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February 1976 VOL. 2. No. 9

Palestine

P.L.O.
information
bulletin



TO OUR FRIENDS

This issue of «PALESTINE» was prepared at a time when the Palestinian Revolution was facing two main challenges to its existence, through conspiracies at the local and the international levels.

Such conspiracies, however, only served to increase the determination of our people to continue their struggle and the «PALESTINE» team to continue its efforts to bring out the magazine on time.

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Africa, Asia, Latin America: 10 US \$
Europe, USA, Canada and Australia: 12 US \$

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Address your mail to:

«PALESTINE BULLETIN»,
P. O. Box 8984,
Beirut, Lebanon.

All copies of «PALESTINE BULLETIN» will be sent by air mail.

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«PALESTINE» OPINION

IMPERIALIST CHALLENGES DEFEATED

The General Commander of the Armed Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, Yasser Arafat, has described this new year as the year of challenge and confrontation. Indeed, this year started with a challenge to the Palestinian existence in Lebanon, through the siege of the Palestinian refugee camp Tal al-Zaatar, including the cutting of all food supplies to the camp. Despite all contacts with the Lebanese officials to bring about an end to the siege, the isolationist forces maintained it. They even escalated their challenge to the Palestinian presence by an attack on the smallest refugee camp, Dbayeh, where some 250 Palestinian Christian families have been living since 1948. Supported by elements of the Lebanese Army, the isolationist forces took over the camp killing many innocent civilians. The isolationist forces continued their march and attacked the Lebanese slum quarters of Maslakh and Quarantena in the eastern suburbs of Beirut.

After five days of heroic resistance on the part of the inhabitants, the reactionary forces finally penetrated these quarters, killing or injuring hundreds of civilians. Moreover, the reactionary forces immediately brought in bulldozers to raze the slums to the ground. The survivors of the massacre, helped by the Palestinian Revolution, found refuge in the chalets of some of Lebanon's beach clubs. They are still there.

In order to stop this bloodshed and defend its positions, the Palestinian Revolution was forced, for the first time since the beginning of the Lebanese civil war, to intervene directly in the battle. The Palestinian Revolution faced

this challenge with a great courage and, together with the Lebanese nationalist forces, launched a counter-attack on Phalangist and isolationist strongholds.

The first attack was on the Phalangist stronghold town of Damour, on the road from Beirut to Saida. This attack was subsequently extended to Saadyat, a stronghold of Chamoun so-called Liberals and then to Jayyeh and Namah. All these positions fell into the hands of the Joint Forces, (the Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist forces). After this victory on the part of the Joint Forces, the isolationists and their allies in the Army collapsed and asked for a cease-fire through a new Syrian mediation.

Three main factors played a major role in the defeat of the isolationist forces and their secessionist plans:

- 1 — The growth of the Lebanese nationalist and progressive forces.
- 2 — The steadfastness of the Palestinian Revolution.
- 3 — The division within the Lebanese Army.

There is no doubt that this last factor played a decisive role in turning the battle in favour of the Joint Forces and ending the bloodshed. The isolationist forces never relied on their forces alone; they always hoped to push the Army into fighting on their side. Their hopes were disappointed, however, because the nationalist factions in the Army refused to act as an instrument for partition designs.

This Phalangist-isolationist challenge emerged as the Palestine Question was under discussion at the Security Council debate, where the Palestinian Revolution was facing another Zionist-imperialist challenge. The Palestinian Revolution has no high hopes of its participation in the Security Council debate. Although the UN has adopted many resolutions favouring the Palestine Question, arrogant Zionism still refuses to accept any resolution which does not suit its designs.

The US veto came as no surprise to the Palestinian Revolution. It came to unmask US-imperialist involvement in support of Israeli aggression and expansion. It also proved US hostility to the aspirations of the people struggling for their liberation and independence. This veto will undoubtedly increase tension and the threat of war in the region.

The American veto is a challenge to the great majority of UN member-states which recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and condemned the Israeli expansion and occupation. It is, therefore, a weak decision, occasioned by the United States' blind commitment to its protégé Israel, and to Israeli intransigence.

It is of no importance whether the use of the veto was due to internal US pressures or the US imperialist interests in the region. The veto cannot stop the wheel of history. It will, on the contrary, serve to strengthen our faith in our just cause and our determination to continue the struggle to defeat all imperialist challenges and conspiracies.



Palestine

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«PALESTINE» bulletin

MONTHLY INFORMATION BULLETIN
published in English & French, by
THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION
UNIFIED INFORMATION
P.O. Box 8984 — Tel. 31742-304584 — Beirut —
LEBANON.



LEBANESE EVENTS

THE PHALANGIST WAR IN LEBANON

For nine months the Lebanese war has been raging. The Lebanese reactionary forces (the Phalangists, National Liberals, Guardians of the Cedar, and others) are fighting to partition the country. Encouraged by the Zionist State which is itself built on religious foundations, they aim at establishing a Christian mini-state for their Maronite community. Taking into consideration the traditional contradiction between the Maronite community and the other Christian communities in Lebanon, this proposed state will include less than half a million of the total population of Lebanon. The map which was drawn up by the secessionists and which included all the so-called Maronite areas is not more than 2,000 square kilometers (Lebanon is some 10,000 sq. kms.). In this respect, it should be noted that inside these same areas live members of other religious communities of the 16 religious and ethnic communities which make up the Lebanese family.

The Maronites, who are the ruling force in Lebanon, inherited power from French colonialist rule which ended with Lebanese independence in 1943. At that time, it was supposed that the Maronites constituted the majority of the population. For this reason they were accorded the right to appoint the president of the newborn republic, and thus to dominate public life in the country.

Throughout the 32-year history of the Lebanese state, the ruling forces in the country, the bourgeois classes (both Moslem and Christian), have enriched themselves through corruption, the plantation and sale of hashish, etc., and neglected the greater mass of the population. There was no social insurance, no free education, no health insurance, no worker's insurance. The country fell into anarchy and tribalism. Lebanon became a country which depended mainly on public services and foreign tourists. The economic and social gap between the poor majority and the rich minority continued to increase.

The Israeli raids on southern Lebanese villages served to deepen the contradictions within Lebanese society. As a result of these raids, the Lebanese villagers began to abandon their villages in the south to settle in slums around the Lebanese capital. The Israeli raids and the consequent displacement of the villagers increased the malaise of the peasants

who sought both protection and employment. The landless peasants are now supporters of the Palestinian Resistance Movement because it is the only force to defend them from Israeli raids and attacks.

The country is over-ripe for social and constitutional reforms. At the same time, the malaise experienced by the Lebanese people provides fertile soil for revolutionary and leftist thought. Consequently the nationalist and progressive forces in Lebanon found a good ally and supporter in the Palestinian Resistance Movement. They started to organize themselves regardless of their religious affiliation and according only to their political thought. They even started to train themselves militarily, making use of the long experience of the Palestinian Armed Revolution. Phalangist military organization, however, preceeded this recent start on the part of the nationalist and progressive forces by more than 30 years, having begun even before independence in 1943.

The reactionary forces have consistently blocked all attempts to reform the constitution and the administration, just as they have blocked all attempts for a redistribution of power.

The recent emergence of the nationalist and progressive forces and their continuous demand for reform have endangered the privileges of the reactionary forces. They responded to this threat to their traditional privileges, however, by accusing the Palestinian Revolution of being chiefly responsible for the shift in the balance of power in the country. In order to bring about a split between Lebanese nationalist forces and the Palestinian Revolution, they labelled the Palestinians as foreigners or as an occupying force. Such declarations were made even by President Frangieh himself who is supposed to be neutral.

THE SIEGE OF TAL AL ZAATAR

Since the eruption of the incidents which began with the massacre of Ain el-Rummaneh on 13 April, 1975, the Palestinian leadership fully comprehended the background to the conspiracy. In this massacre, 30 Palestinians were murdered in cold blood while passing in their bus through Ain el-Rummaneh quarter on their way home to the camp of Tal al Zaatar. Since that date, provocations against the Palestinian presence have never stopped. The Palestinian Revolution

consistently refused to be dragged into side battles and insisted on its main aim, namely the fight against the Israeli occupation.

Because it is the genuine interest of the Palestinian Revolution to dedicate itself to the fight against the Zionist enemy, despite all provocations, the Palestinians did their utmost not to get involved in the clashes. They even tried to mediate between the contradictory forces. The Revolution also participated in the Liaison and Co-ordination committees and maintained contacts with Lebanese officials in the hope of calming the situation. But the reactionary forces continually broke their word and never committed themselves to the elaborated agreements.

The period around the New Year witnessed a calming of the situation which gave the population new hope for peace. The Phalangists, however, escalated the situation by besieging the Palestinian refugee camp of Tal al Zaatar. They cut all roads leading to the camp and prohibited the passage of all food supplies both to the refugee camp and its neighbourhood. The refugee camp is situated in the areas of the reactionaries, and the Phalangists have always demanded its removal, because it stands in the way of their secessionist designs.

This new Phalangist provocation came at the time when the Palestinian

Revolution was preparing to attend the UN Security Council debate on the Middle East.

As the representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestinian Revolution cannot tolerate the siege of a Palestinian refugee camp, or wait and see its people suffering from lack of food. All attempts to supply the camp with flour and food were foiled, and the Phalangists further confiscated 7 trucks loaded with flour which were on their way to Tal al-Zaatar, accompanied by Lebanese military forces.

DBAYEH — REFUGEE CAMP

Dbayeh is the smallest refugee camp in Lebanon, inhabited by some 200 Palestinian Christian families. The camp is situated to the north of Beirut and is 15 km away from the nearest Palestinian gathering.

The Phalangists once again escalated the situation by besieging the camp. After 6 successive days of shelling and siege, the reactionary forces, supported by the armoured cars of the Lebanese Army, invaded the camp on 15 January, destroying more than 95 percent of its houses, and killing more than 60 of its inhabitants. Although the Cairo accord between the Lebanese state and the Palestinian Revolution implies the non-interference of the Lebanese Army in Palestinian refugee camps in Leb-



January, 1976 : The forced exodus of the inhabitants of Quaranteena quarter, Beirut.



Dbayeh refugee camp after the barbaric Phalangist attack.

The remains of Maslakh quarter.

anon, the Lebanese Army is becoming increasingly involved in the clashes on behalf of the isolationist forces.

The Phalangists and the isolationist forces celebrated their feeble victory all over the world in an attempt to affect the Palestinian delegation at the Security Council debate.

The Lebanese nationalist and progressive forces, supported by some units of the Palestinian Revolution, then launched a counter-attack against reactionary and Phalangist strongholds in Zghorta, Zahleh and Damour.

Damour, which is situated half way between Beirut and the southern town of Saida, is the largest Phalangist stronghold in the South. The Phalangists of Damour have continually cut the road to Saida with their barricades. In retaliation for the siege and take-over of Dbayeh refugee camp, the progressive forces, supported by some Palestinian units, attacked and seized Damour. The Lebanese Army, encouraged by Interior Minister Chamoun, tried to launch a counter-attack on Damour and army jet-fighters raided Damour. They lost one Mirage fighter, however.

ZIONISM IS THE MAIN ENEMY

It has to be made clear that the Palestinian Revolution has no interest in becoming involved in the Lebanese dilemma. On the other hand, it is requested to fulfill its commitments towards the Palestinians living in Lebanon.

The Palestinian Revolution still in-

sists on concentrating all its efforts on fighting the main enemy of the Palestinian people, the Zionist occupation, and reaffirms its determination not to be dragged into side battles.

The Phalangists and the other isolationist groups have declared their crusader war against the Palestinian Revolution. This crusade is an inseparable ingredient in the Middle East conspiracy against the Palestinian cause. The new crusaders of the Middle East are certainly not alone. They are encouraged and supported by the Zionists and US imperialists. If this is not so, we must ask the question: who is financing this war, which has been going on for nine months and which, according to Lebanese Government Services, is costing a million dollars a day? What about the ammunition seized by the Lebanese nationalist forces on which Hebrew writing could clearly be seen?

Once again the Zionists have succeeded in engaging Arabs to fight Arabs. Once again they have succeeded in arabizing the Middle East war as happened in 1970/71 in Jordan.

It is to be made clear that the Zionists and their reactionary allies cannot turn the wheel of history. Since 1970 and 1971 the situation has changed. The Palestinian Revolution, supported by the Lebanese nationalist forces, is more determined than ever before to continue the struggle and to foil all isolationist and secessionist designs.

SYRIAN MEDIATION

After seizing the refugee camp of Dbayeh, the isolationist forces escalated the battle by launching an attack against the Lebanese slum quarters of Quaranteena and Maslakh. After bravely resisting for 5 days, Quaranteena and Maslakh were finally over-run by the isolationist forces, who used bulldozers to raze the poor shacks in which the people had been living. Hundreds of innocent Lebanese were killed or injured, and the rest of the population fled or was evacuated.

In answer to this barbaric attack, the Joint Forces (nationalist forces and the forces of the Palestinian Revolution) launched a counter-attack against isolationist strongholds in Jiah, Damour and Saadyat, and were able to score many victories. The Saadyat Palace of Camille Chamoun, a headquarters of the isolationists on the Saida road, fell into the hands of the progressive forces. The isolationists collapsed.

At this point, the Syrians once again came to help and offered their mediation.

Supervisory Committee

As a result of Syrian contacts and efforts, it was agreed to form a Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian higher political and military supervisory committee, in order to stop the fighting, guarantee a return to normal life, and implement the clauses of the cease-fire agreement on the basis of a pro-

posed time-table to which all parties would be committed.

The Syrian mediation delegation continues, meanwhile, to exert its efforts to guarantee an overall agreement which will deal with the bases of all questions at issue.

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, together with representatives of all groups of the Palestinian Resistance and the Nationalist and Progressive parties, met on 22 January with the Syrian mediation delegation headed by Abdel Halim Khaddam, Syrian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Hikmat Al-Chahabi, Commander of the Syrian Armed Forces, and Brigadier Naji Jamil, Commander of the Syrian Air Force.

They discussed the situation in Leb-

anon in the light of the contacts made by the Syrian delegation with all parties.

The Syrian delegation also met on 21 January with Yasser Arafat and representatives of all groups of the Palestinian Revolution.

Projected Cease-Fire in Saadyat and Damour

On 21 January, a meeting was held between Abu Musa, General Commander of the Assifa Forces in South Lebanon, the Qaimmaqam (Governor) of Damour, Army Colonels Darwish and Abou Dergham, and representatives of the Lebanese nationalist movement in the South.

The following points were discussed during the meeting, as the basis for a cease-fire in Saadyat and Damour:

1 — Opening the international Bel-

rut-Saida Highway for the use of all citizens without exception.

2 — The permanent expulsion of Dany Chamoun, son of Camille Chamoun, from the region.

3 — Placing Saadyat, including the Palace there, under the supervision of the nationalist movement and preventing the stationing of soldiers on the Saida road.

4 — Freedom of movement in the area and right of passage for armed forces with all kinds of weapons.

5 — The transport of all those in Saadyat who wish to leave should take place under the supervision and protection of the nationalist movement, which will transport them to Jizzine or Deir al-Qamar in the Chouf region.



IN MEMORY OF OUR MARTYRS



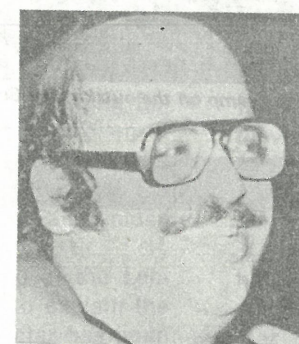
TALAL

Talal Rahmeh, was martyred on 9 January in the Chiah quarter of Beirut by a mortar shell. Talal is one of the hundreds of martyrs who fell as a result of the Lebanese crisis provoked by the reactionary and isolationist forces in Lebanon.

He was an editor of «Falastine al-Thawra», the central organ of the PLO, and a friend to the «Palestine» team.

Talal was a Syrian, but he struggled for Palestine; he wrote for Palestine and was martyred for the Lebanese cause.

We pledge Talal and all our martyrs to continue on the way to liberation.



NAJIB AZZAM

The «Monday Morning» magazine announced the martyrdom of its Office Manager, Najib Azzam, a Palestinian Christian, on 16/1/1976. He was murdered by the isolationist reactionary forces and his body was thrown in one of the suburbs of Beirut.

The nationally committed press, as it loses another colleague in its confrontation with the reactionary forces, confirms to its martyrs its continuous support to the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese nationalist and progressive forces in their struggle against the reactionary plots and intrigues.



NAYEF SHUBLAK

The Palestinian Revolution announced the martyrdom of Nayef Shublak on 31/1/1976, in an attack on al-Muharrer newspaper.

Nayef was a Palestinian militant who dedicated his life and work for the Palestinian cause. He wrote many books on the Palestinian Question and fought for the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

«Palestine» Bulletin expresses its deepest sorrow for the loss of this militant colleague and vows its determination to continue the struggle until liberation.



Tal al-Zaatar refugee camp on the outskirts of Beirut.

LEBANESE EVENTS

CASE: TAL AL ZAATAR

Tal al Zaatar—the Hill of Thyme—is a sprawling Palestinian refugee camp of about 20,000 people located on a hillside in the eastern suburbs of Beirut. Around it are situated over 100 factories in which the inhabitants of the camp and the neighbouring Lebanese working class work.

The people of Tal al Zaatar have had a long history of commitment to the Palestinian Revolution: the first martyr killed by the Zionists from among the Palestinians living in Lebanon—Mahmoud Qasim—came from Tal al Zaatar. The camp and its population have moreover always been anathema to the isolationist right, which dominates many of the neighbouring areas.

In 1969, one of the first major clashes between the Palestinian Resistance and the fascist Phalangist Party, occurred after a convoy escorting several mar-

tyrs to Damascus, was ambushed by the Phalangists in Kahhale where 17 Palestinians were killed, many of them were from Tal al Zaatar. Fighting between Tal al Zaatar and neighbouring Dekwaneh immediately followed.

This was the first of a series of serious clashes in the area, and the beginning of a long saga of ill-treatment of the people of the camp by their neighbours. In a sense, it marked the beginning of the imposition of a siege on the camp by the isolationist right.

The problem of Tal al Zaatar can easily be stated: the camp is a large conglomeration of Palestinian refugees (together with poor Lebanese who left the South because of Israeli attacks and limited job opportunities and who live on the fringes of the camp) living in the middle of a purely Christian area domi-

nated by the Phalangists and their like-minded allies.

This would not be a problem in the first place, were it not for the fact that the ideology of the isolationist right in Lebanon—which might rightly be termed «Maronite Zionism»—calls for the expulsion of what are called «outsiders» from Lebanon, and an end to the «occupation» of the country by the Palestinians.

This means in practice the torture, murder or mutilation of any Palestinian, Syrian or other Arab the Phalangists and their allies can capture, not to speak of the same atrocities practiced against Lebanese Muslims and even Christians who do not agree with the fanatic precepts of the Phalangists and other right-wing Maronite parties.

This also means the systematic siege, reduction and capture and the expulsion of the inhabitants of any civilian concentration which the isolationist right considers to be suspect—whether for reasons of party affiliation, nationality or religion. The most recent examples of the practice by the isolationists of these barbaric principles are the seizure and destruction of Hai al-Ghawarna in Antelias and of the village of Sabnaya near Baabda (see last issue of *Palestine*), and more recently the siege and capture of the tiny Palestinian Christian refugee camp of Dbayeh between Antelias and Beirut.

Thus Tal al Zaatar has been subjected to an intermittent siege by the isolationist forces since April 1975, with periods of heavy shelling and sniping followed by an uneasy calm which might be broken at any time by the sudden appearance of Phalangist roadblocks in any of the districts surrounding the camp, whose main purpose is to kidnap Palestinians on their way home from work.

Further, explanation of the thinking of the Lebanese far right is necessary, however, to explain the single-mindedness with which Tal al Zaatar has been attacked on numerous occasions in the past few years, and the ferocity of the siege currently underway.

Like Zionism, Lebanese Maronite «isolationism» postulates permanent Muslim and Arab hostility to a tiny isolated and distinct community which in «self-defence» must create a homogenous homeland for itself, and is justified in using any means to do so. Thus the isolationist right in Lebanon is now working towards the creation of a Maronite state in part of Lebanon, and to do so must expel any «alien» communities within the borders it aspires to.

