



THE PALESTINIANS STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

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Palestine

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EDITORIAL

U.S.-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE

The recent US-Soviet communique regarding the Middle East, represents an important step forward toward realizing a just and durable settlement for the conflict in the region. For the first time, since June 1967 the two super powers, The Soviet Union and the United States of America adopted a common position on the Middle East crisis. They agreed on key issues of the crisis and called upon all parties involved in the conflict "to understand the necessity for careful consideration of each other's legitimate rights."

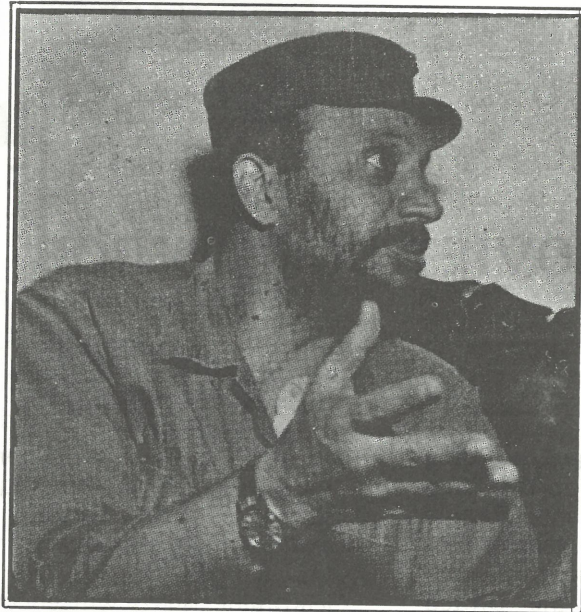
The communique asked for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in 1967 and for demilitarized zones between the belligerents with the use of UN. troops. As for the Palestinians the two super powers called for "insuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian People", including the "participation of representatives of the Palestinian people in works of the Geneva Conference which should be held not later than December 1977.

It is to be noticed that this joint communique constitutes a significant change in US. attitude towards the Palestinian people. For the first time the United States officially admitted that the Palestinian question is a key issue of the Middle East conflict. In this communique also, the US. recognised the Palestinians as a people with legitimate rights to be implemented. Concerning the representatives of the Palestinian people who should be included in the Geneva conference the communique remained vague. It seems that a disagreement still exists on this basic question between the two super powers. The communique failed to refer explicitly to the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

In spite of this deliberate generalization in the Soviet-US. communique, it is to be considered as a step forward on the road to a just and permanent peace in the Middle East. The US. recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights will encourage the Palestinians to endeavor to continue their struggle by all and any means in order to achieve their goals of freedom, self-determination and independence.

On the other hand, the Zionist leaders in Israel rejected the communique simply because it dealt with the Palestinian people and their legitimate rights. The Zionists mobilized all of their intermediaries in the United States and launched a campaign against the US. administration. Senators Jackson, Javits and Koch, began pressuring the US. administration and urged President Carter to retreat from his position. All of the Parties in Israel, the "Hawks" as well as the so-called "Doves" rejected the Soviet-US. Communique, touching off deliberations in Israel, to form an emergency government of a large coalition.

The Israelis still insist on maintaining their intransigent role towards the Palestinian people pushing the Middle East once again to the brink of a new war in the region. The Zionist leaders are isolating themselves while neglecting world public opinion favoring a just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict. Even the US, their first and foremost ally and supporter can not go on with the adventurous policy of the Zionist leaders in Israel. The Zionist leaders must realize that the world has changed and that their war-mongering policy will not receive any support from international public opinion.



Chairman Arafat

ARAFAT INFORMS ARAB OFFICIALS ABOUT DANGEROUS SITUATION IN SOUTH LEBANON

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, summoned PLO representatives in the Arab countries to inform Arab officials about the situation in South Lebanon, especially after the Israeli military offensive against the positions of the Joint Forces on September 16.

Mahmoud Riad, the Arab-League Secretary-General, was also told about the situation.

The PLO earlier presented a memorandum to the Arab Foreign Ministers' Conference, warning against the dangerous and deteriorating situation in South Lebanon.

ARAFAT APPEALS TO ARAB HEADS OF STATE AND WALDHEIM

In urgent letters to Arab Kings and Presidents on 18/9/77 Yasser Arafat informed Arab heads of state about the resumption of Israeli aggression on South Leba-

non and the dangerous situation resulting from the escalation of Israeli - isolationist military operations, calling upon them to shoulder their responsibilities.

Mahmoud Riad and Dr. Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General received similar letters.

ABU LUTF MEETS DE GUIRINGAUD

Paris, 22/9, Wafa

Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department, met yesterday with M. Louis de Guiringaud, the French Foreign Minister for 1 1/4 hours. Later, Abu Lutf made the following statement:-

I discussed with M. De Guiringaud the Middle East situation and Zionist expansionist designs in the area. I also informed the French side of the developments of the deteriorating situation in South Lebanon and the repeated Israeli attacks, as well as the necessity of issuing a new Security Council resolution recognizing the need for the recovery of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights.

The French side reaffirmed France's firm position as represen-

ted in the need for guaranteeing the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights, the establishment of an independent state, and the participation of the Palestinian people in all international forums which discuss the Middle East crisis. The French Foreign Minister also expressed his country's concern over the situation in South Lebanon.

PALESTINIAN DELEGATION TO PARTICIPATE IN I.P.L.

A Palestinian National Council delegation left Damascus to Sofia to participate in the International Parliamentary Conference. Before leaving Damascus Khaled al-Fahoum, President of the Palestinian National Council, told a Wafa correspondent that the most important item scheduled in the conference's agenda is the continued Zionist violations of Arab human rights and the Zionist policy of expansion. He added that the Palestinian delegation has prepared a memorandum about the issue, which will most probably be presented by Arab and friendly delegations.

Al-Fahoum finally expressed his hope that the conference would take a positive stand in support of the Palestinian people's just struggle and expose the Zionist terrorist and expansionist policy in occupied Palestine.

It is to be noted that the Palestinian delegation is attending this conference with observer status.

ARAFAT HAILS HEROISM OF PALESTINIAN FIGHTERS

In a statement to journalists and news agencies representatives, Yasser Arafat who arrived in Damascus from South Lebanon at 6:30PM on 19/9/77 to attend the PLO Central Council meetings, praised the extreme heroism of the

Palestinian fighters in confronting the Zionist enemy in South Lebanon, despite the latter's obvious military and technical superiority.

Arafat added that the Zionist enemy is using the most modern US made 175mm artillery, which can be fitted to nuclear heads, as well as ground to ground missiles.

Arafat said that the enemy's objective is to reach the Litani waters. He then denied that the fighting was a Muslim-Christian or Palestinian-Lebanese one, asserting that the Revolution comprises Muslims as well as Christians.

Arafat then warned against a probable extension of the aggression, noting that the forces of the Palestinian Revolution in the town of Khiam on 19/9 afternoon waged three severe battles.

Arafat finally affirmed that Begin's blackmail will ultimately fail because the Arab nation refuses to be threatened.

ABU LUTF IN YUGOSLAVIA

Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department, met in Belgrade on 19/9/77 with the Yugoslav Foreign Minister.

Abu Lutf told Wafa:- "We are pleased to come to a friendly country for coordination and discussion of issues related to the Non-Aligned countries, and the Middle East crisis, including the Palestine problem and the corresponding position expected to be taken in the forth-coming session of the UN General Assembly.

Abu Lutf arrived in Belgrade from Cairo, and is scheduled to hold meetings with the Yugoslav Foreign Minister and Prime Minister and Fadel Khawaja, member of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Federal Republic.

SOUTH LEBANON

The fascistic adventure of the Israeli-isolationist forces, from positions inside occupied Palestine and Marjeyoun, Qlei'a and the surrounding villages, intensified against the Joint Forces of the Palestine Revolution and Lebanese progressives.

After banning U.N. observers from the area, the fascists launched a massive aerial and ground attack on Lebanese villages of Khiam, Balat, Tallat Balat, Tal Zuheir, Ibl Al-Saqi, Rashaya Al-Fokhar and the town of Nabatiya.

Several attacks were launched by the fascist forces from September 16-24 under the cover of Israeli planes, heavy and medium artillery fire spearheaded by enemy tank and armour column units.

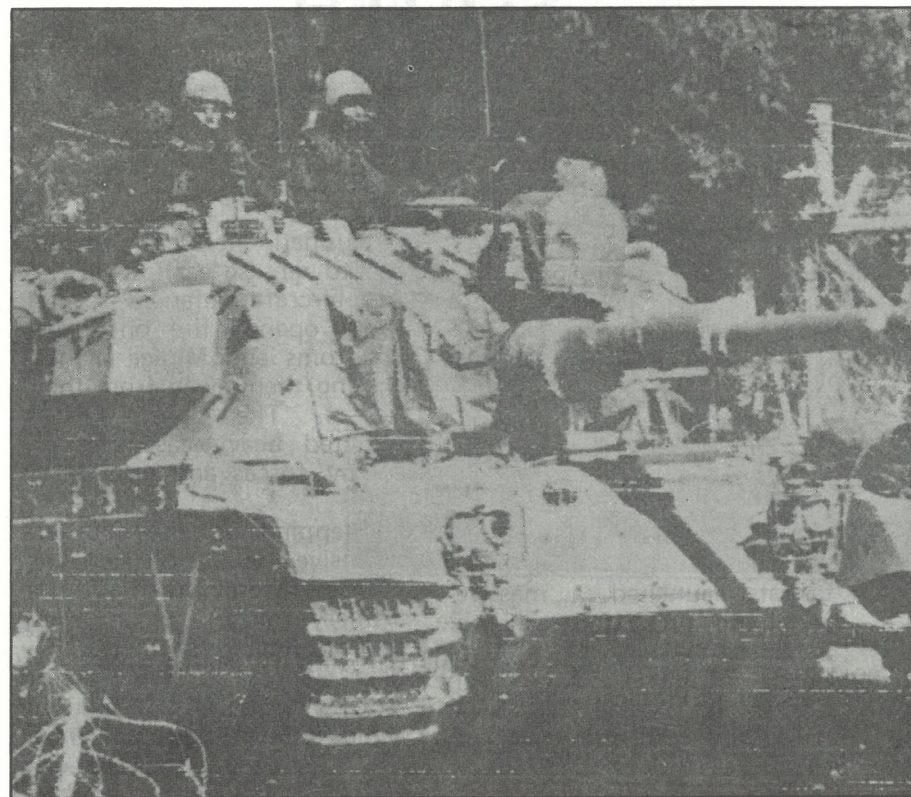
Our Joint Forces, despite being outnumbered and

outgunned, heroically managed to repulse each offensive. Anti-aircraft defences several times opened fire on Israeli Phantoms and Mirage planes, chasing them away from their targets. The Joint Forces inflicted heavy casualties on enemy forces and weaponry.

Stepping up the counter-offensive, our artillery units silenced several Israeli 175mm artillery pieces which were indiscriminately shelling Lebanese villages. A squadron of Israeli tanks and armoured vehicles which advanced from the Kfar-Shuba axis was effectively checked and repulsed after the destruction of several tanks and vehicles.

In each encounter our forces proved to have been well prepared for such an eventuality by bravely repulsing enemy offensives, dealing heavy blows against the Israeli and its local puppet's adventure in South Lebanon.

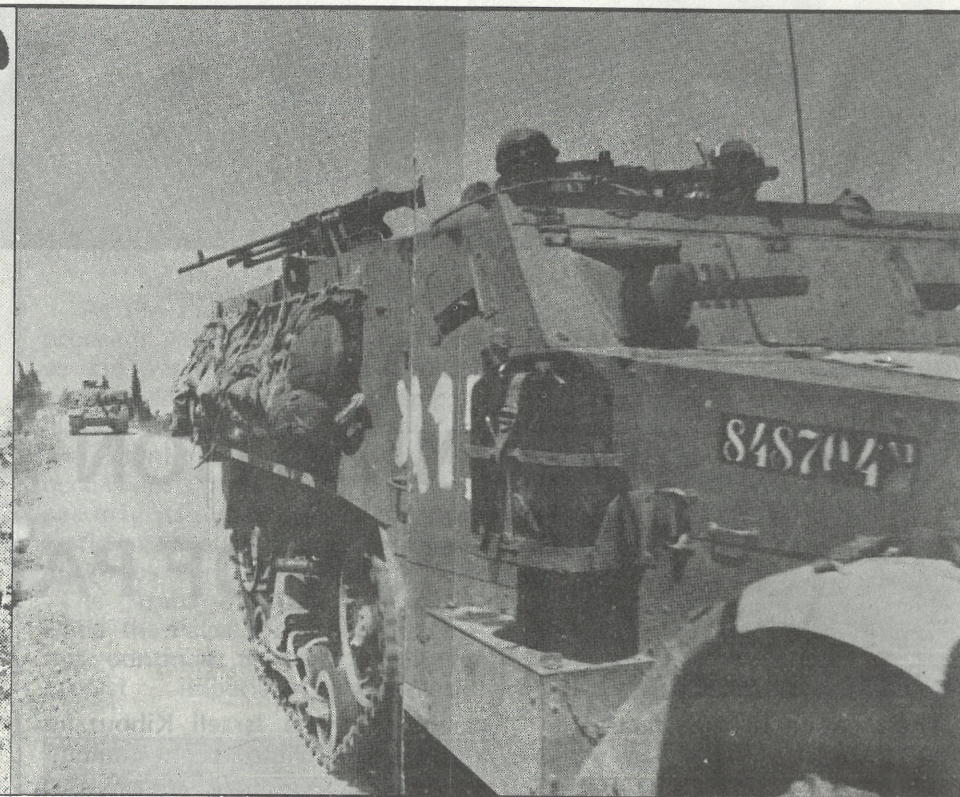
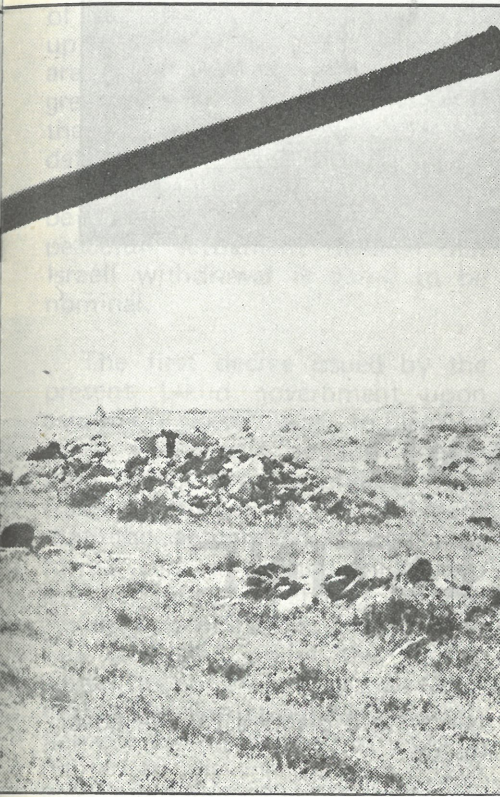




An Israeli tank moves out of Lebanon past the border gate as part of the Israeli withdrawal.



