

**30 MARCH  
1976**



**LAND DAY  
IN PALESTINE**

VOLUME 2, NO. 12, MAY 76

# PALESTINE

P.L.O.  
information  
bulletin

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# TO OUR FRIENDS

15 May, considered by the traditional Arab media as a black day in recent Arab history, marking as it does the anniversary of the creation of the state of Israel in Palestine and the expulsion of more than a million Palestinians from their homeland, has been declared by the Palestinian Revolution as the day of the Palestinian struggle.

On 15 May, Palestinians everywhere responded to this call, taking to the streets in large demonstrations and stressing their determination to carry on the struggle against repression and injustice and to regain the occupied homeland. Palestinians living inside occupied Palestine expressed their rejection of the Zionist usurpation of Palestine.

In Beirut, Lebanon, comrade Arafat attended a graduation ceremony and handed out certificates to a new batch of Palestinian fighters. Some three thousand Palestinians and members of the nationalist and progressive forces later attended a mass meeting in support of the day of the Palestinian struggle.

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P.O. BOX 195168  
Beirut, Lebanon.

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

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## «PALESTINE» OPINION

This clear vote in favour of the PLO was a major defeat for the Zionist occupation and a slap in the face of Hashemite ambitions. The Zionist colonizers and the Jordanian Monarch have failed in their plans to elect their own candidates and to impose their will on the West Bank Palestinians.

These elections have brought about a change of generation in the West Bank leadership. The newly elected council members and mayors represent the younger generation which is more determined than ever to struggle for the liberation of the Palestinian homeland and throw off the yoke of Zionist occupation. The new councillors consider themselves entirely a part of the Palestinian people and are fully committed to the PLO leadership. At the same time, they refuse to act according to Zionist and imperialist designs to put forward an alternative to the PLO leadership, at any future conference dealing with the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian cause.

It must be clearly said that this vote, which represents the will of the West Bank Palestinians, has strengthened the PLO stand on all levels. It confirms that the PLO is indeed the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians wherever they live. Even on the Lebanese level, on which the PLO has for more than a year been facing a vicious conspiracy, this vote came at the right moment. It is the answer to all attempts at liquidating or containing the independent will of the Palestinian Revolution, attempts which came within the context of the imperialist aim to «Arabize» the conflict by introducing a reactionary Arab police force.

The Palestinian Revolution is well aware of all these conspiratorial Arab moves, and is trying by all means to overcome these plots.

Depending mainly on its own power and the support of its allies, the Lebanese nationalist and progressive forces and its friends on the Arab and international levels, the Palestinian Revolution will be able to foil all these conspiracies. The Palestinian struggle for self-determination and independence is undivided. Whether in occupied Palestine, or in diaspora, the Palestinian people have one common aim, namely independence, peace and freedom. The Palestinian Revolution, while facing all these liquidation attempts on the part of the agent Arab forces is more than ever determined to preserve the independent Palestinian struggle, and to reject all forms of tutelage on the Palestinian people.

It is not, and has never been, an aim of the Palestinian Revolution to establish itself in any country other than Palestine. Our struggle will continue until the full liberation of Palestine, and the establishment of the secular democratic state in which Jews, Christians and Moslems can live together in peace and fraternity.



# West Bank Elections : YES TO P.L.O

The PLO leadership never doubted for a moment that our Palestinian people suffering under Zionist occupation would give their vote in favour of the PLO. The continuous mass uprising (including demonstrations and strikes) which has been taking place in all the West Bank cities since January, the disturbances on the Day of the Land organized by the Galilee Arabs in protest against the confiscation of their lands, during which 7 Arabs were killed by the Zionist occupation forces, all these events were inevitably leading to the resounding victory of the PLO on election day, 12 April.

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«PALESTINE» bulletin

**Palestine**

MONTHLY INFORMATION BULLETIN  
published in English & French, by  
**THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION**  
**UNIFIED INFORMATION**  
P.O. Box 195168 - Tel. 317442-304584 -  
BEIRUT - LEBANON





Jerusalem: Wounded Palestinian youths after Zionist police attacks

## OCCUPATION DIARY

# A Meeting With Deported Palestinians

*The two Palestinian militants deported by the Israeli occupation authorities more than one month ago, describe the recent stages in our people's resistance in occupied Palestine.*

On Sunday, 28 March, Dr. Ahmad Hamzeh Al-Natshe, Director of the Beit Jala Hospital and Deputy Chairman of the League of University Graduates in Hebron, and Dr. Abdelaziz Al-Hajj Ahmad, President of both the West Bank Dentists' Union and the Municipal Club of al-Bireh, were driven out of their West Bank homes by the Zionist forces.

Deportation is only one of the many forms of oppression commonly practised by the Israeli occupation authorities who aim :

— To consolidate their occu-

pation of the occupied territories under military and extraordinary laws so as to enable them to exploit the occupied territories without opposition.

— To terrorize the legal inhabitants of the country by strangling their resistance, and create a capitulationist atmosphere to facilitate the occupation authorities' annexation and colonization of the occupied territories.

— To empty the land of its Arab inhabitants to make way for Zionist settlers.

— To open a gap between the masses in the occupied territories and their local political and com-

munity leaders.

In an interview with *Palestine Bulletin*, the two deported doctors described how the present mass uprising of our people under occupation escalated, and how the resistance is continuing even in the face of increased Zionist repression.

*Palestine Bulletin :*

«What are the immediate causes of the mass uprising in the occupied land? And how did our people continue their revolt in spite of the Zionist repressive measures?»

*Dr. Ahmad Al-Natshe :*

«Every uprising has its immediate causes, but there is always a fundamental and underlying issue, in this case, the Zionist occupation. Regarding the latest uprising, it started after new attempts at establishing Zionist settlements in Sebastia (near Nablus) at the end of 1975. Enormous demonstrations immediately broke out in Nablus. After the removal of the settlers to Kfar Kadoum, there was a temporary period of calm, although our masses remained fully aware of the Zionist deceit. They know only too well from their own experience how the Zionist settlements are established. They have seen, for example, what happened at Kiryat Arba' near Hebron where Zionists first came in the guise of tourists and stayed for a while in a hotel in Hebron, later moving to the Hebron military commander's residence, where they were safely staying when they started to erect the buildings which later came to be Kiryat Arba' settlement.

On 27 January, when the US vetoed a resolution on Palestinian national rights at the UN Security Council, our masses immediately gave another proof of their high political consciousness and continued their huge protests against the Zionist occupation and the support given to them by US imperialism, fully aware of the organic link existing between the two.

The decision of the Zionist court allowing Jews to pray in the al-Aqsa Mosque, which had been preceded by the American veto, also intensified our people's resistance. Demonstrations and strikes took place in Jerusalem, quick-

ly spreading to Ramallah, al-Bireh, Nablus, Tulkarem and Hebron.

Up to that point, various immediate causes had incited the unrest. First, the protests against the settlement attempts in Sebastia developed into extended protests against the general Zionist policy of establishing new settlements in the 1967 occupied territories. Then came the al-Aqsa issue which was clearly linked to the earlier issue of the Zionist violations of al-Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron, and led to our people's denunciation of the continued Zionist desecration of holy sites.

During the strikes, demonstrations and sit-ins, the enemy arrested great numbers of our people. This led to a further escalation of the mass uprising, which now included among its demands the release of all Palestinian detainees. The Israeli occupation authorities, in their frustrated attempts to suppress the mass rebellion, attacked houses, schools, hospitals, and municipal buildings. These attacks did not curb the will of the masses and only served to increase the existing tension, finally resulting in the collective resignation of the municipal councils of the main West Bank cities.»

*Dr. Abdelaziz Al-Hajj Ahmad answered Palestine Bulletin's question in the following terms :*

«These were the main reasons which sparked off the present mass uprising, and gave our masses the occasion to activate their struggle. The struggle of our Palestinian people in the occupied homeland has developed new forms. Regarding the time-span, the uprisings of the last four months are undeniable evidence that our masses and the national movement have become more experienced, and increasingly consolidated.

The process of popular protest developed as follows: at first, students protested by staging sit-ins in their classrooms. These then developed into demonstrations in the school yard. From school yards, the students went out to demonstrate in the streets. The number of students participating at the beginning, however, was limited, but later all students took part. More

important, students started to co-ordinate their actions with those of the national movement, which led to the full participation of all popular sectors.

The Zionist hoped that Palestinian youth would coexist with the occupation and worked for that end. But this new generation has proved to be the most attached of all the Palestinian generations to their land, and has proved to be the most determined and courageous even when unarmed, in their confrontation with the fully-equipped Israeli forces. This generation was brought up under the Zionist occupation amidst the revolutionary experience of resisting the occupation, which has developed both their national consciousness and their resistance. Active na-



*Dr. Abdulaziz Al-Hajj Ahmad and Dr. Ahmad Al-Natshe*

tional consciousness is steadily growing by virtue of the daily confrontation with the occupiers. It has led to the development of an active mass resistance, nourished by our masses' determination to equal their brothers carrying arms.

At the same time, the deterioration of living conditions under occupation led to the participation of all sectors of our people — including merchants, shopowners and other traditionally passive sectors — in the mass resistance to the occupier. This daily confrontation consolidated the national unity of our people and the integration of all forms of our people's struggle. The struggle of our people has been marked by its universality. Mass resistance in

the occupied West Bank was reinforced by the resistance of our brothers in Galilee and in other parts of Palestine occupied in 1948. This overall participation gave momentum for the continuation of the uprising after the *Day of the Land* on 30 March. Our masses under occupation saw that the Palestinian Revolution is facing a war of attrition in Lebanon, and felt the need to open a new front inside the occupied territories to engage the Israeli forces inside these territories, rather than allowing them leisure to attack South Lebanon-»

## HEROIC RESISTANCE

The two militant deportees cited many examples of our people's determined resistance to the occupation. Some excerpts from their statements follow:

The occupation authorities, in an attempt to control the situation, imposed curfews on Palestinian cities and towns. These curfews were meant to be a punishment for our rebelling masses. However, they had the effect of increasing the steadfastness of our people: popular committees took on the responsibility of organizing and co-ordinating action to foil the enemy's attempts at suppression. For example, the populations of the towns of Ramallah and al-Bireh, on which indefinite curfews had been imposed, used the one-hour lifting of the curfew to assemble and demonstrate. In Nablus, the masses were able to prevent the fully-equipped enemy troops from entering the old city, using whatever everyday objects they could find as weapons and throwing plant-pots, stones, and hot water at the enemy forces whenever they tried to penetrate the narrow streets of old Nablus. This in turn forced the enemy to have recourse to besieging the quarter, but they were unable to enter it. Our people's response here clearly reflects the strong will to resistance developing among the politically aware masses, and the widespread rejection of the foreign occupier which lead people to take any kind of risks and create new means of resistance in difficult circumstances with whatever is within their reach. ▶





Fanatical Gosh Emunim marchers invading West Bank

When a curfew was imposed on Halhul, the people of the neighbouring villages used to prepare food to give to the inhabitants of Halhul during the one-hour lifting of the curfew in order to strengthen their determination to continue resisting the enemy.

#### ZIONIST MEASURES

The uprising grew in intensity as the repressive measures of the Israeli authorities increased. Instances of Israeli measures during the uprising were:

#### SCHOOL ATTACKS :

The Israeli police broke into several Palestinian schools, and not only destroyed the furniture and equipment they found, but also attacked indiscriminately any teacher or student who happened to be there, even women teachers, as was the case in the al-Bireh Girls' School.

#### ATTACKS ON DEMONSTRATORS :

The Israeli police were not satisfied merely with using clubs and tear gas when it came to breaking up the demonstrations. They also shot at the demonstrators. Many were wounded. (It is to be noted that, after the deportation of the two doctors, the Israeli forces shot at and killed several Palestinian demonstrators.) Dr. Al-Natshe recounted how he had operated on a 16-year-old girl who was shot in the leg while demonstrating in Hebron. She was still in hospital at the time he was deported. The Zionist troops conducted arbitrary house-to-house searches and dragged young people out of their homes to a special «court» where they were immediately sentenced. Sentences pass-

ed did not usually involve a prison term, since Israeli jails were already overflowing, but punishments took the form of the enforced payment of enormous «fines» of 5,000 to 6,000 Israeli pounds. If the money was not available — and it frequently was not — the property of the fined youth's parents was confiscated.

#### COMMUNAL PUNISHMENTS :

Entire towns and communities were penalized. Curfews were imposed and maintained for long periods. In Ramallah, al-Bireh, and Halhul, the curfew was lifted only one hour in every 44 hours (during this hour, the people usually demonstrated). When curfews were in force, the Israelis patrolled the towns and continuously fired in the air, to terrorize the citizens into submission.

Police used the curfew to break into homes, drag the men out, insult them publicly in the streets and force them to clear the street barricades at gunpoint. Ramallah's Mayor, Karim Khalaf, was but one of the people who were dragged out of their homes and forcibly put to work. Some of the men were also forced to sit in the mud with their hands raised after their work was done. They were forced to sit there, in the rain, for hours.

Then there were attacks on institutions. The campus of Bir Zeit College was attacked, and the students, whether asleep or awake, were beaten up. Even the sick students were not spared. One sick student was beaten so severely that he lost an eye. Another, who was beaten all the way to «court», died soon after from 14 fractures

and internal haemorrhage.

The Hebrón Health Department was also attacked, and the doctors and employees were beaten up.

#### ATTACKS BY JEWISH SETTLERS :

The Israeli occupation authorities looked the other way as large numbers of Zionist settlers launched attacks against the Palestinian Arabs. For instance, the settlers of Kiryat Arba' settlement, established in 1969 near Hebron, joined the Israeli troops in attacking the demonstrators. One of the methods these settlers used was to unleash trained dogs on the demonstrators (a method also used by the Israeli police). On one occasion, the settlers of this Zionist colony kidnapped three boys, aged between 12 and 15, and took them to the colony. There they stripped them naked and let their dogs loose on them. The boys were in a very bad state when they were released. Dr. Al-Natshe took one of the boys to a hospital (the others were treated privately) where he invited foreign correspondents to meet him and see for themselves the results of this savage attack.

#### THE DEPORTATIONS

Deportation was of course, another method the Israelis used to try to quench the fire of rebellion among the Palestinians. This is nothing new, however, since every uprising to date has been accompanied by a series of individual and group deportations.

«In my case,» says Dr. Al-Natshe, «deportation was motivated partly by the Israeli desire to quell the uprising, in which I was involved, and partly by the Israeli determination to keep me out of the Hebron municipal elections so that the collaborator, former Mayor al-Ja'abari, could win. However, my deportation did not stop the uprising, and it may not guarantee al-Ja'abari's victory. (al-Ja'abari, in fact, later withdrew from the elections when he realized that he stood no chance of winning them). For one thing, my deportation will probably open the eyes of more people to the blatant injustice of the occupation authorities. Furthermore, al-Ja'abari still has worthy opponents to reckon with.»



## OCCUPATION DIARY

# PALESTINE SAYS YES TO PLO

April 12, the day of the municipal elections in the occupied West Bank, was a huge and unforgettable demonstration of the belief of our people under occupation in their cause, their revolution and their legal representative, the PLO. Posters in the Palestinian national colours — red, black, white and green — covered the walls and shop windows in all the West Bank cities. On these posters were pictures of the National Front candidates, and slogans like : « No to local autonomy, yes to National Front », « For the land, the people, and the Palestinian cause ». Women encircled the voting centres holding Palestinian flags and chanting national songs, while hailing the PLO and the National Front list. Palestinian youths filled all the near-by streets to prevent any Zionist attempt to interfere with the elections. All were confident of victory. For the Zionists, however, the municipal elections which were intended to be a step towards « auto-administration », not only fell short of their hopes, but also represented the failure of the first step in a programme still to be achieved.



Zionist Minister of Defence, Shimon Peres, was the first one to announce the Zionists' intention of holding municipal elections in the occupied West Bank. He had declared on 22 October, 1975, that the vacuum in the West Bank which had emerged as a result of the Rabat resolution concerning Jordan and the PLO should be filled by an «auto-administration». Peres is known to be strongly in favour of the annexation of the territories occupied in 1967 in the form of a federation with the Zionist entity, and has also made clear his opposition to the United Arab Kingdom plan proposed by the Hashemite monarch, Hussein.

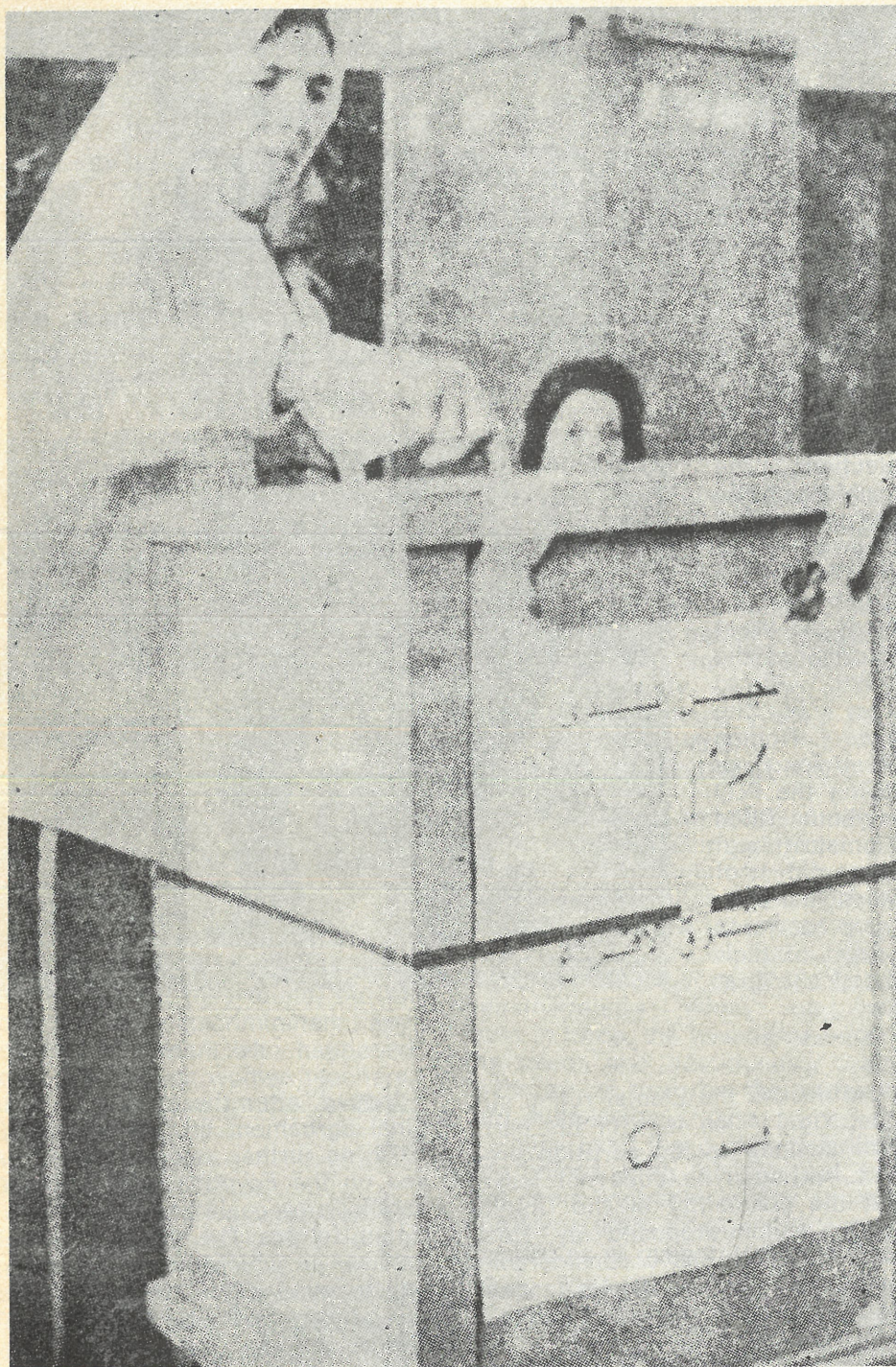
The Zionist Prime Minister, Yitzhaq Rabin, who is committed to the official stand of his Government based on the electoral programme of the Zionist Labour Party, disagrees with Peres and prefers the Jordanian solution. The

third man in the Zionist ruling clique, Yigal Allon is, for his part, still sticking to his partition project. Although he does not leave out the possibility of the United Arab Kingdom proposed by Hussein, he still has a considerable amount of negotiating to do concerning the future borders of this Kingdom.

