

THE ARCHBISHOP OF SOUTH LEBANON WARNS THE PUBLIC AGAINST ISRAELI EXPANSIONISM

Mgr. Boulos al-Khoury, Greek Orthodox Archbishop of South Lebanon and the West Bekaa, delivered a statement on 22 October 1976 calling upon the inhabitants in the South to unify their ranks in order to confront the Zionist enemy.

The declaration stressed in particular "that the enemy has now unveiled the intentions and objectives he has pursued while practising the "open-door-policy" on the Lebanese borders, a policy, against which we have warned the Lebanese people, calling upon them to face it by all means."

Mgr. al-Khoury continued: "It is today our task to present a unified front in order to face the enemy which lusts after South Lebanon, and to thwart his malicious projects, particularly after we have reached a peace agreement in Lebanon."

The Archbishop also invited the "Front for the support of the South" to convene as soon as possible and to study the situation in that region which is aggravating every day.

Finally, Mgr. al-Khoury addressed dispatches to the Arab heads of state, directing their attention to the situation in the South and asking them to occupy themselves with the matter so as to rescue this part of Lebanon from the Israeli threat.

BBC (BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION) CORRESPONDENT FROM TEL AVIV REPORTS ISRAELI MATERIAL AND MILITARY SUPPORT FOR "CHRISTIANS" IN SOUTH LEBANON

The BBC Israel correspondent Michael Elkins, in a dispatch broadcast by BBC Radio on 21 October 1976, at 9.10 a.m., affirmed that the foreign correspondents in Tel Aviv have known for some time of the existence of total Israeli material and military support for the "inhabitants of the Christian villages" of South Lebanon, not to mention the training of these "villagers" with all kinds of arms and military equipment. The correspondents were not able to report these facts, Elkins underlined, because of the censorship imposed on their dispatches by the Israeli government.

The BBC correspondent mentioned an Israeli quasi-occupation in these villages, accompanied by the military training of Rightist party members. This policy, he added, was started some time ago, and Israel refuses any return to the status quo ante and to the presence of Palestinians on its northern border.

In this context it is worth noting that Israeli soldiers have joined the isolationist forces in fighting during their attack against Hanine, Yaroum, Aishieh and Marjayoun.

In another development, Reuters news agency reported that -- although some Israeli leaders doubt the possibility of the establishment of an Arab peace keeping force, "because of the dissensions dividing the Arab world," -- there is fear in the political circles of the Zionist state that the formation of such a force could end what the Israelis call "the relative neutrality of Lebanon" in the Middle East conflict.

JAMES ABOUREZK ACCUSES THE U.S.A. OF HELPING THE ISOLATIONISTS VIA ISRAEL

The U.S. Senator of Lebanese origin, James Abourezk (Democrat, South Dakota), in a statement on 22 October 1976, accused the U.S.A. of channelling arms to the Lebanese isolationists with Israel as go-between.

The State Department spokesman has denied this accusation in terms, however, which have not removed all suspicions.

"As far as we can know," Robert Funseth declared prudently, "no country receiving American arms is violating the interdiction imposed by the U.S.A. not to transfer these arms to a third party."

He affirmed that the U.S.A. is not *directly* arming any Lebanese faction.

Asked about persisting information that the Zionist state is arming the Phalangists, the spokesman declared he did not know about the matter apart from what had been published in the press.

He acknowledged, anyhow, that the isolationists had been able to provide themselves with American weapons on the international market.

For his part, James Abourezk, the only U.S. Senator of Lebanese origin, made it clear that he had written a letter to Dr. Kissinger last August, demanding the opening of an inquiry into the eventual transfer of American arms from Israel to Lebanon. The Secretary of State had never answered him, he stressed, and he had decided now to address himself to President Ford.

(15-30) November 1976

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

Palestine

ABU LUTF: INTERVIEW

Koenig Report

Israeli Ambitions In South Lebanon

A Settlement For The LEBANESE CRISIS



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TO OUR FRIENDS

There is no doubt that the Israeli-isolationist aggressions in South Lebanon are aimed at hindering the re-establishment of peace in Lebanon. Nevertheless, a clear tendency towards normalization of the situation in general is noticeable. This optimism, which we wish to be well founded, in the ultimate interest of Palestine and Lebanon, has made us decide to resume the publication of the "Palestine" bulletin in its usual form. The reader, however, will find certain modifications concerning the form of presentation.

Furthermore we would like to inform our readers abroad that the quasi-total blockade imposed on the areas controlled by the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution during the last few months has naturally affected the functioning of information. We have done everything possible to improve these conditions, and made great efforts to ensure the delivery of the six supplement numbers of "Palestine", essentially dedicated to the events in Lebanon, to all our readers. But there surely have been inconveniences for which we apologize.

«PALESTINE» OPINION.

Towards a New Phase of Mutual Arab Understanding

There is no doubt that the Lebanese crisis is moving into its last stages. After the Riyadh and Cairo summit conferences, Arab Security Forces in Lebanon are advancing to take up their designated positions on both sides.

The stopping of the criminal inter-Arab fight in Lebanon is a victory for the Palestinian Revolution and for the Arab cause as well. After 18 months of bloodshed, it is time for all belligerents to re-evaluate all their previous policies and practices and to start a new area of comprehension and mutual understanding. Moreover it is the national obligation of all parties concerned to unite all their efforts to face the common enemy who occupies Arab territories.

Protecting the independent will of the Palestinian Revolution against all forms of tutelage was the main issue behind Palestinian involvement in the Lebanese civil war. The Palestinian Revolution never thought to settle in Lebanon or to share in any way with the Lebanese in ruling their homeland. Nevertheless, the Palestinian Revolution succeeded in preserving its independence and in foiling the plots against the Palestine cause. Moreover it is determined to carry on the struggle against the Zionist occupation of the Palestinian homeland.

The same as ever, the Palestinian Revolution is an indispensable political and military factor in the Middle East. No political settlement of the Middle East conflict can be reached without taking into consideration the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their legal representative the PLO. It is now clear enough to everybody in the world that the Palestinian Revolution cannot be liquidated or tamed by any force, Arab or international.

Although engaged in defending its presence in the Lebanese arena, the Palestinian Revolution did not stop its diplomatic activities on the international level. In spite of the land and sea blockade imposed on the areas controlled by the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution, it did not fail to attend all international conferences dealing with the Middle East. Furthermore, the solidarity campaigns with the Palestinian people all over the world and in Western Europe in particular increased the self-confidence of the Palestinian people and their belief in their just cause.

The coming period is a critical and important phase in the history of the Middle East. Making use of the understanding with Syria, the Palestinian Liberation Movement has to solidify its ranks and strengthen Palestinian national unity. Although the plots against the Palestinian Revolution have been defeated in this phase, the enemies of the Palestinian people might use other means and methods in the future. The Palestinian Revolution has to be prepared to face all circumstances.

Palestine

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Abu Lutf:

WE FOUGHT TO PRESERVE OUR REVOLUTION

On his return to Beirut from a tour of a number of Arab and European states, and before going on to New York to attend the UN General Assembly session, the PLO's Political Department Head Abu Lutf granted the following interview to *Palestine*:

Q: One of the most important aims of the conspiracy was to strike at the Palestinian Revolution and contain it. We now hear allegations by the Zionist enemy, the United States and the isolationist forces that the PLO has been weakened. Can we be sure that our enemies' aims have not been achieved and their claims are false?

A: Here we must refer to the aims for which we were fighting. We were not fighting for a position

in the mountain or Beirut. We do not want a state in Lebanon, we want a state in Palestine. We have never demanded more positions than we have under the Cairo Agreement. What we fought for was to preserve the Revolution's existence and strength and to persuade the enemy that it cannot impose its conditions on us, and we will continue to fight against this. We also fought for political aims represented in the fact that the present Palestinian leadership is the leadership with whom the Arab leaders sat down and endorsed its gains, and so they must recognise it. Consequently we wanted to confirm that the PLO is the Palestinian people's sole legal representative and that the Palestinians have the right to determine their future and set up

their independent state. Likewise we fought for an Arab guarantee. In all this we did not deviate from any of our principles or aims, but rather all these aims were reaffirmed.

With regard to the Zionist enemy, of course it does not want us to be in the South, especially with heavy weapons. But even this "weakening" of us was not achieved. We are in the South, and the Syrians have not crossed the "red line." But we must know the conditions of our presence in the South at this stage, so that we do not leave it as a tasty morsel for any quarter.

They were hoping the Revolution would be struck at, contained and weakened. But what is the situation in Lebanon now? The Syrian initiative has been changed into an Arab initiative through an Arab decision. With regard to the isolationist forces, they now have two options: either to go ahead with the Lebanese solution, which means a united Lebanon in which Maronite privilege is ended, or to ally themselves directly with the Zionist enemy, which would undoubtedly bring them into collision with all the Arabs.

From another angle, they were hoping the Revolution would be struck at for the sake of Kissinger's promises, but Kissinger has gone and Carter has come.

Certainly we have lost some positions in some refugee camps. And we have lost men. But there is no war without losses. However, we have confirmed our political victories, and it was to strengthen these victories, and to achieve more, that we engaged in the battle.

Q: It has been announced that the Palestinian National Council will meet soon. There are those who say we need a more flexible transitional programme, and those who say we need a more detailed transitional programme. What is the Revolution's view on this?

A: Perhaps our transitional programme needs to be more

detailed. As for flexibility or strictness, that should be in methods.

In fact our transitional aim is defined and clear, namely the establishment of a national authority on every inch of Palestinian territory liberated. According to the present balance, we may say that this currently applies to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, provided this is a step towards achieving the democratic state on the whole of Palestinian territory.

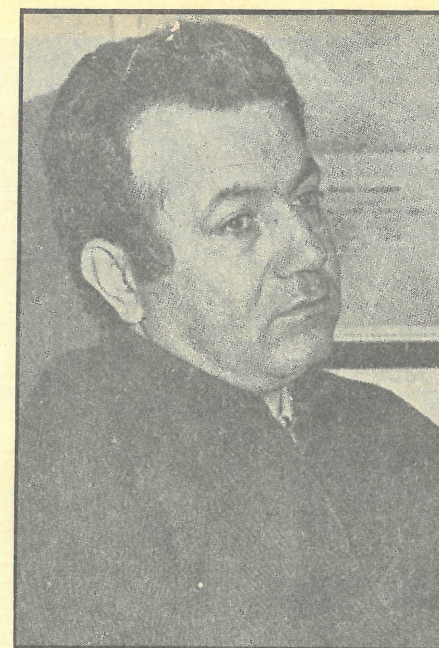
Within this balance, what are the proposals put forward? There are two proposals, the first of which envisages recognition of "Israel," and the second the right of "Israel" to exist. As far as the PLO leadership is concerned, we reject both proposals, and have the right to reject them.

Q: Following on that, what is your view of what Carter was quoted as saying, that if he were in the position of the "Israeli" leadership, he would not give up Jerusalem?

A: We cannot give up Jerusalem. The most important part of the West Bank for us is Jerusalem. In any case, we hold the Arab states here to the Algiers Summit resolutions which called for the liberation of Jerusalem and not conceding anything that affects its Arab character, the liberation of the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights as determined by the PLO.

Q: What is the difference for our region in terms of the Arab and international balance of power between 1974 and 1976?

A: If we examine this fully, we find that the balance has tipped in favour of the Zionist enemy in terms of the external and internal situation. The basic reason is that the Arab situation is a shambles as a result of the sharp differences between Arab states, the disruption of relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union and the burden on the



Soviet Union, and this has now begun to bear fruit. It is essential that there should at least be a Soviet-American equilibrium in Egypt's relations.

From another angle, we are working to reduce disagreements between Arab states, something the Revolution needs with regard to its international activity. The disagreements between Algeria and Morocco, and between Egypt and Libya, must come to an end. Likewise, the Soviet Union must be with us.

On the other hand, the bad Arab situation has improved the internal situation of Israel, and the balance has tipped in favour of the extremists. This makes us believe a battle is close, for which we must prepare ourselves.

Q: With the likelihood of the Palestinian National Council meeting soon, are there changes in the Palestinian balance after this battle?

A: The Palestinian organisations represented in the Palestinian National Council are well known. They are Fatah, Saiqa, the Popular Front, the General Command, the Democratic Front and the Arab Liberation Front, in addition to the independents. It is the National Council that subtracts or adds things, and the democratic relationships must not be impaired.

However, this pioneering democratic experiment must not depart from its commitment to the Revolution's line, and this applies equally to the organisations and the independents. Of course, we recognise the fact that Arab states have influences that cannot easily be transcended. In any case, we must affirm the unity of military action, and at the Council's next session we shall propose a debate on the question of establishing a unified Palestinian Army. As for political arguments, they are a healthy sign.

Palestinian Revolution. The fact is that we need time to rise up again.

