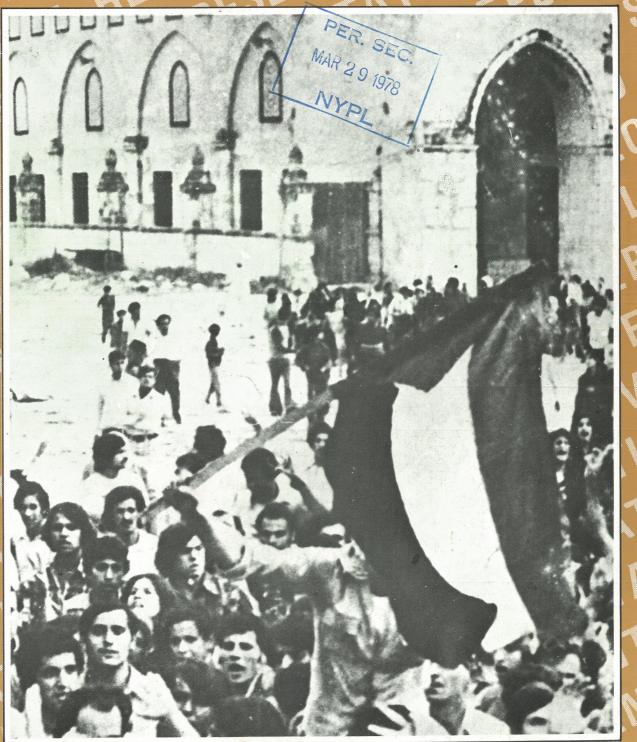


p.L.O. information bulletin





JERUSALEM





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BEIRUT LEBANON

The U.S.~Israeli Working Paper.

The Israeli working paper, accepted by the Carter administration, exerts massive pressure on the Arabs to accept and submit to it. The working paper rejects the representation of the Palestinians at the Geneva conference, by any known members of the PLO who would be part of a single, unified Arab delegation at the opening session.

Syria has insisted, that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians and that the Geneva conference could not be held without the PLO. The working paper is seen as adversely affecting current efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the Middle East crisis.

However, a settlement of the Middle East conflict must insure the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. This means the right to establish an independent state on Palestinian soil, and the right to return to their homes.

The Israelis have already said that they would walk out at Geneva if the establishment of a Palestinian state were discussed and that they refuse to accept the PLO as a negotiating partner. We have to keep in mind that Moshe Dayan, the Israeli Foreign Minister, during his latest visit to Belgium, declared that he feels "there is less danger in rejecting a Palestinian state and risking war, than in accepting such a state".

Thus, the American failure to talk the Israelis into a more flexible stand on the Palestinians, could easily result in another realignment of forces on the swiftly changing Middle East scene.

The Palestinian factor is the axis around which the Middle East crisis rotates; which will either threaten to result in a world war with unknown consequences, or will lay the foundations for a just peace. Therefore, those who ignore this factor are playing a dirty game which could disrupt a just peace.

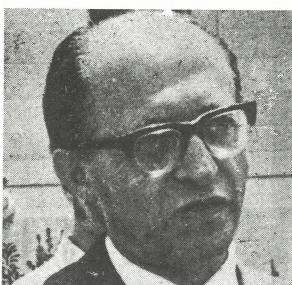
The PLO is the symbol and representative of the Palestinians; any attempt to ignore or bypass it, means bypassing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which is an attempt to eliminate this factor altogether.

Therefore, any bypassing of this factor and any attempt whatsoever, to deal on any other bases will lead to surrender under the false slogan of peace. It is in the context of these basic and fundamental facts that the US-Israeli working paper, as finally imposed on Washington, by Zionist pressure, should be seen.

The PLO rejects the US-Israeli working paper part and parcel. If the US administration, has submitted to Israeli blackmail and to the Israeli working paper, what is the stand of the Arabs and the world public opinion—as well?







Israeli Prime Minister, Begin.

PEACE: MIRAGE OR REALITY?

Despite its belated recognition of "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people" in the joint Soviet-American communique of October 1, 1977, and the reaffirmation by President Carter in the UN General Assembly on October 4, 1977 of the need for a "homeland" for the Palestinians, the United States has not given up arbitrarily and unconditionally supporting the Zionist entity, as is confirmed by the publication of the Israeli-American "working paper" of October 7, 1977. The latter is a contradiction of the undertakings given between the two co-chairmen of the Geneva conference. It is a fact that it was extracted by the powerful American Zionist lobby. One need only note the speed with which the well-tried pressure machine of the "defenders" of Tel Aviv, moved into action. But it is no less true that it constitutes an eloquent expression of the United States' position on the Middle East. All the illusion should henceforth be dis-

sipated. Washington's policy remains unchanged in its fundamentals. It continues to ignore the Arabs' aspirations and rights, particularly those of the Palestinian people for self-determination and the creation of an independent state under the auspices of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

SUPPORT OF THE U.S.A. & ZIONIST MILITARISM

The Israeli-American "working paper", deals essentially with the procedure to be followed for reconvening the Geneva conference. In this respect it embodies the exclusive viewpoints of Tel Aviv, specifying notably that:

- The joint Soviet-American declaration recognising "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," is not a precondition for the resumption of the Geneva conference.
 - The negotiations will be car-

ried out on two levels simultaneously: on the one hand between Israel and a unified Arab delegation, including the Palestinians, and on the other hand, by country and by sector.

On the "working paper", during a speech to the Democratic Party's National Committee, President Carter, declared his intention of working for "the strength, independence, freedom and peace of the people of Israel. "President Carter's declaration of faith had the immediate effect of increasing the intransigence of the Zionist "proteges". Commenting on the American attitude, an official spokseman in Tel Aviv, stressed that there was no question even of agreeing to the participation of any noted Palestinians, "representing the PLO directly or indirectly".

By refusing to accept the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative; by rejecting any prospect of the creation

of an independent Palestinian state, the Zionist entity has shown once more that it is the real enemy of peace in the Middle East.

CONTRADICTORY AMERICAN PROPOSALS

The Carter administration insists that UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, must serve as the basis for the work of the Geneva conference. The least that can be said here is that this is an attitude to be offset against the US President's statements and the joint Soviet-American communique, inasmuch as the resolutions in question implicitly deny "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people", and mention only "refugees".

Resolutions 242 and 338, consequently cannot in any way constitute a valid basis for settling the Palestinian problem, unless they are amended along the lines of the Soviet-American communique. Moreover, the amendment must specify unequivocally that the PLO is the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative. Otherwise, a new resolution should be issued by the world community which would be a revision of resolutions 242 and 338 and would envisage satisfying the Palestinian people's fundamental rights.

In the absence of such measures, the amendment of the texts of resolutions 242 and 338 or adoption of a new resolution in conformity with the Palestinian people's aspirations, the Geneva conference is doomed to failure, with the principal party concerned, the PLO, being excluded from it by reason of the documents that the United States and Israel are seeking to impose as a precondition to the negotiations.

The position of the United States, as a co-Chairman at Geneva, is incompatible with that of the Soviet Union, which rests on the

PLO's participation in the peace talks on a footing of equality with all the other parties concerned. These divergences of viewpoint explain the lack of any references to the modalities of the Palestinian presence during the negotiations, and the paragraph in the Soviet-American communique, which notes that there still remain certain procedural and organisational problems that will have to be settled by the participants at the Geneva conference.

NO PEACE WITHOUT THE P.L.O.

It is essential to recall the PLO's constant position with regard to the diplomatic contacts underway:

- 1) The Geneva conference cannot usefully be reconvened without the PLO's participation as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative; besides, it is up to the PLO to decide whether it will attend jointly with the other Arab delegations as a single delegation, or independently.
- 2) Resolution 242 and 338 cannot constitute a basis for the quest for peace, since they ignore the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights.
- 3) The Zionist occupation forces must withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied during

the 1967 war of aggression.

4) The Palestinian people must be able, under the PLO's leadership, to exercise their right to selfdetermination and the establishment of an independent state.

We have to recognise that we are not close to achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The proof of this is the Zionists' recourse, as usual, to defiance and provocation. Immediately after the publication of the Soviet-American communique, the Begin cabinet allowed a fanatical Jewish organisation to establish new colonies in the West Bank, while this authorization had been denied before. Was that pure chance?

It is appropriate here to recall that the PLO welcomed the joint Soviet-American communique as "a step forward", while regretting that it omits to be specific on an essential point, namely that the Palestine Liberation Organization alone is qualified to represent the Palestinian people at Geneva. Aware of the Zionists' intransigence, guaranteed by the United States, and of the limitation of the current moves aimed at reconvening the peace conference on the Middle East. The Palestinian Revolution remains on its guard, and declares itself ready to intensify the armed struggle to liberate the usurped homeland.



Mr. Gromyko and Mr. Vanc



Chairman Arafat.

ARAFAT AWARDS SHIELD OF PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

In a meeting attended by several Palestinian artists and writers, Yasser Arafat gave Mustafa al-Dabbagh the shield of the Palestinian Revolution for his efforts in the educational field, especially for the Encyclopedia he wrote about the geography, demography, and history of Palestine.

ARAFAT RETURNS TO CAIRO

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, arrived in Cairo on 6/10/77 from Tripoli. Upon his arrival, Arafat immediately joined Egyptian officials. Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat and several high ranking Egyptian officials viewed a military parade in Madinat Nasser on the fourth anniversary of the October War.