Notwithstanding this incongruity in the plans of the ruling Zionist triumvirate, they all agree on shutting out the PLO, alienating it from its masses in occupied Palestine, submerging it in secondary contradictions in the Arab world, and physically liquidating it when possible. For this trio, a representative of the Palestinian people, opposed to the PLO, was considered imperative for the success of their plans, especially as the American imperialist settlement in the area was facing serious obstacles and was threatened with cessation.

Indeed, after the signing of the Sinai agreement on 1 September, 1975, no further step could be taken on the Egyptian front and no parallel step could be taken on the Golan Heights. The way out of this impasse in which the step-by-step policy found itself was to direct the wheels of the settlement towards Jordan. But approaching Jordan was a thorny path. Jordan had been deprived of its self-appointed mandate over the occupied West Bank at the 1974 Rabat Summit Conference, at which the Arab countries recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In November the same year, not only did the UN General Assembly confirm this recognition, but our oppressed masses in the occupied territories waged the fiercest and most extensive mass uprising since the June 1967 War, stressing PLO representation of all Palesti-





Yes to PLO

nians, both inside and outside occupied Palestine. Early this year, the mass uprising, which for several months had been growing in intensity, spread to cover those areas occupied in 1948, thereby stressing the cohesion of all Palestinians under the banner of their revolution and sole representative, the PLO. At the same time, Zionism was internationally condemned as a form of racism and racial discrimination, and the Zion-

ist entity, Israel, became increasingly isolated on the international level. With all these victories and successes, the Palestinian Revolution had grown to the extent that it could no longer be ignored or its existence denied as before.

To escape from this stalemate, the imperialists and Zionists saw a two-pronged outlet: hitting at the Revolution militarily without being directly involved, and fostering a new and fake Palestinian leader-

ship affiliated to the imperialist sphere. The Lebanese events were engineered and escalated in order to liquidate the Revolution if possible, or at the very least, to engage it in a fierce battle from which — they hoped — it would emerge exhausted and of negligible size. At the same time, the Zionists were nurturing their agents in the occupied territories and preparing them to reach the stage of formal representation through election.

Peres hoped that these agents, when elected, would provide the nucleus for an auto-administrated West Bank, to be linked in the future with the Zionist entity in a sort of federation. In Rabin's estimation, on the other hand, the elections and the « auto-administration » which was supposed to follow — if everything ran according to plan — would pave the way for « expressing the Palestinian identity within a Jordanian framework ». Allon considered « auto-administration » a base, and a step towards implementing one of his three alternative solutions: a Jordanian-Israeli agreement based on his partition programme which he feels will be rejected by the Palestinians, because of their will to express their political identity; a United Arab Kingdom with some modifications concerning borders; an unarmed Palestinian state (not headed by the PLO), on condition that the River Jordan remain as the secure eastern border of the Zionist entity. The Zionist ruling trio agreed upon the need for elections and for a new Palestinian collaborationist leadership opposed to the PLO.

Although many Zionist politicians believed that such a step should have been taken long ago when they had a considerable chance of success, the Zionist leadership was now gambling on two factors: the Revolution was widely engaged in the Lebanese events, and known Palestinian nationalists had either been forcibly deported or imprisoned. According to UN statistics, since 1967 over 1,500 Palestinian community leaders have been deported and some 40,000 people imprisoned without trial.

The elections, which involved

188 seats in 24 West Bank towns, were organized in accordance with Jordanian law, with one innovation: women over 21 were eligible to vote. The election results were amazing: members of the pro-PLO nationalist lists won 148 seats, practically all of the municipal seats in the major West Bank towns: Hebron, Nablus, Ramallah, Tulkarem, Jericho, Beit Jala and Beit Sahour.

In Hebron, although two of the nationalist leaders were deported by the Zionists only two weeks before the elections, the results completely reversed the town's previous passive image under Mayor Mohammad Ali Ja'abari, who collaborated with the Zionist occupiers. The newly-elected mayor, Mr. Farid Kawasmeh, stressed, in a discussion with a number of American professors visiting the West Bank: « The PLO is our sole representative, and we accept any decision it takes. As to our relations with Jordan, they will be defined after establishing a Palestinian government under the leadership of the PLO ».

In Beit Sahour, one of the newly-elected council members was Atallah Rasmawi, who is still under administrative detention in an



Israeli prison — where he has been since 1974.

In Ramallah, Karim Khalaf, who was re-elected as Mayor by a sweeping majority, declared: « We are against the local autonomy proposed by the Israelis. There will be no co-operation with the occupying authorities. They have always been against the Ramallah municipality. If they want to negotiate, they should negotiate with the PLO ».

The results of the elections and the sweeping victory of the nationalist front were not only a serious blow to the Zionist schemes, but were in addition a blow to the attempts of the Jordanian regime to impose its representation on the Palestinian people. Even the Israeli Labour Party daily, « Davar », said in this context: « It seems that most of the West Bank population consider themselves part of the whole Palestinian presence under the PLO leadership, and they do not see King Hussein as their representative ».

With every ballot cast for the members of the nationalist list, the PLO's status as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people was reaffirmed, and the Zionist hope of an « auto-administration » evaporated. The Zionists lost their bet: instead of agents collaborating with them to implement their plans, nationalists refusing to co-operate with the occupation authorities and believing in the PLO as the leader of their struggle emerged from the elections. If the municipal elections, the previous Nazareth elections, and the mass uprising in both the 1948 and 1967 occupied territories are considered to represent the situation of the Palestinian masses in occupied Palestine, then the inevitable conclusion is that all Palestinians living under Zionist rule (and in the territories occupied in 1967) are united under the banner of the PLO, for the liberation of Palestine and the establishment of the democratic secular state. Despite all Zionist attempts, the PLO representation of the Palestinian people has been once more confirmed, thus shutting the doors in the face of a new Zionist conspiracy to falsify the Palestinian identity.

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## ISRAELI ANNEXATION POLICY

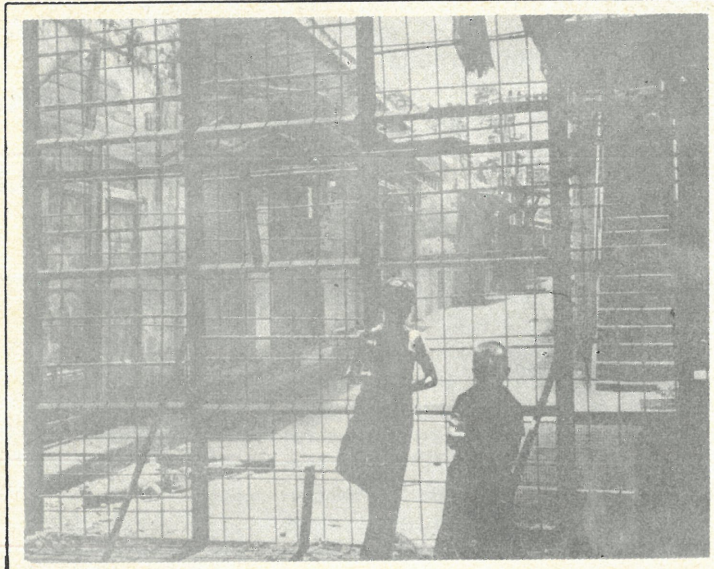
Encouraged by the occupation authorities, right-wing extremists, members of the reactionary religious organization Gosh Emunim, in April carried out new provocations against the Arab population of the occupied territories. Some 30,000 armed Gosh Emunim members took part in a march through the West Bank, organized under slogans calling for annexation of the Arab territories and for new and more drastic actions on the part of the Government against the Arab population.

In the face of these latest provocations, which are but one aspect of the Zionist policy directed at consolidating the occupation and according to which some 40 paramilitary settlements — 18 in the West Bank alone — have been established with Government approval, West Bank inhabitants rose up in a massive protest, organizing strikes and street barricades in most West Bank towns. Israeli troops opened fire on demonstrators killing or wounding several.

In spite of these flagrant acts of aggression against the Palestinian Arabs, the Israeli authorities vainly persist in trying to hide from the outside world the real state of affairs in the occupied West Bank. In their attempts to conceal the mounting protests against the occupation, the Israeli authorities have deported or thrown into prison hundreds of Palestinian patriots accused of opposing the occupation, large numbers of them under so-called « administrative detention », without charge or trial.



## OCCUPATION DIARY



Nablus  
The steel gate,  
erected by the  
Zionist forces

### FROM WARSAW TO NABLUS : ZIONISTS BUILD GHETTOS FOR THE PALESTINIANS

Hundreds of Zionist troops with automatic weapons at the ready surrounded the old quarter of Nablus in the occupied West Bank of Palestine, while Zionist army welders, on 22 April, erected 12 ft high iron-barred gates to seal off the ten entrances to the city's old quarter. In the event of new Arab demonstrations against the occupiers in that sector of the town — where clashes between Arab demonstrators and the repressive occupation forces have been numerous during the past weeks — the gates can be quickly closed, ensuring greater Zionist control of the area. This has not been easy for the Zionist occupiers because of the strong militancy of the Arab inhabitants who do not hesitate in their resistance, even in the face of the sophisticated weapons of the Zionist forces. By locking the Arabs in a huge cage — which can be opened or closed according to their whim — the Zionists believe they can stem the strong tide of Arab national feelings which threaten to sweep the occupiers out of Palestine.

### PALESTINIAN ARTIST ARRESTED

The Zionist military occupation forces in Jerusalem at the beginning of February arrested the Palestinian play-right, Mustafa al-Kurd, and transported him to the al-Maskobiya prison after beating him viciously.

Arabic-language newspapers published in occupied Palestine said that Kurd's arrest followed the staging of his play « When We Went Mad », at the al-Amriya school theatre in Jerusalem. The play had been very successful and received widespread popular acclaim. Kurd's arrest, however, prevented his play from being shown in other theatres and cities.

### U.S.A. ANXIOUS ABOUT MASS UPRISING IN WEST BANK

Henry Kissinger, in a speech in the state of Dallas at the end of March, declared that the mass uprising in the West Bank aims at foiling American political settlements in the region and that it reflects the PLO intentions to foil any American solution of the Middle East crisis.

### HEBREW PAMPHLETS CALL ARABS TO RESIST ZIONIST OCCUPATION

The Zionist authorities in April arrested three Jewish militants on charges of distributing Hebrew-language pamphlets in the villages of Galilee and the Triangle region, attacking the Zionist occupation, agitating to disturb the peace, and interfering with the police in the performance of their duty.

According to Zionist police sources, the three, Sylvia Adiv (wife of Udi Adiv, sentenced to 17 years in jail in 1973 on charges of membership of the Arab-Jewish Red Front revolutionary group), Rovnin Jijan, a 21-year-old Jerusalem university student, and Daniel Grossfeld, were stopped in their car at a police check-point in Galilee, where the pamphlets were found in their possession.

The incident is the latest sign of the growing sympathy of progressive Jews in the Zionist entity with the struggle of the Palestinian people against the occupation of their homeland, and is particularly significant coming, as it does, in the wake of the demonstrations all over Palestine before and after the demonstrations on the Day of the Land, on 30 March.

### NEW ZIONIST SETTLEMENTS IN WEST BANK

Reports in April from occupied Palestine said that a special Israeli Ministerial Committee is preparing a wide scale project to establish new Zionist colonies in the occupied West Bank. The reports added that this plan guarantees the settlement of 400,000 new Jewish immigrants, and the establishment of new settlements near Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, and in the districts of Jericho and Nablus.



Abu Ammar with progressive leader Kamal Jumblatt  
(right), and Lieutenant Ahmad Al-Khatib, leader  
of the Lebanese Arab Army (left)

## PALESTINE NOTES

### ARAFAT DEFINES GOALS OF REVOLUTION IN LEBANON

Yasser Arafat, on 1 April, issued a communiqué in which he defined the goals of the Revolution in Lebanon. The communiqué began :

«In these critical and dangerous circumstances in the history of our Arab nation, in these difficult circumstances through which Lebanon is passing, and in the midst of the dramatic events which overwhelm this genuine Arab country and its innocent citizens, marring their security and peace of mind, the Palestinian Revolution — in spite of its bleeding wounds, and inspired by its conscience and the nobility of its goals — takes a historic stand to define its line.

«We feel that it is our duty to register our principled stand as revolutionaries and as a genuine progressive force standing firmly against all forms of religious, sectarian or social oppression, and condemning any sort of sectarian divisions or conflict plotted by colonialist and Zionist circles and by the isolationist forces.»

Arafat went on to describe how, in spite of the viciousness of the year-long conspiracy and the de-

termination of the conspirators, the Revolution had tried to stand in defence of the Revolution and the Palestinian and Lebanese masses, and with the unity of Lebanon's people and land. The Revolution had been and still was for putting an end to the blood-shed, and in view of this, welcomed the latest cease-fire decision announced in a nationalist movement communiqué. Arafat called upon all to respond to and implement it and to give the suggested solutions a chance to prove their viability via the country's legislative institutions. This call was «for the sake of the Lebanon of tomorrow, the Lebanon which we all want — we who live on its soil as citizens or guests : the Lebanon of security and peace of mind in which the Palestinian Revolution finds a support and a base; and in which Arabism finds strength and a starting point.»

Arafat went on to refer to the «tremendous efforts» exerted in this regard by Syria. «In spite of what it has suffered and confronted», he said, «we are sure that our brothers in Syria will continue — together with the Lebanese people and the Palestinian Revolution — to exert their kind efforts to put

an end to this crisis on a correct political and democratic basis.»

The huge sacrifices offered by the heroic Lebanese people and their leadership and nationalist and progressive movement meant that it was «imperative that we register with pride every Arab nationalist effort faithfully exerted to destroy the ghost of this conspiracy, and to seek to end the crisis and to help the people of Lebanon and the Palestinian Revolution.»

Arafat affirmed the importance of protecting the strategic ties between the Lebanese nationalist movement, Syria, and the Palestinian Revolution to confront all conspiracies, particularly those which, through taking on dangerous international dimensions, threaten not only Lebanon and the Palestinian Revolution, but the Arab region as a whole.

Through its vision of the consecutive incidents, the Palestinian Revolution had seen that it was its duty to warn the Palestinian, Lebanese and Arab masses against these imperialist manoeuvres, particularly the latest US move in the Lebanese theatre.

Arafat concluded by expressing full confidence and hope that the



## PALESTINE NOTES

free and brave Lebanese masses and their nationalist movement would «create an honest and genuine image of the future of this people through unity and solidarity between all its sons, and for the life of this nation and the protection of its national unity and the unity of its land and people.

«For the sake of the Lebanon of tomorrow, a unified and united Lebanon, a Lebanon of love and coexistence, a Lebanon of creative potential, of life and vitality, a Lebanon of freedom and democracy, for a nationalist, democratic unified Lebanon.»

### ARAFAT: VICTORY OF REVOLUTION IS HISTORICALLY INEVITABLE

Yasser Arafat, answering a question about the mass uprising in occupied Palestine put to him by the Palestine News Agency, Wafa, commented:

«Our heroic people's uprising and the victories they have realized stress their determination to continue their revolution until the liberation of their homeland from the claws of Zionism. The uprising has removed all the masks from the face of the occupier, has shattered the Zionist plans to falsify our people's will, and has emphasized our people's solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution, its aims and principles.

«While I salute our heroic struggling people, I say that the intensification of imperialist conspiracies confirms that the enemy camp has been afflicted by weakness and disorder. Therefore, the Palestinian Revolution, which has broken the most dangerous links of the conspiracy in Lebanon, is definitely able to overcome the conspiracies and the obstacles prepared by imperialism and Zionism.»

«The victory of the Revolution», Arafat added, «is historically inevitable and will not be stopped either by conspiracies or obstacles. And the steadfastness and heroic stand of our people set the best

example for us to continue our victorious procession until liberation and victory. We shall meet in our liberated homeland. Revolution Until Victory.»

### WALDHEIM CALLS FOR END TO ZIONIST SUPPRESSIVE MEASURES

Following the recent brutal Zionist attempts to suppress the Palestinian masses in occupied Palestine, UN Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, in April called for an end to repressive measures against the Arab population in the occupied Arab territories. A spokesman for Dr. Waldheim said that the Secretary-General looks upon the current events in the occupied West Bank and the terrorist actions practised by Israel against the Arabs with great concern and anxiety.

Meanwhile, the PLO delegate at the U.N. requested the holding of a special General Assembly session in order to take decisive measures to denounce, and put an end to Israel's criminal practices. At a recent press conference in New York, the Palestinian delegate said that it was the duty of the UN to end the fascist practices of the Zionist authorities in the occupied territories.

### NON-ALIGNED STATES DECLARE 30TH MARCH «THE DAY OF THE LAND»

The Information Conference of non-Aligned Countries, which ended its meetings on 30 March in Tunis, stressed the non-aligned countries' support for the Palestinian struggle against the Zionist occupation. The Conference unanimously decided to consider 30 March as the «Day of the Land», in solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle to protect their land against the danger of Zionist settlement. The Conference saluted the Palestinian people's steadfastness on their land against the Zionist occupation, and recommended that this day be covered by the

media in their respective countries.

A PLO delegation participated in the Conference, exposing the mass uprising of the Palestinians under occupation, the Lebanese incidents, the evolution of the Palestine problem and the current situation in the area.

### 11th CONGRESS OF BULGARIAN CP

A PLO delegation took part in the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian CP which ended its meetings on 2 April.

The PLO delegation held talks dealing with Palestinian - Bulgarian relations, and the explosive situation in occupied Palestine, as well as conditions in the Lebanese arena. The Bulgarian comrades expressed their full support for the struggle of the Palestinian people under the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. The delegation also held talks with other delegations and liberation movements attending the Congress.

Abu Hatem, deputy - head of the PLO Political Department and responsible for FATEH foreign relations, spoke during the Congress in the name of the PLO.

Reviewing the political situation of the Palestinian Revolution on the Arab and international levels, Abu Hatem stressed the importance of the mass uprising in occupied Palestine, and confirmed the links between the incidents in Lebanon and the imperialist - Zionist plan to wipe out the victories realized by the Palestinian Revolution.

The Congress finally adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of Zionist forces from occupied Arab land and the guarantee of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

In related news, the Bulgarian Committee for Solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa on 29 March issued a declaration of Solidarity with the people of Palestine and their just struggle, under the PLO, on the Day of the Land, and expressed its readiness to render assistance and support whenever necessary.

In the declaration, the Committee condemned Israel's policy of

arbitrary measures, repression, exile, and expropriation, accusing it of «crushing the principles and norms of international justice and of refusing to fulfill the respective decisions of the UN.»

It added that the people of Bulgaria «are deeply indignant at the groundless and cruel persecutions practiced by the Israeli occupation authorities against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples fighting for their national liberation», and condemned the racist policy of the Zionists, and the provocations of imperialism and local reaction.

### PLO INFORMATION OFFICE TO OPEN IN MEXICO

The Mexican Government on 21 April announced its agreement to the opening of a PLO information office in the capital, Mexico City. A communiqué issued by the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that this decision was the result of the promise made by the President of the Mexican Republic to the PLO during his recent tour of the Middle East.

