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# Palestine

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 information  
 bulletin

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## VIENNA MEETING:



**TOWARDS PEACE BASED ON  
 PALESTINIAN RIGHTS**



## TO OUR READERS

Solidarity is an important weapon for helping the peoples of the world overcome oppression and injustice. The support and solidarity which the Palestinian people receive helps us to continue our just struggle for our just cause. We are grateful for the solidarity and support we get, but although we have many friends around the world, our enemies are still strong and formidable. They are better armed, better equipped, and much wealthier than we.

Nevertheless, though we may possess limited means, our determination and willingness to sacrifice is unlimited. The world forces of liberation, of which we are proud to be a part, are the emerging forces, and it is to us that the future belongs. The forces of oppression have had their day, and shall be consigned to the dustbin of history.

We thank all of our friends throughout the world for the letters of support and encouragement you have sent to us. Surely, we and other liberation movements will continue on the road to victory.

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## EDITORIAL

# CHAIRMAN ARAFAT IN VIENNA

Chairman Arafat's visit to Vienna is considered by political observers as a success for the Palestinian resistance movement and the PLO. The visit, a significant breakthrough against all Zionist and Israeli barriers, is also an important milestone on the path of the Palestinian struggle towards liberation and independence. Western politicians classified the visit as a contribution towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

On the other hand, it is also a blow to all Zionist expansionist plans in the region. For the first time, two prominent Western politicians, Chancellor Kreisky and Chairman Brandt, found the courage to ignore Zionist-Israeli blackmail. The invitation to the PLO Chairman is thus also directed to an Israeli address: it tells them that an important part of the Western world, the Socialist International, can no more tolerate Israeli stubbornness and intransigence. It also tells them that peoples of the world in general and the Western countries in particular are anxious about the belligerent developments in the Middle Eastern region. "Peace in the Middle East is an international responsibility," countered Kreisky after he was attacked by the Israelis.

The Israelis, on the other hand, reacted angrily and emotionally to this visit. They summoned their Ambassador in Vienna back home, and Begin cursed Kreisky as a "traitor." Chairman Brandt was also attacked by the mostly pro-Zionist West German press. The pro-Zionist Western press tried to focus on the "issue of terrorism," as did the *International Herald Tribune* in an angry article on July 10, and considered this visit to Vienna as an encouragement of "Arafat's terrorism."

It is important to note that the Israeli blackmailing machine which has functioned very efficiently for the last thirty-one years, has started to crumble. For many years, no Western politician dared to condemn, or even criticize, Israel's transgressions against the Palestinians and the Arabs. According to Zionist propaganda,

the Western world has not only to tolerate, but also to support Israel's occupation, Israeli expansion, and so forth. The huge Zionist propaganda machine could destroy the political career of any Western politician who opposes Israeli views or ambitions.

A tribute of respect should be paid to Chancellor Kreisky and Chairman Brandt, the first Western politicians who dared to break the barriers of the Zionist blackmail. They are indeed two courageous leaders who dared to stand with the just cause of the Palestinian people against the injustice of the Israelis, and two esteemed politicians who even in the darkest periods of the Nazi rule, stood against fascism and launched a brave resistance. Nowadays, these two leaders are engaged in another just cause, the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

There is no doubt that the majority of Western peoples are behind these two leaders. With their courageous step, they have earned the respect of their peoples, as well as the respect of Palestinians and the Arabs. The Palestinian people inside the occupied territories and those living in the Arab countries as refugees, are grateful for this constructive step.

The Vienna visit is a turning point in the march of the Palestinian people towards freedom and liberation. This visit will pave the way for other visits to the Western world and for more constructive steps to be taken by Western Europeans. It is also a result of the growing conviction in the West that no peace can be achieved by neglecting the Palestinian people and their legal representative, the PLO.

Another important point, which is worthwhile to mention, is the growing conviction that the separate peace treaty between Sadat and Israel will not settle the Middle East conflict. The Middle East will remain an explosive point as long as a comprehensive and just settlement is not yet achieved.

# Palestine

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## PALESTINE NOTES

### ARAFAT RECEIVES SUPPORT CABLES AND HOLDS MEETINGS

Chairman Arafat received cables of support in early July, from the Second Regional Conference of the General Union of Palestinian Women, Syrian Branch, the Administrative Committee of the Palestinian National Union in Austria and from the Administrative Committee of the General Union of Jordanian Students which was holding its meetings in Damascus. He also cabled his warm condolences to the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon over the death of the late Soviet journalist Aleksander Shiroyan, the press advisor to the Soviet Embassy in Lebanon and head of the Novosti News Agency in Lebanon.

Arafat also sent a message of congratulation on July 3 to Patriarch Ignatius IV on his election as Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and All the East. He also sent a message to Sheikh Khalifa Ben Hamad Al-Thani, Ruler of Qatar, briefing him on the daily Israeli attacks against Lebanon. The Palestinian leader met the Lebanese Premier Selim al-Hoss on July 1 and discussed with him the current situation in South Lebanon. He also met the Ambassadors of Arab and Socialist countries stationed in Lebanon on July 3. He discussed with them the deteriorating situation in South Lebanon and the continued Israeli attacks against civilians there.

On July 9, Chairman Arafat met with Abdel Halim Khaddam, the Syrian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister and discussed with him the latest developments in the area and means of confronting the Imperialist-Zionist-Sadat conspiracies against the Arab World. Arafat, then chaired a meeting of the PLO Executive Committee in Damascus on July



*Arafat condemns Israeli "scorched earth" policy in Lebanon*

10 to brief members on the latest developments and on his visit to Bulgaria and Austria where he held talks with Chancellor Kreisky and Brandt.

### HOT SUMMER EXPECTED IN SOUTH LEBANON

Chairman Arafat briefed Arab and Socialist diplomats in Beirut on July 3 on the Israeli attacks on South Lebanon and told reporters that he expected "new positions" from the Soviet Union, to deal with these Israeli savage operations in South Lebanon. Chairman Arafat said he expected a "hot summer" in South Lebanon, with major Israeli operations, but, he added, "we are not an easy nut to crack."

Zuhair Mohsen, PLO Executive Committee member, said at the conference that the PLO leaders asked Arab and Socialist diplomats to urge their governments to exert pressure on the U.S. which is supplying Israel with arms it is using

"against Palestinian and Lebanese civilians," and to join in an international effort to mobilize world public opinion against the massacres in South Lebanon. Arafat said the past 79 consecutive days of Israeli attacks on South Lebanon had left over 600,000 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians homeless.

Both leaders charged that the Israeli attacks were being mounted in agreement with the Carter Administration to bring the PLO to its knees and replace it by other Palestinians in the current talks for "Autonomy" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This, they said, will never happen. Arafat then invited the press to visit the South to see for themselves the "scorched earth policy" declared by Begin and approved by his Cabinet.

In response to a question, Arafat said the Military Council and the Political leadership decided to end all military manifestations in populated areas, but Israeli forces still shelled Tyre for two consecutive days by land and sea.

### PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S UNION IN SYRIA ENDS CONFERENCE

The Second Regional Conference of the General Union of Palestinian Women — Syrian branch — ended its meetings in Damascus on July 1, after reelecting a new administrative body.

The conference issued the following statement:

"The challenge which the Arab Nation is facing following the Camp David agreements and the Sadat-Begin-Imperialist plots not only aims to liquidate the Palestinian cause, but also to destroy the Arab liberation movement and subject the Arab Nation to American hegemony...

"The struggle of our people in the occupied territories and their rejection of the self-rule plan are clear evidence that the Imperialist-Zionist conspiracy will not succeed. Our people's resistance in occupied Palestine is backed by the PLO, and by the resistance of our fighters in South Lebanon...

"The road to victory requires the escalation of military struggle, the development and reinforcement of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and the revival of the Eastern Front to make up for the withdrawal of Egypt."

### PALESTINIAN MEDIA SPONSOR CONFERENCE IN DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

At the invitation of the General Union of the Palestinian Writers and Journalists, and the PLO Unified Information, a conference was held on June 29, at the Fateh Foreign Relations Office, under the title "A United Front for the Defence of Liberties and Democracy, in memory of Khaled al-Iraqi".

The conference was inaugurated



*Umm-Issam, Secretary General of GUPW addresses conference*

with a speech by the head of the Lebanese Press Syndicate, Riyad Taha, in which he emphasised the importance of freedom as a basic human right, and the role played by the press in preserving the society's freedom of expression, as one of the pillars of democracy.

A number of Palestinian officials delivered speeches in which they called for the preservation of freedom for the Arab peoples in order to be able to confront imperialist intrigues.

The Editor-in-Chief of "Falastin al-Thawra", Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, then thanked the audience who responded to the invitation and asserted that the whole world knows the killers of Khaled al-Iraqi, the Assistant Editor-in-Chief of this Palestinian newspaper, who was the symbol of freedom of expression.

### PRESIDENT ABDEL FATAH ISMAIL DISCUSSES MIDDLE EAST SITUATION WITH PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN YEMEN

President Abdel Fatah Ismail of

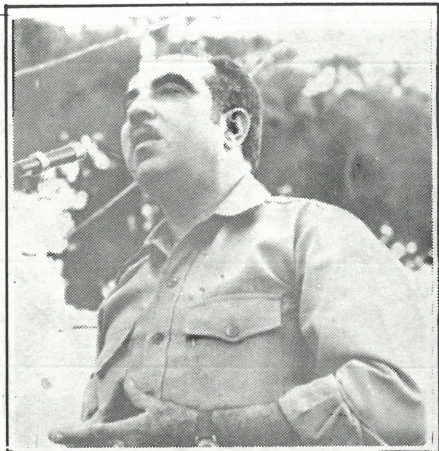
the Democratic Republic of Yemen, received on July 4 Abbas Zaki, the PLO representative in Aden and discussed with him the situation in the area and efforts to consolidate Arab solidarity to confront the imperialist-Zionist plans against the Arab Nation, especially the Palestinian people. President Ismail reaffirmed his country's support for the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO.

### ABU IYYAD: NO DIALOGUE WITH U.S.A.

Salah Khalaf, Abu Iyyad, member of the Central Committee of Fateh, affirmed in a recent interview with the Lebanese daily "as-Safir" that there was no sort of a dialogue between the PLO and the United States. He said that U.S. presidential envoy Robert Strauss was "ignorant" of the Middle East problem. Referring to reports about U.S. - Palestinian contacts, Abu Iyyad said: "I challenge the Americans to dare and meet a PLO official, openly or secretly. All that is being said or rumored



## PALESTINE NOTES



Abu Iyyad

about dialogues is groundless and carries no weight." He also said that the PLO was not against a dialogue with the U.S.A. "What arouses our indignation is that a dialogue does not exist and yet people talk about it", he concluded.

### ABU JIHAD SAYS ARAB EFFORTS SHOULD BE UNITED

Abu Jihad, member of the Fateh Central Committee, said recently that all Arab efforts should be united and that all the Baghdad Summit Conference resolutions, in addition to all Arab military forces, should be mobilized and unified. These are the only means to confront the Israeli enemy. He referred to the Palestinian political moves on Arab and international levels and said that they were intended to break up the prevailing state of stagnation and to push the line of confrontation ahead. He also said that Chairman Arafat's recent visit to Austria was part of our planned moves on the international level and that Austria was one of the most important European states which was once dominated by Zionist propaganda. He then described Israeli protests against the Kreisky-Arafat meeting as a hysterical campaign directed against Chancellor Kreisky.

### PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN TUNISIA MEETS DZAZAKOV

The PLO representative in Tunisia, Hakam Bal'awi met with a Soviet delegation headed by Comrade Alexander Dzazakov, Vice President of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, as well as the Soviet Ambassador to Tunisia on July 4. They discussed the latest developments in the Middle East and the dangers of the conspiracy against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Dzazakov confirmed the Soviet people's support for the Palestinian people until the latter return to their land and establish their independent state.

### FAHOUM MEETS SOVIET SOLIDARITY DELEGATION

Khaled al-Fahoum, Head of the Palestinian National Council, received a delegation of the Soviet Solidarity Committee on June 27. A number of members of the PLO Executive Committee attended the meeting which focused on discussions of Palestinian-Soviet relations, as well as the general political situation. They also discussed means of cooperation to confront the consequences of the tripartite Sadat-Begin-Carter treaty.

### FATEH CENTRAL COMMITTEE STRESSES UNITY WITH SYRIA

The Central Committee of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement, Fateh, met on June 29 in the presence of Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, and issued a communique warning about the dangers of the phase through which the Arab Nation is passing, and stressing the

unity of the Revolution with Syria.

A communique issued at the end of the meeting confirmed that the Palestinian people and revolution stand united with Syria in confronting all dangers and plots and assert the mutual and strategic solidarity between the Palestinian Revolution and Syria with which the Palestinians stand in one trench to repel dangers threatening the Arab nation, especially attempts to impose capitulation on our nation and region. Fateh warned the Arab Nation of the present dangerous phase which requires further cohesion, firmness and alertness.

### PLO U.N. DELEGATE SENDS PROTEST MEMO TO SECURITY COUNCIL

The PLO representative to the U.N., Zuhdi Tarazi, presented recently a memorandum to the President of the Security Council, in which he protested against the brutal Israeli attacks on defenceless Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. He referred to the bombardments of June 24, and said that the operations led to the death of twenty persons, most of them women and children. He noted that Israeli forces had subjected South Lebanon to seventy-five days of continuous air, land and sea bombardment.

The PLO representative asked the Security Council to take active and immediate measures to put an end to these monstrous and inhuman raids against innocent civilians.

### PALESTINIAN WORKERS DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Talks between the Palestinian and Czechoslovak workers delegations began on July 5 in Prague. The General Union of Palestinian Workers' delegation is headed by Fathi al-Raghib, President of the

Union; while the Czechoslovak delegation is headed by Karel Hoffman, President of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Unions. On this occasion, Mr. Hoffman stressed the moral and material support of the Czechoslovak Unions for the Palestinian people.

### ARAFAT AND PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEET WITH PRESIDENT ASSAD

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee met on July 10 with Hafez al-Assad, President of the Syrian Arab Republic. The meeting was attended by Zuheir Muhsin, Abdel Mohsen Abu Maizar, Yasser Abed Rabbo, Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajani, Hamed Abu Sitta, Abdel Jawad Saleh, Habib al-Qahwaji, Abdel Rahim Ahmad, all members of the PLO Executive Committee; Khaled al-Fahoum, President of the Palestinian National Congress; and Walid Qamhawi, Head of the Palestinian National Fund.

The meeting discussed several local, Arab and international issues and was described as positive, friendly and fruitful. Yasser Arafat and the members of the PLO Executive Committee expressed their condemnation of the crime which was committed at the Artillery School in Aleppo, offered their condolences for the martyrs, and reaffirmed Palestinian-Syrian unity against the Zionist-imperialist offensive.

### ABU IYYAD ADDRESSES ARAB TRANSPORT WORKERS CONFERENCE

The meeting of the Executive Council of the Arab Union of Transport Workers was inaugurated on July 10 at the Beirut International Hotel, with a speech by Abu Iyyad on behalf of the Palestinian Revolution. Among the other speakers was Lebanese Interior

Minister Salah Salman.