An Israeli 175 mm self-propelled gun in action.



The Israeli intervention in South Lebanon.

SOUTH LEBANON BETWEEN THE ZIONIST HAMMER AND THE ISOLATIONIST ANVIL

On the 14th September — 1977, the escalation of fighting in South Lebanon took new dimensions whereby Zionist-Lebanese Fascist co-ordinated action against Lebanese Nationalist and Resistance Joint Forces began to take unprecedented forms. With the Joint Forces' counter attacks aimed at restoring strong points overrun by isolationist forces, the Zionist forces moved in to prevent any possible set-back for the Fascist camps. Witnessing the desperate situation of the right-wing who effectively was hammered back into its originally-held enclave by the joint forces, the Israeli army occupied strategic positions between the nationalist forces and the Fascist bloc. According to Zionist officials' statements:

"Israel would take all precautionary measures that would ensure the safety of the Lebanese isolationist elements." Izra Weizman, the Zionist War Minister, reiterated that the Zionists would not tolerate to see the Fascists defeated and would act vigorously in favour of the protection of Fascist interests.

In fact Israel's involvement in the fighting on the side of the so-called Lebanese Fascist Front dates back to the advanced stages of the "Two Years" war when CIA agents managed to bring the Lebanese war lords and their Zionist counterparts together into the common trench.

It follows that Israeli-isolationist co-operation and alliance is not a strange phenomenon for a clear understanding of the emer-

gence of Zionism and Lebanese isolationism, and their connections with world imperialism objectively places them in the same reactionary camp.

The Zionist-isolationist attempts at curbing the strength of the nationalist joint forces or terminating their physical presence in the South as for which the murderous leadership of the so-called Lebanese Front continue to clamour, met with little success. The successive waves of isolationist-Zionist attacks were smashed by the iron-willed resistance of the Joint Forces. The failure of the allied enemy campaign to achieve its objectives drove the isolationist's overlords in "Israel" to throw in their military weight. Zionist aircraft were sent in two sorties to silence the batteries of the nationalist forces who widened the scope of their retaliation and shelled Zionist

positions in occupied northern Palestine. In the wake of the placement of the Zionist war machine on the alert in northern Palestine, armoured troop units and helicopters crossed into southern Lebanon in to the isolationist held enclave.

During the escalation of the confrontation, fascist warlord and long-standing imperialist agent Camille Chamoun headed a delegation of the Rightest Front to Damascus. However, at the time when the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples confront alone the full weight of Zionist-isolationist aggression, some Arabs are content with voicing formal clichés concerning their "solidarity" with the Palestinian Nationalist movement. The Arab regimes' reluctant attitude towards South Lebanon raises the question as to whether they are

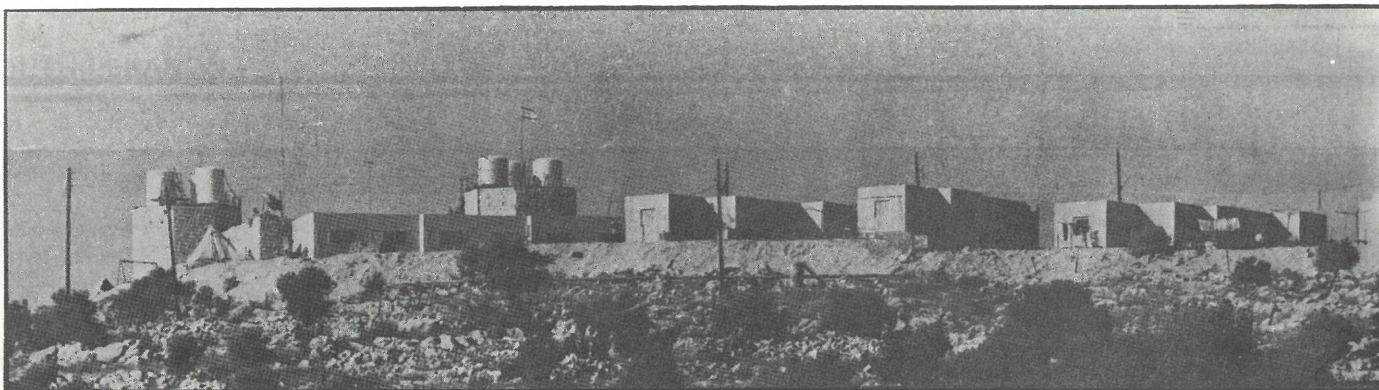
content with the curbing of the Resistance.

In the light of the intentions of the Zionist "Hawks" and their Lebanese puppets, all indications show that the conspiracy against the Palestinian — Nationalist forces continues.

Constant Zionist incursions into Lebanon coupled with isolationist attempts at gaining more territory pose a new threat and challenge to the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Nationalist forces. Zionist — fascist action comes within the context of the Zionist — U.S. supported scheme of silencing all voices that could form a potential threat to imperialist interests in the area. The Zionists for their part strive to weaken further the Arab bargaining position in case of the reconvening of the "peace" arrangement by promoting and

developing its fifth column within the Arab ranks; the Lebanese rightest faction. The rightest Front for its part strives to exploit its alliance with Israel to promote its political status within the framework of the Lebanese regime by extorting concessions both within and abroad.

A clear understanding of the position and nature of the enemies of the Palestinian Revolution furnishes the resistance with precautionary defensive measures. Lessons learnt from previous experience teach the resistance to depend primarily on its own resources and masses rather than on hollow Arab official phrases. Meanwhile a long and arduous path of sacrifice and struggle lies ahead of the Resistance and the Lebanese Nationalist movement.



An Israeli Settlement

COLONIZATION AND JUDAIZATION OF PALESTINE

The creation of a *de facto* situation through systematic colonization of Arab Palestine continues to form the cornerstone and basis of Zionist strategy. It is through the establishment of Zionist colonies that the Zionist leadership seeks to isolate Palestinian population centers from one another in order to strangle them, (by hitting at the weakest link in the Arab chain).

The process of colonization implies the constant uprooting of Palestinian Arabs from their homes, transforming them into refugees in their own country, or by evicting them to the neighbouring Arab countries.

Zionist colonies since the late nineteenth century and until today perform a closely knit dual task:

- A military function - springboard for new expansion against adjacent Arab territories.
- The absorption of essential additional manpower in order to carry on with the general process of colonization.

Contrary to the allegation of the so called Zionist "Left" which

claims that the Israeli Kibbutzim are the embodiment of a communal-Socialistic (Israeli) type, the fact that the Kibbutzim are run in a highly centralized fashion by the bourgeois and for the bourgeois state and the way members of these colonies are militaristically regimented, brings the Kibbutz or settlement closer to a medieval type of military community living within the wall of a feudal castle rather than a Socialist Commune. The perfect knowledge of the formation and colonialist militaristic function of the Zionist settlements is revealing for the Western progressive circles who have been deceived for a long time by Zionist so-called "Leftist" propaganda.

Colonialist endeavours of the different Zionist political factions form the common denominator despite the minor contradictions that arise between the factions. The differences, however, are of a tactical nature. The former "Labour" government was not in principle opposed to the idea of establishing settlements on occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. Facts indicate that all settle-

ments were planned by the government.

With the exception of the Gush Imunim's attempts to set up three illegal settlements i.e. colonies that were not authorized by the government, systematic colonization of Arab lands went on unchecked. The 1967 occupied territories were dotted with settlements extending from the occupied Syrian Golan heights as far as Sinai, Rafah and Sharm El-Sheikh. Labour "rejected" the establishment of settlements on the grounds that the state alone has the right to monopolize the process. This however permitted the "Hawks" then outside power to use the issue for outbidding the "Doves" whom they branded to be moderate or even anti Zionist.

In fact the Likud's 14-point election program devoted the utmost attention to what was called "the inalienable rights of Jews to live anywhere they chose in (Eretz Israel)." Likud emphasized that "Zionist settlers have full rights in the so-called land of Israel as the English have rights anywhere in England. The Zionist terrorist Begin led the campaign of

all-out colonization only to be soon joined by his other colleagues in terrorism. Dayan and Sharon manifested equal zeal and enthusiasm by stressing "the necessity of settlement all over the occupied territories even outside the area the government termed as the green line. The green line implied the Israeli conception of safe and defensive frontiers. The existence of settlements in the 1967 areas to be evacuated in the case of a peaceful settlement means that Israeli withdrawal is going to be nominal.

The first decree issued by the present Likud government upon assuming power was to legalise three settlements already established by the ultra colonialist Gush Imunim movement. It is evident that the actual Zionist step was formal and constituted only a step in the procedure based on the Agranat Committee's decision that was suggested under the former administration. The Agranat Committee decision stipulated that settlement should not be restricted or limited to any specific part of the West Bank and Gaza. According to Agranat the necessity of settlement is directly related to the security of "Israel".

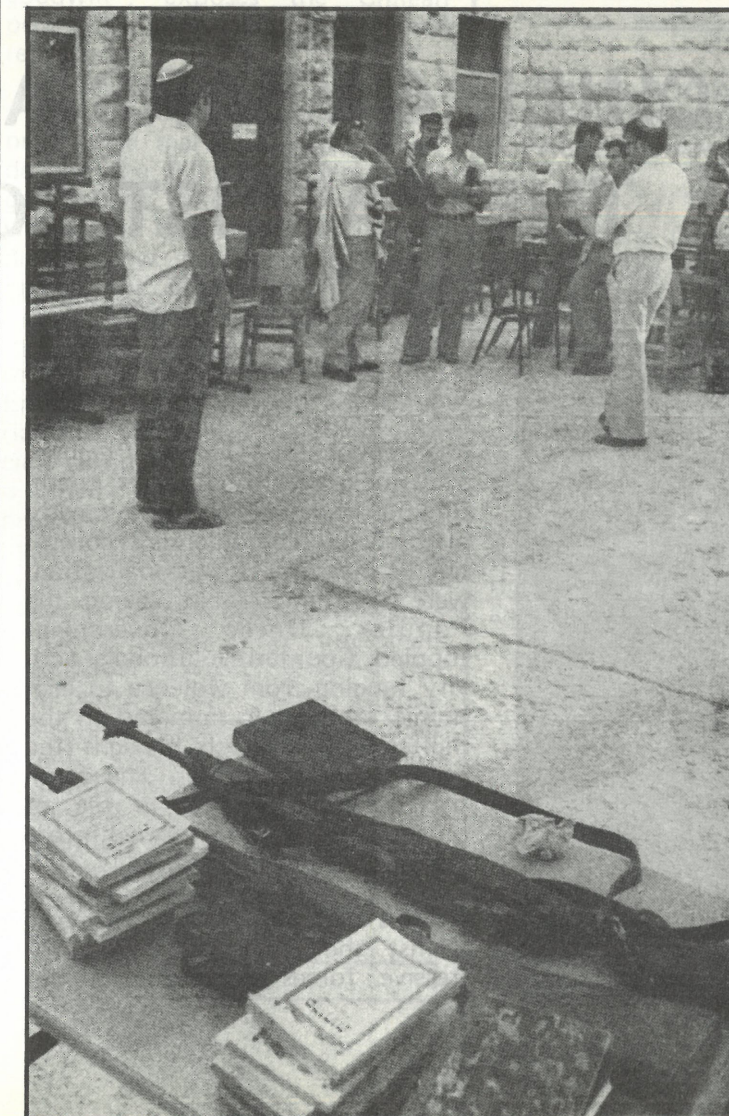
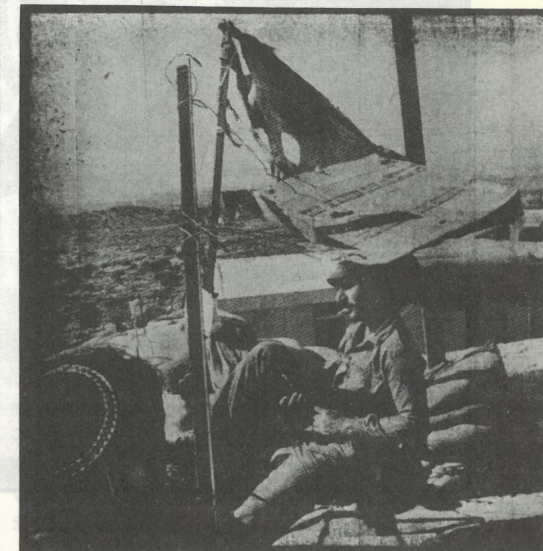
In an interview with Israel's radio, Sharon disclosed that 7 Zionist colonies have been established since Likud came to power. This number, according to Sharon, excludes the number of settlements set up under the auspices of the former government. When asked whether the Likud government would adopt measures to stop settlement outside its control Sharon stated that he thinks this would not take place, however he reiterated that Jews have a full right to live anywhere they chose and the Arab minority have nothing to fear!

With Zionist expansionist-colonialist intentions becoming clear and exercised in the open, the United States government timidly voiced its discontent at the current Israeli steps. It is true that the motive behind the U.S. attitude lies in the vast interests, connections and commitments in the

Arab world, but to what extent is the U.S. able to translate its words into deeds? The perfect knowledge of the nature of the relationship between Israel and the U.S. and the place of priority occupied by Israel in U.S. imperialist strategy questions the seriousness of the American "polite rejection" of Israeli plans and actions. Not to mention that essential subsidies and finances for the settlements are largely covered by the U.S. coffers.

As the Zionist naked aggression proceeds with large American active and potential support. The U.S. government, which pledged unconditional and limitless support for the Zionist aggression on many occasions, tries hypocritically to beautify its ugly image in the Arab world, capitalizing on a minority of Arabs connected to its wheel. "The Arabs of America". Meanwhile the Palestinian and Arab masses continue to pay dearly for Zionist - imperialist and reaction-

nary crimes. They pay for the Zionist stick and the American carrot. It becomes therefore an obligation and necessity to resist Fascist oppression with all means including armed struggle and revolutionary violence as a first step in the protracted war of liberation and national salvation.



The Torah and machine guns.



Systematic repression and detentions in Chile.