### ARAFAT DISCUSS PRESENCE OF U.S. SIXTH FLEET WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR OF BEIRUT

Yasser Arafat, on 18 April, received the Soviet Ambassador to Beirut, comrade Alexander Soldatov, who handed him an important message from the Soviet leadership dealing with the current situation in the Lebanese theatre. Within the context of the Lebanese events, Arafat discussed with Soldatov the increase in the forces of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, now standing only 12 miles off the Lebanese coast.

Important Arab, Palestinian and Lebanese issues were also discussed during the meeting.

### PLO CYPRUS OFFICE ASSISTS LEBANESE REFUGEES

The PLO office in Nicosia is currently offering aid and assistance to the Lebanese in Cyprus who fled Lebanon by boat from

Jounieh in the Kataeb - controlled area of Lebanon, seeking refuge from the pressures exerted on them by the isolationist forces. Yasser Arafat personally issued orders that all possible measures be taken in this regard.

It is to be noted that the hundreds of refugees steadily arriving in Cyprus are Lebanese Christians who preferred to leave the country rather than give way to Kataeb pressure to compel them or their young children to participate in the fighting. In view of the massive exodus, which they had been unable to halt, Amin Gemayel - son of isolationist leader, Pierre Gemayel, - was obliged to admit in a recent statement to the Lebanese press that the Kataeb Party has forbidden Christian males between the ages of 15 and 50 to leave the country.

### ARAFAT RECEIVES PAPAL DELEGATION

On 20 April, Yasser Arafat received the Papal delegation then visiting Lebanon. The 90-minute meeting centred on the situation in Lebanon, and the efforts exerted by the Vatican and by His Holiness, Pope Paul VI during these important and difficult moments for Lebanon. The meeting was later described as cordial and positive.

### PLO REPRESENTATIVE PRESENTS PALESTINIAN INSIGNIA IN HANOI

The PLO representative in Hanoi, Abu Ziyad, on 18 April, presented a Vietnamese party representative with the insignia of Palestinian commandos, as a gesture of respect and appreciation for the liberation heroes in Haiphong, and as a pledge to continue the Palestinian popular struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the reactionary forces.

The presentation took place during a visit by the PLO representative to construction sites where the Vietnamese are rebuilding the factories destroyed during the Viet-

nam war as a result of the barbaric U.S. raids. The Vietnamese comrades on this occasion affirmed their support for, and solidarity with, the Palestinian Revolution.

### INFORMATION CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN VIETNAM AND PLO

Earlier, the PLO representative in Hanoi had visited comrade Huan King, member of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and editor-in-chief of the party newspaper. Their discussion centred on the escalation of the popular revolution in occupied Palestine, and the means of developing co-operation between Palestinian and Vietnamese information media, particularly between the Workers' Party central organ and *Falastin al-Thawra*, the Arabic-language central weekly of the PLO.

The PLO representative also visited the Vietnamese news agency and radio and TV directors in Hanoi. Within the context of enlarging information exchanges, the PLO representative discussed means of developing relations between the Palestinian and Vietnamese media.

It is worthy of note that the Vietnamese news media have been giving wide coverage to the uprising of the Palestinian masses in occupied Palestine, together with analysis of its origins and evolution.

### THE PLO ATTENDS TWO CONGRESSES IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

The delegates to the Fourth Party Congress of the German Communist Party (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei - DKP) greeted the PLO representative with a five-minute standing ovation as he was welcomed at the opening session by the Party's General Secretary, Herbert Mies. The Fourth Party Congress, which met in Bonn from 19 - 21 March, 1976, in order to prepare for the next Bundestag (parliament) elections in Fall 1976, was attended by over 100 foreign delegations.



## PALESTINE NOTES

It is worth noting that this was the first time that the PLO had attended a DKP party congress. At the Congress, ways and means of increasing the co-operation and solidarity between the DKP and the PLO were discussed with various high-ranking members of the Party.

At the invitation of the Young Socialists in the Social Democrat Party (SPD) which heads the coalition government in the Federal Republic of Germany, the PLO attended the Annual Congress of the Party which was held in Dortmund from 26 - 28 March, 1976. This invitation came to the dismay of the Zionist delegation from the ruling Mapai party in occupied Palestine.

The Congress distributed copies of the opening address delivered by the PLO representative, which uncovered the biased policy of the Bonn government towards the Zionist entity. The address pointed out the repercussions on the Palestinian people of the West German-Israeli reparation agreement, showing how the agreement led to the strengthening of the Zionist military apparatus which was, and is being used to oppress the Palestinian people. The address also drew attention to the unlawful ban on the General Union of Palestinian Students and the General Union of Palestinian Workers, operated by the federal government.

The PLO representatives called upon the delegates to the Congress and upon their Organizations to stand by the just struggle of the Palestinian people against oppression, Zionism and imperialism. He further called upon them to work for the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to fight the ban imposed on the two Palestinian unions.



**ARAFAT RECEIVES CUBAN AMBASSADOR**

Yasser Arafat on 8 April, received the Cuban Ambassador to Lebanon, who handed him a letter from comrade Fidel Castro, Cuban

Prime Minister and First Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party. The letter dealt with the Lebanese situation.

### PLO DELEGATION VISITS JAPAN

A PLO delegation, headed by Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Section, arrived in Tokyo on 20 April for a one-week visit at the invitation of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. A meeting was held on 21 April with the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, during which our delegation stressed that the PLO would never consider opening negotiations with «Israel» until it had withdrawn from the 1967 occupied territories.

Also on 21 April, our delegation met with representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party, including its Secretary General. The Party affirmed its support for the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians and welcomed the projected opening of a PLO office in Tokyo.

The delegation met the following day with the opposition Socialist and Communist parties. The Chairman of the Socialist Party expressed the Party's hopes of streng-

thening its links with the PLO and the Palestinian people. He also said that his Party had made considerable efforts in favour of the opening of a PLO office in Tokyo, which he hoped would take place in May.

### WORLD PEACE COUNCIL DENOUNCES ARBITRARY ZIONIST MEASURES

The World Peace Council has condemned the suppressive measures which the racist Zionist authorities have used throughout the popular uprising in the occupied Arab lands. On 31 March, Romesh Chandra, President of the Council, sent a cable to enemy Prime Minister, Yitzhaq Rabin, in which he stressed that the murder of six Palestinians on 30 March — when Zionist soldiers opened fire on demonstrators — is yet another proof of the repressive policy of the Zionist occupation authorities with regard to Palestinian citizens.

# ISRAEL & SOUTH AFRICA A SETTLERS' ALLIANCE

By Faris Glubb

*The recent official visit by South African Prime Minister John Vorster to the Zionist state has drawn attention to an alliance between two states which share many similarities in their ideologies and their political, military and geographical situations. But the world public, which has listened to the friendly statements of Premiers Rabin and Vorster about the common interests and co-operation between their two states, is generally unaware how deep-rooted this relationship is. The alliance between white supremacist settlers in South Africa and Zionist settlers in Palestine dates back to the time of the founder of the Zionist movement, Theodor Herzl, and Wolffsohn, his successor as leader of that movement.*

According to a leading Zionist historian, «the South Africans were the most loyal supporters of Herzl, and later on of Wolffsohn; Wolffsohn, a Lithuanian Jew by origin like the majority of South African Jews, was given a royal welcome at the time of his visit in 1906.» (1) Even before this visit, Zionism had established itself rapidly in South Africa, where it held its first local conference in 1905.

Zionist links with South Africa were consolidated by the friendship between Dr. Chaim Weizmann (later first President of Israel) and South African white supremacist leader Field Marshal Smuts. Weizmann described his first meeting with Smuts in glowing terms. «Utterly unknown to him, I was received in the friendliest fashion, and given a most sympathetic hearing. A sort of warmth of understanding radiated from him.. He

treated the problem with eager interest, one might say with affection.» (2) (The problem to which Weizmann referred was how the Zionists were to seize control of Palestine.)

### ULTRA-RACISTS STRENGTHEN LINKS

The advent to power of the ultra-racist Nationalist Party led by Dr. Malan, in 1948 after Smuts' death, did not change the relationship, except perhaps by strengthening it. In spite of some South African Jews' initial distrust of Malan, a notorious «anti-Semite» from the neo-Nazi 'Broederbond' organization, the common interests of Zionists and white supremacists prevailed. Zionist bodies refused to criticise racist measures against the Africans.

«In South Africa the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Zionist

Federation, the two most important communal organizations, were almost instruments of the social system upon which white supremacy had long been based, and they consequently abstained from the controversy. But if they maintained their policy of silence towards the government's measures they were none the less vociferous in their protestations of loyalty towards the state. They were sorely embarrassed by their Jewish radicals...

«The Jews, nearly 15 per cent of all Europeans in Johannesburg, could perhaps be wooed into useful supporters of the new government. Extending a hand of friendship, Malan declared on his assumption of power that the new government would practise no discrimination against any European group; the anti-Jewish plank in the Nationalist programme was dead. South Africa, furthermore, proved a zealous supporter of Israel at the United Nations. A warm welcome awaited the first Foreign Minister of Israel, Moshe Sharett, when he came to South Africa in 1950 for an extended visit to the Jewish community there... Most notable of all, however, was Prime Minister Malan's own visit, in company with a large group of Afrikaner clergymen, to the Jewish state in June 1953.» (3)

South Africa was one of the first countries to recognize Israel, on 15 May 1948, and the white supremacists contributed generous donations to Zionist military funds during the 1948 war. According to one learned Jewish scholar, «in 1949 Ben-Gurion chose to ally himself with imperialism to preserve the existence of a Zionist state. In 1967 the incorporation of Israel into the imperialist system was so advanced that the country's entire policy and economy were geared to the maintenance of these relations.

«Let us illustrate this thesis by the evolution of Israel's relations with South Africa. It is known that Pretoria is one of Tel Aviv's main trading partners. But relations do not end there. We have seen that Franco-Israeli nuclear projects assume the co-operation of South Africa. Now these two countries have an obvious common interest on the African continent - to block the way to colonial revolution - as



well as in their relations with the West: Pretoria and Jerusalem are equally fearful of losing the support of the imperialist powers. The desire to make themselves an autonomous atomic shield comes precisely from this. This identity of views which is based on the similarity of their colonial structure had already been recognized during the first years of the Jewish state by Ben-Gurion and Malan, the first Head of State to visit Israel. Furthermore, the prosperous Jewish community of South Africa which sympathizes with the fascist-type forms of Zionism - explainable by the political context - is one of the main providers of funds for the Zionist movement. It follows that Israel, wishing to get hold of these injections of capital, must keep in the good graces of the Pretoria authorities, for fear they might create obstacles to the transfer of Zionist collections. Thus, in June 1967, South Africa authorized the export of the product of pro-Israeli appeals: 18,000,000 rands. Tel Aviv agreed in return to invest this sum partly in South African public stocks.» (4)

#### SUPPRESSING AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Zionism, from its earliest days, was interested in co-operating not only with South Africa but also with the Western imperial powers in the colonization of Africa. Herzl at one time toyed with the idea of establishing a Zionist state in Uganda, but the Zionist Congress preferred Palestine. (5)

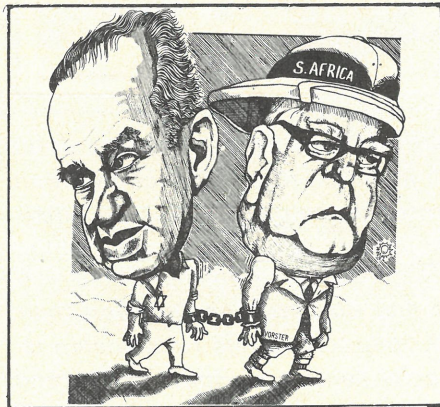
In the 1960s, the Israelis played an important role in helping colonial powers suppress African liberation movements, supplying Uzi sub-machine guns to Portuguese forces fighting against the liberation struggles of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. (6) Uzis were also supplied to Tshombe's right-wing secessionists in Katanga. (7) A Ghanaian writer Tom Tettegah, has also revealed other interesting arms deals and military co-operation between Israel and the white supremacists, particularly after the 1967 war:

«The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is scrapping 700 tanks, replacing them by modern ones and selling the obsolete machines. Israel is acting as a sales agent.

She is selling the tanks to the regimes of Ian Smith and Vorster.

«The imperialist interests find common grounds in South Africa's racism and in Israel's Zionism. This union is badly needed by Washington. It is becoming stronger daily, monthly, every year.

«Immediately following the Six-Day War, the South African Minister of Labour, Wield, said that the war in the Middle East has given South Africa great benefits. He didn't specify what benefits he meant, but it is evident that he knew what he was talking about and it is not accidental that the former government of Verwoerd allowed hundreds of South African 'volunteers' to go to Israel to take



The odd couple (reprinted from «Newsweek» 3/5/76)

part in the military actions against the Arabs. It was the same government which gave its blessing to the transfer of ten million pounds sterling to Israel. This money was donated by the secret fascist organization the 'Broederbond', while the South African Zionist Federation provided the lump sum of one million rand, plus one million rand annually for the next five years.

«It is apparent that this union will be further consolidated... In December 1967... South Africa was visited by a good-will mission headed by the Deputy Director and the Chief Engineer of the Israeli Aircraft Industries. The delegation also included members of the board of the El Al company, leaders of industrial enterprises and prominent Israeli businessmen.

«Among other questions the Israeli El Al Company and the Johannesburg Atlas company discussed the details of shipping to Angola the Israeli weapons and American napalm.» (8)

#### ISRAELI DEAL WITH RHODESIA

Tettegah also accused the Israelis of having reached a secret agreement with the United States to co-operate with the Air Force of the Smith regime in Rhodesia, in exchange for the supply of Phantom aircraft by the USA to the Israeli Air Force. His view is that «it is the Americans who want to see Israel entrenched in Africa. The white racists in the South of our continent and the bastion of Zionism blocking Africa in the North East form a deadly imperialist vice.»

The Israeli intelligence agency, Shin Beth, has been behind a number of *coups d'état* to undermine the stability of African states, according to Tettegah. The Shin Beth's co-operation in this with the CIA shows «a very interesting division of labour indeed: the US provides the finances, the Israeli intelligence service prepares the coup, and the US Central Intelligence Agency supervises over the whole operation.»

Israel's so-called «aid» projects to Africa in the 1960s, Tettegah maintained, were essentially a vehicle for economic exploitation. «The common trend of all the Israeli efforts in trading with the African countries is to subjugate our economy to Israel's economy... Israel prefers to cater to the needs of South African racists... The latter supply the Zionists with diamonds which they cut and sell. The diamond-cutting industry of Israel works specially to process South African diamonds. The Israelis are not even afraid that the racists would suddenly stop supplying the precious stones. It is quite evident that the racists and the Zionists cannot live without each other.» (9)

Zionist co-operation with the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia is a violation of numerous United Nations resolutions, such as the decision to impose mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia because of its racist policies. In Resolution 2202 (XXI), the General Assembly deplored «the attitude of the main trading partners of South Africa» which «have encouraged the latter to persist in its racial policies.» The Assembly added that these trading partners'

increasing collaboration with South Africa «has aggravated the danger of a violent conflict» and called on them to «cease forthwith the sale and delivery to South Africa of arms, ammunition of all types, military vehicles and equipment and materials intended for their manufacture and maintenance; to discourage immediately the establishment of closer economic and financial relations with South Africa, particularly in investment and trade.» Later General Assembly resolutions, such as 2307 (XXII), 2396 (XXIII), 2439 (XXIII), and 2446 (XXIII) condemned dealings with the racist regimes in Southern Africa in even stronger terms.

#### AFRICA AWAKENS TO THE DANGER

In 1973, almost all the independent Black African states broke off relations with Israel, either owing to their realization of the latter's links with South Africa, or out of a sense of solidarity with the Arab people and in condemnation of the Zionist occupation of Arab territories in violation of international law. From then on, the Zionists dropped the mask of friendliness that they had worn in their dealings with African states and became increasingly open in their alliance with white supremacy and in their racist attitude towards Black Africans.

A typical expression of the Zionist's true feelings was an article entitled «For South Africa's Sake I Will not Hold my Peace» (adapted from the verse, «For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace», Isaiah 62, 1), by Yosef Lapid. Hailing Israel's decision to raise her diplomatic representation in South Africa to embassy level, Lapid wrote:

«I would like to take advantage of this festive occasion to air some truths which have long concerned anyone who ever took an interest in Israeli-African relations...

«Well, the so-called liberated African states are almost all a bad joke and an insult to humanity. They are governed by groups of corrupt rulers, some of whom... are insane by all the rules of psychiatry. I feel better just by saying this; I have wanted to say it for years and all the while I felt

we were misleading the public when, for diplomatic reasons, we did not tell them this: most of the African states are one big disgusting mess...

«A few weeks ago the results of a research project by Professor Baker were published in Britain in which among other things he compared the history of the Jews in New York with that of the blacks as an example of difference in development, under similar conditions (sic), between races with different levels of intelligence and other qualities. The argument is now about whether the blacks' inferiority is a result of differences in their conditions over many generations (chronic undernourishment, etc.) or whether their inferiority is the cause of these bad conditions. Despite the strong objections of 'progressive' circles who call such research 'racist', it seems that there is a hereditary difference between the intellect of a person whose fathers lived in the jungles and a person whose fathers were priests in the Temple» as Disraeli put it...

«In any case we no longer have to take part in the game of flattering Black Africa. We can tell aloud the horrible stories of Israelis who stayed in Africa - of the corruption, cruelty, backwardness and the black racism. Some day we may even tell a few stories about the African representatives who came here... Believe me, if I have to choose between friendship with Black Africa, as it is today, and friendship with a white country which is orderly and successful and has a flourishing Jewish community, I prefer South Africa.» (10)

The classification of humanity into different categories of «supermen» and «subhumans» permeating this article is characteristic of Nazi ideology. In the same way, the Nazis used to present pseudo-scientific evidence cooked up by «professors» to demonstrate «Aryan racial superiority».

Any lingering doubts that some sections of world opinion may still have possessed about Israeli links with South Africa should now have been dispelled by the Vorster visit. It is now clear that these two colonial settler states, whose ideol-

ogies and systems of racial discrimination are strikingly similar, are linked in a strong political, economic and military alliance. They can be expected to co-operate in strengthening their racist systems, suppressing the original inhabitants of the territories they control and committing further acts of aggression against Arab and African countries.

The African and Arab peoples can counter this by forming a really effective alliance of their own, against Zionist and white supremacist racism. A preliminary step towards this aim, which has been suggested but not implemented, is to co-ordinate the Arab boycott of Israel and the African boycott of South Africa. Part of this would involve continued Arab application of the «oil weapon» against South Africa, as was done during and after the October 1973 war. There are many other fields in which this alliance can be developed. Among the most important are co-operation in economic development and the co-ordination of the military aspects of the struggle against racism, particularly with regard to the use of guerrilla warfare against Israel and South Africa. Such an alliance is long overdue, and its establishment could greatly strengthen the human struggle against racial discrimination.

1. Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (London, 1972)
2. Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (New York, 1949) p. 203
3. Barnett Litvinoff, *A Peculiar People* (London, 1969) pp. 186-187.
4. Nathan Weinstock, *Le Sionisme contre Israël* (Paris, 1969) pp. 514-515.
5. Weizmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-117.
6. *The Observer*, 28 May 1961.
7. Weinstock, *op. cit.*, p. 445.
8. Tom Tettegah, *How Israeli Agents Subvert Africa (Thinkers' Forum booklet, Winneba, 1968)* pp. 6-7.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9, 14-15.
10. *Maariv*, 14 March 1974.