Arafat had earlier met with Libyan President Muammar al-Qadhafi and attended the signing of protocols between Libya and German Democratic Republic at the invitation of Libya.

PLO VOTED OBSERVER MEMBER IN ICAO

70 third world and Socialist countries voted in favour of PLO participation in the meetings of

the International Civil Aviation Organization. Israel, The USA and South Africa voted against the decision, while 32 countries, including Canada, abstained.

The group of Arab countries on October 3 presented a draft resolution in this regard to the organization's General Assembly, which is holding its 22nd general conference in the Canadian capital Montreal.

PLO PARTICIPATES IN CAIRO CINEMA FESTIVAL WITH 2 FILMS

The PLO is participating in the second International Cinema Festival which was opened in Cairo on September 26. The Palestine Cinema Institution, will present two films entitled "The Lebanese War" and "Newsreel Number 3".

It is to be noted that 42 countries are participating in the festival with around 100 films.



ABU LUTF MEETS
WITH BELGIAN F.M.

Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department who is heading the Palestinian delegation to the UN General Assembly session, met with the Belgian Foreign Minister and President of the EEC Ministerial Council in New York on 29/9/77.

During the meeting, Abu Lutf stressed the necessity of finding a new legal basis for a settlement of the Middle East crisis, and expressed his hope that the European Common Market states would take initiatives in that direction.

In related news, Abu Lutf and senior members of the P.L.O.'s U.N. delegation held a series of meetings on 29/9/77 with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Minio, and the Chairman of the U.N. Committee on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

PLO ATTENDS SPANISH SOCIALIST YOUTHS CONFERENCE

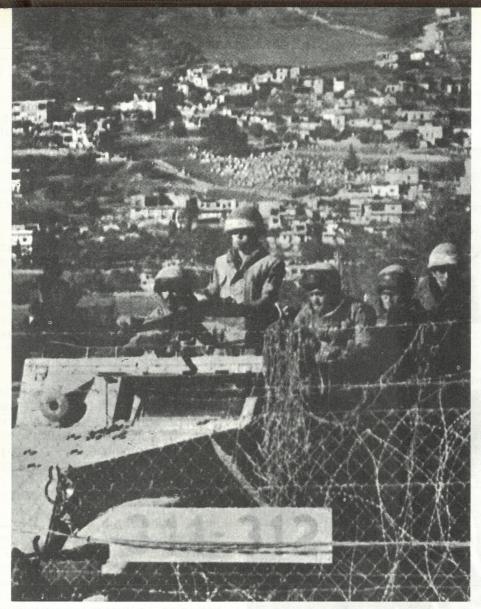
The PLO was invited for the first time to attend the 13th conference of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party youth, which was held in Madrid between the 27th and 29th of September.

The conference was opened by the President of the conference, who saluted the Palestinian people and expressed his party's full support for Palestinian struggle, led by the PLO.

ABU MAHER MEETS GDR & CHINESE AMBASSADORS

Abu Maher, member of the Fateh Central Committee, on September 26, met in Damascus with the Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic and discussed with him the latest development of the Palestine problem and the situation in South Lebanon, WAFA learned. The Ambassador stressed anew his country's support for the Palestinian people's struggle, led by the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Abu Maher, on September 26, also met the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Syria and discussed with him the latest developments in the area and the bilateral Chinese—Palestinian relations. The Chinese Ambassador reaffirmed his country's firm stand in support of the Palestinian struggle until the Palestinian people have recovered their legitimate national rights.



The Zionist troops in South Lebanon.

civil war. Its purpose was clearly directed against the territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon. Its execution was to be under the guise of "protecting Israel's northern border". The prerequisite was the creation of "good fences", in collaboration with the Lebanese right-wing, to create the illusion of the possibility of co-existence and cooperation between the Zionist, occupiers of Palestine and the Arabs of South Lebanon.

Most recently, from September 14 through the 26th, Israeli troops have blatantly launched attacks against Lebanese villages in the south as well as Palestinian refugee positions. The timing coincided with an overall peace initiative in the region and growing world opposition to the Zionist policy of expansion and occupation. The offensive was to fulfill Zionist ambitions, but the timing can only be interpreted as calculated nose-thumbing directed at the world in general.

On September 14, under cover of heavy shelling, Israeli tanks and armored personnel carriers rumbled across the border from occupied Palestine into Lebanon. For days running Israeli 175mm, heavy

ZIONIST EXPANSIONISM IN SOUTH LEBANON

Zionist expansionist designs in South Lebanon, dates back to well before the establishment of the Zionist colonial settlements in Palestine. The Zionist delegation at the 1919 Versailles Peace Conference, demanded the inclusion of Lebanon, south of the Litani River, in the so-called "Jewish National Home".

The usurpation of the waters of the Litani River, has long been advocated necessary for the colonial expansion of northern Galilee settlements. Lately, the ultra-Zionist Likud administration, which regards Israel's boundaries as set by the mythological King Solomon, and fully backed by the American interpretation of Resolution 242 (an interpretation which calls for Israel to have "defensible boundaries"), sees this interpretation as a means of executing its policy of expansion and occupation.

In retrospect, the Right-Wing Fascists and their Israeli allies, began their joint offensive on South Lebanon in the wake of the settlement of Lebanon's bloody

artillery shelled the villages of Balat, Tallat Zuheir, Ibl-al-Saqi, Khiam, Bint Jbeil, Saf al-Hana, and the surrounding areas.

Zionist authorities and western news media made no mention of this act of aggression on a sovereign state until U.N. observers revealed to the outside world the extent of Zionist aggression. According to the U.N. report, besides

heavy shelling by Israelis from within occupied Palestine, Israeli Phantom and Sky Hawk planes have also taken part in the offen-



The Joint Forces.

sive. A large number of Israeli troops crossed into Lebanon as gun-boats entered Lebanese territorial waters up to the city of Tyre. Zionist response to the verification of its aggression was to shell a U.N. observer post near Khiam, destroying it completely.

Even though the joint forces of the Palestine Revolution and the Lebanese Progressives were out numbered and out gunned, they stood face to face with the Israeli war machine effectively checking it. Palestinian Commandos halted the invading Israeli tanks at the entrance to Khiam, successfully smashing their attempts to advance throughout the 12 days of fighting. Anti-aircraft units also divert-

ed enemy war planes from attaining their fascistic goals. The forces of the Palestinian Revolution and the masses of South Lebanon, destroyed once again the myth of Zionist invincibility.

In response to indiscriminate Zionist shelling of civilian positions, Palestinian Forces bombarded Israeli fire bases located within settlements inside occupied Palestine.

On September 26, after the defeat of the allied fascist forces, the Zionist enemy attempted to benefit from a battle in which it was militarily defeated by launching a propaganda campaign. The campaign contained the usual

Zionist rhetoric about pullbacks, guarantees and open frontiers. But as stipulated in the Cairo Agreement, there will be no withdrawal of the Joint Forces and the Revolution will not hesitate to strike forcefully once more if Israel reopens fire.

The forces of the Palestinian Revolution after stressing the unconditional and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Lebanese territory, affirmed that their military operations were only defensive. If the enemy ceases fire the Joint Forces will also cease fire.

The Zionist enemy, after several days of news black-outs about the presence of Israeli troops on Lebanese soil, invited journalists on Monday, September 26, to cover the return of a military force whose entry had been heavily denied previously.

As pointed out by the P.L.O. Central Command, which met in Damascus on September 19, 1977, the Zionist war of aggression in Lebanon came at a time when the march to peace in Lebanon was beginning to succeed, particularly after the agreement was reached between the Lebanese authorities, the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab Deterrent Forces in Shtaura. Everyone was expecting the execution of the third phase of the agreement which consisted of the entry of the Lebanese Army to the South, mainly to fighting areas.

Once again the Israelis and their local Lebanese puppets have struck at the peace march in Lebanon. The Palestinian Revolution for its part, as agreed with Lebanese authorities, is ready to execute the Cairo Agreement. While defending its presence in South Lebanon as stipulated in the Cairo Accord, the Revolution has made it clear that it will strike with an iron fist anyone who attempts to attack its stated positions.

ENEMY NEWS



Sharon: The Israeli Minister of Agriculture.

SHARON THREATENS NAQAB BEDOUINS

The Israeli Minister of Agriculture, Ariel Sharon has threatened to take stringent measures against the bedouins of the Naqab region, such as the destruction of their houses and their deportation to other regions if they did not cease illegal building activities. Sharon, who was addressing 40 tribal representatives on September 28, charged that the bedouins were constructing houses without official permits.

SHARON: ARABS FOREIGN BODY INSIDE ISRAEL

The Israeli newspaper, "al-Hamishmar", quoted Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Minister of Agriculture and head of the Knesset Committee for Settlements Affairs, as saying that "the Arabs are a foreign body inside Israel and have to be uprooted by all possible means."

The newspaper added that Sharon's declaration angered Palestinian citizens who sent cables of condemnation to the Israeli government. It is worth recalling that Sharon is a pioneer of the settlement movement in occupied Arab territories and currently works towards the expulsion of Palestinian citizens from the Naqab region in order to build new Jewish settlements in that area.

SRAEL'S
INTELLIGENCE
SERVICES
STILL
AT WAR-WITH
EACH OTHER...