These borders, as it happens, include the entire Eastern area of Beirut, in which Tal al Zaatar and Jisr al-Basha camps (as well as the Maslakh, Karantina, Burj Hammoud and Nab'a areas) are located, and thus the reactionary Lebanese right, supported by the Lebanese Army, has been waging a war of extermination against these districts whose aim is the expulsion of their populations so that the entire region east of Beirut may become «Palestinian-rein»—or free of Palestinians and their Lebanese nationalist allies.

Strategically, these districts form a belt running

South from the sea to the Damascus road; and outnumbered and surrounded though they are by isolationist-controlled regions, they have withstood repeated assaults by the rightists and the Army, who have been unable to occupy any new territory either in the camps or the neighbouring districts.

Even before the April fighting began, Pierre Gemayel was calling for the expulsion of the inhabitants of Tal al Zaatar. And since then, his gangs and those of Camille Chamoun and the other isolationist fascist leaders have been waging a «Holy War» against the inhabitants of the camp. This new «Crusade» was blessed by the reactionary Order of Maronite Monks (who happen to own the land on which Tal al Zaatar is located), in a communique published on January 14th which called for the expulsion of all Palestinians from Lebanon, the destruction of their camps, and the distribution of their inhabitants among the Arab states.

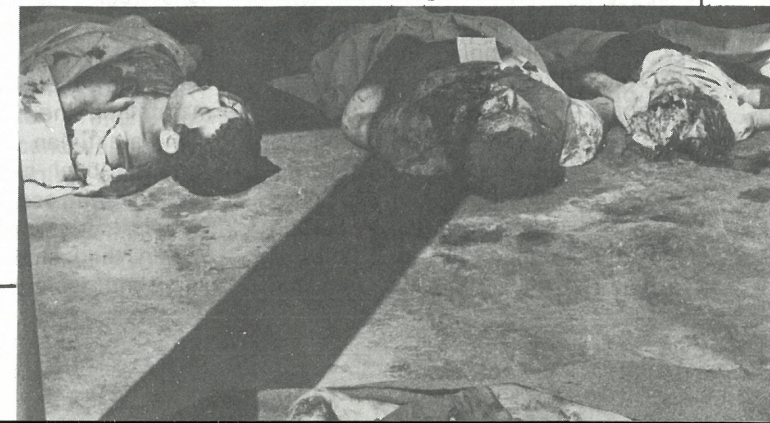
In the face of this «Maronite Zionist» terror, the response of the people of Tal al Zaatar has been firm. From the moment the first isolationist calls for the removal of Tal al Zaatar were heard, they have stated clearly and unequivocally that they will not leave the camp which has been their home for two decades except to return to their towns and villages in Palestine.

They have declared their determination to continue fighting as long as necessary to force the fascist Lebanese right to give up its aims of «removing them», and to make them pay dearly for the suffering of their shelling, sniping and food blockade which has been imposed on the thousands of women, children and old men in the camp.

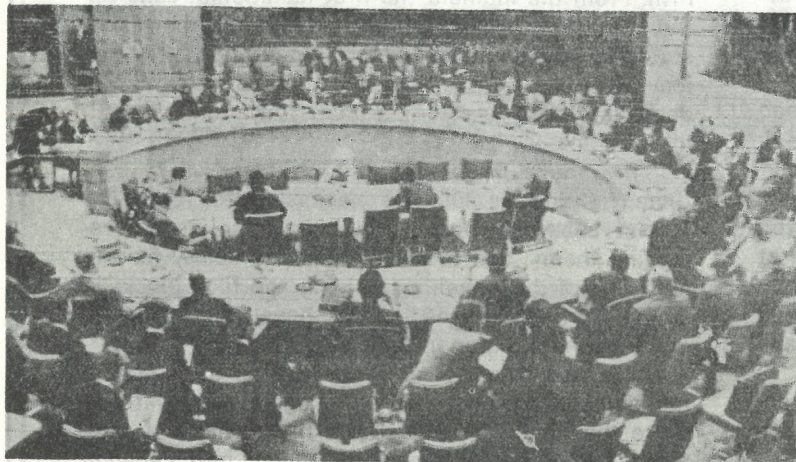
The people of Tal al Zaatar are no strangers to hardships. They have had to struggle for existence since the time, 28 years ago in the spring and summer of 1948, when they were driven into Lebanon from their homes in Galilee by the Zionist forces intent on making Palestine «as Jewish as England is English», in the words of Chaim Weizmann.

Since the Palestinian Revolution first came to Lebanon 7 years ago, liberating the country's 16 Palestinian refugee camps from the brutal tyranny of the Lebanese Army Deuxieme Bureau, the people of Tal al Zaatar have had to defend their camp against the same forces which now besiege them. Hardened by their ordeal, and determined never to return to control of the despotic authority which ruled over them for 20 years, they are fighting today for their right to struggle for the liberation of Palestine.

Victims of the Phalangist massacre.



SECURITY COUNCIL AND PALESTINE



«Our people have one homeland, Palestine, and we struggle for its restoration, and in order to exercise our historic and inalienable rights on its sacred soil.»

With these words Farouk Qaddumi, head of the Palestinian delegation, expressed the aims of the Palestinian struggle and the aspirations of the Palestinian people at the opening of the Security Council debate on the Middle East question on 12 January, 1976.

This was the first time in the history of the Palestinian struggle that a PLO delegation had been invited to participate in a Security Council debate on the Palestine question on behalf of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian representatives left for New York on 8 January, 1976, led by Farouk Qaddumi, Head of the PLO Political Section. The delegation also included

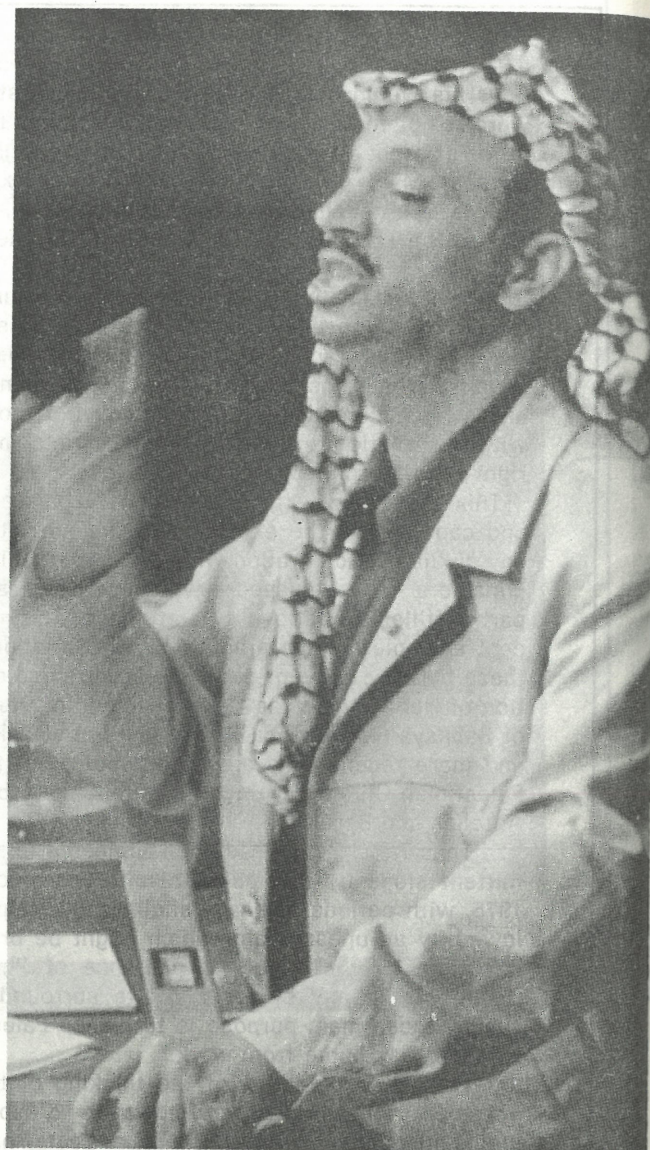
Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar and Yasser Abd Rabbo, both Executive Committee members; Chafiq al-Hout, Director of the PLO office in Beirut; Majid Abu Sharar, Head of the PLO Unified Information; as well as Jamal Sourani, Basil Aql, Sa'id Kamal and Abdel Qader al-Dahar.

The Palestinian delegation left for the Security Council against a background of local and international Zionist-imperialist campaigns and conspiracies aiming at invalidating Palestinian diplomatic achievements and belittling their influence. Both Israel and the United States have maintained their attempts to weaken the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab national movement through direct Israeli assaults on Palestinian civilian camps and Lebanese villages. Within the same framework, reactionary and isolationist forces in Leb-

anon have for the past ten months been waging a war of attrition against the Palestinian Revolution and its allies, the Lebanese nationalist forces, in an effort to distract the Palestinian Revolution from its main enemy, the Zionist occupiers.

Despite the continuance of these attempts, however, the Palestinian Revolution has scored many victories on the national and international levels. Twenty-eight years after the take-over of Palestine, world public opinion has at last come to realize the importance of the Palestinian people as a key to future peace in the Middle East, and has acknowledged that there will be no solution to the Middle East problem if the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are not recognized.

The shift in world public opinion, as borne out by recent UN resolutions, is



the outcome of a number of political factors: the eleven years of continuous armed struggle of the Palestinian Revolution; international recognition of the economic, political and strategic importance of the Arab region; the changes that have taken place in the world political map.

Since World War II European colonialism has been defeated, and many colonized countries have gained their independence and become members of the UN, which has led to a significant shift in the balance of power within the UN itself. This shift has resulted in increased support for the PLO through the votes taken by UN member-states.

In 1965, the Palestinian Revolution launched its armed struggle based on a protracted people's war as the only means of liberating Palestine. The launching of the Revolution constituted a turning point in Palestinian history through the Revolution's aim to draw on the full potential of the Arab masses and Arab resources. The Arab masses rallied around the Palestinian armed struggle, and Palestine became more than ever before a driving force behind the Arab popular movements in the area.

The October 1973 War was the cause of a change in the balance of power in the Arab region. For one thing, the legend of Israeli military invincibility was shattered. At the same time, the increasing economic importance of the Arab World and the use of oil as a political weapon led to increased international recognition of the Arab cause in general, and the Palestine question in particular.

All the above factors contributed to the invitation—voted by 105 UN member-states—to the PLO to attend the General Assembly in November 1974. After an absence of twenty-six years, Palestine, in the person of Yasser Arafat, Head of the Executive Committee of the PLO—the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—at last made its appearance on the international stage. This diplomatic achievement culminated in the adoption by the 29th session of the General Assembly of Resolution 3236, recognizing the existence of the Palestinian people and their «inalienable rights to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted...» as well as «the right to national sovereignty...». It further recognized «the right of the Palestinian people to regain their

rights by all means...». The 29th General Assembly session also adopted Resolution 3237 which granted the PLO observer status at the UN.

The successes of 1974 were to be followed by further diplomatic advances at the General Assembly's 30th session in 1975, when it passed three resolutions: Resolution 3376 which called for the establishment of a committee to supervise the «exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people»; Resolution 3379 condemning Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination; and a joint Egyptian-Syrian resolution calling for the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East. It was this latter resolution which led to the invitation of the PLO to attend the Security Council debate this January.



Farouk Qaddumi, head of the PLO delegation to the Security Council.

In spite of the above-mentioned resolutions, the US still refuses to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO.

The Kissinger step-by-step policy as a means of resolving the Middle East problem aims to neglect the Palestine question and to split Arab solidarity. US imperialism, in an attempt to impose its solutions on the area, has succeeded in ousting Egypt from the Arab front and in reaching a separate agreement with «Israel» (the Sinai Accord). A similar step was expected to follow on the Syrian front, but failed due to the Israeli refusal to give any acceptable concessions to Syria. Moreover, the Zionists continue to build new settlements on the Golan Heights. This Israeli intransigence has created new obstacles to the step-by-step policy adopted by the United

States, and led to certain differences between the American and Israeli positions, although the US basically continues to back Israeli policy.

Some US officials, however, have begun to realize that the Palestine question is the key to future peace in the Middle East. This was illustrated in the reports of various US officials and senators, such as McGovern, Percy, and particularly Saunders. It has even been reported by close friends of President Ford that the US is «willing to take great risks to preserve the State of Israel, but they are not willing to take great risks to preserve Israel's conquests.»

Although there are some differences between the attitudes of Israel and the US, these are only tactical differences serving the same strategy: the guaranteeing of secure borders for the Zionist entity, thus ensuring a per-

manent base in the area for US and Western imperialist interests. The effect of such a strategy is to undermine Arab unity and threaten Arab Liberation movements in the area.

PALESTINE AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL

There is no doubt that Palestinian-Syrian coordination has played a major role in the invitation of the PLO to attend the Security Council debate. The Syrians insisted on linking the extension of the mandate of the UNDOF on the Golan Heights to the holding of a United Nations Security Council debate on the Middle East with the participation of the PLO. The absence of an American veto regarding PLO participation came about through international pressures, and the US desire not to endanger the

newly-concluded Sinai agreement.

PLO participation at the Security Council was perceived by Israeli officialdom as a threat to Zionist expansionist designs. Israeli delegates were hastily dispatched to the US in order to secure an American assurance that it would use its veto against any resolution favouring the Palestinian cause.

Simultaneously, Zionist organizations in the US tried to sabotage the Security Council session by placing bombs in the UN Headquarters and the Iraqi Embassy, as well as staging demonstrations against Palestinian participation.

It is significant that Israel, which always claims its concern for peace in the area, boycotted the Security Council debate on the Middle East conflict because of the Palestinian presence, thus exposing its true attitude towards peace. This attitude goes side by side with the continued Israeli refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and cannot fail to increase tension and the possibility of a new war in the Middle East.

The Palestinians had no great hopes of immediate gains from the Security Council's deliberations. In the last 28 years, many resolutions concerning the Palestine question have been adopted by the UN. These resolutions, however, have been consistently disregarded by the Zionists and their supporter, the US. Even had a resolution in favour of the Palestinian cause been adopted by the Security Council, the past experience of the Palestinian people has shown that UN resolutions alone will never restore the Palestinian homeland.

Diplomacy is but one form of struggle and as such it is an important weapon on the way to liberation. The Palestinian Revolution has scored many significant diplomatic victories over the past two years. In view of the Zionist racist ideology and its expansionist nature, it is apparent that diplomatic struggle can never be a substitute for Palestinian armed resistance inside occupied Palestine.

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US VETO

The US veto of the draft resolution on the Middle East problem and the Palestine question presented to the Security Council by the Non-Aligned states, came as no surprise either to the Palestinian delegation in New York, or to the PLO. In accordance with our analysis of the US stand on the Palestine question, such an outcome was expected.

While all that took place during the session on 26 January simply revealed anew the backbone of US policy and its conspiratorial role against the Palestine people and the Arab nation, it also exposed all those who, during the years following the 1973 war, have covertly propagated a «new» US position and «new» US peace-plan which differs little from the old one.

It remains for us to sum up the results of the Security Council meeting. It was made notable by a surprise amendment presented by Britain (the faithful lap-dog of the USA) which crowned its criminal history of relations with the Palestinian people, and which was aimed at creating confusion among the Non-Aligned states and sabotaging their draft resolution. The maneuver, which entailed the introduction of one amendment to the draft resolution reaffirming resolutions 242 and 338, and stipulating that they not be superseded, failed as a result of the sweeping defeat suffered by the amendment when it was put to a vote.

It can therefore be said that the

vote on the British amendment was a new vote by the Security Council on Resolutions 242 and 338, and that this vote has aborted these resolutions and has crushingly defeated them.

242 and 338 have thus failed, while Palestine has won in spite of the American veto.

U.S.A. VETOES NON-ALIGNED DRAFT RESOLUTION

The United States of America used its power of Veto against the draft resolution presented to the Security Council by the group of Non-Aligned States regarding «The Middle East Problem including the Palestine Question».

Before the voting on the draft, Britain tried to insert a paragraph calling for the reaffirmation of Resolutions 242 and 338. Voting on the British amendment, however, resulted in its failure, in what was described by observers as a sweeping defeat for the two earlier resolutions.

The original draft resolution received nine votes in favour, with two abstentions and with China and Libya not participating in the voting. The USA was the only country to oppose the resolution, which it did by using its power of Veto.

United Nations Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim then expressed his disappointment regarding the dead-end to which the U.S. Veto had led. He said that the nature of the Middle East conflict was such



Moynihan's Veto...

as to make the results of any new confrontation very dangerous. He added that the Security Council debate on the Middle East Question had highlighted the Palestinian dimension of the conflict.

The UN Security Council met at on 26 January. The meeting was opened by a statement delivered by the Pakistani delegate presenting the Non-Aligned countries' draft resolution regarding «The Middle East Problem including the Palestine Question», a draft which crystallized the discussions and consultations held by the Non-Aligned countries. The text of the resolution, which was presented jointly by Benin, Guyana, Panama, Pakistan, Romania and the United Republic of Tanzania, follows:

«The Security Council,

Having considered the item entitled «The Middle East Problem in-

cluding the Palestine Question», in accordance with resolution 381 (1975) dated 30 November 1975,

Having heard the representatives of parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, representative of the Palestinian people,

Convinced that the Question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East,

Expressing its concern over the continuing deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, and deeply deploring Israel's persistence in its occupation of Arab territories, and its refusal to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions,

Reaffirming the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by the threat or use of force,

Reaffirming further the necessity of the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region, based on full respect for the Charter of the UN as well as for its resolutions concerning the problem of the Middle East, including the Question of Palestine,

1. Affirms:

A — That the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise its inalienable national right of self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state in Palestine in accordance with the Charter of the UN,

B — The right of the Palestinian refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their

neighbours to do so, and the right of those choosing not to return to receive compensation for their property,

C — That Israel should withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since June 1967,

D — That appropriate arrangements should be established to guarantee, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence within secure and recognized boundaries of all states in the area.

2. Decides that the provisions contained in Paragraph 1 should be taken fully into account in all international efforts and conferences organized within the framework of the United Nations for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

3. Requests the Secretary-General to take all the necessary steps as soon as possible for the implementation of the provisions of this resolution and to report to the Security Council on the progress achieved,

4. Decides to convene within a period of six months to consider the report by the Secretary-General regarding the implementation of this resolution, and in order to pursue its responsibilities regarding such implementation.»

□ □

PALESTINE NOTES



CONDOLENCES ON DEATH OF CHOU EN LAI

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General-Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, on 8 January sent a cable of condolences on the death of Chinese Premier Chou En Lai to Chairman Mao Tse Tung and to the members of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

In his cable, Arafat expressed his sincere condolences in the name of the Palestinian people, of members of the PLO Executive Committee, of all Palestinian fighters and in his name on the loss of Chou En Lai, who was a militant leader and loyal friend of the Palestinian people.

The cable continued: "Comrade Chou En Lai was a great commander who offered so much to his nation and to the struggle for freedom in the world, that his name will live on, not only in the history of the struggle of the Chinese people, but also in the history of international struggle."

Arafat concluded his cable by expressing "his deepest condolences from our pained and sad hearts."

A personal envoy of Yasser Arafat left for Peking to attend the funeral of comrade Chou En Lai.

ARAFAT SALUTES AFRO-ARAB SEMINAR IN KHARTUM

Yasser Arafat sent a telegram on 9 January saluting the Afro-Arab Seminar held in Khartum for the development of militant and fraternal relations between the Arab and African peoples.

The telegram read as follows:

"Militants and representatives of the Arab and African worlds. In the name of the steadfast Palestinian people and the Palestinian revolutionaries, who challenge imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and sieges, and who are continuing their struggle against the racist Zionist base in our usurped homeland, and against international imperialism which created this base and continues to aid and protect it in the same way it protects its twin in South Africa, I send to you my warmest revolutionary regards.

"I hope that your productive efforts and constructive dialogue will result in developing the militant and fraternal relations between Arab and African peoples, maintaining our just joint aims for the liquidation of imperialism and Zionism, and for cooperation in the construction of a new world with civilized values expressing the ambitions of humanity for justice, freedom and progress."

