.

"The people's war has laid down the measures and inspired the spirit that should be adopted by revolutionary struggle films," which are completely opposed to imperialist commercial cinema (first cinema), or even to its alternative, the so-called "author's cinema", "expression cinema", "nouvelle vague", or "cinema nova" (second cinema). Thus, the revolutionary cinema is one that cannot be accepted by the establishment; it is a cinema which contradicts the rule of films dealing only with effect, never with cause; a cinema against mystification or anti-historicism; a cinema opposed to surplus value cinema.

In the opinion of the study, "the successful revolutionary film is comparable to a successful military operation; both aim at achieving a political objective. In the same way as the will to fight is essential in a people's war when confronting the imperialist war machine, so is the will to produce a revolutionary film when facing an imperialist movie machine."

As for the team producing a revolutionary film, this was "supposed to perform all necessary functions to complete the film—starting with scripting, photography, montage, direction and exhibition of the film. The team must consider itself a cell committed strategically and tactically to the cause presented in its film."

The study stressed that the work involved in revolutionary films is only terminated after exhibiting the films to the masses concerned with and engaged in the struggle, and that the relation between the film producer and the masses must be maintained at all stages.

As for the characteristics of revolutionary films, the study pointed out that these necessarily result from the adoption of revolu-

tionary political thinking, which implies that the producer must be committed to the theory of struggle and its practical implementation. As for the method of work, Hollywood-type traditional methods are to be disregarded, and the forms best suited for communicating with the people, expressing their struggle, and representing their spirit and using their language, should be determined.

At the same time, the revolutionary struggle film should have the ability to stand firm, especially against imperialist films from the capitalist world seeking profit and spreading monopolistic, capitalist values and political thought.

Principal Producers of Palestinian Films:

After the dissolution of the Palestinian Cinema Group, the original film unit of Fateh continued to work under the name of **Palestine Films — The Palestinian Cinema Institution**, under the PLO Unified Information. Three other groups also continued to produce their own films — always within the framework of the PLO — expressing the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their usurped homeland, and their determination to defeat the Zionist enemy in order to establish a democratic state on the entirety of Palestinian soil.

I. Palestine Films — The Palestinian Cinema Institution of the PLO Unified Information.

Since its beginnings, Palestinian cinema has shown an interest in registering, commenting and analysing the causes and effects of events, as well as recording the facts concerning the Palestinian people and their resistance. The method of revolutionary cinema has been preferred to that of documentary cinema. The revolutionary film is one that makes use of a document and other sources to arrive at a desired political aim. On the other hand, documentary films depend entirely on the document.

The advanced level of consciousness possessed by the Palestinian people, and their clear understanding of the nature of their struggle against occupation and imperial-

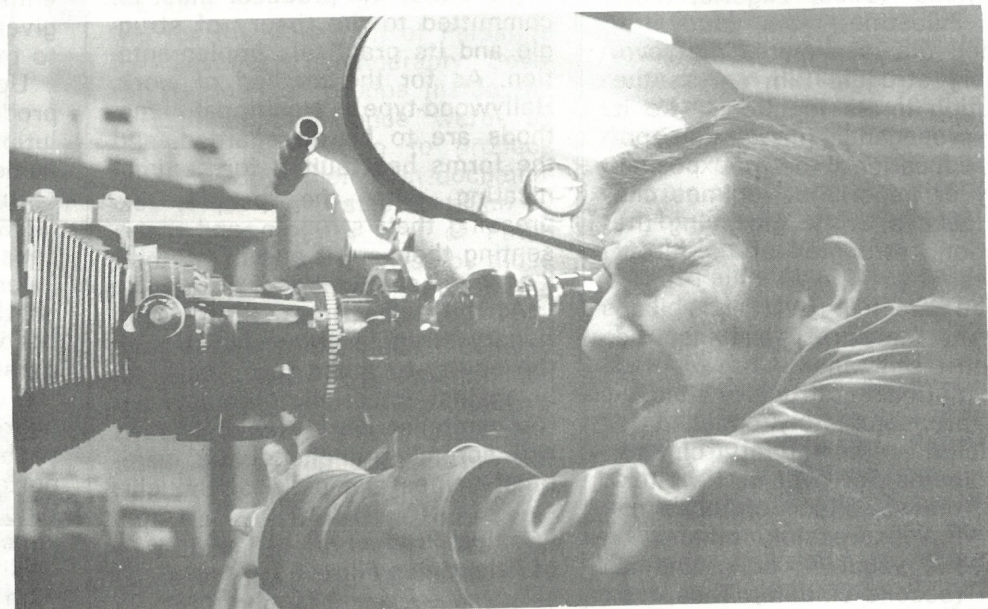
ism, have been confirmed in the enthusiastic reception they have given — since its beginnings — to this type of revolutionary films.