In this respect, we have exerted great efforts to restore the essential relations between Egypt and the



Arab deterrent forces marching towards Beirut

A Settlement For The Lebanese Crisis

The decision to form an Arab military force with the task of separating the combatants and helping to restore peace in Lebanon goes back to 7 June 1976, when there was a meeting of Arab Foreign Ministers (see Palestine supplement No. 2). One of the seven resolutions adopted then by the Arab League Council was:

"To form, under the League Secretariat's supervision, symbolic Arab forces for security and the stability of Lebanon, which would replace the Syrian forces and whose mission would end at the request of the President-elect."

This decision, which could then have been a solution to the Lebanese crisis, collided with the rejection of the rightist Kfour Front. On 10 June Franjeh declared: "No to the security forces." On 11 June the Kfour Front threatened to call in an international force, and Gemayel

stated: "The sending of Arab forces would aggravate the crisis." Then in accordance with their usual tactics, which consist of never taking a definite position so as to gain time, the Lebanese isolationists on 30 June agreed to the entry of Arab security forces to Lebanon. The force was composed of 2,300 soldiers of Sudanese, Saudi, Libyan and Syrian nationality. On 7 July the isolationists shelled the headquarters of the Arab security forces stationed at Beirut International Airport with heavy artillery, and again declared opposition to their presence in Lebanon.

Thus the task assigned to these forces ended in failure. The Green Berets remained in Lebanon, but their presence was totally ineffectual. It is clear that the Kfour Front's manoeuvre was the main reason for the Green Berets' failure in their peace mission, but it

is also impossible to deny the negative aspect of the differences then existing between the positions of the Arab countries regarding the Lebanese crisis, particularly the attitude of Syria's military and political role in Lebanon.

The battle of the mountain and the heroic resistance of our combatants in Bhamdoun were a decisive turning-point in the Lebanese events, and resulted in the Arab countries revising their policy towards Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole. The six-nation conference at Riyadh on 18 October was the crystallisation of this change. This conference restored the unity of the Arab countries with regard to the Middle East crisis in general and the Lebanese crisis in particular. The Arab countries put pressure on Syria to merge its intervention in Lebanon with the joint Arab initiative aimed at restoring peace in this country.

The transformation of the Arab security forces stationed in Lebanon into a deterrent force was one of the Riyadh summit resolutions:

"Reinforcement of the Arab security forces in Lebanon in order to transform them into an operational deterrent force under the orders of President Sarkis. This force will be brought up to 30,000 men whose mission will be:

- to impose the ceasefire, the end of the fighting, the separation of all the fighting elements and the suppression of any party violating the ceasefire;

- to see to the application of the 1969 Cairo Agreement and its annexes;

- to maintain security;

- to supervise the return of the fighters to the positions they occupied before 13 April 1975 (date of outbreak of the Lebanese civil war) and the dismantling of the military installations in conformity with the timetable annexed to the agreement;

- to supervise the collection of all heavy arms: artillery, mortars, missile batteries, armoured cars, on the responsibility of the interested parties;

- to help the Lebanese authorities to reactivate the public services and national institutions, to reconstruct them and to protect civilian and military establishments."

The Arab deterrent force was to arrive in Lebanon 15 days after the beginning of the ceasefire, fixed for 21 October at 6 a.m. But meanwhile, on 21 October, an official spokesman of the Arab peacekeeping forces in Lebanon announced that, beginning from that morning, the command of these forces had set up control points on the confrontation lines in the capital and its suburbs, that permanent contact had been established with these points and that violations committed by parties which did not strictly respect the ceasefire were being recorded. The Green Berets had already taken up positions at the "observation posts" in the capital's hot spots:

Azariyeh, Khandak Al Ghamik, the French Medical Faculty, the Museum-Palace of Justice sector and finally near St. Michael's church in Shiyah.

The Kfour Front's position regarding the Arab deterrent force is highly ambiguous. The deeper reasons for this lie in the very nature of this Front, whose fascist racism is directed not only against the Palestinians but also against everything Arab, which it considers inferior, as well as the fact that in the face of Arab unity, it found itself deprived of its alliance with Syria and thus considerably weakened. It was impossible for the Kfour Front to reject the Riyadh and Cairo resolutions outright. It therefore tried by its ambiguous position to make the resolutions abortive and use them for its own interest.

Thus, commenting on the Riyadh agreement, Gemayel declared on 18 October: "Of all the Arab countries, only Syria has demonstrated objectivity and effectiveness in the Lebanese crisis. Certain Arab League member states contented themselves with

watching the country from afar being set on fire and bled by the Palestinian-Progressives while others fanned the fire by providing the aggressors with arms and ammunition."

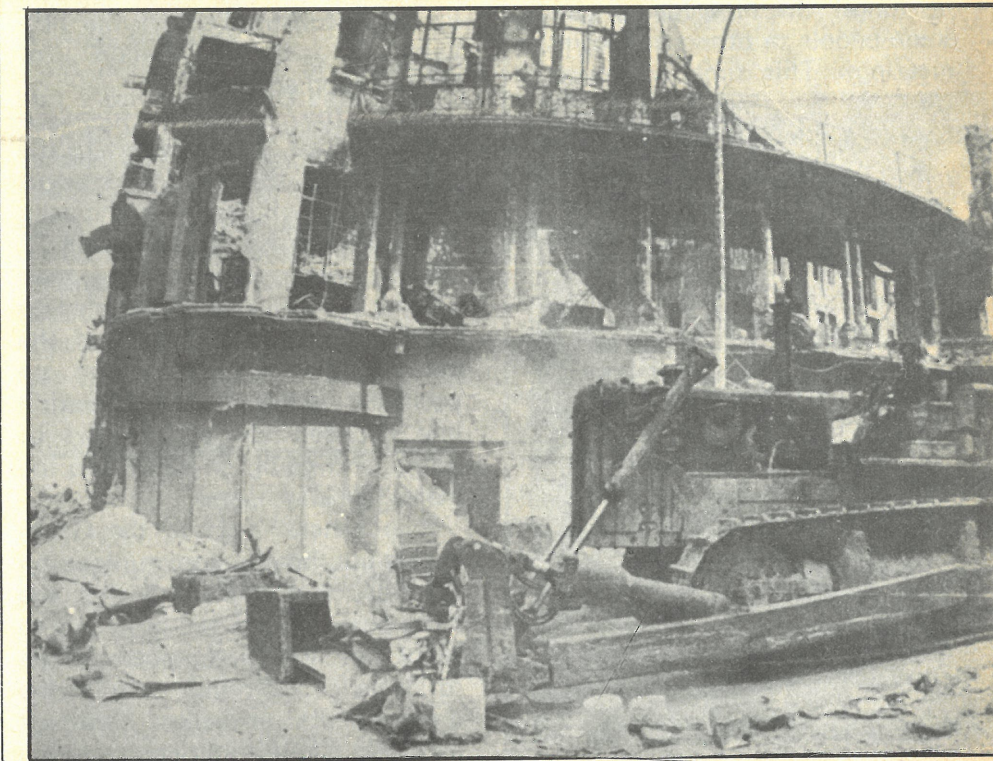
Then the same day, Gemayel claimed: "Lebanon agrees to co-operate with the Palestinian cause, but it will no longer agree to maintain relations with the present Palestinian leadership. We do not want any new recommendations similar to those of the Cairo Agreement."

Another aspect of the Kfour Front position is that Pierre Gemayel and Bashir Gemayel of the Phalangist Party made two different and contradictory assessments of the Riyadh and Cairo resolutions:

Pierre Gemayel: "The decision to form an Arab deterrent force to restore peace to Lebanon is evidence of the conviction the Arab countries have reached of the need to impose order in Lebanon."

Bashir Gemayel: "The Riyadh Agreement contains nothing new in itself. We are used to such agreements."

Chamoun, forgetting the



Dismantling barricades

massacres of Maslakh, Karantina and Tal al-Zaatar located in the areas under isolationist control, declared on 20 October: "The Green Berets are required to install themselves in buffer zones or areas where there have been battles. This is in no way the case with areas under our control. Furthermore, the task of the Green Berets is to prevent or suppress acts of aggression, and we have never been the aggressors."

Then on 29 October he adopted a firmer attitude and totally rejected the entry of the Green Berets to areas under the control of isolationist forces.

Later he moderated his previous statements, once again forgetting the massacres of Dbaya, Sibnaya and Koura: "I must stress that the presence of the deterrent force in the eastern sector is not necessary given the fact that there is no justification for it."

Replying indirectly to this position of the Kfour Front, Arab League envoy to Lebanon Hassan Sabri Al Kholi said on 5 November: "The Green Berets will intervene in the whole country, the Green Berets will be a combat force. It is no longer the time for convincing some people or others or organising meetings. This time we must be very strict."

Meanwhile President Sarkis to whom the Cairo summit had entrusted the command as well as, with League Secretary-General Mahmoud Riad, the task of deciding the composition and nationalities of the deterrent forces, was working on preparing a plan of action for the Green Berets, the first part of which would be the withdrawal of the combatants and the reopening of international highways. (Apart from the Palestine Liberation Organization, seven other Arab countries agreed to take part in the Arab security forces: North Yemen, South Yemen, the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Syria.) President Sarkis entrusted the command of the Green Berets to the Lebanese Colonel Al Haj.

On 10 November 1976, the first phase of the plan drawn up by Lebanon's President Elias Sarkis for the operations of the Arab deterrent force was successfully carried out.

Within a few hours, on the morning of 10 November, two Syrian brigades incorporated into the Arab deterrent force in Lebanon came down from the heights overlooking Beirut, crossing the front lines traced by 19 months of war and reaching the coast without opposition. The operation, postponed for a long time and carefully prepared, was carried out as a rapid strike. At the same time, tanks moved towards the coast along each axis of penetration, from the Aley and Upper Matn regions.

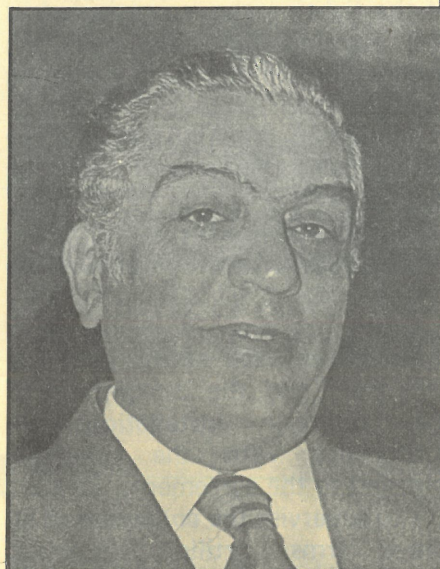
The psychological effect was likewise foreseen; as they drove past, the Green Berets distributed leaflets to the population, an "appeal to Lebanese Arab brothers," and strips of green, pink and white paper bearing the sentences: "Co-operate with the Arab deterrent force," "Rally to the new legitimacy and support its positions" or "You are taking part in the reconstruction of the new Lebanon, the Lebanon of brotherhood and love."

With the deterrent force in control of all the entrances to the capital and the Beirut-Damascus international highway technically open, the Green Berets spent 11 November consolidating their positions. Then they proceeded to carry out the second part of the plan which involved taking up positions along the demarcation line between the two sectors of Beirut and going on to reopen the major highway routes.

The general staff of the Green Berets published a communique on 10 November indicating that the Arab peace force had been able to carry out the first phase of its mission according to the arrangements envisaged "without incidents and without encountering obstacles." The communique paid tribute to the efforts for full

co-operation exerted by the various factions concerned.

The Arab deterrent force's mission appears so far to have been carried out without clashes. But its actual success now depends on the position the Kfour Front will adopt with regard to the presence of the Green Berets in East Beirut, as well as on the developments in the Arab position.



Lebanese President Sarkis

Lebanese President Elias Sarkis, in an address on 7 November, 1976, described the role of the Arab Security Forces in Lebanon:

"People of Lebanon:

"In this, my first address to you since I took office, I would like to speak to you from my position of responsibility in the language of reason and love on an issue of vital bearing on the nation's destiny at this stage in its history. You are fully entitled to know the meaning and implications of the decisions adopted by Arab Heads of State to help Lebanon and rescue it from its plight.

"You certainly do not expect empty assurances from me, and I am not used to empty talk. Consequently, I assure you that my experience at the Riyadh and Cairo summits confirmed our expectations of sincere Arab willingness to help Lebanon, and of a strong determination to spare no effort in helping to end the

fighting in Lebanon.

"The Arab Kings and Presidents decided to set up an Arab Security Force, under our command, to replace, temporarily, our army and security forces, until we have been able to rebuild our own army and security forces.

"Some pledged soldiers and equipment; others pledged to provide the funds needed for the expense of such a force, while yet others pledged to provide both soldiers and funds.

"The function of the Arab force is to end the fighting. It will also supervise the observance of agreements and the enforcement of law and order in all parts of Lebanon, to be helped in its security efforts, eventually, by the security forces that we gradually build up.