PLO TO ATTEND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HABITAT

The PLO will attend the International Conference on Habitat which is to be held in the Canadian city of Vancouver in British Columbia next June. The UN-sponsored Conference will study the problems of habitat in the cities. The PLO was invited to attend the conference, on the basis of UN resolution 3236 adopted in November 1974, which called for PLO participation in all UN conferences.

NEW PALESTINIAN VICTORY

On 27 January, the PLO achieved a new international victory. It was accepted as a member in the group of the 77 developing nations holding their conferences in Manila.

The acceptance of the PLO in the group of 77 developing nations came at the end of the meetings held by high-ranking officials of the developing countries prior to their third conference which will start on February 2nd.

Furthermore, in a meeting held in Jakarta, the Asian group decided to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It also declared its full support for the PLO's joining of the group of 77 nations.

ARAB WORKERS CONFERENCE CONDEMNS SINAI AGREEMENT

The resolutions adopted by the Conference of Arab Workers Unions, meeting in Cairo, condemned the Sinai Agreement signed between the Sadat regime, the Zionist enemy and the USA, rejecting any agreement between the Arab States and the Zionist entity, and declaring their adherence to the resolutions of the Arab summit conference, particularly the Rabat Summit.

The Conference, which was called for by the General Union of Palestinian Workers, was held on 5 and 6 January, and was attended by numerous delegations representing workers' unions from all Arab countries.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Conference and issued on 8 January:

1) The Arab working class stresses that the existing conflict between the Arab Nations and the Zionist entity is in its essence a struggle for existence, which will only end when Palestine is liberated from the Zionist enemy, and when the Palestinians return to their homeland, practice their right of self-determination and realize their national aspirations.

2) Armed struggle is the only

way of dealing with the Zionist enemy in order to liberate Palestine.

3) Reaffirmation of the resolutions and political communique of the 3rd Central Council held in Damascus from 3-6 December, 1975, regarding the Sinai Agreement. Stress on the importance of making known these resolutions on an Arab and world scale in order to crystallize the opinions of the Arab working classes as evidenced in their rejection of the Sinai Agreement.

4) The Arab workers oppose any agreement between the Arab countries and the Zionist entity and adhere to the resolutions of the Arab Summit conferences, particularly the Rabat Conference.

5) Reaffirmation of the importance of the adhering to the resolutions of the Arab Boycott Office, considering the Zionist entity an imperialist base; and of preventing ships and goods on their way to and from the Zionist enemy from passing through Arab territorial waters.

6) Reiteration of the invitation to Arab governments to shoulder their historic responsibilities in supporting the forces of the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab fighting forces, in order to strengthen their economic and military power in their struggle against the Zionist enemy, supported by US imperialism.

7) Preparation for the holding of a popular Arab conference in Tripoli, Libya, in July 1976 to discuss the Palestine Problem and its developments, in order to emphasize the militant concepts of the Arab masses with regard to the Palestine question.

8) Stress on the importance of organizing rallies and conferences on the Arab level in order to explain to the Arab people the conspiracies against the Palestinian Revolution and the progressive and nationalist forces in the Arab Nation.



ARAFAT SENDS MESSAGE TO MAKARIOS

Cypriot President, Archbishop Makarios, received a message on 13 January from Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. The PLO representative in Cyprus who handed President Makarios the letter, also discussed with him the current situation in the Middle East region as well as Palestinian-Cypriot relations.

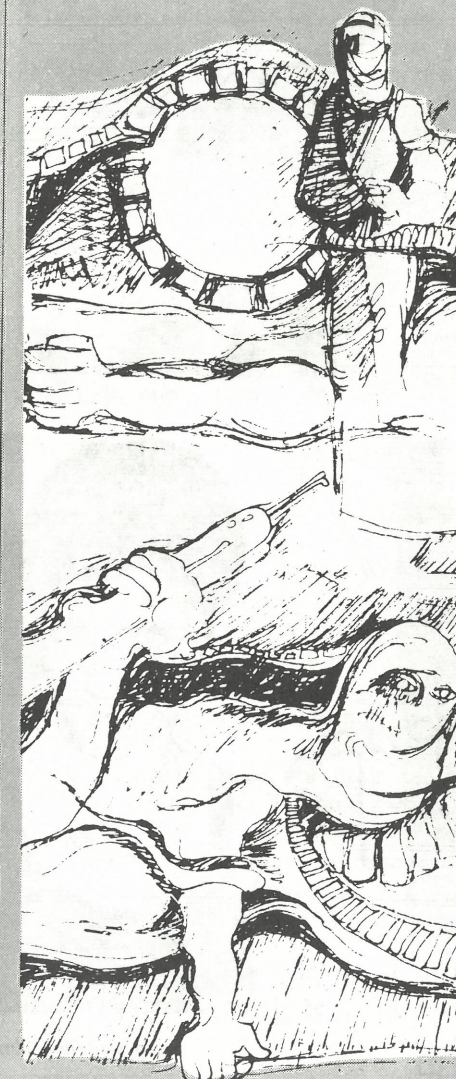
PLO OFFICE OPENS IN STOCKHOLM

On 13 January the PLO opened its first information office in Stockholm. PLO representative, Daoud Kolati, declared in an interview with the daily "Dager Nyheter" that he hoped this office would contribute to the development of friendly relations between the Palestinian and Swedish peoples, at a time when Swedish and Scandinavian public opinion is increasingly in favour of the PLO.

PLO OFFICE IN VIENNA

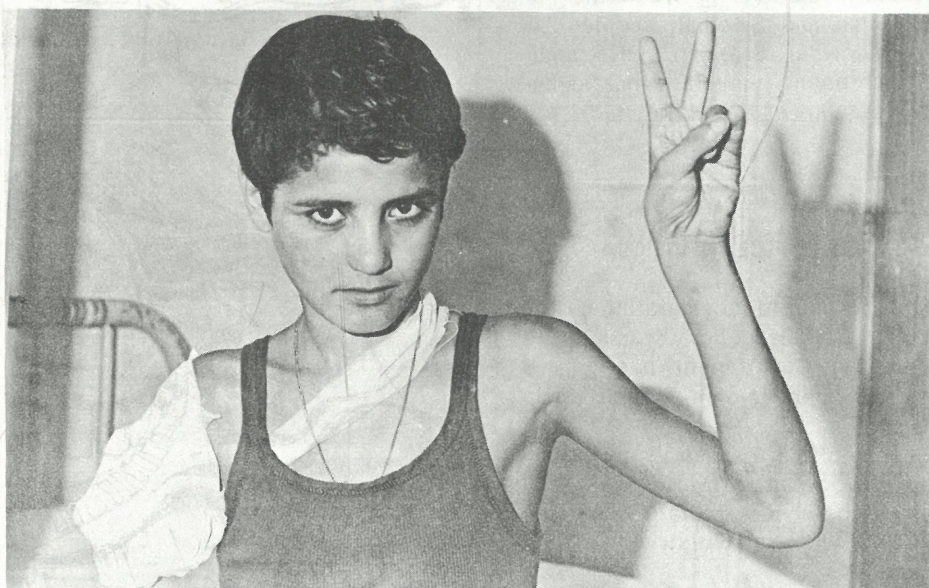
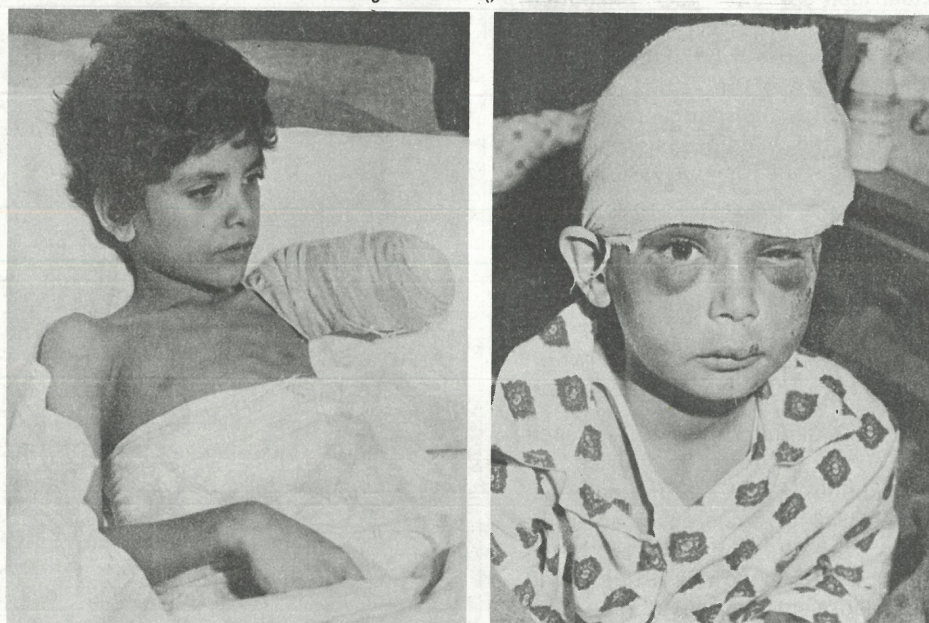
According to a declaration by the Austrian Chancellor Kreisky, the Austrian Government has agreed to the opening of a PLO office in Vienna.

This office will serve as an information center for the PLO, and is intended to facilitate communication with the Austrian Government.



WOUNDED COMMITTEE

Phalangist crimes against children...



are strikingly similar to Israeli methods.

It has always been the aim of the Revolution to protect the lives of its members. The Palestinian Revolution has, since 1965, sacrificed many martyrs in the struggle against the Zionist occupation and its reactionary allies in the area. At the same time, many fighters and civilians have been wounded. To those must be added the great number of victims of the conspiracies of reactionary and imperialist forces against the Arab Liberation Movement and the Palestinian Revolution.

The Palestinian Revolution, as the vanguard of the Arab Liberation Movement, has faced many liquidation attempts, firstly in Jordan, and subsequently in Lebanon. After the September 1970 massacres in Jordan, carried out by the reactionary Hashemite regime against the Palestinian refugee camps, the Revolution had some 255,000 casualties, including both martyrs and wounded.

In order to take care of this tremendous number of casualties, the Palestinian Revolution established «The Committee for the Wounded». Its initial aim was to provide all the revolutionary injured with the means of recovery, enabling them both to overcome their human difficulties and lead a useful and worthwhile life, and to continue their struggle against the Zionist occupation and its reactionary allies.

Another factor reinforcing the need for a committee of this kind is the continued Israeli aggression against Palestinian camps, and Lebanese villages in South Lebanon. Israeli attacks against civilian targets are part of the Zionist-imperialist plot aimed at liquidating the Palestinian Revolution and creating discord between it and the Lebanese masses. General Dayan was reported in *The Times* in May 1970 as saying: «The same devastation that exists on the Canal Front and the East Bank of the River Jordan will exist also on our northern borders (those of south Lebanon), and the enemy will get what is coming to him.»

Together with Zionist threats and practices, American imperialism and its agents have long planned to liquidate and devastate our Revolution. A conspiracy which originated a long time ago came to light as recently as April 1975, when a bus of Palestinian civilians was attacked and the passengers were massacred by the reactionary right-wing «Al-Kataeb» (the

Phalangist party) in Ain al-Rummaneh, a suburb of Beirut.

Ten months have passed since that time and the Palestinians, together with the Lebanese masses and nationalist forces, are still standing steadfast facing all intrigues, sacrificing thousands of their people to preserve their existence and entity. These recent bloody clashes have further stressed the need for «The Committee for the Wounded».

The Committee's responsibility is to care for all the wounded by catering for their economic, moral and medical needs. All wounded, whether civilians or fighters, whether Palestinian or Lebanese, and regardless of the groups to which they belong, are eligible for the Committee's aid. The work of the Committee—its humanitarian and social concerns—is a guarantee for the continuation of our armed struggle against the challenges and provocations of imperialist agents in the area. The Committee's obligations are:

1 — To make daily visits to all wounded in the hospitals;

2 — To prepare complete descriptions of the medical condition and situation of each of the wounded;

3 — To provide clothes, cigarettes, newspapers, and foodstuffs for the wounded, and to provide for any other needs they may have;

4 — To contact the families of the wounded, and keep them informed of the medical conditions of their sons;

5 — To provide blood for the wounded through donors, in coordination with the Palestinian Red Crescent (PRCS) blood bank.

Yasser Arafat visits the wounded in hospitals on feast days, on which occasions the Committee presents, on his behalf, a gift of 25 LL for pocket money to all the adult wounded, and gives small gifts to the children.

The Committee works with dedication to increase the means at its disposal in order to serve both the Lebanese and the Palestinian peoples. In recent months, its activities have had to expand to take in the large number of victims of the bloody events in Lebanon. Since August 1975, the Committee has looked after 1,775 wounded, distributed in seven hospitals in different Lebanese areas, and has given help and care to the wounded in the Gaza, Haifa, al-Makassed, al-Berbir, Beirut, Arab University and the American University hospitals. Al-Makassed hospital alone treated 1,224

cases between September and the end of December 1975.

«The Committee for Support»

The recently established «Committee for Support», an off-shoot of the «Committee for the Wounded» established during the recent clashes, provides financial assistance to families whose homes were destroyed as a result of Phalangist attacks on the popular areas. In addition, the daily worker who has lost his means of income through the crisis is provided with work as well as foodstuffs and a daily allowance. Events in Lebanon have left huge numbers of people homeless and unemployed. In this tragic situation, the work of the «Committee for Support» is of vital importance.

In recognition of the Lebanese need for assistance, the new Committee has established first-aid centers in different popular Lebanese areas. The PRCS provides each center with medicine and supplies of blood, while the Committee is responsible for finding doctors and supplying social services. The Committee, in coordination with the PRCS, also provides the wounded in each center with beds and bedding, and medical equipment. The wounded are transferred to these centres after they have received emergency treatment in hospitals, and once they are out of danger.

The staff of each center consists of one doctor, a nurse and a cook. In addition, a group of housewives and students come regularly on a voluntary basis to clean the centres. Voluntary aid in general, and especially the work of voluntary medical auxiliaries, has made an enormous contribution during the long months of the crisis to the Revolution's ability to cope with emergency situations.

The «Committee for Support» has



long-range projects to increase the number of first-aid centers in order to cover all the areas, and to enable emergency treatment to be given to the wounded before their transfer to hospital. The new first-aid centers will be established in coordination with the popular committees of each area. The intention behind such projects, besides preserving the lives of both fighters and civilians, will be to enable the people to cope with any crisis.

The Home for the Wounded

Another social institution established by the «Committee for the Wounded» since its foundation in 1970, is the «Home for the Wounded». The Home has been set up in one of the Palestinian camps in Beirut and its work is specifically directed towards the treatment and rehabilitation of the handicapped.

The Home, where the wounded are transferred after initial treatment in hospital, provides physiotherapy treatment through specially-developed rehabilitation programmes. It is also responsible for providing and fitting artificial limbs, and is equipped to deal with most cases. In the event of particularly serious wounds, the patient may be sent to complete his treatment abroad, financed by the PLO and the PRCS.

Besides giving treatment to the handicapped, the Home is also literally a home, offering its shelter to those whose families are far away and unable to support them. As the rehabilitation period comes to an end, those who are able will find work in the various institutions of the Palestinian Revolution, in SAMED for example. (See *Palestine* No. 8, p. 18.)

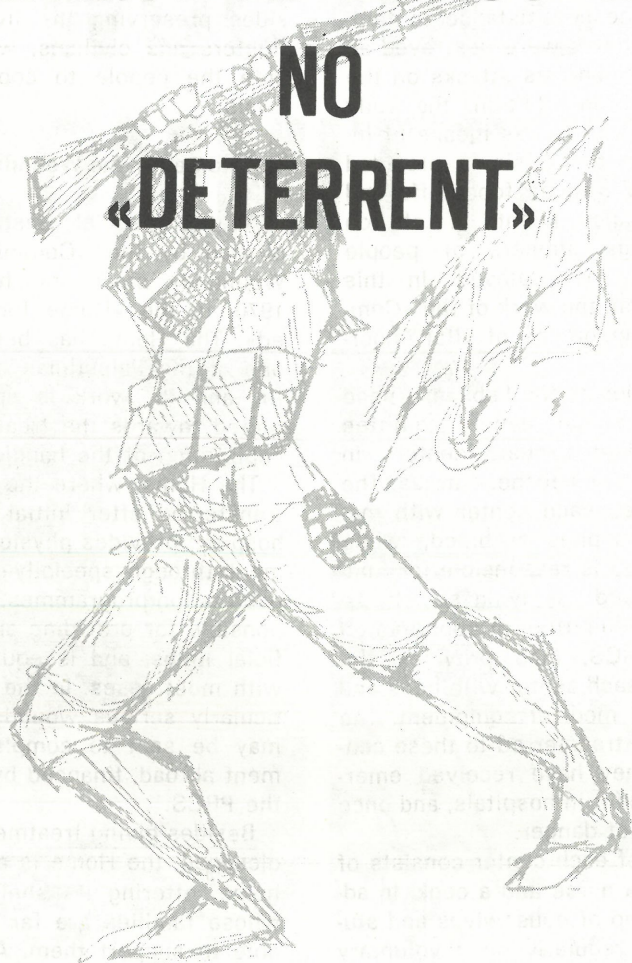
«The Committee for the Wounded», «The Committee for Support», and «The Home for the Wounded» are all social foundations of the Revolution, and were established to care and assist all those wounded in our struggle for liberation.

Our Palestinian people have chosen armed struggle as the only means of regaining our usurped land. Our people have shown their commitment to the Palestinian Revolution, readily sacrificing their lives in order to achieve victory.

With strong will and steadfast determination we continue our march to Palestine.

«PREVENTIVE MEASURES»

NO «DETERRENT»



The year 1975, which marked the end of 11 years of heroic armed resistance by our Palestinian people, was characterized as the year of escalation of our struggle and the year of the integration of our people with their armed revolution. In its last week, this year witnessed an escalation of our commandos operations against the Zionist occupation forces and against enemy's vital installations.

During the period 23-31 December, our commandos carried out 15 successful military operations. Seven of these operations took place in the Tel-Aviv region, when our commandos

attacked with timed explosive charges the Central Clothes Exhibition in Dizengoff Square, a furniture factory in Herzl street, a government office building, the Labour Bank in Allenby street, the enemy intelligence office at the crossroads of al-Taybi and Livinski streets, another furniture factory in Herzl street together with its warehouse and carpentry shop, and executed an enemy intelligence officer in the southern suburbs of Tel-Aviv.

During the same period, six combat operations were carried out in north Palestine. Three of the operations were ambushes of military patrols, two of which took place in the Yiftah

region, and one near Morgoliot settlement. Near Morgoliot also our fighters shelled military positions, while another unit attacked a police center near Zir'it settlement. The sixth operation took place when one of our units moving inside occupied Palestine came into confrontation with an enemy mobile patrol south of al-Manara. After all of these operations, our fighters returned safely to base.

Two further operations were executed in Eilat in south Palestine. The first was an attack with automatic weapons and hand-grenades on a club for enemy officers; the second was an attack with timed explosive and incendiary charges against a wood depot and an electrical equipment depot in the industrial region of Eilat.

The Twelfth Year Begins

Yasser Arafat has described 1976 as «the year of confrontation». Already by the beginning of the year there has been significant development and intensification of our people's armed resistance against the Zionist occupation forces, in spite of stepped-up security measures inside the Zionist entity.

In a statement made in early January, Zionist Minister of Police, Shlomo Hillel maintained that the Israeli police were on constant alert and that police forces were «in complete control of the situation in Tel-Aviv». Such statements, together with the intensification of security measures, are obvious devices intended to reassure public opinion inside the Zionist state, and aim to prevent our commando operations from taking place in Tel-Aviv, in the very heart of the Zionist entity. At the same time, they are intended to restore the deteriorating morale of the Zionist settlers who are increasingly apprehensive of Zionist distortions. It is not the first time, however, that the Zionist authorities have declared that new security measures have been taken.

Notwithstanding these strict precautions, our commandos continue to strike deep at targets assumed by the enemy to be secure and safe. As evidence of this, on 1 and 2 January, 1976, as the Zionist authorities were mobilizing massive troops in various parts of Palestine, particularly in the north, as part of their «preventive measures» in the face of possible commando attacks on the eleventh

anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian Revolution, our commandos carried out five military operations in various parts of occupied Palestine. These operations included a rocket attack on Naharia, the planting of anti-vehicular mines on roads in the Galilee and Gaza regions, an attack with automatic weapons in Tel-Aviv, and an attack with timed explosive and incendiary charges on targets in both Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv.