Abu Iyyad began by reminding his audience that the Palestinian people have been waging a continuous struggle for sixty years, and not only seventeen, to establish their independent state and identity, he added that after 1948, the Palestinian people handed over their cause to international public opinion and to the Arab regimes, and consequently remained refugees moving from house to house and from place to place. It was therefore imperative, after eighteen years of this, that a Palestinian vanguard should launch this Revolution, and tell the world that our cause is that of a people and not merely a problem of refugees.

He declared: "The Palestinians are not in Lebanon or in any other Arab country of their own choice, but have been forced out of their own country. Their enemies want them to remain slaves, but the Palestinians want to enjoy the same freedom as all other peoples."

Abu Iyyad then asked what

Sadat had done, noting that while Europe opened its arms to the Palestinian Revolution, and Kreisky and Brandt met with Arafat, Sadat was embracing Begin. He also wondered where was the peace of Sadat and Carter; and what kind of self-rule plan has been prepared by Israel and the Egyptian regime which denies any Palestinian the right to return to his homeland?

Abu Iyyad concluded: "Carrying arms is not our hobby; our aim is to have a homeland for our people, and this can only be achieved through the gun, which will not leave our hands until we achieve our complete rights. We, in Lebanon, are for Lebanese unity; and we have reaffirmed that we are against any veto and for any mutual concessions to reach this unity. We refuse to deviate from the line of the Revolution, and we reject the liquidation of the Revolution." He finally stressed "that this critical situation will not prevent us from resisting and facing the challenge, and we will confront any offensive against the Arab Nation."



Chairman Arafat inaugurates Artist's Conference



## PALESTINE NOTES



*Arafat and Norwegian delegation*

### FIRST PALESTINIAN ARTISTS' CONFERENCE AFFIRMS "ART IS A WEAPON FOR PALESTINE"

The first constitutional conference of the General Union of Palestinian Artists, held from July 4 to 7 in Es'saad al Toufola School in Lebanon, was inaugurated by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. Arafat declared: "It is through the writer's pen, the surgeon's scalpel and the worker's tool that the complete image of our Revolution is formed in this struggle against the barbaric waves of attacks supported and protected by the USA."

"This brush in the Palestinian and Arab artist's hands will one day triumph against the U.S. Phantoms that raid Palestinian and Lebanese villages daily, supported and encour-

aged by world imperialism and the USA, the real leaders of this barbaric campaign against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples."

The conference, which was held under the slogan "Art is a weapon for Palestine", elected Ismail Shamout as head of the Secretariat-General, and released a communique, which reaffirmed the alliance with the national and progressive forces in Lebanon at a time when the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples alike are victims of the most barbaric aggressions in the wake of the Sadat-Israel treaty. It said that the Palestinian Revolution is the central cause of the Arab Nation and an inseparable part of the people's leadership, which wages a bitter struggle against Zionism, imperialism and reaction.

The communique then said that the Palestinian people, who fight on all fronts, have also consecrated the role of art in the struggle and stressed that the defence of the freedom of expression in art is an essential prerequisite for the struggle and its correct organisation.

### ARAFAT MEETS NORWEGIAN DEFENCE DELEGATION

A delegation consisting of Johan Joergen Holst, Deputy Minister of Defence of Norway, and the following members of the Defence Committee of the Norwegian Parliament: Mrs. Gunvor Schmitler, Mrs. Liv Stubberud, Mr. Otto Landfald, Hans Longua, Norwegian Charge d'Affaires in Lebanon and Mr. Arne Jokslad, Deputy Director of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Defence was received on 17 July 1979 by Chairman Arafat, head of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Palestinian Armed Forces, and by Mr. Kaddoumi, head of the PLO Political Department, Mr. Abu Jihad, Deputy-in-Chief of the Palestinian Armed Forces and Brigadier General Abu Walid.

The talks concentrated on the practical problems related to the UNIFIL control of its area of operation. The exchange of views also included the major elements of the Middle East conflict, with particular reference to the situation in Southern Lebanon.

## ARAFAT, KRIESKY, BRANDT: HISTORIC MEETING IN VIENNA

On an official invitation from the Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, arrived in Vienna on July 6, 1979, in order to assess the possible contribution of the European states to a Middle East settlement. Chairman Arafat was received at the airport by Dr. Kreisky, his host, and Interior Minister Erwin Lanc, as well as members of the Arab diplomatic corps and Ambassadors of the socialist and friendly states. The PLO delegation consisted of Chairman Arafat, PLO Executive Committee member Ahmed Dajani, Dr. Issam Sartawi and Mahmoud Labadi.

The letter of invitation was sent to Chairman Arafat three weeks ago and was discussed by the PLO Executive Committee, which also studied the European role as expressed by the statements of the Socialist International and the European Economic Community (EEC). The PLO Executive Committee then noted that the new European positions opened the way for dialogue and for Arafat's visit. Thereupon, they decided that both Arafat and Dajani, PLO Executive Committee member, should visit Austria to conduct an open and frank dialogue about the requisite European role to realize a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

On the arrival of Chairman Arafat to Vienna, he went into talks with Dr. Kreisky at the Chancellor's residence that lasted until one o'clock in the morning. On July 7, Arafat held another meeting with Dr. Kreisky, who is also Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International. That meeting was also attended by the President Chairman of the Socialist International, former West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt.

The meeting covered the latest developments of the Palestine cause on all levels and the aims of the just struggle waged by the Palestinian people and their armed Revolution to regain their inalienable legitimate rights. It also discussed the separate treaty signed by the Egyptian President and Israel, and its dangerous repercussions on the Palestine cause and the Arab struggle in general. The talks were later described as cordial and successful.



*Arafat and Kreisky exchange warm greetings at Vienna airport*

In the evening, Arafat attended a dinner reception held in his honor by Chancellor Kreisky, to which Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme and Brandt, as well as a number of Arab and friendly Ambassadors accredited to Austria, were also invited. Following the dinner, Arafat held a working meeting with the Austrian Chancellor and the Arab Ambassadors, during which he defined the objectives of his visit to Austria in light of the latest developments and attempts to strike at the Palestinian Revolution and people.

Chairman Arafat resumed his meeting in the morning of June 8 with Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and Austrian officials. At noon of the same day, he held a joint press conference with Kreisky and Brandt. Arafat concluded his visit that evening and left for Tripoli, Libya. He was received there by a number of Libyan officials and the PLO representative in Libya.

At Tripoli Airport, he gave a statement to the Libyan News Agency, in which he said that the purpose of his visit to Libya is to discuss the latest developments in the area, specifically the Palestine question in the wake of the signing of the peace treaty between Sadat and the Israeli enemy.



## ARAFAT, KRIESKY, BRANDT: HISTORIC MEETING IN VIENNA

### REACTIONS TO ARAFAT'S VIENNA VISIT

The meetings between Yasser Arafat, Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt have provoked strong reactions from Israel. During the Knesset meeting of July 9, Israeli Premier Begin strongly attacked the PLO, Brandt and Kreisky, especially the latter's act of hosting an official reception in Arafat's honour. He described that day as "a day of sorrow for the Jewish people". Begin also bitterly attacked Brandt, implying that his actions were anti-Semitic.

Shimon Peres, head of the Israeli Labor Party, said that the meetings constitute a danger to the State of Israel, and attacked the press conference held by the three leaders as an attempt to distort the true image of the PLO as a "terrorist" organization.

During a meeting of the Israeli Labor Party on 8 July, the members of the Ben Gurion Bloc called for breaking relations with the Socialist

parties of Austria and Germany. Shimon Peres said that the meeting between Arafat and Kreisky strengthened the standing of the PLO and obtained for it the recognition of the Socialist countries without any reciprocal political concessions on the PLO's part. Yigal Yadin, the Israeli Deputy Prime Minister, added that "Germany has dealt us a hard blow".

On July 9, the Israeli Knesset adopted resolutions by an 82 to 5 vote with three absentions, that severely criticized Kreisky and Brandt. The Israeli government recalled its ambassador to Austria as a sign of protest against Arafat's visit to Austria.

### KREISKY AND BRANDT REJECT ZIONIST PROTEST

In a radio interview on July 8, Dr. Kreisky described his talks with Yasser Arafat and said that "Israel cannot continue to ignore the Palestinian people. After all they are several millions and the Israelis ought to be the first to realize what it means to live in the diaspora." Kreisky has expressed his disapproval of current Israeli policy in the past: in September of 1978, he described Israeli Premier Begin, in a newspaper interview, as a "political grocer" in charge of a "police state."

Brandt noted that he had been authorized by the Socialist International to hold exploratory talks with the PLO on its attitude towards Israel. He said that he had received the impression during the Vienna talks that the Palestinian people had the right to self-determination.

## PRESS RELEASE

The Chairman of the Socialist International, Chairman of the German Social Democratic party, Willy Brandt, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Yasser Arafat and the Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party, Bruno Kreisky, held extensive talks on the Middle East situation in Vienna from the 6th to the 8th of July 1979. The past, present and future of the conflict were discussed at length and consensus was reached on a number of important points.

Chairman Arafat expressed his gratitude for the invitation to visit Austria and the opportunity to meet again with Chairman Kreisky and to meet Chairman Brandt for the first time; two distinguished leaders whom he admires not only for the constructive roles they are playing in international affairs but also for their long records as independent democratic fighters, a



*Arafat draws parallel between Palestinian resistance and European resistance to Nazis.*

record which goes as far back as the Second World War, when they both chose exile and imprisonment rather than surrender to the Nazi regime.

Chairman Arafat emphasised the constructive role played by Chairman Kreisky and Chairman Brandt inside and outside the Socialist International in contributing to the search for a just peace in the Middle East and welcomed their continued interest in the problem. He also noted the concern shown by the Socialist International over the Palestinian problem and the Middle East conflict and acknowledged the initiative carried out by Chairman Kreisky in his capacity as the Chairman of the fact-finding mission of the Socialist International on the Middle East. He also acknowledged the resolution taken by the Bureau meeting of the Socialist International in September 1978 in Paris which authorized the Chairman of the International to hold exploratory talks with the PLO leadership.

Chairman Arafat described in detail the evolution of Palestinian national institutions which culminated in the emergence of the PLO as the symbol and instrument of Palestinian nationalism and its recognition as the sole legitimate Palestinian representative by the Rabat summit, the nonaligned countries and the United Nations. He also explained the evolution of the political platform of the PLO and the process which has led to the adoption of the current position by the Palestinian National Council, noting the unfortunate fact that little of this position is known by Western public opinion.

Chairman Kreisky extended to Chairman Arafat a very warm welcome on the occasion of his first visit to a Western democracy. Chairman Brandt and Chairman Kreisky emphasized the necessity to reach a global solution for the Middle East problem based upon Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the implementation of the Palestinian national rights and the right of self-determi-

nation as stressed, among others, in the communique of the Nine (member countries of the EEC) on the Middle East.

They took note of Chairman Arafat's reference to the resolutions of the Palestinian National Council which called for the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State, and the Baghdad summit resolutions which called for a just and permanent peace in the Middle East based upon withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories and the implementation of Palestinian national rights including the right of self determination, the right of return and the right to establish a sovereign Palestinian state; and the subsequent ratification of these resolutions by the PNC.

Chairman Brandt and Chairman Kreisky concurred with Chairman Arafat that the Palestinian issue is the central problem of the Middle East conflict and agreed that unless it is equitably and satisfactorily solved neither peace nor a global settlement can be achieved.

The three leaders expressed their extreme concern over the settlement activities in the occupied territories which constitute a grave and serious impediment to peace. They also expressed their concern over the outbreak of the new military activities in the Middle East and over the tragic situation in Lebanon and urged a speedy solution for the Lebanese crisis.

Chairman Brandt will submit a full report about these extensive talks to the Socialist International and recommend the continuation of contacts with the PLO.

Vienna, July 8, 1979

## VIENNA PRESS CONFERENCE

### KREISKY:

As Chairman of the Fact-Finding Committee, I have visited some Arab countries. I met with the PLO Chairman, Mr. Arafat, in Cairo. After my visits to Cairo and Damascus during my first trip, I went with all members of my delegation to Israel where I explained to my friends in the Labour Party in Israel the impressions I obtained during my trip. That was a few weeks after the end of the 1973 War. During this trip, my delegation saw that there was a hope for the



*Montage of Kreisky in Palestinian headress: part of Zionist campaign to slur Kreisky*



## ARAFAT, KRIESKY, BRANDT: HISTORIC MEETING IN VIENNA

achievement of a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem; therefore they desired that the Committee continue its mission. In the wake of this decision, the Fact-Finding Committee visited other Arab countries and subsequently presented a report to the Socialist International about the trip.

In this respect, there were, over the years, continuous contacts between myself and Mr. Arafat. We met in Damascus and then exchanged many messages which were characterized with great frankness in tackling the subjects at hand. At last, we were of the opinion that the time was suitable to talk in detail about all problems with a mutual friend of ours. We have also seen that there was no use for a secret meeting nor for a trip during which I might go somewhere to meet Chairman Arafat. It was easier for him to pay a visit to Vienna. You know that I do not care much for traditions, even in foreign policy.



Chancellor Kreisky affirms PLO representative of Palestinians.

During last autumn, the Executive Bureau of the Socialist International issued a statement about the Vienna meeting that took place between President Sadat and the Head of the Israeli Labour Party, Shimon Peres, as well as with Mr. Brandt, Chairman of the Socialist International. The statement issued in Paris is still relevant in my opinion. As to the possibility of inviting the PLO to attend the Congress of the Socialist International in Vancouver, there were differences of opinion inside the Executive Bureau of the Socialist International. At the end of the debate, votes were not taken on this subject. We agreed to leave the Chairman of the Socialist International free to prepare information about what he considered the most difficult aspects.

Among these obstacles is the question of whether the PLO's announced aim is actually to destroy Israel. I believe there has been a wrong interpretation of the intentions of the PLO. Such expressions should have been more carefully employed: I mean it is appropriate that a person obtain information directly from the people concerned. Therefore I have invited Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Socialist International to this meeting, on the occasion of his presence in Vienna. He expressed his readiness to attend the meeting.

In conclusion, I should like to say something relating to the nature of these discussions which lasted for 10 hours if not more. There was much information, it cannot all be announced, except in certain circumstances. Please take that into consideration, and I may say that what we have heard during these long hours were very, very rich with information. I believe it is better now to hear from Chairman Arafat personally and then from Mr. Willy Brandt.

\* \* \*

### CHAIRMAN ARAFAT

In my name and in the name of the Palestinian people, I seize this opportunity to express my gratitude to His Excellency Chancellor Kreisky and to Chairman Brandt for this opportunity to debate and discuss all matters related to our joint interests and to the Middle East problem of which the Palestinian issue is considered its basic pivot. I remember with some pride those meetings with Chancellor Kreisky, whether in Cairo or Damascus, as well as the messages which we have exchanged together on several occasions and which have all expressed our desire for finding a real, permanent and just peace in the Middle East: a peace which is based on justice, a peace which is unconditional and which neither includes injustice to the Palestinian people nor the occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories.

As a start for this, we see that the permanent, real and just peace is the peace which takes into consideration the national rights of the Palestinian people for their return, self-determination and the establishment of their independent state: not that peace which is based on military aggression as it is happening now against the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples, where the most sophisticated weapons are being employed to perpetuate the massacre of the Palestinians and the Lebanese. We have spoken at length and I do not want to say more than this, but I should like to repeat my ample thanks to His Excellency Chancellor Kreisky and to His Excellency Chairman Brandt.