CHILE 4 YEARS AFTER THE FASCIST COUP



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On the 9th of September 1973 the CIA engineered a military coup against the progressive and anti-imperialist Chilean regime. The imperialist monopolies operating in Chile, which were mostly affected by Dr. Allende's government's measures of nationalization, were instrumental in seeing the Popular Unity government toppled. Counterrevolutionary activity ranging from violence to economic sabotage culminated in the military coup which brought the Fascist junta to power. The country was drenched in a sea of blood, and was transformed into a giant "concentration camp".

Mass killings were organized against the democratic and progressive forces starting with the

liquidation of President Allende and ending with the assassination of leading workers, students, intellectuals and artists. The Junta moved from behind a curtain of the ITT monopoly and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) sought to bring Chile back into the North American orbit. Chilean subservience to the U.S. meant the eventual placing of the country back into the socially and economically vicious circles prevailing before the coming of Allende's progressive government.

Four years after the Junta's bloody coup, Chile is far from being cured from the illnesses of capitalism and the total subservience to imperialist monopolies. In spite of the Junta's assurances



President Allende.

that the Chilean economy would be healthier soon, neutral sources estimate the rate of inflation to be 300 o/o during the current year. Unemployment is rising, placing a considerable number of the work force on the brink of starvation. The deteriorating position of the Chilean working class and general proletarian sections of society triggered off a series of strikes in defiance of the regime's heavy repression. The regime's response was to maintain and enforce the already prevailing state of siege. Systematic repression, detentions without arrest warrants for and unlimited period of time, kidnapping of progressive elements suspected of resisting the regime and occasional curfews are characteristic of the regime. In a speech,

Pinochet stated that there would be no return to civilian rule for at least 30 years.

Contrary to the wishful thinking of Pinochet and his military dictatorship, the Chilean fascists continue to suffer isolation in the international arena. Like the rest of their fascist protagonists in Rhodesia, South Africa and Israel, the Chilean regime rightfully deserves the scorn and condemnation of progressive humanity. The Junta continues to breathe and have access through American imperialist economic and political channels. At the time when world wide condemnation forces Carter to "rebuke" the Chilean regime, the U.S. monopolist government continues to pour in such economic and military aid that would enhance the position of the Junta and enable it to tighten its grip on the Chilean people's neck.

American aid, contrary to Carter's supposed "humanitarian goodwill", exposes the Chilean people to more exploitation and repression.

On the fourth anniversary of the progressive martyr Salvador Allende and the fall of his democratic government which represented the will of the Chilean masses in building a new egalitarian society of justice, the nature of the blood-stained claws of imperialism becomes more exposed to the broad masses of progressive humanity. Empty phrases about "humanitarianism" voiced by imperialist officials could not mask the ugly face of their so-called "democratic" practice - The practice of blood money. This is at a time when systematic liquidation of thousands of Chilean political prisoners is taking place. They lose their lives under torture. News of torture leaking out made international organizations move on their behalf. Meanwhile progressive humanity continues to absorb the lessons of the Chilean experience: authentic people's power can only be defended by the gun in face of potential imperialist-reactionary conspiracies.

SOLIDARITY NEWS

W.P.C. CAMPAIGN IN SUPPORT OF LEGITIMATE PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

At the end of its four-day meeting in Berlin on 15/9, the World Peace Council decided to organize an international campaign in support of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people in anticipation of UN General Assembly session. The Council condemned Israeli attempts to negate the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The Council also denounced the Israeli policy of establishing settlements on the occupied territories and Israel's backing of the isolationist forces in South Lebanon, which it considered to be an aggression against Lebanon and the Arab nations.

GREEK SOCIALIST PARTY REAFFIRMS SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

During a meeting on 21/9 between the Greek Socialist Party and the PLO delegation which had participated in the Party's third conference, Andreas Papandreu President of the Party, affirmed the latter's stand of solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution in confronting the Zionist aggression against South Lebanon. He also stressed his Party's support for the Revolution's struggle to regain the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, including the right to return and to statehood.

CYPRIOT SOCIALIST PARTY CONDEMNS ISRAELI/ISOLATIONIST AGGRESSION IN SOUTH LEBANON

Yasser Arafat on September 20 received a cable of support from Fasos Lissarides, President of the Cypriot Socialist Party, condemn-

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Abu Lutf: Chief of PLO Political Department.

ning the Israeli offensive in alliance with the local fascist forces in South Lebanon. The cable expressed full solidarity with the Joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces in their confrontation of the aggression, which, he said, aims at putting Lebanon under the grip of Israel and the fascist forces.

The President of the Cypriot Socialist Party today sent a cable to UN Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, requesting immediate action to stop the Israeli aggression against South Lebanon.

CYPRIT PARLIAMENT MEMBER DENOUNCES ISRAELI AGGRESSION AGAINST SOUTH

Nicosia,

George Daviden member of the Cypriot Parliament and President of the Cypriot committee of solidarity with the Arab peoples on 21/9 addressed a cable to UN Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, denouncing the Israeli aggression against South Lebanon as hindering UN efforts for peace in the Middle East.

Daviden demanded that appropriate measures be taken by the UN to stop this Israeli offensive on the South and to force it to

abandon its belligerent policy towards neighbouring Arab states. He finally appealed for Waldheim's personal effort to reconvene a Geneva peace conference with the participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

IPC REPORT: ISRAELI MEASURES HINDER PEACE IN M.E.

The International Parliamentary Conference on 21/9 called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, the necessity of the recovery of the Palestinian people's national rights, and the reconvening of the Geneva peace conference with the participation of the PLO as an independent party in it.

The report of the IPC which opened its session in Sofia with the participation of 600 parliamentarians representing 70 countries, affirmed that Israel's violations of Palestinian human rights, and its latest measures against the Palestinian population in the occupied territories constitute an obstacle in the way of peace.

PALESTINIAN-YUGOSLAV COMMUNIQUE

The Yugoslav government reaffirmed its full support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people in recovering their national legitimate rights and the establishment of their independent state in their homeland. This came in a press communique issued on 20/9 in Belgrade at the end of two talks between Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department and the Yugoslav, Foreign Minister and other officials.

EURO-ARAB COLLOQUIUM DENOUNCES ISRAELI POLICY IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

The President of the Association of French-Arab solidarity denounced the aggressive Zionist policy against the Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories. Louis Terrenoire was speaking at the opening of the Euro-Arab Colloquium on 20/9 in Paris which is sponsored by the French-Arab Solidarity Association and the Federation of Euro-Arab Friendship Societies.

Louis Terrenoire requested the amendment of UN resolution 242 in way that guarantees the rights of Palestinians and treats them as people rather than as refugees.



Opposition leader Ecevit (with Soviet Premier Kosygin).

PALESTINE ANALYSIS

TURKEY AT THE CROSSROAD BETWEEN NATO AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Turkey, with a 45 million population, larger than that of any single Arab country, a territory of 780,000 sq km, a growing industrial and economic potential and a large modern army, holds a strategic key-position between Western Europe/N.A.T.O., the Soviet Union/East Europe, the Far East and the Middle East/Arab Oil Gulf. It is the crossing point of highly conflicting interests, political ideologies and social movements, of imperialism, anti-imperialism and socialism. Turkey is also the scene of deep internal unrest and far-reaching social and political changes. For a long, humiliating period, Western imperialism has dominated and held in tutelage all political moves in the country, misused it as its military parade ground, and exploited the economic and labour resources of the Turkish nation while keeping it in a state of backwardness and industrial underdevelopment. As a result, Turkey faced a series of internal and external crises, and in recent years the resistance against Western domination and exploitation has grown on all levels and throughout nearly all political circles to become more organized. The impact of internal changes and the development in Tur-

key's foreign alliances will be increasingly felt over the whole region and can offer favourable prospects for its Arab neighbours including the Palestinian people, both in peace time and in case of another Zionist aggression.

TURKEY AS OBJECT OF U.S./N.A.T.O. CONCEPT

Since the "cold war" following the U.S. Korea aggression in 1952, Turkey was made a "corner-stone" of the South Eastern flank of N.A.T.O. which it was forced to join in 1952. As such it was — and it is still

- to serve to threaten, and to spy upon, large parts of the Soviet Union from the south;
- to serve as a link to the U.S.-dominated C.E.N.T.O. pact (Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Britain, U.S.A.)

- to serve as a spring-board for possible U.S./N.A.T.O. activities and adventures in the Middle East and Arab Gulf, and likewise to back Israel.

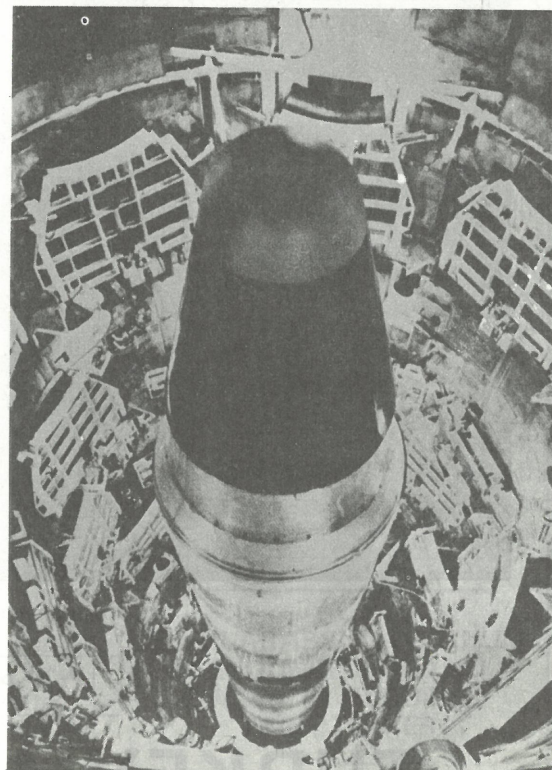
The strategic importance of Turkey with

regard to the Middle East and the Palestine question became partly evident during the October war. Credible reports (see U.S. "Time", 9 August 1975, West German "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", 28 July 1975) say that the Turkish U.S. bases had established Soviet mobilization of seven divisions for possible deployment by airlift and also the shipment of nuclear weapons to Syria and Egypt. Likewise, the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. had mobilized their forces in the region. But on the other hand, and in expression of new political developments, Turkey was said to have, out of concern not to spoil relations with its Arab neighbours and oil-suppliers and block the hopefully prosperous development in these relations, taken control over the N.A.T.O. early warning system and refused to allow the use of all U.S. bases against the Arabs including the supply for Israel.

Turkey's present military infrastructure depends completely on the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. and on supplies from there. Its 455,000 man army is, before the 155,000 Greek forces, the main executive instrument of N.A.T.O.'s South Eastern Command, based in Izmir under a U.S. General Commander. The Turkish Air Forces are integrated in N.A.T.O.'s 6th Allied Tactical Airforce. Beside the N.A.T.O. structure, the U.S.A. has built up in Turkey its own network of even greater strategic importance, directed by the "Joint United States Military Advisory Team (Jusmat)", with its headquarters in Ankara. It controls the top-secret and quasi extraterritorial American chain of spy bases, missile sites, air bases, tracking stations for reconnaissance satellites, early warning stations; altogether about 45 bases. The U.S. surveillance stations are situated mainly in East Turkey and along the Black Sea coast from where they monitor Soviet nuclear explosions and missile tests, as well as all military and commercial naval traffic from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

Likewise they cover the whole of the Middle East. No wonder that in early 1977 a Pentagon spokesman declared that the suspension of U.S. military activities following the Cyprus crisis and the U.S. Congress' arms "embargo" in February 1975 was affecting "20 o/o of the national U.S. supervision capacity" which could not be fully replaced otherwise, and that this was also affecting the U.S.-Soviet talks on strategic arms limitation (S.A.L.T.).

The U.S.A. maintains also its own fighting units in Turkey, in particular some essential air bases equipped with "over 100" nuclear



Nuclear bases. After 25 years of Western domination.

bombs (West German "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" 30 July 1975), the biggest of which bases is Incirlik near Adana, in Southern Turkey, close to the Syrian border. All this makes N.A.T.O. and U.S. positions in Turkey "vital" in this area for the Western alliance, as the N.A.T.O. Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, U.S. General Haig has repeatedly underlined (who has just met in Brussels on 16 September 1977 the Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan, his "old friend", as a N.A.T.O. spokesman put it).

TURKISH-GREEK CONFRONTATION AND CYPRUS CONFLICT PART OF U.S./N.A.T.O. STRATEGY

Turkey's tense relations with Greece and Cyprus cannot be separated from parallel U.S./N.A.T.O. interests and intentions there.

In Greece, the 155,000 man Army is also integrated in N.A.T.O. The U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. maintain there, too, extensive air and naval bases, electronic spying facilities and nuclear launching sites. To impose their strategy on Turkey, Greece and Cyprus, the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. have used the following tactics:

- to exploit local reactionary forces which for their own privileges open the door to imperialist multinational exploitation and military occupation.

- to favour chauvinist forces in all concerned countries in order to instigate and maintain tension between Greece and Turkey. Through this U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. have influenced local political developments and exerted pressure on the respective governments to keep them depending on U.S. and N.A.T.O. "support" and "protection" against their "national rivals". The Turkish "hot spots" with Greece are mainly the following:

- the air space rights in the Aegean Sea with about 3,000 Greek islands extending close to the Turkish coast;

- the question of fishing rights and limit zones around the coast and these islands (seabed rights, exploitation of oil, minerals etc.);

- the Cyprus conflict.

Why has, so far, none of these trouble spots been settled, despite all the spectacular Western "mediation" and "peace" missions and efforts? If one looks closely one can find that the matters as such (Turkish or Greek rights, Cypriot independence, partition or federation) could be reasonably solved through compromises from which all the people would benefit. The stalemates and problems obviously rather come from the question of how far the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. are interested in such settlements favoring their bases, or just in the very absence of settlements which would not serve their positions.