"In accordance with the summit decision, the final word on the acceptance, retention or withdrawal of this force is ours, in keeping with the wishes of the Arab Heads of State to place these forces at our disposal and under our command.

A historic decision

"People of Lebanon:

"The entry of Arab forces into Lebanon is a historic decision. I want you to realize that this is taking place in order to safeguard the sovereignty of Lebanon, for which Arab leaders expressed their support and of which they are the guarantors, even as they are of the unity, complete and unimpaired, of Lebanon's territory and people.

"I appeal to everyone to show all brotherhood and love to these forces and to comprehend with me, in my constitutional capacity as the guardian of Lebanese sovereignty and independence, the clear-cut, well-defined and noble purpose behind the sending of these forces.

"People of Lebanon:

"Our future is in our hands. In the final analysis, our security is purely our concern. The Arab forces are here on our territory by our free choice in order to help us to overcome this

difficult stage, which we hope will be short, indeed, very short, especially if we cooperate to make it so by our understanding, love, wisdom and sincerity to the homeland.

"I am confident that we will regard the presence of the brotherly Arab forces in our country with the same spirit that will pervade relations between the Lebanese. I am also confident that you will cooperate with this force in order to realize the end for which it was set up. This end is to establish peace and to help us, wherever and whenever we ask, to maintain law and order so that Lebanon's sovereignty can be safeguarded and so that agreements between Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organization can be implemented in a way that neither infringes on Lebanon's sovereignty nor interferes with efforts of the Organization to realize its legitimate national aspirations.

"People of Lebanon:

"Both the security and reconstruction resolutions of the Riyadh and Cairo summits were adopted primarily for Lebanon, and also for the sake of the Palestine cause and for the cause of Arab solidarity.

"It is for the sake of Lebanon that I call on you to enable us to succeed in both missions, succeed in both missions, so that Lebanon might surge ahead as it should in a manner that will confirm that the trust shown towards it, as well as the undoubtedly sincere brotherly Arab affection, were well-placed.

"Long Live Lebanon."

Abou Arz, chief of the "Guradians of the Cedar" organization which, according to its own declaration (see Palestine no. 7), is leading a "war of extermination against the Palestinians" and whose slogan is "every true Lebanese must kill a Palestinian", at a press conference on 9 October 1976 in Sabryeh, vowed "to take refuge in some part in the mountains with his fighter comrades," as a sign of protest against "the new foreign occupation."

Abou Arz claimed his organization is willing "to pursue, politically, and militarily, the struggle for a Lebanon sound and cleaned of all foreigners implanted on its soil."

Commenting on the intervention of the Arab deterrent force, Abou Arz protested against "the occupation of the liberated zones" and "came out against the replacement of the Palestinian occupation by another, an Arab occupation

He also denounced the pan-Arab movement as a "fanatic phenomenon" and as "a factor of under-development." He finally reaffirmed that the struggle is to be pursued "against the Palestinians and imported ideologies."



Abou Arz

OCCUPIED PALESTINE



Israeli troops enforcing curfew

Notes on Israeli Discrimination And Koenig Report

When the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution denouncing Zionism as "a form of racism" on 10 November 1975, a general outcry was raised in Western Europe and the United States against this resolution. It needed the outbreak of the demonstrations and strikes which have been going on since last March and the ferocity of Zionist repression for Western opinion to begin to wonder about the fate of the Arabs in occupied Palestine.

The following document, whose importance has been emphasized by the international press, in itself constitutes devastating evidence on the racist character of the Zionist entity. It also reveals the true nature of this entity, which claims to be democratic and is striving to present itself as such abroad, while its very foundations are based on discriminatory measures.

(The notes are by Israel Shahak, and are taken from supplement no. 62 of the Franco-Palestine bulletin.)

General Introduction

1- The departments responsible for the Arab population, until a very short while ago, were dominated by views which maintained that the acceptance by this portion of the population of the State of Israel's existence was complete, and that the majority of them were going through an advanced phase of agreement with the State and integration into its various institutions. At least, so it was made to appear by the officials concerned and those close to Arab circles in Israel.

2- Recently several incidents have occurred to undermine these hypotheses and call into question

the loyalty of a large part of the Arab inhabitants towards the State, and their very existence.

It is true that some doubts had already been formulated, several years ago and for reasons revealed below, with regard to this analysis of the situation and the way to treat the Arabs. But these opinions, being in contradiction to those of the "Arabists," (1) were not adopted.

It seems clear to us today that there is room for serious discussion of the axioms which until very recently were still accepted as basic facts.

3- After the establishment of the State, the remnant of the Arab inhabitants who stayed found themselves without leadership. A minority was formed which found itself compelled to adapt itself to the reality of the Jewish State -- which was then in a state of war, and victorious war at that, with

neighbouring countries.

As for the military government, which took charge of these inhabitants, it founded its domination on the "notables" and through them penetrated the structure of Arab society, based on family clans. The abolition of the military government had the effect of weakening the authority of these notables and those they represented. The steady weakening of the individual's dependence on the institution enabled the younger generation to gain a feeling of its power, in the framework of a democratic society (sic) and in a period of transformation through which Arab society was passing, from an agricultural pattern to that of an industrial society, with all the consequences this implies socially.

In addition, the "revolt" of the younger generation often compelled older people to join the rebellious camp, and the State became the target of their attacks, since nothing had been prepared to provide adequately for linking them with Jewish society. It must also be said that we ourselves encouraged this tendency by our efforts to win over the rebels to our sides by various methods.

In the course of the 1950s, Arab society was totally dependent on the Jewish economy, which had to open itself wide to the Arabs because of the shortage of Jewish manual labourers. The result was the creation of an economically solid stratum of the population, on which to a certain extent the economy and functioning of the country now depends.

4- With the abolition of the military government, the State handed over the administration of the Arab population to Arabic-speaking officials and chose as its leaders people who were often brutal and who supported their positions by their ability to secure favours for themselves and those close to them. In doing this, we neglected to deal with social problems arising in the Arab sector or to draw up a long-term plan capable of making the Arabs loyal

citizens.

The criterion adopted for choosing those who had to deal with Arab affairs at all levels -- political, military, police and civil -- was always based on their affinity with the Arab mentality. They were not always distinguished by their efficiency and their intelligence -- which were often inferior to those of the people of whom they were in charge -- and did not know how to preserve that independence of mind that allowed for them on the one hand to analyse the disturbing symptoms correctly, and on the other hand to resolve the problems in an objective way in the long-term interests of the Jewish nation. (2)

5- The situation of the northern region, where the majority of Israel's Arabs live, its geographical position and the circumstances of interaction of the two populations there, clearly demonstrate the problems that have arisen recently, and what may result from them over the short and long term. One of the most disturbing phenomena is the lack of tolerance shown by the middle-class Jew towards the Arab citizen: in certain cases this can amount to a real hatred, which some provocation could at any moment cause to erupt in an uncontrollable explosion by the two sides, with all the undesirable consequences this involves in the country itself and abroad (note the decision by the Arab Students' Organisation to refuse guard duty in the University, after the Arab students had obtained the right to pay to avoid doing it).

A determining factor in crystallising this impassioned state of mind in the Jewish population was the disturbance, in the northern regions, of the demographic balance in favour of the Arabs -- which every Jew resents individually, with a sort of anguish.

We propose here to deal with the following subjects:

- (1) The demographic problem, and manifestations of Arab nationalism.
- (2) The Arab leadership and its

implications.

(3) The economy and employment.

(4) Education.

(5) Law enforcement.

1. The Demographic Problem and Manifestations of Arab Nationalism

1- The natural population increase of the Arabs in Israel amounts to 5.9 per cent per annum, compared with 1.5 per cent for Jews.

This problem is particularly severe in the northern region, which contains a large number of Arab inhabitants. The number of these inhabitants in the northern region in the middle of 1975 amounted to about 250,000 whereas the number of Jews was about 289,000. If we break this down according to districts, we find that in Western Galilee the proportion of Arabs in the population is about 67 per cent, and in the Jezreel valley 48 per cent. In the year 1974, the number of Jewish inhabitants in these areas increased by 759 and the Arab inhabitants by 9,035.

According to this rate of increase, the proportion of Arab inhabitants in this region will be more than 51 per cent in 1978.

It is the feeling of nationalists -- and this is also my assessment with regard to the Arab inhabitants -- that their increase in Galilee contains a danger that threatens our very control over the area and opens the way to the entry of military forces from the north, and this influences the rise of national feeling among the Arabs of Israel.

2- This wave of nationalism in the Israeli Arab population dates from the Six Day War. The policy of contact with the West Bank and the opening of the bridges with Jordan favoured encounters between the Arabs of Judea and Samaria, the Palestinians of Transjordan and the Arabs of Israel, which stirred them into raising their heads again and rallying round nationalist slogans directed against Israel. (3) This

process, which was inevitable, was further reinforced by the result of the Yom Kippur War and the events which followed and were expressed in the recognition of the PLO as the bearer of the standard of struggle regarding the Palestinian problem. Recently, there has even been mention of the UN resolution of 1947, concerning Israel's frontiers, according to which a large part of the northern region was not included in the boundaries of the state.

The Israeli Arab is no longer passive. He has gone over to a phase of nationalism which is expressed, in particular verbally, on occasions like:

- During the Prime Minister's visit to Nazareth a year ago.

- The attitude of Arab students in the universities on the question of guard duty.

- The adoption of slogans in support of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in demonstrations and on other occasions.

- The expression of nationalist feeling in the Nazareth municipal elections held on 9/12/1975.

- The unusual and unexpected voluntary help of the inhabitants of Nazareth to the Nazareth municipality by repaying overdue loans to the municipal treasury, which helps the Rakah party to manage the city's affairs.

- A popular protest meeting in Sakhnin village on 14/2/1975. The Mayor of Tamra declared at this meeting that Israel should fear the Arabs of Israel more than it feared the Arabs outside its borders.

- The resolutions adopted at a meeting held in Nazareth on Saturday 6/3/1975:

- (a) The declaration of a general strike by the whole Arab population of Israel on the day called the "Day of the Land."

- (b) An appeal to the Arab population not to be content with a passive protest but to "protest by fighting, and not to stop this fight until victory is achieved."

- (c) A hunger strike in front of the United Nations headquarters, as some people are doing with regard

to the Jews of the USSR.

- (d) A declaration according to which "the Government is in a glass house, and we will be the first to throw stones to break it."

- (e) A declaration by the Mayor of Melliya, Massad Qasim, who is considered a positive element (4) and was elected a Deputy on a list attached to Ma'arak: "What right can the Government claim to confiscate land in an area which, according to the 1947 UN partition plan, was not part of Israeli territory?"

These are the signs of a relatively recent development which reflect the desire of an important part of the Arab population to demonstrate against the establishment of Israeli rule, even if only verbally, and which indicate something that is certainly serious when compared to their past behaviour.

The Palestinians' international victories and the progress of Arab nationalism in Israel itself underline the need to take firm action on the Arab problem, which will continue to worsen as long as Rakah is the only party to channel opposition to the establishment. (It should be recalled that the word "Israel" does not appear in Rakah's party name and this is no accident). (5)

Expectations:

- (a) The rapid growth of the Arab population (which rose from 150,000 in 1948 to 430,000 in 1975) strengthens this nationalism and gives the Arabs the impression that time is on their side. This is particularly the case in the north of the country, where they have a large physical presence over wide and contiguous areas.

- (b) The Rakah party's control of "quasi-governmental" institutions like local councils gives a legal basis to nationalist political activities, conducted secretly and openly, through methods that were followed by the Jewish settlers before the creation of the state, or Communist methods common throughout the world. In fact, although Rakah as of now is in a position to control a certain number of local councils, it

is deliberately avoiding showing its strength, for lack of adequate cadres and organisation. In our opinion, the students from the villages in the north who, in increasing numbers, are going to study in Eastern European countries on Rakah grants, are intended to become these cadres in future.

- (c) There is a serious danger that during the next decade an Arab takeover operation, in demographic and political terms, will be carried out in Acre and the Nazareth area.

- (d) It must be taken into account that, in one of the phases of political action hostile to the state, there may be a demand for a plebiscite in the north of the country where the Arabs constitute a majority of the population. This action will be directed from abroad, but it could be backed up by left-wing nationalists even among the Jewish population itself.

- (e) One can also expect that at a certain stage, Rakah or nationalists may carry out provocative actions with the aim of causing an outburst on the part of undisciplined Jewish elements and thus creating a situation that would raise the question of the Arabs' position in Israel in international forums and compel moderate Arab elements to identify themselves with extremists inside and outside the state.