Of the three operations carried out on 1 January, the first took place in the Qiryat Yovil quarter of Jerusalem when our unit placed charges in a military car park in that quarter. The charges exploded, damaging a number of military vehicles and parts of the garage.

The same day, our commandos planted a remote-controlled anti-vehicular mine on the road leading to al'Arish in the Gaza region. The mine later exploded under a military vehicle loaded with enemy soldiers.

Also on 1 January, one of our units made a rocket attack on a number of enemy military positions in Naharia in northern Palestine. As it withdrew, the same unit planted an anti-vehicular mine on the Naharia-al-Kabri road. It exploded later that day when an enemy vehicle passed over it. Another operation soon followed when one of our combat units planted a number of explosive charges in targets in Shoked Street in the Qiryat Halakha quarter of the southern suburbs. The first charge went off just after midnight on 2 January, the other charges following in a series of consecutive explosions lasting 7 minutes. The explosions set fire to a major paper depot, damaged and set fire to several furniture show-rooms, and destroyed a shop and a food depot. Enemy losses were estimated at more than ten million Israeli pounds.

Later that same morning, one of our combat units launched a surprise attack with automatic weapons on a Zionist police club north of Tel-Aviv.

Amidst the claims of the Zionist Minister, after the five operations in Tel-Aviv, that police forces were «in complete control», and in spite of the so-called «preventive measures», our Palestinian fighters continued their attacks on vital enemy military and economic targets in occupied Palestine, particularly in the Tel-Aviv region.

On 3 January, our fighters from special units pursued two Zionist intelligence

officers heading for the Ain-al-Fashkha region near the Dead Sea. They liquidated both officers and returned safely to base.

The following day, two units infiltrated enemy security check points, and placed incendiary and explosive charges inside a carpentry shop and a furniture depot in Ben Nabashtl Street in southern Tel-Aviv, and inside the Levi De Barkouth chemical factory in central Tel-Aviv. The charges exploded that day, destroying both targets in the ensuing fire.

On 6 January, our fighters destroyed the 'Champion' garage in Bat Yam Settlement south of Tel-Aviv. That night a huge fire was started in a large paper factory in the Kfar Shalim region south of Tel-Aviv. Less than 24 hours later, another fire broke out in a coffee-shop frequented by Zionist intelligence officers in Ethel Street, Tel-Aviv. This fire was the sixth of its kind in the city of Tel-Aviv and its suburbs within one week.

Following the Tel-Aviv operations, the Zionist occupation authorities detained a number of Jewish youths under the pretext of combatting violence of all types inside the Zionist entity. The authorities have accused some of the Jewish detainees of being directly involved in at least two of the operations. At the same time, the enemy forces have arrested over 500 Palestinians under the same pretext of combatting violence.

Breaking through the Zionists' «preventive measures», on 9 January, our commandos attacked a supermarket in the exclusive residential district of Ramat Eshkol in occupied Jerusalem, using timed explosive charges. Tension and fear consequently took hold of the Zionist settlers in the city, who rushed to their shelters on hearing the sound of the explosions.

In the town of Majdal, on 11 January, one of our commandos carried out a 1 a.m. attack with hand grenades on a group of enemy intelligence officers who were in a night club. Israeli police forces and frontier guards pursued our commando inside the city, but failed to capture him.

A group belonging to the heavy rocket unit on 12 January bombarded a number of vital enemy military and economic installations in the city of Safad in occupied Galilee. The group scored direct hits on the targets, which were a military installation, and the main electricity and telephone networks for the city.

Confronting the Challenge

While our people in the refugee camps in Lebanon, together with the Lebanese national and progressive forces, are confronting a challenge to their very existence, our revolutionaries in occupied Palestine persevere in resisting the Zionist occupation forces. This period witnessed fierce confrontations with the reactionary and agent forces in Lebanon. Nevertheless, our revolutionaries stressed through continued action in the occupied territories that the armed resistance of our people cannot be so easily distracted from its main aim. They carried out four successful military operations between 16-20 January.

The first of these operations took place in Eilat, when one of our combat units, on 16 January, placed explosive charges inside the Eilat police center, after overcoming a number of Zionist security checkpoints inside the city. Following the Eilat explosion, our fighters planted timed explosive charges inside the main electricity generating station in the southern part of Acre. The explosion caused considerable damage inside the station, which provides electricity to the Galilee region. The third operation was executed by our commandos from Unit 'B', who planted a number of incendiary and explosive charges inside a textile factory in Nazareth. The charges exploded on 17 January, damaging the factory's weaving machinery and setting fire to the raw materials there. The fourth operation involved the planting of mines on the main road to Wadi Araba, south of the Dead Sea. On 20 January, one of the mines exploded when a military vehicle carrying army soldiers passed over it.

The twelfth year of Palestinian armed resistance has begun with the Palestinian people's readiness to make heroic sacrifices for the restoration of their homeland, and for full recognition of their identity as a people with inalienable national rights. Our people's readiness to confront all conspiracies has been embodied time and again in their spirited resistance through eleven years of armed struggle. This readiness is also embodied in our people's firm stand in support of the Lebanese national and progressive forces in their joint battle to defend their existence.

OCCUPATION DIARY

ZIONIST SETTLEMENT CAMPAIGN EXPANDED UNDER RABIN'S SUPERVISION

The Palestinian masses under occupation continue to express their anger, and resistance to the latest series of Zionist colonization projects, which the enemy has recently begun to implement on a large scale all over the Arab territories occupied in 1967, so as to consolidate its occupation of these lands.

According to news reaching WAFA from occupied Palestine on 6 January, over the previous two days the Zionist occupation authorities encircled the village of Kafr Qadoun in the Nablus district and arrested a number of villagers. The Palestinian villagers had earlier prevented a number of buses from entering Kafr Qadoun to transport workers, while the workers refused to go to their jobs in Zionist firms in protest against Zionist attempts to colonize 200 dunums of land in the village.

The occupation authorities consequently waged an arrest campaign in order to terrorize the villagers and enable Zionist families to settle in the village. Eye-witnesses reported that bulldozers were already working night and day in preparation for the construction of the settlement, while military helicopters transported the families of settlers and workers into the village, which was surrounded by Zionist troops.

The inhabitants of Kafr Qadoun meanwhile sent delegations to West Bank municipalities and unions in order to make plans to confront this new settlement scheme, and halt Zionist colonization of the territories occupied in 1967. Consequently, the Municipal Councils of 18 villages in the Nablus district planned to hold an emergency meeting in the following two days to organize the campaign against the Zionist settlement in Kafr Qadoun.

Zionist Prime Minister, Yitzhaq Rabin, is personally supervising the settlement operations in Kafr Qa-



doun, and has visited the Jewish Agency offices and asked them to send 20 sleeping vans to house the Zionist settlers in the village temporarily.

In the Ramallah region, the villagers of Rafat sent strongly worded protest memoranda to the Zionist occupation authorities, stressing their determination to confront the seizure of their land and the establishment of settlements there. They sent similar memos to all West Bank municipalities asking them to take firm stands in order to foil the Zionist settlement campaign in the areas occupied in 1967.

The Palestinian masses in the village of Kafr Qassem also strongly expressed their protest against the Zionist authorities' decision to seize around 3,000 dunums of village land. At the beginning of January, the villagers confronted a settlement mission dispatched by the Zionist authorities to inform the village council about the seizure of their land under the pretext that it cannot be used for agriculture. The newspaper *al-Mirsad* reported that a large number of villagers had physically attempted to prevent their land being fenced off.

The village council, moreover, held an emergency session to adopt a series of resolutions for the defence of the village land and to prevent the enemy from seizing it. The inhabitants of the village also decided to stage a demonstration and block off all roads in the village if the enemy insists on forcibly executing its expansionist plans.

Also according to *al-Mirsad*, the villagers of al-Mazra'a, near the town of Naharia, on 4 January confronted Zionist forces when the latter destroyed a number of houses in the village. The occupation authorities, however, encircled the village and arrested 30 of its inhabitants, including two women, later throwing them into prison in Acre. The paper added that, following the destruction of the houses by Zionist soldiers, the villagers held an emergency meeting, during which they condemned the suppressive terrorist measures practiced by the enemy. The 2,000 inhabitants of al-Mazra'a are still living in their village while their land remains under the control of the enemy.

In the Gaza Strip, the inhabitants of the town of Rafah expressed their anger regarding the Zionist enemy's seizure of their land. The enemy has in fact seized 20,000 dunums of land, which bulldozers are currently «clearing» in preparation for the establishment of new Zionist colonies. The Israeli forces positioned in the region have moreover issued an ultimatum to the inhabitants to leave their land.

The citizens of Rafah sent memoranda of protest to the enemy leadership threatening that they would have recourse to acts of resistance and rebellion, in order to stop the seizure of their land by the enemy. The Zionist authorities have, since 1967, seized thousands of dunums of land for the construction of a belt of colonies, forcing thousands of families to leave the region, in order to establish new Zionist settlements surrounding and dividing the Gaza Strip.

WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION IN OCCUPIED JERUSALEM AGAINST MASSIVE ARRESTS

Palestinian women on 4 January demonstrated in front of the International Red Cross offices in occupied Jerusalem, in protest against the mass arrests carried

out by the Zionist occupation authorities, and the arbitrary sentences issued by the authorities on their sons for their participation in demonstrations denouncing the occupation.

The demonstrators presented copies of their protest against the Zionist occupation authorities to the three Arabic-language newspapers published in Jerusalem, and to the headquarters of the IRC in Jerusalem.

The occupation authorities previously arrested hundreds of Palestinian students during the mass uprising in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip during November and December of last year.

The Palestinian masses, humanitarian organizations, unions and local and other municipal councils have threatened the Israeli Government that they will stage a general strike and further anti-occupation demonstrations in all parts of the West Bank if the authorities refuse the unconditional release of all Palestinian administrative detainees. The threat was accompanied by telegrams to the Zionist military administration, in the West Bank, to the Israeli Minister of War, Shimon Peres, to the International Red Cross, the Human Rights League and the UN offices in «Israel».

Thousands of Palestinians are currently under administrative detention in Israeli jails.

A Zionist police spokesman on 8 January claimed that the Zionist security forces had recently arrested six Palestinian members of *Fateh* in Nablus in the occupied West Bank.

The Zionist spokesman accused the six citizens of carrying out a number of military operations in the West Bank and in the heart of the Zionist entity, and of placing explosives in a number of cars in Tel-Aviv, which resulted in the killing or wounding of a number of Zionist settlers. He added that weapons and explosive charges had been found in the homes of the arrested citizens.

Following the Jerusalem operation executed by Palestinian commandos in Jerusalem on 9 January, the Zionist authorities began wide-spread arrests of Palestinian citizens in Jerusalem.

The 26 Palestinian detainees arrested after the Jerusalem operation are being subjected to severe physical and psychological torture in the enemy prisons, brutal acts by means of which the Israeli authorities aim to extract information from the detainees.

ZIONISTS IMPOSE MILITARY CONSCRIPTION ON ARAB CITIZENS

According to reports from occupied Palestine on January 9, the occupation authorities have decided to impose military conscription on Arab citizens living in Israel since 1948. The reports added that the authorities have carried out studies in this respect and have issued a recommendation encouraging Arab youth to join the security forces. The steps to implement military conscription will be carried out in the near future.

The Israeli authorities earlier imposed military conscription on members of the Druze sect, a move which met great opposition from Druzes inside occupied Palestine.

ENEMY MANEUVERS IN HEBRON AND BETHLEHEM

Towards mid-January, the Zionist occupation authorities imposed a curfew on the city of Hebron and its suburbs, as well as on Bethlehem and other areas of the occupied West Bank, because of Israeli military maneuvers taking place in the region.

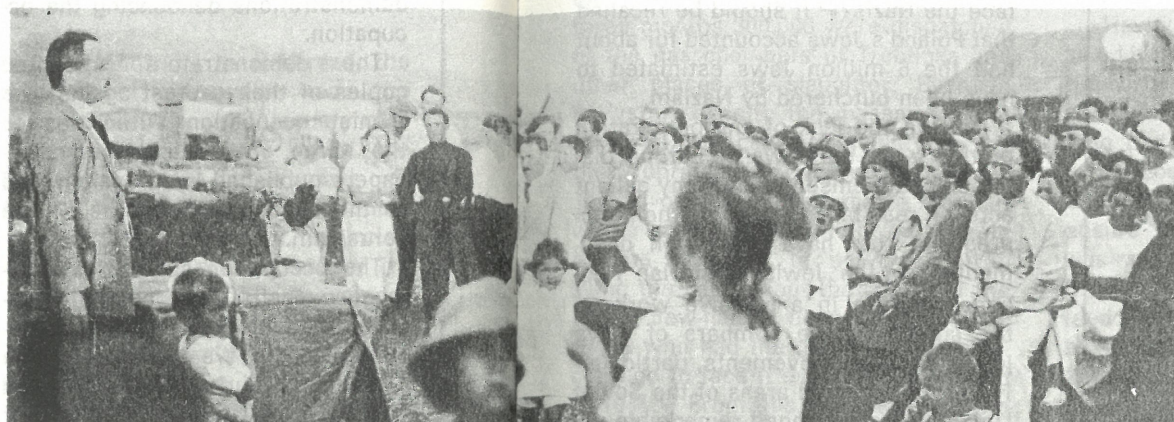
A report reaching WAFA from occupied Palestine described how huge Zionist enemy forces, supported by vehicles, heavy artillery and mobile rocket batteries, concentrated in the Hebron region to take part in the maneuvers there. The enemy air force also took part in the maneuvers which included a mock air-raid on the Sourif area, west of Hebron, and on the village of Zeif, south-east of Hebron. The report added that these maneuvers followed the recent attacks by Palestinian revolutionaries on enemy positions and installations in these areas, their appearance there during the day and at night, and the failure of the enemy to capture the revolutionaries.

Similar military maneuvers formerly took place around the Dead Sea, Sair, al-Khan and al-Ahmar regions.

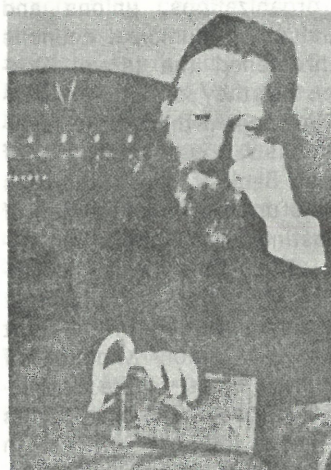


TAKE CARE; DANGER

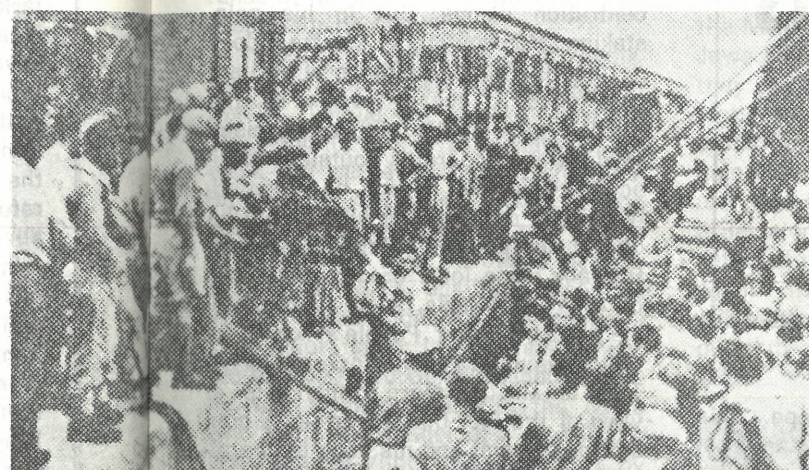
BY
MARION WOOLFSON



Zionists in Palestine, 1925.



Why did I come here?



Zionist immigrants queue to enter the « Promised Land ».

In an article entitled «Take Care, Danger!» the large-circulation Israeli newspaper «Ma'ariv», on October 29 last year, referred to «Anwar Sadat's anti-Semitic outburst» and to «the anti-Zionist motion which was accepted by ... the United Nations» and continued that President Sadat «slandered Zionism and added to this an attack on the Jews.»

The article continued that «Hitler-style anti-Semitism is finding legitimate expression ... by a visitor of the president of the United States.»

This outburst is typical of articles and letters which are now appearing in both British and American—as well, of course, as Israeli—newspapers claiming that the United Nations condemnation of Zionism as a racist movement, as well as the attitude of all those who support the motion, including President Sadat, is «anti-Semitic.»

In fact, Yigal Allon, the Israeli Foreign Minister was quoted, in an interview with the Europa newspaper, on November 4, as saying: «Zionism is in reality a modern expression of Judaism.» He added: «Zionism is more than an organisation, it is an ideal,» and that one could not call for the elimination of Zionism because «You cannot say that Judaism or Islam or Christianity or Buddhism or Communism or Socialism should be eliminated.»

The Zionist pretence that anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism are one and the same thing serves a double purpose because, on the one hand, it stimulates feelings of insecurity among Jews throughout the world and makes them feel obliged to support Israel financially and, on the other, it silences criticism of Zionism.

Just as more than 100,000 Jews were tricked into emigrating to Israel in 1951 by the planting of Zionist bombs in Jewish centres and a synagogue in Baghdad, Jews in various countries are made to believe that their lives are in peril because of the activities of «anti-Semites» although, in fact, the history of the last 27 years has shown clearly that the only people who stood to gain from the supposed «pogroms» and «persecutions» have been the Zionists.

Mrs. Golda Meir, then Israel's Prime Minister, was quoted in «Ma'ariv», on February 20, 1973, as saying that she would have liked to muster «thousands of young Israeli men for a war against assimilation and for transferring the Jews of the Diaspora to Israel.»

Michael Sashar, former Israeli consul «for Jewish affairs» in New York was quoted, in the Israeli newspaper «Yediot Aharonot» on April 1, this year, as having said that «the better the situation of the Jews in the country in

which they live, the more they feel at home there, economically, culturally and socially and the less legal or practical discrimination there is against them, the greater the danger for their future existence as Jews.» He added that the more the Jews suffer from oppression and discrimination «the less danger to their Jewish future.»

It appears a very curious coincidence therefore that whenever there seems a possibility of the truth being revealed that the Arab States are much more interested in regaining their stolen territories and in achieving a just solution to the Palestinian problem than in «exterminating the Jews» as the Zionists pretend, there are invariably outbursts of «anti-Semitism» In those Western countries where criticism of Zionism has been expressed.

Even in Britain where, once, the vast majority of the population was totally and overwhelmingly pro-Zionist, the Palestinian and Arab points of view are increasingly coming to be realised. This has caused Zionist frenzy and repeated and tedious reminders of «the holocaust». In addition, the threat of «anti-Semitism» appears to loom menacingly in the background. For example, on October 30 last year, the Highgate District Synagogue in North London was completely destroyed by fire. Although firemen in 12 fire engines raced to the scene from all over North London,

the flames could not be brought under control and the fire raged for three hours.

In 1965, too, «anti-Semites» were said to be working against the Jews of Britain because there was an outbreak of bomb attacks and arson at nearly twenty synagogues in different parts of the country. Gravestones were smashed in the Jewish cemetery in Liverpool and there were also swastika daubings and broken windows.

There had already been similar incidents in the United States in 1958 when the extremist Zionist Herut Party issued the following statement: «The bombings of the synagogues has shown that there is no other way for American Jews than Aliya (immigration to Israel: the literal translation is «ascension» as if to heaven) ... it is necessary for the American Zionist movement to deepen the nationalistic conscience among the six million of our brethren in the United States and to show them what it means to lead a free life in an independent Fatherland, as masters of their own fate and not as a minority in a foreign country.»

The «Jewish Chronicle» of March 14 last year reported that the Orthodox Gran Temple Israelita in Paso Street in Buenos Aires had been extensively damaged by a bomb explosion when more than 50 windows were shattered. The report added that there had been a number of similar incidents when synagogues and other Jewish buildings in Argentina had been damaged during the previous two or three years although the police had not managed to trace the culprits.