\* \* \*

### WILLY BRANDT

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to add four points to what Chancellor Kreisky and Chairman Arafat have said:

1 — The establishment of peace in the Middle East is in the interest of all parties concerned in the area as well as in our interest, we Europeans. Therefore, any attempt to achieve peace is legal and permissible if it is in the service of organized and secure peace.



Willy Brandt

2 — It was very important for me to get familiar with Chairman Arafat and know his personal viewpoint in relation to the form of a negotiable, just and permanent peace.

3 — I should like to focus on this point and the following one, though, as we know, Chancellor Kreisky has already referred to them. Last autumn, I had assumed the responsibility of explaining the current stand of the PLO towards Israel and whether it aims at destroying Israel. I have an impression that self-determination for the Palestinian people, an issue which has not been mentioned in today's press statement but is dealt with in international statements, the latest of which was the statement of the EEC, should not be connected with the annihilation and destruction of others.

4 — As to our discussions for the last couple of days, Chancellor Kreisky had already spoken to Chairman Arafat, because I was busy in attending other meetings. Therefore, I am concerned about discussions during the last two days. At the weekend, I had the impression that there was doubts about our loyalty (Brandt and Kreisky) to our friends in Israel. Please, let me add a personal remark: this weekend recess has been devoted to meetings with Arabs, because I met the OPEC's committee and two friends from Kuwait and Algeria who presented to me their points of view. I have also met with a Jordanian official and should like to emphasize that my meeting with Chairman Arafat has a special significance, and I hope that our future contacts and meetings would have fruitful results.

\* \* \*

### QUESTIONS

*What is the solution you are seeking? Would it be through the United Nations or through a*



# **ARAFAT, KRIESKY, BRANDT: HISTORIC MEETING IN VIENNA**



Chairman Arafat

Geneva conference or some other forum, as the Israelis have rejected U.N. Resolution No. 3236? Shall the initiative of Kreisky and Brandt come through the United Nations without Geneva?

**ARAFAT:** Of course, this initiative you talk about concerns Chancellor Kreisky and Chairman Brandt. We appreciate any efforts they would exert. As it has been mentioned, Camp David and its parties have killed the Geneva conference. I should like to add that, in my opinion, and in the opinion of the PLO and the Arab nations who met in Baghdad, the thing that happened in Camp David was not a peace treaty but a separate peace, and, moreover, it did not bring peace to the area. There, you can see the Israeli military raids and attacks with US-made weapons against the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples, by air and sea, which, at this time, have been going on for 84 consecutive days. There is also the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories as well as the closure of Arab universities in Nablus, Bir-Zeit and Bethlehem, by Israeli military authorities.

I add to this a reminder of the huge quantities of sophisticated weapons Israel has received from the United States, and wonder whether there can be a "peace" treaty whose price is that big quantity of weapons? Despite all this, we see that the exertion of real efforts for a just peace is indispensable. These efforts by Chancellor Kreisky and Chairman Brandt are highly appreciated by us and we call on the whole

world to pour their efforts in this direction. We respect the United Nations and its Charter. We respect the U.N. resolutions, including resolution No. 3236, and call for the establishment of this peace through this international institution with international and U.N. cooperation as a whole. From this was our positive response to the Soviet-American statement which is relevant to this subject, a response which we have made public.

*Are you ready to sanction a peace initiative by the United Nations and the Soviet Union?*

**ARAFAT:** It is regrettable that it seems you have not adequately heeded me when I said that we are peace-makers and not apt to yield to conditions of surrender. I have also stated that we respect the United Nations and the efforts exerted by Chancellor Kreisky and Chairman Brandt.

*Are you convinced that Chairman Arafat is the spokesman of the Palestinians?*

**KREISKY:** I am not only convinced that Chairman Arafat is the spokesman of the Palestinians but I know that very well. According to our information, I do not believe that there are two persons who differ over that matter. He is not only the sole legitimate spokesman of the Palestinians but he is the actual spokesman who talks in their names. There is no question that all the elected mayors in the West Bank have committed themselves to the PLO. On the other hand, I consider that my task as a Chairman of the Fact-Finding Committee for a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict has not yet ended. It could be considered over when it achieves a certain success. If you ask me from what status I have sent the invitation, I would say that I did that from the status of being the Chairman of the Socialist Party whose approved program includes clauses that commit the members to take care of these questions. This is included on page 77 of our Party's program. We will send a comprehensive report about these detailed discussions to the Socialist International and we do advise the pursuit of contacts with the PLO.

*Did you make the invitation to Chairman Arafat on your own initiative?*

**KREISKY:** This is incorrect. You have to go back to the statement of the Socialist International Bureau which frankly states that we should make discussions with the representatives of the Palestinian people. I consider the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and I am not alone in this consideration. The United Nations as well affirms this.

*Will the PLO continue its operations inside*



Chancellor Kreisky

*Israel? Will you withdraw your forces from the area along the border with Israel or will you keep them in South Lebanon?*

**ARAFAT:** We have to remember the United Nations resolutions: the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations has adopted clear resolutions that any people who face occupation and colonization has the right to resist this colonization and that occupation by all available means. You have experienced this sort of resis-

tance in Europe against the Nazi occupation. The Americans had experienced that kind of resistance against British colonialism, as well as other nations who were under occupation. Our people have also the right to undergo that resistance. It is a legal right approved by all international conventions and resolutions.

About the other subject, the withdrawal of our forces from South Lebanon, we have issued clear and outspoken decisions to cancel all Palestinian and Lebanese armed presence inside all the cities and populated areas. We have implemented these decisions. For example, we have withdrawn our forces from Tyre, or precisely, we have abrogated all armed presence in Tyre. But, regrettably, in the wake of this, the Israeli Cabinet immediately adopted an inhuman resolution, a terrorist resolution, to continue the battering of the Palestinians everywhere and by all means. These Israeli military operations continued against the Palestinian civilian camps and the Lebanese towns and villages, including those places in which we have already cancelled all armed presence. The Israelis followed the policy of the "scorched earth" against the Palestinian camps and the Lebanese villages. Now we have nearly 600,000 Palestinians and Lebanese who were forced to emigrate from South Lebanon. I have the right to ask why they raised hell for 60,000 Vietnamese refugees,



Vienna meeting a breakthrough in Palestinian-European relations



## ARAFAT, KRIESKY, BRANDT: HISTORIC MEETING IN VIENNA

although I sympathize with them. But it is my right to ask the world public opinion what are their feelings towards 600,000 Palestinians and Lebanese who were forced by the Israeli military operations to emigrate from their homes?

*Do you receive enough Arab assistance to support these refugees?*

**ARAFAT:** Some contributions began to reach the Lebanese government and us from Arab states, but it is my right to ask for assistance from all free and honest people of the whole world, not only for assisting these refugees but also for putting an end to the brutal operations against all of us. The Israelis use napalm and cluster bombs which are internationally prohibited weapons.

*Is there a possibility for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside the Israeli state?*

**ARAFAT:** I must remind you of the Palestinian National Council's resolutions. I am elected by this National Council in a democratic way. Have you the right to be democratic in your daily dealings and do we have no right to such a democracy? I am committed to affirm the decisions taken by this Council which has elected me in a democratic way. It says: The



PLO has the right to strive for the establishment of an independent state on any part of its Palestinian soil from which the Israelis withdraw or is liberated.

*How Do you evaluate the situation?*

**KREISKY:** The basic situation is that the United Nations has created new facts. The information we have obtained will help us to evaluate better the situation. The international law is not the only significant thing, for there is also a de facto status. I consider the status of the PLO similar to the former status of Algeria. Let me say to you something essential: as one who was once outside with tens of thousands of Austrians and speaking in the name of a country which was not on the map that day. So I have a certain understanding of those who have similar feelings. This is one of the reasons that made me care for this issue more than usual. Austria was cancelled from the map, but the Austrian people were existing. I felt happy when the Swedish Premier received me at his office to discuss with me the contribution and assistance the Swedish people could present to the Austrian people after the end of the war.

*Does Yasser Arafat intend to destroy Israel?*

**KREISKY:** I have not received this impression. I do not wish to speak in the name of any one, but I repeat that I have not received this impression and I cannot imagine how that could happen to a state which is one of the best armed states in the world and which has one of the best armies in the world. I do not believe that there is a realistic basis for such ideas and thus we should look at the real situation.

## ISRAEL AND THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER

The Zionist state of Israel, ever since its inception, has been annually announcing its budget which, not surprisingly, is 30 to 50% more than its total GNP (Gross National Product). In 1979 alone, the Israeli budget was put officially at 304 billion Israeli pounds, 35% more than the country's total GNP of 1978 (Israeli pounds 220 Billion).

With the public knowledge that Israel spends over 40% of its GNP for war, a glimpse at its expenditure bill for any period indicates that the Zionist state is economically non-viable. If one is to understand the existence of this state, the clue is not the Israeli economy, but, among others, the American taxpayer's money.

Israel, which owes its very creation to the United States, cannot survive and execute its expansionist policy without the economic and military aid of the U.S.

Israel receives aid from the U.S. in two major ways:

1. Aid offered to Israel directly by the U.S. Government or its affiliated organizations. Such aid is official and is usually announced. Most is subject to congressional approval.

2. Indirect aid offered in two forms. Firstly, aid flows to Israel from Zionist American institutions and organizations, and from American citizens who participate in campaigns for donations, and buy Israeli bonds. Such donations are tax-exempt.

Secondly, aid emanates from institutions under pressure of the U.S. government. These indirect aid figures are usually concealed.

### U.S. OFFICIAL AID TO ISRAEL (in millions of dollars)

	1948-1977 <sup>a</sup>	1979	1980 <sup>b</sup>
Economic Assistance			
TOTAL	3217.6	830.4	810.0
a — Loans	1286.2	260.0	
b — Grants	1931.4	570.4	

Military Assistance			
TOTAL	6904.2	1000.0	1000.0
a — Loans	3152.0	500.0	500.0
b — Grants	2950.0	500.0	500.0

Economic and Military			
TOTAL	10121.8	1830.4	1810.0

a — As of 1977, Israel had repaid less than one-fourth of its loans.

b — Does not include 4.8 billion supplemental aid to Egypt and Israel

(Figures from U.S. Agency for International Development and reports of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.)

The official available figures indicate not only that Israel is the most dependent country in the world but that it receives ten times the amount of economic aid given by the United States to all the Arab states put together. This fact is proof in itself, if proof is needed at all, that Israel is not only artificial politically, but also economically. It is farther from earning its own living than any other contemporary state and cannot survive, let alone carry out acts of aggression, if not for the support it receives from public and private sources in the U.S. and elsewhere.

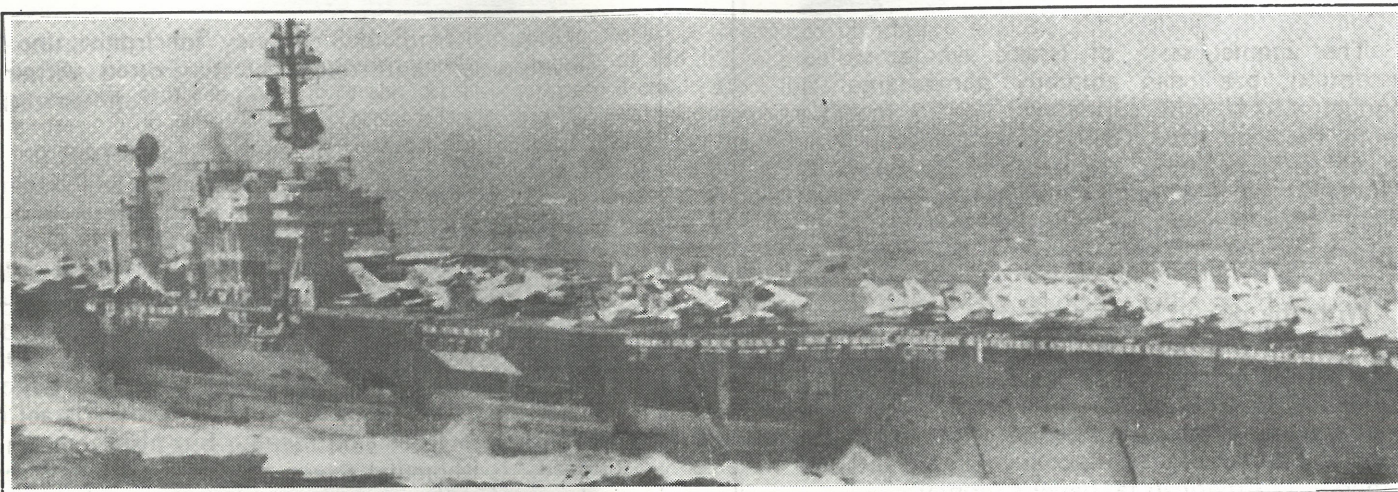
Recent developments, in particular the so-called "peace package" of 4.8 billion dollars supplemental aid to Egypt and Israel, indicate the American taxpayer will be increasingly burdened by massive aid to Israel — most of it for military purposes. Of the \$3 billion Israel receives from the package, \$800 million will be used for construction of military airbases in the Negev and \$2.2 billion for long-term loans for military purposes. This new expense means for each family of four in the U.S. an additional tax of \$83.00 each year for the next three years. It also contains an unusual assurance of a 15 year supply of oil to Israel at a time that Americans are urged to conserve energy.

Aid to Israel constitutes a mandate for Israel to wage "peace" by setting up more settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza and by waging more aggression against Lebanon, with the latest American warplanes and the most barbaric U.S. weaponry, like cluster bombs and fragmentation shells. It remains to be seen whether the American taxpayer, confronted with this use of their money for military aggression and Israeli expansion, and faced also with economic recession at home, will begin to question the massive amounts of aid to Israel at a time when domestic needs for jobs, schools, hospitals and housing are increasingly pressing.



## BEHIND THE ENERGY CRISIS:

### U.S. MOVES TO INTERVENE IN MIDDLE EAST



U.S. carrier "Constellation" steams toward Arabian Gulf in show of U.S. military strength

The oil price raise set at the Geneva OPEC Minister's meeting on June 28 and the "gas crisis" in the United States that has American consumers in many major cities waiting in long lines for gas, has prompted a number of attempts to fix the blame for the current fuel shortage on "greedy Arabs" who are holding the West "hostage" with their "oil weapon." A cartoon in the July 2 issue of Time magazine is typical: it depicts an Arab sheik plucking the feathers off the American eagle.

The anti-OPEC campaign is spearheaded by the Carter Administration. In a memo written to Carter in early July, Chief Domestic Advisor Stuart Eizenstadt stated emphatically: "With strong steps we can mobilize the nation around a clear crisis and with a clear enemy — OPEC." In the light of this and other recent policy decisions by the Carter Administration, it is relevant to ask: Are OPEC and the Arabs threatening the United States, or is the United States threatening OPEC and the Arabs?

On July 7, for example, the U.S. Navy sent five ships into the Indian Ocean on a "show the flag" cruise to demonstrate American military presence in those strategic waters. Such cruises are part of a new policy formulated in late June to increase what Defense Secretary Brown in a television interview on July 2 called American

"security presence" in the Indian Ocean and Gulf. This strategy includes the creation of a 110,000-man strike force and beefing up existing military operations, like the U.S. Sixth Fleet.