- (f) Organised operations for the purchase by Arabs of real estate in the northern areas have begun to become apparent. This is particularly noticeable in Upper Nazareth and Acre and there are disturbing signs in the Jezreel valley. (6)

Proposals:

- (a) Jewish colonisation must be expanded and intensified in all areas where the Arab population is continuously settled, and all possibilities of reducing the number of inhabitants in existing Arab concentrations should be studied. Particular attention must be devoted to the border areas in the north-west and the Nazareth area. Parallel to this, it is important to

apply laws which can prevent the establishment of Arab settlements in various parts of the country with utmost strictness.

- (b) At the same time, attention must be given to creating a Jewish leadership in Upper Nazareth and Acre capable of confronting the disturbing developments we can foresee.

- (c) A policy of reward and punishment (within the law) should be followed with regard to Arab leaders and areas that in any way show hostility to the State and to Zionism.

- (d) In order to deprive Rakah of the monopoly of national struggle and representing the Arabs of Israel, and to give the hesitant a means of expression, a party must be created that is a reflection of the Labour party, in which the concentration will be on the principles of equality, humanism, culture, language and peace in the Middle East. Israeli institutions (7) must prepare themselves to have a covert presence in this party and control it.

- (e) Continuous and absolute co-ordination must be established and maintained between the various ministries, the Histadrut and the local authorities, particularly on the level of implementation in the field, and decisions taken must be implemented in a ruthless manner.

- (f) Every possible effort should be exerted to arrive at national agreement between all the Zionist parties on the subject of Israel's Arabs, in order to avoid internal political conflicts on this subject.

2. The Arab Leadership and Its Implications

- 1- The Arab population who remained in the country after the creation of the State found themselves in a democratic, open Jewish society, but did not integrate into it from the point of view of the way of thinking, customs and openness to the outside world. Those Jews assigned

the task of dealing with this population with the aim of making it loyal to Jewish society (8) failed in their task. On the contrary, everything seems to indicate that this population was kept in an isolated and marginal situation while seeking its attention and goodwill in a "selective" manner.

At the same time, however, statements were heard day in and day out about equality and integration: a language which was contradicted by the actions. Such a policy did not take into account the Levantine, superficial Arab character that does not go deeply into matters and in which imagination plays a more important part than reason.

This ambiguous and contradictory policy found its most acute expression in the way representatives and leaders of this population were nominated. To this day no positive Arab personality has attained a position higher than the local level.

Arab society in Israel, which is going through the travail of transformation from an agricultural society on a generations-old basis into an industrial society, and of the destruction of family, religious and social frameworks, is also suffering from difficulties on a national scale.

This uncertainty is serious and confronts every individual with decisions that may be of vital import. A society in such a transition needs leaders capable of being a personal example and able to answer those who ask them questions and lead them towards reasonable solutions on the public and personal levels.

So far, as we have stated, these have not been the criteria used for choosing leaders, and it is often the most brutal, indiscreet and sometimes dishonest people who are entrusted with the task of representing Israel's Arabs.

- 2- The second generation brought up in Israeli society, who try albeit only superficially to acquire Israeli ways of life, cannot accept these leaders. It was possible

to note signs of this attitude 10 years ago, and the officials concerned then had a duty to bring forward personalities acceptable to the younger generation, and also loyal to the State. Whether this shortcoming resulted from lack of ability or was deliberate its results could be disastrous. The disgust aroused by people chosen as "leaders" is one of the main factors in the deterioration we observe (note the Nazareth elections).

Expectations:

- (a) The struggle between those in various positions of authority and the rebellious generation will escalate, and the former will try to cling to the establishment, the Histadrut and the parties.

- (b) The result will be that the struggle for power and position will turn into a struggle against the regime and the State, with the majority of Arabs increasingly lining up with the rebel camp.

- (c) Hostile elements will exploit this internal crisis to the full; they will rely on it to conduct their struggle, and repercussions will be seen in various forums, in Israel and abroad, where it will be presented as a social and national struggle.

- (d) In our view, if the deterioration continues at the present pace, Rakah could win ten seats in the next Knesset elections.

Proposals:

- (a) Bold steps must be taken whereby most of those now assigned to Arab affairs in the State apparatus, the police and the parties, including those at policymaking level, are replaced.

- (b) We must get rid of the present Arab "leaders" who do not really represent the Arab population, and stress that the establishment is not identified with them.

- (c) Those in charge of Arab questions should immediately get down to the task of finding new personalities of acceptable intellectual standards, who are

honest and enjoy qualities of leadership. They must help them to set the abovementioned Arab party in motion.

(d) A special team should be appointed (from the general intelligence service) with the task of investigating the personal conduct of Rakah leaders and other negative characters and making the results of these investigations known to their electoral public.

(e) Individual measures should be taken against every negative character in all institutions and at all levels.

3 The Economy and Employment

1- The Arab population has not been left out of the scope of development and growing prosperity which the Israeli population has enjoyed since the creation of the State. The improvement of the situation for the Arabs is even more noticeable since it was generally the poorest who remained in Israeli territory after the 1948-49 hostilities. The gap between supply and demand for labour in all branches of the economy -- particularly construction, garages and all manual jobs in general, and the dependence of many branches of the economy on this labour, gave Israel's Arabs a sense of power, which was exploited by quarters hostile to the regime.

2- The mutual aid which unites the different members of a family and the little interest shown by Arabs in productive investment once they have attained a middle-class standard of living, are factors that have contributed to a considerable accumulation of surplus cash funds in their hands, which is generally concealed from the tax authorities.

It must be stressed that, while the Arab population in Israel constitutes 14 per cent of the total, and is not affected by the interruption of a job resulting from

three years' military service, the total tax it pays is only 1.5 per cent of all tax collected in Israel. (9)

The composition of this population by age groups is also important: more than half of it is composed of young people of working age. In addition to this there are government grants to families with more than two children, as is the case with 95 per cent of Arab families in Israel.

3- Another cause for concern exists in the northern region, due to the large concentration of Arab population there: the factories built with the help of enormous State investment, with the aim of increasing the number of Jewish inhabitants, in fact employ a proportion of 25-50 per cent of Arab workers.

The various economic and social safeguards, which free the individual and the family from worry about a livelihood and daily cares, provide the Arabs with leisure to think of "social-nationalist" matters, which hostile elements exploit for agitation, and give them a sense of power which increases their propensities for revolt.

Expectations:

(a) The concentration of capital -- generally "black" (on which tax was evaded) -- held by the Arabs, which can be estimated at several hundred million Israeli pounds, damages the whole economy, but it can also be a reserve for donations which could one day be collected by hostile organisations (we have already noted how the inhabitants of Nazareth mobilised themselves to help the new municipality).

(b) The growing proportion of Arab workers in factories could increase tension between Jews and Arabs, which would develop into violent and uncontrollable clashes. In addition there is the possibility of Rakah controlling workers' committees.

(c) Concentration on controlling certain sectors enables the Arabs to

strike or not cooperate, leading to serious economic and political danger to the State.

(d) One may expect increasing difficulties in recruiting Jewish labour, particularly in the north where there is special concern to increase the Jewish population in all social categories.

Proposals:

(a) Appropriate agreements must be drawn up with the management of factories subject to the "capital investment law" in the sensitive areas, whereby the number of Arab workers in them should not exceed 20 per cent.

(b) The tax authorities should take energetic and immediate measures to strengthen their means of assessing and collecting taxes, without any exceptions.

(c) A settlement must be reached with the main marketing agents for different products, to neutralise Arab distributors (particularly in the north), and make this activity more difficult for them to engage in, to prevent the Jewish inhabitants from depending on them, particularly in times of tension and emergency.

(d) The Government must find a way to reduce the amount of family grants to large Arab families, either by linking the grant to their particular economic situation or by removing the distribution of these funds from the national insurance services and giving it to the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organisation, which would devote them exclusively to Jewish families.

(e) We must work to ensure that the central institutions always give preference to Jews over Arabs, whether organised groups or individuals.

4. Education

1- The most important and decisive changes in the Arabs' mentality and behaviour results from the extension of the educational system to these inhabitants.

The improvement in their economic situation and the social guarantees given to individuals and families have in fact furthered an increase in the number of Arab students in secondary schools and higher institutes of learning. This process also encouraged the application of the system of gradual payment of study fees (up to 66 per cent) in secondary schools. The policy of financial help and giving study grants to university students has resulted in putting young people, albeit superficially and provincially educated, at the disposal of nationalist movements as activist elements. We had proof of this in the recent events in the universities. Those responsible for this sector should have expected these eventualities. From now on there must be vigorous coordination of action between the different institutions, and the measures to take towards candidates for the various degrees should be considered.

2- Laying down preferential criteria for accepting Arab students in higher institutes of learning (10), and the subjects to which they are most often guided (humanities and political and social sciences), as well as a lack of provision for the difficulties for most of them in finding employment, led to the existence of a large group of discontented intellectuals with a deep psychological need to express themselves, who do so by opposing the State and the Israeli establishment.

This problem is all the more serious since the number of university graduates exceeds 5,700 and more than 2,500 Arab students are now in higher institutes of learning.

Expectations:

(a) The difficulty of admitting professional inferiority will increase this feeling of discontent, and at the same time the number of Arab students will increase at an even faster pace.

(b) Taking into account the

Levantine character of the Arabs and the social dynamism we have described, one may expect this society to turn from looking inwards to expressing itself outwardly, and later to violence. The first signs of this development are already visible.

(c) We shall then see the banner of social and national struggle raised, with the declaration of identification with the PLO and even more extreme organisations.

(d) Some of these elements, brought up in the most developed local society and possessing qualities of leadership, have every chance of asserting themselves.

(e) We must not ignore the great difficulties the State will face with them at critical times, in view of their personal standing.

Proposals:

(a) The same criteria should be adopted for Jews and Arabs, both for admission to secondary schools and universities, and for the giving of educational grants. (11) The application of these standards in itself will constitute a form of natural selection which will noticeably reduce the number of Arab students. Thus the number of low-standard graduates will drop, facilitating their absorption in employment after completion of their studies.

(b) Students must be encouraged to go into technical subjects and the exact and natural sciences. This form of studies will leave them less leisure for occupying themselves with nationalism, and a large number will abandon their studies before completion. (12)

(c) Students must be encouraged to travel abroad for study and obstacles placed in the way of their return and obtaining work in Israel. Such a policy would encourage their emigration.

(d) Strict measures -- of all sorts -- must be taken against all agitators in universities.

(e) Outlets should be prepared for the majority of those leaving school, according to their

qualifications. We should begin thinking of this, in view of the many years needed to work out this policy and apply it in its different stages.

5. Law Enforcement

1- In general, law enforcement is aimed at making the public interest prevail over that of individuals. In the subject under study, the concern for the country's internal security and all this involves constitutes the Jews' major national interest.

The enforcement of state laws in a society under construction as is the case in Israel is a problem whose solution requires a good deal of flexibility, caution and commonsense, but apart from that the executive authority operating in the Arab sector must emphasize compliance with the law and its enforcement and prevent deterioration.

We stated above how contradictory methods were followed towards these Arab inhabitants. These inhabitants have come to be aware, on the basis of facts, that it is possible to break the law through the establishment of appropriate relations with highly placed people. These customs, with the harm they cause to the public interest generally, show weak links in the Government in the eyes of Israel's Arabs, which makes them expect more concessions if they apply more pressure (there are many examples of this).

2- It is difficult to find an acceptable explanation for the low percentage of taxes of all categories collected from the Arab population. The same situation can be found in the construction sector where the lack of enforcement of the law can lead to a grave threat to security in large areas in the north and centre of the country.

We must learn from the experiences of other countries with national minorities that uncontrolled liberalism does not

lead to the desired results, but rather the reverse. This rule applies in particular to a population like the Arab minority in Israel.

Expectations:

(a) In a society based on law, open disrespect for the law by the authorities results in a "dynamism" towards law-breaking that is later very difficult to dispel.

(b) We must guard against the likelihood that in future many Jews, for different motives, may support the law-breaking population, and denounce efforts to reapply the law as "oppression."

(c) We must be aware of the fact that the percentage of the Arab population (14 percent) could transform the scope of simple violations into an actual rebellion.

(d) Elements hostile to us will not fail to portray law enforcement as acts of national oppression.

Proposals:

(a) It must be clearly explained to those responsible for administering the Arab sector that they must not condone violations of the law.

(b) Legal measures must be taken

against civil servants and institutions which do not do their duty in enforcing laws.

(c) Writs must be served and a number of sentences carried out by the courts particularly in questions of tax collection and illegal construction to deter the Arab inhabitants from thinking they can evade the law.

(d) The presence of police and security forces of all sorts in the Arab sector must be reinforced to intimidate extremists and hesitant people who may be drawn into rebellious acts and demonstrations.

Israel Koenig
Governor, Northern Region, Israel.

NOTES

(1) *This term in Israel does not essentially mean university graduates who are specialists on the Arab World, but people who are entrusted by the authorities -- notably the secret police -- with administering the Arab population, and who claim because of this to understand what they call the "Arab mentality."*

(2) *Non-Jewish citizens -- officially -- have neither rights nor*

interests that are not linked to those of the Jewish "masters."