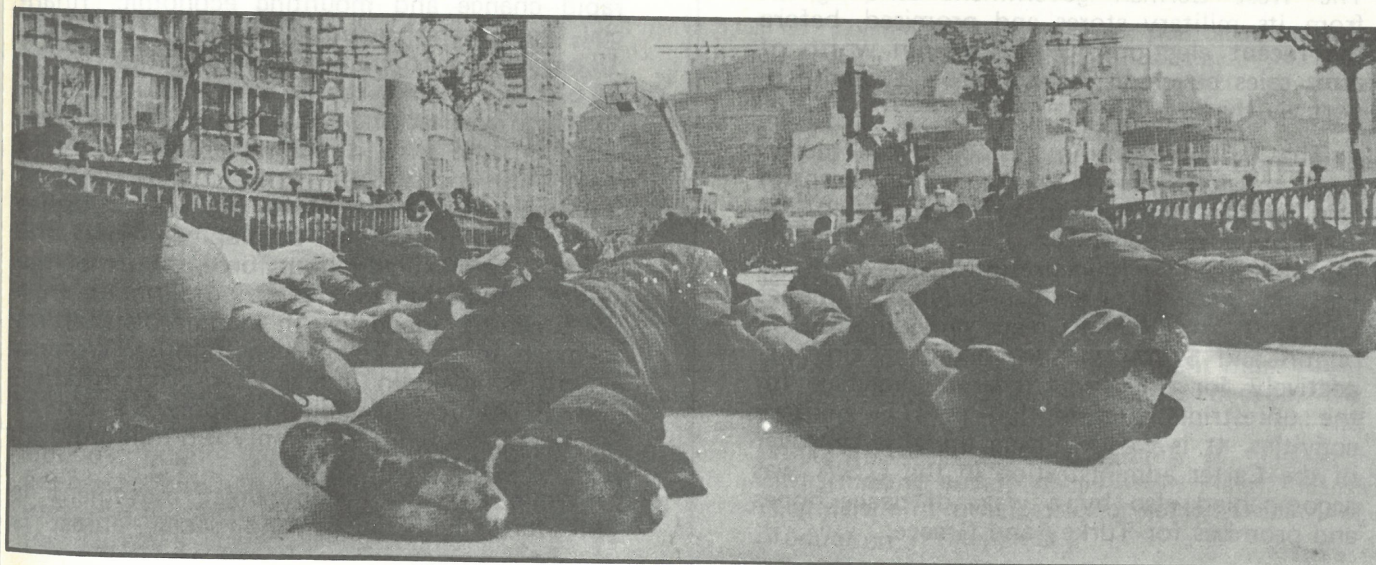
The development of the so-called Cyprus conflict and the continued lack of progress towards a solution for the people there despite all the Western "mediation efforts, illustrates this exemplarily (see "Palestine", 1 September 1977).

Up to the explosion of the situation in 1974, the N.A.T.O. powers have done all to instigate dissension and hatred between the Greek and Turkish community and to undermine the stability and independence of its government. One of the results was that the Turkish 20 o/o minority came under considerable pressure. In 1974, Turkey reacted with a large-scale occupation, which led to the de facto partition of the island. This was secretly backed by the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. due to a serious crisis in the South Eastern flank of the Western alliance system.

THE CREEPING EROSION OF N.A.T.O.

Certainly, the threat of a sudden inter-N.A.T.O. military explosion has been exaggerated after the 1974 Cyprus crisis. But the dirty "triangle game" in which U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. try to play off and to exploit Turkey, Greece and Cyprus, bears many contradictions and risks. It has aggravated anti-U.S. and -N.A.T.O. feelings and met increasing resistance among all the Turkish, Greek and Cypriot people, media and political groupings. The threat of a creeping erosion of N.A.T.O. does really exist.

Turkey reacted vehemently, when the U.S.A., in order to "appease" somewhat the Greek side after the Cyprus disaster in 1974, decided in February 1975 an "arms embargo" against Turkey. The public demanded an end to the total U.S./N.A.T.O. dependency. Discontent was growing even inside the army which soon felt the lack of U.S. spare parts. Mass demonstrations took place, and the Turkish government consequently declared the suspen-



Social problems and political violence.

sion of the work of the extensive U.S. reconnaissance bases and took them under symbolic Turkish control. The U.S. nuclear launching sites, however, remained untouched, and the N.A.T.O. structure kept working, although Turkish politicians including Prime Minister Demirel threatened at times, especially before the recent elections, that Turkey would completely opt out of N.A.T.O. All these developments since July 1974 raised considerable concern in U.S./N.A.T.O. circles. Their political reactions are determined by the following principles:

- It is supposed that neither Turkey nor Greece, because of their heavy dependence on U.S./N.A.T.O. infrastructure and supplies, would be really able to leave N.A.T.O. in the short run.

- Western circles consider as really dangerous the long-run erosion of the South Eastern flank of the Western Alliance, especially in Turkey. They fear that Turkey could become neutral or turn to the "only alternative for Turkey, to buy Soviet arms financed by Arab money" (U.S. Senator Mansfield, West German "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" 1 August 1975).

- In their tactical reaction, the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. try to apply an approach strikingly similar to that one applied towards the Arab Israeli/Palestine conflict: Making a fuss of diplomatic moves and settlement efforts they are in reality first of all occupied to keep and if possible expand their bases. And in order to "appease" and to "stabilize" the situation, they extend increased "aid" to different parties while leaving the basic problems unsolved.

First, other N.A.T.O. states, in particular West Germany, were deployed to "compensate" quietly for the suspended U.S. supplies. The West German government sent "gifts" from its military stores and promised, before the recent elections, \$ 450 million worth of arms sales on credit, economic "aid" and support via the E.E.C.

The U.S.A. itself, in the course of "mediation" missions, and in exchange for extensive "aid" offers, worked to get step-by-step the bases fully re-opened. In 1976, the out-going Ford-Kissinger administration succeeded in drafting two subsequent "defense" treaties with both Turkey and Greece providing for \$ 1 billion and \$ 700 million military "aid" respectively for both countries in exchange for the unrestricted resumption of U.S. military activities. It is worth noting that the takeover of the Carter administration in the U.S.A. was accompanied also by a wave of peace hopes and promises for Turkey and Greece.

But the spectacular mission of President Carter's envoy, Clifford, in spring 1977, resulted in nothing except the promotion of the defense treaties. The Turkish government: officially still sticks to the suspension of the use of the U.S. bases, but it is most likely that the U.S.A. will keep them in secret operation. Recent reports say that from the 7,000 or so U.S. "specialists" originally at work there, 6,000 are still active in the country.

However, none of the basic problems is solved. The Turkish-Greek confrontation persists. There is no prospect for a near Cyprus-settlement. The U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. still treat their bases like a state within the Turkish state and use their supplies as means of pressure against Turkey. Hereby, the poor country pays even itself an excessively high contribution to N.A.T.O., defraying a larger share of its state budget for Western defence than any other N.A.T.O. country.

No wonder, that anti-U.S./N.A.T.O. disgust smoulders among wide circles. Moreover the economic and social problems connected with Turkey's West integration are also on the rise and increase internal instability as well as anti-Western feelings.

E.E.C. RELATIONS AND MOUNTING PROBLEMS

Turkey has vast personal and possibly industrial resources. But despite a nominal annual growth in its Gross National Product of about 7.5 o/o, it has been kept on the level of a developing country in many fields. After 27 years of closest economic and military alliance with the West, the country is shaken by both rapid change and mounting economic, financial, social and security problems. In 1950, 18 o/o of the population lived in cities. Today 44 o/o are living there, many of them in shanty towns lacking social and public services. At the same time, the rural areas, mainly in East and South East Turkey, show still an extremely backward feudal character. Despite the stormy industrial development and the forming of a skilled labour force, 38 o/o of the entire population was reported illiterate in a 1975 census. Inequality in income distribution is much more extreme than in other Western countries, including the U.S.A. The inflation rate is 20 o/o. 2.5 million people are out of work at present (in 1975 only 0.5 million).

While any open communist movement is still forbidden, labour and social unrest is



Prime Minister Demirel.

growing. Since the beginning of 1975, 228 people — mostly from the left — were killed and 4,000 wounded in political violence. While in all 1975, 9 bomb attacks occurred, 521 such acts happened in the first eight months of this year.

In 1963, the year of Turkey's earlier agreement to the U.S. bases in the country, the Turkish government also signed an association agreement with the E.E.C. which was to provide for Turkey's full E.E.C. membership in 1995 but proved to be highly unfavourable for Turkey in the following time. With 45 o/o of its exports going to and 50 o/o of its imports coming from the E.E.C. countries, trade relations with them have become vital for Turkey.

However, the problems increase: The agreement allows for E.E.C. industrial imports flooding the country, thereby blocking its own industry. On the other hand, the outdated E.E.C. concessions for imports from Turkey concern mainly agricultural products which now face mounting competition on the E.E.C. markets.

As a result, the Turkish trade deficit with E.E.C. has risen ten-fold within the last seven years. It amounted in 1976 to \$ 1.4 billion, an amount roughly equal to the total of E.E.C. financial "aid" to Turkey since 1970. This trade deficit with E.E.C. has first to be blamed for Turkey's current catastrophic lack of fo-

reign currency and capital. The Turkish state has almost become bankrupt.

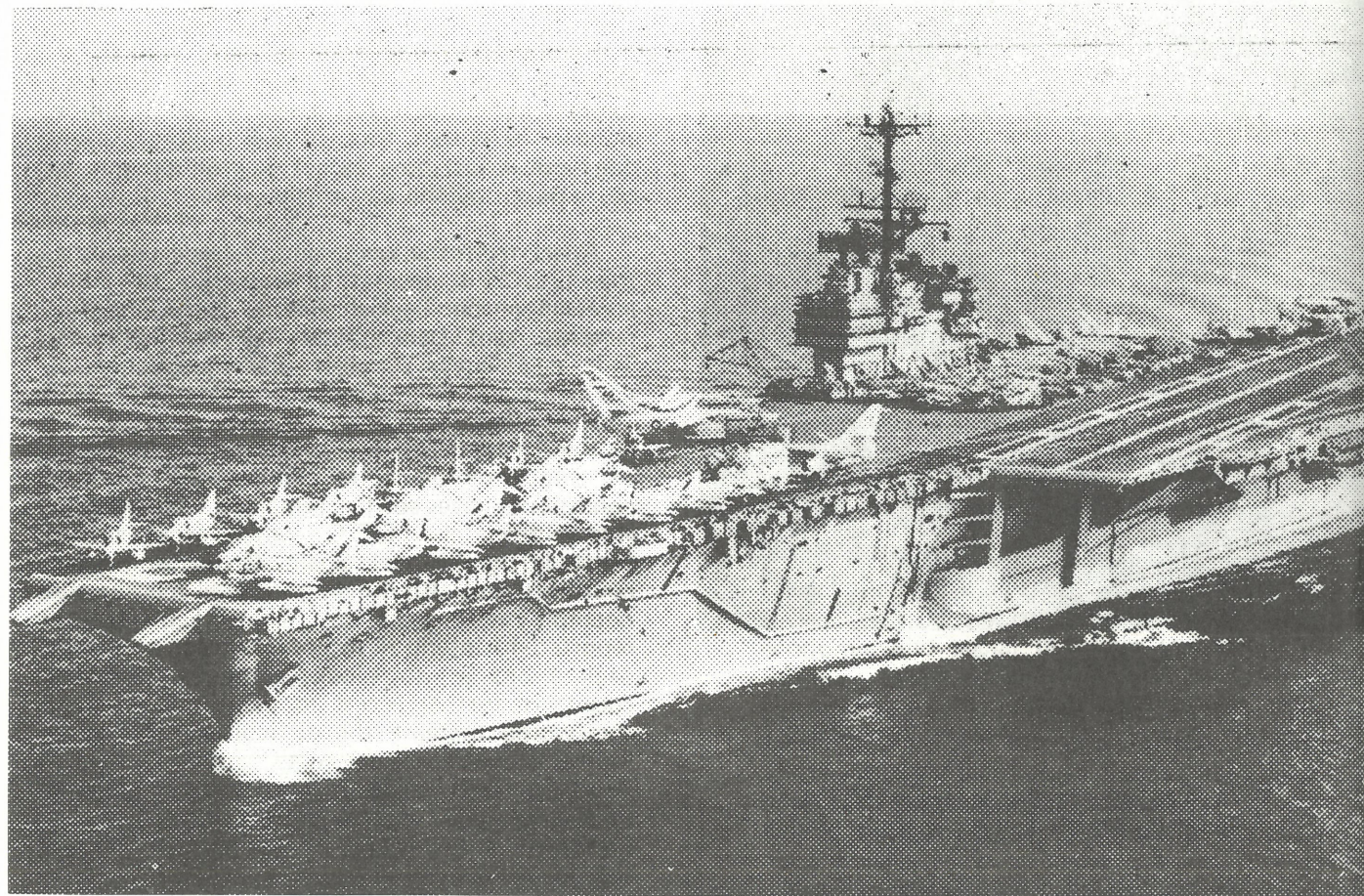
Foreign currency reserves have sunken to about 1/3 of the 1973 level, while Turkey's foreign indebtedness has risen by \$ 2 billion alone in 1976 to a total of \$ 6 billion. Turkey does not know how to get \$ 1 billion due to be re-paid by the end of the year.

Apart from the worsening of trade relations, the E.E.C. is increasingly unable to allow access for the Turkish labour force and has recently sent back many Turkish labourers. This aggravates Turkey's present balance of payments and unemployment problems.

Recent demands of Turkey for better terms of trade, more capital and better working conditions have so far remained without response from the E.E.C. which faces similar demands by Portugal, Spain, Greece and other countries, and also growing internal market and unemployment problems. The E.E.C. is now reported to intend — in contradiction to public declarations — to block Turkey's and other countries' further access to the E.E.C. because this would increase the difficulties. This development corresponds with growing disappointment and disgust in Turkey itself. Reports in August 1977 speak of a Turkish Foreign Ministry's study group proposing that Turkey should eventually completely quit E.E.C. if its demands are not met. Even if this was a tactical publication, as a matter of fact the voices are growing in nearly all Turkish circles which call, instead of further E.E.C. integration, for a turn to the markets of the Far and Middle East and the socialist countries, and especially towards the capital-rich Arab countries.

TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION

For the Soviet Union, too, relations with the Southern neighbour Turkey (600 km common frontier) are of highest interest. The Soviet Union has continuously and patiently strived to improve its relations with Turkey and has achieved some successes in recent years especially in the phase of East-West detente which gave the Turkish government more room to manoeuvre. During the last decade, the U.S.S.R. has extended a \$ 1.6 billion aid program for the development of Turkey's infrastructure and heavy industry (steel mill in Iskenderun, hydroelectric projects, aluminium production, refinery etc.)



Object of U.S. NATO Strategy: U.S. VI Fleet.

Agreements on cooperation and good neighborly relations have been signed. So far the Turkish side has not agreed in signing a "non-aggression and friendship" treaty as proposed by the U.S.S.R. which would provide for consultations before "any military operation" started by one of them. However, the indeed useful Soviet aid for industrial development has been welcomed by nearly all Turkish factions.

IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD, P.L.O.

As a U.S.-dominated N.A.T.O. country, Turkey established in the fifties and sixties relations with Israel and continues to maintain diplomatic, economic and cultural relations. Meanwhile the aggressive character of the Zionist State has become felt world-wide, and with its internal economic and its external political and military problems growing, Turkey tried, especially since the October War, to shift more

to the Arab side. Turkey also joined the Islamic Conferences and in May 1976 even lodged one. In general, Turkey tries, with a Muslim population share of 90 o/o to reactivate its Islamic traditions and links.