Even some Senate liberals who opposed U.S. intervention in Viet Nam have joined the hue and cry about the "necessity" of American intervention in a Mideast crisis. Addressing the U.S. Air Force Academy, Senator Gary Hart (D-Colo), a long time "dove" on Viet Nam, stated bluntly: "We may be forced to use military force to preserve the oil flow."

The use of American force in the Middle East is being presented to the American public as necessary to ensure oil to heat American homes, run American industries and fuel American transport. But this is not the case. The United States possesses vast strategic reserves of oil, estimated at twenty years worth. In addition, only about 6-8% of its oil imports come from the Middle East, and only 2% from Iran, the only nation whose output is down. The U.S., more than any other nation, possesses the material and technical resources to explore alternative forms of energy.

The U.S. energy crisis is thus not a crisis of energy sources. It is, however, a crisis of control

of energy. In general, U.S. Mideast policy has been in turmoil since the Iranian revolution deposed the Shah, who, along with Israel, had been designated by the U.S. to guard the Middle East for U.S. interests. National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brezezinski has posited an "arc of crisis" in the Middle East from Afghanistan to the Gulf, and has argued continuously for more U.S. direct military presence, as well as relying on local allies. Sadat has reiterated his February offer to police the region "from Algeria in the East to Afghanistan" and "from the Mediterranean south into Sub-Saharan Africa," but it is unlikely U.S. strategists would consider the shaky Sadat regime an adequate substitute for the Shah.

Thus, Carter's warnings to the American public conceal a new aggressive American move in the Middle East, a move that is a companion to the "peace" treaty. Carter's energy policy is indeed in trouble as the initial cancellation of his energy address to the nation demonstrates. His problems, however, stem from conflicting international and domestic pressures, rather than actual shortage. Western Europe and Japan, for example, who have suffered to a greater extent from the rising prices and the decline in Iranian production, have pressured Carter to freeze oil imports into the U.S. Carter, however, responding to pressure from the large U.S. oil companies, granted a \$5 per barrel subsidy to U.S. oil companies for importing oil, thus encouraging imports and swelling the already huge profits of the powerful oil corporations.

Such contradictory pressures, plus a faulty allocation plan and possible hoarding by the oil companies, have resulted in temporary shortages for American consumers, who, in a recent poll, expressed 85% disapproval of Carter's energy policies. Thus, Carter's incentive to find a scapegoat in OPEC is very strong. Carter has a willing ally in the Zionist lobby in the U.S., which through specialized newsletters like "Petro Impact" (published by the American Jewish Committee) and through wider forums, are eager to influence public opinion against the Arab states.

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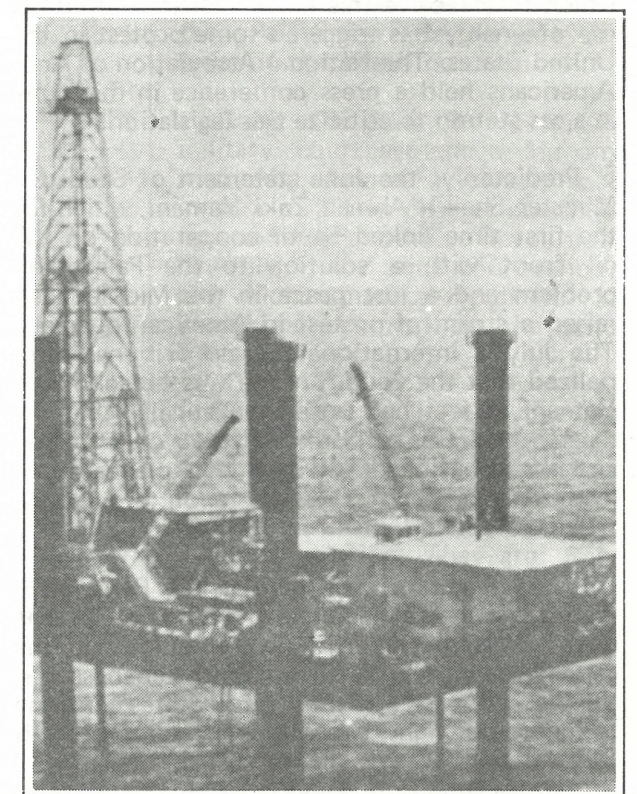
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In fact, Carter's policies have been characterized by a series of concessions to the huge U.S.-owned energy corporations like Exxon, Texaco and Shell. These corporations reaped huge profits during the energy crisis of 1973 (Exxon registered over 400% profits) and they will also benefit from the current "gas crisis," and even to some extent, from the price hike. American companies, who deal with Saudi Arabia through the ARAMCO consortium, have a bonus from the price hike, since Saudi Arabia will sell oil to them at the lowest end of the OPEC price scale. In addition, oil companies will raise prices of oil produced in the U.S. to match OPEC prices.

It is expected that Carter will "decontrol" the price of domestic oil and may also deregulate the price of gas, which may top \$2 a gallon if this occurs. These measures will reap huge profits for the already bloated profit sheets of the multinationals.

In fact, oil has been a longstanding political "weapon" for the United States, not the Arabs. Through its control of Middle Eastern oil, the U.S. has had continuous leverage over the economies of Western Europe and Japan since World War II. The U.S. has never hesitated to use oil politically. A case in point is the U.S. guarantee under the Egyptian-Israeli treaty to provide Israel with oil for 15 years. During the height of the gas crisis, the U.S. Congress passed the Export Administration Act of 1979 which sets strict criteria for the export of Alaskan



Middle Eastern oil: target for U.S. strategists



## BEHIND THE ENERGY CRISIS: U.S. MOVES TO INTERVENE IN MIDDLE EAST



*U.S. military arsenal endangers world peace*

North Slope oil — except in the case of Israel, which may receive this oil. This blatant political use of energy has triggered some protest in the United States. The National Association of Arab Americans held a press conference in mid-June in a gas station to criticize this legislation.

Predictably, the June statement of Saudi Oil Minister Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, which for the first time linked Saudi cooperation on the oil front with a solution to the Palestinian problem and a just peace in the Middle East, raised a storm of protest in American quarters. The July 3 International Herald Tribune editorialized that the Saudi linkage was "blackmail." Yamani in fact had noted realistically that the recent escalation of Israeli attacks on Lebanon and the shooting down of Syrian planes could lead to a regional crisis where oil production would be cut.

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, affirmed this scenario in Vienna when he noted "The entire Western public looks on quietly at the genocide of the Palestinians and Lebanese... if the West, Europe and the United States continue to ignore our rights, we will be forced to use this (oil) weapon."

Certainly, the use of oil to secure a just peace

in the Middle East is much more justified that its continued use to keep U.S. profits and U.S. domination at a peak. Middle East oil is a national resource of the Arab and Iranian people and should be used to benefit them and secure basic rights. These resources have benefitted only the West for most of the Twentieth Century. If the Arab states do not use these resources to promote a just peace in the region and justice for the Palestinian people, it is certain that the United States will not hesitate to use these resources for its own ends.

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## ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

### MORE REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST PALESTINIAN STUDENTS

The Israeli authorities refused to allow 350 Palestinian students enrolled in Egyptian Universities to re-enter to the Gaza Strip. The Red Cross had arranged for these students to visit their families, but Israeli officials later informed the Red Cross that current Israeli-Egyptian relations no longer require Red Cross intervention in such matters.

**Bir Zeit:** On the other hand, the Israeli authorities forbade Bir Zeit students and professors from participating in a meeting which took place at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem on July 1 in solidarity with Bir Zeit University.

Representatives of Jewish and Arab progressive and democratic forces which oppose Israel's racist and suppressive policies, especially the policy of discouraging education, participated in the meeting. They announced their condemnation of the arbitrary Israeli decisions taken against the students and teachers of the university, and confirmed their absolute solidarity with the just struggle of the students and teachers of Bir Zeit University to restore the rights of their people. Later, the occupation authorities gave permission to reopen Bir Zeit and Bethlehem Universities but only at an unspecified time in the future.

It is to be recalled that the Israeli authorities closed down Bir Zeit and Bethlehem Universities; the Ramallah Training College and the Ramallah Secondary School for Boys following the popular uprisings in the West Bank last March in protest against land seizures and the establishment of settlements on Arab-owned land.



*Israeli settlement activity escalates on West Bank*

**Ramallah:** In related news, the Israeli Military Governor refused to reopen the government Teacher's Training College in Ramallah and asked the parents of all enrolled students to promise that their children would not participate in any demonstrations or express their nationalist anti-occupation views.

Also, the Governor refused to reopen the Ramallah Secondary School for boys to allow the students to sit for their exams. Three hundred Palestinian parents in the school have once more submitted a memorandum to the Israeli Military Governor protesting against the closure.

### MORE POLITICAL PRISONERS

**Ramallah:** Gamal Zayid, 24, was arrested on June 29 in Ramallah after he was found in possession of a loaded pistol and hand grenade, the Military authorities said. Juma Uthman was also arrested with him.

The Israeli Military Tribunal sentenced Marwan Muhammad Ebeid and Muhammad Fathi al-Jabari to fourteen months in prison each. The two were arrested on

March 23, 1979, for belonging to the PLO and resisting the Israeli occupation.

**Lydda:** An Israeli military court, on June 26, sentenced a Palestinian student, George al-Karzoun, to fifteen years imprisonment on charges of affiliation to the Palestinian Revolution and resisting the Israeli occupation.

**Gaza:** On June 26, an Israeli military court sentenced Muhammad Abu Amara, a lawyer, to 8 months in jail on charges of affiliation to the Palestinian Revolution. On July 1, the same court sentenced Mohammad al-Hyathi to 12 years imprisonment on the same charges.

**Jerusalem:** Recently, the Zionist authorities arrested a number of students in the Mount Scopus area near Jerusalem, on charges of their affiliation to the Palestinian Revolution. They are: Rahmeh Abdo, Amineh Aweisat, Huda Awwad, Samir Bashir and Muhammad Assad. Also, the authorities emptied all water wells in the area while "searching" for weapons.

**Nablus:** In late June, an Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced four students from the Askar



## ◀ ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

camp, near Nablus: Nasser Khatib, Kamal al-Mallah, Nasser al-Asmar, and Jamal al-Karam, to 4 years in jail on charges of resistance to the occupation. It also sentenced Mashour Jabneh to 4 years imprisonment, Sabin Ghurba to 2 years, Muhib Fillaha to 9 months and Rizq Ahmad 'Aqrab to 5 months for having connections with Fateh and resisting the Israeli occupation.

The same court also sentenced Mohammad 'Ayda, Omar Badran and Tareq al-Qaq to one year imprisonment. It sentenced Ahmad Abdallah to 5 months imprisonment, while Abdallah Ya'ish, Muhammad Said and Mu'in Ghazi Fahd each received 8 months suspended imprisonment and a fine of I.L.500 on charges of taking part in the demonstrations against the occupation.

### SETTLEMENT GOES ON

The Israeli authorities confisca-

ted a total of 1,550 dunums of Palestinian land this June to establish new settlements.

**Bani Naim:** 1,500 dunums were seized near the village of Bani Naim, east of Hebron. The occupation authorities prevented the owners of these lands from working on them in order to establish settlement nucleus on them and to enlarge the settlement of Qiryat Arba', thus encircling the city of Hebron with a belt of settlements.

**Hebron:** In Hebron itself, the Israeli security forces intensified their presence in July in the heart of the city to protect the Israeli settlers who occupied the al-Dabwiah building two months ago from the anger of the Palestinian populace.

**Jerusalem:** The Zionist central court in Jerusalem has decided to confiscate more Arab land in the Mount Scopus area. The court order was handed to the Palestinian landowners who were given a

short notice to turn over the land and buildings to the head of the Zionist Department called "Israel Land". The head of the Department presented to the same court a request to confiscate land owned by Ishap Qarra'in who lives in the same area.

**Nablus:** In a meeting at the Elon Moreh settlement in Nablus, on July 3, the Israeli Minister of Agriculture Ariel Sharon, called for the immediate confiscation of a large area of land on Mount Jirzim in Nablus, confirming the importance of this area. These would constitute the final steps towards control of the eastern entrances to the city of Nablus, leading to the Jordan River Valley. Sharon also called for the confiscation of a number of other hills surrounding Nablus.

**'Anata:** The Israeli authorities prohibited the people of 'Anata village near Jerusalem from building on their own land which is adjacent to the Khan al-Ahmar



Felicia Langer

region where the construction of a new settlement has already begun.

Meanwhile Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin called for the intensification of settlement operations in the occupied territories. On July 25, he asked the Israeli Chief of Staff Raphael Eytan to lay the foundations of two new settlements on the Jerusalem-Jericho road.

### LANGER: SEIZURE OF LAND IN SALFIT CONTRADICTS GENEVA CONVENTIONS

The Israeli Supreme Court in Jerusalem met, on July 5, at the request of 13 Palestinian citizens from Salfit village to rule on an Israeli government decision to confiscate 3,500 dunums of agricultural land in the village. The progressive Jewish lawyer Felicia Langer confirmed during the court session that these land confiscation measures were illegal and contradict the Geneva Conventions. She called for the cancellation of this decision and said that the land to be confiscated is a privately-owned agricultural plot, from which

around two-hundred people earn their living. On July 12, the court ordered a temporary halt to settlement work on the confiscated land.

"Ha'aretz" daily reported that Israeli security sources had announced that this land will be confiscated on the pretext of its being unused land and that it will be subsequently used for the expansion of the "Ariel" settlement.

### ZIONIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST AL-SHAKA'A

Fearing that the trial of the Nablus Mayor would turn into a platform for demands for the national rights of the Palestinian people, for exposing Israeli measures of oppression before world public opinion and for supporting the PLO, the Israeli authorities decided, on July 7, to cancel the trial of Bassam al-Shaka'a. But they pushed the settlers, the "shock troops" of Zionism, into the scene.

On July 2, Rabbi Meir Kahane, led a number of the Gush Emunim gang to Nablus demanding that Mayor Bassam al-Shaka'a leave the country. Shouting "Travel out! Get out of that land!", Kahane and his gang tried to force their way into the City Hall. After a noisy squabble outside the building, Israeli police "arrested" the

American-born rabbi and moved him out of the city.

### ISRAELI GANGS ASSASSINATE SABER DHANI

Israeli gangs assassinated the Palestinian citizen Saber Mustafa Dhani, 42, in Petah Tikva on July 2. A Jerusalem newspaper reported that the corpse of the Palestinian citizen was found in the central square of Petah Tikva with a deep gash in the head caused by a sharp tool, as well as bruises all over his body. The Israeli authorities claimed that the man died from "natural causes."

### ISRAELI AUTHORITIES PREVENT ARAB AID FROM REACHING ARAB MUNICIPALITIES

"Ha'aretz" has reported that the Israeli authorities have prevented all Arab aid from reaching Arab municipalities, and other institutions in the occupied territories. The Baghdad Summit Conference resolutions had decided on the allocation of more Arab aid to the Arab citizens of the occupied territories. The daily added that the Israeli authorities were now carefully checking the money exchange offices in Jerusalem. This is one of the means for transferring large sums of money into the occupied territories, the paper said.