(3) *As they would say in Alabama or Mississippi: "Our niggers have become arrogant since they had contact with the oppressed Blacks in the North of the USA."*

(4) *This term "positive element" (or "negative") crops up frequently and signifies that the people in question are -- or are not -- inclined to collaborate with the Israeli intelligence services as informers or agents provocateurs.*

(5) *The word "Israel" also does not appear in the name of Mr. Koenig's party, the National Religious Party (NRP). The word Rakah is an abbreviation for "New Communist List."*

(6) *Palestinians who had no accommodation in Nazareth in fact "illegally" occupied empty apartments in the area reserved for Jews where Koenig has his office and lives himself.*

(7) *The word used in Hebrew also covers the secret police and intelligence services.*

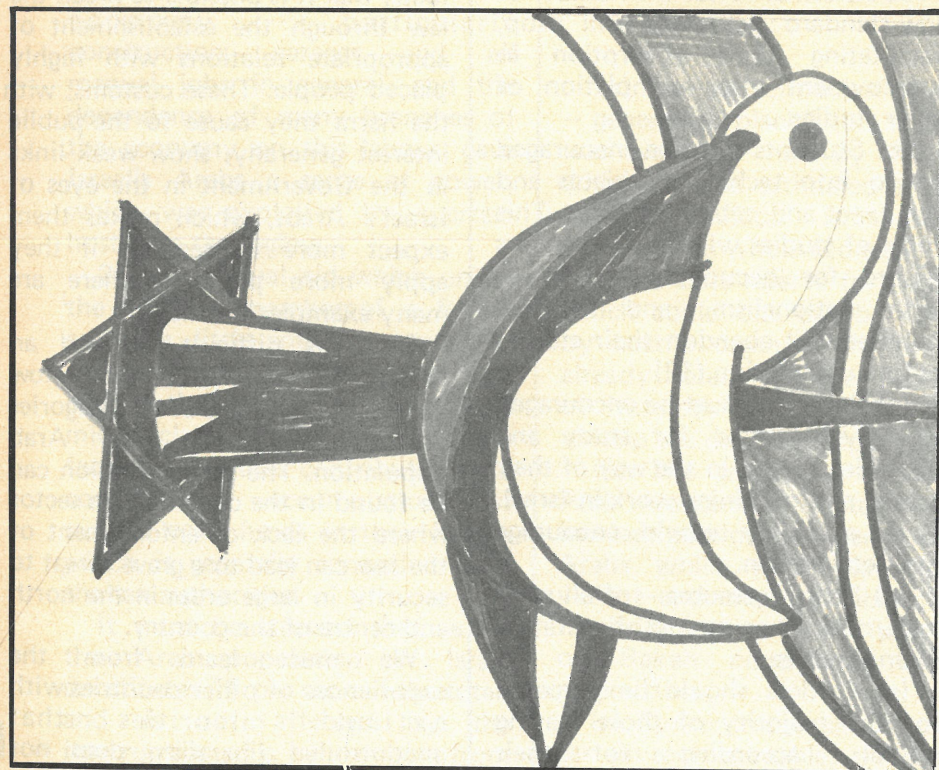
(8) *Once again, it is a question of "loyalty towards "Jewish society" and not the State, let alone universal values! This is a typically racist concept.*

(9) *It must be recalled that most Arabs are wage earners whose income tax is deducted at source. In addition, a large proportion of the Arab population is made up of minors, and children, so far, do not pay tax in Israel. Finally, the Arabs represent the poorest sector of wage earners, and for this reason normally pay less tax.*

(10) *A false allegation, as I can bear witness as a university professor.*

(11) *In fact, the Arabs receive an infinitesimal portion of funds allocated to education, which are distributed under the strict control of the Israeli establishment.*

(12) *As a professor of chemistry in classes where there are several Arab students, I can affirm that the racist Koenig, like other racists, is completely mistaken on this point.*



ENEMY NEWS

ISRAELI ARMS SHIPMENTS TO ISOLATIONISTS CONTINUE

Beirut, 2/11/76, (A.F.P.)

According to reports from South Lebanon, massive shipments of weapons and ammunition continue to pour into the isolationist-controlled border villages from Israel. 24 Israeli vehicles were also reported to have been stationed on the hills overlooking the village of Qleia, four of which were seen patrolling near the town of Marjeyoun, where they set up a check-point in search of weapons and patriotic elements.

Observers feel that these reinforcements are being pushed into the rightist-held areas in order to speed up fresh rightist offensives against southern villages in continuation of the Zionist policy of creating a security belt along the border before the implementation of the Cairo and Riyadh Summit resolutions.

RABIN: LEBANESE WAR NOT FINISHED YET

Tel Aviv, 5/11/76 (ISRAELI RADIO)

Yitzhaq Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, has said that the possibility of new military developments occurring in Lebanon is not to be excluded. Rabin, who was speaking at a meeting of the Labour party in Safad on 4/11/76, was quoted as saying that the war is not over yet, but is taking a political form. He continued arrogantly: "The red line is very well known to whoever tries to cross it."

Meanwhile, in a radio interview, Rabin said he believes the Carter Administration will follow the same policy as Ford's vis-a-vis Israel. He reiterated that he expects a new style but no new targets for Middle East diplomacy at the White House.

BLACK PANTHERS DEMONSTRATE IN TEL AVIV

Jerusalem, 4/11/76, (Agencies.)

The Black Panther movement on 3-11-76 staged a huge demonstration in the central bus station in the heart of Tel-Aviv in protest against the Israeli government's policy of raising food prices. The demonstrators urged Zionist policemen to join them in their protest. According to reports from Tel Aviv, Frontier Guards dispersed the demonstrators by force and arrested four members of the organization including Shalom Cohen, leader of the Black Panthers.

It is worth noting here that the Zionist Government has recently raised the prices of most consumer products and transportation fees by 20 percent as a result of the deteriorating economic conditions in Israel.

ZIONIST MEDIA WELCOMES CARTER'S VICTORY

Jerusalem, 4/11/76 (ISRAELI RADIO)

The election of Jimmy Carter to the Presidency of the USA was welcomed by official sources in Israel. Those sources claimed to be optimistic with regards to the continuation of American support for Israel.

The Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said on 3/11/76 in a conversation with Radio Israel, that he is totally convinced that Carter will continue the traditional U.S. policy of support for Israel. Rabin pointed out to the statements made by Carter during his election campaign, in which he promised to guarantee the existence and security of Israel. On the other hand, Rabin claimed to be feeling sorry for Kissinger's expected departure from American politics.

Finally, he said that the time would come when everybody will really miss Kissinger.

ISRAELI DELEGATION EXPECTS DIFFICULTIES AT UNESCO CONFERENCE

Nairobi, 2/11/76 (REUTER)

Shlomo Avineri, Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry and a member of the Israeli delegation to the UNESCO Conference on 2/11/76, declared that he is expecting difficulties at the conference, which is being held in Nairobi, due to Arab pressures to take more decisions against Israel. We also pointed to the measures preventing Israel from joining the European group of UNESCO, which were taken at the General Conference held in 1974.

Israel has again asked to join the European group, and is waiting for the current General Conference to agree to its participation. It is worth noting that the Zionist desecration of Holy places in Jerusalem and Hebron is one of the reasons which has kept Israel out of the European group of UNESCO.

45 MORE COLONIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

The French newspaper "Le Monde" reported on 29-10-76 that the Jewish Agency has prepared a plan for the establishment of new colonies in the occupied Arab territories. The project calls for the establishment of 45 colonies between 1977 and 1978, 27 of which will be established in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967.

Those 27 colonies will be distributed as follows: 13 in the Rafah region between Gaza and al Arish, 8 in the occupied West Bank, and 6 in the Golan Heights.

This plan will be discussed during

ENEMY NEWS

the Zionist General Conference which will be convened in Jerusalem in January, 1977. If the conference approves the project, then its financing will be guaranteed by the participants.

RAKAH ATTACKS ISRAELI POLICY IN LEBANON; CONDEMNS "KOENIG" REPORT

Jerusalem, 8/11/76,

During a session of the Israeli Knesset on 7-11-76 to vote on a Likud bloc motion of no-confidence in the Rabin Government, the Rakah Party bitterly criticized Israeli intervention in Lebanon, and the racist Koenig report. The Rakah members described the Likud proposals as being "worse than the policy of Rabin's Cabinet."

Deputy Meir Vilner, Rakah Secretary-General, was quoted as saying at the meeting: "We have no confidence in the government, particularly because of its intervention in Lebanon, and its attempts to set South Lebanon ablaze and disrupt the implementation of a cease-fire." He added: "Such attempts are a mere adventure which drown not only Lebanon in war, but also Israel and other states."

Vilner then exposed the on-going cooperation between the Lebanese isolationists and the Zionist authorities, saving that the aid offered by Israel to the rightist forces in Lebanon, the Zionist naval blockade imposed on the nationalist-held ports, the extension of U.S. and Israeli arms to southern villages, the direct involvement of the Israeli Army, and many other facts, are nothing but intervention in Lebanon's internal affairs.

Alluding to the racist Koenig report, he said: "We do not express our confidence in the cabinet nor in

Likud, because of the Koenig report, which is a racist document that has terrified many in Israel and in the world."

Vilner added: "The 'Day of the Land' turned everything upside down, including Koenig's expectations which were expressed in the document which only bears his name, since it is in effect a document issued by the ruling Labour Party."

PERES EXPRESSES WORRY OVER CAIRO AGREEMENT

Tel Aviv, 3/11/76 (Yediot Aharonot)

The Zionist Minister of War, Shimon Peres, has expressed his government's serious concern regarding the implementation of the 1969 Cairo Agreement in Lebanon which he said would perpetuate the threat to Zionist settlements in northern Palestine. The statement was made by Peres during a meeting on 2/11/76 in the town of Afouleh, where he also expressed his approval of the stand of the isolationist forces in South Lebanon vis-a-vis the Cairo agreement. Peres referred to the readiness of the isolationist forces to interfere with the implementation of the Cairo agreement.

As is now well-known, Israeli and isolationist forces are cooperating extensively in the on-going battles in South Lebanon against the Joint Forces.

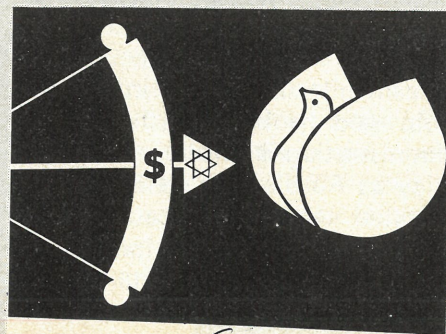
In related news, fresh evidence of the blatant right-wing-Zionist cooperation came in a declaration carried by radio Israel on 1/11/76, by an isolationist leader in South Lebanon who was quoted as saying "we will do the impossible in order to prevent attacks against the settlements of our Israeli friends." He added "things aren't finished yet."

On the other hand, the

Phalangist radio on 2/11/76 reported that 1st Lt. Ghassan Homs, the Commander of the isolationist forces in Qlaila was to hold a press conference yesterday morning in Dbaye camp. The Phalangist radio however did not explain how Lt. Homs was to arrive in Dbaye, since all transportation between Qlaila and the rightist held areas takes place by sea via Israel.

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS IN ISRAEL DENOUNCE MEASURES AGAINST THEM TEL AVIV,

In an official communique issued on 28-10-76, the Association of Foreign Journalists in Tel Aviv attacked the Zionist authorities for their censorship of cables, reports and news sent to their newspapers and agencies. The association said that the Zionist authorities are continually breaking the agreements regarding non-intervention in the activities of foreign correspondents, citing as evidence several examples, such as the confiscation of films showing the mass uprising in occupied Palestine. The Zionist authorities have also confiscated films of some foreign correspondents who took pictures of Zionist military supplies to the isolationists in Lebanon, and visits between isolationist leaders and Israeli officials.



ISRAEL A MILITARY BURDEN ON THE UNITED STATES

The Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, General George Brown, has once more uttered his concern about the unlimited military support the U.S.A. is flooding to the Zionist State of Israel. Two years ago, Brown had already been reprimanded by U.S. President Ford after explaining in an address at Duke University in North Carolina that the Zionist lobby and capital had undue influence in Congress and on the control of banks and newspapers in the U.S.A. Subsequent Zionist calls for his dismissal had been only thwarted by the threat of several other U.S. generals to quit also.

Now, the U.S.A.'s top-ranking military officer has again warned of Israel being "a military burden for the United States" (quoted according to the "International Herald Tribune," 22 October 1976).