Up to now, Palestine Films has produced more than twenty revolutionary films on events, and documentary films.

On 8 September, 1972, the Zionist air force for two hours raided Lebanese and Syrian villages and Palestinian refugee camps in the south and the north of both Lebanon and Syria. **A Zionist Aggression** (Aduan Sahiuni), shows the consequences of this criminal aggression and the reaction of the Arab masses, emphasizing the importance of and the need for resistance. This 22 min-16 mm. film, which starts with an introduction on life in south Lebanon, and ends with the bullets fired against the Israeli planes, won one of the four Symposium prizes at the Karlovy Vary Festival in Czechoslovakia in 1974.

Another collective cinema production, headed by Mustapha Abu Ali, is the 26 min-16 mm. film entitled **They Don't Exist** (Laisa Lahum Wjood). Using both fiction and document, the film shows — through nine "chapters" — the conditions of the Palestinian people, exposing and analysing the annihilation war waged by the Zionists against the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. In Nabatiyeh camp, some 70 km. south of Beirut, near the ancient city of Sidon in Lebanon, Israeli raids are commonplace. In the film we take a glimpse at daily life in the camp. A little girl writes a letter to her friend who is a fedai. Then, after reading this letter full of hope, we see him participating in a military action. The camp is later seventy-five per cent destroyed by the Israeli bomber planes (16 May 1974). The film includes photographs of the camp before and after this attack, and connects and compares the Israeli genocide operations against the Palestinian people with those carried out against the Red Indian, Vietnamese and African peoples. The inhabitants of Nabatiyeh express their militant beliefs and pledge to fight Zionist Israel, even if each one of them is to die in the struggle. A mother speaks of her son martyred in the battlefield, and declares her conviction of final

HANI JAWHARIYE, Palestinian Cinema Institution cameraman since 1968, martyred at the hands of the fascist forces while on a photographic mission in Aintura, Lebanon, on 11 April, 1976.



victory. We hear the authentic voice of the Palestinian masses recorded live ; their will, in spite of all the enemy's attempts to exterminate them, to continue struggling, fearlessly and with defiant determination until the recovery of their national rights. The film is a moving testimony of the existence and the will for life of a people whom — for more than a quarter of a century — imperialism and Zionism have pretended « don't exist. »

Two newsreel films have also been produced. They record historic Palestinian events such as the Zionist murder in Beirut of three Palestinian resistance leaders on 10 April, 1973, and their funeral, which turned into a massive popular protest against the Lebanese government. Also recorded is the attack of the Lebanese army on the Palestinian resistance movement in Beirut in May, that same year - known as the «May events» - and a report on the military operations of the Palestinian Revolution inside the occupied territories between June and August, 1973.

The unity between the southern Lebanese villagers and the Palestinian fighters, as well as the failure of the Zionist schemes to divide them, are portrayed in **Kafr Shouba**, another collective work of Palestine Films, shot and directed by Samir Nimr in 1975. Kafr Shouba, a peaceful village in

south Lebanon, faces occupied Palestine and is a favorite target for Israeli attacks. The heroic inhabitants, farmers and peasants, defy the enemy and resist side by side with the Palestinian commandos. The film emphasises the importance of armed struggle and proves that the Zionists do not only attack commando bases, as they so often claim, but also defenceless villages. One of their aims in using terror is to create contradictions between the Lebanese and the Palestinians ; but they fail to calculate the political dynamism and awareness of the people. This has led instead to a result opposite to the one intended : the Lebanese and Palestinians unite in their common awareness of the enemy, and oppose him with joint resistance.

Several other remarkable films on different aspects of the Palestinian struggle have been produced by the Institution. The role of women has been dealt with in **Palestinian Night** (Laila Filistiniya). **Al-Arqoub** speaks of the armed confrontations between the fedayeen and the Zionists in south Lebanon, and the destruction of bordering Arab villages. Certain Arab leaders' betrayal of the Palestinian cause is denounced in **Sirhan**, 1972, a short film called after a Palestinian popular poem about the bravery of a Palestinian fighter in the 1936 revolt against

British colonialism and Zionist immigration in Palestine.

The assertion of the Revolution's strategic aim that a secular, democratic state in Palestine is the viable, logical solution and alternative to the Zionist, racist, state of « Israel » underlines all the Institution's works.

At present, new films are being shot. Through presenting the actions of the « Ashbal » (lion cubs) and the « Zahrat » (flowers) — the organized young boys and girls of the Revolution — the role of Palestinian children and youth will be shown. Children will also be present in a film about the Lebanese war, which will analyze these events according to their real nature as a class struggle, and will denounce the fascist attempts to transform them into a religious war.