In practice, Turkey strengthened links especially with Iraq, which has agreed with Turkey to a common huge \$ 500 million pipeline project leading from Kirkuk to Iskenderun, the industrial center in Southern Turkey, near to the Syrian border. The line, which has just been opened, not only provides for about half of Turkey's present annual crude requirements, but also relieves the country's annual \$ 1 billion oil bill.

Turkey also tries to intensify its links with Saudi Arabia as well as with Libya. In general, Turkey has obviously so many historic, cultural, natural, economic, strategic and political links and common interests with the Arab world that their further symbiotic development can be of great importance.

Turkey needs Arab money, and the Arab countries can provide Turkey with prosperous capital as well as with the natural export markets for its growing industries. Turkey can provide for the Arab side reasonable investment projects, medium technology and labour.

Strategically, Turkey and its Arab neighbors can help each other to become less dependent on the West.

With the Palestine Liberation Organization, Turkey has also steadily improved relations and supported the Palestinian cause on international political levels in recent years. Turkey has repeatedly called for unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories and denounced Israeli expansionist and settlement policy. It supported the call for Israel's expulsion from the United Nations.

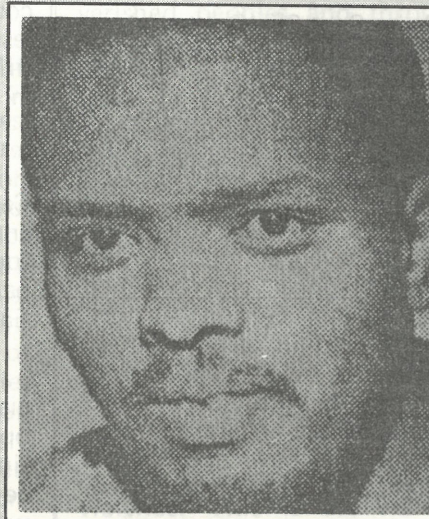
In early 1977, the opening of a P.L.O. office has been agreed with Turkey, and visits by high-ranking P.L.O. officials to Turkey are expected in the near future. It is of high interest for the Palestinian people to strengthen the friendship with the Turkish people and to establish good relations which will help in the fight against the Zionist aggressor and enhance the international support for its just cause.

ALLIES AT LONG SIGHT

Turkey is facing at present immensely difficult economic financial and political problems and, despite the recent elections, the immediate future developments are not clear. All these internal problems, and the obvious need of the country for capital, for social justice and reasonable planning in the national interest, will be decisive for Turkey's further development, besides its unique strategic position.

But independently from short-term government developments, Turkey provides for the Arab world a natural ally in their fight against Zionist aggression and imperialism. And for objective strategic reasons, Turkey will increasingly strengthen relations and alliances with the Arab world, in the economic, financial, political and cultural field. This development can, if it is not over-shadowed by new U.S. imperialist plots, favour the overall progress and development of both Turkey and the Arab region, and should therefore be encouraged as far as possible.

STEVE BIKO: THE MARTYRDOM OF REVOLUTIONARIES CLEARS THE PATH TO LIBERATION



Steve Biko, honorary president of South Africa's black-consciousness movement, the black people's convention was martyred on September 12.

Martyr Biko, 30, becomes the 21st detainee to be butchered after being detained without trial.

Thousands of people, all over the world attended memorial services held in his honour. In South Africa the minority settlers regime, besides attributing his death to malnutrition and other absurdities, resorted to its fascistic deeds by arresting and physical eliminating those attending memorial services in Namibia and South Africa.

Protest has been voiced from all corners of the world. Nevertheless the racist regime in South Africa, as its Zionist counter part occupying Palestine, is manifesting its arrogance by turning deaf ear to world public opinion. The perverted minds of the reactionary settlers has not grasped the fact yet that the individual will die but the revolution flourishes; the martyrdom of revolutionaries clears the path to liberation.

ISRAELIS DETAIN 'BLACK HEBREW'

Tel Aviv, Sept.25 (Reuters).

Sixteen U.S. citizens who belong to a sect known as the "Black Hebrews" were detained after a clash with the police, who were trying to deport them from Israel, authorities said.

The group — three men, six women and seven children — tore up their passports and smashed furniture at Ben Gurion Airport. They were held in airport detention center to await deportation.

The group has intended to settle Cimana, where several hundred black Americans have been blacks claim to be the "original Hebrews".

DAYAN IN BELGIUM AND U.S.

Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan left in September for New York for crucial Mideast talks. Dayan was carrying the Israeli draft of a peace treaty.

Dayan held a meeting with Israeli ambassadors, leaders of Jewish communities in Europe and General Alexander Haig.

Dayan also met the Belgian Foreign Minister Henri Simonet, chairman of the Council of the European Common Market. The nine Common Market countries have tended to favour the Arab States. It has already declared its support for a homeland for the Palestinians. Nothing has been disclosed about this meeting. A spokesman for Simonet said that Dayan's one-day stay in Brussels was mainly to meet Israeli leaders and diplomats. "The two will meet again in New York at the UN General Assembly," he added.

Dayan's talks with Simonet in Brussels were seen as an Israeli effort to muster some European

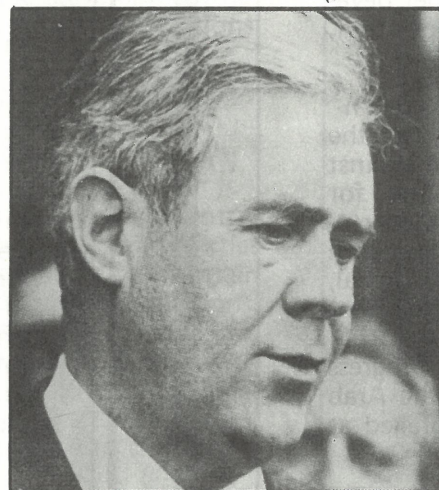
support for the Israeli stand on the Middle East. Informed sources said that Dayan told his Belgian counterpart that he feels **There is less danger in rejecting a Palestinian state and risking war, than in accepting such a state.**

Dayan met with President Carter, Secretary of State Vance and other US. officials in Washington. The US called for Palestinian participation at any future Middle East peace.

Dayan, in an interview on Belgian television, said that Israel opposes efforts to allow the Palestinians to attend a peace conference on their own or on equal terms with other Arab delegations.



DAYAN: "There is less danger in rejecting a Palestinian state and risking war".



US Secretary of State: Mr. Vance

GOSH IMONIM PLANS FOR 12 SETTLEMENTS

Tel Aviv, 16/9, Wafa

Yuhan Porath, head of the fanatic Gosh Imonim movement recently listed the places of the settlements they intend to establish in the near future. Following are the names of the settlements as listed: — Dottan, north-east of the city of Jenin — Terza, on the Nablus-Damia road — Shomroun and Qarnein between Nablus and Tulkarm — Namnat Khirs on the Nablus hills — Nabi Saleh north-east of Ramallah — Shibla and Beit Ibl north-east of Ramallah — Jaf'on and Beit Horoun, north-east of Jerusalem — and two others in the district of Hebron.

However, Porath claimed that these sites are temporary, and the permanent ones will be determined after coordination with other settlement groups. The head of the movement added that the government had responded favourably to the list of settlements, and that 2,500 settlers were registered as prospective residents of these 12 settlements.

GOSH IMONIM PURSUES SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES WITH OFFICIAL APPROVAL

The fanatic Gosh Imonim movement started a new settlement campaign in the areas of Yatra and Kfar Asyoun near Hebron and in the town of Salfit near Nablus.

The head of the movement announced that the movement got governmental approval to establish more settlements. He added, in an interview with the Israeli newspaper, (Yediot Aharonot) that the government will hold contacts with Zionist organizations all over the world to obtain material and moral support for the construction of settlements and the building of the new city of Jerusalem.

COMMENTARY WHO ARE THE REAL TERRORIST?

Under the false pretext of combating what is termed "international terrorism", imperialist circles intensify their campaigns against the national liberation movements and the democratic and progressive movements inside Western capitalist countries as well.

With the escalation of the struggle, waged by the nationalist liberation and progressive movements to throw off the yoke of oppression and exploitation, imperialism started to grind its sharp teeth. This is manifested by the revival of Fascist tendencies revealing the fragility of the imperialist "democratic" system.

In the light of the imperialists' actual crusade against "terrorism" and their superficial fervour over what they call "human rights" — (outside the realm of their domination and exploitation), it becomes evident that Western "democracy" is nothing but a cosmetic intended to mask the ugly face of these blood-stained repressive systems. Besides the physical destruction and devastation waged by imperialism against the struggling peoples of the world which involve the extermination of millions of people along the path of imperialist history, the concern for human rights stinks of hypocrisy.

Imperialism has indulged in the fabrication of a "morality" while immorality is its own image, essence and intention, continually evidenced in murderous crimes. For this purpose mass media in Europe and North America were mobilized as a part of the general effort of the state machine. It is of vital importance for the imperialists to win the battle, at least on the ideological front. Pseudo Intellectuals priests and hypocrites of various fronts affiliated to the monopolies, moved to condemn alleged terrorism.

At a time when imperialism manages to turn white into black, by

distorting facts, many ruling elites whose past is nothing but that of fascism and genocide, rule the destiny of nations and persist in preparing for more organized terror. The cliques of professional terrorists ruling in Israel, South Africa and Rhodesia are the most outstanding examples. Other fascist elements still hold key positions that could influence the process of policy-making in their countries such as the famous West German Martin Schleyer who was closely associated with Nazi authorities. Ironically he maintains close contact with Zionism today, providing substantial subsidies to Israel.

Growing opposition to imperialism brought imperialist powers together in an attempt to look for the most guaranteed ways to preserve their exploitative interests. One of the tasks of the Tripartite Commission comprising Japan, the NATO bloc and the United States was to devise means for combating the world liberation movements. In 1975 former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger presided over its functions and provided it with blue-print plans. Besides its overt strategic nature the Commission functions as an operation room for the direction and co-ordination of all sorts of clandestine warfare and subversive activities against national liberation and armed struggle. It serves as the imperialists' tool specifically in those areas that are not covered by repressive agencies such as the imperialist intelligence network services.

Imperialist media often refer to national liberation and revolutionary armed struggle as terrorism in an attempt to alienate mass and world public opinion's support from it. Popular warfare waged by oppressed nations striving at national self-realization and determination against colonial or local puppet regimes are distorted and deli-

berately shown to be acts of violence for its own sake. Revolutionary people's armies are shown as bands of bloodthirsty renegades, and so too are urban guerilla movements in the West.

Imperialism strives to maintain its parasitic hold over the impoverished peoples and through the decades of exploitation tries to preserve the status quo by the force of fire, sword and ideology. The natural and logical response to its systematic oppression is the outburst of resistance in various forms, including armed struggle and revolutionary violence. Violence waged by colonized peoples or alienated and oppressed groups within Western societies is best understood as an act of self-defence.

The very existence of the status quo subjects the masses to actual as well as potential aggression and violence. This is the violence of human alienation — when a human being does not belong to himself. It is when he is reduced to a cog in a huge machine. This situation created by imperialism and its system breeds violence. The imperialist groud becomes fertile for violence which is one of its own products.

War is a continuation of political action through violent means, according to German strategist Clausewitz. Intermittent acts of violence which have political dimensions come in response to violence waged by the oppressors. Isolated military action is related to the nature of the struggle waged by poorly equipped nations facing a farly technologically superior enemy. The early phase of people's liberation warfare, taking the form of small-scale guerilla confrontation, is confused by Western mass media with conventional acts of crime. Despite the temporary successes and failures of imperialism, the progress of the revolutionary — and nationalist movements goes on making clear its objectives to a larger spectrum of public opinion, rallying more material and moral mass support.

ZIONIST ARMAMENTS INDUSTRY

It is only natural for an artificial entity to have chronic socio-economic and political crises. The racist colonial state occupying Palestine has never proved itself stable or viable as an entity.

One of a series of measures taken by the Zionist state to blunt the sharp intrinsic contradictions is the development of its armaments industry, fully backed by US imperialism.

ECONOMICALLY:

The aggressive nature of the Israeli State is such that annually it spends over \$1100 per individual, the highest in the world with regard to per capita military expenditure. The huge military expenditure has resulted in a budget deficit of 7.7 billion. Military imports last year alone were at a cost of \$2,300 million, 1/3 of all imports. 35 o/o of G.N.P. issued to bolster the Zionist apparatus of aggression.

The Israeli Ministry of Commerce and Industry, to deal with the unmanageable economy, has put up posters which say "We must export in order to survive". At face value it seems the Israeli Government has chosen to export military hardware to ease its economic crisis. To this end the Israeli Defence workshop and Israel Aircraft Industry employing over 18,000, have been set up.

With components from America the Zionist armaments industries have started producing minor spare

parts. In the major assembly lines U.S. made engines are fitted into locally designed bodies. This way Israel now produces its "Own" supersonic fighters, tanks, fast patrol boats and missiles. The "Kfir" is a good example of this adventure. With U.S. General Electric J79 engines it has already appeared on the International Market with Israeli markings on it.

As pointed out by Shimon Peres, the previous Defense Minister, "Israel spent 4 billion pounds in Military Research and development in the past 3 years" (A.P. 19 June 1977). When this is balanced with total exports for the same period, \$ 320 million, the enterprise is null as a means of income.

Moreover the weak infrastructure of Zionist Industry and the high cost of production makes it very unlikely for Israel to compete in the International Arms trade. The underlying motive for the development of the Zionist Armaments Industry is to be sought else-where rather than in the economic spectrum.

DEFIANCE OF WORLD OPINION

It is not mere coincidence that the Zionist Armaments Industry has been accelerating at a pace that correlates to its international isolation. Development of the Zionist Armaments Industry is part and parcel of the desperate Israeli regime's strategy.

The intention is to demonstrate

that Israel could stand alone in defiance of world opinion and international opposition. Moreover by developing its nuclear capability together with its conventional hardware it intends to blackmail the Middle East and the International Community.

INDEPENDENCE

It is to be recalled that Moshe Dayan had declared "Israel must try to obtain a deterrent nuclear power without the help and out of the control of the U.S." (Le Monde Feb 4, 1976). This has meant nuclear weaponry development and its delivery systems like the Jericho missile. This, together with development of conventional weaponry, outside the control of the U.S. executive branch, in co-operation with Zionist corporations in America, is to meet any future U.S. pressure on Israel, as some would argue.