Brown's latest remarks were revealed at a time when outgoing U.S. President Ford, in a vain, pitiable and irresponsible last attempt to tip the U.S. Jewish vote for his reelection, pledged to provide Israel with the latest sophisticated arms equipment, terrible arms against civilian population which the U.S.A. has never before delivered to any of its "allies" and not even dared to employ during its Vietnamese aggression. Among the major items that Ford agreed in late October to provide to Israel are concussion bombs that have devastating effect over a wide area and secret heat-sensitive equipment for spotting targets at night.

According to the "International Herald Tribune" on 14 October, 1976, the bomb Israel will obtain is

a "fuel-air explosive cluster bomb unit." At a preset height, a film of inflammable liquid is squirted out to form a circle as much as 30 feet in diameter.

This circle is then detonated, making a concussion that crushes bodies. People in the area are torn apart with their innards burst by the rush of air (including that in their lungs) to fill the empty space momentarily created by the explosion. A firestorm follows.

"We think of this not as a weapon, but as a kill mechanism," commented a U.S. expert according to the "Tribune," which also quotes the Israeli "Defence" Minister Shimon Peres as commenting on the promised U.S. equipment: "It was what we asked for and I am satisfied with it." ("International Herald Tribune, 14 October 1976").

The newspaper reports further that officials in the White House, State Department and Pentagon had been put under orders not to discuss the decision to let Israel have these sophisticated items that had until now been denied it. However, the paper adds, "several officials in the Pentagon and State Department expressed concern that the decision was made without the usual discussion and examination" and that the bombs and scanning device would "destabilize the military balance" in the Middle East.

Even former U.S. Secretary of Defence James Schlesinger, a known militarist and old "friend" of Israel, criticized Ford for bowing to Zionist pressure in the form of "domestic political currency" in the election battle. He also warned

that the U.S. arms industry and certain circles are pressing to give some countries military aid "that they really should not have." ("International Herald Tribune," 19 October 1976).

The "Washington Post," too, in a comment on 13 October 1976, dared to remark on the last Zionist coup in the U.S.A. that: "It is particularly worrisome that the arms in question are sophisticated...The Israelis themselves should be asking why, with their security newly enhanced by U.S. diplomacy and Arab disarray, they need to keep building an armoury which is already the mightiest the Mideast has ever known. They should be asking if it really is true, as official Israeli myth asserts, that the single way to force their Arab neighbors to come to acceptable terms is to confront them with overwhelming power. They should be asking if it is to their own interest to be pursuing preparedness and procurement policies which require them every year to go an extra \$ 2,000,000,000 into debt and, beyond that, to seek \$2,000,000,000 in aid from the U.S.A."

It has to be noted, finally, that Ford, despite all his complacency with the Zionist lobby, has lost the election and even the U.S. Jewish vote. However, the flow of unlimited U.S. military commitments continues in a way which former U.S. Under-Secretary of State George Ball has described as "We're showing the responsibility shown by those frontier traders who used to sell whisky to redskins."

The people in the Mideast, especially the Palestinian people, are still waiting for the day, when U.S. imperialism stops its frantic Mideast "policy" of pouring all kinds of murderous equipment into Zionist Israel and of instigating fire in the area that -- different from the sale of whisky to "redskins" -- is not only detrimental for the U.S. people but threatens the peace and welfare of the whole world.

Where Are The People From Tal Al Zaatar?

Only three months ago, the Lebanese fascist forces put a most brutal end to the refugee camp of Tal al-Zaatar. In cold blood they massacred over 1000 defenceless civilians on the so-called "evacuation" day on their way out of the camp. There they had been holding out heroically for 16 months, encircled, and finally subjected to 55 days' tight siege under permanent heavy shelling and sniping, resisting over 70 attacks from the overwhelming enemy forces, lacking food, water, and medication.

Every family had already lost more than one of its members during the defence struggle, and when finally an agreement of general evacuation, supposedly under the guarantee of the International Red Cross and the Arab League, was reached, the fascists in a cowardly way took advantage of the easy opportunity to kill every man between the age of 15 and 45 they could get hold of. As Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel said: "We do not want to differentiate between fighters and non-fighters." Many wounded, old people, women, and children were not spared either. Nevertheless, about 9,000 Palestinian and 3,000 Lebanese survivors managed, empty-handed but safe to reach the western sector of Beirut.

Existential and socio-economic problems

The intentional extermination of the majority of Tal al-Zaatar's male population has brought grave and far-reaching consequences, not of military, but of socio-economic and psychological nature.

The remaining population from Tal al-Zaatar now consists of predominantly children under 12 years, women, and some old people. This means in the first place that the large majority of the families are left without providers. Although a considerable number of the women in this camp used to be economically active, they had worked as unskilled workers in the nearby factories or as maids in Lebanese households. Such jobs are not available under the present conditions in the country. Most of the men, on the other hand, were skilled in crafts, mechanics, construction etc.

The lack of the traditional head of the family (with many children and usually some old parents) imposes structural and psychological problems. The women are compelled to take on a new social role in replacement of their husbands or fathers, suddenly bearing the full load of group responsibility and decision-making. This process of readaptation needs

time and determined efforts on the part of both. Those directly concerned and the political and administrative leadership in charge of reorganizing the lives of the completely uprooted refugees.

All this came in addition to huge practical problems, namely the total lack of bare means of existence (housing, clothing, food) and the general confusion of grief and despair.

Where to go?

From the very beginning and to this day the P.L.O. alone has had to carry the heavy load of responsibility in providing the deprived refugees from Maslakh, Jisr el-Basha, Tal al-Zaatar, and partly from Nabaa with the foundations for a new existence. A large part of these refugees moreover were displaced for the second or third time. "I have no place to go any more" was the desperate sentence heard everywhere, especially from the Palestinians. Considering the particular problems of these uprooted masses and the particular situation in the practically divided country at the time required the Palestinian Revolution to take a quick decision to offer a political and practical solution to the growing dilemma.

These people needed shelter, food, clothing, and they strongly needed to remain together, the only factor of stability which could for the moment be preserved. These were the two main aspects in the choice of the Lebanese village of Damour for a provisional resettlement.

Damour is originally a Maronite Christian village on the coastal main road between Beirut and Sidon. It used to be an important stronghold of the ultra-rightist militias of Camille Chamoun and Pierre Gemayel, controlling a strategic part of the connection between the capital and South Lebanon, through which the western sector of Beirut has received all its provisions during the last few

months. The fascist forces there were defeated and the Christian civilians left Damour last January, after the fall of the Palestinian camp Dbayye and the extermination of the slum areas Maslakh and Qarantina committed by the fascist forces.

The refugee community organize themselves

On August 20, the "Steadfastness Support Committee" formed by the P.L.O. started to organize the preliminary repairs to the badly damaged houses in Damour, which lacked doors, windows, furniture, sanitary facilities, water and electricity. Within a few days, hundreds of refugee families left the overcrowded mosques and school buildings in western Beirut and began to move into the empty houses of Damour, where they received initial financial aid.

The present population amounts to approximately 10,000 (1,800 families), the Palestinian refugees from Tal al-Zaatar constituting the majority, with about 50 families from Nabaa district, and some from Maslakh.

Meanwhile, a popular committee has been formed by the inhabitants to solve their common subsistence and social problems, namely to administer the material support provided by the "Steadfastness Support Committee" and to take care of public administration in general.

Thanks to the enormous collective effort of the Palestinian Resistance and the inhabitants, their living conditions have been greatly improved.

Although until now there is only one public water tap from which people have to fill their buckets every week and in spite of the still missing sanitary facilities, the public health situation is even better than in many less deprived areas. The main institutions and offices have been provided with electricity. Every house has now at least one door and the windows have been closed with nylon sheets (glass has become extremely scarce and a costly commodity), for the main threat in winter is humidity. Mattresses and blankets are still few in relation to the number of people: 1 mattress for 8 persons. Likewise, wood and construction materials are virtually unavailable due to the blockade imposed on the national-progressive controlled areas for several months. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Damour are determined to do their best with the limited means available.

The most important problem to be dealt with, however, remains the economic dependence of the people. Confronting this, the Palestinian Resistance has been concentrating all its efforts to create productive, social and service centers for the community, at the same time providing work opportunities for its members. A number of basic projects have

already been realized:

- an elementary school absorbing between 500 and 600 children, providing them with food and clothing

- a kindergarten absorbing 75 children, providing them with milk and a light meal

- a hospital of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society

- two clinics with doctors and nurses on daily service

- a restaurant for children serving one free meal a day

- a regular public cleaning service

- a carpentry workshop producing for the local needs

- public bakeries

- a supermarket for general foodstuffs

- youth organizations and scouts

- a public sports club

- training courses for nursing and first aid

More projects will be started in the near future, among them more workshops concentrating on the employment of women, a petrol station, restaurant, etc.

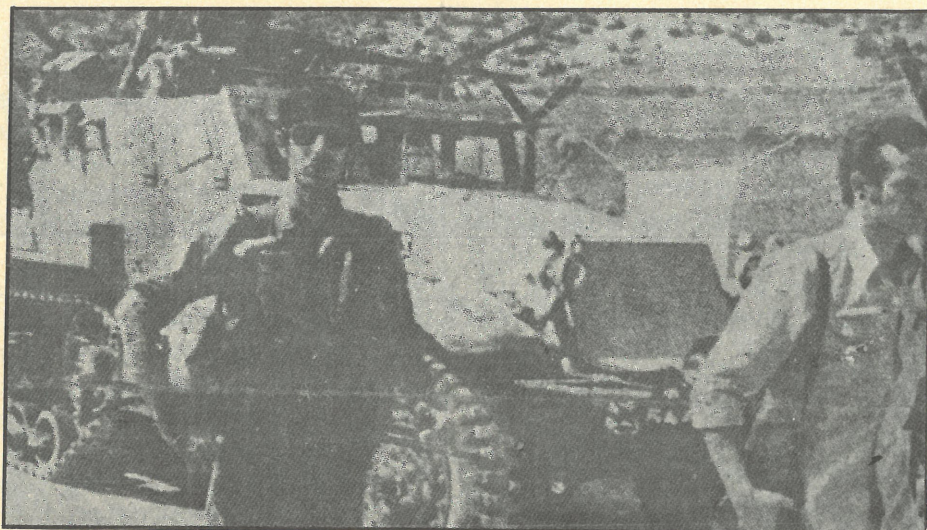
Until now, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency has not decided to commit itself to rebuilding the disrupted existence of the victims of the Lebanese war. Besides opening a clinic once a week for a couple of hours, U.N.R.W.A. has not participated in providing shelter to substitute for the destroyed refugee camps, nor established a single school, probably because the agency is not ready to invest in a temporary project.

Only a temporary solution

In spite of their determined, unremitting efforts to reconstruct their disrupted lives, the Palestinian refugees in Damour are perfectly aware of the fact that they are not establishing themselves there for good. Until their final return to Palestine they are ready to abide by the Cairo agreement with the Lebanese State according to resolutions of the Riyadh and Cairo summit conferences. This stage will come in the framework of the general settlement of the Lebanese crisis.



Tal al-Zaatar refugees three months ago.



Israeli Minister of War Pères inspecting Israeli troops inside Lebanese borders

ISRAELI POLICY IN SOUTH LEANON Aims and moves

Since the start of the Lebanese war, the Israeli stand has been fluctuating between direct and indirect involvement according to American 'Advice' and the Syrian intervention which started as a political mediation initiative between the conflicting parties in Lebanon, and developed to become a direct military involvement in favour of the isolationist Front.

But in the last few months, Israel has proceeded the U.S. policy of supplying the isolationists with armaments and other military equipment.

On 28 October Henry Tanner, the correspondent of the International Herald Tribune, reported that Lebanese Rightist 'Christian' forces on the Lebanese side of the borders, who use Israeli weapons, have been creating a growing military security zone along the borders.

On 17 October, isolationist forces supported by Israelis stormed the town of Marjayoun. A day before they had stormed the

village of Hannine. Reports from the area said that local rightist commanders had had direct field communications with Israeli command posts and Israeli patrols were crossing the borders at will. Other U.S. newsmen reported that Lebanese soldiers in Rumeish carried hand grenades with Hebrew markings. Uniform items and other equipment down to the canteen were Israeli standard gear.

Following the military developments in Lebanon, Israeli officials have declared that the Israeli government intends to make certain that Lebanon should not revert to the situation that existed before the civil war.

On 29 October, Israeli Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur declared that he does not expect any decrease in Palestinian Commando operations. Gur refused to define the so-called "red line" because this would "restrict the movement of the Israeli troops," which Moshe Dayan, the former Israeli Minister of war called on Israel to send into

South Lebanon to prevent commando activities in that area.

These declarations indicate that Israel is waiting its turn after the Syrian role in Lebanon has gained the Arab cover under the name of the Arab deterrent force. Israel has not changed its strategic line with respect to Lebanon, which aims at:

a: Establishing an Israeli-Isolationist security belt on the Lebanese side of the borders in order to limit or prevent the Palestinian commando raids against Israeli settlements.

b: Launching a war of attrition against the Palestinian Revolution both militarily and politically in an attempt to liquidate it and distort its image before world opinion.

c: Encouraging the establishment of confessional entities and isolationist pockets in South Lebanon in order to prevent communication between Palestinian commandos in that area and the Arab majority in Galilee.

d: Instigating the Arabs against each other.