Israeli occupation rounds up Palestinian youth in Jerusalem

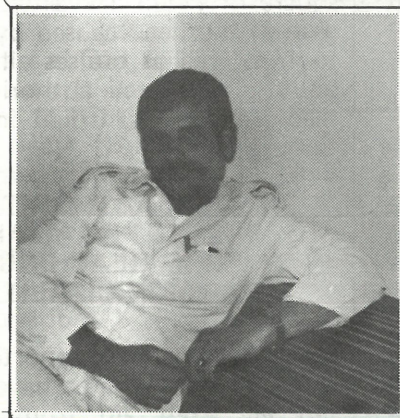




## PALESTINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS:

### STRUGGLE BEHIND IRON BARS

#### THE CASE OF KAMAL NAMMARY



Kamal Nammary

My political life started when I was a school-boy in the late 1950s. In 1965, I graduated as a civil engineer from Cairo University and returned to Jordan. In 1966, I was imprisoned by the Jordanian authorities for four months.

After the June War in 1967, our duty was to distribute pamphlets to urge the masses not to leave their houses and land and to confront the occupiers by all means. We succeeded in building a broad political front including all the national forces in the occupied territories. After that, we began the armed resistance against the occupation forces, using whatever light weapons we could secure.

#### ARREST

Until my arrest on 3 March 1968, I took part in several military operations. Another militant, William Nassar, was also arrested for the same charge.

From the very moment of my arrest, the beating started. I was blindfolded, tied and taken to Sarafand prison. I was punched and kicked in the stomach and everywhere else on my body. They put me in a cell, one meter by one meter in dimensions. For four consecutive days, I was prevented from sleep and subjected to beating.

#### INTERROGATION

I was charged with being a commando leader in the West Bank. They wanted me to give them information about commando bases in Al-Kara-

meh (on the eastern bank of the River Jordan, attacked by Israel on 21 March 1968) and in the occupied territories. In spite of the brutal torture, I didn't give any information. I was under both physical and psychological torture. From my room, I could hear recordings of the cries of other militants being tortured.

There were two interrogators who adopted different roles, one beating me and the other promising me things if I talked. They threatened to blow up my house if I didn't speak. In fact, they did it. Due to continuous torture, my hand was paralysed. I began a hunger strike. After seven days, they tried to negotiate with me. They tried to get me to call on the Arabs to stop fighting and negotiate a peace with "Israel" but I refused. I insisted that what I wanted was medical treatment.

#### TRIAL

On 6 May, I was taken to court. William was also there. Each session of the trial lasted for five days. We rejected the trial and the lawyer assigned by the court. We refused to stand for the judges as they passed before us. The policemen beat us while we were in the cages. During the trial, we refused to talk as an expression of our non-recognition of the lawfulness of the court.

#### THREE RELIGIONS

The Zionists used to assume that the Palestinians militants were a "handful of mercenaries and outcasts." The torture we had been under was meant to make us give in and politically breakdown so that they would show us to the world public as such. Concerning our case, they found themselves with a political problem that refuted all their allegations. I am a civil engineer and William was a university student in Spain. I am a Muslim and he is a Christian. Most critical to them was the fact that both our mothers are Jews. Three religions have been in struggle for the same cause. My mother died one year after my arrest. She refused to talk to the authorities in order to reduce my sentence, even though her brother was a leading Zionist. He is Avraham Kidron, the present Israeli Ambassador to the United Kingdom.

## OCCUPATION DIARY

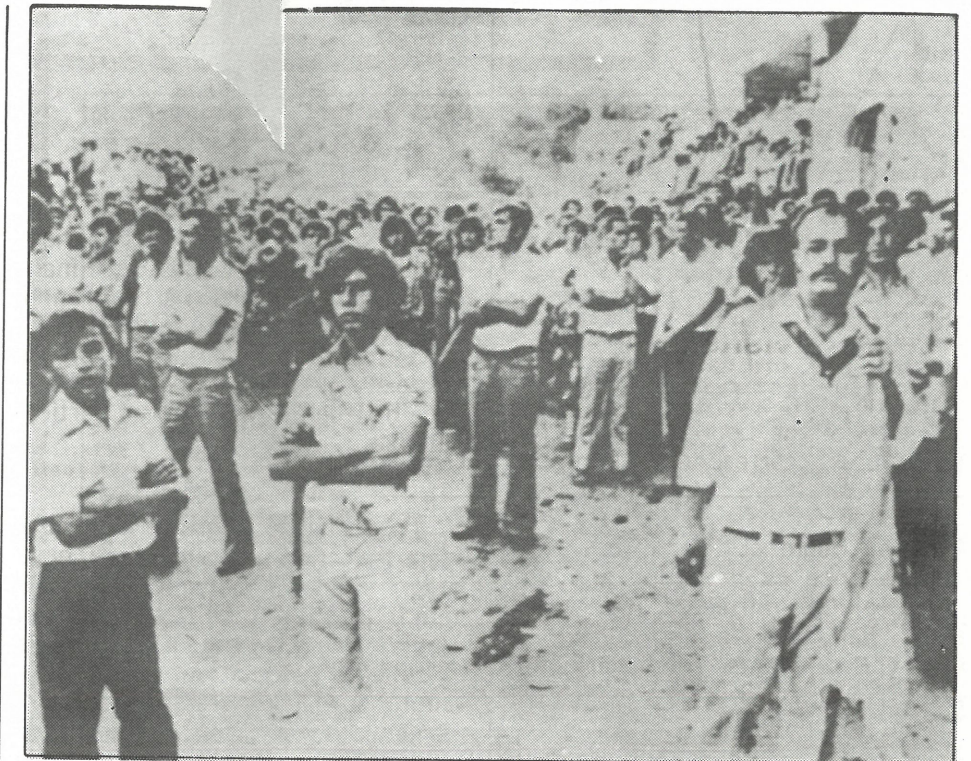
#### WEST BANK MAYORS DETERMINED TO STRUGGLE AGAINST SETTLEMENT

The West Bank Municipal Council members and representatives of national institutions and unions confirmed, in a press conference on June 28, their determination to struggle against settlement operations and against Zionist-Egyptian conspiracies carried out under U.S. supervision, and aiming at the perpetuation of the Israeli occupation.

Hikmat al-Masri, head of the Board of Trustees of al-Najah University, meanwhile denied that the Nablus demonstration of June 17 represented a security violation, as was claimed by the Israeli authorities, and said that the decision to establish a new Zionist settlement in the village of Rujeib near Nablus is illegal. Dr. Hatem Abu-Ghazaleh, member of the Nablus Municipal Council, in turn said that "The Israeli provocative trials will not scare us. Our trial will only be another occasion to declare our protest against the establishment of the Elon Moreh settlement, and our support for Palestinian national aspirations. We will turn our trial into another political demonstration in the Israeli courts, which will be witnessed by world public opinion."

#### PRESS STATEMENT

In a press statement issued on July 2, the municipality, religious and educational institutions, as well as professional syndicates in Nablus declared their rejection of the Israeli settlement policy. The press statement reviewed Israeli policies and practices in the West Bank, namely land seizures, and declared that the Israeli Government, which is allegedly seeking peace, is in fact violating all international conventions and disregarding the Palestinian people's national and human rights. For, the statement said, the brutal suppression of the June 17 demonstration, the detention of scores of



Palestinians protest Israeli land seizure on West Bank

Palestinian citizens participating in it, and the intimidation of the Nablus Municipal Council members and others who took part in a peaceful march protesting the confiscation of their land, do not reflect a peace-making image. It added that these Israeli policies are in conformity with the self-rule plan which Israel is trying to impose on the West Bank. Finally, the press statement reasserted that the latest Israeli suppressive measures in the West Bank only confirm Palestinian suspicions of the self-rule plan, and their unequivocal rejection of it and of the Camp David agreements.

#### MAALIYA RISES AGAINST SETTLEMENT

On July 5, clashes erupted between Palestinian citizens of Maaliya, a village in the Gallilee, and Israeli settlers and Israeli troops. The Israelis using bulldozers belonging to the Jewish Agency, were trying to open a road through the center of the village in order to link the surrounding Jewish settlements together.

On July 6, many popular delegations and representatives of nationalist institutions poured into the village in solidarity with the inhabitants. The Maaliya council also received hundreds of solidarity cables. The Regional Committee for the Defence of the Land in the village decided to hold a popular conference on July 7, and urged public opinion and popular organizations to participate actively in it.

On the morning of July 9, thousands of citizens demonstrated in Maaliya, closing all roads leading to the village to halt the advance of the Israeli troops. They clashed with the soldiers manning the bulldozers. Two bulldozer drivers and Israeli soldiers were wounded as a result; several Palestinian citizens were also injured.

The demonstrators for a second time attacked the additional Israeli troops who were sent to the scene. The troops fired machine guns. Two Palestinians were seriously wounded, and thirty-five demonstrators were arrested. These clashes



## OCCUPATION DIARY

were the most severe since those of the Day of the Land, local and foreign press correspondents reported.

The Regional Committee for the Defence of the Land and the Regional Committee of Arab Mayors, after the clashes, consulted about these events. Tewfiq al-Tubi, Jamal Musa, Secretary of the Rakah Communist Party in the Acre region, Ramzi Khouri and other representatives visited Maaliya to express their support to the population.

On July 10, the Palestinian masses under occupation declared a strike in solidarity with the Arab village. Also the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Sheli Bloc asked the Knesset leadership to add to its agenda the Israeli attack on Maaliya, and the Vice President of the Front, Tewfiq al-Tubi, sent cables of protest to the Israeli Prime Minister and to the Minister of Interior. Several Galilee municipalities, including that of Nazareth, sent similar cables to various Israeli officials. Furthermore, the Democratic Front, the Sheli Bloc and the Communist party's Nazareth Regional Committee each issued a statement strongly condemning the Israeli attempt to change the Arab character of Maaliya, and the violent repression of the popular protest in Maaliya. They also called for the release of the detainees and for halting the Israeli policy of land confiscation.

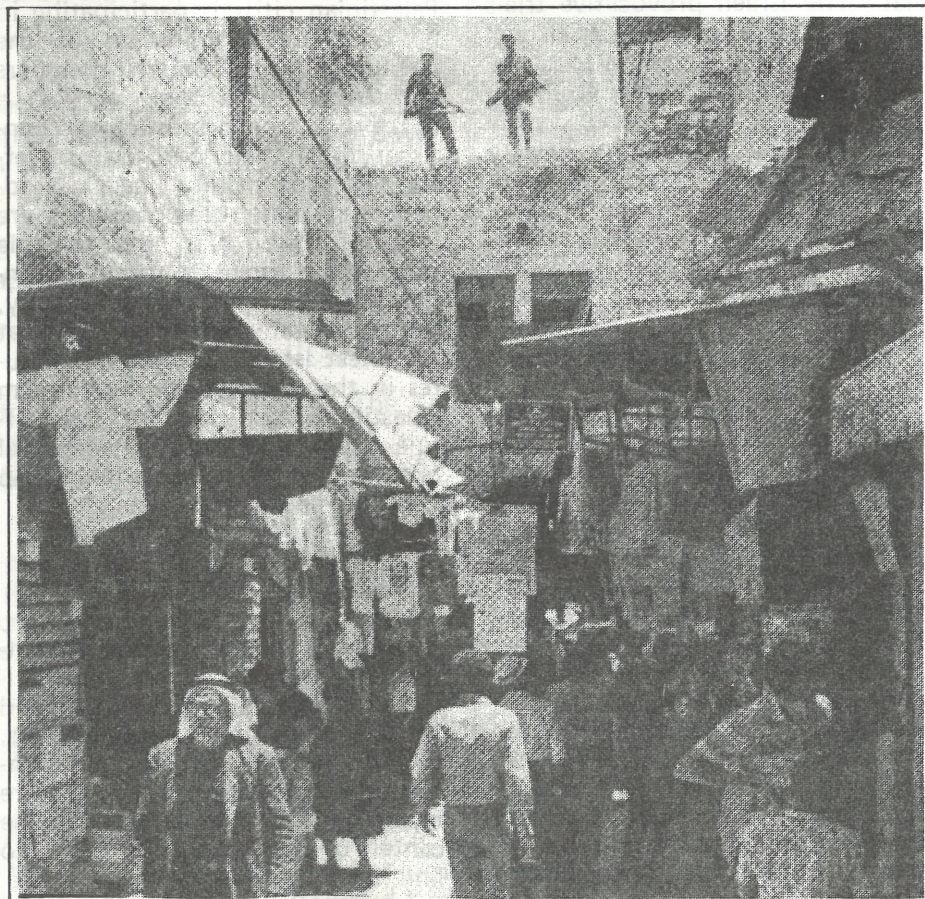
In Tel-Aviv, several prominent Jewish democratic personalities, addressed an open letter to the

people of Maaliya expressing their full support for their cause. Finally, the Communist party branch and the Communist Youth in Taybeh organised a demonstration in solidarity with the people of Maaliya in which a huge crowd participated.

The Israeli authorities have claimed that the measures they have taken against Maaliya were an attempt at "developing" the Western Galilee region. The head of the so-called "Association for the Development of Western Galilee" denied reports that the Palestinian population was double that of the Israeli settlers in the Galilee re-

gion. According to the 1977 census, the population of Western Galilee reached 7,000, of which only 1800 were Israeli settlers. The Israeli Arabic language daily *Al-Anba* reported that the Israeli authorities actually mean to change the population to land ratio, when they speak of Western Galilee "Development."

The Israeli police Commander of Northern Palestine announced Israel's determination to continue the complete "Judaization" of the Galilee. He also said, in a statement issued following the latest clashes, that all the Israeli projects for Western Galilee, will be executed without consultations with any of the Palestinian citizens of the region. Moreover, the Israeli forces launched a massive arrest campaign in Maaliya and even cut off water to the Western quarter of the village where the new road is being constructed.



Israeli soldiers patrol Jerusalem

### MAYORS REFUSE TO MEET AMERICAN DELEGATION

The Mayor of Nablus, Bassam al-Shaka'a, commented on reports regarding an American delegation's visit to West Bank personalities, by confirming the West Bank municipal council's and nationalist institutions' rejection of any negotiations or meetings with American officials, and their commitment to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Fahd al-Qawasmeh, Mayor of Hebron, confirmed that no one will meet the American delegates because there is a general agreement among the Palestinians to reject the Camp David accords.

In related news, the Israeli authorities prevented both Qawasmeh and Shaka'a from leaving for Italy and the USA to participate in conferences and seminars regarding the Palestine question.

### ARAB CITIZENS EXPOSE ISRAELI NEGLECT OF THEIR VILLAGE

The local committee of Akbara village, in the region of 1948—occupied Palestine, held a press conference in Tel Aviv on July 2, in which it exposed the deteriorating situation of the Palestinian inhabitants of the village, especially in the fields of education, health care and sanitation. The committee distributed a communique which said that the children of the village are attending classes in an unhealthy and dangerous building, and that the villagers have to drink polluted water, as a result of which dozens of children were hospitalized. The villagers concluded their press conference by inviting journalists to visit the village and see the situation with their own eyes.

## THE "PEACE" FARCE CONTINUES



Begin and Sadat perform the farce of "peace" talks

The farce of "Palestinian autonomy talks" between the non-representatives of the Palestinian people, Messrs. Begin and Sadat, under the close supervision of the United States government, took a new turn when the so-called "Middle East troubleshooter," Robert Strauss, declared, after a visit to Israel and Egypt, that the twelve-month target date for concluding the talks will not be met.