It is worth noting that the Palestinian Cinema Institution has not limited its productions to the subject of Palestine alone. Solidarity with other revolutions in the area is affirmed through the production of several films dealing with the Oman and Dhofar struggle, and that of the Yemeni people.

In 1974, Samir Nimr directed the film **The Winds of Liberation** (Riah el-Tahrir) in the liberated area of Dhofar, in the Oman sultanate. The film presents the conditions of struggle of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO),

which faces some 15,000 men deployed by the Shah of Iran at the request of Sultan Qaboos, who has also handed over Masirah island to US imperialism. (The island, strategically located at the exit of the Arab Gulf, assures the Americans a military base from which to control navigation in the Gulf, through which half of the Arab oil passes on its way to the West). The ten-year existence of the guerrilla movement is retraced to its beginnings when the fight was directed against Sultan Said Ben Taymour — Qaboos's father — and against British imperialism which then dominated the region. Through interviews with fighters, we learn about the PFLO's reasons for armed struggle ; about their fight to educate the people in the liberated area, and their mode of struggle. The extensive participation of the Omani woman in the armed and political struggle is emphasized. In the context of that geographical region where women are as strongly oppressed as they were centuries ago, the liberation of the Omani woman through her participation in the struggle is a remarkable new social victory in that area. It serves both as an example and proof of the validity of the belief in women's liberation through participation in the struggle, held by the Palestinian Revolution.

Another of Nimr's short films, **Revolution : For Whom ?** (Li man el-Thaura ?), also produced in 1974, won a silver medal at the Leipzig Festival. The film tells about the struggle of the Yemeni people under British occupation, their liberation (30 November, 1967) and the evolution of the Democratic Republic of South Yemen, led by the National Liberation Front.

II. PLO Art-Culture Section

Since 1972, this section has produced four artistic films directed by the Palestinian painter, Ismail Shammout. **Memories and Fire** (Thikrayat ua Nar) reasserts the existence of a long Palestinian tradition of art, and the historical presence of a people through the presentation of folkloric songs and paintings. Other films are : **Youth, Camps, The Urgent Sacrifice, and On the Road to Palestine**, which is about the PLO's educational theo-

ries put into practice in schools operating in Kuwait.

III. The Art Committee-PDFLP

Among the films produced by the Art Committee — the first in 1973 — we can mention **May of the Palestinians** (Ayyar el-Filistiniyeen) directed by Rafik Hajjar, in which he explains the reasons behind the military operation executed by Palestinian commandos in the occupied city of Tarshiha (Maalot), in May, 1974. Using filmed material from the archives, the author analyses Zionism and the historical events which led to that operation.

IV. Central Information Committee-PFLP

The Committee began producing documentary films in 1970 « to ex-

press the revolution and its thinking. »

Our Little House (Biutna es-Saghira) directed by Kassem Hawal, won a silver medal at the 1974 Leipzig Festival. This film, by portraying the effort to build an individual shelter to protect children from raids, shows the fascist military structure of the enemy since Israel's establishment, on the basis of his dependence on instilling a militaristic spirit in people's minds, turning them in the course of time into a generation of failure.

The enemy kills children and destroys life. This film reveals the permanent conflict between Israeli militarism and the continuous struggle of the Palestinian masses, inside and outside their country.

(to be continued)

NEW AWARDS FOR PALESTINE FILMS

The Palestine Cinema Institution has just won two new awards at the Second International Festival for Films and TV Programs about Palestine, held in Baghdad, Iraq, on 20-25 March, 1976.

The silver award for medium-length documentaries went to **Kafr Shouba**, directed by Samir Nimr. The prize was shared with **Our Little Houses**, directed by Kassem Hawal.

A special incentive award was also given to the Institution for its production of two newsreel films. The award noted the importance and great informational value of newsreel film to express the Palestinian struggle.

Besides the participation of Palestinian and Arab directors, it is worth drawing attention to the participation in this event of foreign film-makers, such as representatives from Japan, West Germany and the German Democratic Republic, Denmark, and Yugoslavia. Naturally, all their films are « Palestinian films » in the sense that they express the struggle of the Palestinian people in its real di-



mensions. Their presence reaffirmed once more the international solidarity of progressive peoples with the just Palestinian struggle. The German filmmaker, Manfred Voss was awarded a Fateh prize for his film « The Story of my Life ».

We salute the Palestine Cinema Institution which has scored yet another victory for the Palestinian struggle, adding to the long list of victories Palestine is scoring on all levels.

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1976**



**LAND DAY
IN PALESTINE**

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