

**ISRAEL:  
A  
TERRORIST  
STATE**



DEIR YASSINE 1948 ↑



FAKHANI 1981 ↑



# Palestine

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

16 - 31 August 1981  
Vol. 7, No. 14



**BEGIN**

**ONCE  
A TERRORIST  
STILL  
A TERRORIST**



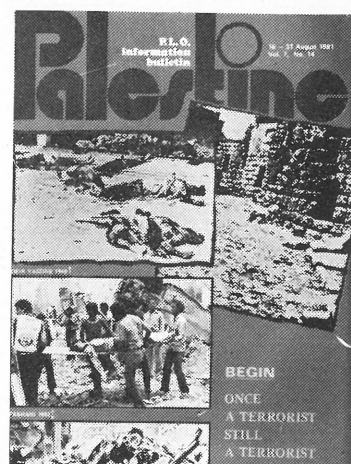
## TO OUR READERS

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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# Palestine

BI-MONTHLY INFORMATION BULLETIN  
published in English & French, by  
**THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION**  
**UNIFIED INFORMATION**  
P.O. Box: 145168, Tel. 302432  
**BEIRUT - LEBANON**

Partial or total reproduction is freely permitted by  
"PALESTINE BULLETIN"

PRICE ..... L.L. 1

Yearly Subscription Rates:

Africa, Asia and Latin America ..... U.S. \$ 16  
Europe, USA, Canada and Australia ..... U.S. \$ 20

All cheques should be made out to "PALESTINE  
BULLETIN" payable to our account  
No. 510 805 706 1A, Arab Bank, Ras Beirut Branch,  
Lebanon.

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

NOTICE: "PALESTINE BULLETIN" welcomes con-  
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## EDITORIAL

# AUTONOMY TALKS

Begin and Sadat have agreed to resume negotiations on Palestinian autonomy. Again and again everybody wants to talk about the Palestinians, but the Palestinians are never allowed to negotiate on their own behalf. Sadat is motivated by his interest in clearing his conscience in the eyes of his own people, who have become suspicious of his Camp David initiative. Begin, as usual, aims at suppressing the Palestinians and depriving them of their right to an independent state. Begin's conception of autonomy is a fallacy because it would turn out to be a restricted self-administration which would only consecrate the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Palestinians would have no political rights and less administrative rights than a bantustan in South Africa.

The PLO, the legal representative of the Palestinian people, is excluded because Begin still considers the PLO a bunch of terrorists. Begin and Sadat are the ones who decide who represents the Palestinian people. The two friends met recently in Alexandria for the eleventh time since November 1977 and agreed to include Palestinian elements within the Egyptian delegation. According to the tripartite Camp David accords, the U.S. envoy to the autonomy talks has to take part.

Everybody is allowed to speak on behalf of the Palestinians, except the Palestinians themselves. Even the U.S. administration is authorized to negotiate in the name of the Palestinian people. Those who are directly concerned are to be kept far away. The reason for all of this is to satisfy the Israeli aggressors who are still reluctant to recognise the rights of their victims. For the Israeli aggressors and expansionists, the Palestinians are like a nightmare because they are the living memorial to Israeli oppression, occupation and colonisation. The Israelis prefer to include

Jordanians, Egyptians, Moroccans or even U.S. officials to negotiate Palestinian issues. Israeli Defense Minister Sharon even projects that Palestinians should take over in Jordan and give up their claim to a Palestinian state on the historical territory of Palestine or the mandatory territory of Palestine to the west of the Jordan Valley.

The autonomy talks and other projects are now in circulation. Every time the Israelis fail to achieve their goals through military confrontation they resort to political manoeuvres and pressure. The Israeli armed forces fought 15 days against the PLO forces in Lebanon and failed to achieve their aims. But in spite of this failure, the Israeli colonial power refuses to deal with the facts and realities of the Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO.

It is a fact that the PLO is a small power in relation to the Israeli superpower. The PLO is a liberation movement and cannot impose itself on the negotiating table because it is not backed by a superpower like the United States which is fully backing Israeli aggression and occupation. But in spite of this power relation which is favourable to Israel, the PLO is capable of disrupting any agreement signed between Israel and Sadat at the expense of the Palestinian people.

Once again it has to be said that the Middle East is still far away from peace and stability. The Israelis and their U.S. allies are not interested in any real peace process in the region. They insist on going on with their policy of intransigence and arrogance.

All autonomy talks or other kinds of negotiations and projects are doomed to fail as long as the PLO is not recognised as an equal partner in any peace process.



# PALESTINE CHRONOLOGY

**August 4:** Chairman Arafat sent messages to the Presidents of Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia, Czechoslovakia the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Albania, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Laos, Guinea Bissau and the Head of the Organisation of African Unity, President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone.

The messages concerned the latest developments in the region in the light of the Israeli military escalation against Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese villages and towns. The messages also mentioned the results of the Palestinian-Israeli war and future developments.

**August 7:** Yasser Arafat sent a special message to the Soviet leadership concerning the latest development in the region, the dangerous escalation and the concentrated American-Israeli moves against the Palestinian Revolution and people. Arafat delivered the message to the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon, Alexander Soldatov during a meeting between them.

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, received Ramesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council, Also present at the meeting were PLO Executive Committee Members Abu Maher Al-Yamani, Abdel Rahim Ahmad, Salah al-Dabbagh and Fateh Central Committee member Abu al-Walid, Palestinian Popular Struggle Front Secretary-General Dr. Samir Ghosheh, Palestine Liberation Front Secretary-General, Talaat Yacoub, LNM's Political Central Council Vice-President In'am Ra'ad; Lebanese Communist Party Politburo member Nadim Abdel Samad and members of the World Peace Council delegation. Arafat welcomed Chandra and the accompanying delegation who have come to confirm their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people in their confrontation against U.S.-Zionist aggressions.