# Zionist War Crimes

Since the beginning of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in June 1967, the occupation authorities have wilfully and systematically destroyed some 19,000 homes, imprisoned some 40 thousand Palestinians without trial or charge, confiscated and expropriated Arab lands and property, and tortured and otherwise ill-treated countless political «detainees». In addition, the Zionist authorities have consistently applied their efforts to emptying the occupied Arab territories of their inhabitants by force, deportation and expulsion in order to settle new Zionist immigrants.

Since July 1967, the United Nations Organization has shown concern for the rights of the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation, and the General Assembly has repeatedly censured Israel for its violation of human rights in the occupied territories. Less than one month after the end of the June War, the General Assembly (on 4 July, 1967) passed resolution 2252 (ES-V) which reaffirmed that human rights should be respected in the areas occupied by Israel, and recommended that all governments, including Israel, respect and uphold the principles of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (hereafter referred to as the Fourth Geneva Convention). Needless to say, neither this resolution nor any of the subsequent UN resolutions or recommendations concerning the rights of the civilian population in the Arab territories occupied by the Zionists in 1967 have ever been implemented by the occupation authorities.

In view of persistent reports of repressive practices by the Israeli

occupation authorities, the General Assembly, through its resolution 2443 (XXIII) of 19 December, 1968, established a «Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting Human Rights in the Occupied Territories» (hereafter referred to as the Special Committee). Since that time, Israel, although a full member of the United Nations Organization as well as a signatory to the Fourth Geneva Convention, has consistently refused to allow the Special Committee to enter the 1967 occupied territories to carry out its investigations.

Despite all Israeli attempts to conceal from the world the true nature of their repressive occupation practices, the Special Committee has been able to gather valuable evidence of Israeli violations of human rights. Its reports have formed the factual basis for many of the subsequent General Assembly condemnations of the Zionist entity.

A most severe critic of Israeli human rights in the 1967 occupied territories has been the United Nations Commission on Human Rights which, since February

1968, has adopted annual resolutions concerning human rights' violations in the occupied territories, and which, on 8 March, 1968 — 9 months after the beginning of the Israeli occupation — despatched a telegramme to the Israeli Government calling upon it to desist from destroying homes of the civilian population in these territories.

This telegramme had no effect whatsoever on the Zionist occupation policy of preparing for ultimate annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip through the continuing destruction of homes, expropriation of land and the building of strategically placed Zionist settlements, all of which — together with the other violent forms of repression previously mentioned — have carried on since that time, and are continuing at this very moment, in arrogant disregard for the condemnation expressed by the world community.

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The Palestine Liberation Organization was accorded the right

to attend, as an observer, the deliberations of all the United Nations bodies by resolution 3210 adopted by the 29th session of the General Assembly in November, 1974. It was in its capacity as observer that a PLO delegation this year — for the second year in succession — attended the 32nd session of the Human Rights Commission, which took place from 2 February to 5 March, 1976.

The Human Rights Commission is composed of representatives of 32 UN member states, elected for a three-year period by the Economic and Social Council, on which it depends. All other UN members may attend the sessions of the Commission as observers. In this capacity, representatives of 24 UN member countries attended the 32nd session — the Zionist entity among them — as well as representatives of international organizations such as UNESCO, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Peace Council (WPC), the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and a number of national liberation movements.

As observers, the PLO delegation had the right to participate in the discussions and the right of reply, but had no right to propose resolutions to the Commission or to take part in the voting.

One of the first items dealt with by the Commission this year was Israeli violations of human rights in the territories occupied since 1967. Each year for the last eight years, the Special Committee has been given the task of submitting to the Commission its report on Israeli practices in the occupied territories which violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention. In spite of the Zionists' consistent outright refusal to allow the Special Committee access to the occupied territories to carry out its investigations, the Committee this year, under the chairmanship of H.S. Amerasinghe, drew up its annual report based on individual testimonies, on articles from the Zionist press and on quotations from Zionist officials, all of which constituted eloquent evidence of Is-



Archbishop  
Hilarion Capucci:  
arrested August  
18 1974

## ISRAELI PRISONS

The Zionist authorities use a widespread network of prisons in the occupied Arab territories and the Zionist entity itself to incarcerate Arabs from the occupied territories. The principal prisons are:

Al Maskobiya (Jerusalem)  
Nablus  
Gaza Central Prison  
Bethlehem  
Beersheba  
Tulkarem  
Jenin  
Shatta  
Kfar Yuna  
Damoun  
Ramallah  
Hebron  
Ramleh  
Askalan  
Jericho  
Sarafand  
Al-Jalamah  
Beit Leed  
Neefi Erista  
Atleet

etc...

raeli human rights violations. The 40-page report gives a detailed and clear account of Israeli practices and the repressive measures used against the Palestinian Arab citizens of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In its clarity and detail, the Special Committee's report shook

all the members of the Human Rights Commission, even the traditional defenders and allies of «Israel», headed, of course, by the United States. Because the US were unable to cast doubts on the veracity of the facts cited, they declared that they would vote against the Commission's pro-



posed resolution. Each vote again condemning Israel, they claimed, might jeopardize the «efforts for peace» in the region which have been going on for the last two years, and would also mix humanitarian concerns with political problems. This resolution, proposed to the Commission by a group of non-aligned countries (Cuba, Cyprus, India, Pakistan, Senegal, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia), differs from the many previous resolutions voted by the Commission in that it «considers Israeli violations in the occupied territories as war crimes and as an offence against humanity». The resolution was adopted by 23 votes in favour, with one vote against — the USA — and eight abstentions : Austria, Canada, Costa Rica, Federal Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy and Uruguay.

The 32nd session of the Human Rights Commission also examined the many and terrifying violations of fundamental human rights in Chile, as well as the problems involved in the struggle against racial discrimination and apartheid. In both cases, the reports of the special committees established for this purpose confirmed, with documentary evidence, the brutal violations of human rights and basic liberties which had taken place.

As far as South Africa is concerned, the Commission strongly condemned the arbitrary and violent acts which take place daily, and the racist illegalities which exist in flagrant contravention to the clauses of the International Declaration of Human Rights and other international agreements.

The report presented to the Commission on conditions in Chile clearly revealed how the Chilean military junta has systematized the use of torture. Testimonies came from Chileans expelled from Chile after having spent months in the now notorious Chilean jails where they had been subjected to inhuman and depraved forms of torture. In the face of such testimonies, even the US delegate could not but condemn the regime which his own Government had put into power. The PLO delegate Shawki Arna'at, asked to be allowed to speak on the suffering of the Chilean people,

ple, declaring, «... in the name of the very principles which direct our struggle, we must stand in solidarity with the peoples who are subjected to oppression and who struggle for liberty.» The PLO delegate similarly expressed the solidarity of the Palestinian people with the peoples of southern Africa who suffer under the yoke of the white minority regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, and stressed the close collaboration between the racist regimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv, which includes commercial, political and military ties, recently renewed and strengthened by Vorster's visit to the Zionist entity.

#### HOW THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ARE RULED

The Zionist authorities are applying what are known as the Defence Laws (State of Emergency) of 1945. These laws, inherited from British mandatory rule in Palestine, currently provide the basis for administrative detention, arbitrary deportation, censorship, restriction on freedom of movement, denial of freedom of speech and press, and special regulations concerning the possession of arms.

One of the most frequently employed sections of these laws is Article III which deals with administrative detention, and by virtue of which the Military Governor is empowered to detain any citizen for an indefinite period of time without placing any specific charges or providing any explanation other than the vague charge of « the endangering of security ».

Since 1967, thousands of Arabs have been held in administrative detention (10,000 between 1967-1972 alone) and expelled to neighbouring countries by the Zionist authorities in applying Article III of the Defence Laws.

Mr. Ya'acov Shimshon Shapiro, who later became Israeli Attorney General and Minister of Justice, made the following remarks in 1946 on these same laws which his Government is today applying in the occupied Arab territories :

« The system established in Palestine since the issue of the Defence Laws is unparalleled in any civilized country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany... It is our duty to tell the whole world that the Defence Laws passed by the British Mandatory Government of Palestine destroy the very foundation of justice in this land ».

The natural affinities between these two regimes were of course confirmed in the recent UN General Assembly resolution (3379) of 10 November, 1975 which condemned Zionism as a form of racism. Under the articles of resolution 3379, all UN bodies are requested to shed all possible light on Zionism as a form of racial discrimination. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (attached to the Economic and Social Council), is responsible for examining discriminatory practices throughout the world, including examination of the discriminatory laws set up by the minority

ty regimes of southern Africa. Now a new resolution proposed to the Human Rights Commission called on the Commission to refer all resolutions adopted by the last General Assembly session, including resolution 3379, to the Sub-Commission.

This resolution met with strong opposition from the countries which had refused to vote in favour of resolution 3379 condemning Zionism as a form of racism. When the United States and the Western European countries understood that Zionism was to be submitted to the examination of the Sub-Commission — which will present its report on the subject to the UN General Assembly — they not only expressed their opposition, but also attempted to sow discord between the African and Arab countries. They maintained that, although they were against apartheid and intended to work within the framework of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination—set up by the Sub-Commission — this should not include Zionism. If the new resolution was adopted, they would be obliged to reconsider their attitude and even halt their activity against racial discrimination and apartheid in the world. In spite of these blackmail attempts — which certainly did not fool the

#### DEPORTATION AND EXPULSION

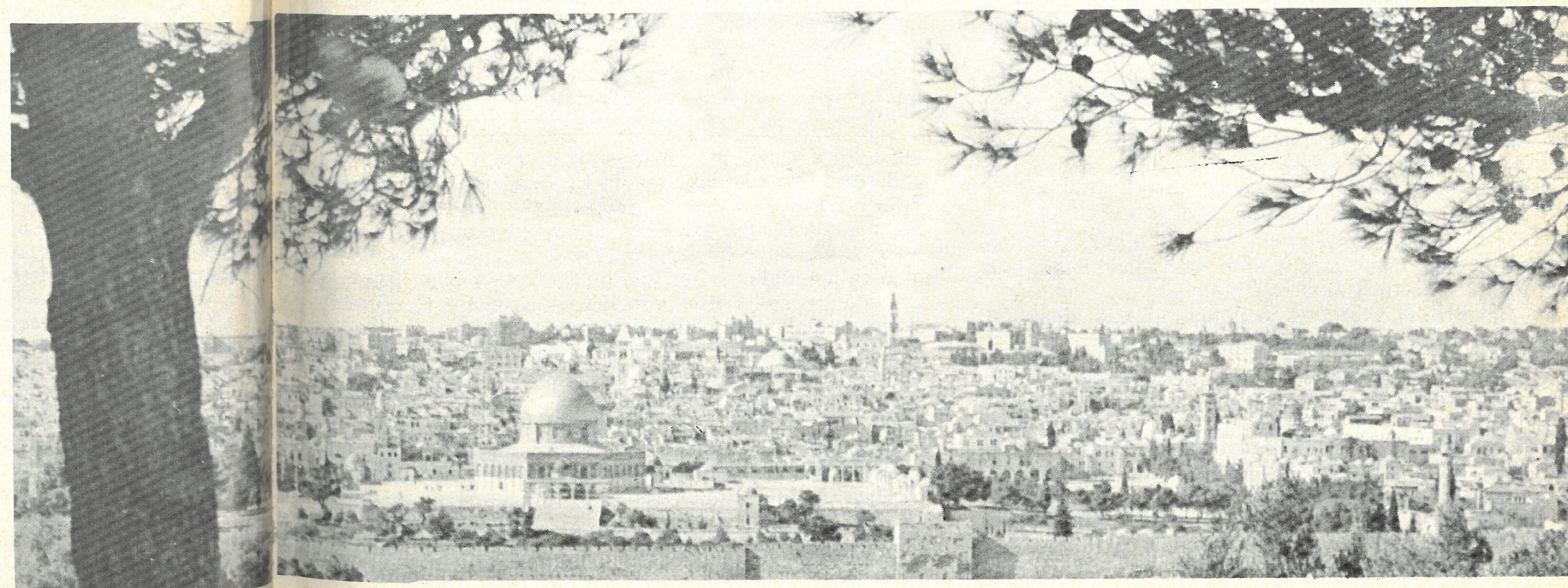
Deportation and expulsion take two forms — the mass expulsion of refugees from camps in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and individual politically motivated deportation.

The 1971 report of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency indicates that the Zionists expelled 22,000 Palestinians from the Gaza Strip to Jordan, where they are now living in camps near the town of Jerrash.

Individual political deportation is used by the occupation authorities against prominent Palestinians, political and religious leaders, trade unionists and intellectuals, as a means of depriving the Palestinian people in the occupied territories of a leadership capable of organizing them against the occupation. During the period 1968-1974, it is estimated that nearly 2,000 persons were expelled to Jordan and Lebanon in accordance with the Zionist individual politically motivated deportation policy.

African countries who know only too well that the Western countries continue to give economic, technical and military assistance to the racist regimes while attacking them verbally — the resolution

was adopted by a majority of 19 votes. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination, which will meet in Geneva in August of this year, will therefore continue to examine Zionism.





# 15 MAY

## MAY 1948 — MAY 1976

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FOUNDATION OF ISRAEL



Twenty-eight years ago, on 14 May 1948, the British Mandate over Palestine ended and the State of Israel was officially proclaimed. In fact, effective British control over Palestine had ceased even earlier, when Great Britain handed the Palestine problem over to the U.N. for solution, and began the evacuation of her troops; while the Zionist entity existed as an autonomous *de facto* state structure — with its own army, post offices, foreign offices and executive — long before the proclamation of statehood.

Nevertheless, 14 May 1948 retains a significance, if only a symbolic one, as the date on which the final stage of one imperialist design was terminated, and the first stage of a new one began.

The British objective in Palestine was clear. It was well summed up in the words of Lord Lloyd, one-time British High Commissioner in Egypt, and Colonial Secretary from 1940 until his death in 1941. «The Palestinian shore of the Mediterranean», Lloyd said to Ben Gurion in 1938, «is a matter of life and death for the British Empire» (1).

Long before, in the period preceding World War I, British policy-makers had come to the conclusion that control of Palestine was necessary to the defence of Egypt and the Suez Canal, through which

passed the life-line of the sprawling British Empire. In a conversation with G. L. Greenberg, a leading collaborator with Herzl, Lord Cromer, Britain's Pro-Consul in Egypt at the turn of the century, had said: «When the Ottoman Empire crumbles, as sooner or later it will, we must have Palestine» (2).

In early December 1917, the British Army received the surrender of Jerusalem from the Turks, and soon afterwards the rest of Palestine fell under British control. A month earlier, the decision had been made by the British Cabinet on precisely how Britain was to «have Palestine», a decision embodied in the Balfour Declaration of 2 November, 1917, which promised British support for a Jewish National Home in Palestine. Such a National Home, as originally envisaged, served British interests directly by the establishment of a small entity dependent on Britain on the flank of Egypt and in the heart of the Mashreq, the Arab East. It was the belief of British strategists that unless Britain had a «secure base» in Palestine, «she would not be able to maintain her foothold in the Middle East» (3).

Thus, for thirty years — from 1917 until 1947 — Britain ruled Palestine, at first protecting the fledgling Zionist movement against the natural resentment of

the Arab population of Palestine, then playing «honest broker» between Arabs and Jews — to whom the British had made contradictory promises during World War I — and finally, exasperated by Palestinian Arab resistance and Zionist high-handedness, giving up her Mandate and withdrawing in 1948.

Britain had based her grand design in Palestine and the Arab world on the assumption that, in the words of the arch-Zionist British General, Orde Wingate: «The Jews of Palestine alone constituted a stable force which could be relied on» (4). Yet once they had developed the strength to challenge Britain, and once British troops had crushed the Arab Revolt of 1936-39 and thus severely limited the capability of the Palestinians to offer effective resistance, the Zionists turned against their erstwhile benefactors and began a series of terrorist outrages and sabotage attacks against the British, with the aim of driving them out and turning Palestine into a Jewish state.

The Zionists succeeded in their first aim, not primarily because of the military embarrassment which their campaign of indiscriminate terror caused the British, but because of the U.S. pressure which they were able to bring to bear on a Britain weakened by World War II, and on a U.N. dominated by the United States, thanks to the power and influence which the Zionists wielded in that country.

Realizing by the 1940's that the pressure they could exert on Britain was limited (in view of the latter's inability to expose her Arab agents — such as the Hashemites — in the face of Arab nationalist public opinion by a too-close identification with Zionism), the Zionists concentrated their efforts on the rising imperialist power of the age, the United States. These efforts, exerted as they had been in Britain over the preceding decades by way of personal contacts with key figures in government, and a concentration on exploiting the news media and other organs essential to the shaping of opinion, quickly bore fruit.

By 1947, only five years after the adoption of the Biltmore Program in New York had signified this change of focus on the part of the Zionist movement, its influence in the U.S. was so great that members of the Cabinet such as James Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, and members of the State Department, found their advice ignored, while members of the United States' U.N. delegation frequently discovered at the last minute that their country's policy had suddenly been changed as a result of Zionist lobbying with President Truman (5).

The reason for the strength of Zionist influence in the United States, after only a few years of serious attention to the gathering of support there, was expressed with characteristic frankness by Truman in 1945 to U.S. diplomats from Arab countries: «I am sorry gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism; I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents» (6).

Thus, having obtained virtually unlimited backing from the U.S., the Zionists were able to dispense with their connection with the British. As a result of the Partition Plan virtually forced through the U.N. General Assembly in November 1947 by U.S. arm-twisting and blackmail of recalcitrant delegates, and thanks to the military ascendancy the Zionists had

gained over the Palestinian Arab resistance in the fighting which raged from November 1947 until May of the following year, the Zionists were able to take over most of Palestine and prepare themselves for the fulfilment of their dream, the establishment of a state in Palestine.

The 14th of May, although it does mark the official date on which this state declared its «independence», is at the same time, and more profoundly, a turning point in the history of Anglo-American imperialist hegemony in the Arab world. For although the British strategic design lay shattered, although the British Army which had marched into Palestine three decades earlier as conquerors was withdrawing in defeat, a new power had taken the place of Britain, inheriting its «secure base» in Palestine, and with it Britain's foothold in the Middle East.

Today, twenty-eight years later, after the American imperial tide has in its turn begun to ebb in the face of the resistance of the peoples of Cuba, South-East Asia and Angola, it is possible to see throughout the Arab world the beginnings of the end of the domination which the United States has exercised in many forms over the past few decades.

Just five years ago, the United States was able, via its Hashemite agents, to crush the Palestinian Resistance in Jordan. After the occupation of 1967, the Zionist protégés of U.S. imperialism were boasting of their ability to remain in the occupied West Bank and Gaza indefinitely. And, until a few years ago, Lebanon seemed as completely under the control of the United States as any country in the world.

Today, with a full-scale rebellion raging in the occupied territories for the fifth consecutive month, with U.S. domination of the old sectarian Lebanon a thing of the past, and with the U.S. and its myriad local and international allies incapable of containing or limiting, let alone crushing the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon after over a year of desperate efforts, it is clear that although empires come and go, certain fundamentals remain unchanged.

«The Palestinian shore of the Mediterranean» is a matter of life and death for the American Empire, just as it was for the British. And today, in May 1976, although a desperate struggle lies ahead, it is abundantly clear that the ability of U.S. imperialism to shake off the threats to her hegemony in this vital region is diminishing dramatically. On the twenty-eighth anniversary of the transfer of imperialism's «secure base» from the dying British Empire to the nascent American one, the demise of the latter is already in sight.