To further discuss the "obstacles" of the talks, Egyptian Head of State Sadat and Israeli Premier Begin met in Egypt in early July. At a joint news conference on July 11, after two days of summit talks, the two leaders declared only that they had "very important discussions on Palestinian autonomy," which fell short of solving the "obstacles." Both leaders maintained that they will meet again at the end of August in the Israeli-occupied port city of Haifa "to continue our negotiations."

Regarding the establishment of Zionist settlements in the occupied West Bank, which was also said to be one of the "obstacles" of the talks, Sadat acknowledged that he had failed to persuade Begin to call off Israeli settlement activity. For his part, Begin declared: "The land we have taken has not been tilled for a million years, therefore we are doing nothing wrong at all." Testimony at a spring special commission of the U.N. Security Council, it should be noted,



## THE "PEACE" FARCE CONTINUES

revealed that of an estimated 125,600 dunums of cultivatable Arab land expropriated for settlement purposes, some 114,000 dunums (over 90 per cent) was previously privately owned Arab land. So much for U.S. and Egyptian "protest" and their call for Israeli "withdrawal."

The two leaders also made public at the news conference that they have discussed Lebanon and said "We are for the full integrity of Lebanon and we shall never agree on anything that causes disintegration." Nevertheless, Begin added that Israel will continue its aggression and will back renegade right-wing militias in South Lebanon.

The Lebanese daily English newspaper "Ike" on July 12 pointedly summed up this contradictory statement as follows:

"We appreciate the sentiments of Messrs. Begin and Sadat, who have publicly announced their support of Lebanon's territorial integrity, but we are disturbed by the background against which the sentiments have been expressed.

Mr. Begin's support comes against the background of constant Israeli attacks on Lebanese villages and continuous Israeli support of separatist Lebanese gunmen who are challenging the authority of Lebanon's central government.

Mr. Sadat's support comes against a background of Egyptian acceptance — if not in word, then in deed — of the murder of Lebanese territorial integrity by "my friend Mr. Begin."

Being hardened to the moral bankruptcy of successive Israeli leaders, we find nothing strange

in Mr. Begin's ability to simultaneously throttle Lebanon and declare his devotion to it.

But we confess that we are surprised by Mr. Sadat's demonstrated capacity to play the double role of Mr. Begin's silent partner in the rape of Lebanon, and the Lebanese government's articulate partner in the defense of Lebanon."

### ABDEL JAWAD SALEH: EGYPTIAN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN WEST BANK

The Egyptian intelligence service over the past few days has begun to increase its hostile activities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in an attempt to find a substitute representative for the PLO. This was announced by PLO Executive Committee member Abdel Jawad Saleh in a declaration to the press on July 8. He added that four members of the Egyptian intelligence service are now staying at the Hotel Palestine in Nablus under the protection of the Israeli police. The four men, Musa Ismail, Awadein Awad, Ahmad Mar'i and Nabil Hassanein, are trying to get in touch with Palestinians in Nablus in a transparent attempt to harm the interests of the Palestinian people by dividing them. One of these agents, Nabil Hassanein, who is a reporter for the Egyptian paper "al-Gumhuriya," is openly accompanying Israeli military patrols in the city.

Abdel Jawad Saleh also said that the Israeli authorities had intensified their arrest campaigns against the Palestinian masses during this visit. However, he affirmed that the Palestinian people in the occupied territories will withstand all Israeli pressures and will continue their struggle to foil the self-rule plan and the tripartite conspiracy against their national rights.

## TERRE FLEENER:

## "I BELIEVE IN THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE"



At last, Terre Fleener is free. The 24-year-old Texan left Tel Aviv on June 30 after spending 20 months in an Israeli prison for supporting the PLO. Her first statement to the press after her ordeal was: "I believe very strongly in the Palestinian people's struggle... An injustice has been done. The peace process offers no solution. The Palestinians have to continue their fight, and I support them very strongly".

When the captain of the TWA 707 announced his name — J.T. Happy — Fleener laughed aloud. It was the right name for Miss Fleener's day. She had served 20 months of an original five year sentence. This sentence was reduced to thirty months after world opinion rallied to her case.

### ARRESTED

Miss Fleener was arrested on October 24, 1977, when she flew into Israel's Ben Gurion airport. A closed trial was held the following January and she was charged with "spying" for the PLO by taking photographs of Israeli cities. However a court-imposed "gag order" on Fleener's attorney, Felicia Langer, kept the real facts of the case from the public.

On May 1, 1979, the Palestinian Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) in Washington, D.C. sent letters of protest to President Carter and the U.S. Department of State, Human Rights Division, demanding action on behalf of Miss Fleener to free her. The PHRC noted that Fleener had been very badly treated in prison, and had become ill, a fact Miss Fleener herself asserted as soon as she arrived home.

### "HOW THE ISRAELIS TORTURED ME"

"They threatened some torture.. that I would be locked in a small box. I never saw one, but I understand it is like a very tiny room where you can't lie down and you can't stand up", Terry a very tiny room where you can't lie down and you can't stand up", Terre Fleener said in an interview published in the "San Antonio Express and News".

"There were four confessions extracted under duress and then the case was built upon that. It is impossible.. to get a confession like this overturned in court." She added that Israeli interrogators threatened to hypnotize her against her will and to inject her with "truth serum".





TERRE FLEENER:

"I BELIEVE IN  
THE PALESTINIAN  
STRUGGLE"



*Sami Esmail, who was imprisoned for fifteen months in Israel, shares Terre's joy at her release*

"They said they had brought someone from Lebanon and they were going to torture him if I didn't talk.. They had someone in a holding cell next to the room where I was being interrogated, pounding on the metal door and screaming. They didn't bring anyone. It was someone from "Shin Bet" (Israeli secret police) in there. That was simply another psychological tactic".

In an interview with "People" magazine, Miss Fleener said she was thrown to the floor several times and was moved by force when she refused to go to a detention center.

#### LIFE IN AN ISRAELI JAIL

She said she lived in a room with two to five other political prisoners — mostly Palestinian women but also including a few others from outside the Middle East. One of them was Ludvinna Janssen, a Dutch woman who is likely to be paroled in September from her six-year sentence for assisting Palestinian guerillas.

Another of Miss Fleener's recent roommates was Birgitta Scholtz, a West German woman held for more than three years without a trial. She and four males have not even been officially charged yet, but Israeli authorities allege that they attempted to shoot down an El Al airliner in Kenya.

Miss Fleener said she found her fellow prisoners "very courageous," especially the Arab women. "I admire them very much. Some were hurt in explosions, some are serving life sentences, but they never feel sorry for themselves."

Their prison work kept them together in the mornings, and often during the long free after-

noons they joined in teaching each other subjects they knew well. Miss Fleener said she taught English part of the time, as well as doing a lot of reading before lights went out at 10 p.m.

Miss Fleener, raised as a Methodist, said she became, a Zionist at the age of 12 or 13, fervently supporting the Jewish state. "I even wanted to convert to Judaism", she said. Her support for Israel died gradually. "I learned that the Middle East is an intricate issue, and I saw another side..not necessarily an evil side..And before I ever met an Arab I wanted to go to..the Arab world". She came to Lebanon in 1975 and got work as a stewardess with Kuwait Airlines.

She denied the implication of some Israeli news stories that she got into espionage trouble because of an Arab young man. "They wanted me to say I did it for love of a man", she said with disgust. Instead of sentiment, logic was the basis of her convictions, she said.

#### "SOMETIMES VIOLENCE IS THE ONLY REMEDY"

At the Rome airport, a moment before running to her flight to New York she said: "I don't hold violence as an ideal. But sometimes when a situation grows out of the use of violence, the only remedy is violence. What the Jewish people endured does not give them the right to visit violence on another people. The Palestinians can't drop bombs, so they take the only route available to them".

Remembering what she had been through, Miss Fleener vowed: "I won't walk away from the Palestinian struggle. I won't let myself."

## SOUTH LEBANON



*The Joint Forces are determined to defend the South against Israeli attack*

## ISRAEL PURSUES "SCORCHED EARTH" POLICY

Since its inception, the Israeli military machine has employed "scorched earth" military tactics. During the last fifty years, cold-blooded massacres against peaceful Arab citizens by Zionist gangs or official troops, have stained the history of Zionism. The massacres of Deir Yassin in 1948, Kfar Kassem in 1956 and Sammou in 1966 are irrefutable testimony of a Zionist policy of deliberate and unrelenting terrorism. Currently, the position of Menahem Begin at the head of the Zionist state, with his dark history of terrorism reveals the nature and function of Zionism to the world.

Events in South Lebanon since 1975, and throughout Lebanon, are inextricably linked with these Zionist terror tactics. In 1975, Lebanese progressive and national parties expressed a deep popular desire for social progress, democracy and freedom in Lebanon. They emerged as the true representative of the majority of Lebanese, who wanted a democratic

government that was not based on narrow sectarian lines.

On the other hand, the unholy triad of Zionism, imperialism and reaction strove with a deadly energy to protect their interests in the area and crush the forces of social change. In this equation, the Palestinian Revolution is both the shock brigade of the national liberation movements in the area on the one hand, and the target of the blows of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemy on the other.

This enemy understands that South Lebanon is a gate for the liberation of occupied Palestine, as are other border fronts. The Palestinian revolutionary forces had dealt heavy blows on the battlefields of this region, whether in face-to-face combat or through commando operations. Therefore, the enemy turns to old imperialist and neo-colonialist methods in order to achieve expansionist ambitions and to create a



## SOUTH LEBANON ISRAELIS PURSUE SCORCHED EARTH POLICY



Refugees Fleeing South Lebanon now number 600,000

strike force against liberation movements in the area.

The role played by Saad Haddad, like other Israeli stooges in Lebanon, became well-known. He directly serves the interests and aims of Zionism in countering the affirmative movement of the national, progressive forces in Lebanon.

### DOGFIGHT IN LEBANESE SKIES

During the last three weeks, Israel and its puppets in the South have escalated their aggression against civilians. One of the most important confrontations occurring in this period was the air combat between Syrian and Israeli jetfighters on June 27. The Israeli jets raided the city of Sidon, the Palestinian camp of Ain-al-Hilweh, and other Lebanese villages such as Isariya, al-Baqqoug and Jal al-Bahr in the Tyre area.

For the first time, the Israelis used the highly sophisticated U.S.-made F-15s in actual combat with the much less sophisticated Syrian Mig-21s. As usual, Begin and his military circle considered the Israeli air raid and dogfight with Syrian jets deep inside Lebanese territory "an act of self-defense." Meanwhile, Arab leaders and the Arab press urged collective Arab action to face the Israeli aggression.

Nevertheless, Begin bluntly warned Syria not to "interfere either with our artillery or with our airforce when we go out on a mission of the most legitimate self-defense!" Begin, however, neglected to mention the right of the whole Arab peoples to self-defense against thirty long years of Israeli aggression and barbaric acts. But what person would expect another argument from the killer of Palestinian children and women at Deir Yassin in 1948?

The Syrian-Israeli air battle had some positive effects. The Syrian Air Force not only confronted the Zionist plans — it also confronted the Zionist-U.S.-Sadat decision to make the region

submit by all possible means, including the war of annihilation launched by Israel against the Palestinians, the Lebanese and against all nationalist forces opposing the Carter-Begin-Sadat treaty.

In addition, the U.S.-Zionist alliance is trying to create an atmosphere of defeatism among the Palestinian and Lebanese masses in particular, and the Arab masses in general, through the escalation of savage attacks by Israeli planes on Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages. This confrontation by Syrian Arab planes, side by side with the daily resistance of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement, has shattered this atmosphere of defeat.

Finally, the air battle, like the daily battles between Zionism and the Palestinian Revolution, proves once again that the "peace treaty" is in fact a pact of war.

### SHELLING AND BOMBARDMENT

Ghassan Tuani, the Lebanese Ambassador to the U.N., said to the Lebanese newspaper *Ike* on June 28 that Israel has three goals in Lebanon: 1) A war of attrition with Syria 2) Destruction of the Palestinian resistance 3) To resettle the Palestinians in the South and elsewhere, and deny their right to return to Palestine.

To carry out these goals, Israel, in cooperation with its puppet Major Haddad, continues its "scorched earth" war against the inhabitants of the South. They expanded the range of the shelling to include more villages north of the Litani river. Most villages of Tyre, Nabatiyeh, and Hasbiyeh regions were subjected to heavy shelling by the Israeli and rightist forces. They used phosphorous and fragmentation shells to cause heavy damages to the properties of the villagers. This continuous Israeli shelling and the war of genocide has caused a huge exodus, which has surpassed 600,000 over the last three years.

On July 3, rightists, in collaboration with Haddad's militiamen and other reactionary forces in the South, murdered eight civilians in the village of Deir Qanoun al-Nahr, near Tyre. They infiltrated through the area controlled by UNIFIL and massacred two progressive families and a delivery boy for the progressive newspaper "Al-Wattan." Nevertheless, Major Haddad and the Israeli propaganda continue to accuse UNIFIL forces of collaboration with Palestinian forces. UNIFIL Commander Major-General Emmanuel Erskine has denied these charges, calling them "very serious, subjective, and unfair accusations, generalized in a manner which makes UNIFIL appear as an enemy of Israel."

### LAND RAIDS

A unit of the Israeli army invaded Lebanon on July 6 and attacked the village of Majdel Silm in the central section of the South, killing two people, taking two others prisoner and blowing up two houses. The two dead are Ma'arouf and Mohammed Ala'uddin, employees at the village's elementary school. The Israelis, estimated at 70 soldiers, first ringed the village with armoured vehicles and then marched in. An Israeli military spokesman admitted the Israeli invasion of Majdel Silm village, which is 15 kilometers north of the border in an area controlled by the Irish contingent of the UNIFIL.

On July, 7, the Israeli forces, backed by rightist Lebanese militiamen, mounted an hour-long campaign against the UN-controlled area of South Lebanon and attacked the villages of Braachite, Kantara and Dir-Siryah, blowing up three houses and taking one man prisoner.

In the third incursion in four days into the same area of South Lebanon, Israeli troops raided the Lebanese village of Kabrikha, while the Irish troops of the UNIFIL did not appear to intervene to prevent the Israeli invaders from blowing up houses and killing defenseless civilians. Ten houses were blown up in the village. The Israeli military spokesman admitted this aggressive operation, and declared the Israeli



intention to expand their operational battlefield. Thus, we may expect more demolition of civilian homes and more civilian casualties.

### LEBANESE ARMY AND GOVERNMENT

Since the adoption of U.N. Security Resolution 425 in March, 1978, the handicapped Lebanese army and government have been unable to find a way to reimpose their authority on the border enclave now under the control of renegade Major Saad Haddad, and his masters, the Israelis. Haddad's militiamen and the Israelis have prevented the state Lebanese army from being deployed in the area.

On June 20, and for four consecutive days, the militiamen of the fascist Phalangist and National Liberal parties were involved in heavy clashes in Ain Rummaneh (east of Beirut), which caused heavy losses to both sides, and especially to the civilian inhabitants. The roots of the clash were, as usual, over partition of loot and rivalry for domination. When the leaders of the two parties failed to put an end to the rivalry, they asked for the Lebanese army to intervene and take responsibility for security in the district. The rightists themselves proved the failure of their "self-security" slogan.