Nevertheless the fact still remains that Israeli Arms Industry developed in full accordance with American Strategic Interests in the Middle East; Israel being the heavy stick in the hands of U.S. Imperialism in the region. The fact stands out clearly that there is no Israeli venture in the arms field without U.S. assistance. Due to this reality it is hard to imagine Israeli independence from the U.S. in the final analysis.

U.S. GLOBAL STRATEGY

U.S. Global Strategy has shifted tactics from direct involvement to

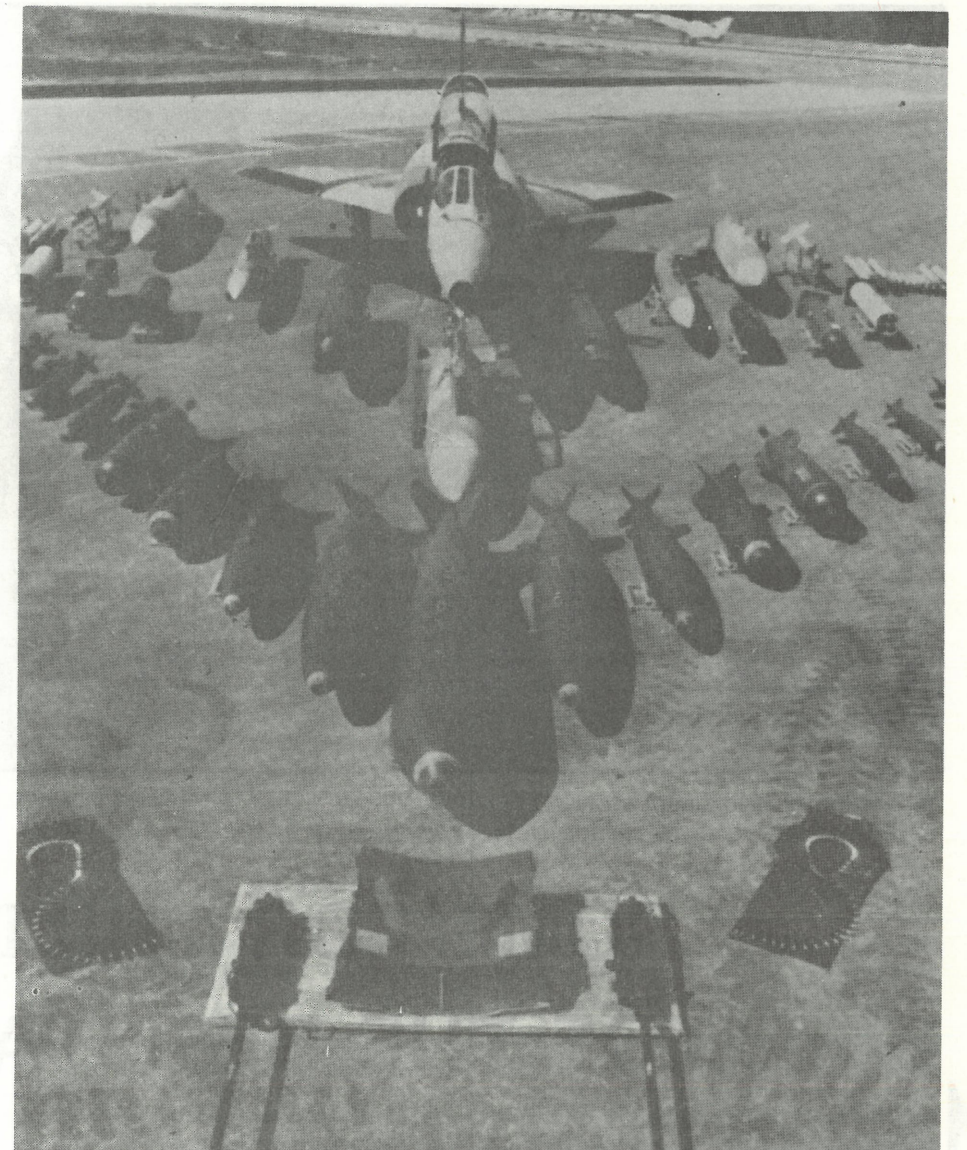
Neo-Imperialist manoeuvres after the devastating encounters it had in Vietnam, Cambodia, Angola and the like. One can cite its dependence on Iran and the apartheid regime of South Africa to secure its imperialist interest in the Gulf and the Cape respectively, to underline the fact.

In some cases America, confronted with world public opinion, does not supply its puppets directly but through other channels. The Zionist State rates at the top of the American preferentials.

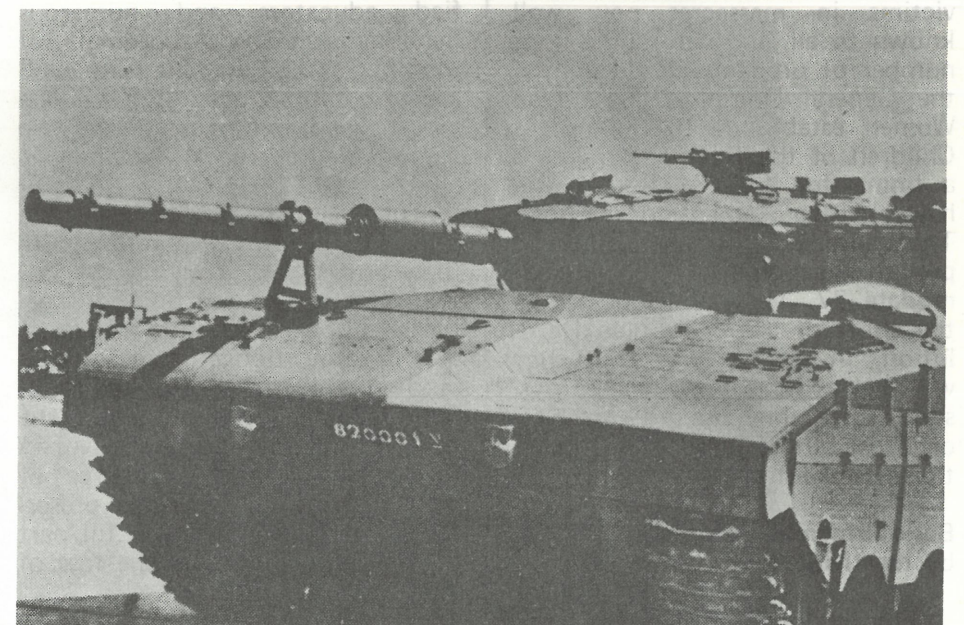
The countries "Supplied" by Israel are either colonial settlements or fascist regimes with which America, to save face, does not deal directly. South Africa and Rhodesia buy so-called "Israeli" manufactured arms, with components from America and the West in general. "Taiwan has purchased Gabriel surface-to-Surface missiles". (I.H.T. 7/4/77). It is well known that America officially opposes the sale of sophisticated missiles to Taiwan. Nevertheless America neither opposed nor mentioned the event. Newsweek, on 11/11/76, revealed that Israel delivered "Shafir missiles and other Air-to-Air, infra red homing weapons to the dictatorship in Chile." Moreover a recent publication of the International Institute for Strategic Studies noted that "Israel is a primary arms supplier to Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico and Nicaragua"

Analysing the countries to which Israel supplies arms, one cannot help noticing that the American government in its token hypocritical "Human Rights" issue has stopped direct military supplies to them. But the fact remains that American engines and other military hardware are channelled to fascist regimes with Israeli trade marks on them.

This sheds light on the fact that the Zionist Armaments Industry, fully backed by American technological knowhow, is part and parcel of imperialist global strategy.



The Israeli "Kfir" fighter bomber with its armament laid out.



Israel's latest "Home-produced tank" - the Merkava



HOME FOR CHILDREN OF THE RESISTANCE

Tal Al Zaatar resulted in 5,000 victims in massacres now well known to all, and naturally a large number of orphans. Consequently, the General Union of Palestinian Women established the Home for Children of the Resistance. This is a home for those children who have neither father nor mother. There are 300 of them, but at present the home can only accommodate 77. They are educated in the spirit of the Palestinian Revolution, in such a way that they will feel as little loneliness as possible, since they are not ordinary orphans, but children of the Palestinian Revolution.

Basic Principles Adopted by the Institute

For an initial period, the institute will have to come to terms

with the limited number of qualified educators and numerous material problems. Accordingly, at the beginning the institute will accept children aged between six months and two years whose two parents died at Tal Al Zaatar.

The institute has adopted the principle of not separating brothers and sisters. Thus children of the same family are housed together, without distinction of age or sex, in large rooms. Their adopted mother, who is also a refugee from Tal Al Zaatar camp and whom the children knew in the past, lives in their room and is in charge of their upbringing. Thus the preservation of family ties will fill part of the vacuum left by the loss of their parents.

As far as studies are concerned,

children over the age of six go to school in the camps, the same as all Palestinian children. For them, the institute is therefore their home, and the fact that they go to school in the camps helps to keep them in their environment, and thus avoids making them into "special cases". Children under six years old are looked after in a creche up to the age of three, and from three to six in a kindergarten. The creche and kindergarten are both parts of the institute.

The educational programmes are mainly aimed at adapting the children to their Palestinian society in the camps. The educators themselves were inhabitants of Tal Al Zaatar. They know the children well and lived through the same experience as they did during and

after the fighting (in particular the siege of Tal Al Zaatar). This enables them to be very close to them, and very able to understand them.

From the organisational point of view, the institute is run by an administrative board made up of three members of the Executive Committee of the General Union of Palestinian Women and four independent members.

The institute consists of four sections: education, health, food supplies and the dormitories.

Two Children Speak

ILHAM SHAHROUR, aged 11, 7th. Form

I have lived in this school for 1 1/2 months. After the attack on Tal Al Zaatar, I left and lived with my brothers and sisters at my grandfather's house. Then I came here with my three brothers.

Our school has been our basic home since we left Tal Al Zaatar. It has been our only shelter for us. The sisters from Tal Al Zaatar look after us like our mothers. We are all sisters in this home.

What I like most in this school is the cleanliness and the education. We are not lacking anything.

MUHAMMAD KHAWALED, aged 12, 6th. Form

I have been in this school for three months. My brothers and I were the first to come here. After losing Dad and Mum, we lived with my father's parent, a grandfather aged 70. We are seven brothers and sisters. My eldest sister Jamila is 15 years old and the smallest one, Ayad, is 2 1/2 years old. The school is our second home. We'll stay here until the liberation of all the land of Palestine.

Our school is clean and beautiful. We do folk dances and the Kalashnikov dance. As for teaching, we are studying during the summer so we can catch up what we've missed, and when term starts we can go up a class. We eat very well and the menu is very good. At dinner and lunch we eat meat. Everything is clean and in order.

In the morning we get up early, wash ourselves and eat. Then we do physical training. Life at school is better than at home.

TAL AL ZAATAR
Revolution until victory'

Interview with the Headmistress of the Home for Children of the Resistance

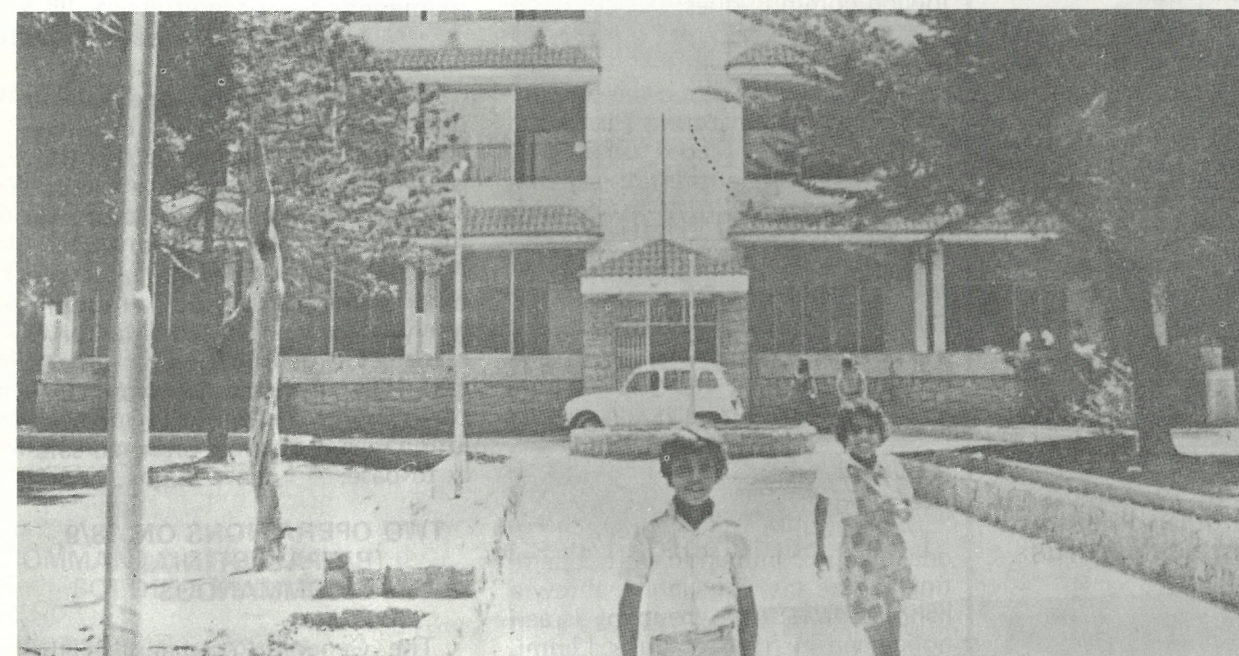
Q: What are the difficulties you have had to face at the beginning?

A: There was a lack of personnel, the cadres were not enough. In addition, there were no specialists, particularly with regard to adopted mothers. In the Arab World, this is the first home of its type. We tried to fill this gap by organising two educational courses for the personnel.

We also had to face up to material problems. The buildings needed repairing. The children were in a very bad situation; they were dispersed among several families who could no longer support them. We were thus compelled to open up a first floor to receive the most urgent cases, while repair work was still going ahead on the other floors.

Q: How many people does your staff consist of at present?

A: At present we have 10 adopted mothers and 32 employees (housekeepers, administrative employees, drivers, etc.) There are now 77 children, but soon their number will be increased to 120, and consequently the staff will be raised to 42 people.



a new home

For the time being the problem is that there are 300 children to be adopted, while the institute can only take care of 200. We will have to build another building.

Q: Have there been adoptions of Palestinian children, by Lebanese or abroad?

A: The Palestinian Revolution refuses this type of adoption. The child must not be uprooted. He is the child of the Palestinian cause and our duty is to keep him with his brothers and sisters, in a Palestinian atmosphere close to that in which he has lived.