1. D. Ben Gurion, *Ben Gurion Looks Back* (New York, 1965), p. 87.
2. M. Begin, *The Revolt* (London, 1951), p. 29.
3. Ben Gurion, p. 92.
4. Ibid., p. 93.
5. See, e.g.: *The Forrestal Diaries* (New York, 1951), pp. 306-10, 322-23, 341-54; and Kermit Roosevelt, «The Partition of Palestine: A Lesson in Pressure Politics» *The Middle East Journal*, II, 1, (1948), 1-13.
6. W. Khalidi, ed., *From Haven to Conquest* (Beirut, 1971), p. lvii.



# CONTINUOUS BLOWS AGAINST THE ENEMY

*Palestinian fedayeen operating inside the occupied homeland are now consistently supported by the participation of all Palestinian popular sectors in the struggle against Zionist occupation. These two wings of Palestinian resistance constitute a popular revolution through which continuous blows are directed against the occupiers.*

In their manner of facing this popular revolution, the Israeli occupation forces have clearly exposed their criminal aggressive nature. The continued military occupation of the Palestinian land is an eloquent illustration of Zionist aggression, while the racist criminal nature of the occupation is evidenced in the daily attacks of Zionist troops on our Palestinian people in occupied Palestine. These attacks, which over the past few months have led to the killing or wounding of dozens of Palestinians by the Zionist troops, recently resulted in the killing of a six-year old Palestinian boy, *Jamil Arafat*, shot by a Zionist soldier in the occupied West Bank town of Ramallah.

As the oppressive measures of the Zionists grow fiercer, however, and as their intentions are becoming increasingly clear, our people's defiance grows stronger and more effective, challenging the occupa-

tion forces in all parts of occupied Palestine.

## AMBUSHES

One of our units on the evening of 21 March prepared a number of ambushes between the village of Beit Amer and the settlement of Kfar 'Asyoun in the occupied West Bank, after having blocked the main road used by enemy vehicles and patrols with rocks. At 10 p.m. the same day, our commandos surprised a military convoy - a half-track vehicle, an armoured personnel carrier, and a number of jeeps - heading for Kfar 'Asyoun, as it stopped to clear the rocks blocking the road.

The enemy losses were the destruction of two vehicles, the killing of 8 soldiers and the wounding of 14 others.

One of our commando units set up an ambush for enemy mobile patrols on the road between the

Zionist settlements of Yiftah and Al-Manara in the Galilee region. At 3.30 a.m. on 23 March, a half-track vehicle patrolling this road was attacked by our commandos with bazookas and machine-guns. The vehicle was completely destroyed, and the enemy soldiers inside it killed.

One of our commando units, on 28 March, set up an ambush for enemy patrols on the main road between Tulkarem and Natanya. At 6 a.m. the same day, as a military bus transporting enemy soldiers was heading towards Tulkarem, our commandos attacked the bus with machine guns and hand grenades inflicting a number of casualties among the enemy soldiers in the bus.

## CONFRONTATION IN MAYTHALUN

Early in the morning of 2 April, enemy mobile forces tried to encircle one of our combat units operating in the Jenin region near the village of Maythalun. Other enemy units meanwhile surrounded the village, imposing a curfew on it after having assembled all the inhabitants in the village school.

Our commando unit, however,

managed to launch an attack on the enemy vehicles and troops grouped in the village square, using anti-tank rockets and automatic weapons. A heavy exchange of fire ensued in which enemy forces used tank-fire. The enemy's casualties included several killed or wounded, the complete destruction of an armoured vehicle, and a jeep damaged.

## COMMANDO ATTACK IN TEL AVIV

At 7.15 p.m. on 4 April, a commando from unit «B» attacked the central bus station in Tel Aviv. He opened fire with his machine gun on a group of enemy soldiers gathered at the station, wounding a number of them. Our commando returned safely to his base.

Gaza Strip - an area which is considered by the enemy to be a closed military region. On 11 April, the mine exploded under a military vehicle transporting enemy soldiers to one of the neighbouring army bases, resulting in the destruction of the vehicle, and the killing or wounding of all its passengers.

## ATTACKS IN TEL AVIV, ASKALAN AND ASDUD

On 31 April, Palestinian revolutionaries set off an explosive charge in a residential building inhabited by enemy officers in Weizmann Street, Tel Aviv, causing serious damage to the building and wounding a number of its residents. They later attacked with explosive charges a number of factories and depots in the industrial area of southern Tel Aviv. The charges exploded at 1 p.m. on 15 April, setting fire to a military uniforms depot, another for leather goods, and a tapestry factory.

Another commando unit placed timed incendiary charges inside a plywood factory in the industrial area of Askalan on the southern Palestinian coast. The charges exploded as planned on 15 April, setting fire to the machine section and the factory warehouses.

Also on 15 April, one of our combat units planted a number of timed-explosive charges in a paper factory in the coastal city of Asdud. The charges exploded later the same day, starting a fire in the factory which spread to a neigh-

bouring paper depot.

## ATTACKS IN BAT YAM AND JAFFA

In their fifth and sixth attacks on targets in the southern coastal cities of Palestine over a five-day period, Palestinian commandos, on 18 April, blew up a construction materials' depot in the Bat Yam suburb, south of Tel Aviv. On the same date, another unit blew up a household equipment factory in Jaffa.

The following day, one of our units attacked with automatic weapons a police check-point in Jiha Street, Tel Aviv, after they had been stopped at the check point, and inflicted a number of casualties.

## KATYUSHA IN JERUSALEM

Acting on orders, one of our units shelled strategic enemy targets in the Ja'afar Ha-Niva quarters of Jerusalem at 5.15 a.m. on 7 April, with Katyusha rockets.

## EXPLOSIVE CHARGES IN TEL AVIV

On 7 April, one of our units placed explosive charges inside a bus working on the number 17 bus route in Tel Aviv. At 8.40 p.m. while bus was transporting a number of Zionist settlers, the charges exploded. The enemy later admitted that three Zionist settlers had been injured as a result of the explosion.

## RESIDENCE OF NABLUS MILITARY GOVERNOR SHELLED

One of our units, on 9 April, shelled with heavy artillery the residence of the Military Governor in Nablus, in the occupied West Bank. The shelling started fires in the residence and inflicted a number of casualties among the enemy personnel there.

Meanwhile, Nablus was closed to all traffic from the early morning, and mobile forces were seen patrolling the entrances to the city. In spite of these measures, however, our revolutionaries returned safely to base.

An enemy military spokesman later claimed that bazooka rockets had fallen on the main road near Nablus prison, and that one of the rockets which had not exploded

was subsequently detonated by a military expert.

## MILITARY VEHICLE BLOWN UP IN GAZA STRIP

Palestinian commandos from special units planted an anti-vehicular mine on the main road leading to an enemy military camp south of the city of Rafah in the

## AMBUSH ON TULKAREM - NABLUS ROAD

One of our combat units prepared an ambush for enemy military patrols and vehicles on the main Tulkarem - Nablus road. On 19 April as an enemy military vehicle carrying an army officer and a number of soldiers was heading from Tulkarem to Nablus, our fighters surprised it with automatic weapons and hand grenades, completely destroying the vehicle and killing all its passengers. Our revolutionaries, moreover, managed to seize all the personal weapons in the vehicle, returning safely to their bases.

## ENEMY INTELLIGENCE OFFICER WOUNDED

On 20 April, Unit «A» placed timed explosive charges inside the home of an enemy intelligence officer located in the Bat Yam suburb, south of Tel Aviv. The charges exploded the same day wounding the officer, killing one of the guards at the entrance of the house and seriously damaging the building.

## TEXTILE FACTORY DESTROYED

Acting on instructions issued to our units operating inside occupied Palestine to strike at vital enemy targets, Unit «B» at dawn on 20 April, reached the target assigned to it in the industrial region in the town of Petah Tikva, in spite of all the enemy check-points and numerous mobile and foot patrols. The unit placed timed incendiary charges inside a textile factory. The charges exploded as planned the same day, resulting in the destruction of a quantity of machinery inside the factory, which was set on fire, and fires inside the factory warehouses which burned most of their contents.





# THE WEST DIGGING ITS OWN GRAVE

## Imperialist Arms Transfer to the Middle East.

*The strategic defeat «Israel» suffered during the October 1973 war has not brought the Zionists to their senses. On the contrary, while the Arab and the Palestinian sides have shown sincere efforts towards a just peace and social coexistence between Arabs and Jews, the Zionist regime — as well as its backers mainly in the USA — has had recourse to an increasingly insane policy of total militarization and unprecedented armaments build-up to maintain its occupation of Arab land and its aggression against the whole area.*

### The Zionist « Military Cultural Revolution »

The **International Herald Tribune** recently quoted a senior Israeli staff officer cynically boasting that, since the October war, Israel had been undergoing a « military cultural revolution ». Indeed, the Zionist state is now squeezing out 35 per cent of the inhabitants' total gross national product to defray the expenses of its military machine. 41 per cent of the \$ 11.5 billion state budget for 1976 will be used for the military build-up, and in 1975 alone, Israeli armament imports cost \$ 2.3 billion, making up the bulk of the Zionist entity's rapidly growing balance-of-payments deficit.

It is only the injection of more and more « aid » by the U.S. Government, which has so far saved this Zionist « revolution » from declaring its bankruptcy. According to various reports in the Western media, since the October war the U.S.A. have outfitted the Zionist regime with some 200 new Phantom F-4 and Skyhawk A-4 supersonic fighters, some 1,000 M-48 and the most recent M-60 tanks, new Red-Eye and Chaparral anti-aircraft rockets, deadly « smart » bombs, guided by television and laser beams, all kinds of electronic gadgets including anti-missile defenses for its warplanes, and thousands of tons of ammunition.

Most recently, Zionist « Defense » Ministry officials declared

that the first shipment of the new Lance missiles had arrived from the U.S.A. The Lance medium-range missile — each of which costs over \$ 120,000 and of which Israel is due to receive 300 pieces in the near future — has a range of over 70 miles and is capable of carrying nuclear war-heads. The Zionist militarists — reported by the CIA to be in possession of at least 10 nuclear bombs — have « promised » their U.S. patrons to fit the Lance missiles « only » with non-nuclear cluster bomblet warheads. Such warheads will hurl scores of bombs over a wide area, just before striking the ground. It is obvious, that they are capable of causing atrocious devastation to Arab population centres.

### Unconditional U.S. Commitment to Zionist Aggression

In the secret assistance pact accompanying the so-called « interim peace » agreement between Egypt, « Israel » and the U.S.A. on 1 September, 1975, the U.S. administration incurred comprehensive commitments, which, in fact, enable the Zionists to continue their policy of occupation, threats and « pre-emptive » strikes.

In the words of the notorious pro-Zionist U.S. Senator Humphrey, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations, this secret pact calls for the U.S. to help on a « long-term basis » meet « Israel's military equipment and energy requirements, and its economic needs ».

The **Washington Post** of 16, September 1975, published the text of the secret addendum concerning the military items :

« The United States is resolved to continue to maintain Israel's defensive strength through the supply of **advanced types of equipment, such as the F-16 aircraft.** The U.S. Government agrees to an early **joint study of high technology and sophisticated items, including the Pershing ground-to-ground missiles with conventional war-heads,** with the view to giving a positive response ».

These clauses and commitments have created great concern, even within the U.S. administration, and even in the Pentagon itself. First, this means that, for the future, a whole new order of latest U.S. des-

tructive technology is opening up for « Israel ». Thus Kissinger assured the Zionists, before signing the « interim peace » agreement, of the delivery of several hundred highly-sophisticated air fighters with an operating range of more than 2,000 miles. « Israel » is now to get 25 F-15 Eagles, the newest, fastest and most agile U.S. fighter, followed by scores of F-16 interception fighters, which so far are not even available for the U.S. Air Force itself.

In addition, the U.S. will provide the Zionist aggressors with the most advanced electronic counter-measure systems, laser-guided ammunition, and « smart » bombs.

### Strengthening « Israel's Defensive » Strength with Nuclear Missiles

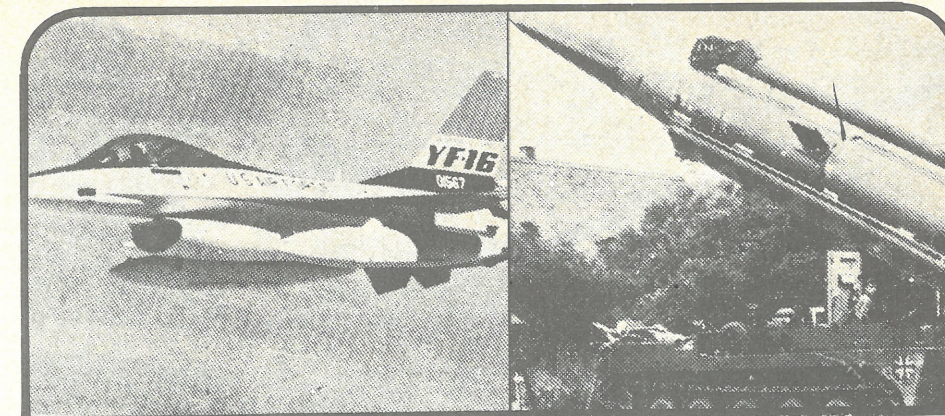
The delivery of the Lance missiles, and above all the scarcely-veiled U.S. pledge concerning the Pershing system — both missiles capable of carrying nuclear war-heads — have caused the greatest anxiety.

The Pershing — an extremely expensive missile with a range of more than 450 miles — is until now used only within NATO as a nuclear delivery system. The British **Observer** (21 September 1975) quoted a Pentagon expert saying with regard to the eagerness of the Zionist militarists for the Pershing : « As a conventional weapon it is only useful against a large target, such as a **population centre like Damascus or Cairo.** As a weapon against well-fortified targets, such as SAM sites, it would only be effective **with a nuclear war-head** ». And a study of the U.S. « American Enterprise Institute », which is closely linked with the Pentagon, concluded that Israel has both the capability and the political incentive to manufacture nuclear weapons. What was lacking was a reliable, credible delivery system. The Pershing will be such a system.

Most significantly, the U.S.A.'s Western European « allies » have also expressed their deep concern about furthering the nuclear threat to the whole hemisphere stemming from « Israel », by the delivery of the Pershing.

### « Giving Whisky to Redskins »

The former U.S. Under-Secretary



America's top-rated F-16

A nuclear-capable Pershing



Peres and Kissinger conferring in Washington

of State, Gerge Ball, commented on the latest U.S. commitments to the Zionists : « We're showing the responsibility shown by those frontier traders who used to sell whisky to the Redskins ». Apart from its racist flavour, this comparison highlights the concern of even senior U.S. officials over the terrible threat to the whole world posed by all this most deadly equipment in the hands of the Zionist adventurers.

The Zionists, and the pro-Zionist faction within the U.S. administration, are so greedy for the latest U.S. military equipment that they sometimes even draw deliveries from the stocks and at the expense of the U.S. Army, especially with regard to tanks and aircraft.

The U.S. Chief of Staff, General George Brown, has openly complained about such practices and pressures on the part of the U.S. Zionist faction, also within the Congress, and has explained : « They own the banks, they own the newspapers ».

### Gifts for the Zionists

The road of destruction and

death along which the Zionists and their allies among the U.S. imperialists are marching, is paved with the mindless waste of the resources of the U.S. people .

Before the October war, the U.S.A. used to provide annual military assistance of \$ 300,000,000 to Israel. None of those developing countries, which are in dire need or even starving, has ever seen U.S. « aid » even approximately as high.

Moreover, after the October war, the U.S. transferred an additional \$ 2,200,000,000 « emergency appropriation » to the Zionist regime — including \$ 1,500,000,000 in outright grants !

Meanwhile, this state of « emergency » — an emergency only for Zionist occupation and aggression — has become the « normal » state of U.S.-Israel relations. In the 1976 financial year, more than half of the \$ 4.4 billion total U.S. « aid » for foreign countries goes to the Zionist regime : \$ 1,500,000,000 in contributions for military sales, and over \$ 700,000,000 in long-term credits for the Zionist war economy. It has also been agreed that





Israelis train with American-made M-60 tanks

at least half of the military «aid» will be given as a grant.

In addition, the U.S. Government is to pay \$ 350,000,000 in « compensation » for the generous « abandonment » of the Abu Ro-deis oilfields by the Zionists — those Egyptian oilfields, which the Zionist aggressors occupied in 1967 and have robbed ever since ! As if this were not enough, the U.S.A. are to contribute \$ 50,000,000 annually for the Zionist construction of huge strategic underground oil-stores for times of war.

No régime in the world, except the late Thieu-clique in South-Vietnam, has ever been kept by U.S. imperialism in a manner comparable to that in which the Zionist militarists are being kept today.

#### Imperialist Deals With the Arabs

One can certainly observe an increased influx of U.S. arms in recent years not only to « Israel », but also to the whole Middle East region and even to some Arab countries. Likewise, the Western European countries are intensifying their arms sales. In this context, the U.S.A. often deploys its « allies », especially Britain, to arrange Western arms deliveries into the area.

However, it is anything but concern for the Arab cause or how to check the Zionist military build-up — not to speak of the search for

peace — which prompts the U.S. imperialists and other Western countries to deliver arms to other Middle East countries besides « Israel ».

#### The Merchants of Death

The first reason is to seek huge new profits for the imperialist economy, which suffers increasingly from internal chaos and from worldwide resistance to foreign supremacy.

In the 1975 financial year, the U.S. sold more than \$ 10,500,000,000 of military equipment to 71 countries in the world, a **fivefold sales increase** in only four years (*International Herald Tribune*, 9 March, 1976). The U.S.A. is thus selling more arms abroad than all the other states of the world put together, including the U.S.S.R. The U.S. arms and aircraft industry is by far the biggest export business in the U.S. ; in selling one single sophisticated war-plane abroad, more profit is made than by the sale of 1,000 cars.

About 75 per cent of U.S. arms sales now go to the Middle East. Yet attention should be drawn to some aspects of the strategy of these sales. All deliveries, except those to the Zionists, have to be paid in cash. The bulk of all the U.S. supplies still reaches only two main U.S. clients : Iran — which alone has \$ 10,000,000,000 worth of arms and military services at present on order with

U.S. firms — and « Israel ».

What is even more significant, the U.S. Government, which in fact controls and operates together with the arms business all arms sales abroad, has neither sold nor permitted arms manufacturers to sell « advanced » weapons to any country in the Middle East — apart from Iran and « Israel ». Only for « Israel » and Iran is the whole arsenal of the latest and most sophisticated U.S. armaments available, including M-60 A-3s tanks, F-15 fighters, ballistic surface-to-surface missiles like the Lance, « smart » bombs and all kinds of important electronic equipment. To other countries, such as Saudi Arabia, these weapons are not on sale.

#### Infiltration, Subversion, Blackmail

Above all, the U.S. tries to use arms sales — often accompanied by C.I.A. « training services » — to Middle East countries as a means of political infiltration, pressure, subversion and blackmail : to prop up compliant régimes ; to safeguard markets ; to prevent and suppress all national and progressive forces ; to isolate the countries and people from the socialist camp and especially the U.S.S.R. ; to impose imperialist political schemes.

Arm sales to countries like Egypt and Jordan do not serve the purpose of helping these countries against the Zionist aggression. On the contrary, they only serve to expand the realm of U.S. predominance not against, but in accordance with, the imperialist aggression through the Zionists. In other regions, such as the Gulf area, the Sahara or above all in Lebanon, they try by open or secret arms sales to incite and exploit local inner-Arab rivalries and strife in order to split and divide the Arab people among themselves. Sometimes they use arms sales, or protracted promises of such sales, as issues for political bargaining and blackmail. Thus the U.S. for years delayed the sale of secondhand F-5 jet fighters to Jordan, and is still protracting the sale of Hawk aircraft defence batteries to this country, stipulating various kinds of « conditions », whereas the Zionist aggressors

had already received such anti-aircraft Hawk batteries before the October war. Likewise, the U.S.A. have for a considerable time been « selling » to Egypt some C-130 Lockheed transport planes — which are actually of almost no strategic importance. The Zionists

and the pro-Zionist U.S. imperialist faction make use of this very « sale », which has not yet taken place, to press further for the sale of Pershings to « Israel » !