The local press in Lebanon has circulated reports of an Israeli warning to Lebanon, delivered by the American Embassy in Beirut, that Israel will attack Lebanon in force if the latter does not take measures to restrict Palestinian revolutionary presence and activities in Lebanon. Although U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, John Dean, has denied the above-mentioned reports, it is clear that Israel is preparing for such action, through its expansion of military activities in the South.

The Israeli "scorched earth" policy against South Lebanon moves forward. The Soviet news agency, Tass, quoting United Nations sources in New York on July 9, said Israel intends to intensify its attacks on Palestinians, mounting more air raids on refugee camps. Tass added that Israel has advised Egypt and the United States of its aggressive intentions. Meanwhile, Waldheim's press spokesman expressed concern over what he termed "intensified activity and incursions" across U.N. lines in South Lebanon. After recent clashes with the Israeli troops, the U.N. protested to the Israeli authorities both at the U.N. and in Israel.

In spite of this vigorous campaign against South Lebanon, the population in the South, understanding thoroughly the dimensions of the conflict, defend their land with their flesh and blood. They have no more choices: "To live in dignity in their homeland or to die bravely on the battlefield."



# MILITARY OPERATIONS



## REVOLUTION ANNOUNCES DEATH OF TEODORI AND YUSEF

The General Command of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution and the General Command of the Assifa Forces announce to the Palestinian and Arab masses the death of two revolutionaries who were martyred in Palestine on June 24, 1979, and pledge to continue the Revolution and maintain the guns directed against the enemy until victory.

Because the enemy was about to discover the charge, the martyrs, 1st Lt. George Fuad Teodori (Abu Fuad) and Lt. Ismail Issa Yusef (Abdallah Ben Wubeir), themselves exploded a charge inside the Tel Aviv Central Bus Station, due to the importance of the target and in order to ensure the success of the operation.

This operation reaffirms our revolutionaries' determination to pursue armed struggle against the Zionist enemy whatever the sacrifices.

The martyr Lt. George Fuad Teodori was born in 1954 in Ramallah, and worked as an electrical engineer at the Electricity Company in Jerusalem after graduating from the University of Baghdad. He joined Fateh's interior forces in 1974, and executed several operations against the Israelis in the occupied territories.

The martyr Lt. Ismail Yusef (Abdallah Ben Zuheir) was born in

1935 in Kfar Qassem; and was married, with eleven children. He studied in the occupied territories. He owned several bookstores in Kfar Qassem and Bir Sabe' and an office for the distribution of publications and pamphlets. He joined Fateh's interior forces in 1974, and executed several operations in the occupied territories.

## EXPLOSION IN QIRYAT YAM SETTLEMENT

### No. 101/79:

Palestinian commandos operating inside the occupied territories on June 28, entered the Israeli settlement of Qiryat Yam, on the outskirts of Tel Aviv, and placed powerful timed explosive charges in the reception lounge for newly-arrived Israeli settlers, in the heart of the settlement.

At 9.15 am, the charges went off, killing or injuring a number of Israeli settlers, completely destroying three apartments in the building, and several other apartments nearby.

Radio Israel admitted this operation in the Qiryat Yam settlement, but said that only two people were injured, and that several apartments were badly damaged, and all the settlers were immediately evacuated. Our commandos returned safely to base.

## EXPLOSIONS IN JERUSALEM AND TEL AVIV

### No. 102/79:

Palestinian commandos from special unit "A" operating inside the occupied territories, in the

early hours of July 1 planted timed explosive charges inside vital Israeli targets in the Shu'fat region, north of Jerusalem.

The first charge exploded inside an Israeli fire station at 1.30 am, damaging a vehicle and injuring several firemen. While Israeli troops were combing the area after the explosion, they discovered another charge in front of the intelligence department near the fire station. Explosives experts were immediately rushed to the scene, moved the charge, and detonated it in the neighboring square after failing to dismantle it.

Consequently, Jerusalem witnessed several security measures to protect public installations; check-points were erected all over the city, and several Palestinian citizens were arrested on the pretext of their involvement in the operation. The commandos returned safely to base.

### No. 103/79:

A special commando unit operating in the occupied territories on July 1, avoided dozens of Israeli check-points and security measures on the road leading to Tel Aviv, and planted a powerful timed explosive charge inside a military bus station on the Tel Aviv-Malbas (Petah Tikva) road. The charge went off at 12.45 am, rocking the whole region and killing or injuring an unspecified number of Israeli soldiers who were in the station at the time of the explosion. The station building was moreover seriously damaged and the glass windows of several neighboring shops were destroyed.

As usual, Israeli security forces launched a search campaign in the city and arrested several Palestinian citizens on suspicion of their involvement in the operation. Radio Israel admitted the operation, and the Israeli police spokesman claimed that the charge was placed under a bench in the station, and that traffic on that road was completely stopped. The unit returned safely to base.

## EXPLOSIVE CHARGE IN JERUSALEM

### No. 104/79:

At dawn on July 6, Palestinian commandos placed a timed explosive charge inside a restaurant frequented by Israeli security agents in the High Commissioner suburb of Jerusalem. At 5.50 am, the charge went off, causing serious damage to the restaurant and to a police vehicle which was parked in front of it.

Radio Israel admitted the operation in its Hebrew-language bulletin, and announced that pamphlets were found at the scene

of the explosion calling for resistance to the Israeli occupation.

## COMMANDO ATTACK IN JERUSALEM

### No. 105/79:

One of our special commando units operating inside the occupied territories at noon on July 6, planted a powerful timed explosive charge close to a group of the enemy in the main square of the Jerusalem suburb, Talpiot. The charge exploded as planned at 3.30 pm, inflicting a number of casualties on those in the square, damaging three cars parked nearby, and breaking the windows of neighboring shops.

The Israeli radio admitted the operation in the evening, and confirmed that there were a number of casualties. The Radio also reported that Israeli police and frontier guards began a search and interrogation campaign which led to the detention of several Palestinians. Our commando unit returned safely to base. It is noteworthy that this area was, since

the beginning of the year, a target of several commando attacks against enemy concentrations and vital installations.

## ISRAELI FORCES DEFUSE ROCKET IN JERUSALEM

### No. 106/79:

Commandos from special unit "A" on July 10, placed a heavy rocket in the Shu'fat region aimed at an Israeli military target in Jerusalem.

At 6.50 am, Israeli forces discovered the rocket during a search of the area, and immediately blocked all the roads leading to the site of the rocket, and surrounded it with additional troops. An Israeli army engineering unit subsequently defused the rocket.

As a result, a state of alert was announced among the police force and frontier guards in Jerusalem, where patrols and check-points were intensified and dozens of Palestinian citizens arrested for interrogation.



Mourners at funeral of Lt. Yusef



## WORLD EVENTS



*Sandinista guerilla celebrates as dictator Somoza flees Nicaragua.*

### SANDINISTAS REORGANIZE LIFE IN LIBERATED LEON

A system of collective administration has been set up in Leon, Nicaragua's second biggest city, which was freed by patriotic forces of the FSLN (the Sandinistas) more than a month ago. The Mexican newspaper "Excelsior" reported that this administration provides all vital supplies for Leon's 70,000 residents.

Once a week, every family receives food at no cost from stocks seized by the liberation fighters. A bread factory and a factory for cooking oil are in operation again, and water and power supplies are nearly restored. Hospitals have reopened. Telephone lines remain without interruption, for security reasons.

A special committee deals with nutritional questions in order to combat diseases from vitamin deficiency and malnutrition in the workers' districts. An agricultural committee supported by experts is making sure that the fields are readied for sowing and harvesting.

The supreme body in liberated Leon is the staff of the Sandinista Liberation Front, which has dissolved all institutions of the Somoza dictatorship. While this staff is responsible for all military matters, an executive committee of the United Peoples Movement (MPU) comprising more than twenty progressive parties and organizations, looks after supplies and services, as well as medical care and civil defense.

### NATO AIRCRAFT TO RHODESIAN REGIME

Equipped with forged waybills, twelve Italian Marchetti SF 260 fighter planes have been secretly channeled to the racist regime in Salisbury. This fresh offense against United Nations sanctions has now become known in Brussels, press reports say.

According to Belgian sources, the NATO planes, which have already been employed against the Zimbabwean Liberation Movement, were first brought from Italy to Gosselies, a Belgian airport near Charleroi. After being taken apart and packed in cases, they were then shipped from Antwerp to Durban in South Africa. From there, trains took them to Salisbury. As in similar secret arms shipments to the Rhodesian regime, the waybills declared civilian aircraft destined for the Comoros islands.

This fresh infraction of United Nations resolutions is the second case within a very short time. Recently, the BBC showed a report revealing the supply of 17 Italian fighters of the same type to the puppet regime in Salisbury.

Without this kind of assistance from the NATO countries, which are openly or clandestinely supplying the racist regime with large shipments of arms, it would be impossible for the Salisbury clique to resist the advance of the national liberation movement, a fact Joshua Nkome, the Co-President of the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front, has repeatedly pointed out.

*Arms shipments to puppet Rhodesian regime*



## SOLIDARITY

### AN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY TEAM SUPPORTS PLO

Mr. Bob Hicks, a British Member of Parliament, told the Lebanese press on July 12 that he fully supported the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. He made the statement shortly before he and his colleagues, a visiting delegation of European members of parliament held a meeting with Abu Iyad, member of the Fateh Central Committee.

The team is drawn from the Parliaments of France, Britain, the Irish Republic, Italy and the Netherlands. All members of the team are agreed on the "need for a sovereign, independent Palestinian state in Palestine", Mr. Hicks declared. The meeting with Abu Iyad covered all current developments and was cordial, positive and fruitful. Views of the two parties were also similar.

### SANDINISTAS CONFIRM SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

A representative of the Sandinista National Liberation Front recently confirmed the solidarity of the Nicaraguan people with the struggle of the Palestinian people. He said, at a rally held by the Portuguese progressive parties in support of the Nicaraguan people, that the Zionist racist regime was not satisfied with killing innocent Palestinians, but took stands against the revolution in Nicaragua, under the direction of US imperialism and in coordination with the dictator Somoza.

### PALESTINIAN AND SYRIAN STUDENTS CALL FOR CONFRONTING CONSPIRACY

In a joint communique issued recently, the General Union of Palestinian Students and the National Union of Syrian Students called on



Palestinian and Syrian students to confront the Sadat-Carter-Begin conspiracy against the Arab Nation and its central issue, the Palestine question.

The communique condemned all attempts to liquidate the Palestinian question and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and called for support of the PLO and Syria, the pillars of steadfastness. It also called for material and moral support for the Egyptian national movement in its struggle against Sadat.

### LIBERIAN PRESIDENT DOES NOT FAVOR REOPENING TIES WITH ISRAEL

President William R. Tolbert Jr. of Liberia, soon to take over as chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, says he does not favor black African countries reopening relations with Israel as long as the Middle East problem and particularly the Palestinian issue remain unresolved. The African leader indicated that he disagreed with some prominent Liberian po-

liticians who are pressing for a resumption of Israeli-Liberian ties following the signature of the "peace" treaty. Liberia and most other African countries broke with Israel following the October 1973 war, in solidarity with the Arab countries.

### ROMANIA AND ISRAEL SPLIT OVER JERUSALEM

The annual meeting of the Israeli-Romania trade commission was cancelled on July 11 because the Romanians insisted at the last minute on moving the discussions from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. The meeting was called off when Israeli Trade Minister Gideon Patt refused to heed requests by Romanian Secretary of State for Foreign Trade Dimitru Bezan to hold the two-day meeting in Tel Aviv. The Romanians told the Israelis they insisted on changing the venue of the talks because Romania did not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

### JAPANESE ISLAMIC COUNCIL SUPPORTS PLO

Dr. Haj Shawky Koylky, Presi-



## SOLIDARITY

dent of the Japanese Islamic Council in Tokyo, reiterated the Council's members' support and solidarity with the Palestinian people and their just struggle under the leadership of the PLO to regain their usurped national rights in Palestine.

The Arab League received recently a cable of support in this vein from the Japanese Council during its ordinary session convened in Tunis. The cable affirmed that "Jerusalem is the Capital of Palestine" and that it was indispensable for all Moslems of the world to liberate this holy city from the Zionist occupation.

### BELGIUM SUPPORTS PALESTINIAN RIGHTS AND WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Iraq and Belgium said on July 13 that Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and recognition of legitimate Palestinian rights were the two basic conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This was included in a joint statement issued at the end of a three-day visit by Belgian Foreign Minister Henri Simonet to Iraq.

### INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR OF SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIANS AFFIRMS SUPPORT FOR REVOLUTION

The preparatory seminar for the Conference of Solidarity with the Arab People and its central issue, Palestine, in a communique issued at the end of its meetings, on July 10, confirmed its support for the Palestinian Revolution and the Arab progressive forces in their just struggle against Israeli settlement activities in the occupied territories.

The communique also condemned Israeli practices in the occupied territories which contradict human rights, as well as Israeli measures against Palestinian civilians, inclu-

Abu Iyyad and Abu Saleh meet with Portuguese delegation



ding mass arrests, torture of prisoners, annexation of Arab land through confiscation and seizure, and robbing the people of their natural resources. The communique also condemned the Zionist aggression against South Lebanon and the use of internationally-banned weapons.

The participants in the seminar then confirmed their support for the Lebanese people and their nationalist forces, and clarified that the Camp David agreements consolidate the American presence in the Middle East through the Zionist-American-Egyptian alliance which aims at protecting U.S. interests in the area.

### ABU IYYAD AND ABU SALEH MEET WITH PORTUGUESE PEACE COUNCIL DELEGATION

A meeting was held on July 10 at the PLO Political Department between Abu Iyyad and Abu Saleh, members of the Fateh Central Committee; Abdallah Hourani, President of the Palestinian Peace Council; Abu Hatem and Arabi Awad and the Portuguese Peace

Council delegation headed by Costa Gomes, former President of the Republic of Portugal, who was accompanied by Jose, Pimenta, member of the leadership of the Portuguese Socialist Party and Silas Cerqueira, member of the Portuguese Communist Party.

The meeting centred on the political situation in the Middle East following the Camp David accords, on ways to develop relations between the Palestinian people and the Portuguese people and their democratic forces, and on preparations for the World Conference of Solidarity with the Arab people and their central cause, the Palestine Question, which is due to be held in Lisbon on November 2, 1979.

Former Portuguese President General Francisco da Costa Gomes called on July 12 for restoration of the Palestinian people's rights. He heads a committee preparing for an international congress on solidarity with the Arab and Palestinian people due to be held in Lisbon on November 2. "If a lasting peace would be achieved in this area, those legitimate rights should be achieved", the General declared.

## TAMAM AL-AKHAL:

## THE REFUGEE CAMP AND THE DREAM



By Nasir Soumi

Palestinian artists did not have the opportunity to hold continual exhibitions that would be seen by a wide Palestinian public as was the case with other Arab countries. This was because of the state of fragmentation from which we have suffered since 1948. Consequently, printed reproduction was one of the most important means of contact with people for those artists who had such an opportunity. Since the name of Tamam Al Akhal (Shammout) has become completely associated with that of the artist Ismail Shammout, public opinion has continued to view them both only from this perspective, which basically is not broad enough for more than what has become known from joint printed works in which Ismail had the larger share. The absence of any individual activity by Tamam has meant that most of her distinctive experiments and works which show features of an advanced plastic method have been confined to the dark. In fact, there were other reasons which prevented Tamam from having a greater presence in the field of plastic art, the most important of which were artificial preconceptions and the confinement of the role of art to an area too narrow for ambitious attempts which might take root and prove their validity with time.