In the same issue of the «Jewish Chronicle», an article headed «Austrian antisemites start ugly campaign» stated that «Austria's biggest provincial daily, the independent «Salzburger Nachrichten», which has never been noted for friendliness towards Israel published an article by its deputy editor, Clemens Hutter, about 'Zionist Terrorism' which could have come directly out of an El Fatah pamphlet.»

One must ask oneself who stands to gain from the attempts to prove that all those who are anti-Zionist are also «anti-Semitic» and from the bombings of synagogues and other Jewish buildings. It is also interesting to note that those responsible for the bombings and arson in Western countries have never been caught by the police although mere hooligans and vandals are often brought to justice because, through sheer lack of intelligence, they frequently leave clues to their identity.

It is, perhaps, worth recalling, at this point, an article which appeared in «Davar», the newspaper of the ruling Israeli Mapai Party in Tel Aviv (quoted in the Jewish newspaper «Kemper» in New York on July 11, 1952) which stated: «I shall not be ashamed to confess that, if I had power, as I have the will, I would select a score of efficient young men—intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with the desire to help redeem Jews, and I would send them to countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jews and, acting upon the brutal Zionism, plague these Jews with anti-Semitic slogans, such as 'Bloody Jew,' 'Jews go to Palestine,' and similar 'intimacies.' I can vouch that the results, in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel from these countries, would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears.»

ZIONISM

AND THE GHETTO REVOLTS

by Faris Glubb

From 1938 to 1941, Zionist relations with Nazi Germany were conducted in accordance with the agreements signed between the Zionist movement and the Nazi authorities to facilitate Jewish migration from Europe to Palestine (see the article on «The Zionist Attitude to Nazi Germany» in our November-December 1975 issue). However, the smooth operation of these agreements was disrupted in 1941 owing to the war situation overstraining communications in Central Europe and the Nazis' need to give priority to their military situation on the Eastern Front when allocating transport.

Finding it no longer possible to rid Europe of Jews through emigration, Hitler opted for another way. «In January 1938, he had already given orders that Jewish emigration was to be directed primarily to Palestine, and when that gate was also closed he embraced the simple way out that was now offered to him, the 'Final Solution' of the extermination camp.»¹

The new situation confronted Zionism with a critical choice between two courses. The first was to declare war on Nazism renounce the 1938 agreements and raise the standard of Jew-

ish revolt in occupied Europe. This would have meant abandoning any possibility of even the most limited emigration of Zionist manpower through cooperation with Nazism in future should the logistical situation later change. It would also have involved Zionist participation with Gentiles and non-Zionist Jews in the fight against oppression and «anti-Semitism» in Europe. The second course was for Zionism to try to salvage as much as it could by reaching new, but more limited, arrangements. This would mean acquiescing in the deaths of large numbers of Jews, but would have the advantage of keeping communication with Nazi Germany open, in case the situation changed to Zionism's favour in future.

History records no proclamation of revolt by the Zionist movement against Nazism in Europe. It is relevant to ask why. As a Jewish writer has asked, «Why was there no Jewish self-defence organised and in readiness?... There were also scores upon scores of thousands of Jewish soldiers in the army of the Polish Republic. Why was there no guiding hand to instruct some of them at least to bring their weapons

home, to store them away... so that later, when the Jewish fighting organisations did arise, they should have at least some equipment with which to face the Nazis?»² It should be recalled that Poland's Jews accounted for about half the 6 million Jews estimated to have been butchered by Nazism.

Despite the lack of any preparation of this type, the Jews of Europe distinguished themselves by many gallant acts of resistance against their oppressors, that have been well documented by the Jewish historian Reuben Ainsztein in a massive work on the subject. Large numbers of Jews joined partisan movements, particularly in Nazi-occupied areas of the Soviet Union, and also staged remarkable uprisings in ghettos and even in concentration camps. But in his painstaking, 849-page study, Ainsztein does not quote a single instance of military assistance to these revolts by the Zionist movement's highly organised world-wide apparatus outside Nazi-occupied Europe. In fact, he repeatedly pointed out that the only allies the ghetto fighters had outside their ghetto walls were local groups of leftists or other anti-Nazis, such as the People's Guard (later People's Army) of the Communist Polish Workers' Party.³ This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that Ainsztein is himself pro-Zionist and his book is liberally filled with both anti-Soviet comments and glorification of those Zionist individuals and small groups that were overwhelmed by the holocaust after 1941 and often had little choice but to resist.

After the collapse of the Zionist migration accords with Nazism in 1941, a number of Zionist groups, particularly in Poland, found themselves unable to communicate with the Zionist leadership outside Nazi-held territory. As the leader of one of these groups, in a letter urging the right-wing Polish Home Army to supply the Warsaw ghetto with arms, wrote: «How we regret that we have no possibilities of direct contact with the governments of the Allied States, with the Polish Government and Jewish organisations abroad.»⁴

The ghetto revolts constitute a remarkable, even unique, form of resistance by the Jews in areas of Eastern Europe. They arose when the inhabitants of the ghettos realised that the Nazi aim was their extermination. Some ghettos learnt this earlier than others. «That the aim of the Germans

was the total annihilation of all the Jews they could get hold of became obvious to the mass of Warsaw Jews only in the summer of 1942, when in three months 300,000 were dispatched to the gas chambers of Treblinka and other places of slaughter. Even in Bialystok, despite the massacres that followed the capture of the city by the Wehrmacht, it was possible for a Jew to delude himself that a remnant of the ghetto's Jews might be allowed by the Germans to survive. But in Vilno the truth about the nature of the Nazis' Jew-hatred became obvious to those who had the moral and physical courage to face it even before the end of 1941.»⁵ From this it is clear that the Zionist leadership cannot plead ignorance of the European Jews' fate as an excuse for its inaction.

«The spirit of the Vilno ghetto resistance can be judged from its call to revolt: «Let us not go like sheep to the slaughter! It is true that we are weak and we have nobody to help us. But our only dignified answer to the enemy must be resistance.»⁶ Vilno Jews carried out sabotage actions against the Nazis, but their hopes for a mass uprising did not materialise.

A major factor in this failure was the role of Jacob Gens, a leading Zionist who collaborated with the Nazis, who made him leader of a Jewish police force in Vilno. «He stands all by himself because no other ghetto leader went so far in serving the Nazis as Gens: no other ghetto leader used his police to carry out the actual killing of Jews. Nor did any other ghetto leader play such an effective part in sabotaging Jewish participation in the partisan movement... He combined Lithuanian nationalism with the fascist brand of Zionism represented by Jabotinsky's followers by being a member of the Revisionist Brith Hakhayil (Military Organisation)... As soon as the surviving Vilno Jews were crammed into two ghettos on 6 and 7 September 1941, Gens became the deputy commander of the ghetto police whose commander, Muszkat, was a lawyer from Warsaw and also a Revisionist. His programme and philosophy were no different from those of Barasz, Rumkowski, Merin or other collaborationist ghetto leaders: he too argued that a remnant of Jews might survive if they made themselves economically useful to the German war machine. However, it was not his success in building workshops in the ghetto that endeared him to the Ges-

tapo, but his ruthlessness in delivering Jewish victims and his usefulness in preventing the flight of young Jews into the forests to join the partisans...

«Having embraced both as a Jew and as a Lithuanian ideologies that extolled the virtues of leadership, he found it possible to believe that he had a mission to fulfill and that he knew what was good for his Jewish subjects. Since work alone was not enough to ensure the survival of his Jews, he was ready to assume the responsibility for selecting the victims who had to feed the Nazi Moloch. And he did this so efficiently that by the autumn of 1942 the Gestapo made him the dictator not only of the Vilno ghetto, but also of all the surviving rural ghettos in the Vilno region.» In October 1942, the Nazis told Gens they wanted 1,500 Jews killed in Oshmyany ghetto. Later they «agreed to reduce the number of victims to 400 provided they were selected and killed by Gens's policemen.» Gens agreed, and sent his Chief of Police, Salek Desler, who was also a Revisionist, with 30 policemen. They selected over 410 sick and old people whom they killed themselves. Gens defended his action by claiming «it is our duty to save the strong and the



Jewish deportees under the Third Reich.

young and not to let ourselves be overcome by sentiments.»⁷

Attempts to organise resistance in Bialystok ghetto met with little success, partly owing to the fact that the Jewish resisters tried both to fight in the ghetto and also to strengthen the rural partisans, but had too few resources to achieve either task properly. They were also undermined by the collaboration of the local Judenrat, or Jewish Council, with the Nazis. «The policy of the Bialystok Judenrat was all the more convincing because its chief champion and executor was Ephraim Barasz, an engineer by profession and a liberal Zionist in his political beliefs.» Barasz had previously had the reputation of being an «honest man», which enabled him more effectively to lull the ghetto's inhabitants into a false sense of security.

In February 1943, the Nazis demanded the surrender of 6,300 Bialystok Jews for extermination. «The Judenrat complied by preparing lists of people whose sin was that they were poor or had fled to Bialystok from the annihilated provincial ghettos. The deal was arranged in absolute secrecy, without any warning or hint from Barasz or other Judenrat members to the ghetto population of what was in store for it.» However, the resistance United Anti-Fascist Bloc prevented most people on the lists from reporting for transportation to their deaths, and the ghetto inhabitants fought back when the Nazis came to collect them. On 15 August 1943, the Nazis informed Barasz of their intention to liquidate the ghetto. «Barasz returned to the ghetto and did not warn anybody that only a few hours were left to the 40,000-ODD Jews» still in there, nor did he encourage them to revolt. Nevertheless, the Anti-Fascist Bloc managed to arm 300 combatants with firearms and grenades and a further 200 with Molotov cocktails, home-made bombs, knives and axes. These weapons, many of them smuggled into the ghetto in the most daring ways, were grossly inadequate for a large-scale revolt, but the resistance nevertheless lasted until 26 August and the Nazis had to use artillery and aircraft to subdue it. About 100 Nazis were killed.⁸

Guns were smuggled into resisting ghettos in false-bottomed coffins. «Then, for a time, girls brought in guns, slung between their legs as they

returned from the factories outside.» Later, and particularly in Warsaw, «the sewers were to become the most important single route whereby arms came into the ghetto and people got out.» In Dnepropetrovsk ghetto, 150 kilograms of industrial dynamite were smuggled in «hidden in the pestilential carcass of a rotting horse,» while in Vilno, «the Sisters of St. Catherine brought grenades and guns into the ghetto and hid the gunrunners in the convent.» But with their slender resources, the weapons the ghetto fighters obtained were «never enough and never the right kind; no heavy machine guns, no mortars, no mines, no antitank weapons, no gelignite pencils or plastic explosives.» Jewish ingenuity even managed to smuggle weapons and components into Treblinka, where a desperate revolt was staged.⁹

Ghetto resistance reached its climax in Warsaw in 1943. There «the Jewish resistance movement received the support not only of the militarily weak Communists, but of three small but influential Polish resistance organisations and a number of noble individuals, who played a crucial part in making the Home Army Command provide the Jewish Fighting Organisation with some arms.» The People's Guard sent in some pistols, although «how limited their resources were can be judged from the report of the Command of the Warsaw Area People's Guard of 27 December 1942, which put the amount of arms in its possession at thirteen pistols and seventeen grenades, and that of 1 January 1943, which gave the figures as 24 pistols and eighteen grenades.»¹⁰

When the operation known as the great liquidation (in which some 300,000 Jews were exterminated) began in Warsaw on 22 July, the Jewish resistance groups had few arms and so could not put up a fight. However, the great liquidation made the ghetto arm itself as far as possible, and also build up a superb intelligence system. «The Polish and Jewish intelligence sources outside the ghetto were able to discover what was being prepared by the Germans because not only the special extermination force but the entire German garrison in Warsaw had been alerted to deal with a possible general uprising.» So the ghetto fighters learnt of the plan for final liquidation on 18 April 1943, and launched their revolt on the following day. According to Ainsztein, the composition

of the ghetto fighters were as follows: the Revisionists' Jewish Military Union had some 400 combatants, the Jewish Fighting Organisation (a coalition of Communists, Bundist Social Democrats and Zionists, of whom Hashomer Hatzair played the most notable part) had between 600 and 800, while the majority, some 2,000, were not attached to any political organisation and were known as «wild groups.» The latter in fact lasted longer than the politically organised groups.¹¹

Fighting from street to street, from house to house, from underground bunkers, ruins and even sewers, the Warsaw ghetto resisters held the Nazis at bay or pinned down for months in what was described as the largest and longest single act of resistance in occupied Europe, apart from Yugoslavia. It caused hundreds of Nazi casualties, although the German Army shelled the ghetto with artillery and the Luftwaffe was brought in. The Nazis tried to destroy even the ruins which were providing cover for urban guerrillas in July, and in September 1943 they sent large forces in to clear out the remains of the ghetto. Nevertheless, the last recorded act of resistance by a Warsaw ghetto group, the killing of three German gendarmes, was as late as June 1944.¹²

In addition to the Nazis, the ghetto resisters had to combat a highly dangerous traitor Abraham Gancwajch, who had been the leader of Hashomer Hatzair (a «left-wing» Zionist group, now known as Mapam) in Czeszochowa. In Warsaw in the spring of 1940, «he made a speech in which he said that the Nazi New Order had come to stay, and that the Jews had to adjust themselves to it... With the assistance of the Gestapo he collected a staff of collaborators recruited from members of his own family, friends and acquaintances.» The Nazis allowed him to set up his own 300-man «police force» which «performed the functions of an American gangster's hoodlums and with their help Gancwajch forced all the important businessmen in the ghetto, irrespective of whether they were honest or dishonest, to pay him protection money, which he shared with his Gestapo patrons... The most important factor was the usefulness of Gancwajch and his Mafia as an agency of espionage and subversion—in brief, as a classical fifth column... Two rabbis belonging to the Agudath Israel Party, Blumenfeld and Glicensztajn, made propaganda on his

behalf among the Hassidic elements and saw to it that no resistance ideas should take root in the religious schools and colleges.» Gancwajch set up an «ambulance service» which helped round up victims for the Nazis, and also every Tuesday handed in an intelligence report which he «boasted that the Gestapo awaited with impatience, because they regarded it as the only reliable assessment of what was happening in the ghetto.» The Agudath Israel Party, now one of Israel's respected political parties, helped the Nazis in suppressing resistance «by telling (its) numerous followers that the ghetto was not only the Lord's punishment for Jewish desertion of orthodoxy and atheism, but a blessing in disguise designed to bring the Jews back to the state of piety.»¹³ That the ghetto fighters were able to organise resistance despite these collaborators was a remarkable achievement.

Shortly before his death in battle in the ghetto, the Jewish Fighting Organisation's leader Mordecai Anielewicz wrote to his successor: «Aware that our last day is at hand, we demand from you to remember how we were betrayed. The day of payment for our spilled innocent blood will come. Send help to those who in the last battle may escape the enemy's hands, so that they can carry on the fight.»¹⁴

The accounts by Jewish historians of the ordeal of East European Jews under Nazi occupation contain a two-sided story of the heroism of resistance and the shame of collaboration. What precisely was the role of the Zionist movement in this?

When the German Army's thrust into the Soviet Union brought the bulk of East European Jewry within an iron circle of Nazi control, the reaction of individual Zionists caught in this trap varied. Some realised that Nazi Germany was determined to make Europe «Judenrein», and would therefore exterminate any Jews who had not escaped or been taken out of Europe by the Zionists under the 1938 agreements. These, who included men like Kowner and Anielewicz, joined with non-Zionist Jews to resist. Others, particularly those like Gancwajch or Barasz who had been leaders in the Zionist movement, continued to hope that they could save themselves and their chosen followers through deals with the Nazis, at the expense of their fellow-Jews.

However, in the higher echelons of the Zionist movement, notably in the

Jewish Agency whose leaders sat out the war in safe havens, there was no such division of opinion. No clarion call for a revolt against Nazism came from these leaders, nor is it recorded that they made any attempt, for instance, to smuggle arms in to the ghetto fighters who so desperately needed them. It is legitimate, though few have dared to do so, to ask why they were so inactive.

Did the Zionist leadership not know that the East European Jews were being exterminated? According to a well known Zionist writer, one victim named Moshe Podhlebnik miraculously escaped death and managed to flee from an extermination centre and carry word of what was happening to the outside world as early as 18 December 1941. «Early in August 1942 an agent of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland named Gerhard Riegner brought a report to the American legation in Berne» based on the evidence of Podhlebnik and others. The legation reported on 17 August to the State Department that there was a plan for all Jews under Nazi rule to «be at one blow exterminated.»¹⁵ So at least by that date, the Zionist movement outside Nazi-held territories knew what was going on.

Did the Zionist movement lack the resources to help the beleaguered Jews? This is hardly credible. Zionism was then the only Jewish movement organised on a world-wide basis, with massive financial resources and influ-

ential contacts in positions of power throughout the Western World. We should not forget that 1942 was the year of the Biltmore Programme, which marked the establishment of decisive Zionist influence over policy in the United States, the Western power with the greatest resources. Surely Zionism was not too weak to help the oppressed European Jews, particularly when we recall that as soon as World War Two ended, «from Hagana, the Jewish underground army in Palestine, a hundred agents filtered into Europe» to transport the surviving Jews to Palestine to swell Zionist manpower. But by then, an estimated 6 million victims had been slaughtered. The Zionist intelligence organisation Mossad «had thrown a Hagana network over Europe from Constanta on the Black Sea to the tiny Port de Bouc at the tip of France's Mediterranean coast and there was little that a Jew could meaningfully do in all those thousands of miles that escaped their notice.»¹⁶ Where had these mighty resources been when the Jews of Europe were being slaughtered in their millions?

Perhaps the answers to these questions lie in the writings of some Jews who have probed them beneath the surface. In the words of one group of such Jews, «Zionism accepts anti-Semitism as the natural, normal attitude of the non-Jewish world towards the Jew. It does not consider it as a distorted, perverted phenomenon, it is



Jews deported by the S.S.

a response to anti-Semitism but not a confrontation, denunciation, or fight, against it.» According to these authors, «the saving of Jewish lives from Hitler is considered here as a potential threat to Zionism, unless they are brought to Palestine. When Zionism had to choose between the Jewish people and the Jewish state it unhesitatingly preferred the latter.»¹⁷ Certainly, the inaction of the Zionist movement over rescuing the victims of the Nazi holocaust while it was going on contrasts strangely with its enthusiasm and efficiency in bringing Jewish immigrants to Palestine.

To quote a veteran Irgun supporter, «having thus turned their backs on the doomed Jews, the same leaders (in the Zionist movement) later used the extermination for raising millions on millions, and for collecting billions in reparations from the Germans.»¹⁸ So the Zionist movement did not emerge worse off following the Nazis' extermination policies.

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- 10) Ainsztein, op. cit., pp. 565, 599.
- 11) Ibid., pp. 620-622.
- 12) Ibid., pp. 591-671; see also Chaim A. Kaplan, *Scroll of Agony (A Warsaw Diary)*, translated and edited by Abraham I. Katsch (London, 1966) and Martin Gray, *Au Nom de Tous les Miens*, (Paris, 1971) for accounts by inhabitants of the ghetto.
- 13) Ainsztein, op. cit., pp. 556-561.
- 14) Letter to Isaac Cukierman, 26 April, 1943.
- 15) Elkins, op. cit., pp. 59, 166.
- 16) Ibid., pp. 197, 237.
- 17) *The Other Israel* (Matzpen pamphlet, Tel Aviv, n.d.).
- 18) Ben Hecht, *Perfidy* (New York, 1961), p. 50.

ISRAELI PEACE COUNCIL?

A few hours before the opening of the Security Council debate on 12 January, ex-Quartermaster-General Matityahu Peled, chairman of the recently-founded Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, presented its 12-point manifesto to the foreign press. General Peled, now a university lecturer and newspaper columnist, is chairman of an executive which includes two present MPs, two past ones, a playwright, an economist, two dissenting editors and a social scientist.

Although they command an audience within the Zionist entity and illustrate a shift in Israeli opinion towards recognition of Palestinian demands, the members of the new council are less likely to influence policy than certain of the sceptical hawks who are beginning to argue that Israel should show willingness to negotiate with the PLO for purely tactical reasons.