#### The « Lockheed » Morality

Meanwhile, one can observe within some U.S. ranks, mainly within the U.S. Congress, a somewhat unexpected movement for « curbing U.S. arms sales to the Middle East ». These moves are partially connected with the « Lockheed », « Northrop », etc., unveilings, which exposed the unscrupulous bribery practices of the U.S. armaments multitis.

So far, the moral indignation expressed is nothing but hypocrisy, and it is certainly not sincere concern about the deadly arms race which motivates its initiators. It is worth nothing that the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee mainly responsible for the unveilings, is Senator Frank Church, an arch imperialist and Zionist. While campaigning to have arms sales to the M.E. — that is to say, the Arabs — curbed, Church is sup-

Peres and Lance missile



porting the nuclear build-up of the Zionist entity. Church, who also strives for the U.S. presidency, was the main speaker at the latest Zionist conference in Brussels, where he called for total military and economic support for the Zionist entity.

#### The Lie of the Peace-policy

Sometimes the agents of U.S. imperialism, like the shuttling U.S. Secretary of State, spread around the lie that it is necessary to strengthen Israeli military power in order to give the Zionist state, a feeling of safety and to get it ready for « concessions » and « peace ».

Such arguments not only run contrary to all logic. They are also refuted by the real practice of U.S.-Israeli military cooperation as well as by the entire U.S. arms policy in the area, and the imperialist aims behind it as exposed above.

There is no such thing as a U.S. peace-policy. There is not even any conclusive national and social conception behind the U.S. Middle East policy and its frantic military build-up. The U.S. and other Western imperialists are only manoeuvring all over the place, in an increasingly self-contradictory manner, striving for predominance here and there, bartering and blackmailing to maintain short-term imperialist gains. Their only constant is to aggravate the deadly conflict.

And while stoking up the Zionist military machine in an unconditional and unprecedented manner, they have only hardened the Zionist occupation and aggression. Today, the Zionist delusion presents itself more obstinately and arrogantly than ever, spreading settlements in Arab land, denying the self-determination of the Palestinian people and threatening the whole area.

#### The Lie of the « Balance of Terror »

Yet another lie disturbs some minds. People in the West, while conceding the danger of the never-ending military build-up in the Middle East stemming from the Zionist aggression, try to still their fears by the illusion of a so-

called « balance of terror » in the area.

They would have us believe that the joint U.S.-Zionist rearmament — even if it does not create peace — nevertheless prevents the outbreak of war.

Nothing is more fallacious.

The territorial, national and social contradictions are too many to be held in check by a « balance » of terror.

There is not and there never will be a « balance » between the Arab countries and their hundred and more million people on the one hand, who see large areas of their land occupied and colonized, and the clique of Zionist occupiers and colonizers on the other.

There is not and there never will be a « balance » between the Palestinian people blocked in their struggle for self-determination and liberation, and Zionist racism based on an aberrant ideology of racist and religious exclusiveness.

There is not and there never will be a « balance » between the Palestinian masses, either those deprived of their land or those — including the Palestinian Jewish masses — who are squeezed and exploited by a military dictatorship, and their Zionist suppressors and exploiters.

Trying to maintain this non-balance of total political instability and injustice by a so-called « balance of terror » is nothing but imperialist madness. This can only make the inevitable final explosion the more fatal ; the more deadly for the Zionists, as well as for the whole West.

It is now quite possible that this explosion in the Middle East will trigger off even the explosion of the greater imperialist so-called « balance of terror ». As a study of the Washington Institute for Public Policy Research already stated more than a year ago :

« The most important lesson one can learn from the October war and from Arab-Israeli conflicts, is, that every new outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East takes place on an ever higher and more dangerous stage of warfare and brings the superpowers nearer to a confrontation ».

So far the imperialist backers of the Zionist militarists have not learnt this lesson.





## ENEMY NEWS

### NEW DEVALUATION OF ISRAELI POUND

Tel-Aviv on 18 April decided on a new 2% devaluation of the Israeli pound. This latest measure was taken within the context of so-called « creeping devaluations », adopted in June 1975, which give the *ad hoc* ministerial committee the authority to devalue Israeli currency by up to 2% each month. Since its creation, the committee has already undertaken 10 devaluations.

When the Zionist state was created in 1948, the Israeli pound was worth 4 American dollars. Since that time, the pound has been devaluated no less than 17 times; in consequence one dollar now costs 7,67 Israeli pounds.

In spite of the Israeli authorities' promises to stabilize the economic situation, and in spite of the enormous financial aid granted to Tel-Aviv by the USA and the Zionist organizations, the Israeli economy is constantly suffering from serious difficulties caused by massive military expenditure. The new devaluation of the Israeli pound will have strong repercussions on the population's standard of living.

### ISRAELIS PROTEST AGAINST ZIONIST LAND EXPROPRIATION

« Al-Ittihad », the Rakah Party Arabic-language daily, on 29 March published a second petition from Israeli intellectuals and politicians calling upon the Rabin Government to end their confiscation of Palestinian lands. The petition, which was signed by 42 prominent figures, called upon the Israeli Government « to stop the confiscation of Arab lands in Israel, which we regard as a gross injustice » and referred to the need to « maintain humane relations » in order to « foster some sort

of understanding with our neighbours ».

Although our position differs from that expressed in the petition, we find it worth mentioning that these Israeli intellectuals and political figures are raising their voices against the Zionist Government's policies.

### 53.2% OF ISRAELIS OPPOSE ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH PLO

According to a public opinion poll published in April in the Israeli independent daily, « Ha'aretz », the proportion of Israelis opposed to any negotiation with the PLO, even if this latter recognizes the Zionist state, has considerably declined.

According to this poll, only 53.3% of those questioned remain opposed to any negotiations with the PLO, even if the latter recognizes Israel. A previous opinion poll organized by this paper in November 1974 after the Rabat Summit quoted 73.4% in opposition.

32.8% of Israelis are today ready to negotiate with the PLO on condition that it recognizes the existence of the Israeli state. In November 1974, this figure was 19.2%.

But 4.4% of those now questioned laid down a double condition: that the PLO recognize Israel, and that it be acknowledged at the outset of negotiations that these negotiations are part of a global peace plan.

9.5% of those questioned had no opinion on the subject.

### SOVIET JEW DESCRIBES EXPERIENCES AFTER FLEEING ISRAEL

The Soviet news agency, Novosti, recently published an interview with a Jewish youth, Valery Covent, who has just escaped from Israel and returned to the Soviet Union. The following excerpts from this interview reveal the fallacy of Zionist propaganda that Israel is the « promised land »!

Valery Covent began: « I left the Soviet Union willingly. After

what I had heard about Israel, I truly felt that only there, among my Hebrew brethren, could I find happiness. I refused the wise advice of my relatives and friends. But reality disillusioned me, because my family, who left the Soviet Union for Israel, could find nothing there but high costs of living, high taxes, and a hard struggle for existence, besides their inability to defend themselves against the social vices prevalent in Israel ».

The Covent family was classed in Israel as Sephardic, which meant that they had to do heavy physical labour. In answer to a question about his work, Valery Covent said: « I did not have a permanent job there. I sold my clothes and personal things to live, and I never rejected even the most difficult jobs. When I was called up for army service, I refused, because I knew how the families who lost their bread-winners live in Israel ».

He then talked about Israel's propaganda in tempting Jews to come to Israel and said: « When we first arrived in Israel our arrival was used for propaganda... and they published a book on the Covent family and how they were able to escape from the 'communist hell'. But once they had extracted from the Covent family what served their propaganda, they ignored us completely, and we were deprived of money because of unemployment, and were pursued when we expressed our desire to leave Israel ».

### ENEMY CONCERN OVER SUCCESS OF UPRISING

Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yigal Allon, expressed the Zionist authorities' apprehension regarding the success of the general strike on the Day of the Land, and its transformation into a widespread revolt against the Zionist entity. In an interview on Israeli TV, Allon described the Day of the Land as a « day of mourning » for the relations between Palestinian citizens and the Zionist settlers.

In related news, Allon on 2 April visited the Galilee area — occupied in 1948 — in an

attempted manoeuvre to calm the uprising in that region in protest against the Zionist authorities' confiscation of Arab land.

### DECREASE OF IMMIGRATION TO OCCUPIED PALESTINE

Shlomo Rosen, enemy Minister of Immigrant Absorption, declared that 20,000 immigrants, half of them from the Soviet Union, arrived in Israel during 1975. The Zionist Minister went on to claim in a speech before the Knesset on 23 March, that the decrease in the number of immigrants (55,000 in 1973; 32,000 in 1974 and 20,000 in 1975) is the « result of the Soviet Union's refusal to give passports and exit visas to the Soviet Jews who wish to immigrate to 'Israel' ». In their stubbornness the Zionist leaders still think they can cheat world public opinion into believing their short-sighted excuses, without understanding that the world is becoming increasingly aware of the blatant failure of the Zionist system.

### ZIONIST DECLARATIONS ON LEBANESE SITUATION

Yitzhaq Rabin, in an interview with the Zionist daily « Maariv » on 14 April, declared that Israel will have no choice but to intervene in Lebanon if the Syrian forces crossed an unspecified « red line » drawn by the Israelis, and already « agreed upon with the United States ». He also hinted at the extensive contacts currently taking place between the Zionist entity and the USA. In an interview with the Army Radio station on the same subject, Rabin said: « We are watching with concern limits we have set ourselves — and they are not necessarily geographical lines but also the manner of their involvement... » Meanwhile, Israeli Minister of War, Shimon Peres, in a statement to the Zionist daily « Yediot Aharonot » about the Lebanese incidents said: « Our main aim is to keep Lebanon from falling into a situation

which threatens Israel's security ». He added: « But if the situation in Lebanon becomes dangerous, this will not necessarily require a direct move from us, as we have first to study the situation to be sure that Israel's intervention will not be to the benefit of Junblatt or Arafat ».

It is clear that Israel will think twice before intervening directly in Lebanon and will continue resorting to its « indirect intervention » through Shin Bet (the Israeli intelligence service's branch for foreign countries) and other agents, following the experienced teachings of their masters, the CIA.

### PERES PREVENTS TV FILMING OF WEST BANK UPRISING

Shimon Peres, enemy Minister of War, recently issued an order preventing journalists and television crews from taking pictures of the current violent demonstrations in the occupied West Bank towns and villages. Peres also decided to dismiss the Director of Israeli radio and TV, following fierce criticism by the Zionist cabinet of the coverage of the anti-occupation demonstrations. Peres also an-

nounced that all Israeli and foreign TV employees must obtain permission from the Zionist military spokesman before broadcasting their programmes.

The Zionist occupation authorities, on 20 April, detained a camera crew of the American CBS TV network and destroyed all the film they had taken of the West Bank demonstrations. CBS affirmed that its film crew had been detained in Nablus, and that the Israeli authorities had confiscated all films of the demonstrations and returned them only after they had been exposed and ruined.

Israeli attacks against journalists and foreign press delegations have been frequent, although CBS had, until this incident, had the benefit of Zionist co-operation. The destruction of CBS film was not, therefore, motivated by any change in the CBS stand, but simply by the

Zionists' determination to impose a news black-out on the current events.

It is to be noted that these measures are only some of those operating within the context of extensive repressive measures against the press and news media conducted by the occupation authorities in their eagerness to black out or distort news of the Arab uprising.

The strong routine censorship on news appearing in local media has been stepped up, and Arabic-language newspapers such as « al-Shaab » and « al-Fajr » have either been compelled to halt publication, or threatened with the closure of both printing press and offices if they continue to publish reports and pictures of the demonstrations, or give any information to foreign correspondents as to what is really taking place in occupied Palestine.

This arbitrary campaign against the news media is yet another sign of the increasing frustration of the Zionist leadership in its efforts to stop the truth about Zionism from spreading all over the world.

### 120,000 ZIONIST CIVIL GUARD MEMBERS

The forces of the Zionist civil guard, established one and a half years ago, now number 120,000, according to a statement by the Israeli Minister of Police, Shlomo Hillel, on 22 April. Hillel, however, added: « We are still in need of more volunteers ».

All groups in the civil guard are structured, and possess sufficient equipment for present members and even for those likely to join in the future.

It is worth noting that the Zionist civil guard was formed at the end of 1973 in order to confront Palestinian commando operations against Zionist settlements and vital regions, such as the operations of Tashihah, Petah Tikvah and Savoy. The ages of members of the civil guard range between 14 and 60 years.



## VORSTER IN ISRAEL



Arch-Nazi  
Vorster on recent  
pilgrimage in «Zion»

All the arrangements had been made to maintain the strictest secrecy around the visit — highly suspect in fact — which the South African Prime Minister Vorster made to Israel on 9-13 April. In view of certain indiscretions, however, and the considerable interest subsequently aroused, the Israeli Government was obliged to make the visit public and even official, at the same time taking care to shroud the agreements in the greatest mystery. What in fact are they trying to hide? It is well-known that co-operation between South Africa and Israel — particularly in military matters — is nothing new. On the part of the Israeli authorities, it was a case of closing the stable door after the horse had bolted, for Vorster's scientific advisor declared straight out on 12 April that the agreements concluded between his country and Israel were to bring considerable advantages to « research connected with the South African defence system ».

The fact that both regimes share more than one characteristic as colonialist racist states and forward positions of imperialism in Africa and the Middle East explains the stakes involved in their alliance. An article in the November 1970 issue of « Jewish Affairs » (the official organ of the Council of Jewish Deputies in

South Africa) explains this quite clearly :

« South Africa considers that the Middle East — where Israel stands on guard like a modest but irreplaceable sentry — is the area which represents the most forward position for its own defence... »

« For Israel, the presence of a particularly vigilant and economically powerful nation in the extreme south of Africa, while it holds the key to the northern extremity, represents an essential element in an effective strategy for protecting its hinterland... »

Commenting on Vorster's trip to Israel, the « Jerusalem Post » of 11 April was indirectly to defend Zionism ; the Zionist attitude towards the oppressed of the world here clearly revealed, and regret at seeing racism and the exploitation of peoples denounced, are quite obvious. The « Post » commented :

It is natural for South Africa and Israel to feel themselves bound in the same harness. The last session of the UN General Assembly stressed the similarity in the conceptions of Zionism and apartheid, condemning both ideologies as forms of racism. It is also natural that they should strengthen their co-operation in order to apply themselves to attacking more effectively the peoples struggling for liberation. It is significant that

Vorster's visit coincided with the strong protests of the indigenous Arab population against the occupation authorities, as well as with the action of the indigenous African population against the white minority in South Africa.

Vorster and the experts who accompanied him visited armaments factories, in particular the factory manufacturing the « Kfir » hunter bombers ; and the South African racists have expressed their desire to modernize — with Israel's help — their war machine, acknowledged as out-of-date after their defeat in Angola.

As for Israel, it is particularly interested in South African deliveries of strategic raw materials, including uranium. This signifies the real possibility of joint efforts on the part of the Zionist and South African racists for the manufacture of nuclear arms. This constitutes a joint strategy of aggression against the Arab and African liberation forces, a strategy of aggression which world public opinion unanimously condemns. □□

## KISSINGER IN AFRICA

To understand the significance of the recent two-week African tour undertaken by American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, which was to take him to Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire, Ghana, Liberia and Senegal, it is necessary to situate it in the context of the collapse of American influence throughout the world, and of US Government's concern to brighten up the tarnished image of its foreign policy at a time when the presidential election campaign is at its height. Kissinger's nine-day visit to Latin-America in February took place within the same framework, with this one exception that, in this particular case, the Ameri-



can initiative was also in response to the more pressing anxiety of American leadership in the face of the increasingly pro-Third World positions of certain states in the hemisphere. The principal aim was doubtless to ensure that these states would not commit themselves further in a policy unfavourable to the supremacist designs of the United States, on the basis either of a regional strategy or relations between the Third World and the developed countries.

The American Secretary of State was quite clear as to his expectations, putting particular stress, in his Caracas speech, on the fact that the United States are not satisfied with the new direction of Latin-American economic policy. He did not of course fail to brandish the « Cuban threat » although he had previously claimed that there would be no launching of a crusade against Havana. But the thorny problems — American seizure of the Panama Canal, the growing exchange deficit with the United States — were left in suspension, the Secretary of State having from the outset admitted his government's incapacity to solve them. There is every reason to believe that this Latin-American trip did not bear all the expected fruits. Henry Kissinger was neither able to gloss over the incoherence of American foreign policy, nor

convince the host countries, certain of which in addition did not hesitate to recognize the spurned government of the MPLA during the Secretary of State's visit itself.

What exactly is the significance of Henry Kissinger's safari ?

On 10 April, 1969, he asked the National Security Council to carry out a confidential study on southern Africa, « taking into consideration : 1) the background to, and outlook for, the principal problems in the region ; 2) the various aspects of American interests in southern Africa ; and 3) the complete range of stratagems and political options possible for the United States ». The study was later published under the title « The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa » (Spokesman Books, Nottingham, USA, 1975). It emerges from this study that Kissinger's political choice was based on the hypothesis that « the white regimes are installed to last and it is only through them that a constructive change may be effected. There is no hope whatsoever that the blacks will obtain political rights through violence ».

But the independence of Mozambique and Angola, as well as the rise of the liberation movements in Rhodesia and Namibia, have arrived to throw Kissinger's forecasts off balance, leaving him trying to redistribute the cards, and to save face — not to mention anything else than can be salvaged — following the scarcely enviable role of the United States in recent African affairs. Kissinger has expressed the so-called support of his country for the principle of black majority rule in Rhodesia — on condition that this be achieved by « peaceful means » — it being obvious that Ian Smith will not last much longer. This is to change his coat a bit too suddenly and too late, as the Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere made very clear to him when he affirmed that « the war, the only way of achieving black majority rule after the failure of negotiations, had already begun ».

The United States have always been prompt in granting their economic and military aid to the dying white minority regime in Rhodesia, using loopholes in the legislation to this end. They have never

stopped importing raw materials — in particular Rhodesian chrome — from the racist regimes of southern Africa, and this in spite of the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations.

The American machinations, which are at present tending to modify partially their African policy in order to safeguard their position in the black continent, are bound to fail because of American inability to consolidate them. The « Quotidien de Paris » of 22 April writes on this subject : « It is certain that American diplomacy intends to make a come-back in Africa where it had experienced a resounding failure. The margin of manoeuvres is nevertheless very restricted, taking into account the imperialist stamp with which the United States are branded, and the accusations of collusion with the regime of apartheid in South Africa which have been formulated against Washington ».

The Africans are not taken in as to the real intentions of the United States and Henry Kissinger, whose mission was to give a respectable appearance to American policy in this region, as well as lead certain already heavily-compromised states even further in the wake of American global strategy and to demand political concessions from certain others considered too « extremist », ready to use economic blackmail as a means. But President Nyerere's rejoinder, as well as the decisions of the leaders of Nigeria and Ghana — who are obviously aware of the gap separating the authentic aspirations of the Africans and the late and unconvincing wishes of the Americans — not to receive the American Secretary of State, clearly

show that the progressive African states are firmly decided not to allow themselves to be intimidated.

Kissinger's African tour, exactly like his Latin-American one, highlights the fundamental contradictions in American foreign policy, as well as its opposition to the true liberation of peoples ; in any case, this policy is entirely in line with the interests of the monopolies which govern the US and indulge their greed in ransacking the wealth of the Third World. □□



## SOLIDARITY NEWS



*Solidarity in Cyprus*

### SOLIDARITY WITH THE DAY OF THE LAND

On 3 April, a day of solidarity with the Palestinian people was celebrated in Nicosia, Cyprus. A demonstration took place denouncing the Zionist attempts to Judaize Jerusalem and other Palestinian territories.