"But the turning point in Israel's policy in Lebanon came last winter when the battered rightist forces in Lebanon were on the verge of defeat by the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. Through contacts with intelligence agents in Cyprus, the Lebanese rightist forces put in a desperate request to Jerusalem for arms and ammunition. By May a regular supply line from Israel to Junieh and other northern Lebanese ports was in operation. The material included not only ammunition and light arms, but heavy weapons like armoured personnel carriers, Russian 122mm rockets and at least 22 T-54 tanks captured in the 1967 and 1973 wars. Also Israel has trained hundreds of Lebanese isolationists and given them gunboats to establish a sea-blockade on Lebanese National ports. That was crowned by Israeli Minister of war Peres' secret visit to Junieh in late May 1976" (Time 13 September). This was besides the Israeli sea blockade on the

Lebanese National ports.

Israeli moves

Following the "Open-gates" policy, the Zionist enemy started to link the rightist-held villages in south Lebanon with the Israeli telephone network so that this link can be used in an emergency.

This comes as a continuation of the enemy's plans to extend its penetration of South Lebanon, and its cooperation with the isolationists

in the area, to establish a "buffer zone" or a security belt to protect its northern borders and to create a new threat to the joint forces in the south. The starting point was in the Isolationist village of Al Qlayaa where the Israelis and the Isolationist forces have cut all links between this village and other Lebanese villages with a view to annexing this village to Israel as a first step, and to be an Israeli frontier post to launch limited attacks on other Lebanese patriotic villages.

With the entrance of the Arab Peace-Keeping force Israeli officials expressed their concern over the implementation of the resolutions of the Arab Summit conferences in Riyadh and Cairo. On 4 November Rabin, the Israeli prime Minister, said that the possibility of new military developments occurring in Lebanon is not to be excluded and that the war is not over yet.

A day before, the Zionist Minister of War Shimon Peres expressed his Government's serious concern regarding the implementation of the 1969 Cairo Agreement in Lebanon, which he said would perpetuate the threat to Zionist settlements in northern Palestine.

At the same time Peres made a statement before the Israeli Cabinet in which he said that military maneuvers are due to take place soon. A week later Peres made an inspection tour of the Palestinian-Lebanese borders, accompanied by General Mordechai Gur, chief of staff of the Israeli

Army, General Adam, Commander of the Operations Room and Shlomo Gazit, chief of Israeli Intelligence.

In order to achieve their aims, the Israeli officials have limited their announced policy to what is called the red line which observers define geographically as the Litani River north of Tyre and the Arqoub area. But the Israeli Prime Minister Rabin on 4 November said, "The red line is very well known to whoever tries to cross it." In this sense the Israeli authorities give themselves the right to interfere in Lebanon's internal affairs, and in the current situation to foil the cease-fire agreements, at which Israeli official declarations had hinted before. Moreover, the Israeli radio said, on 10 November 1976, that certain precautionary measures were being taken by the Israeli Army on the borders with Lebanon, near Bint Jbeil, in the light of the arrival of new Palestinian commando forces in the area during the past few days. Informed observers have connected the announcement of such measures with the execution of the first stage of the Arab security plan,

in order to foil the Cairo Agreement and to prove that it is the real supporter of the rightists in order to encourage them to maintain their current aggressive policy. Israel also aims at grasping the opportunity of instability and the security vacuum in Lebanon in order to force the masses of South Lebanon to leave their homes and lands so that it can control the area at ease.

And so, the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement have to confront the penetration and uncover the Israeli-isolationist cooperation. At the same time, the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement have to take measures against the Israeli puppets in South Lebanon and likewise to develop their support for the South Lebanese masses

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PALESTINE NOTES



ARAFAT MEETS WITH PRESIDENT SADAT AND QADDAFI

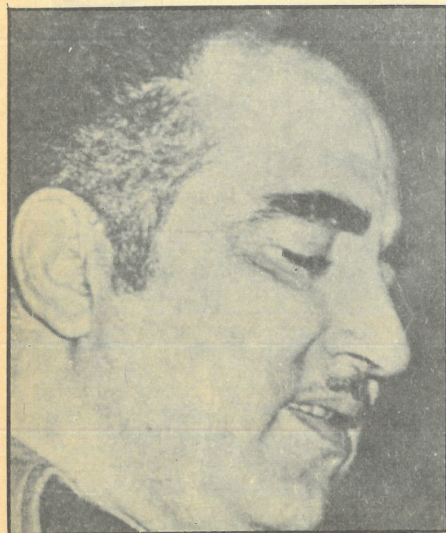
Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, met on 6 November with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Section, also attended the meeting.

During the meeting, discussion centered on the developments of the situation in Lebanon, in light of the Riyadh and Cairo summit resolutions.

Arafat has had meetings with Mr. Mahmoud Riad, Secretary General of the Arab League. He also met with Sayyed Mer'i, Head of the Egyptian People's Council, and Mamdouh Salem, the Egyptian Prime Minister.

On 7 November Yasser Arafat met with Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi. The meeting dealt with the current situation on the Palestinian and Arab levels. Arafat arrived in the Libyan capital Tripoli, on 6 November following a short visit to Cairo.

In his mission, Comrade Arafat is trying to remove the effects of Egyptian-Libyan disagreements.



ABU IYYAD: NOTHING CAN SEPERATE US FROM THE LEBANESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT. THE PALESTINIAN RIFLE IS THE TARGET OF ALL CONSPIRACIES

In a speech on November 1 at a graduation ceremony for the first company of women fighters of the Palestinian Revolution, Abu Iyyad, member of the Fateh Central Committee, declared that the Resistance has always been a target for conspiracies which aim to halt its armed struggle.

The presence of Palestinian and Lebanese women fighters, he said, is one more proof that the cause of the war in Lebanon is neither a Palestinian invasion of the country nor an attempt to dominate Lebanon by a group of Communists allied with the Palestinians. "Rather," he continued, "the conspirators in the Arab Nation do not want anyone to bear arms."

Speaking about the Riyad and Cairo Summits, Abu Iyyad said: "What is important is not communiques. What is important is their execution. The Palestinian Revolution will never surrender to pressures, no matter from what quarter they come."

He continued: "We will fight and fight to defend this Revolution," and declared "the limits of the red line and the green line which they talk about so much are in fact the freedom of our military action, the freedom of our political work and the freedom of our information work."

"There is no power on earth," he continued, which can separate us from the Lebanese National Movement. That is the limit of the red line."

He added: "The Palestinian people and their Revolution are not surrounded in this spot. We are able to move anywhere in the world and are able to move over from the defensive to the offensive. That is the Revolution of the people of Palestine."

"We are confident that we have planted the idea of armed struggle in this people, and we will defend our Revolution, which we will allow no one to harm."

Abu Iyyad then compared the graduation of women fighters by the isolationists and the graduation of militant Palestinian and Lebanese women fighters: "We graduate women fighters for peace, for freedom, for brotherhood, for a democratic Palestine and so as to build a democratic society everywhere. The isolationists, however, teach their women fighters to hate Palestine and the Arabs, to hate everything beautiful in this world, and even to hate themselves."

Abu Iyyad concluded by saying: "Today, when I see our sisters graduate as a company; and tomorrow the company a battalion, and the battalion a brigade; I feel happy: men and women in one trench, in spite of all the difficulties and all the obstacles which face us in finishing the journey and continuing the procession of Revolution until victory."

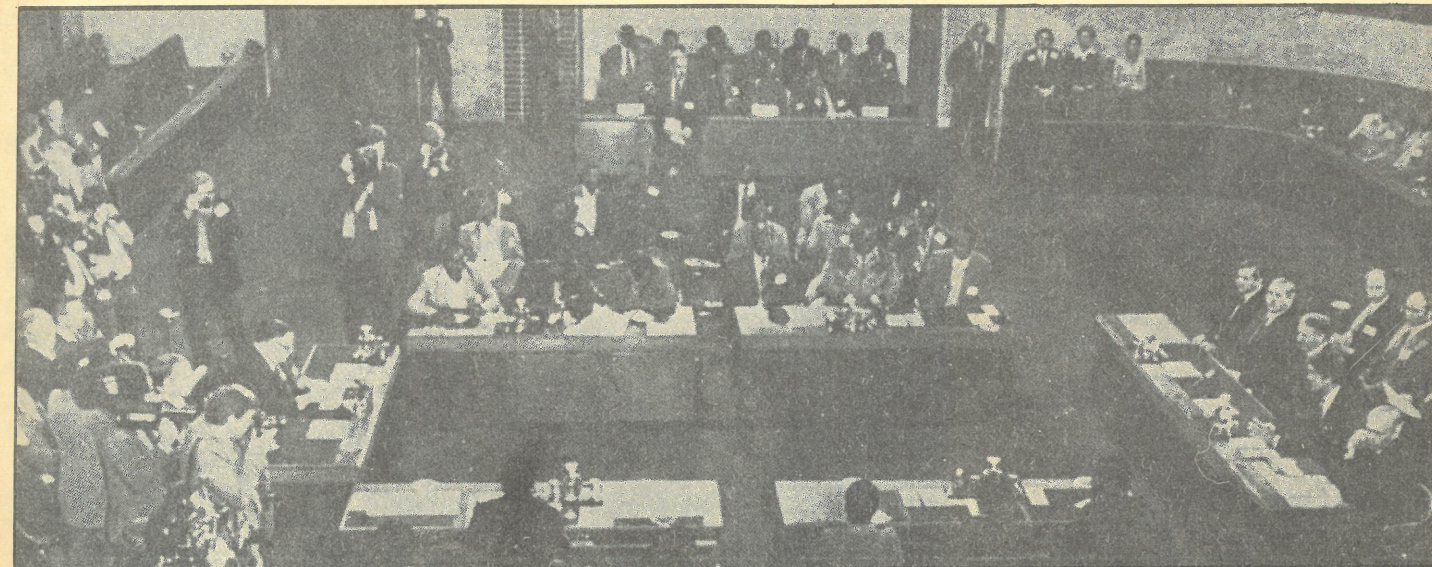
CONFERENCE ON ZIONISM OPENS IN IRAQ

Baghdad, 8/11/76, WAFA:—

The Conference on Zionism as a racist movement in theory and practice opened on 8 November at Baghdad University.

One hundred thinkers and writers from all over the world participated in this conference, which continued for six days and which was organized by the University of Baghdad, with the participation of the PLO, the institute of 'Palestine Studies' and the Arab League. More than 300 delegates representing 36 countries attended the conference.

On 27 October Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, headed a meeting of the PLO Executive Committee in Cairo. Besides Arafat, the meeting was attended by the head of the PLO Political Section, Farouq Qaddoumi (Abu Lutf) the head of the PLO Information Section, Yasser Abed Rabbo, the secretary of the Executive Committee, Muhammad Zuhdi al-Nashshibi, the head of the PLO occupied Homeland Affairs Sections Hamed Abu Setta, and the official PLO spokesman, Abdel Muhsen Abu Maizer. The meeting dealt with a number of current problems in the Arab arena, particularly after the last Arab Summit Conference which was held in Cairo.



The Geneva Conference on Rhodesia

Independence Or Total War

RHODESIA:

The Constitutional Conference on Rhodesia opened on 28 October in Geneva, under the chairmanship of Ivor Richard, British Ambassador to the United Nations. The choice of the place and chairman have a profound political meaning, namely the satisfaction of the basic demand of the black leaders not to meet Ian Smith on national territory as long as emergency laws are in force there (Unlawful Organizations Act, Law and Order Maintenance Act, etc.) By means of these laws the white rebels have been repressing the people of Zimbabwe since 1965 for so-called "terrorist activities" and for rejecting the Smith regime which is considered devoid of all legal authority. It is now up to Great Britain, recognized as the mandatory power, to bring Ian Smith back to his senses and to oblige him to abide by majority rule.

The Geneva Conference is intended to work out the transfer of power held by 270,000 white colonists peacefully to six million Africans in this country which is

still officially a British colony. Eleven years ago, however, Smith unilaterally declared its independence, scoffing at the right of the immense black majority to self-determination and the decolonization process already underway.

The liberation struggle, which grew up underground, succeeded in destroying what for a long time had been called the Rhodesian fortress. The independence of Mozambique and Angola have accelerated the fall of white Rhodesian domination, by extending the confrontation line and the strong support, both on the military and political levels, given by these two newly independent states to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe. Today in Geneva, the delegation of the Rhodesian Front of Ian Smith is faced with the choice between resigning from power or bearing the consequences of intensified guerilla warfare. A last chance is being offered to the white colonialists to avoid what observers already foreshadow as a "bloodbath" for which the racist leaders of Salisbury will have to bear the entire responsibility. Has

Ian Smith fully grasped the shaky ground on which his regime and those like it stand? At any rate, in Geneva he has not given up his patent racism, referring to the values of "Christianity" and the "free world." This leads to the supposition that his pathological intransigence has not lessened. But this time the leaders of the national delegations made him clearly understand that if he refused to negotiate he would be faced with a "large scale war."