The only procedure we have allowed is the following: in the case where a family would like to take care of a child in material terms, it can send him money (his needs amount to 500 LL per month), visit him and give him presents. But he will still live in the Home for Children of the Resistance.

Q: What is the committee responsible for the institute? Where does its budget come from?

A: The General Union of Palestinian Women is responsible for the institute. The budget comes from Fatah as well as other Palestinian organisations.

Q: How do the children live? What are their activities?

A: This summer the children followed morning courses, from 8 a.m. to 12 noon. They were in great need of these, since after two years of war, and a year in which they were completely left to themselves, their academic standard in general was quite disastrous.

Otherwise, the children have free activities in the afternoon. They have lessons in drawing, folk dancing and music.

In winter, the children of school age will go to schools in the camps with other Palestinian children. The institute will fulfill the role of home.

MILITARY OPERATIONS

IN LESS THAN 48 HOURS COMMANDOS EXECUTE 3 OPERATIONS AGAINST ISRAELI FORCES IN NABLUS

Despite stringent Israeli security measures, Palestinian commando groups carried out three consecutive operations on September 8 and 9 against Israeli targets in the heart of the West Bank city of Nablus. These daring operations come as part of the continued revolutionary escalation being carried out by our people in occupied Palestine in response to the aggressive expansionist moves of the Israeli occupiers.

The first operation, on September 8, struck at a grouping of Israeli soldiers in Nablus. It was followed the next day by an explosion at the Israeli Leumi Bank building also in Nablus. Later the same day, our revolutionaries attacked a group of Israeli soldiers in front of the bank, which had been earlier damaged. Heavy casualties were inflicted on the occupation forces. The Palestinian Military Spokesman of the General Command of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution issued the following communiques:-

No. 89/77:-

Acting on orders, one of our combat units operating inside occupied Palestine placed timed explosive charges inside the Bank Leumi building in the occupied city of Nablus.

At 3:15PM on September 9 the charges exploded, shattering the building's window-panes and heavily damaging the Bank's contents and furniture.

No.99/77:-

At 8:30PM on September 9, one of our commando units operating in the city of Nablus threw a hand-grenade at a group of Israeli policemen in front of Bank Leumi,

which had been damaged by a bomb blast at 3:15PM on the same day. An Israeli officer and three other soldiers were badly injured.

A curfew was imposed on Nablus after the operation and the occupation authorities launched an arbitrary campaign of arrests among Palestinian citizens. Our revolutionaries, however, returned safely to base.

No.100/77:-

On of our units operating in the occupied city of Nablus at noon on September 8 threw a hand grenade at a group of Israeli soldiers who were waiting for a vehicle to transport them to their military bases. Eye witnesses said that Israeli ambulances transported four casualties from the scene of the incident.

CHARGES EXPLODE INSIDE FACTORY IN HOLON

The Palestinian Military Spokesman of the General Command of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution issued the following communique:-

No.101/77:-

Acting on orders, one of our units operating inside occupied Palestine on the morning of August 18 planted explosive charges inside a refreshments factory in the city of Holon south of Tel Aviv. On the same day at noon the charges exploded, inflicting heavy damages to the factory's machines and resulting in several casualties. The Israeli enemy admitted only two casualties. Our revolutionaries, however, returned safely to base.

TWO OPERATIONS ON 18/9, BY PALESTINIAN COMMANDOS

The General Command of the

forces of the Palestinian Revolution issued the following communiques:-

No.102/77:-

Acting on order, one of our units operating inside occupied Palestine on September 18 was able to enter a 'Bromine' chemical factory in Bir Sabe' and place incendiary explosive charges under cases containing 3000 Kg of Bromine. The factory produces poisonous chemicals which are used for military purposes.

At 1,00 AM on September 19 the charges exploded, setting fire to the factory, spoiling a large quantity of chemicals and causing many casualties inside the factory.

The Israeli enemy admitted the operation, saying that "a Bromine production technician was injured and lost his sight as a result of the escape of chemicals."

It is to be noted that these factories in Bir Sabe' have been previously hit by commando operations, causing 12 casualties among the enemy forces.

Our revolutionaries returned safely to base.

No. 103/77:-

On September 18 also, our revolutionaries placed explosive charges, fixed inside a cigarette box, at the central bus station in Tel Aviv. However, the booby-trapped box was discovered by a Zionist settler who immediately called up Israel explosives' experts to defuse the charges. But the box exploded in the hands of the explosives' expert, killing him on the spot.

COMMANDO STABS ISRAELI SOLDIER IN GAZA

A military spokesman of the

General Command of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution issued the following communique:-

No. 104/77:-

At 1:00PM on September 19 one of our revolutionaries attacked a foot-patrol walking in the streets of the occupied city of Gaza and stabbed one of the soldiers. When the rest of the patrol tried to arrest our commando, some of the soldiers were injured. However, our commando was shot dead.

TWO DARING OPERATIONS BY COMMANDOS IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

Palestinian commandos on 21/9 placed explosive charges inside an apartment used by Israeli Intelligence in a settlement near Ashdoud. Other commandos also attacked with hand-grenades, on the same day, an enemy foot-patrol in Nablus. The Palestinian Military Spokesman issued the following communiques:-



MILITARY OPERATIONS



No. 105/77

One of our combat units at dawn on September 21st, planted incendiary explosive charges inside an apartment used by Israeli Intelligence agents near the police center of the settlement of Kiryat Malakhi situated on the road between Kiryat Jat and Ashdoud.

At 4:45AM the charges exploded, setting fire to the apartment. Fire engines were immediately called up to control the blaze which spread to higher storeys, and frontier guards and policemen sealed off the area and began to search for other possible charges.

Following are the results of the operation:

- An undetermined number of intelligence agents were killed or wounded.

- The apartment was completely damaged and all its contents burnt. The fire also damaged parts of the building.

Our commandos returned safely to base.

No. 106/77

Acting on orders, a special unit 'A' operating inside occupied Palestine, at 5:15PM on September 21st assaulted an Israeli foot pa-

trol which was passing by Faysal street in Nablus. Using automatic weapons and hand-grenades, our commandos wounded two soldiers and killed another, and pursued the rest of the patrol who escaped to near-by buildings and began to fire indiscriminately at buildings and passers-by.

A large number of soldiers were called up to rescue the patrol and the whole area was cordoned off in an attempt to arrest the commandos who succeeded in returning safely to their base.

The lieutenant commander of the Patrol was killed and 3 soldiers were injured. Our commandos captured an'Ouzi sub-machine gun.

75 Palestinian citizens were reported to have been arrested in Nablus on suspicion of being involved in the operation, and 11 shops in Faysal street were sealed off with red wax

No. 108/77

Acting on orders, one of our combat units on September 21st planted booby-trapped timed explosive charges near a check-point manned by Israeli forces on

the Bethlehem-Jerusalem road. At 9:15AM the same day, the charges were discovered as the occupation forces were combing the area. Police forces and explosive's experts were called up to the scene, and the Bethlehem-Jerusalem road was blocked off. But the charges exploded in the hands of the explosives' expert who was trying to defuse them, killing him on the spot and wounding other policemen. Our revolutionaries returned safely to base.

No. 109/77

At 1:50AM on September 22nd, and after reconnoitring the Kiryat Ono settlement near Tel Aviv, one of our revolutionaries threw a hand-grenade at the Jar'on restaurant situated in the center of the sttlement which is frequented by Israeli Intelligence officers and agents. An unknown number of enemy Intelligence were killed or wounded, and the restaurant was damaged.

Despite an intensive search of the whole area, our revolutionary was able to return safely to his unit.

No. 110/77

In less than 12 hours after the operation at the Machane Yehuda market in Jerusalem and despite the large number of arrests and storming of houses, the Martyr 'Farid Boubabli' unit on September 23rd was able to plant timed explosive charges near the bus station situated in Hamshmrone street in al-Musrara quarter in Jerusalem.

At 7:25PM the charges exploded, causing casualties among Israeli settlers. Ambulances were seen transporting the wounded to Hadassa hospital.

Meanwhile, the Israeli police declared a full state of alert, arresting arbitrarily a large number of Palestinian citizens in Jerusalem. Our revolutionaries, however, returned safely to base.

OCCUPATION DIARY

SENTENCES IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

The Zionist military tribunal in Nablus sentenced Nazher Samih al-Khafsh to seven years imprisonment, on charges of attacking an Israeli officer and a soldier during the Day of the Land, March 30, incidents.

The same court also sentenced

Daoud Abbas Mihyar and the engineer Ibrahim Zaydan, who were arrested last February, to 3 years imprisonment each, on charges of affiliation to the Palestinian Revolution.

In Jenin, a Zionist military tribunal sentenced Ahmad Sa'id to 3 years imprisonment, Taysir Jum'a al-Muhtaki to 3 years; Jamal Hindi to 4 years; Yahya Abdallah Sarayan to 4 years; Muhammad Ghannem to 5 years; and Abdel Latif Jamal Nabhan to 4 years. These citizens whose ages range between 18 and 20 were charged with resisting the occupation and affiliation to the Palestinian Revolution.

An Israeli military spokesman recently declared that 35 Palestinian citizens have been arrested in the areas of Nablus, Jenin, Ramallah, and Gaza, on charges of affiliation to the Palestinian Revolution and possession of weapons and explosives

In related news, an Israeli military tribunal in Ramallah sentenced Muhammad Ibrahim al-Qula to four years in prison and Hamid Hammama to six months, on charges of affiliation to the Palestinian

Revolution and resisting the occupation.

In Hebron, the Israeli authorities arrested 60 Palestinian citizens from Nablus following the commando operation against the Israeli Leumi Bank.

In related news, the Zionist authorities were reported to have recently reinforced its troops in the city of Jerusalem, especially around the entrances to the Aqsa Mosque and Omar Ibn al-Khattab Mosque, in anticipation of eventual demonstrations on the Fitr feast.

Pamphlets have earlier been distributed in the city,condemning the Zionist occupation and their agents and calling for national unity among the Palestinian people to resist Israeli settlement plans and the inhuman treatment to which Palestinian citizens are subjected.

Meanwhile, it has been reported that several West Bank mayors demanded the release of administrative detainees and the improvement of their living conditions.



OCCUPATION DIARY

SENTENCES AND ARRESTS

On orders from the military governor of the Jerusalem region, the Zionist forces blew up on September 19 the house of a Palestinian citizen in the village of Beit Haniana in the Jerusalem region. The owner Khadr Salim Taye' was suspected of being involved in commando operations and is now under arrest in an Israeli prison.

An Israeli military tribunal on September 20 sentenced lawyer Basaam al-Sawalha from the Nablus district to two years in prison with a 3-year suspended sentence. The university student Izzat Ahmad was sentenced to 10 months in prison with a 20-month suspended sentence. Both were charged with affiliation to the Palestinian Resistance.

In Jenin, a military court sentenced the Palestinian citizen Mustafa Fayyad to four years in jail on charges of possessing hand-grenades. The same court sentenced Ahmad Abu Shamleh and Ghazi Mahajneh to one year in prison on charges of participation in commando operations. Four high-school students were jailed

for six months on charges of demonstrating against the occupation.

ARBITRARY ISRAELI SENTENCES

Jerusalem, 22/9, WAFA

A military tribunal in Jenin issued prison sentences ranging from eight months to 12 years on the following citizens: Mahmoud Suleiman Khalil Said; Ahmad Tayyeb Suleiman Jardat; Azzam Abdel Hafez; Muhammad Ruhi; Taysir Najib; Muhammad Suleiman Jadid; Bawwab Shafiq; Omar Ibrahim Ammar; Ghassan al-Saad Ammar; Muhammad Said Ammar; Muhammad Yusef Badahneh; Sami Helmi. All were charged with affiliation to the Palestinian Revolution.

In related news, Palestinian prisoners in different Israeli jails were reported to have refused the visit of Israeli-Jordanian agents to their prisons. The prisoners voiced strong objection to the visit of agents such as Mustafa Doudine; Hussein al-Shuyukhi and Ramadan Hajmeh, especially as the occupation authorities have banned their parents from visiting them in jails.



After the fall of Tal Al Zaatar.

DIARY OF A DOCTOR IN TAL AL ZAATAR

By Dr. Yusuf Iraqi

The scenes of the massacre unfolded horrifyingly before me. They were taking the inhabitants in batches and gunning them down. One of the fascists was massively built, and he spoke slurringly from drunkenness. He carried a large knife, stained with blood. Every few minutes he would come to wipe his knife, stained with the blood of the inhabitants, on the shirt of one of those sitting by the door. He was slaughtering people in the way sheep are slaughtered, and afterwards would start searching for things in the pockets of the victims. He was a horrifying and repulsive sight, at a moment in which emotions were frozen. They were taking everything from the people.

He noticed the wounded man, injured in his leg, who came out on crutches, with his leg in plaster. How they fell upon him, kicking him with their feet, and then threw him on the

ground, and from their five rifles planted bullets in his body. At that moment I was thinking of Dr. Abdulaziz and the remaining nurses, since I did not know their fate. After about 45 minutes, the fascist security official came to us with one of his men, to take us - the two Swedish doctors, the Syrian officer and myself. It was a horrifying exit. We walked along the road leading out of the camp, about 300 metres long, but it was the longest road in my life. The bodies of innocent inhabitants were scattered along that road. There were bodies of old people, bodies of children. I saw the body of a pregnant woman, who had been shot in the stomach. The blood was pouring from her. The bodies lay one after another in front of me, and the road was long, so long. And at the end of the road were their armoured cars, and the fascists enjoying the spectacle of the dead. They took me in a car to the headquarters, and there I was taken into an office.



Progressive Jewish Lawyer: Lea Tsemel

PROGRESSIVE LAWYER BANNED FROM PUBLISHING PRISON'S ACCOUNTS

Jerusalem, 24/9, WAFA

The Zionist authorities were reported to have banned the lawyer Lea Tsemel from publishing her eye-witness accounts of the Ramleh and Nablus prisons. The progressive Jewish lawyer, who has seen evidence of appalling health conditions in the two prisons and spoken with a large number of Palestinian detainees, demanded in a memorandum to occupation authorities, the amelioration of the prisoners' conditions.



DIARY OF A DOCTOR

IN TAL AL ZAATAR

Shaikh Amin Al Gemayel looked at me sadly and, after I had been introduced to him as the refugee camp's doctor, said: "Look, they say I'm a fascist and my hand is stained with blood... but it's clean." After they had greeted me, they washed their hands with spirit, staring at me all the while.