Religious bodies in Cyprus have decided not to undertake pilgrimages to the Holy places in occupied Palestine as a sign of protest against the Zionist acts of terrorism, the confiscation of Arab lands and the arrest of Arab citizens.

Dozens of Palestinian students and progressive Jews demonstrated in Rome on 2 April in front of the Zionist consulate, protesting against the barbaric massacres of Palestinian citizens by the occupation authorities during the demonstrations in support of the Day of the Land in occupied Palestine.

The demonstrators denounced the Zionist policies of racial discrimination and occupation, and called for the liberation of all political prisoners.

Clashes took place between the Italian police and the demonstrators when the latter tried to occupy the consulate.

In Bonn, the Palestine Solidarity Committee distributed leaflets and organized an information stand in the centre of the city on the occasion of the Day of the Land on 30 March. Spontaneous discussion groups of passers-by were formed to discuss the Zionist usurpation of Arab lands in occupied Palestine.

Democratic forces in the Federal German Republic responded in large numbers to the call of the Arab Committee for the Defence of Arab Lands — which was formed by Palestinians living in the 1948 occupied territories of Palestine — to collect

signatures to be sent to UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim.

The Anti-imperialist Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America issued a communiqué on the occasion of the Day of the Land, in which it affirmed that the practices of the Zionist authorities constitute a violation of the rights of the Arabs, and a proof of the continued discrimination carried out against the Arab inhabitants of Palestine.

### ARABS IN SAN FRANCISCO ASK WALDHEIM TO INVESTIGATE DEATH OF AHMAD AL-SHAYKH

Around 130 members of the Arab and Palestinian community in San Francisco, California, on 30 March signed a cable to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General, calling upon him to investigate the circumstances of the death of the Palestinian citizen Ahmad al-Shaykh Dib from the occupied West town of Salit.

The cable included facts disproving the Zionist military occupation authorities' allegations that the Palestinian citizen had died as a result of a « heart attack » in jail. He was arrested for taking part in the mass uprising in occupied Palestine. The accusation was based on the medical report of a Soviet professor who performed an autopsy on the body of the martyr at the Abu Kir Hospital in Jaffa. The autopsy revealed that Ahmad al-Shaykh was killed as a result of blows on his chest and head which caused hemorrhage from the mouth, nose and ears.

### ERITREAN LIBERATION FRONT — VICTORY TO PALESTINE, TO THE PEOPLE AND TO THE LAND

On 31 March, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) issued a communiqué in Damascus on

the occasion of the Day of Land, reiterating the support of the Eritrean people for the armed struggle of the Palestinian people against imperialism and Zionism, and for the liberation of their land.

The communiqué saluted the resistance of our masses in occupied Palestine to the racist occupation forces, which expresses our people's attachment to their land and national identity.

In a later communiqué, issued in Beirut on 17 April, the ELF stressed that the « Palestinian Revolution, the Lebanese national movement, the ELF, and all revolutionary forces are fighting in the same trench against imperialism, reaction and the isolationist forces wherever they are ».

### FRANCO-PALESTINIAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION DENOUNCES EXPULSION OF PALESTINIAN DOCTORS

In a letter of 31 March to the Zionist Prime Minister, Rabin, the Association protested against the expulsion by the Zionist authorities of the two Palestinian doctors, Ahmad Hamzeh al-Natshe and Abdel Aziz al-Hajj Ahmad, deported on 27 March, 1976. The Association also called for an end to such Zionist measures, which are in flagrant contradiction to the 1949 Geneva Convention and the principles expressed in the Declaration of Human Rights.

### SEMINARS ON PALESTINE

Brussels : on the initiative of the Belgian-Arab Friendship Association, the Belgian section of the Euro-Arab Parliamentary Association and the PLO representative in Brussels, a seminar on Palestine will take place from 13-15 May.

European, Belgian and Arab intellectuals, journalists and politicians will take part in this seminar to discuss the following topics :

- The Palestinians in the occupied territories ;
- The right of return ;
- The right to self-determination.

A conference will be organized in Rome at the end of May as a sign of solidarity with Archbishop Capucci, and to demand his release from the Israeli prison where he has been since his arrest in August, 1974.

A seminar will be held in London at the end of June, having as its theme : « The Palestinian question, key to peace »

### PALESTINE WEEK IN FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

On 8 April, Yasser Arafat received a message from West-German Committees for Palestine, expressing their entire support for the just struggle of the Arab people in occupied Palestine.

They made known their decision to organize a Palestine week in all the German cities in May, on the occasion of the establishment of the expansionist Zionist entity, and in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people. The message stressed that the themes discussed during this week will be based on the recognition by the Federal Republic of Germany of the PLO as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

### NEW AMBULANCE FOR BOURJ AL-BARAJNEH

On 1 April, two members of the Secretariat of the Middle East Committee of Göttingen (Federal German Republic), Reiner Grundmann and Hartmut Niemann, arrived in Lebanon bringing with them an ambulance — a gift from the Committee to the people of Bourj al-Barajneh Palestinian camp.

The Committee, which was formed in 1973 and has 17 members, is open to all who support the armed struggle of the Palestinian people, and also supports the struggle of

other revolutionary groups in the Middle East, among them the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman.

The ambulance, a Mercedes complete with two stretchers, and fully equipped, was bought by the Committee from the German Red Cross at a cost of 12,300 German marks. This money was collected by the members of the Committee during a six-months' information campaign in the market-place of their town, where they distributed pamphlets and other information materials describing the situation in Lebanon.

The Committee issues a paper called « Saut al-Thaura » (Voice of the Revolution) every two months, and works to collect medicines to send to the Palestinian people in the camps.





# THE POLITICS OF PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM

By William Quandt, Fuad Jaber and Ann Mosely Lesch  
University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973. 216 Pages.  
Reviewed by Abdel-Qader Yassin

*This is a frustrating book. It is a well-researched, carefully documented and skillfully organized history of Palestinian Nationalism up to 1971, but the authors' definition of politics is so narrow that the book fails to offer a comprehensive introduction to the «other side» of the complex Palestine Problem. The background to the resurgence of Palestine nationalism is provided in Part One by Ann Lesch in «The Palestine Arab Nationalist Movement Under the Mandate», while the context is outlined in Part Three by Fuad Jaber in «The Palestinian Resistance and Inter-Arab Politics.» The heart of the book is William Quandt's «Political and Military Dimensions of Contemporary Palestinian Nationalism.» Although written by separate authors who display slight differences in perspective, the three parts are well integrated, giving the book a thematic core missing in other recent collections on the present manifestations of the Palestinian problem.*

William Quandt, the senior author of the study, has spent several years on the staff of the National Security Council (NSC) under Henry Kissinger. His research was funded in large part by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. Given these references, it is interest-

ing that Quandt is supportive of the national aspirations of the Palestinian resistance movement and sympathetic to their plight. He represents a success of sorts for the movement in one of its strategies — «policy makers of the highest levels must now take seriously the Palestinian people and their aims in decisions about the Middle East.» As a liberal, pro-Palestinian American policy advisor, Quandt got access to a considerable amount of material about the movement from the Palestinians themselves, despite his association with RAND Corporation.

One of the aspects of Quandt's essay is his historical approach to the ideologies and organizations of Palestinian nationalism. Picking up where Ann Lesch's article leaves off, he chronicles the development of two distinct strategies among politicized Palestinians. One strategy, which Quandt takes as the most important manifestation of Palestinian nationalism, is that adopted by the leaders of *Fateh* as they began to organize in the mid-fifties. In Quandt's view, this strategy held that the struggle for the liberation of Palestine had to be led by the Palestinians themselves, supported by the Arab regimes which would become increasingly radicalized as the Palestinian popular armed struggle developed, and Israel retaliated.

The second strategy, developed later by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and its

offshoots, held that the unification of the Arab World in a progressive entity was necessary for the liberation of Palestine. With regard to the Arab regimes, the first strategy called for non-involvement in the political affairs of Arab countries, while the second according to Quandt, saw intervention as a strategic necessity.

Quandt is sensitive in dealing with the development of these two strategies, showing how the Ideas have changed in response to a continually evolving situation, and how the organizations have increasingly been forced to coordinate their strategies and activities. Despite the complexities of the alliances that have been made and unmade during this period, Quandt keeps a fairly clear view of the various organizations and their options. Especially interesting is his comparison of the organizational and ideological composition of the Palestinian movement with the Algerian national movement after the emergence of the F.L.N. in 1954.

For the Palestinian movement as a whole, Quandt does refute the analysis of people like General Yehoshofat Harkabi, former chief of Israeli Military Intelligence, «that there is no basis for accommodation between Israeli and Palestinian demands,» by showing the evolution of the Palestinians' ideas about a democratic non-sectarian state.

His conclusion on his score is symptomatic of the deeper problem with the book. The book does have a thematic core, but it is precisely this core which is so unsatisfying. In line with the dominant mode of political science methodology, the author tries to refrain from making value judgements about the phenomena he is studying. In this case, he is necessarily led to see the conflict in Palestine as a clash between two competing nationalisms - of two equal, «value-free» phenomena interacting on a neutral plane. In their introduction the authors state:

«Palestine has been the object of conflicting political claims and intense religious attachment for millenia. This small, arid land... has been ruled and coveted by Jews, Christians and Muslims, all of whom have found historic and strategic rationales for mutually exclusive demands...

«In its most recent phase, this conflict has pitted indigenous Palestinian Arabs against immigrant Jews and their offspring. In organizational and ideological terms, the clash has been between Palestinian nationalism and Zionism, both of which have sought nationhood within Palestine.»

Thus the conflict is reduced, and in the process distorted. This view of a «clash of two competing nationalisms» enables the analysts to avoid confronting Zionism as a particular form of settler co-

lonialism, and ignores the ethical, political, economic and cultural problems of the confrontation between European Zionists and Palestinian Arabs. The whole range of problems posed by the relationships between Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East are left aside. Finally, because the approach deals mainly with élites and organizational forms, the authors fail to assess a multitude of sociological, political and economic factors relating to the success or failure of popular movements.

One of the most serious failures of Quandt's essay is his treatment of events leading up to the confrontation between the Resistance and the Jordanian regime in September 1970. Quandt does not discuss King Hussein's role in Jordan, or the role of the army as the main bulwark of the regime, or the anti-Palestinian propaganda systematically used among the Bedouin troops. He lays most - if not all - of the blame on the Palestinian Resistance, and especially on the left groups, while presenting Hussein as a neutral figure attempting to maintain his legitimate authority.

Notably, Quandt does not discuss the role of the considerable number of American military and political advisors in Jordan, to help prop up Hussein as a pivotal figure in the American Middle East strategy. If Quandt the liberal and Quandt the pro-Palestinian ever flinched at the concentration of imperialist planning and power which the U.S. used during the «Jordanian crisis», while he was serving on the National Security Council, his book does not betray it. By such omissions Quandt betrays a mandarin mentality exactly like that of the liberal academicians who collaborate with the makers of the murderous American policy, and whose «academic» work, by studiously avoiding mention of the U.S., serves as a cover for it.

Ann Lesch, in her section on the Mandate period, hardly deals with the motives behind British policy in Palestine. She states that Britain's initial interest during the First World War was protection of the eastern side of the Suez Canal as a means of safeguarding the British position in India. She mentions nothing about British imperial interests in the Middle East itself, nor the competition with France over the spoils of the Ottoman Empire, nor the British rôle in establishing and propping up the puppet Hashemite regime in Jordan.

These failures are partly compensated for by the good treatment she gives to the manner in which Palestinian demands were consistently avoided by the British - although she does not satisfactorily explain British motives. The Mandatory power refused to deal with any Palestinian political organ which



did not accept the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. Such acceptance, for the Palestinians, would have meant immediate surrender of the very principles for which they were struggling, and around which most Palestinian political organizations were built.

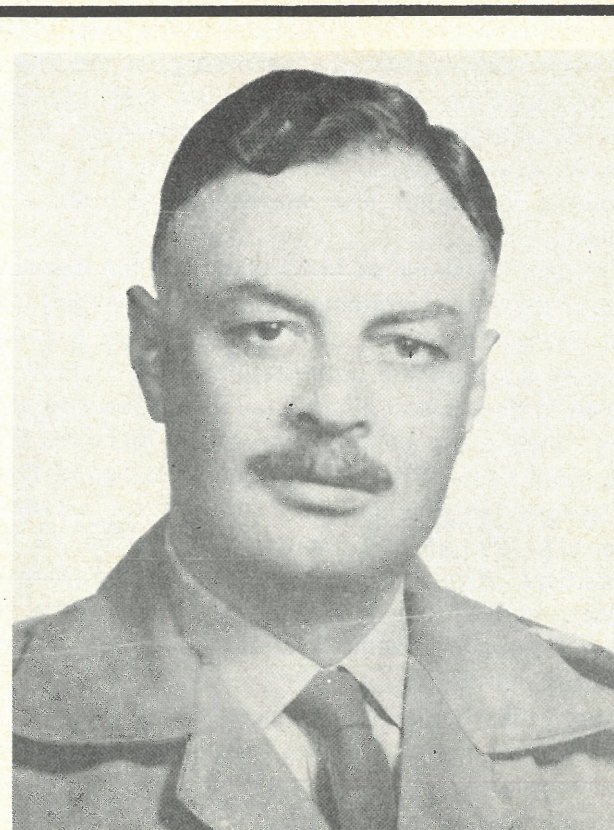
Her emphasis on élites and organizations is unsatisfactory, for it tends to reduce the Palestinian political dynamic to a feud between the Husseinis and the Nashashibis. She does not sufficiently discuss the real grievances of the Palestinian peasants, nor does she show the material reasons for the differences between Sheikh Izz ed-Din el-Qassam, the martyr and hero of the 1936-39 rebellion, and Haj Amin el-Husseini. In short, she does not discuss the class character of Palestinian society and leadership.

For that matter, neither does Quandt. He refers in passing to the «esoteric ideological quarrels between the 'left' and the 'right' concerning, among other things, the role of the 'petite bourgeoisie' in the revolutionary struggle,» but only to explain the split of Jibril and Za'rour from the Popular Front. But surely the question of the class nature and interests of the various leaderships needs to be discussed in order to understand their own development and their relations with the Arab regimes.

Fuad Jaber falls into the same pitfalls. He displays little understanding of the drama of developments in the Arab World, but prefers to treat the differences among various leaders, regimes and ideologies as «the inter-Arab political game» in which the «Arab governments were... endlessly bickering and furthering their own interests.» He does not treat Zionism and Israel as an issue for Arab governments before 1967, or ever afterwards, for that matter. Questions of Israeli expansionism, of the threat that Israel's military force represented to revolutionary developments in the Arab World, are not touched upon.

Jaber's chapter is interesting in its detailed treatment and documentation of the extent to which the Palestinian movement has been depended on various Arab regimes, the heavy restraint imposed on the movement, and the particular situation of the Palestinians as refugees in Arab countries.

This book is helpful for those who use it carefully, who want some facts but not the interpretations the authors frequently give. For those acquainted with the work of the RAND Corporation and with the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, these words of caution are, surely, unnecessary.



**COLONEL ABDUL-AZIZ  
AL-WAJEEH**

The Palestinian Revolution announced the death in Lebanon on 6 May of Colonel Abdul-Aziz al-Wajeeh, member of the Executive Committee of the PLO.

Colonel al-Wajeeh was born in Axal, Palestine in 1927, and fought courageously in the struggle against the British Mandate and the Zionist movement in his homeland.

Until 1959, Colonel al-Wajeeh served in the Syrian Army.

He joined the Palestine Liberation Army in 1964. In 1974 he was elected to membership of the PLO Executive Committee as Head of the Mass Organizations' Department, a position he was holding at the time of his death.

Colonel al-Wajeeh spent his life serving the Revolution and fighting for the liberation of the Palestinian homeland.

## CULTURE

# PALESTINIAN CINEMA



Political documentaries have, until recently, been the main type of Palestinian cinematic production. These widely distributed films are, of course, made available to the public on a non-profit-making or exchange basis, this latter being mainly carried out through exchanges with other progressive groups the world over. PLO representatives and Arab

League offices have occasionally been used as channels for distribution, if this cannot be achieved directly through the main office of the Palestinian Cinema Institution in Beirut. Hundreds of copies of the best Palestinian films have circulated around the world, and at present the Palestinian Revolution has more than 35 films available for distribution.

## SAMED FOR CINEMA PRODUCTION

Samed for Cinema Production was set up at the beginning of September, 1975, for the production on a self-supporting basis of documentary and feature films of high standard and in different languages about the Palestine cause. It is a section dependent on Samed Foundation (see : « Samed in an Interview », Palestine No. 8, Volume 2, January, 1976), the public sector of the Palestinian Revolution.

So far, Samed for Cinema Production has completed a 24 minute colour documentary film, **The Key** which will be presented at the UN International Habitat Conference in Vancouver this May. The Key, partly shot inside occupied Palestine clearly and objectively shows the reality of the Arabs under Israeli occupation : their previous and present living conditions and their resistance to discriminatory Zionism, together with the reproval of this discrimination by non-Zionist Jews. The film also glances at the life in refugee camps outside the occupied homeland and ends posing a question mark to the spectator as if inviting him to think why the Palestinians do not have a home. It is to be noted that Zionist militants of the Jewish Defense League have already pledged to disrupt the Habitat Conference in a terrorist attempt to stop PLO participation in the meeting.

Presently, Samed is undertaking, together with the Pakistani Television, the co-production of a long feature film on the Palestine cause. **In Jerusalem We Meet.** This film is now being shot and will be completed in a year's time in Arabic, Urdu and English versions. There will be no traditional Hollywood-type techniques in it : no stars, no artificial trappings, no publicity gimmicks. It will be a popular film in which the masses will act for the benefit of the masses.

Another aim of « Samed for Cinema Production » is the formation of new cinema cadres. It will gradually absorb new Palestinian cadres with the required artistic abilities for the preparation of committed productions. The Samed cinema worker will not be an ordinary worker, but a political militant and fighter struggling with all possible means to achieve the general aims of Samed Foundation, through which the strategic aims of the Palestinian Revolution will be advanced.

## THE EXHIBITION OF PALESTINIAN FILMS

Since Palestinian revolutionary films are not exhibited on the commercial screens of the establishment, and since the PLO does not possess cinemas, the open areas and streets of the refugee camps, their schools, military bases and other outdoor or indoor premises have commonly been used to show



these films. Film showings are very popular and usually attended by all sectors of the Palestinian people. The public participates, discusses, protests, applauds... local men, women and children attend, together with other inhabitants of the surrounding areas whom, even if not Palestinians, equally come to the showings and give their opinions on the film, commenting at the same time on any other subjects which concern and interest them. Sometimes films are introduced by a resistance leader, who dialogues with the public and listens to their opinions, suggestions, criticism or expressions of support for the Revolution. Films are a good reason to gather people together, and when people get together they speak and expose their thoughts, thus giving the leader the invaluable opportunity of hearing directly from the bases. Films about Algeria, Cuba, Vietnam, the Soviet Union and China are also exhibited, and serve as aids in the political education of large sectors of the Palestinian population in the camps.

Showings in military bases are usually restricted to fighters, and are likewise frequently accompanied by presentation by a political cadre, and group discussion.

Although films are preferably exhibited in areas where there are concentrations of Palestinians, they are by no means restricted to such areas only. Film showings also take place in Arab villages and cities, where university students, labour unions and popular organizations of all kinds have a chance to see these films.

As for foreign countries, progressive groups in many of them, as well as PLO representations, have helped encouraging the exhibition of resistance films, thus providing a closer insight into Palestinian reality.