After the accession of the Zionist "Hawks" to power, a covert struggle between the Doves and the Hawks raged behind the scenes.

AT WAR-WITH EACH OTHER...

The Likud Hawks, now in power, strive to consolidate their foot-hold down to the lowest echelon of the bureaucracy and its different institutions by ousting the "Dovish" labor elements. A battle is raging now for the domination of the Histadrut, another expression of the struggle for power is what is currently taking place in the ranks of the Zionist Intelligence Services.

Israel's intelligence outfits, the MOSSAD ("institute") and the SHIN BEIT (initials of Security Service), are still at odds with each other. SHIN BEIT Chief, Avra' im Akhitov who is supposed to work under the overall directives of MOSSAD Chief General Itzkhak ("Heka") Hoffi, (Israel and Palestine 34/35 and 36) has succeeded in keeping his outfit independent and, indeed, both covert services struggle against each other in every possible way. Akhitov, a right-wing nationalist, now has a chance of seeing his forces doubled by the Begin Government.

"Heka", on the other hand, may be replaced soon and a new MOSSAD coordinator will then be named; he will tacitly have to accept Akhitov's independent stance. The most probable candidate for the post is General Yekutiel Adam, a Sephardi Jew and a military leader.

On the other hand, both the MOSSAD and the SHIN BEIT, deplore the state in which Military Intelligence (AMAN) still finds itself. The days in which this outfit was considered the marvel of Middle Eastern services is long past.

The first step in this long hoped-for reorganization was the appointment, on August 9, of the AMAN Chief Intelligence officer, Commander Dov Tamari, to other unspecified duties, and his replacement by his former Assistant, Commander Haim Binyamini, 40, the man who planned the 1973 assassination raid on Beirut, during which not only were three PLO leaders murdered by Israeli paratroopers, but also a number of civilian women and men were shot in cold blood.

The Chief Intelligence Officer is, by all practical purposes, the real boss of AMAN, as the nominal Commanding officer of the Intelligence Corps, General Shlomo Gazit, is more of a liaison man with the Ministry of Defense than a planner of operations.

THE NEW BOOK
THE Gun and the Olive Branch
The Gun and the Olive Branch

DAVID HIRST

THE GUN AND THE OLIVE BRANCH

THE ROOTS OF VIOLENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST



The very fact that this book has now been published, is significant for the concern which is rapidly growing even in the West about the consequences of continued Zionist aggression. Finally the West, however reluctantly, has for its own interests recognized the real militarist, colonialist, expansionist basis of the Zionist state and the fascists dangers coming out of it and threatening world peace.

The Gun and the Olive Branch, subtitle: "The roots of the violence in the Middle East" has been written by David Hirst, the rather conservative Middle East correspondent of the British "Guardian", a man respected for his long-standing experience and close insight

"... Unless The Outside World Does Save ISRAEL From Itself ..."

in nearly all Middle East countries including the Zionist entity. Hirst finally makes a clean sweep of the many heavily pro-Zionist biases which have, mainly because of the historic links between Western imperialism and Zionism, long been dominating the saleable reports and comments in the Western media and dangerously distorted the historic truth. Hirst, exposes that literature on the Palestine question — and especially that appearing in the United States, has been overwhelmingly Zionist in sympathy or inspiration. He sees the urgent need, that "the balance be redressed, the other side of the story told."

His book is a well-documentized account, detailed with many facts and quotations, of the way in which the Palestine tragedy has unfolded since the first major waves of immigration by Zionists in 1882.

Hirst observes that violence and "vengance was implicit in Zionism from the outset" and that it had its basic fundaments in overall Western imperialism and settler colonialism.

Hirst gives a long detailed survey of the violent history of Zionist infiltration, aggression and occupation of Palestine, he shows how deliberate terror warfare was from the very beginning one of the main means of Zionist "successes". The Deir Yassin massacre and the insidious murder of the U.N. mediator, Graf Bernadotte in 1948, were not accidents but just highmarks in a continuous chain of Zionist violence. " After 1948, Israel did not abolish this system of officially licensed terrorism", Hirst observes, referring to the campaigns of the violent "cleaning-out" of Arab villages, of intimidation and deportation of the indigenous Arab population, of "retaliation" air-raids against civilian targets in refugee camps, of the "systematic torture of prisoner", and of "veritable concentration camps".

Hirst exposes the result of this Zionist history, the deep-rooted "ideology of force" now prevailing in leading Israeli circles, a belief that political problems and all resistance could be finished off by violent "solutions", and that — despite all contradictory "peace" propaganda — the interests and aims of Greater Israel can be furthered best through a "situation of no

peace and of latent war", as Hirst calls it. He observes: "It hardly needs to be said that the upbuilding of Greater Israel could only be accomplished through the permanent, institutional use of violence to which Zionism was irretrievably wedded."

Consequently, Hirst confirms how slim the prospects are for the Zionists over agreeing to any reasonable and truly peaceful settlement, because this would precisely and basically contradict their own laws and aims. He exposes the real obsessions of the present Israeli Prime Minister and arch terrorist, Begin, who already on October 12,1955, urged the Knesset for "a preventive war against the Arab states without further hesitation. By doing so we will achieve two targets: firstly the annihilation of Arab power and secondly the expansion of our territory"; and the real nature of the present Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan's "peace love", becomes clear when Hirst quotes him exclaiming, after the 1967-occupation by the Zionist state of Arab territories several times as big as Israel's realm of 1948. "That's not all." In April 1968, Dayan said: "It is perhaps possible to conclude peace treaties between ourselves and our Arab neighbours but the Arabs are asking too high a price, and I pray to heaven that the day never comes" (Maariv, April 30, 1968, Hirst, page 222.) One must suppose that these are still the Dayan prayers of today, whether they coincide now with those of the present U.S. President or not.

Hirst also exposes the history of Arab violence. He shows that the resistance of the Palestinians indeed goes back to the time of the intrusion of the first Zionist settlers. However, he admits finally the truth: "that in any true historic perspective, the Zionist aggressors were the original aggressors in the Middle East, the real pioneers of violence, and that Arab violence however cruel and fanatical it might eventually become, was an inevitable reaction to theirs".

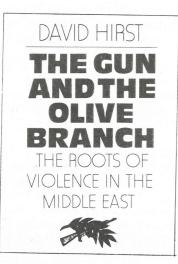
Hereby, Hirst is no sympathizer to the Arab side, at least not of the Arab governments. He brands their disarray, their incompetence, up to now, to put their ranks in order and to mobilize their vast superior resources in order to end Zionist expansionism, their short-sighted tactics to "gain" from separate deals with the Zionists at the expense of common Arab inte-

rests as well as of an overall peace order in the region, and their conspiracies against the Palestinians themselves. But Hirst also observes cle arly: "If one thing is certain, it is that intransigence cannot work forever. The Arabs will not remain in such disarray forever. A new order will eventually emerge which is better able and, in the absence of a peaceful settlement, more determined to mobilize the vast potential at its disposal."

Hirst is no admirer of the Palestinian Resistance either. He lays stress on the existing or alleged political and organizational shortcomings of the Palestinian revolution and the Arab revolution in general. But his book does not show any feasible alternative on how to resist Zionism. And he has to admit that the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, gave the lie to the Zionist continued assertions that "there were no Palestinians", and that now no solution in the Middle East can be achieved which does not take into account the national rights of the Palestinian people. "For all their disappointments, however the Palestinians had established themselves once and for all as a political force, champions of their own cause which they promoted not only in defiance of Israel, but, where necessary, of the Arab regimes." Hirst also underlines the decisive importance of the persisting resistance and uprising of the Palestinians in occupied Palestine.

It is of great importance that Hirst also observes that the vast majority of the Palestinians, sincerely are ready for the option of the "olive branch". For a bi-state solution in Palestine, which would then, but only then, include the recognition of Israel as a peaceful Jewish statehood of its own, which itself is ready for true coexistence. This, he analysis correctly, was part of the long-range policy of the PLO under the chairmanship of Yassir Arafat. But Hirst remains sceptical: "The Israelis only saw the gun, the Palestinians saw the olive branch".

In his rather pessimistic epilogue, Hirst concludes: "The chances for peace were not good, because, although the Arabs might have changed, the Israelis had grown more unbending than ever." "Without a peaceful settlement, Hirst says, nothing can stand in the way of its apocalyptic appeal...(of the Zionist logic of



force). The last act of violence in the Middle East will be nuclear; the fatal propensity for the extreme solution which we have seen in action at every stage of this history, all but guarantees it. Israel has not signed the Non-proliferation Treaty, it possesses the bomb, and the turther development of its nuclear capacity is the only way that it can match its enemies' ever-growing conventional strength. The logic of force on which it has always relied is ultimately a self-destroying one" "unless the outside world does save Israel from itself."

Here ends Hirst. He avoids to show a way and to explain how this can really be done, and this is the main and typical deficiency of this useful book by a leading British correspondent.

Indeed, for two reasons Hirst's book is very helpful. It lays open the real roots of the Palestine and Middle East conflict and admits the truth about the aggressive and violent nature of Zionism. Moreover his book points to the apocalyptic consequences of contempt of the interests and rights of the Arab and Palestinian people demonstrated by the Zionist occupiers for whom a just peace is abomina-

tion. It points to the definite fascist threat emanating from these forces of Zionism.