It was as if I had come from another planet, they did not believe that there were human beings inside the refugee camp. They thought they had been fighting ghosts. The camp had been totally destroyed, so where were the people? Where were the combatants? They asked naive questions. There I saw the International Red Cross. I told their representative that Dr. Abdulaziz, together with a group of nurses, had been following me but I no longer knew his fate. Immediately he made contact by wireless, and a car moved off to the Dekwana area to rescue Abdulaziz and the nurses. There was a crowd of journalists and news agency correspondents waiting, who interviewed us, after a strenuous effort since the fascists did not want any statement to be made. They wanted complete silence regarding us, so that our fate would not be known.

They began interrogating me. One of them came forward.

"I'm Dr. Risha, the local medical officer."
"Welcome."

"Dr. Yusuf, you're accused of discrimination in treating Palestinians and Lebanese, Christians and Muslims. You didn't cure Lebanese, and you drew blood from them till they died, to give it to Palestinians."

I laughed at this allegation. My nerves at that moment were not at all tense. I spoke calmly. I had already settled the question of life and death, and so I told him: "You know the reason for my being here. One of your people rescued me, because one day I performed a surgical operation on him and saved his life. This is enough proof that I don't discriminate between people."

"There's a person who knows you. He's here in the next room, and he testifies that you used to discriminate, and that one day you didn't treat his relative and let him die."

I was completely self-confident, and so I felt that they were waging a losing psychological war against me. "I'm willing to confront him," I answered. "But I have some things to confront you with."

I listed a number of those whom they would classify according to religion and nationality - their dictionary is full of such terminology - and how I had given them surgical operations, saved their lives and restored them safely to their relatives. I confronted him with a list of names, and told him the story of the wounded man, who had been hit in the head with a bullet that had pierced his eye and almost proved fatal - and how I had operated on him and how our fighting men had donated blood for him. I kept on asking about the fate of Dr. Abdulaziz. I would interrupt as they were speaking to ask about him, and they would reply: "Don't be afraid, he will come."

At about 2 p.m. they brought him. They asked him the same questions they had asked

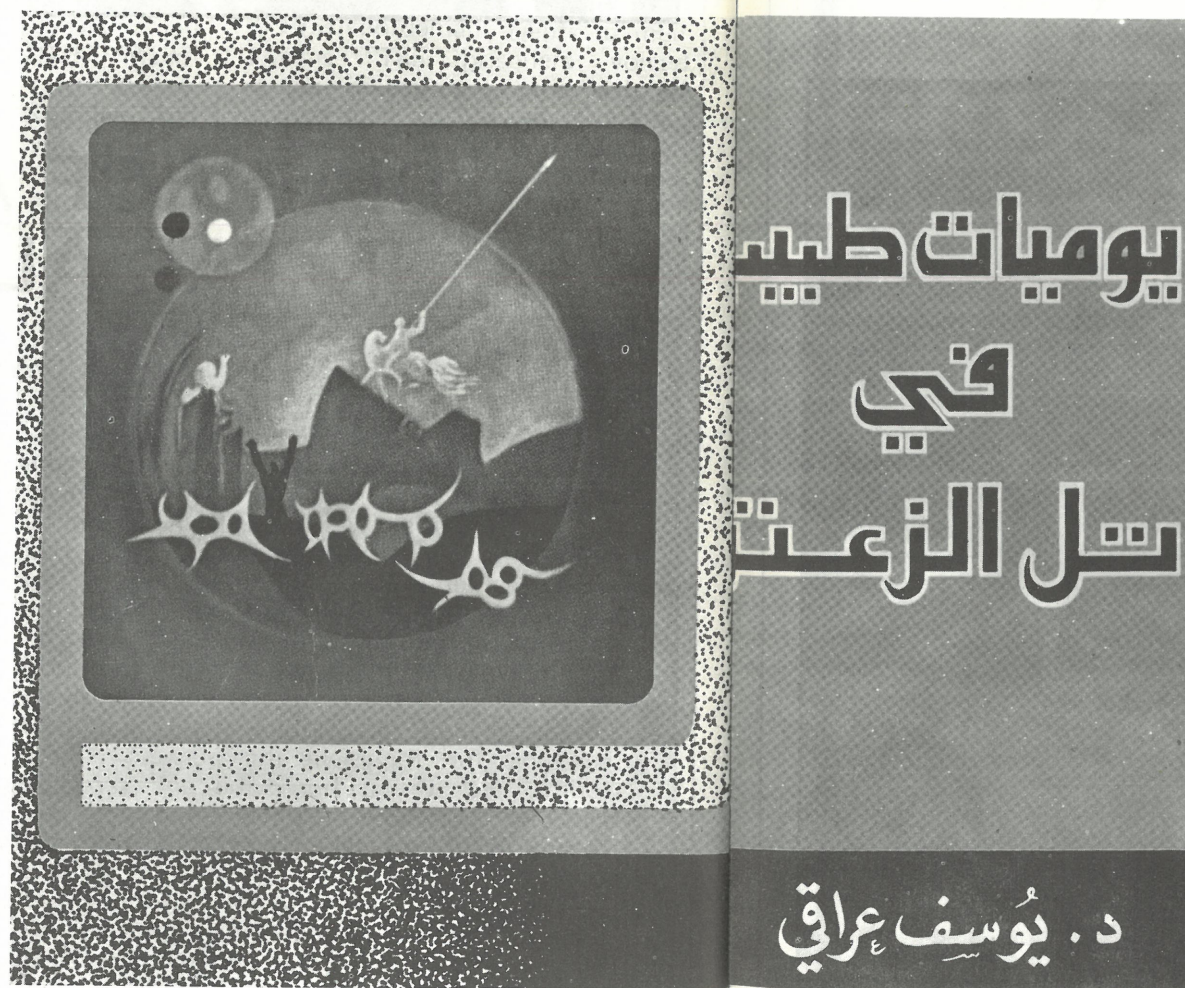
me, in another room. I learnt this afterwards. At that moment, my mind was preoccupied with the fate of the female nurses. The fascists had killed a group of male nurses in front of my eyes. They had also killed all the wounded we were carrying.

I thought about the fate of Baha, who had been beside me and whom they had pursued, and Ferial, who had carried my bag, and Fadia, whom I had not seen since we had left the emergency centre. Apprehensions flashed through me, and I imagined that they had all been killed, as well as Dr. Abdulaziz. At about 4 o'clock, after I had insisted, they brought in Dr. Abdulaziz, and disclosed their thoughts and allegations. Several people came to ask for my release, but they still considered us prisoners of war.

It was two p.m. when I saw the Arab Security Forces. We had been waiting for them since 9 a.m.

From the balcony of the room I saw the

scenes of celebration, but not for victory. It was with sadistic feeling that they were enjoying the sight of mutilation and slaughter and the dead bodies. Dr. Hassan Sabri Al Kholi, the Arab League representative, came and negotiated for a long time with Amin Al Gemayel, for our release. At 6 p.m. we rode in Dr. Hassan Sabri Al Kholi's car, with Shaikh Amin Al Gemayel himself driving, through the eastern sector where there were many barricades, 12 altogether. Whoever had been spared from the slaughter at the entrances to the camp, was killed and mutilated at these barricades. We arrived at the Museum area, which was the Green Line dividing the two sectors of Beirut. There, Amin Al Gemayel got out. Those barricades were a gruesome sight, those corpses. I do not know what would have happened to me if Amin Al Gemayel had not been with us. Perhaps I would have been a victim of the knives, which had mutilated so many, whose corpses had been thrown down on both sides of the roads. We continued our way into West Beirut, not believing that we had escaped from the clutches of the fascists. The Red Cross



Starving children being brought out of Tal Al Zaatar after 16-month siege.

DIARY OF A DOCTOR

IN TAL AL ZAATAR

representative had gone ahead of us. Suddenly he stopped his car, got out of it and ran over towards us, and we exchanged a long embrace.

"I didn't believe you would be saved," he said. "I knew what they felt towards you." The car continued on its way with us to the Coral Beach on Beirut's western seafont. Along the way, I saw cars and people, and the signs of civilisation began to return to us, little by little.

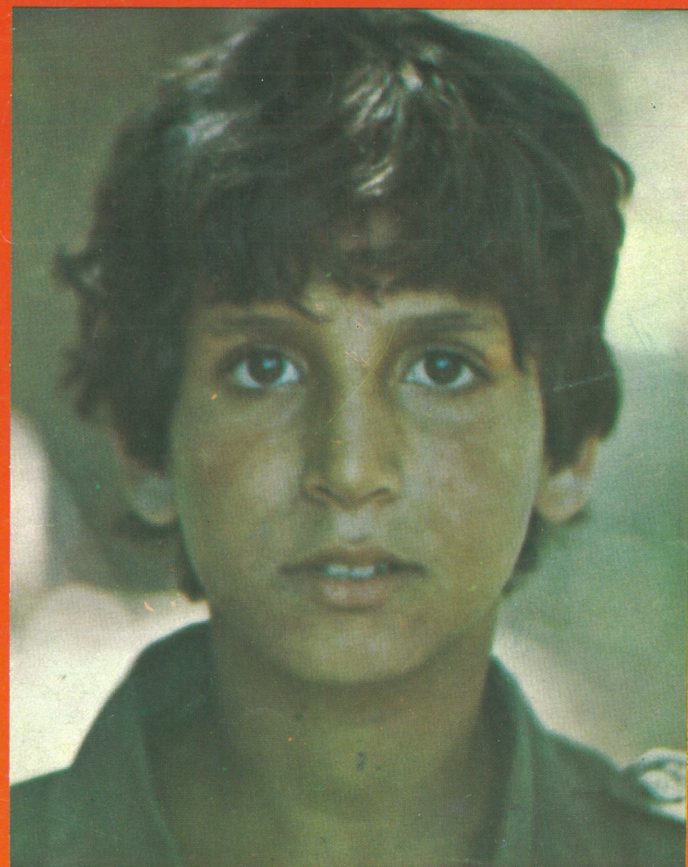
It was a warm reunion with headquarters, to end the longest day in my life, after the news that we had been killed had gone ahead of us

to the western sector, through statements by camp inhabitants who had witnessed the massacre. Two days after we left, Dr. Abdulaziz and I were with Dr. Fathi Arafat in Damour, choosing a site for a Red Crescent centre, continuing on our course with the people of Tal Al Zaatar who had made such a human and revolutionary impression on our hearts. Tal Al Zaatar remained, with its fighting men, struggling...struggling until its martyrdom. It was killed in action and did not fall. It was a hill no more, after it had risen so high and tall. In it were left some 3,000 martyrs who had given their blood to the heroic battle, the battle of determination for this revolution to continue. And two days later, the combatants defending Tal Al Zaatar forced their way across the mountains, through fierce battles with the fascists, to join up with our bases in the mountains.

So ends the legendary battle, the battle of 53 days' fierce combat, and 70 attacks that were repulsed at the boundaries of the capital of the poor, and the commune of the working people.



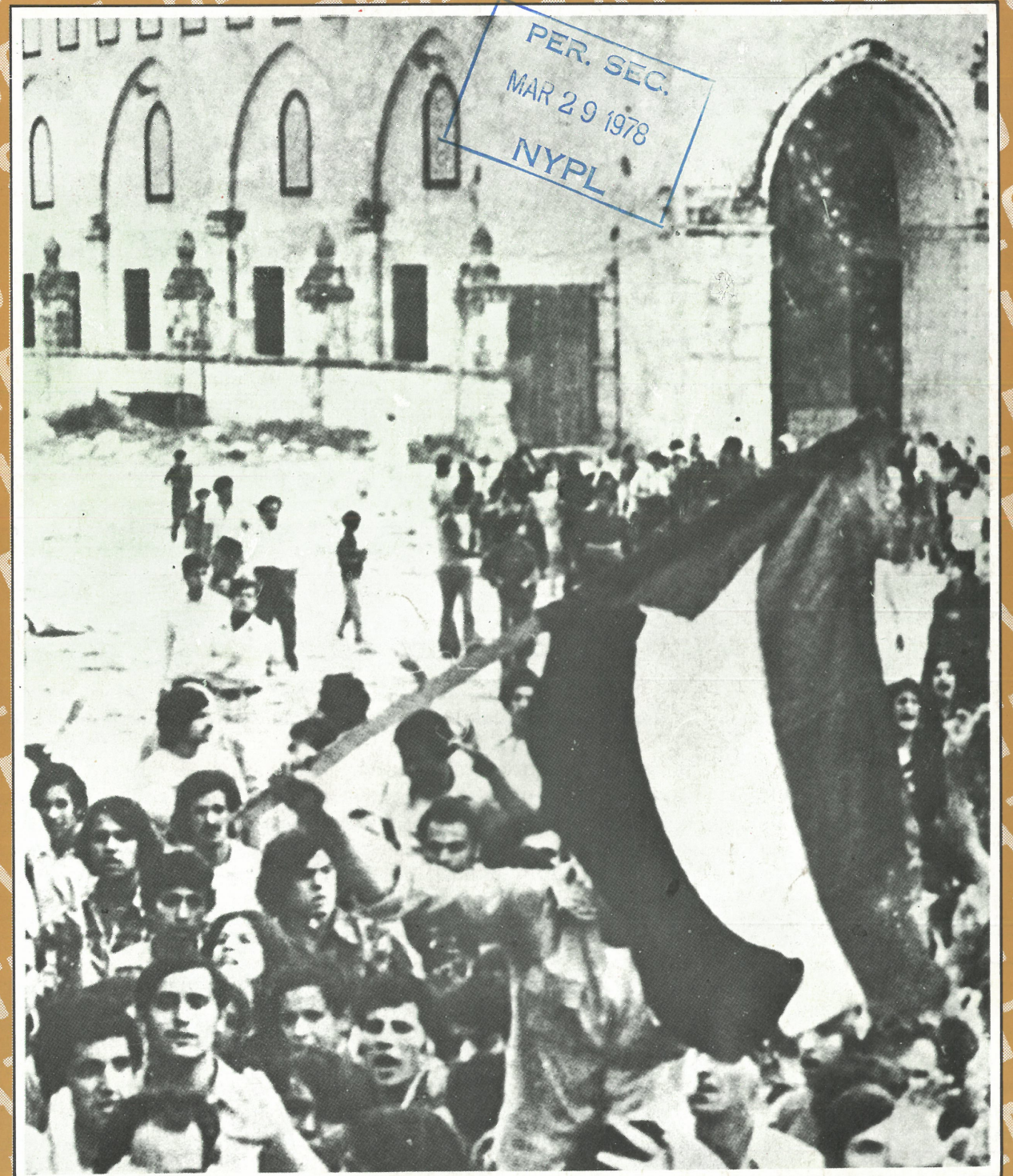
PALESTINE MY HOMELAND



Palestine

P.L.O.
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