In view of the new balance of forces between Salisbury and the nationalists, and as it is now in Southern Africa in general, the black leaders are aware of being in a position to enforce the right of the Zimbabwe people for independence, to the extent however of not compromising the principles that would serve as a basis for the authenticity of this independence.

The resolutions of the black leaders particularly reflect the fact that their position is stronger than ever before. Those presented by Bishop Muzorewa were leading the

tone of the conference from the beginning, confronting Ian Smith's pretensions according to which the details of the power transfer were "not negotiable." He declared: "We are here, not in a spirit of givers giving. We are here to take only ... to take our independence."

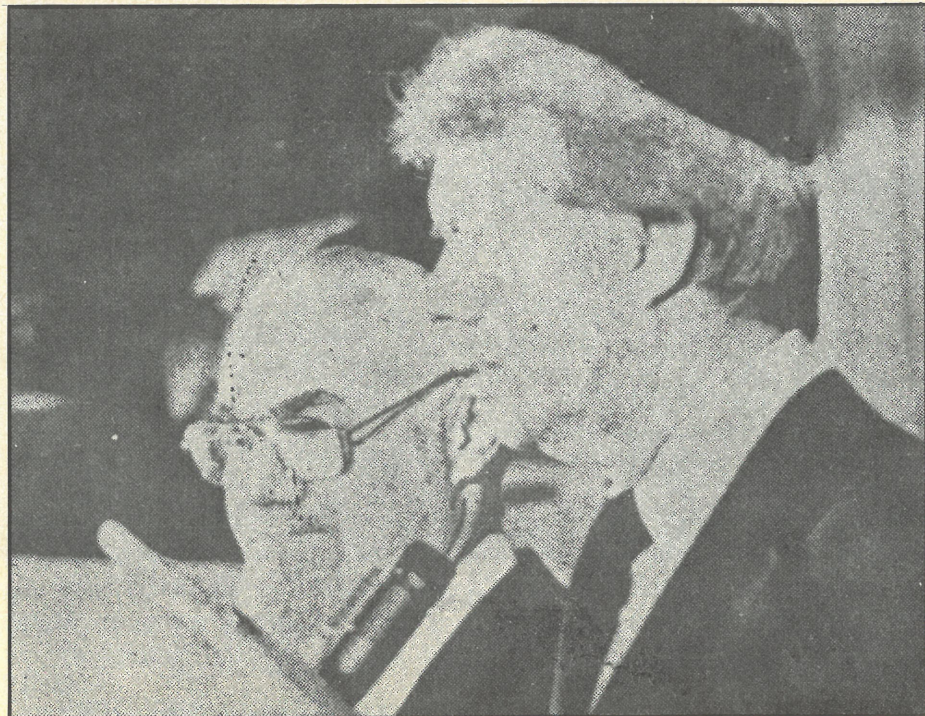
The leaders of the liberation movements have nevertheless insisted on reaffirming their respect of the "right of the whites to live in Zimbabwe, and to share the same rights and obligations as citizens with the majority without discrimination based on race, colour, or confessional belonging." This invitation to coexistence however entails a notifiable firmness, for it equally underlines the necessity for the "new nation of Zimbabwe" that the colonists abandon the criteria which until now have been prevailing in Rhodesian society, and to "choose to be Zimbabweans."

(October 29, Palace of Nations in Geneva).

The Kissinger Plan

The Constitutional Conference has rapidly fallen into a dead-end. One might wonder whether this was avoidable. There are insurmountable differences between the white Rhodesian Front leaders and the nationalist leadership. They not only bear on the fixing of a date for the accession to independence, but also on a basic problem. In fact, the Kissinger plan lays down the essential lines to serve as a basis for the British initiative; it foresees the imposition of certain "guarantees" for the white minority in exchange for the nation's accession to independence, in particular the attribution to the Rhodesian Front of the key ministries of defense and the interior in the provisional government.

Robert Mugabe, spokesman of the Popular Liberation Army of Zimbabwe (ZIPA) who proved himself during this conference as one of the most influential figures of the black nationalist movements,



Jimmy Carter (in prayer cap) addressing Jewish congregation last June

has defined ZIPA's dominant position on this question in an interview with Arnaud de Borchgrave (Newsweek, November 8): "In fact, the whole Kissinger plan, as explained by Smith, is absurd. ... The entire white army of occupation must be dismantled ... ZIPA must be solely responsible for security from the beginning."

The conference is being sucked down also, as already underlined, because of the disagreement over the date of accession to independence of the "British colony." The racist government of Salisbury is asking for a delay of two years before delegating power to the black majority as supposedly agreed with Henry Kissinger, whereas the nationalists intend to finalize the process of power transfer within a year's delay at maximum. Great Britain proposes a compromise between the two diverging positions. It suggests a provisional period of 15 months.

The opposing parties are now facing these two problems: security and date independence. The gap between the black and white delegations will certainly widen

when they turn to institutional questions, the formation of a provisional government, the state council, etc.

The possibility of a joint American-British step is already envisaged, in case the present British initiative should fail, to defuse the situation to some extent. Coming back from a round trip through Geneva and South Africa, William Schauffele, assistant State Secretary for African affairs, declared on 9 November that a possible trip of Henry Kissinger to Geneva was under study.

Ivor Richar did not conceal that the conference has entered a dead-end phase. When summoned back to London for further consultations on 8 November, he stated: "The dialogue continues, but it is clear that we have reached the stage of difficulties."

Meanwhile Ian Smith goes on beating about the bush. So he did not hesitate to declare recently, that when he accepted the principle of majority rule he did not mean that of a black majority, but a "responsible majority."

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SOLIDARITY NEWS

Soviet Union

On 25 October, Leonid Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party, in a report delivered before a CPSU Central Committee meeting, declared his country's support for putting an end to the state of belligerency in Lebanon.

More explicitly, the Soviet news agency *Novosti* called for an end to the Zionist aggression in South Lebanon. "A tense and dangerous situation still prevails in South Lebanon, where an overt and wide-scale intervention is taking place by Israel, actively supported by imperialism."

It said that at the time the cease-fire went into effect, Israeli units, supported by heavy artillery and tanks, entered Lebanese soil and occupied a number of populated areas in South Lebanon.

Novosti further said that the war in Lebanon had benefited Israel, because it gave it a diplomatic and military break and offered it the possibility of opening a front with Lebanon in order to occupy new Arab territories. It added that the aggressor forces must immediately withdraw from the areas they had occupied in Lebanon and that the Zionist offensive against Lebanon must be halted.

Commenting on the "future plans of the Jewish agency" with regard to the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories, the Soviet Communist Party organ, *Pravda*, said that the end of Israeli occupation of Arab lands is a basic precondition for the return of the situation in the Middle East to normal. *Pravda* noted that the Jewish Agency plan is yet another evidence of the defiant endeavour by the supporters of the aggressive Israeli policy to consolidate their foothold in the occupied territories, and that the expulsion of the Arab population and the

establishment of Zionist colonies instead is the basis of Israel's policy in annexing more Arab land. The paper concluded by saying that by holding to their expansionist policy and obstructing the implementation of successive U.N. resolutions, the ruling circles in Tel-Aviv are following a dangerous and short-sighted course.

German Democratic Republic: Solidarity Week for the Palestinian Revolution

Between 25 and 29 October the 2nd International Trade Unions Conference for Solidarity with the Palestinian Workers and People held a series of meetings in Karl Marx city of the German Democratic Republic. It was attended by more than 70 trade unions and over 150 delegations.

In his speech, the Secretary General of the International Federation of Trade Unions stressed the importance of reinforcing solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle which is part of the struggle against imperialism. He said that the main cause of the Middle East and Lebanese crisis is the Israeli attempt to keep the occupied territories under its control and called for recognition of legitimate Palestinian rights.

In its concluding communique the Conference unanimously condemned the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracy against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon. It called upon the workers of the world to increase their support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people for their legitimate rights. Likewise, the German Democratic youth organizations and syndicates and the Peace Council issued a

communique calling upon all peace-loving peoples to halt Zionist aggression. The conference sent a letter to U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim containing its resolutions.

Egyptian Workers

Sayyed Zintawi, Vice-President of the General Federation of Egyptian Workers' Unions, has affirmed the Federation's solidarity with Palestinian workers, and their readiness to offer all possible support for the Palestinian cause and Palestinian workers. Zintawi mentioned this during a meeting with a delegation from the General Union of Palestinian Workers. The meeting discussed the situation in Lebanon and its impact on Palestinian workers.

Yugoslavian and Iraqi petroleum workers

Following the visit of a delegation of Yugoslavian petroleum workers to Iraq, the Iraqi and Yugoslavian petroleum workers in a joint communique affirmed their support for the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people for their legitimate rights, condemning the continuous Zionist occupation of Arab territory and the inhuman treatment of the Palestinian population by the Zionist authorities.

Italy

At the end of October the Italian Solidarity Committee handed over to the P.L.O. the sum of 10 million LIT. (about 11,560 Dollars) collected in the province of Toscana since the beginning of the Lebanese war.

Roger Garaudy: "Zionism is the worst enemy of the Jews"

The participants of the International Symposium on Zionism, which took place between 8 and 14 November in Baghdad, concluded their discussions with a unanimous appeal to the international organizations and movements working for peace and justice to join the struggle against Zionism. The final declaration, referring to the United Nations' condemnation of Zionism as a form of racism, added that through this condemnation the world demonstrated that it had become aware of the true nature of Zionism.

The French philosopher Roger Garaudy, who had participated in the symposium, declared to the Iraqi News Agency on November 15:

"Zionism is the worst enemy of the Jews in Israel, because it has compelled them to live in a permanent state of war.

"The only solution for the present conflict is the abandonment of Zionist ideology, which entails a fanatical tendency and colonialist concepts despising others, their history and their culture. The others, in this case, are the Palestinians.

"The struggle of the Palestinians is not based on religious or racist fanaticism. Their struggle envisages the creation of a non-sectarian state in Palestine, which allows all citizens to enjoy their rights as free people and respects their special characteristics and cultures."

According to the French philosopher "the West, in general, has not yet understood the Palestinian cause."

International Democratic Women's Federation

At a press conference held in Baghdad on November 5 the Secretary of the International Democratic Women's Federation reaffirmed the organization's stand with the heroic struggle of the Lebanese masses and the Palestinian Revolution against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plot being carried out in Lebanon. She called upon the Lebanese people to work out their own solution, free from any foreign intervention, and asserted that over 100 women's organizations support the struggle of the Palestinian people for liberation.

International Conference in Solidarity with the South African People

The international conference in solidarity with the South African people, which ended its meetings in Addis Ababa early in November, vehemently condemned the increasing cooperation between Israel and the racist regime in South Africa. It described both regimes as being a danger threatening world peace and the freedoms of the African and Middle Eastern peoples, particularly those of Palestine and South Africa.

Cyprus

The Cypriot President, Archbishop Makarios, praised the struggle of the Palestinian people and Palestinian support for the unity and independence of Cyprus, during his meeting with the delegations participating in the 13th anniversary meeting of the General Union of Cypriot Peasants in Nicosia, on 11 November.

President Makarios said that he considers the support of the

Palestinian Revolution as one of the basic factors which will help the Cypriot struggle for unity and independence to achieve victory, adding that the Cypriot people stand in a single trench with the Palestinian people against a common enemy, and that they will make good use of the military capabilities and experience gained by the Palestinian Revolution throughout its long struggle against world imperialism. He also mentioned that the Cypriots now living in refugee camps will struggle for the liberation of Cyprus, just as the Palestinian people have struggled for 28 years from their refugee camps in order to return to their homeland.

Conference for Peace in Asia

The Conference for Peace in Asia, held between 16 and 21 October in the Mongolian capital, Ulan Bator, addressed a special message to Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the P.L.O., expressing the solidarity of the Peace Movement and the conferees with the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people and their support for the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights, and their rights of return and self-determination. The message also called for the immediate withdrawal of Syrian troops as a necessary step towards solving the Lebanese crisis.

France

The Cedetim, Center of Anti-Imperialist Studies in Paris, organized a "Four hours support for the struggling peoples" on 7 November. Events included the showing of films and sketches, for South Africa, different Latin American countries, Western Sahara, Lebanon, Palestine, and the Arabian Gulf.

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Palestine At The U.N

**A SCHOOL AND
TRAINING
CENTRE FOR CHILDREN
FROM TAL-AL-ZAATAR**

**CARTER
AND THE M.E**

**KOENIG AND THE FINAL
SOLUTION**