A likely direction for future policy was recently expressed by hawk Professor Yehoshafat Harkabi, (a former chief of military intelligence, who is an advisor to the Defence Minister and an authority on Palestinian Arab affairs), in a *Ma'ariv* article, in which he presented a persuasive argument in favour of an Israeli declaration of readiness to negotiate with the PLO.

«By declaring our conditional readiness to recognize the PLO and to negotiate with it», he wrote, «we would change the whole picture around. The stain of refusal would be on their shoulders, not ours.

«By declaring our readiness to withdraw, we do not necessarily withdraw, and it is a political mistake to present the argument that a Palestinian state could not stand on its own feet as an argument against its being formed. We have to understand that the Arabs have no intention of making a settle-

ment, and that our prime battle is the battle for world opinion.»

It is significant that Professor Harkabi referred to the «battle for world opinion», for until recently this was a battle which the Zionist entity had always won. With the increasing recognition on an international level of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and of the PLO as their representative, the tide has turned, and Israel undoubtedly feels the need at least to **appear** to be working for peace. While **appearing** to be willing to recognize the PLO, the Zionists would certainly not halt any of their aggressive policies against the Palestinians, both within and outside the occupied territories.

General Peled, on the other hand, has expressed a desire to make known the fact of a division in Israel. In a recent interview, conducted after the peace council had cabled the Israeli Prime Minister appealing for second thoughts on the Israeli boycott of the Security Council debate, General Peled said:

«We want the Palestinian delegates to realise that there is a division in Israel. Too little is known of similar divisions among the Palestinians. We want to hear more from their moderates. It will help us with our uphill battle here.

«Only by mutual moderation can we arrive at a **modus vivendi**. The concessions demanded on both sides are in areas that are not vital for the national existence of both parties. Israel and a Palestinian state can coexist in prosperity and in peace.»

General Peled added that the form of the Palestinian state, whether limited to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, or linked to another Arab state, was a matter for the Palestinians to decide. His council believes in accepting any form so long as it leaves enough room for Israel.

In reply to the argument often advanced by his old comrade-in-arms, the Prime Minister, that a Palestinian state between Israel and Jordan would be an invitation to extremism and a springboard for terrorism, General Peled insisted that Israel was strong enough to deter any aggression from that quarter. A peace agreement would, however, have to include a clause keeping foreign, especially

Russian, forces out of the area.

Another leading light of the peace council, Mr. Uri Avnery, editor of the weekly, *Ha'olam Hazeh*, took up some of the more specific points raised by the Security Council debate.

«We believe it is in the interests of Israel to bring the Palestinian issue forward so that it can be faced squarely by all concerned», he said. Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council, which set the pattern and means for negotiating a settlement, should not be changed. But the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including a national state living side by side and in peace with Israel, should be added.

The Geneva peace conference could then be reconvened. Mr. Avnery suggested, with the participation of an authoritative Palestinian delegation. All violence should cease with the start of negotiations and Israel should establish no more new settlements in the occupied territories. Mr. Avnery hoped that the moderate elements in the PLO would thus be brought to the fore.

Another comment came from Mr. Eliahy Eliashar, the peace council's honorary president, who is a sixteenth-generation Jerusalem Jew, and veteran former MP, who said that Israel should negotiate «with whomsoever recognises that we exist on equal terms of sovereignty and independence.»

While the very existence of the peace council reveals a division within Israeli opinion and expresses growing recognition of the Palestinian reality, it also reveals a tendency to attempt to strangle the Palestinian Revolution through a negotiated settlement which would demand impossible concessions for very small returns.

The council is, for example, calling for a halt to Palestinian armed struggle in return for a so-called Palestinian entity in an unspecified, but obviously limited, area. At the same time, the proposals of the council undoubtedly favour Israeli economic development through the council's demand for secure borders for Israel and expanded relations with the Arab countries. Such a proposal is but a consolidation of imperialist interests in the area.

ALARMING ABUSE OF DRUGS IN ZIONIST ARMY

The British «Sunday Telegraph» reports (25.1.76) from Tel-Aviv on a «Drugs shock for Israelis»:

«According to an official Government report, 100,000 Israelis—one in 30 of the three million population—are using narcotics. 1,600 are on hard drugs, but the use of cannabis is also widespread.

An alarming aspect to the Government is the discovery of hashish smoking among young soldiers.»

MEIR ATTACKS U.N.

Former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, in her speech to New York's Jewish community on 29 December, attacked the United Nations and its recent resolutions, in particular the resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism. She declared that this resolution was «directed against every Jew». As an answer and a challenge to the UN resolutions, she raised the slogan «let us all go to Israel», and called for the immigration of one million Zionist settlers to occupied Palestine.

Golda Meir's appeal is particularly clever in view of the marked decline in Jewish immigration to «Israel». It is to be noted that emigration is on the increase. According to a spokesman of the Jewish Agency, 70% of Zionist youth abandon occupied Palestine for countries which are safer and more flourishing economically.

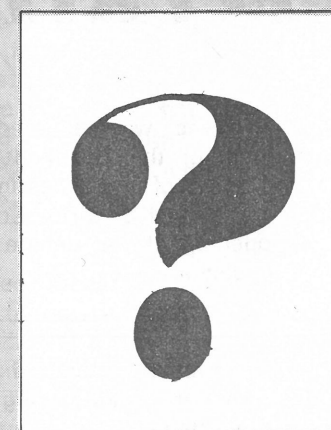
ZIONISM CONDEMNED BY AN ISRAELI

Within the Zionist entity itself voices are being raised in condemnation of Zionism. Israel Shahak, professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and President of the Israeli League for Human Rights, in a declaration made to German journalist at Berlin airport on 9 January, denounced the oppression of Palestinian citizens in their occupied homeland, as well as the torture of Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons. He demanded that the Israeli Government recognize the rights of the Palestinian

people, including their right to self-determination.

Professor Shahak also welcomed the United Nations resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism, and declared that it was the duty of the League for Human Rights to assist the Palestinians to recover their legitimate rights.

Professor Shahak is well-known for his opposition to Zionism and his constant support of the national rights of the Palestinian people. He has often been treated by extremist Zionist factions in «Israel» as a traitor and an enemy of the «Jewish people».



ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE ISRAELIS

On 6 and 7 January, the Zionist occupation authorities arrested seven Jewish youths. One of the youths—who lives in Bani Brak, a poor suburb of Tel-Aviv—has been accused by the Zionist authorities of having taken part in an armed attack on a police centre in northern Tel-Aviv on the morning of 2 January. The operation was in fact carried out by one of our commando units. Three others were accused of having set fire to the paper warehouse belonging to the Israeli daily «Haaretz». The fact that the fire was caused by one of our commando units was implicitly admitted by the occupation authorities who arrested over 500 Palestinians following this operation.

What does this mean? Has Jewish youth finally realized that the interests of the Jewish community reside in the creation of a democratic secular state in Palestine, in which Christians, Moslems and Jews will be able to live in equality? Or are the Zionist authorities attempting to hide their failure—in spite of all their security measures—to end Palestinian commando operations, attempting to make

these operations appear simply as acts committed by delinquent youth, without any political significance?

PALESTINIAN WORKERS IN ISRAEL

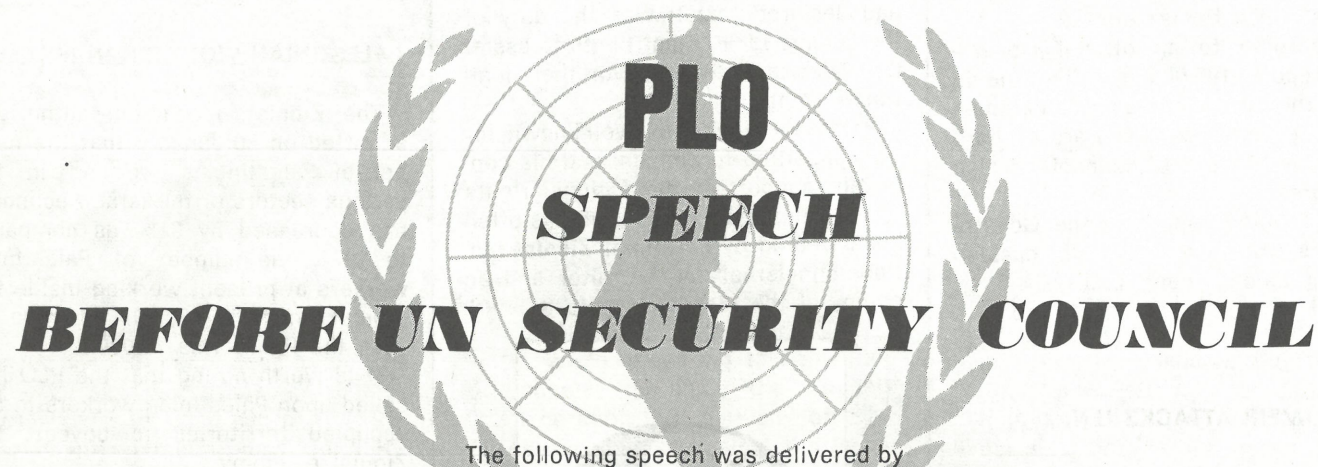
The Zionist occupation authorities admitted on 30 January that the number of Palestinians working in the various sectors of the Israeli economy has decreased by 31% as compared to 1974. The number of Palestinian workers at present working inside the Zionist entity is 43,000, whereas in 1974 the figure was 79,000.

It is worth noting that the PLO had called upon Palestinian workers in the occupied territories to boycott the Zionist economy.

MORE ABOUT THE ISRAELI ECONOMY

According to the Parisian daily «L'Aurore» of 6 January, 1976, «the latest devaluation of the Israeli pound is but one aspect of the deep crisis through which the Israeli economy is passing, being now on the brink of collapse. The new devaluation of the pound occasioned no reaction from the Israelis; it is already the fifth devaluation in the last six months. Permanent devaluations have become standard practice in the economic life of the country.»

The reasons for these crises are numerous: continual increase in expenditure for the import of war materials, as well as the rocketing inflation which is linked with it and which has reached an annual average of 25-30%; the vile practice of orientation towards foreign loans, American by preference, rather than stressing the industrial development of the country. It is for this reason that the provisional symptoms of an economic up-swing did not translate stable development tendencies, but were the outcome of foreign financial injections. The consequences are the following: the Israeli Government had this year to reduce food subsidies, and credits for medical assistance; on average, each Israeli gives 63% of his total income for taxes and for Government military expenditure.



The following speech was delivered by Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Section and Head of the Palestinian delegation to the UN Security Council at the opening of the debate on Palestine, on January 12th, 1976

Mr. President,

«Since this is my first appearance before this Council, I should like to express our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency. We are fully confident that you, as the distinguished representative of a great African country that steadfastly struggled for the extension of human freedom, equality, justice and independence of oppressed people, will chair the session and guide the discussions objectively and most completely.

«Your broad experience, your total familiarity with international questions, your championship of liberation movements, and your well-known attributes of originality and nobility of purpose constitute an important resource in providing guidance to the Council as it responsibly deliberates issues involved in one of the most dangerous contemporary political crises, denoted 'The Middle East Crisis'.

«May I be permitted, Mr. President, to express to you and to the distinguished representatives of friendly member states in this Council our appreciation for the efforts you have exerted to enable the people of Palestine to exercise its legal right to speak for itself. Our people's case, the question of Palestine, is the essence, the core of the crisis with

which you have been concerned and for which you are endeavoring to reach a just settlement.

«Your decision to invite the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the discussions of the Council, combined with the totality of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly over the past two years, testifies to the profound and widespread international understanding of the Palestine Question. They reflect the concern of the majority of the states of the world with rendering justice to the Palestinian people and with responding affirmatively to their national rights. It is for the attainment of these national rights that the Palestinian people have resorted to armed struggle.

«I should note the deliberate absence of Israel from this discussion. Why is Israel not present? Israel is absent simply because the representatives of the people of Palestine are invited to take part in these deliberations. This is symbolic of who is anxious to participate in the process of peace-making and who is deliberately eager to frustrate the will of the Council.

«Additionally, the Council's decision constitutes a basic and imperative step along the path of confronting the facts as the Council prepares itself to issue a just decision, the decisive res-

olution for which our people have long waited. Our people have been waiting for such a just decision for over 28 years, during which our people suffered anguish, deprivation, exile and oppression.

«Your decision, in our view, is a courageous international recognition of the fact that whoever wishes to search for a serious resolution to the Middle East conflict will have to begin with its root, cause and heart, which is the question of Palestine. Had there not been the question of Palestine, there would never have been all the wars which our region has suffered; in 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973. There would have never been the constant tension which threaten further wars. In short, had there not been a question of Palestine there would not have been what is mistakenly termed the 'Middle East Crisis'.

«Although the invitation of this Council comes after very long and painful years, it is better late than never. For without addressing the essence of the 'crisis' with which you are dealing, it would be useless to attempt to find its solution and consequently there would be no peace in the Middle East and perhaps in the world. Your invitation for the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the deliberations of the

Council is right and just. But it is also based on the serious search for peace in our region where peace is most threatened.

«Mr. President,

«The question of Palestine, its background, details and its causes, is no longer a strange and unfamiliar question to the United Nations. Although the sinister design against the land and people of Palestine was formally initiated in 1917 with the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, the tragedy of Palestinian dispersion commenced right here, in the UN, in the aftermath of the unjust and infamous recommendation to partition Palestine in 1947. Since then, that is over 28 years ago, our case has been in suspense. It has been awaiting someone who will deal with it justly and fairly, someone who would possess the moral and human courage to realize justice and to translate it into reality.

«Throughout these years, the Zionist enemy, in collaboration with its imperialist supporters, was betting that with time, the tragedy and the sinister design will become a de facto political reality with which the Palestinian people will come to terms and to which they would capitulate. For half a century, various malicious attempts were made to liquidate the people of Palestine and dispose of our land. Acts of extinction either through genocide or assimilation and emigration have been attempted. All those attempts failed and nothing weakened the resolve of our people. The struggle and the perseverance of our Palestinian people, supported by our brothers and friends, have voided this artificial political reality, which is based on aggression and treachery. Despairing of a peaceful solution, we resorted to armed struggle to attain our national rights and to put an end to injustice and aggression. This Council should therefore consider the only remaining alternative, namely to recognize our people's national inalienable rights and to assist them in realizing their national aspirations.

«Mr. President, where do you wish us to begin? Shall we begin with the initiation of the sinister design in 1917? Shall we begin with the iniquitous Balfour Declaration by which those who did not own the land of Palestine promised it to those who had no right to it? Or shall we begin with the unjust recommendation of the General Assembly on the 29th of November 1947 to partition Pales-

tine?

«We shall not dwell on the joint British-Zionist scheme to usurp Palestine. That scheme has been sufficiently exposed and condemned. We shall concentrate instead on the Palestinian tragedy, since it is a consequence of the joint action of imperialism and Zionism, a tragedy which came about within the framework of the UN, which recommended the partition of Palestine.

«Mr. President, World War I ended with a defeat of the Ottoman Empire and the triumph of European colonialism in the Middle East. The European powers decided to partition the entire Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in accordance with the infamous Sykes-Picot agreement. Palestine became a distinct political unit inhabited by its rightful Arab population.

«At that time, Palestine had a population of approximately 700,000 people, of whom 55,999 were indigenous and European Jews. Palestine was placed under the British Mandate, which was committed to implement the Zionist scheme. Britain, in cooperation with the Zionist movement, began to undertake effective measures to create the appropriate political, social and economic circumstances in which to establish a Jewish national home in a land which it did not own, and to which the Zionists had no right. Palestine was opened for the immigration of alien European Jewish settlers.

«That was the beginning, Mr. President, of the conspiracy against our people, who have lived its entire life on its national homeland. Our people lived in all of Palestine; in its cities and villages, we had built Mosques and Churches, we had farmed the land, we had established its workshops and factories. We lived in the land, respectful of its heritage and looked forward to contributing, like all peoples of the world, to the enrichment of humanity. Our people were on the land when civilization was born, and before any Zionist had entertained the idea of Israel. We confronted the sinister designs on our land. Our people confronted the Zionist onslaught and British colonialism which then sponsored and sustained that onslaught. Our country witnessed continuing revolutions: 1920, 1929, 1936 and 1947, to mention only those which occurred during the British colonial administration.

«The end of World War II consi-

derably weakened the old colonial empires, whose power began to recede, and the Mandate system, which was established by the League of Nations, lost its viability. After World War II, the United Nations was founded and was entrusted with the task of dealing with the Palestine question.

«Mr. President, at the request of the British Government, which exercised the mandate over Palestine, the Secretary-General of the UN convened a special session of the General Assembly on May 15, 1947. The General Assembly formed a special committee to investigate and report on the question. The special committee presented its report on the question and recommended the partition of Palestine. A minority report recommended the independence of Palestine and its unity, and envisaged the possibility that all Palestinians would live in a unified Palestine, on a footing of equality.

«When that report was presented to the General Assembly's third session, the General Assembly, many of whose members were subjected to extreme pressure and intimidation by the United States and the Zionist movement, recommended the partition of Palestine and issued the infamous Resolution No. 181 on the 29th of November 1947.

«It is axiomatic that the UN did not have the right in 1947 to partition our country against the wishes of its citizens, just as it does not today possess the right to partition any country in the world. I wish to add that the General Assembly did not discuss the question of Palestine at the request of the Palestinian people, but rather debated the issue at the express request of the British mandatory power.

«The General Assembly, by its decision, did not resolve that the Jews should be independent in Palestine, but determined that Palestine was to be partitioned into two states, one Arab and the other Jewish. The UN did not deem fit, after it adopted its resolution, to inquire into the wishes of the Palestinian people and did not permit them to express their will. The UN's de facto permitted the Zionist movement to implement and transcend the limitations of that decision which it effected through the brute force of its gangs, which had been armed by the mandatory power. It was natural that our people should reject this unjust resolution, whose effects we continue to experience in

the form of exile, dispersion, oppression and wars.

«The Zionist demand traditionally had been for an exclusive Jewish State. But the recommendation for the partition of Palestine envisaged a Jewish State which had a population of 498,000 Jews and 497,000 Muslim and Christians Arabs. The Arab State, on the other hand, was to have 10,000 Jews and 75,000 Muslim and Christian Arabs. From this one important conclusion is inescapable: the real object of the partition resolution was the dismemberment of Palestine, not the separation of its people. And if we keep in mind that the Jews of Palestine at that time did not own more than 6% of the total land area, then we realize the degree of injustice, illegality and injuriousness the partition resolution entailed. That resolution entailed the transfer of about 55% of Palestine to the owners of about 6%. Within the projected Jewish State, Jews had title to no more than 9% of the land. These facts underlie our people's rejection of the partition proposal.

«It was natural for the Zionist movement subsequently to declare the establishment of its state. It was natural for it, as a colonial racist movement, to undertake all measures designed to expel the Palestinians who came under its military control, and to utilize the most vicious forms of terrorism to compel them to depart. By doing so, even then it was defying the will of the UN and all principles of law and justice. As a matter of fact, Israel, since it was established, has not committed itself to the implementation of any decision or resolution concerning the Palestine question, including the partition resolution.

«On April 1, 1948, the Security Council held a special session to discuss the situation in Palestine and subsequently adopted resolution 44, which called upon the Secretary-General of the UN, in accordance with article 44 of the Charter, to convene a special session of the General Assembly to discuss anew the future Government of Palestine.

«It should be recalled that Security Council Resolution 44 noted that the General Assembly Resolution recommending the partition of Palestine entailed injustice to the Palestinian Arabs and that therefore, it was necessary to revise it either entirely or partially to realize the interests of the Arabs. However, the General As-

sembly did hold a special session at the request of the Security Council and resolved (Resolution 186) to dispatch a UN mediator to Palestine to undertake political initiatives, the most important of which was to encourage the search for a peaceful settlement for the future of Palestine. Count Folk Bernadotte was chosen for this task.

«Count Bernadotte carried out his mission. He visited Palestine, ascertained the facts, and finally presented a report proposing the modification of the frontiers of the proposed Jewish State. The new modifications restored the role which Palestine had historically served, namely that of a bridge between the Arab East and the Arab West. The Zionists, enraged by the report, decided to liquidate the mediator. He was assassinated by Zionist gangs in Jerusalem. This act was condemned by the Security Council, which asked the Government of Israel to apprehend the criminals.