But in order to halt the strategists of the holocaust, the entire peace-loving world has to shoulder its responsibility, and the West must bear its share.

The conflict of Palestine is not primarily a social or class struggle, not even a mere conflict of national liberation; it is increasingly an anti-fascist struggle. The Middle East, in fact, needs a broad anti-fascist, alliance, gathering various forces from different camps in the world, from East and West alike. They have at least one common interest: To stop those forces in the Zionist entity which, in order to escape recognition of the just rights of the Palestinian people and their Arab neighbors, so as to escape an equal and peaceful coexistence in the area. In short; in order to escape peace, they must put up with the permanent "option" of the gun, in turn further precipitating the whole area into social and economic chaos, with a possible overall blow-up, with catastrophic consequences for the entire world.

The anti-fascist task in the Middle East, is one of the basic reasons behind the recent U.S.—Soviet common communique regarding the erea.

But this task needs deeds, not just words. For the West this first of all, not a single further U.S. bomber, not a single dollar in "aid" for the Zionist military machine, not a single further loan granted by the EEC for the Israeli war economy, not a single further West German Deutsh Mark as direct help for Zionist settlements in the occupied Arab land.

Up to now, the U.S.A. and Western Eruope do the very reverse. While chattering about the urgent need for peace and Zionist "concessions", all in fact, continue to guarantee and even to extend their unconditional material supplies for the Zionist aggressors. They should not try to make the world believe that this is the way to put an end to Zionist mania and the fascistic threats that espouse out of it.

MILITARY OPERATIONS

COMMANDOS SET OFF CHARGES IN JERUSALEM AND PETAH TEKVA

The Military Spokesman of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution issued the following communiques:

No. 111/77:

One of our commando units on the night of September 27 planted timed explosive charges inside an Egged bus parked in the Nevi Jacob area in Jerusalem. While it was heading towards the central bus station at 7:30 AM the next day, the charges were discovered before they were due to explode.

Explosives experts were immediately called to defuse the charges, traffic was stopped in the area, and Israeli security forces rounded up more than 17 Palestinian citizens on suspicion of placing the charges. Our revolutionariès returned safely to base.

No. 112/77:

Acting on orders, a commando unit on September 26, planted three timed explosive charges inside the police station in Petah Tekva settlement, in a Bank Leumi branch, and in a shop nearby.

The first charge in the police station went off at 9:15 AM wounding an undetermined number of policemen and damaging part of the center. After the explosion, Israeli security forces announced a state of full alert and were able to discover the other charges. Our commandos returned safely to base.

ISRAEL ADMITS IL350 MILLION LOSSES IN PAPER FACTORY BLAZE

Radio Israeli october 4 admitted that material losses inflicted upon the Karkal paper and carton factories in Lydd, as a result of charges set off by Palestinian commandos last Friday, were estimated at IL350 million. The radio

added that the Minister of Interior Yusef Borg has ordered the formation of an investigatory committee to find out whether negligence was behind the huge blaze which burned out of control for hours.

In related news, Radio Israel reported that a number of Palestinians were believed to be behind the repeated fires which have broken out in the woods surrounding settlements in the northern and central regions of Palestine over the past two weeks and which resulted in material losses estimated at IL6 million.

COMMANDOS SET OFF CHARGES IN JERUSALEM

Beirut, 3/10.

Palestinian commandos on October 2 set off charges in Jerusalem. The Palestinian Military Spokesman issued the following communiqué:

No. 115/77:

Acting on orders, one of our commando units at dawn on October 2nd planted timed explosive charges inside the central bus station in Jaffa street in Jerusalem. At 9:05AM the charges exploded, killing or wounding an indetermi-

nate number of Israelis and damaging buses parked in the station. Following the operation, and after an intensive search of the area, over 55 Palestinians were arrested on suspicion of being involved in the blast. Our commandos, nevertheless, returned safely to base.

PALESTINIAN COMMANDOS EXECUTE TWO OPERATIONS

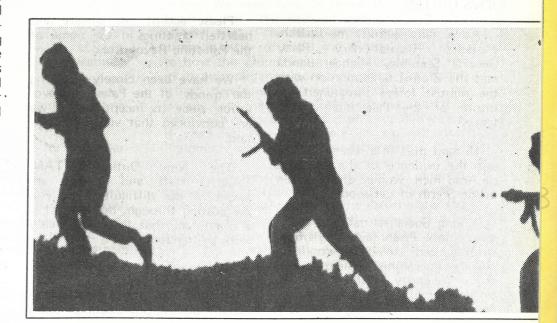
Palestinian revolutionaries on October 9 executed military operations in the town of Dora and in Jerusalem.

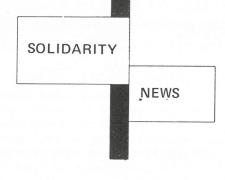
No. 116/77:-

A commando unit operating inside occupied Palestine planted a timed explosive charge inside an Israeli shop located in Bab al-Khalil district in occupied Jerusalem. The charge was discovered at 3:00 PM on October 9.

No.117/77:-

Another commando unit planted incendiary charges inside the Israeli Labour Exchange of the town of Dora in the Hebron region, The charges exploded on 9/10 resulting in a large fire and destroying all the contents of the building.





REPORT OF LONDON DEMONSTRATION AGAINST ISRAELI AGGRESSION

A thousand people marched through London calling for 'VICTORY TO THE P.L.O.' in a big demonstration on Sunday October 2., led by young Palestinian girl students.

The march, organised by the Workers Revolutionary Party and its Youth Section, The Young Socialists, proclaimed that the OLP fight was inseparable from the struggles of the working class in Europe against Imperialism. The march was watched by large numbers of passers by as it passed through Oxford street past the U.S. Embassy and on past the Israeli Embassy to Kensington.

At the head of the march were carried portraits of Yassir Arafat, Abu Jihad, Farouk Kaddumi and Colonel Gaddafi.

Marchers shouted 'VICTORY TO THE PLO'... 'DOWN WITH ZIONISM'... and 'ARAB AND JEWS UNITE'.

At a rally before the march, Workers Revolutionary Party General Secretary Michael Banda said the Zionist collaboration with the rightist forces threatened the future of the Palestinian Resistence.

He said that, on a recent visit he saw the evidence of the massacre of Arab men, women and children in the South of Lebanon.

Young Socialists national secretary, Simon Pirani said, the demonstration was called to condemn Israel's expansionist policies and to show solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution and their Lebanese allies.

'We want the PLO to be victorious just as the Vietnamese were victorious over US imperialism in South East Asia.'

Vanessa Redgrave of the Workers Revolutionary Party, Central Committee said, the heroic struggle of the Palestinians should be saluted and supported by the British Labour and Trade Union Movement.

Letters handed in at the American and Israeli Embassies called for a halt to Zionist aggression and annexations and demanded the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The marchers told the Israeli representatives in London that the WRP and the YS would continue to campaign alongside the PLO for the establishment of a Democratic Secular State of Palestine where Arabs and Jews could live together in peace.

COMRADE YASSER ARAFAT.
CHAIRMAN— P.L.O.
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
BEIRUT, LEBANON.
COMRADE.

Please accept our sincere and heartfelt greetings in the name of the Palestine Revolution.

We have been closely watching the trends of the Palestine Revolution since its inception and we are convinced that victory is certain.

The New Outlook (TAN-ZANIA) staff and readers are aware of the difficult times you are passing through, however, it is a given fact that there is no easy walk to freedom.

While you are struggling with the gun in the field, we are struggling with the pen from far off distant places. Our common stand towards the popular Revolution makes the distant shorter.

Comrade Chirman, The New Outlook-Tanzania would like to assure you of our unflinching support in every way possible until Palestine is totally liberated from Zionism and imperialism.

We also take this opportunity to express our thanks to the P.L.O. Mission in DAR ES SA-LAAM for the cooperation it renders to us during the period of our operation.

Once again Comrade Chairman, please accept on behalf of the staff and readers of New Outlook Tanzania; and on my own behalf, our total assurance in your continuing struggle.

Respectfuly yours, JOE L. KAMUZORA. Editor-in-Chief... NEW OUTLOOK. THE NEW OUTLOOK JOURNAL

PALESTINIAN FUND RECEIVES CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PALESTINIANS IN U.S.

The Palestinian National Fund received financial aid from the Palestinian community in Santa Cruz, U.S.A. The Fund thanked the community and vowed to continue serving the Palestinian national struggle inside and outside the occupied territory.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE CONDEMNS ISRAEL AGGRESSION IN SOUTH

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, on 27/9 received a cable from the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee condemning the Israeli enemy and denouncing its aggression against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Nationalist Movement in South Lebanon.



The Palestine Front of Norway is a solidarity organization for the Palestinian people represented by the P.L.O. The political program of the Front is summarized in 5 points.

- 1. Full support to the Palestinian people in its just struggle for national liberation on its own terms.
- 2. Full support of the establishment of an independent and democratic state of Palestine with equal rights and duties for all ethnic, cultural, and religious groups.
- 3. Combat the Zionist state of Israel, U.S.-imperialism and the enemies of the Palestinian people in the Arab World.
- 4. Reject solutions which are based on a bi-national state.
- 5. Full support to the struggle for the liberation of all Palestine.