#### PARTICIPATION IN FESTIVALS

Many of these films have not only been shown as mentioned above, but have also been presented at international festivals, where they have often been awarded distinctions and prizes.

The first time the press circulated news of prizes won by Palestinian films was in 1972, after the International Cinema Festival of Damascus and the presentation of the film, **With Blood and Soul**. This event had wide repercussions. The people working in the fields of cinema and information realized the political importance of participating in such festivals. Such participation would at least contribute to reaffirming the existence of a Palestinian people who were in possession of a certain cultural standard, after their military existence had been made evident through a series of revolutionary military operations. It would also mean that the Palestinians could contribute to Arab and international cultural trends, their armed struggle consisting not only of military operations, but being a humane struggle, creative in all fields.

Since that time, Palestinian cinema has won more than twelve prizes in international film festivals, such as the Carthage, Leipzig, Moscow, Royan and Tashkent festivals. Palestinian films were also



*«The Key»: produced by Samed for Cinema Production for the UN Habitat Conference in Vancouver*

ing of important films followed by discussion of technical points observed in the film ; study of the statements and work of different film-makers ; contacts and exchange visits with cinema directors, especially those of the socialist countries and the Third World many of whom have contributed their invaluable experience on problems concerning the making and production of revolutionary struggle films ; training courses in institutes abroad and scholarships for specialized studies ; making films in collaboration with foreign progressive directors...

Efforts to form new cinema cadres are not restricted to Palestinians. Recently, twelve comrades from the Democratic Republic of South Yemen participated in a seven-month training course on script-writing, production, photography and montage, given by the Palestinian Cinema Institution.

#### RELATIONS WITH OTHER FILM MAKERS

Since the beginnings of Palestinian cinema, relations with other film-makers have been conducted, first with progressive Arab directors, especially Algerian and Syrian, later followed by developing relations with progressive cinema makers all over the world. These encounters have been of great benefit for Palestinian cinema, and have reasserted the interaction and solidarity existing between the Palestinian and the progressive cinema of the world. This last has helped in clarifying the general understanding of the Palestinian problem to the Western public, thus undoing some of the damage done for more than 28 years by American, French, English, German and other traditional Western film-makers through their contri-

shown at the Anti-Imperialist Film Festival of Cannes, in 1975, organized as a counter-weight to the traditional Cannes Film Festival.

#### THE ARCHIVES

Started in 1968 by martyred comrade Hani Jawhariyeh, according to one of the main aims of the Palestinian Cinema : building up a cinemathèque and still pictures archives, containing all sorts of documents pertaining to the history and struggle of the Palestinian people.

The archives contain general film documents about the Palestine problem, as well as documents on some of its particular aspects, before and after 1948, including early Zionist immigration to Palestine, the colonization of Palestine and the dispersion of the Palestinians ; their daily life before the occupation, after the Zionist take-over or in their enforced exile from their homeland. These archives may be used efficiently to expose the conspiracies against the Palestinian people and their struggle and aspirations for liberation. The material available covers the period from 1900 up to the present time.

#### TRAINING CINEMA CADRES

Within the Revolution, few are the cadres who have pursued formal studies on cinema. For this reason, the training of Palestinian revolutionaries as cinema cadres is of utmost importance. In general, and among other aspects, the process followed for this purpose includes : the practical study of script-writing, montage, photography and direction ; group view-

butions of biased and destructive images of the Palestinians, and their support of the Zionist entity.

These relations have, furthermore, helped to clarify the general concept of the Arab on the screen. Deserts, camels and palm trees have traditionally provided the exotic and mysterious flavour of the Arab world as a whole. In order to vary its sauce, western cinema has often shifted from its famous « husband-wife-lover » trio to a more exotic one : « palm tree-Arab-camel ». Film-makers frantically looking for something new, exploited the use of this image often completing it with the addition of a sensuous « belly » dancer. Many world famous cinema directors were unable to escape this evil. The exploiter's eye view of a people of intriguing, lazy, good-for-nothings, but with dark, passionate males and exotically sensual females provided the « local colour » designed to sell the product. Thus was the Arab national character defined on the traditional western screen. That's what the Arabs were and that's where they had to stay.

#### WESTERN PALESTINIAN FILMS

But the appearance of the armed Palestinian Revolution shook this image shaped by imperialist domination. A handful of progressive western directors made contacts with Palestinian film-makers to interchange ideas and experiences. Conversations and joint work was undertaken among others, with the Latin-Americans Santiago Alvarez, from Cuba, and the Chilean Sebastian Alarcon with the Africans, Ousmane Sembène, from Senegal and Lionel N'Gakane, from South Africa ; the Europeans Manfred Voss, from West Germany, and the French Serge Le Péron. Several directors were invited by the Revolution to shoot documentaries on various aspects of the life of the Palestinian people and their armed revolution. Some of them succeeded in creating films of genuine Arab national significance, depicting the Palestinian reality and giving the first western rational approach to the Zionist phenomenon in Palestine ever found on the western screen.

For this reason, their films are considered part and parcel of the Palestinian cinema, coming within the definition given by the Palestinian Cinema Institution : films which deal with Palestinian subjects and are committed to the Palestine cause, the aspirations of the Palestinian people and their armed revolution against the Zionist usurpation.

According to Guy Hennebelle, 1968 marks the approximate date of birth of western anti-Zionist cinema, since it was in that year, namely after the **French May**, that large sectors of the democratic forces in Europe started to become aware of the real nature of Zionism.

In 1969, a French group — the Revolutionary Proletarian Film-Markers — under the direction of Jean-Pierre Olivier and helped by the Palestinian Cinema Institution produced the first French short film to take the side of the Palestinian people : **Palestine Will Win**. Drawing partly on the Palestinian archives, the director retraced the main stages of the Palestinian struggle, including the 1936 uprising and the Karameh Battle, and clarified concepts such as : the



**Palestinians struggle against Zionist colonialism, and not against the Jews,** and expressed the view that Palestine will only win through undertaking a popular war of liberation.

**L'Olivier** (The Olive Tree), a full-length film produced in 1975 by the Vincennes Cinema Group in collaboration with the Palestinian Cinema Institution is, according to Guy Hennebelle, « to this day the most complete and, above all, the most operational film in the western anti-Zionist struggle ». This very rich film has multiple aspects and its merits are both political and cinematographic. It starts with the reproduction of excerpts from the French TV taken at the time of the Munich 1972 events, which make evident the false objectivity of a media long controlled by Zionism. After exposing this, the authors seem to say, according to Hennebelle : « Listen, all of you... You have been mistaken ; you have been made to believe that the creation of the state of Israel was a just endeavour, the legitimate compensation for the sufferings endured by the Jews in Europe. You have been told that Palestine was a land without a people that naturally had to go to a people without land. All that is false. On one side Palestine was an inhabited country ; on the other, the European bourgeoisies that today support Zionism are the same that yesterday used anti-Semitism to divide the peoples they exploited.... »

Among the most touching scenes, we can mention the statement by the Belgian René Raindorf, who was deported to Auschwitz and who strongly proclaims his support for the Palestinian cause. And the conversation with the old Dutch dustman, Piet Nak, today retired, who organized in 1941 the only strike in Europe protesting the Nazi deportations of Jews. Invited these last years by the Israeli government, he was profusely decorated by Abba Eban himself, but returning to Holland he founded a Palestine committee to denounce to his country fellows the fate of the Arabs in Israel and gave back his decorations to his decorators. European militants, — Jews or not — speak up at length in the film their anti-Zionist convictions.

But the essence of the film is located in the Middle East, mainly in Lebanon and Israel. Two of the authors were able to go to this last country where they recorded several conversations with representatives of different groups : the Palestinians, of course, but also the Israeli sephardim, for instance of Moroccan origin. The sephardim form 60% of the population in the country, where they also suffer discrimination from the ashkenazi establishment, that is, from European Jews who form the ruling class. Among the most important scenes we can note the entrance to court of Arab and Jewish prisoners, members in the anti-Zionist organization **Red Front**; and the interview with Israel Shahak, President of the League for the Defence of Human Rights during a demonstration in front of the Knesset...

As for the report on Lebanon, it also contains excellent moments, which go beyond the traditional images of fedayeen training ; mainly a visit to a hospital where maimed and survivors express their faith in the final victory of their people and show a **joie de vivre** which clearly reveals their lack of regret for the risks undertaken and the price of a sometimes

definite handicapped future life paid for them... »

The West German Manfred Voss, progressive film-maker and university professor of film and TV, maintains close relations with Palestinian cinema. He has directed several films uncovering Zionism, comparing this ideology with that of Nazism, and showing European public the racist operations conducted by the occupiers in Palestine. In a Europe long dominated by Zionist propaganda, one of Voss's aims is to combat this propaganda and present to German youth the facts about Zionism.

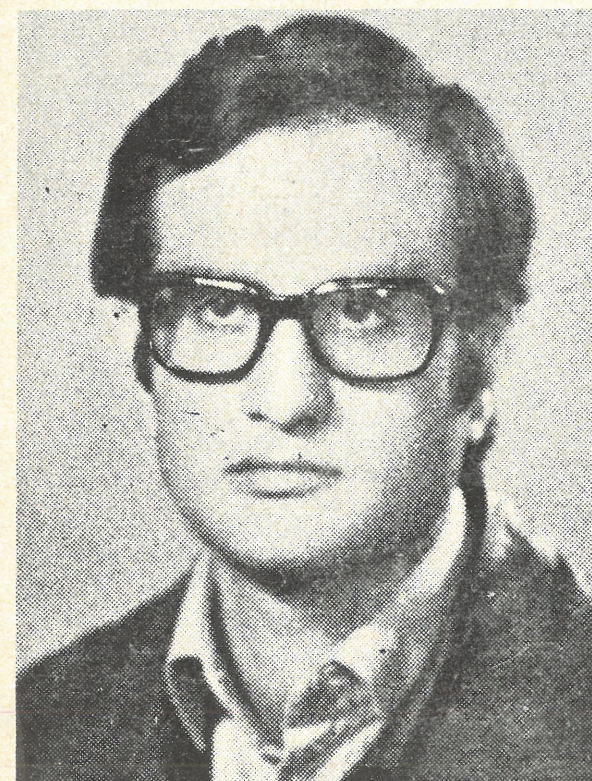
Voss has directed four good Palestinian films, among them **Where Is Palestine**, in 1971. This medium-length colour film, which received first prize at the 1973 Baghdad Festival, is considered to be one of the best western Palestinian films ever produced. Voss also directed **Because He Is Palestinian**, a short film in colour denouncing the anti-Arab repression conducted by the West German Government after the 1972 Munich events.

Several progressive groups in the United States have also produced films in solidarity with the Palestinian cause. Among them we can count **Revolution Till Victory**, a medium-length film produced in 1973 by the « Newsreel » group, many of whose American Jewish members worked in producing the film. It retraces the history of the Palestinian problem and the stages of the resistance against the foreign occupier: Turkish, British, Zionist. At the same time the film evokes the Jewish question in Europe, noting that the Arabs should not pay for European anti-semitism and that Zionism, a racist ideology, cannot in any event be the correct answer to it. What is more, the film illustrates an almost unpublicized fact : the strange collusion between Nazism and Zionism even at the time of the worst Hitlerian racist persecutions, showing, for example, that Goebbels officially received delegates of the Jewish Agency while his camps were already filled with persecuted Jews. Based on the method of historical materialism, **Revolution Till Victory** stresses the ties which have always linked the Zionist movement to the dominant imperial power of the time, and shows that Israel is a colonial fact.

Swiss, Dutch, Yugoslav, English, Danish and many other progressive groups in the world have produced Palestinian films thus helping to lift the opaque screen of anti-information traditionally pulled down on the Palestinian problem by the pro-Zionist European media. Most of these groups have been assisted in their work by the Palestinian Cinema Institution.

Palestinian cinema is a revolutionary cinema still at the beginning of its path. Although it has made progress in the right direction, its road is still long. This experience has not been an isolated one. It constitutes only a part of the growing body of Palestinian art and culture, in which literature, painting and music have also flourished enormously after the reactivation of the Palestinian armed resistance in 1965. Imperialism and Zionism have tried to maintain a systematic corrosive action on the Palestinian people's identity. Their attempts to isolate, ignore or deform the Palestinian history, traditions and culture have been partly undone by Palestinian cinema.

□ □



**RASHAD MOHAMMAD  
ABDUL-HAFEZ**

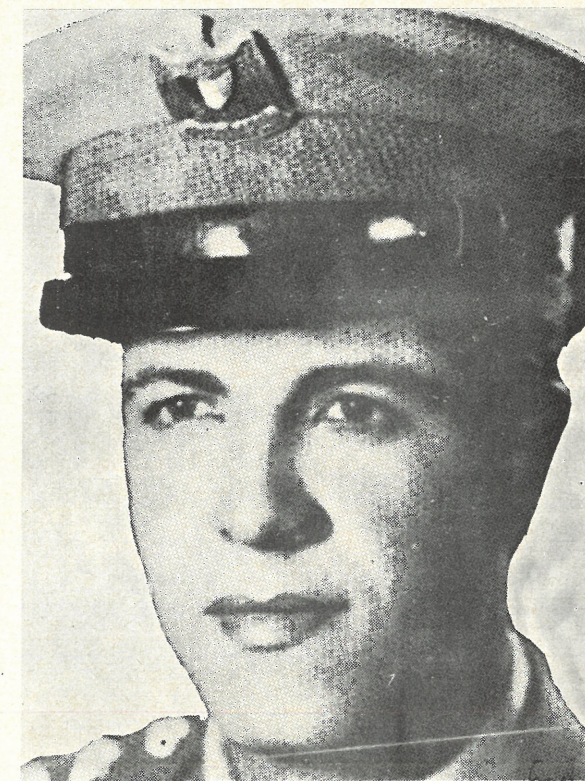
The martyr Rashad Mohammad Abdul-Hafez, Editor-in-Chief of *Falastin al-Thawra*, martyr of Fateh, PLO Unified Information and *Falastin al-Thawra*, was born in Shwailka, Palestine in 1946.

Comrade Rashad had been a militant in the Palestinian National Liberation Movement — Fateh — since 1967, and was one of the most prominent militants in building the revolutionary organization of our movement.

Before joining *Falastin al-Thawra* as Editor-in-Chief, the martyred hero was a member of the Fateh Regional Committee in Iraq.

On the pages of *Falastin al-Thawra*, and on both the Chiah and Tayyounh fronts, our martyr Rashad showed the full extent of his deep-rooted revolutionary commitment.

The revolutionary, Rashad, was martyred on 24 April while fighting along with his comrades in the unit of the martyr Talal Rahmeh.



**MAJOR ISMAIL  
MOHAMMAD ARAFA**

The Palestinian Revolution on 10 May announced the martyrdom of comrade Major Ismail Mohammad Arafa, while fighting the isolationist forces in defence of the Revolution and the Arabism of Lebanon.

Major Arafa was born in Gaza in 1949, and graduated in 1967 from the Military Academy in Egypt. He fought in the June 1967 War, displaying his bravery in a major battle at the entrances to Gaza. He also fought in the 1969-1970 war of attrition along the Suez front, for which he was awarded a distinguished service medal for his heroism and courage in combat.

Comrade Arafa fought with the Popular Liberation Forces in Jordan participating in a number of operations against the Zionist enemy. In 1975, he joined the forces of the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon.

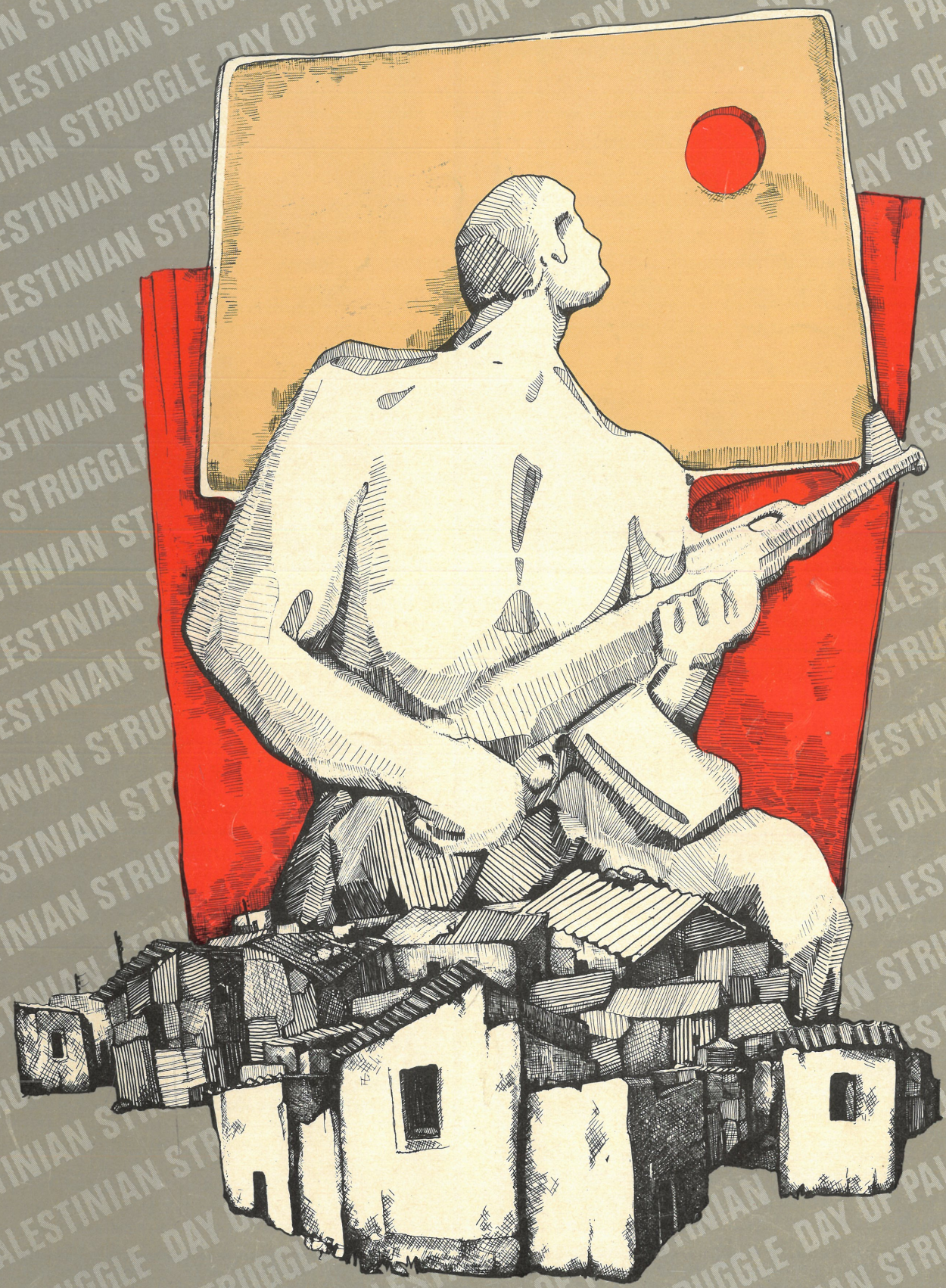
**WE PLEDGE ALL OUR MARTYRS TO  
CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE UNTIL VICTORY**



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

# Palestine

PER SEC.  
MAR 29 1978



**ABU IYAD:**  
**Syrian Tutelage will  
Never Return at Any Price**

**THE BATTLE  
OF BHAMDOUN**  
**a Land mark on the Way  
of Struggle**

**OCCUPIED PALESTINE**  
**MORE REPRESSION      MORE  
RESISTANCE**

**ZIONIST SEA-PIRACY**  
**a Defiance to World  
Public Opinion**