«The Security Council reconvened, and on July 15 1948, issued Resolution No. 54, establishing the second truce. That was followed by Security Council Resolution No. 62 issued on November 16, 1948, which called for a truce in all parts of Palestine, in preparation for a move towards lasting peace.

«That resolution led to the armistice agreements signed in Rhodes in 1949 with UN representative, Dr. Ralph Bunche, acting as a mediator. The armistice agreements clearly stipulated that the demarcation lines agreed upon were dictated by military considerations and thus were military not political boundaries, and in no way prejudiced Arab territorial claims nor the rights of the Palestinian people.

«The General Assembly had previously debated and expressed its appreciation of Count Bernadotte's report. It issued its resolution No. 194 on December 11, 1948. The resolution affirmed Count Bernadotte's orientation regarding the necessity of modifying the partition resolution to take into account the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. It entrusted this task to the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, composed of France, the USA and Turkey. In its 11th clause, the resolution called for the repatriation of all Palestinian refugees to their homes and property, and for the compensation of those who did not wish to return. Instructions were issued to the Conciliation Commission to facilitate

the repatriation of the Palestinians.

«When the Conciliation Commission held its meetings in Lausanne in April of 1949, Israel had not yet succeeded in joining the UN. On May 11, 1949, the delegates of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan signed documents known as Lausanne Protocol, which stated: The delegation of the Arab states and Israel accepted the Commission's proposal to use the partition map proposed by the UN as a basis for discussion with the Commission.

«After signing the Lausanne Protocol, Israel's membership in the UN was considered. Although the General Assembly expressed its misgivings at Israel's request, it nevertheless accepted its application in its resolution No. 273 of May 11th 1949, reaffirming:

1. General Assembly resolution No. 181.

2. General Assembly resolution No. 194.

«Not only did the UN fail to assume its responsibilities of compelling Israel to carry out its resolutions; but more disasterously, it began gradually to omit altogether the question of Palestine from the agenda of the General Assembly. Instead, it began to substitute the discussion of the report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA for the debate on the question of Palestine, and thereby conveyed the harmful impression that the question had become one of either displaced persons, or a matter of disputed frontiers between the adjacent Arab states and Israel. Such a depiction of the question of Palestine was a blatant attempt to ignore the existence of the Palestinian people, its national rights, its right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty, and even the resolutions of the UN, unjust as some of these were.

«Mr. President, Palestinian exile continued within the framework of the Rhodes armistice agreements until 1956, when Israel participated in the tri-partite aggression against Egypt and the Gaza Strip. Israel thus occupied militarily additional Palestinian land. The Security Council in its resolution No. 119 of October 30, 1956, considered this act of aggression. However, because of the exercise of the veto by a permanent member, the Security Council was unable to discharge its responsibility to issue a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of the aggressors. Therefore, the Security Council requested the General Assembly to convene an

extraordinary emergency session to deal with Israel's aggression and to adopt appropriate resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the military forces of the aggressors.

«In June 1967, Israel launched its next aggression and occupied what remained of Palestine as well as Sinai and the Golan. The Security Council met to study the Middle East crisis, but ignored the heart and essence of the conflict: the question of Palestine. It issued its resolution 242, which addresses itself to the so-called Middle East crisis. That resolution deals neither with the Palestine question nor with the national rights of the Palestinian people to independence and sovereignty.

«Since then, it has become common-place to speak of the Middle East crisis, with the intent of camouflaging, obscuring and evading the essential question: the question of Palestine. This has been the reason for our people's rejection of this resolution, which compounds the errors and the injustice, instead of confronting them, and for our rejection of the cease-fire, and finally for our determination to carry on our armed struggle.

«We resumed our armed struggle on the 1st of January 1965, when our people despaired of the peaceful restoration of their national rights and sovereignty, and thus declared that armed struggle is the only means to achieve the liberation of our homeland and to attain our national rights.

«We are, Mr. President, now more aware of and experienced with our Zionist opponent. We know its expansionist objectives, which are based on its racist, backwards ideology. We warned all concerned that Israel would ignore and try to subvert any UN resolution that would limit its colonialism and expansionism. Although some of the states of the region committed themselves to Resolution 242, Israel ignored it, as it had ignored prior UN resolutions. Thus, another war in the Middle East became inevitable to compel Israel to evacuate its occupation forces from Arab lands. Hence the 1973 war.

«Subsequently, the Security Council met and adopted its new Resolution No. 338, which like its predecessor was devoid of any reference to the question of Palestine and which ignored the national rights of our people. Again our people rejected it, because its intention was to deal only with the effects on the 1967 aggres-

sion against the Arab states. It in no way refers to our national rights or to our existence in Palestine prior to 1967.

«Additionally, that resolution asks the Arab states to recognize the boundaries of a state established in a land which, originally and according to the principles of international law, is the property of the Palestinian people. It is surprising and shocking that the Arab states are asked to recognize an entity which contravenes even resolution 181, on the basis of which it was established, notwithstanding this resolution's damage to the rights of the Palestinian people.

«Did the Security Council forget, when it adopted Resolutions 242 and 338, that Egypt, Syria and Jordan were in a state of war with Israel before June 1967 and before October 1973—a state of war which prevailed since 1948 and which was caused by the serious Zionist imperialist attempt to liquidate the Palestinian existence and their national inalienable rights, to independence and sovereignty?

«Was the Security Council unaware of the fact that the armistice lines of 1967 were military and not political?

«Was the Security Council unaware of the fact that Israel had earlier occupied more than 60% of the land of the Palestinian Arab State which the UN called for in the partition resolution No. 181, on the basis of which Israel was accepted as a member of this international organization? And that this earlier aggression and occupation prevented the Palestinian people from exercising their right to self-determination and to establish their independent state in their homeland?

«The Security Council undoubtedly recalls the considerations which govern Israel's acceptance as a member of the UN in accordance with Resolution 273, Israel's pledge before the Conciliation Commission in Lausanne in 1949 and its signature of the Lausanne Protocols.

«The Council undoubtedly also recalls that Israel's so-called Declaration of Independence based itself on the partition resolution. According to international law, recognition of the existence of states and of regimes is a prerogative of sovereign states which cannot be imposed by international resolutions.

«Mr. President, such is the tragedy which affects our people. We have summarized its unfolding within the framework of the resolutions of the

UN and the concepts which underly them. We have avoided the details, which are available to you, and which exemplify this tragic reality which our people endure and suffer.

«If we wished to summarize this tragedy in a single short sentence, we would say that it is a tragedy epitomized by two types of resolutions: unjust resolutions which found states to support, sustain, implement them and extend their purview, and resolutions which try sometimes partially, to relieve oppression and injustice, which remain ink on straps of paper and were never implemented.

«Thus we resumed our Revolution. We took up arms and had recourse to force in defence of our very existence, of our right to live in our land, and of our independence and sovereignty. While we carry out our armed struggle, we continue to hope to attain our goals through political options. Accordingly, the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, moved politically in the aftermath of the October 1973 War, to rectify the mistaken view of the identity of the conflict in our region. We requested the inclusion of the question of Palestine as an independent item on the agenda of the 29th session of the UN General Assembly.

«Our request was supported by the overwhelming majority of member-states, which were dissatisfied by the continuing deliberate disregard of the question of Palestine and the fate of its people. The question was debated in the presence of the Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, Mr. Yasser Arafat, who spoke in the name of the people of Palestine, who explained our cause with all its dimensions and intricacies, and who shared with you his vision of the Palestine of tomorrow.

«The international community then recognized the following facts:

1. That the question of Palestine is the central issue in the Middle East conflict.

2. That peace in the Middle East is contingent upon the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, beginning with their right to return, to self-determination and to sovereignty on their national soil.

3. That the 1967 War was not in reality a conflict over regional frontiers between the Arab States and Israel, but was rather one of the inevitable results of the continued Israeli usurpation of Palestinian land

and violation of Palestinian rights.

4. That Resolutions of the Arab Summit Conference in Rabat and General Assembly Resolution 3236 decisively confirmed the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people.

«The resolutions of the General Assembly in its 30th session, resolutions 3376, 3375 have increased our hope of reaching a just solution through the UN. We trust that the Security Council will not make us lose that hope, specially since this august Council today has an historic opportunity to right a wrong and to relieve the oppression of our patient and steadfast people.

«Mr. President, the Zionists established their racist entity in our country, relying on a racist ideology already condemned by the General Assembly in its 30th session. The Zionists used all methods of conquest and oppression to usurp the homeland of others. They also relied on external powers, some of which supported them in order to protect their own imperialist interests in the Arab region, and in order to retard the development and unity of the Arab countries.

«The Zionists have never yet been able to base their claim on any law or internationally recognized charter. We, the Palestinian people, as you have noted from our narration of our cause, are struggling for just goals, endorsed by the UN and anchored in international legitimacy. We struggle to attain freedom and peace, not to seize what did not belong to us. What we aspire to is consistent with the principles of international law and the UN Charter.

«Therefore, we wish to emphasize here the resolve of our people to continue their struggle until fulfillment of their national responsibility to restore and return to their national soil and to exercise therein their self-determination and to establish their independent state. We have legitimate national rights not interests, as some like to say the difference between interests and national rights is obvious, and our belief in peace is no less than our belief in right and justice. Where it not for the disregard of our rights, none of these wars and tragedies would have occurred in the Middle East.

«We want peace for us and for the Jews in Palestine. We wish to stress with the utmost sense of responsibility that the Security Council can as-

sume a basic and effective role if it applies the UN Charter and compels the aggressors to put an end to their aggressions.

«The time has come, Mr. President, for the Security Council to adopt a resolution which recognized the objective facts in the region, beginning with the Palestine question and the necessity of finding a just solution to it so that our people may exercise their inalienable rights in their homeland.

«The time has come for the adoption of a resolution which would rectify the error and which would rely on practical correct and effective means for its implementation. Such a resolution would contribute to the relaxation of tension and the realization of peace.

«It is of concern to us, Mr. President, to declare before you that the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, rejects the false allegations propagated by Zionists and imperialist circles regarding its intention, or the intention of our people, concerning the fate of the Jews in Palestine. Our struggle is not against the Jews in Palestine, but against the Zionist movement, its racist doctrines, its expansionist practices and its aggressive intentions, which have led, in fact, to the exile and uprootedness of our people.

«We have also declared our categorical rejection of any alternative homeland. Our people have one homeland, Palestine, and we struggle for its restoration and in order to exercise our historic and inalienable rights on its sacred soil.

«The General Assembly, in its last two sessions, has offered us some hope with its positive resolutions. And here we are today, looking confidently towards this august Council, for the realization of this hope, specially since the Security Council, according to article 36 UN Charter, has the power to implement its resolutions.

«Those of our people who have lived in exile since 1948, and those who live under occupation, expect this Council to adopt a resolution which would end their tragedy, offer them a brighter future and a path to return to their homeland.

«Mr. President, the PLO on behalf of the Palestinian people, offered and continued to offer, a solution to the question of Palestine. Its democratic solution assures all Arabs and Jews of Palestine a peaceful and dignified

life therein. Its solution is predicated upon the unqualified acceptance of the principle of human equality.

«The PLO in its transitional program which preceded the General Assembly's resolution 3236, envisages an independent Palestinian State in Palestine. Israel today in yet another of its more notorious attempts to frustrate the will of the international community and to subvert the intent of that resolution, is proceeding shamelessly with 'elections' under military occupation. Our people, in exile and under occupation, have made it abundantly clear that there will be no alternative to the establishment of an independent sovereign state in Palestine as the General Assembly has resolved.

«Mr. President, members of this Council are fully aware that the majority of member-states recognized our national rights and our right to independence. The USA, which has been the principal political, diplomatic, economic and military sponsor and sustainer of the continuing aggression and expansion of Israel, is isolated by its obdurate equivocation on those facts. This undoubtedly accounts for the abysmal failure of the United States to contribute a solution to the conflict in the Middle East. For how can a solution be found to a conflict when we ignore its heart and we deny the legitimacy of the principal party to that conflict in all international efforts concerned with peace?

«We wish to emphasize, Mr. President, that a just and lasting peace will not prevail in the Middle East unless and until the historic inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people are fully realized, and Palestine resumes its historic role as a bridge between the Arab States west and east of Suez and between Africa and Asia.

«We await a decisive effective resolution, and measures from this council, in accordance with article 36 of the Charter, which would consolidate, strengthen and implement General Assembly resolutions 3236, 3375, and 3376, in order to bring peace with justice to all.

«Meanwhile, our people will continue their just struggle by all legitimate means to attain their legitimate goals. When these are attained, hopefully with this Council's affirmative resolution, a just and lasting peace will prevail in the Middle East.

«Thank you, Mr. President.»

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS



ANGOLA: Africa Has Chosen

South Africa is no longer even trying to play down its aggression against the Popular Republic of Angola proclaimed by the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), and its connivance with Roberto and Savimbi—agitators of the FNLA and UNITA respectively—at whose disposal it is putting both its military techniques and personnel. The regular South African army has recently carried out important operation in Angola, and Pretoria has resolved—and is making no attempt to hide the fact—to increase its intervention there.

Nevertheless, the MPLA has won numerous military and diplomatic victories. It cornered the FNLA at the Zaire frontier, dislodging it from numerous towns of vital strategic importance—in particular Carmona and Ambriz—and liberating vast regions in the north of the country. In the south, UNITA and South African forces have

been obliged to retreat in the direction of Nova-Lisboa and the coastal town of Benguela.

On the recognition level, the meeting of the OAU (Organisation of African Unity) in Addis-Abeba from 10-13 January, organised on the initiative of Tanzania and Somalia in order to study the Angolan problem, marks an important stage in the MPLA's struggle. Two draft resolutions were presented at the meeting, one calling, in the name of the progressive African countries, for the unconditional recognition of the MPLA and the Popular Republic of Angola, the other advocating a coalition government.

The first draft resolution intended in addition to denounce the characteristic aggression of the South African racist regime. As for the second, everything points to the fact that it was drawn up under US pressure. Failing an adequate audience in the

African states, and in view of the disrepute of UNITA and the FNLA, the manifest allies of South Africa, and the other imperialist forces, they were obliged to content themselves with putting forward a so-called moderate solution: cease-fire and establishment of a «government of national unity» with the participation of the groupings strongly compromised. The MPLA, however, refuses to associate itself with those who are working to subject Angola to imperialism and its regional bridgehead. This position concords with the revolutionary political line of the movement and from now on has the support of the majority of the African states.

Out of the 46 countries represented at the OAU, 22 were in favour of each of the two draft resolutions and two countries, Ethiopia and Uganda—the president of this latter is chairman of the pan-African organisation—abstain-



MPLA Women join the struggle.

ed. As the assembly failed to take a decision, it was agreed to postpone the discussion of the Angolan situation until the next meeting of the OAU in June. But, just after the closing of the work of the extraordinary session in Addis-Abeba, the Ethiopian Government announced its official recognition of the Popular Republic of Angola, bringing to 23 the number of African states having given recognition to the government formed by the MPLA, whereas not one state, not even South Africa or Zaire, dares to guarantee officially the puppet government of the FNLA and UNITA.

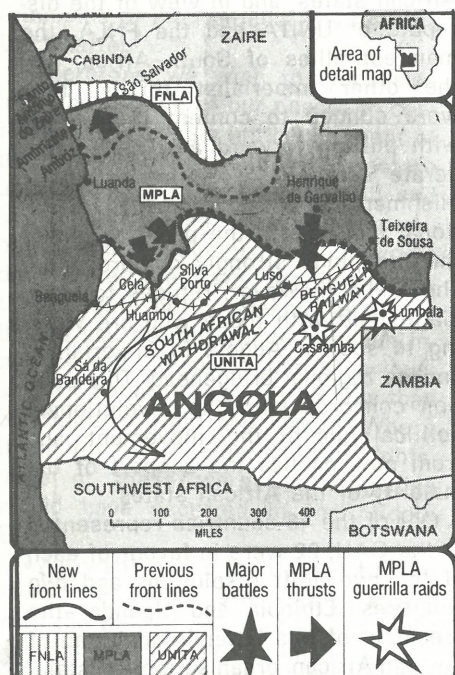
The OAU vote can be considered as a diplomatic victory for the MPLA, owing to the fact that it took place in spite of the underhand dealings with—or rather threats of economic pressure on—a number of African coun-

tries. The wanderings in several African countries, during the week which preceded the opening of the extraordinary session of the OAU, of William Schauffel, assistant to the American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had as their obvious aim to force the hand of certain heads of state and to prevent them from denouncing the intervention of the South African Republic and the United States, as well as the subversive activities of their supporters in the interior, UNITA and the FNLA.

According to the *New York Times* of 9 January, official circles in Washington are calling for the practice of a hard-line policy with regard to the Third World countries, in order to force them to conform to American dictates, particularly with regard to United States foreign policy. The

State Department has just set up a special section of «multilateral affairs» which will have as its principal task to draw up a list of the countries which do not vote according to the American wish at the United Nations and the other international bodies, and to determine the economic sanctions to be taken with regard to them. Further, according to the *New York Times*, these sanctions will take various forms: the reduction or the suspension of food deliveries, of the granting of credits and loans, of the financing of certain projects, etc. Several countries, particularly the African countries favourable to the MPLA and the Popular Republic of Angola, are apparently already on the State Department's blacklist.

Powerless to halt the diplomatic and military advance of the MPLA, imperialism is from now on working to ruin the unitary bases of Africa, of which the OAU is supposed to be the guarantor, and to «africanise» the Angolan conflict. Called to examine the situation in Angola, the OAU was literally split into two blocs. Observers consider that the unity of the African forum can only be preserved if it recognizes the government of the MPLA as the sole legal representative organ of the Angolan people. The majority of African leaders at present are envisaging this possibility, and it seems that the next meeting of the OAU will consecrate the Popular Republic of Angola, which will become its forty-seventh member.



ARAFAT RECEIVES SOLIDARITY CABLE FROM MPLA

Yasser Arafat received on 25 January a cable from the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), stressing that the Zionist, imperialist, reactionary and isolationist attacks are one, and that the enemies of Palestine and of Angola are one and the same.

The cable said: «The Palestinian people's struggle has imposed its presence at the Security Council and in the UN. This in itself expresses a new advance in the victorious march of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO.»

The cable continued that the ene-

mies of the people, whether imperialists, Zionists or reactionaries, are still conspiring fiercely to partition Lebanon so as to attack the progressive forces struggling for justice and political and social equality.

It continued: «This fierce attack is also aimed against the progressive forces because they support the presence of the Palestinian people in their camps which are under attack.»

The cable concluded by expressing the strong support of the Central Committee of the MPLA for the Palestinian people under PLO leadership.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

OMAN

Failure Of The «Pacification» Plan

On 13 and 17 December, 1975, the Arab and international press published declarations by Sultan Qabous, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, and certain Omani and Iranian officials, which revealed their intention to liquidate the Omani Revolution directed by the National Liberation Front, and to occupy all the liberated regions.

These declarations were accompanied by a series of military communiqués attributed to an Omani spokesman, referring to so-called military victories made by the Sultan and the Shah.

INTERVIEW WITH A LEADER OF THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF OMAN :

In publishing this interview, we should like to stress the link which exists between the Palestinian Revolution and the Omani Revolution under the direction of the NFLO, united in one destiny and one cause, those of the Arab people in general and of the right to liberation and independence.

Both revolutions are at present facing the most dangerous American-imperialist conspiracies.

— **Comrade Rached, could you give us an outline of the present military situation in Oman?**

— Since 16 September last, the Iranian forces have launched a large-scale attack against all the regions of Dhofar (the Iranian forces have been stationed in Oman since September 1973). The attack, which was carried out by some 12,000 Iranian soldiers, took place on three axes:

1st axis: The northern part of the liberated western region, from Reis-



sout up to the border with Democratic Yemen.

2nd axis: From Jabrout (Qabous' military encampment in the north of the border region with Democratic Yemen) towards the north.

3rd axis: The Iranian forces in Tamrit camp, recently established by them, were they have built three runways for Phantoms, from which they launch their attacks against the revolutionaries.

The Iranian forces launched their offensive with intense air raids all along the Omani-Yemeni border, bombarding certain Yemeni villages and taking as their target the Omani refugees who had fled their villages, burnt by the Iranians.