The main aim of the Palestine Front is to inform the broad masses of the Norweigian people about the just struggle of the Palestinians and to furthermore unite them in concrete actions in solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The Palestine Front is independent of party politics. All individuals who support the poli-

tical basis mentioned above can be supporting members. Those who also take an active part in our work are organized in groups of activists. Because of the immense pro-Zionist coverage in the mass-media of Norway, the Palestine Front gives high priority to our paper, "News from Palestine", which is issued about 10 times yearly. The paper contains analyses and comments on the latest events concerning the Palestinian Revolution besides news from WAFA

As a broad front we have contacts with various organizations and associations; above all, trade unions, student and youth organizations, and political parties. We are also engaged in public debates and organizing meetings - usually with film and lectures on the latest events in the Middle East. We arrange protests and fund campaigns in solidarity with the Palestinian people. In connection with the Syrian invasion of Lebanon, we launched a campaign for humanitarian aid to victims of this fascist and imperialist aggression in Lebanon. This campaign, which gained the support of most of the youth organizations, women's organizations, trade unions etc..., resulted in the raising of 150,000 Norwegian Kroner, which was given to the Palestinian Red Crescent through the P.L.O. office in in Stockholm. The Palestinian Front is now planning a new campaign of fund-raising. As a solidarity organization we consider it important to be both able to mobilize the Norwegian people to give material support as well as using such campaigns in our political propaganda against Zionism and imperialism.

It is not an easy task to deal with solidarity work for Palestinian people in Norway. Zionist propaganda dominates the schools and massmedia. We need time to reveal the thesis that Israel is not "the oasis of democracy" in the Middle East. The election of Begin as the prime minister of Israel, has opened many eyes to how the Zionist state is ruled. The task for us in our solidarity work is to show that Begin is not merely an extremist Zionist, but that he is following the same Zionist design that the Israeli government is based on. The difference is that he rules the state in an even less diplomatic manner than his predecessors.

As a solidarity organization it is of great importance to establish a good relationship with the representatives of the Palestinians and with the Palestinian people themselves. Due to this, we regularly invite representatives of the different organizations within the P.L.O. to Norway, and this is a great source of inspiration for us.

As often as the situation permits, we try to

send small groups of members to Lebanon to improve our contacts with the Palestinian people.

Our visit has been a great experience. Being able to meet with the different organizations and the Palestinian people themselves; to see their living conditions and their struggle in Lebanon has been a most rewarding and motivating experience. It has made a life-long impression upon us.

We have met the different political organizations within the P.L.O., the mass organizations, and Lebanese political parties. We have travelled to South Lebanon and have spoken to the fighters and the people living in villages close to the border. We also had the opportunity to visit clinics and speak to the people living in the refugee camps. Everywhere we went we were warmly received, and it has been of great comfort to us to feel that our visit has likewise been an inspiration to the people we have spoken to. We can assure you that we now leave Lebanon exhausted, but strengthened in our drive for our solidarity work at home.

SOLIDARITY NEWS

DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY CALLS FOR RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

In a communiqué issued on September 26, the Rakah-backed Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in occupied Palestine, strongly condemned Israel's aggressive policy against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people. Israel should withdraw from all territories occupied in 1967, and recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, the communiqué said.

The Front furthermore expressed its deepest concern over the continuous tension in South Lebanon and the interference of Israeli forces in military operations there.

ARAB WRITERS SUPPORT PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

In a resolution adopted on 3/10/77, the General Union of Arab Writers declared their full support for the just struggle waged by the Palestinian people to realize their legitimate rights and establish their independence and an end to the

Israeli occupation of Arab lands. The Arab writers who ended their eleventh conference in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, also denounced US-Zionist - reactionary efforts to divide the Arab liberation movement and liquidate the Palestinian Revolution.

ITALIAN PARLIAMENT DISCUSS PLO RECOGNITION

As part of efforts exerted by Italian democratic forces towards inducing their government to recognize the PLO, the Italian Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Relations on October 4 held a meeting to discuss the possibility of officially recognizing the PLO. The Italian Foreign Minister had promised, in a statement before the committee last November, that Italy would work towards bringing its relations with the PLO to a government level.

ISLAMIC COUNTRIES CALL FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL

Following a meeting at UN headquarters on 5/10/77, the Fo-

reign Ministers of Islamic countries issued a communique reaffirming the stand of their respective countries: that no peace could be achieved in the Middle East without Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and the recovery of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to a independent state.

ITALIAN POLITICAL AND INFORMATION CIRCLES DEMAND OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF PLO

A large number of Italian politicians, journalists and intellectuals on 5/10/77 called on the Italian government to immediately recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, basing their request on UN resolutions and recommendations regarding the Palestine question.

Among the most prominent signatures of the petition were the writer Alberto Moravia; comrade Jean Carlo Payetta from the Italian C.P. leadership, Prof. Renioni, Deputy Speaker of the Parliament and a leader of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Italian Socialist Party; and many others including around 60 deputies from various political parties.

VATICAN NEWSPAPER CONDEMNS ZIONIST SETTLEMENT POLICY

The Vatican's "Observatoire Romano" on 7/10 condemned Israel's settlement policy in the occupied Arab territories, declaring it an obstacle in the way of returning these territories to the Arab citizens and of establishing a Palestinian homeland.

The newspaper recalled a number of facts exposing Zionist settlement measures in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, which were taken in contempt of numerous UN resolutions and international agreements.

The newspaper also recalled the Israeli rejection of the Pope's call for establishing a Palestinian homeland which he made on December 22nd, 1975.



A Palestinian Dabke.

"Zionist Lies and Thefts"

by Josephine Keppell

Israeli territorial imperialism can be made easily apparent by reference to any atlas. However, her cultural imperialism is diffused by a staggeringly large advertising and propaganda campaign. And with extreme skill, this enduring propaganda has distorted the truth of Israeli territorial and economic imperialism and blinded many people to the true and contemporary facts of the issue.

The greatest and most enduring of these propaganda lies is the Jewish "historical" claim to the so-called promised land. Begin and the former leaders of Israel and World Zionism, have constantly served this historically inaccurate fact to the world. In actuality, the Jews shared the area with other Semites and in fact controlled Palestine for a short period under David and his son. However, it must be remembered that in establishing this brief dynasty,

David "slew" Goliath, a Philistine. Thus we can see that under analysis, Biblical history clearly shows the Palestinian presence in the area prior to the establishment of the Jewish Kingdom.

Coupled with this fallacious historical claim, comes the laughable policy that all Jews have the right to return to the "homeland", (Palestinians incidentally can not return to "this homeland" which is rightfully theirs). This preposterous policy is legitimized by the Zionist's historical claims. These claims have been repudiated historically and racially. Jews themselves have shown the European origin of present day Israelis.

The Jewish writer, Arthur Koestler, in his book "The Thirteenth Tribe", demonstrates that Jews of European origin are in fact not Semitic but descendants of the Khazars inhabitants of

southern Russia. And it is indisputable that the terrorist leaders of Israel and world Zionism are of European origin when ancestors often intermarried with Europeans, and so these European Jews bear no ethnic relationship to the Jews of the Kingdom of David, other than a shared religion. At this point we must pose the question, "Would a European Christian have the right to take over Palestine simply because Jesus Christ was born there? "

The logic of Zionist propaganda collapses under analysis. However, so many of their lies have permeated western thinking that now many are taken as truth. Sometimes they are based on half-fact or a distortion of the truth. The best example of this is constant reference to the sufferings of the Jews during the Second World War. The horror of six million dead Jews is played upon by Zionist leaders.

Do we hear the Russians refering to the 10 million Russians slaughtered? No. However, more insidious is the fact that Zionist leaders have never mentioned their collaboration with Nazi leaders, and thus their part in the murder of Jews. Zionist deals with Nazis profited Zionist colonization and later the state of Israel. As the young, healthy and the rich escaped the holocaust, the poor and enfeebled paid the price for the Zionist state. Jewish writers themselves have established this horrible fact. Moshe Monuhin, in his book "The Decadence of Judaism in our Time" and the ex-Zionist writer of "Perfidy" demonstrates Nazi-Zionist collaboration. However, propaganda and mass suppression of such books has helped keep the Jews and the rest of the world in general ignorant of such facts.

Gross cultural thefts of Palestinian customs and life style too, have helped establish the Zionist Israeli regime. The western press often reiterates the old Zionist lie: "We made the desert bloom." In fact those famous Jaffa oranges are the legacy of Palestinian work and toil, as likewise are the olive groves and the carefully tilled soil which today supports the Kibbutzism and the urban Israeli population. Israeli agricultural advancements in the Negev, etc., have been at the expense of neighboring Arab countries, and are needed by Israel, if she is to succeed in her immigration campaign, which in turn is necessary to swell the ranks of her army and so to further Zionist expansionism. Thus Zionist propaganda in this area has a twofold effect: It justifies Israeli expansion and entices further Jewish immigration to the area. which of course necessitates greater expansion into the Arab countries, particularly the fertile area of southern Lebanon.

Day-to-day cultural Imperialism within Palestine has also helped establish the Jewish state of Israel in the eyes of the world. That Israeli breakfast of olives and Lebanese figs, etc, grossly advertised in Israel magazines, is in fact a traditional Palestinian breakfast.

A Palestinian National dress.