In order to speak more about specifics, we must shed some light on the plastic movement in some other countries of the Arab World. The generation of young people who returned to their countries brought with them all the Western trends prevailing in France or Italy since approximately the beginning of the 1950's, and the prevalent belief among artists at that period was that these schools should be transplanted to our countries and people should rise to the level of such art. However, other tendencies appeared which expressed new political trends, as happened in Syria, and this provided the opportunity for those who called for a return to their heritage, cultural purity and modernity, art of the masses and so forth. But the growth of old trends increased also and they continued to be passed on through successive generations.

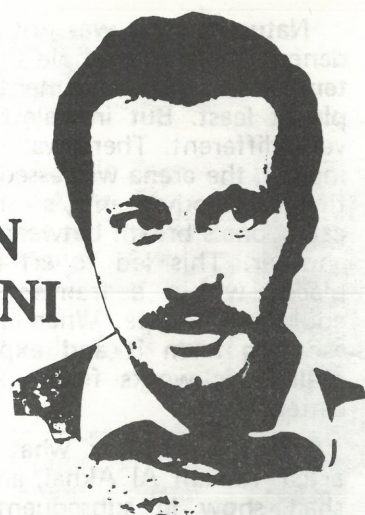
Naturally, this was not the result of coincidence. There was ample time for thought, contemplation and experimentation, for some people at least. But in Palestine, the picture was very different. There was not this ample time; indeed, the arena witnessed a succession of hectic and bloody events, so that one could hardly catch one's breath between one occurrence and another. This led to art and the artist being placed within a framework from which they could not escape. When an artist persisted in escaping from it and experimenting, he concealed his works from exhibition and publication.

This is precisely what happened with the artist Tamam Al Akhal, and with others, as we shall show in subsequent writings. Hence I would like to shed some light on the artist Al Akhal's unknown inclinations and efforts. At the time when Ismail's works were being fashioned in a realist mode, despite the imprecision of this term on the one hand and the variety of his experimentation on the other, Tamam set out with a rare boldness to diversify the directions of her work and, in response to an inner compulsion, to change and vary the techniques employed which led her more than once to the edges of marvellous artistic worlds.

The defect in these attempts is that they were haphazard and did not have a persistent compulsion behind them that would place her on a firm footing in the final analysis. Consequently most of her works, like those of Ismail before, were in response to the prevailing reality which had befallen the Palestinian people. One must note the subjects raised in a painting and the technique employed in order for the painting to be Palestinian, that is, to reflect the Palestinian reality, hopes and dreams, without this meaning that Tamam's and Ismail's productions bear the same imprint. On the contrary, they both have their own world and vision. Tamam is almost the only Palestinian artist with varied trends of work according to artistic schools (impressionist, expressionist, decorative, etc.) She also often portrays reality directly, and has a large number of canvases which she painted inside the refugee camps and in which she recorded people's daily lives in the midst of their difficult crisis. In addition she has painted a large number of portraits of many people. A portrait in Tamam's life is not a passing thing; she practises and loves this form of art, and this may be one of the contributing factors to her ability to devise strong and emotionally-charged forms of expression, as in her picture "The Massacre of Khan Yunus". Even now, Tamam has not given up her persistent custom of painting refugee camps and people. Throughout the years, she has remained faithful to what she began, and her works have continued to move between the refugee camp and the dream. The refugee camp has not ended, nor has the dream.



## GHASSAN KANAFANI



July 8 was the seventh anniversary of the martyrdom of Ghassan Kanafani, (1936-1972), the Palestinian artist, author, PFLP leader, and member of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, who was assassinated by Israeli agents in Lebanon in July 1972. Delegations representing all Palestinian groups, unions and popular organisations visited the Martyrs' cemetery and placed wreaths on the martyr's grave.

## THE SLAVE FORT

BY GHASSAN KANAFANI

Had he not been so sadly shabby one would have said of him that he was a poet. The site he had chosen for his humble hut of wood and beaten-out jerry cans was truly magnificent; right by the threshold the might of the sea flowed under the feet of the sharp rocks with a deep-throated, unvarying sound. His face was gaunt, his beard white, though streaked with a few black hairs, his eyes hollow under bushy brows; his cheek-bones protruded like two rocks that had come to rest on either side of the large projection that was his nose.

Why had we gone to that place? I don't remember now. In our small car we had followed a rough, miry and featureless road. We had been going for more than three hours when Thabit pointed through the window and gave a piercing shout:

'There's the Slave Fort.'

This Slave Fort was a large rock the base of

Ahmed Abdel Rahman, "*Falastin al-Thawra*" Chief Editor, delivered a speech at the cemetery in which he enumerated the virtues of the martyr, his role in embodying the Palestinian national personality, and his representation of committed Palestinian literature. Abdel Rahman also mentioned the martyr's role in awakening the national feelings of the Palestinian people.

Yehya Yakhlef, a member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, who represented the Union, then delivered a speech in which he emphasised the martyr's role in founding the Union and in highlighting Palestinian literature and art at a time when there were attempts to suppress this literature.

At the end of the ceremony, Bassam Abu Sharif, member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists and official spokesman of the PFLP, who represented the Front, pledged to the martyr and to all the martyrs of the Palestinian Revolution that the Revolution will continue on its procession until victory and until the Palestinian flag is raised over Acre, where the martyr was born.

which had been eaten away by the waves, so that it resembled the wing of a giant bird, its head curled in the sand, its wing out-stretched above the clamour of the sea.

'Why did they call it "The Slave Fort"?'

'I don't know. Perhaps there was some historical incident which gave it the name. Do you see that hut?'

And once again Thabit pointed, this time towards the small hut lying in the shadow of the gigantic rock. He turned off the engine and we got out of the car.

'They say that a half-mad old man lives in it.'

'What does he do with himself in this waste on his own?'

'What any half-mad old man would do.'

From afar we saw the old man squatting on his heels at the entrance to his hut, his head clasped in his hands, staring out to sea.

'Don't you think there must be some special story about this old man? Why do you insist he's half-mad?'

'I don't know, that's what I heard.'

Thabit, having arrived at the spot of his choice, levelled the sand, threw down the bottles of water, took out the food from the bag, and seated himself.

'They say he was the father of four boys who struck it lucky and are now among the richest people in the district.'

'And then?'

'The sons quarrelled about who should provide a home for their father. Each wife wanted her own way in the matter and the whole thing ended with the old man making his escape and settling down here.'

'It's a common enough story and shouldn't have turned the old man half mad.'

Thabit looked at me uncomprehendingly, then lit the small heap of wood he had arranged, and poured water into the metal water-jug and set it on the fire.

'The important thing in the story is to agree about whether his flight was a product of his mad half or his sane half.'

'There he is, only a few yards away — why not go over and ask him?'

Thabit blew at the fire, then began rubbing his eyes as he sat up straight, resting his body on his knees.

'I can't bear the idea that the sight of him awakens in me.'

'What idea?'

'That the man should spend seventy years of his life so austere, that he should work, exert himself, existing day after day and hour after hour, that for seventy long years he should gain his daily bread from the sweat of his brow, that he should live through his day in the hope of a better tomorrow, that for seventy whole years he should go to sleep each night — and for what? So that he should, at the last, spend the rest of his life cast out like a dog, alone, sitting like this. Look at him — he's like some polar animal that has lost its fur. Can you believe that a man can live seventy years to attain only this? I can't stomach it.'

Once again he stared at us; then, spreading out the palms of his hands, he continued his tirade:

'Just imagine! Seventy useless, meaningless years. Imagine walking for seventy years along the same road; the same directions, the same boundaries, the same horizons, the same everything. It's unbearable!'

'No doubt the old man would differ with you in your point of view. Maybe he believes that he has reached an end which is distinct from his life. Maybe he wanted just such an end. Why not ask him?'

We got up to go to him. When we came to where he was, he raised his eyes, coldly returned our greeting and invited us to sit down. Through the half-open door we could see the inside of the hut; the threadbare mattress in one corner, while in the opposite one was a square rock on which lay a heap of unopened oyster shells. For a while silence reigned; it was then broken by the old man's feeble voice asking:

'Do you want oyster shells? I sell oyster shells.'

As we had no reply to make to him, Thabit enquired:

'Do you find them yourself?'

'I wait for low tide so as to look for them far out. I gather them up and sell them to those who hope to find pearls in them.'

We stared at each other. Presently Thabit put the question that had been exercising our minds.

'Why don't you yourself try to find pearls inside these shells?'

'I?'

He uttered the word as though becoming aware for the first time that he actually existed, or as though the idea had never previously occurred to him. He then shook his head and kept his silence.

'How much do you sell a heap for?'

'Cheaply — for a loaf or two.'

'They're small shells and certainly won't contain pearls.'

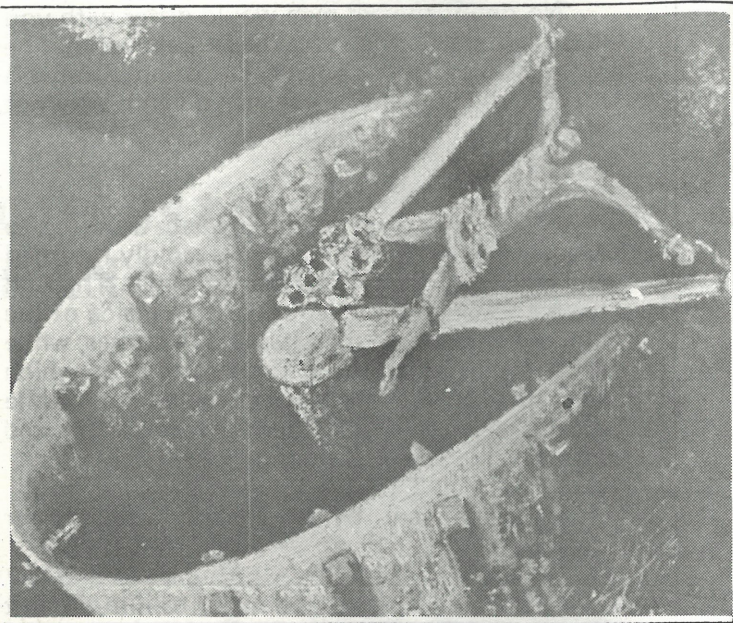
The old man looked at us with lustreless eyes under bushy brows.

'What do you know about shells?' he demanded sharply. 'Who's to tell whether or not you'll find a pearl?' and as though afraid that if he were to be carried away still further he might lose the deal, he relapsed into silence.

'And can you tell?'

'No, no one can tell,' and he began toying with a shell which lay in front of him, pretending to be unaware of our presence.





"A Man Crucified in Time," by Ghassan Kanafani

## THE SLAVE FORT

'Alright, we'll buy a heap.'

The old man turned round and pointed to the heap arrayed on the square rock.

'Bring two loaves,' he said, a concealed ring of joy in his voice, 'and you can take that heap.'

On returning to our place bearing the heap of shells, our argument broke out afresh.

'I consider those eyes can only be those of a madman. If not, why doesn't he open the shells himself in the hope of finding some pearls?'

'Perhaps he's fed up with trying and prefers to turn spectator and make money.'

It took us half the day before we had opened all the shells. We piled the gelatinous insides of the empty shells around us, then burst into laughter at our madness.

In the afternoon Thabit suggested to me that I should take a cup of strong tea to the old man in the hope that it might bring a little joy to his heart.

As I was on my way over to him a slight feeling of fear stirred within me. However, he

invited me to sit down and began sipping at his tea with relish.

'Did you find anything in the shells?'

'No, we found nothing — you fooled us.'

He shook his head sadly and took another sip.

'To the extent of two loaves!' he said, as though talking to himself; and once again shook his head. Then, suddenly, he glanced at me and explained sharply:

'Were these shells your life — I mean, were each shell to represent a year of your life and you opened them one by one and found them empty, would you have been as sad as you are about losing a couple of loaves?'

He began to shake all over and at that moment I was convinced that I was in the presence of someone who certainly was mad. His eyes, under their bushy brows, gave out a sharp and unnatural brightness, while the dust from his ragged clothes played in the afternoon sun. I could find not a word to say. When I attempted to rise to my feet he took hold of my wrist and his frail hand was strong and convulsive. Then I heard him say:

'Don't be afraid — I am not mad, as you believe. Sit down. I want to tell you something; the happiest moments of my day are when I can watch disappointment of this kind.'

I reseated myself, feeling somewhat calmer.

In the meantime, he began to gaze out at the horizon, seemingly unaware of my presence, as though he had not, a moment ago, invited me to sit down. Then he turned to me.

'I knew you wouldn't find any thing. These oysters are still young and therefore can't contain the seed of a pearl. I wanted to know, though.'

Again he was silent and stared out to sea. Then, as though speaking to himself, he said:

'The ebb tide will start early tonight and I must be off to gather shells. Tomorrow other men will be coming.'

Overcome by bewilderment, I rose to my feet. The Slave Fort stood out darkly against the light of the setting sun. My friends were drinking tea around the heaps of empty shells as the old man began running after the receding water, bending down from time to time to pick up the shells left behind.

Translated by Denys Johnson-Davies

It was no more than the description of a burst of rain and handkerchiefs of lightning which burned the secrets of trees then why did they resist her?

When she said that something different from this water runs in the river and the people of the shore are statues and other things, why did they torture her?

When she told them the forest was abounding with secrets and the moon was stabbed with a carving knife and the blood of the nightingale was on that stone, abandoned, why did they resist her? Why did they torture her?

When she said, my country is a mountain of sweat and on the small bridge a man is dying and darkness burning the Sultan was angry and the Sultan is an imaginative creature.

He said, "The fault is in the mirror so let your singer be silent and let my kingdom from the Nile to the Euphrates be." and he shouted, "Put that poem in prison!" The torture room, for security, is a thousand times better than an anthem or a newspaper.

Go and tell the Sultan That the wind cannot be wounded by the shake of a sword that millions of trees can become green in the cupped hand of a single letter.

But the Sultan was angry, and the Sultan is everywhere on stamps, in psalms, and on his forehead is the tattoo of hunting.

He shouted, "It is ordered! Execute this poem!" Execution Square is the best anthology for obstinate sons.

Go and tell the Sultan that lightning cannot be imprisoned in a corn cob That songs are the logic of the sun and the history of sheaves and the nature of earthquakes.

That songs like tree trunks may die in one land but sprout in every country. The blue sun was an idea the Sultan tried to submerge but it became the birthday of an ember and the red sun has become an ember which the Sultan in vain imprisoned and suddenly the fire is a revolution!

The voices of blood have taken the tone of a tempest and the pebbles of the Square are becoming like open wounds and I laugh, awed by the birth of the wind.

When the Sultan resisted me I grasped the key of the morning and groped my way with the lamps of wounds. Oh how wise I was when I gave my heart to the call of the tempest!

Let the tempest roar, O let the tempest roar...

By Mahmoud Darwish

## THE SONG AND THE SULTAN

Translated from the Arabic by Rose Styron



# VICTORY TO THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE



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# Palestine

## THE TARGET OF ISRAELI TERROR