The aims of the military operation were as follows:

1 — To establish centres all along the Omani-Yemeni border, in order to cut off the food and communications routes which link the revolutionaries with Democratic Yemen.

2 — To attempt to reverse—to agent Qabous' advantage—the balance of force in the liberated western region of Dhofar, considered as a

stronghold of the revolution.

3 — To establish Iranian bases on the Democratic Yemeni border with the aim of creating tension in the border regions, and to launch a campaign against Democratic Yemen with the intention of forcing it to put all its military potential into confrontation with the reactionary forces, thus preventing it from continuing to consolidate its revolutionary experience.

The Shah believed that his army could finish off the «rebels» within a few weeks, and it is for this reason that he did not at first announce the intervention of his troops in this war. Although the Iranian forces have been in Oman for two years, they have been unable to achieve the aims of the reactionary forces.

By intensifying the military struggle, the Shah is attempting to refurbish his tarnished reputation and to regain the confidence of his allies.

During their incursions, the Iranian forces managed to establish a series of centres which, contrary to what they maintain, have no strategic value whatsoever. The majority of these centres have had to be evacuated under pressure of the attacks of the Liberation Army and the siege to which they were subjected.

Since 16 September last, the Libe-

ration Army has shot down 37 planes and helicopters of the most sophisticated kind, of the type already used by US forces in Vietnam and Cambodia.

The Liberation Army has taken an entire artillery battalion and has also captured an Iranian pilot. It has, in addition, succeeded in dismantling hundreds of enemy positions and has inflicted considerable losses on the Iranian forces—whose dead number some 800.

The Iranian forces have finally had to retreat from a number of their positions on the coasts and in the north.

The present situation, although critical, is favourable to the Omani Revolution, which it is impossible to wipe out. Essentially, it relies on the people, for its survival, and draws its force from the masses.



Freedom fighters in the Liberated Lands.

SOLIDARITY NEWS



GIAP: PALESTINIAN VICTORY ASSURED

During an official visit to Algeria in January, General Nguyen Van Giap, Defence Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, stressed that his country will continue to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their fundamental national rights, as well as the struggle of the Arab peoples against Zionism, the Zionist aggressors and all agents of US imperialism, for the complete liberation of all occupied Arab land.

General Giap added that the ultimate victory of the Palestinian people was assured, in spite of all the difficulties they are facing.

CABLE OF SUPPORT FROM AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY GROUP

On 21 January, Yasser Arafat received a cable from the Presidential Body of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization at the conclusion of its meeting in Aden, denouncing the massacres committed by the isolationist forces and their allies against the Palestinian and Lebanese masses.

The cable further denounced the ugly conspiracy aimed against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese nationalist movement, related to imperialist and Zionist ambitions in the region.

The cable concluded by expressing the total solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa and of na-

tionalist and progressive forces in the world with the just struggle of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese nationalist movement and pledge to continue the struggle to mobilize world public opinion to condemn and stop the conspiracy. The Presidential Body also sent a cable to President Franjeh, denouncing the fascist massacres committed against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, and calling for his intervention to put an end to the massacre of the masses for which he had «the entire responsibility.»

The third meeting of the Presidential Body of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization opened in Aden on 19 January. The head of the Palestinian delegation, Abdallah Hourani in his speech during the opening ceremony, explained the dimensions of the conspiracy against the Palestinian people and Revolution in Lebanon. He emphasized the necessity of holding an international conference for solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in their struggle against the isolationist and fascist forces.

Abdel Fattah Ismail, President of the Peace and Solidarity Council in Democratic Yemen then gave the opening speech and stressed the solidarity of the Republic of Yemen and the peoples of Asia and Africa with the Palestinian Revolution and the PLO. He also condemned the conspiracy to which the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese nationalist movement are being subjected in Lebanon.

11th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

During the festivals in Islamabad and Lahore on the occasion of the eleventh anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, the Pakistani Government and people reaffirmed their solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people.



CUBA REITERATES STAND

In a press conference held in Damascus on 26 December, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Cuban Embassy emphasized his country's total and firm support for the Arab people, especially the Palestinian Arab people, in their just struggle to regain their usurped homeland.

He added that Cuba will strengthen her ties with the socialist camp, with the non-aligned countries and with the revolutionary and progressive movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, within the framework of Cuba's militant anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist policy.

FRENCH GROUP EXPRESSES SOLIDARITY

The French Nationalist Grouping for the support of Palestine condemned the orders given to the Lebanese Air Force to bomb positions of the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese progressive and nationalist forces.

The French group stated in a communique issued on 17 January in Paris, that Lebanese air-raids on the Palestinian Resistance and Lebanese nationalist forces was more vicious and despicable than

the many Israeli air-raids on Lebanon.

On the other hand, the communist affirmed that the attack on Dbayeh camp by the isolationist forces and its occupation disproves all propaganda aimed at showing that the crisis in Lebanon is a sectarian confrontation, and reaffirms the fact that the battle in Lebanon is one between the progressive and nationalist forces on one side and the reactionary forces on the other side.

GUARANTEE OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS PRE-CONDITION FOR PEACE

In a joint communique issued in New Delhi on 21 January, after the Tanzanian President's visit to India, Tanzania and India stressed the necessity of an Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the guarantee of the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The communique added that these are the necessary pre-conditions for the establishment of a just and permanent peace in the Middle East.

I.U.W.S. AFFIRMS COMPLETE SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

In a cable sent by the Secretariat of the International Union of Workers' Syndicates in Prague to the UN Security Council in New York, the Union reaffirmed its complete support for the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Zionist occupation.

The Union further asked the Security Council to adopt a resolution recognizing the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

IMPERIALISM AND PALESTINE : 60 Years Of Perfidy

«In Palestine, we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants... Zionism is of far greater import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land... I do not think Zionism will hurt the Arabs; but they will never say they want it. As far as Palestine is concerned, the Powers have made no statement of fact which is not admittedly wrong, and no declaration of policy which, at least in the letter, they have not always intended to violate.» — Lord Balfour, in an internal Foreign Office memorandum, 1921. (British Documents on Foreign Policy, 1st series, Vol. I, p. 340.

Thus in a moment of lucid reflection wrote the man whose name is connected with the document which gave the Zionist movement its first political foothold in Palestine. The «declaration of policy», referred to the Balfour Declaration, the Sykes-Picot agreement, the Hussein-McMahon correspondence, and other policy statements such as the «Declaration to the

Seven» of 1918 (in which Britain promised the Arabs under Ottoman rule independence after the war)—were indeed contradictory insofar as both Arab independence after World War I, and the future of Palestine were concerned.

While promising the Jews a National Home in Palestine, the British agreed to partition the Arab province of the

Ottoman Empire (including Palestine) with France, and simultaneously promised the Arabs independence in Iraq, Syria and Palestine. Naturally, it was only the promises to the Zionists and France which were kept.

Interesting though the last part of Balfour's statement is as a confirmation from an unimpeachable source of this fact, and of self-acknowledged

British perfidy in its dealings with the Arabs, the first two points also deserve consideration, not only insofar as they reveal the «unspoken assumptions» of British policy in Palestine throughout the Mandate period, but also as an indication of the way in which the Palestine question has been treated by imperialism to this day, and by the world community as a whole until very recently.

That British imperialism never intended to consult the wishes of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine is self-evident. The entire history of the British Mandate is one of Arab rejection of Zionist immigration, land purchase and political equality with the Arabs, and of British refusal to allow self-government to the Arab majority of the country. Instead, the Arabs who formed over 90% of the population in 1919 and still constituted over 65% of the country's inhabitants in 1948 after 20 years of British sponsored Zionist immigration saw themselves turned into outsiders in their own homeland as the Mandate government implemented the policy first set down in the

Balfour Declaration of creating a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Nor has US imperialism shown that it has much to learn from its British cousin. Since 1947, when the United States began actively to concern itself with Palestine, its policy has been based on the very same premise of ignoring Palestinian rights and aspirations. This bias was first seen in the US-backed Partition Plan of 1947 which gave the Jews, who constituted about 30% of the population, and owned 7% of the land, 55% of Palestine.

The same premise has governed US policy to this day. After decades of struggle against British imperialism and its Zionist proteges, after decades of desperation and exile and after 11 years of armed struggle and the martyrdom of thousands of Palestinian men and women, the US still does not see fit to consult the wishes of the people of Palestine, or even to recognize the existence of their sole legitimate representative—P.L.O.

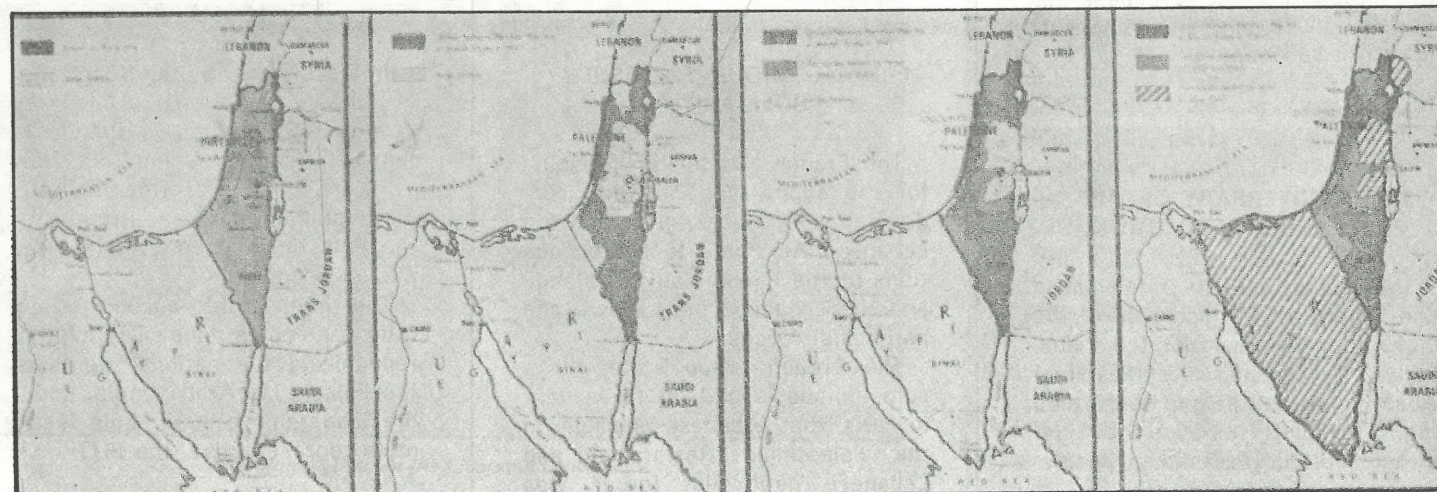
The reasons are many and obvious: the Palestinian people have become hardened through years of struggle

and suffering, and have come to know that among their many enemies, one stands out as the most dangerous—US imperialism. They know that hiding behind its Israeli, or Jordanian, or Phalangist clients, it is US imperialism which stands in the way of their return to their homeland. They know that this is not only because they refuse to allow their country to be used as a strategic springboard for US domination of the riches of the Arab world. It is also because whether inside Palestine, or in Jordan or in Lebanon the Palestinian people and their armed revolution are a formidable force which refuses to accept the reactionary and oppressive regime which US imperialism would foist on the whole Arab world in the interest of its continued domination.

Thus were the US to consult the wishes of this people, were it to allow it self-expression and self-determination, the whole rotten edifice which it has managed to shore up in the Middle East for three decades would crumble with the withdrawal of its corner-stone, the Zionist entity.



A Palestinian refugee camp in 1948.



PALESTINE

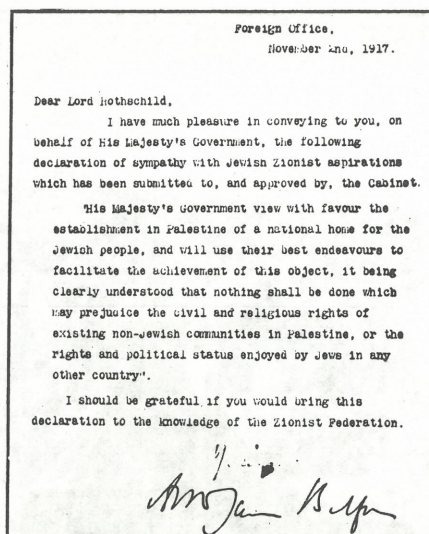
1947

1948

1967

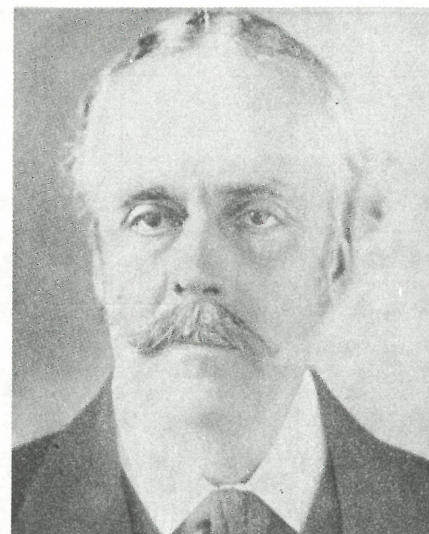
Although this clearly explains the strategic decision of US imperialism in aligning itself with those forces opposed to the Palestinian Revolution and the entire Arab national liberation movement, of which the Palestinian Revolution forms a part, it does not clarify the manner in which this decision is explained or justified to an American public which has been taught to believe in the principles of justice democracy, and self-determination.

It is here that the second point put forth by the British aristocrat Balfour helps us to elucidate the imperialist policies of an ostensibly democratic United States. For just as Balfour and British government from 1917 until 1947 based their policy on the inherently racist assumption that a visionary ideology held by a small movement of European Jews was «of far greater import» than the «desires and prejudices» of the people of Palestine, so US governments and the US media have over past 30 years propagated the equally racist notion that the Israelis, a «tiny beleaguered bastion of western democracy», sim-



Balfour Declaration, 1917.

ply because they were in some sense Westerners, Europeans, whites, could not only ignore the desires and prejudices of the Palestinian Arabs, but drive them from their homes, bomb them from the air, murder their leaders in their homes, and conspire with their Jordanian and fascist Lebanese enemies to annihilate the political and military movement which represents them.



British-Minister Balfour.

By presenting the Arabs of Palestine first of all as ignorant, backwards peasants and nomads, and then later, when that image dissolved in the wake of the growth of articulate Palestinian national awareness with the development of the Palestinian Revolution, as blood-thirsty terrorists unfit to have intercourse with the community of nations, the US media and its political masters have led the US public to accept what they would normally regard as a monstrous injustice: the dispersal, dispossession and robbery of the inalienable rights of an entire people in the interest of a colonizing enterprise based on racist principles which would be unacceptable to the American people in any other context.

Yet even this image is dissolving today in the wake of the success of the Palestinian people in widening the field of their struggle. Notwithstanding a defamatory campaign against the PLO involving terrorist attacks such as that at La Guardia airport in New York, and notwithstanding a devious and multi-faceted conspiracy to portray the Palestinian Revolution as a party to a sectarian civil war in Lebanon, as Palestinian representatives stand before the world community and put forth the humanitarian and civilized goals of the Palestinian Revolution, the American people and those of other Western countries cannot fail to realize that the «desires and prejudices» of the Palestinian people are in no way incompatible with the principals in which they believe.



POEM



Sameeh al-Qassem

REPORT of a BANKRUPT

Samih al-Qassem, a Druze Palestinian, born in Zarka, Jordan, in 1939, grew up in Nazareth, where he completed his high school education. He was imprisoned by the Zionist authorities and was accused of collaborating with Fateh freedom fighters in the blowing-up of the Haifa pipelines.

In the following poem, Samih al-Qassem proclaims his defiance to the Zionist occupiers and vows to continue the struggle until the liberation of Palestine.

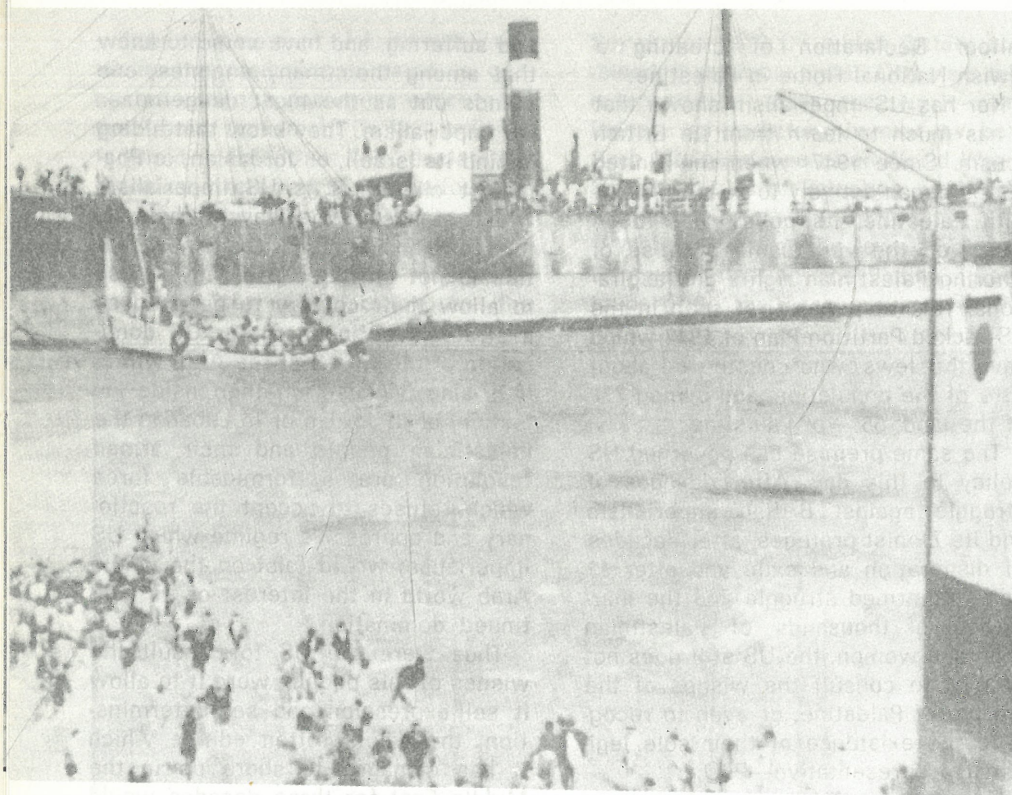
If I have to forfeit my bread,
If I have to hawk my shirt and bed,
If I have to work a stone cutter
Or porter
Or sweeper,
If I have to clean your warehouse,
Or rummage in dung for food,
Or starve
and subside,
Enemy of man,
I shall not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight.

Go and filch the final strip of my land,
Ditch my youth in prisonholes,
Plunder my legacy,
Burn my books,
Feed your dogs in my dishes.
Go and spread your net of terror
Upon the roofs of my village,
Enemy of man,

I shall not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight.

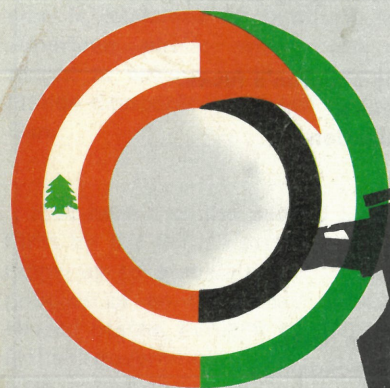
If you blow out all the candles in my eyes,
If you freeze all the kisses on lips,
If you fill my native air with hisping curses,
Or silence my anguish,
Forge my coin,
Uproot the smile from my children's faces.
If you raise a thousand walls,
And nail my eyes to humiliation,
Enemy of man,
I shall not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight.

Enemy of man,
The signals are raised at the ports,
The air is thronged with beckonings,
I see them everywhere.
I see the sails at the horizon
Striving
Defying,
The sails of Ulysses are veering home
From the seas of the lost,
The sun is rising
Man is advancing,
And for his sake,
I swear
I shall not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight
I SHALL FIGHT.



Jewish immigrants to Palestine in 1939.

Palestinians & Lebanese



One People One Struggle

Volume 2, No.10, March 1976

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



Palestine

PER. SEC.
MAR 29 1978

NYPL

**NO
to Occupation
YES
to P.L.O.**