Those exciting "Jewish" dances are in fact the traditional Arab group dance — the Dabke. The art and handicrafts sold to tourists are in fact Palestinian crafts and art work including pottery, needlework and glassware. The Palestinian national dress, an intricately embroidered robe, also has been co-opted as the Israeli national dress. It is often exhibited in Europe as Israeli." Tourists, however, often buy a machine embroidered,inferior article falsely believing it to be an Israeli idea, when in fact its origin is totally and

traditionally Palestinian.

Even Palestinian dogs have not escaped Zionist cultural Imperialism. The Bedouin dog used for herding stock in the Negev and Sinai, has emerged as the "Israeli dog"— the Canaan (Canaan incidently is a province of Palestine).

Although these items may appear trivial — even humorous — this wholesale appropriation of Palestinian culture stretches from Canaan dogs upwards; the art and architecture, music and dancing of the Palestinians have been carefully appropriated by Zīonists.

This supposedly gives the Zionists a two fold advantage. First it legitimizes their regime in the eyes of the world, making it appear older and more firmly established than in fact it is, and indeed many Westerners do not realize that the Imperialist Zionist state is only 30 years old, naturally, clever propaganda and cultural imperialism reinforce Western ignorance. Secondly, the Zionists hope their propaganda of legitimization will have a demoralizing effect on the Palestinians. By attempting to strip the Palestinians of their cultural heritage, and attempting to deny their very existence, the Zionists hope to win the cultural war initiated by their territorial imperialism.

However, the opposite has occured. Instead of culturally damaging the Palestinian people, the Zionists have drawn them closer together; and as scattered as the Palestinian people are throughout the Arab world, they still react and interact as the most cohesive group in the Middle East today. Instead of destroying the

Palestinian social fabric, the Zionists have reinforced it. Today every Palestinian treasures the memory of his homeland through Palestinian music, art, dances and customs. And within this shared suffering, the Palestinians will, as a homogenous family group, attain their aim — to return to their homeland.

The Palestinian Steadfastness Under The Israeli Occupation

This report was sent to us by a European sympathiser who made a recent visit to Occupied Palestine. Occupied Palestine: September 1977.

The West Bank is in ferment. The groundswell of resentment and determination to resist the Zionist occupation, particularly amongst the young is manifestly clear, even during a supposedly quiet period such as now, when the schools have only recently opened and the external manifestations of militancy have temporarily subsided. However incomplete and distorted the impressions received by a sympathetic outsider may be, and however great the obstacles faced by the people in their struggle, to cast aspersions on the depth of feeling and capacity to resist of the Palestinians inside Palestine, is foolish as it is mista-

ken: whether in the Western press, amongst the Israeli left, or by the Zionist ruling circles themselves. I have never come across a people so widely politicised by their struggle, or conscious of their history and destiny, and their fight in its broadest context. Their message is clear and often repeated: their struggle will not be over until the whole of historic Palestine is liberated from the Zionist oppressor and all Palestinians in the "ghurba", "diaspora", or in "exile" can return to their homes. The P.L.O. is regarded almost universally as their only legitimate representative and they will accept no other.

Their openness and willingness to discuss their situation is remarkable, and sometimes worrying, in view of the efficiency of Shin Beth and other of the semi-fascist intelligence arms of the Israeli sta-

te. "I am not afraid", a young Palestinian, aged perhaps 19 or 20, told me in Jerusalem. "What have I done to be afraid of? They have done everything to me already.' He had been in jail for participation in anti-occupation demonstrations, where he was tortured for information about his comrades. He had evaded arrest for 2 days, hiding in the old city and Selwan, but was eventually given away by informers. "It is they (the Zionists) who fear us", he said," the thief is always frightened; he never sleeps soundly". His remark is telling. The tenseness of Israeli society is almost tangible: it is evident in their arrogance and hostility to foreigners (in such marked contrast to the attitudes of the Palestinians). It is in the groups of Israelis who come down from their coastal strongholds to visit their latterday territorial prizes, armed



Tawfig Zayyad: Mayor of Nazareth



Demonstrations in Nazareth

with American M16's and submachine guns. On another occasion the boy mentioned was rescued from a mass, arbitrary arrest outside Bab El-Khalil (Jaffa Gate) by a sympathetic Jew, who hid him in his home until the tension subsided. It was the first Israeli Jew he had as a friend.

The enemy's fear was a recurrent theme in the conversations I had with Palestinians on the West Bank. A militant young student from Nablus, who showed me round the old city there, described how during demonstrations the people could use the twisting, dark passages and alleys, the concealed courtyards and entrances only they knew, to attack the enemy unseen, with rocks and boiling water, and then to hide without fear of detection. The soldiers, on the other hand, were terrified to enter the old city where they were like fish out of water.

The authorities' fear of the people is further manifested in their frantic attempts to paint out nationalist slogans on the walls of

West Bank towns — as if they expect that in this way they will be able to stem the tide of revolution! The slogans, nevertheless, abound: "Thawra hatta an-nasr" (Revolution until victory); Falastin elhurra (Free Palestine); "Idrabu elyom" (Strike today), and many more, expressing solidarity with the fighters in Lebanon, and the determination to stand firm and resist.

A serious problem faced by the people in their struggle is security - and by this I do not mean the blanket term used by the Israelis "instead of arguments", as Matzpen" has so well put it in one of their publications, but their own internal security. The capacity of Israel's repressive machine is enormous. In the refugee camps, where discontent and political consciousness are at their highest, every household has someone in jail, or as they put it, "visiting their aunt", The night before I visited one refugee camp on the West Bank, a boy of 17 was arrested by the army. No charge was made. "He's with the intelligence now:

he's under torture at the moment," I was told. "We won't hear anything for a month. Then his family will be given the reason for his arrest and detention". He will be held, probably without trial, like many other Palestinians in jail in the "occupied territories", under "Administrative detention", a practice inherited from British Imperialism's "Emergency Regulations" and termed by Zionists at the time as "Fascist".

The fact is, the extended family structure has survived as an influential factor in camp life: everyone knows what everyone else is doing, and unless the strictess secrecy is maintained, there need only be a handful of collaborators inside the camp for the Israelis to have a good idea not only of the mood of the people

 which is evident enough in every coffee-house and shop — but more important, any organisational moves, on a military or political level, being made by the refugees.

The lack of organisation and internal leadership will have to be overcome if the active struggle is to be extended. And despite the monumental practical difficulties (which are daunting to many, and justifiably so), there is a section of



The face of occupation.



Inhuman treatment.

West Bank Palestinians who feel this need very keenly, as well as the necessity for ideological education of the people for liberation.

Further obstacles to escalated resistance exist in the division — which, though sometimes exaggerated, is evidently an important one, between the younger and older generations. The mass spontaneous uprising of the Youth in the last couple of years or so springs from those who know no other life than the refugee camp, who have only seen their original homes since 1967. It springs from those who did not experience the disaster of 1948, but have grown up under military occupation. They reject

their parents' cautious patience, waiting for others to liberate their land. There is the voice of anger and frustration, and they identify closely with the renaissance of their compatriots in the Palestinian diaspora. It would be unfair, though, to identify the older generation in general with passivity: they are often restrained in their actions and encouraged to restrain their childrens' by the threat of closure of their shop or withdrawal of their taxi licence by the military governor.

The pressure that the Israelis can bring to bear in this way is an important factor. Ironically, the proletarianisation that has been well documented as occurring since the beginning of the Israeli occupation, will start to weaken this kind of weapon in their own hands. Furthur, the use by the Zionists of West Bank labour in pre-'67 Israel, necessitated by their own labour shortage, gives the Palestinians a strike weapon that could cripple the Israeli economy decisively at a time of crisis. Zionism helps to dig its own grave. The organisation and preparation for such action would, however, be difficult and hazardous.

Much of what I have said about conditions on the West Bank also applies, broadly speaking, to the so-called "Gaza Strip", although any visit to the area was not as extensive as I would have liked. The situation of the Palestinians in Israel itself (by which I mean pre—



'67 Israel) is a different question. in a Jewish state, that at best re-

It is, I think, fair to say that the "Israeli" Palestinians are isolated from the rest of the Arab world and from the Palestinian Revolution in a way that the Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories are not. What is more, they seem to have little contact with their fellow Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza - some, whose political activities have incurred the displeasure of the Israeli authorities, are even denied access to these areas, and face jail sentences if they disobey the injunction.

Their isolation derives partly from their long period of physical separation from the Arab world (even more, Palestinians in Israel cannot travel to the Arab countries because they have Israeli passports), and partly from the different problems that they face, their different day to day struggle. Despite their concentration in the Galilee region, they live as 3rd class citizens within Israeli society.

in a Jewish state, that at best regards their presence as an unsatisfactory and destabilising factor.

To a certain extent, the intense radicalisation that has occured amongst the young in the past couple of years simultaneously with that in the West Bank, has helped to break down this isolation, and this can only continue. But at the same time as they assert their Palestinian and Arab identity they are suffering from a crisis of identity. Those born after 1948 speak Hebrew to the point of deception— if they wish to pass themselves off as oriental Jews in conversation, they can do so without difficulty (in view of this, it is not surprising that the Zionist authorities feel the need to write the word "Aravit" (Arab) in their identity cards to ensure a smooth implementation of their racist ide-

Discrimination against the Palestinians is both casual and systematic: Arab municipalities are denied adequate funds for schools and

housing; the evictions and land appropriations continue — as the pitiful sight of a Palestinian family, unceremoniously thrown off their land, their house destroyed, now living in a makeshift shack outside EL-Jazzar mosque in Acre, testifies; the curriculum in schools displays a heavy bias in favour of

Jewish language, culture and history; university places are difficult for Arabs to obtain, and some subjects are barred to them on grounds of "security" (the discrimination does not stop there- one Palestinian studying engineering told me how he had turned up for a practical in a factory only to be told that Arabs could not join the visit, again for "security" reasons). When the trained Palestinian finishes his course, he will probably not find the work he is qualified for, often on grounds of "security". When he does find work, his promotion prospects are poor, his Jewish colleagues receiving preference. All Arabs face street harassment by the police. When I visited Rayni, a village just north of Nazareth, they had only one hour's water a day for two months. Why? Because the water they had been using before has been diverted to serve the ever-expanding needs, swimming pools and all, of "Nazareth Ilit", (upper Nazareth) the Jewish town built overlooking Nazareth itself.

These are the kind of conditions all Palestinians in Israel have to face every day. And it is these factors which create a common struggle between older and younger generations among Palestinians living in Israel unmatched in the occupied territories. Obviously it is predominantly the young who are involved in demonstrations and street-fighting, but the commitment of many older people is no less apparent. I listened to many older Galileans recount their experiences of 1936 and 1948, not simply as the relics of past glory, but as lessons for struggles to come: I listened to bitter arguments over current developments and the way to liberation from Pa-

lestinians of all ages, in Nazareth and elsewhere in the Galilee. The divisions among Palestinians in Israel are not between old and young, but simply between those who are prepared to collaborate or compromise with the enemy, those who are frightened and wish to find a modus vivendi with the Zionist state, on the one hand;and those who want to struggle, those who reject Zionism and racism unconditionally, who reject their oppressed position in their own country and the exclusion of their compatriots in exile, and who work or seek to work for liberation.

The development of the struggle and resistance of Palestinians living in Israel has been dominated to a certain extent by the Communist Party (Rakah). Militants I spoke with in Galilee told me that the membership in Nazareth alone stands at the remarkable figure of 4000 (the official figures are secret).

The Communist Party has pla-

yed an important role in giving voice to Palestinian grievances and providing a political framework for the people to mobilise around, since they are excluded from all other sections of the Israeli political spectrum. The Communist Party's position over the first "Day of the land"; its continual exposures of, and attacks on Zionist malpractices in the public arena (for example, in the knesset); the launching of the "Rights to Nazareth" campaign— a movement that began after funds were axed to the municipality, (which had never received even a quarter of the money allotted to it because of the election of Communist mayor, Tawfig Zaiyad, and Communist councillors in the 1975 municipal elections)- a movement that has mobilised thousands of volunteers. Jews, Arabs and foreign sympathisers, both this year and last, to help the municipality with its work in Nazareth, (leaving some remarkable murals testifying to the volunteers' solidarity, on the walls of the town): all these are important contributions to the struggle against Zionism, for a socialist, democratic state in Palestine. The profusion of posters for the "Dem ocratic Front" (the electoral allian-



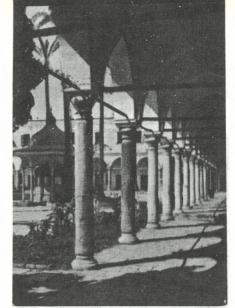
The Zionist Civilization?

ce made between Rakah and sections of the Jewish "Black Panthers"— for" peace and equality"), that remain from the recent national elections, in Acre, Nazareth, and the Arab districts of Haifa, bear witness to the Palestinian support for the Communist Party, as do the election results themselves.

The fact is, however, many of the Palestinian militants in Rakah (who incidentally make up the overwhelming majority of the party- Jewish membership is small and predominantly composed of intellectuals) did not join out of a conviction about Marxism or the necessity of socialism, (and I do not point this out from a position of smug bourgeois liberalismindeed I regret the fact), nor out of support for Rakah's ambiguous solution to the national question. They joined because it is the only organized party, discounting Matspen, which takes a stand against Zionism, and round which they can mobilise.

For much of the past two years, the masses have been leading Rakah in the struggle, rather than the other way round. On several occasions, such as on "the-Day of the Land" this year, when Rakah supported the decision of the councils to make it a day of mourning for last year's deaths rather than a day of revolt, Rakah has been a drag on the struggle. In view of this, many young Palestinians in Israel are looking for a way to organize outside Rakah, but the problems are immense.

The Israeli Jewish population is in a confident mood, with support for Begin widespread. The Israelis recognise the fact that the current balance of forces is clearly in their favour. Many have racist tendencies: the term "avoda aravit" - a phrase literally translated as "Arab work", but used figuratively to indicate any shoddy or poorly executed job- has not disappeared from Hebrew slang. There is no possibility at the moment for an alliance with the majority of the Jewish masses in the struggle against Zionism. Any such suggestion, as implied by the "Democra-

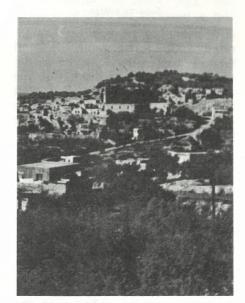


Al-Jazzar Mosque in Acre.

tic Front" alliance, is a dangerous deception of the Palestinian people in Israel. The "Democratic Front" is a false one— by far the largest number of votes in the elections came from Arabs: the Black Pan-

thers are a small group with little support among Israelis. The Israeli jews, as long as they actively support Zionism, are oppressors. This does not mean that propaganda work amongst them is not vital (as it is also among Palestinians over their attitudes to Jews), but only whenZionism is seriously undermined: only when Zionism has been dealt a deadly blow, from inside and without, will a common struggle be possible.

The situation in Occupied Palestine gives much cause for hope, but it is almost axiomatic to say that the struggle will be long and difficult. We must support this struggle wholeheartedly and make those who wage it aware of our solidarity. The Palestinian Revolution is one. Revolution until victory.



Sabastia village.

GUSH EMUNIM IMPLEMENTS GOVERNMENT'S SETTLEMENT PLAN

The Israeli government continues to coordinate with the Gush Emunim group towards the establishment of further Zionist settlements in the territories occupied in 1967. In this context, the Begin government has decided to build 10 new settlements on the West Bank in agreement with Gush Emunim

The government's approval of

this plan was conditional on its implementation according to a time table, whereby each new settlement would be under the control of the nearest military base for its protection.

Immediately upon the announcement of the decision, the first group of the fanatic Gush Emunim headed for the military camp in Shamroun near the Nablus Jenin Tulkarem intersection across from Sabastia, where they set up a temporary settlement nucleus until the government allows them to build a new settlement in Sabastia.

JEWISH ANTI-ANNEXATION DEMONSTRATION IN NAQAB

Tel Aviv, 6/10, WAFA

In reports from occupied Palestine, hundreds of Jewish settlers from the Naqab area launched a demonstration in protest against the policy of annexation followed by the Zionist government in the occupied Arab territories. The demonstrators distributed a communique condemning the settlement policies which they considered an obstacle to peace in the region, and accusing Menahem Begin of irrespon-

sibly using the army and the Gush Emunim group to protect his settlement policy. The communique also accused Begin's government of illegally expropriating land belonging to 6000 Arabs from Sinai. The communique finally condemned the role of the Israeli Minister of Agriculture, Ariel Sharon, in implementing the settlement poli-

DEMONSTRATIONS IN RAMALLAH: LAND SEIZURE IN **TULKARM**

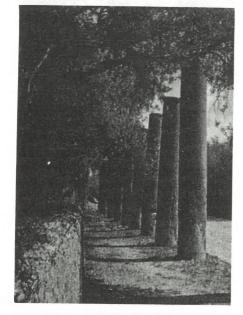
The city of Ramallah on October 7, witnessed angry demonstration in protest against the latest Israeli settlement moves. The demonstrations coincided with the re-opening of schools in the West Bank. Twenty-two citizens were arrested on charges of demonstrating and hurling stones at Israeli soldiers, who were called up especially to disperse the demonstrators.

In related news, the Israeli authorities have recently confiscated 400 dunums of land from the village of Kfar Sour, South of the West Bank town of Tulkarm. Israeli forces took up positions along the expropriated land, preventing any entry to it. At the same time a bulldozer was brought to level the land for prospective buildings to be erected there.

TWO MORE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN WEST BANK

Jerusalem

Radio Israel on October 9 declared that construction work in the new settlement called Kfar Ruth, situated in the Latrun area along the Tel Aviv – Jerusalem highway, was completed last week. The radio added that the settlement is constituted of 12 temporary residential units which can house 12 families. It also mentioned that another settlement called Gilit.



Sabastia village,

also near Latrun, will be inaugurated today. The radio declared further that several other settlements will be established in the area in the near future, and that all these settlements were set up on the basis of a decision by the Israeli Cabinet.

WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP REAFFIRM LOYALTY TO PLO

Gaza, 11/10.WAFA

In a new cable to the UN Secretary-General, the West Bank municipal councils, workers' unions. chambers of commerce and other organizations, in addition to the masses of the Gaza Strip declared their affiliation to the PLO, considering it the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and their condemnation of all Israeli measures inside occupied Palestine. The following points were stressed in the cable:-

- 1. We declare our affiliation to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people wherever they are, and stress that we are part of the Palestinian Arab people.
 - 2. We express our commitment

to the resolutions related to the Palestinian people issued at the Arab summit conference in Rabat, and condemn all attempts aimed to ignore or by-pass these resolu-

- 3. We reject the subjugation of and the imposition of protectorate on the Palestinian people, and confirm the latter's rights to selfdetermination and statehood.
- 4. We demand complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories, the implementation of UN resolutions, and the guaranteeing of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people.
- 5. We support the resolutions issued by the PLO, including its rejection of UN resolution 242 which ignores the cause of the Palestinian people."

The cable then called on world public opinion, as represented by the UN, to adopt decisive resolutions during the current session of the General Assembly, which respect the will of the Palestinian people and support their struggle, led by the PLO, to attain their legitimate rights.

UNRWA: 3000 PALESTINIAN **FAMILIES HOMELESS** AFTER ZIONIST **DESTRUCTION OF HOMES**

New York,

According to the annual UN-RWA report of the UN General Assembly on the conditions of Palestinian refugees under Israeli occupation, there are more than 3000 Palestinian families living in inhuman conditions after their homes were destroyed by the Zionist authorities on the pretext of their affiliation to the Palestinian Revolution. The report also called on all countries to increase their financial support for UNRWA to enable it to carry on its mission.

GUSH EMUNIM'S SETTLEMENTS IN W.B. UNDERWAY

Tel Aviv, 28/9

The fanatic Gush Emunim group is reported to be preparing for settlement in new areas in the West Bank after its leaders spoke with Begin regarding the execution of the approved Likud settlement project in the West Bank.

Meanwhile, the report prepared by Arial Sharon, the Minister of Agriculture and head of the Ministerial settlement committee, which included the creation next week of the nucleus for a settlement in Beit Hanina near Ramallah, also includes plans for six other settlements to be established during the coming two months.

The Israeli newspaper, The Jerusalem Post, recently wrote that the Gush Emunim gang asked for Begin's approval on the establishment of new settlements before the winter season. The newspaper added that the gang had taken the necessary measures regarding these settlements over the past few

MORE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN WEST BANK

Jerusalem, 4/10,

In reports to WAFA from occupied Palestine, a settlement group of the Gush Emunim movement recently set up four large tents on a main street in the Silwad area near the city of Ramallah, and a bulldozer was used in the construction work there.

The Zionist authorities reportedly supplied this group with water and electricity to facilitate their mission.

In related news, the Zionist authorities on 3/10 approved a plan allowing six groups of Zionist settlers to live in military camps in the occupied West Bank as a prelude to the transformation of these camps into settlements.

nment has reportedly ratified a new project to build seven new settlements in the occupied West Bank. Work in the first settlement is due to start next week, while construction of the other six will begin within the next two months. These plans were bitterly condemned by the Jerusalem Arabiclanguage papers, "Al-Shaab" and "Al-Quds".

Jericho - Palestinian farmers in the Jericho area have expressed their discontent with the Israeli decision to limiting the quantity of water drawn from their artesian wells in the area. "Al-Quds" recently reported that farmers sent a cable of protest against this measure to the military governor of Jericho, which is mainly an agricultural district.

Meanwhile, a week ago, the farmers of Jericho received a bill from the Israeli electric company in Jerusalem demanding three times the previous prices. The farmers were infuriated by this price rise, which some will be unable to

These Israeli measures are a clear attempt to break the steadfastness of Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories so as to make them leave their lands and settle Zionist immigrants instead.

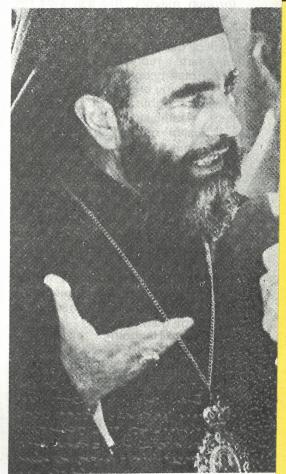
Bir Zeit - During a meeting with the Israeli military governor of Ramallah on 29/9, Amin Shehadeh, the mayor of Bir Zeit demanded the return to occupied Palestine of Dr. Hanna Nasser, the President of Bir Zeit College, who was deported by the Israeli occupation authorities with several other nationalist personalities three years ago. The municipality of Bir Zeit had several times demanded Dr. Nasser's return but received no answers.

MAYOR OF HEBRON VISITS RUMANIA

Ramallah,

Fahd al-Qawasmeh, the mayor of Hebron, on October 2 left the Jerusalem -- The Israeli gover- West Bank on his way to Ru-

mania, on an invitation from the mayor of Bucharest. Fahd al-Qawasmeh is expected to meet a number of Rumanian officials and to sign a sister-city agreement between Bucharest and Hebron.



Archbishop Capucci.

CAPUCCI STAGES NEW **HUNGER STRIKE**

The militant Greek Catholic Archbishop of Jerusalem, Hilarion Capucci began a hunger strike on 29/9/77 in protest against being ignored by the Pope and the Catholic Church despite his appeal last year for the Pope's intervention to obtain his release. The health of Capucci, who is serving a twelve year prison sentence, has seriously deteriorated, especially after he staged several hunger strikes last year.

OCCUPATION DIARY

PÅLESTINIAN MAYORS REAFFIRM LOYALTY TO PLO

In answer to recent Jordanian statements about the possibility of representing the Palestinian people through mayors, the heads of the Municipal Councils of the occupied territories unanimously reaffirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Following are the mayor's statements as published in the Jerusalem Arabic-language newspaper "Al-Shaab" on 25 September:

Bassam al-Shakaa, mayor of Nablus: The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and has the last word on international levels with regard to the determination of our future. We, under occupation, are not prepared for any negotiations which are to decide upon our future. We have faced many attempts, including civil administration and direct rule, but we have resisted all of them.

Hilmi Hannoun, mayor of Tulkarm: Israeli military governors have proposed to use a West Bank delegation representing the Palestinians at the Geneva peace conference, but we refused their proposal. I reaffirm that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Fahd al-Qawasmeh, mayor of Hebron: We have no decision to give: if the PLO approves we are ready. We are not the ones responsible for negotiations.

Karim Khalaf, mayor of Ramallah: This proposal is rejected because the Palestinian people consider the PLO their sole legitimate representative and we accept every stand taken by the PLO.

Ibrahim Sleiman al-Tawil, mayor of al-Bira: The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as acknowledged on Arab and international levels, especially at the UN General Assembly. Thus the proposal is rejected.

Abdel Aziz al-Suweiti, mayor of Jericho: The PLO is the sole legiti-

mate representative of the Palestinian people as recognized on Arab and international levels. The mayor cannot substitute the PLO, when the latter is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And any attempt to by-pass the PLO in the context of its representation would be without avail.

Muhammad Mulhem, mayor of Halhoul: The PLO is the leader of the Palestinian people: This is an undisputed fact among the Palestinians. The PLO decides upon the issue of representing the Palestinians.

Hajj Amin al-Naser, mayor of Qalqilya: There can be no alternate leadership to the PLO neither inside nor outside occupied Palestine. We mayors are responsible for the development of our cities and are not ready to go to Geneva. We have the PLO representing us at Geneva.



The progressive Jewish Lawyer: Felicia Langer.

LANGER PROTESTS TO ZIONIST AUTHORITIES

Jerusalem, 8/10,

The progressive Jewish lawyer Felicia Langer recently sent a memorandum to the Zionist military authorities in protest against the arrest of Harbi Hussein Mustafa al-Khaddour and the sealing of his house in Badr village in the occupied West Bank, after his pregnant wife and their six children were expelled. Langer declared this act

an example of the inhuman practices of the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian population under occupation and a violation of the most elementary human rights.

PALESTINIAN VILLAGERS DEMONSTRATE FOR WATER SUPPLIES

The Palestinian population of Um al-Fahm village staged a demonstration on October 5 in protest against the Israeli authorities' disruption of their water supplies.

The demonstrators gathered in front of the Israeli water company 'Mekorot' and the head of the village council made a speech calling upon the water company and the Israeli Minister of Agriculture to solve the water crisis in the village before the spread of contagious diseases among the population occured due to lack of water.

SETTLEMENT NEWS

Jerusalem,

The Israeli authorities have recently approved a settlement plan according to which six groups of settlers are allowed to reside in military camps on the West Bank.

The first group was reported to have entered the Shamroun military base on the way to Nablus on 2/10/77, and will be working there as civilians until the government has officially sanctioned the setting up of a special settlement for them.

WEST BANK MAYORS PROTEST SETTING UP OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

In memoranda to the Israeli authorities, West Bank mayors strongly protested against the transformation of the Ofar military camp, north of Jerusalem, into a permanent residential settlement. They denounced these moves carried out on October 4, by the fanatic Gush Emunim group, and confirmed by Radio Israel, which reported that the area around the settlement had been levelled and a new water pumping station set up

ODE TO KAMAL JUMBLAT

by Mulham Al-Assir

Jumblat keeps dying.
His skull keeps exploding at important meetings.
You never get anything done.
There is always the grey celtic stone of his forehead in your coffee.

Even now it is happening.
The wind blows away his hair.
His brain exposed, turns to paper.
Frantic, trying to help, we cast our votes.

History is rotting before our eyes and the applause is deafening and your irrevocable penal code goes on!