Arafat reviewed current developments and the Israeli plan to annihilate the Revolution's Leadership and its people. Arafat also briefed the delegation on international reactions to the brutal Zionist aggression against civilians in Beirut and south Lebanon.

**August 8:** Fateh Central Committee member Abu Jihad arrived in Kuwait at the head of a Palestinian delegation comprising Fateh Central Committee member Hani al-Hassan, Palestinian Liberation Army commander Col. Fakhri Shaqoura, Yarmouk Forces commander Col. Yassin Sa'adah, and Col. Muhammad Jihad. The delegation was received at the airport by Kuwaiti officials, Fateh Central Committee member Abu al-Adib and the director of the PLO office in Kuwait.

Abu Jihad delivered a statement in which he said that the purpose of his visit was to convey a picture of the Lebanese and the Palestinian peoples' resistance to last month's savage Israeli attacks and to elaborate on the latest hostile declarations by Israeli leaders, indicating new attacks are to be expected. Abu Jihad expressed the hope that the masses of the Arab Nation and its officials would fully comprehend the nature and extent of the Israeli threat. He stressed that there is a very real possibility of a new Israeli aggression.

**August 12:** Fateh Central Committee member Abu Jihad, met with Sheikh Zayed Ben Sultan al-Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates.

Abu Jihad briefed the President on the developments of the Palestinian struggle and the steadfastness of the Lebanese people in their confrontation of the Zionist campaigns. During the meeting, Sheikh Zayed confirmed his country's support for the rights of the Palestinian people.

Chairman Arafat met with the Yugoslav Charge d'Affaires in Beirut who handed him a letter from the Yugoslav leadership. The letter dealt with the current situation and latest developments on all levels.

Arafat delivered a speech on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the martyrs of Tal al-Zaatar.

A large demonstration was held to mark the occasion. The demonstrators headed to the Martyrs Cemetery where a rally was held attended by Chairman Arafat and several leaders and cadres of the factions of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement.

**August 15:** Abu Jihad arrived in Aden in his ongoing tour of Arab Gulf and Red Sea states. He was met at the airport by the Yemeni Prime Minister and Socialist Party Politburo member Ali Ahmad Nasser Antar; Transport Minister and Y.S.P. Central Committee member Mahmoud Najashi, and the PLO representative in Aden, Fateh Revolutionary Council member Abbas Zaki. Later Abu Jihad met with PDRY President Ali Nasser, with whom he discussed the developments in the M.E. region.

**17:** Abu Jihad arrived in San'a at the head of a high-level political and military delegation. He met with President Ali Abdullah Saleh, Commander-in-Chief of the Yemeni armed forces and discussed with him the latest developments in the Palestinian arena and the Israeli attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

**August 18:** Yasser Arafat visited the Beit Atfal al-Sumoud School. He was accompanied by PLO Executive Committee member Abu Maher al-Yamani, Saiqa General Secretary and PFLP Vice-President Abu Ali Mustafa. The visitors attended a celebration on the anniversary of the school's foundation.

Chairman Arafat received a message from the Secretary-General of the Communist Party in the People's Republic of China, Hu Yaw Peng. The message was in reply to an earlier letter from Arafat concerning regional developments in the light of the latest US-backed Israeli aggressions.

The Chinese leader, in his message, affirmed the Chinese Communist Party's support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their just rights and expressed his country's satisfaction with the victories accomplished against the Israeli aggression. He also strongly condemned the aggressive and expansionist Israeli policy towards the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

**August 20:** The Committee for the Defense of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees in Israeli Jails sent a memorandum to the American Embassy in Beirut protesting the continued detention in the United States of the Palestinian Ziad Abu Ain who has been in jail for two years.

The Committee demanded his immediate release and the cancellation of the decision to extradite him to the Israeli authorities.

King Khaled Bin Abdel Aziz of Saudi Arabia received Fateh Central Committee member Abu Jihad and the military delegation accompanying him. The meeting was attended by Second Deputy Prime Minister Prince Abdallah Bin Abdel Aziz; Defense Minister Sultan Bin Abdel Aziz; and Royal Advisor, Rashad Far'un.

During the meeting, Abu Jihad presented a complete review of the course of the Palestinian struggle, in particular the heroic resistance of the Joint Forces in the latest war launched by the Israeli forces against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

**August 21:** Yasser Arafat received a solidarity message from the Guinean President, Ahmad Sekou Toure. The message expressed full support to the Palestinian Revolution against the brutal Israeli aggressions, and affirmed Guinea's stand with the Palestinian people in their just struggle to regain their national rights.

Chairman Arafat, received a delegation from the Coordination Office of the Non-Aligned states visiting Beirut to investigate Israeli crimes against Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. The delegation was comprised of representatives from Cuba, India, Yugoslavia, Jamaica, Afghanistan, and the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea.

During the meeting, Arafat explained the aims of the Israeli-imperialist aggressions especially with regard to the brutal attack in Beirut on July 17 which was a flagrant violation of international conventions. Arafat also discussed the steadfastness of the Palestinian Revolution, the cohesion between the Palestinian and Lebanese people, and the Revolution's role in replying to Israeli aggressions. Arafat said that the Palestinian Revolution would not stand idly by as the Israeli forces continued their attacks and would maintain its capability of striking back in depth. Arafat also mentioned the Israeli military concentrations in the frontier regions, the fortification of Israeli settlements and the latest bellicose declarations of the Israeli leaders such as Begin, Sharon, Eytan and Ben Gal.



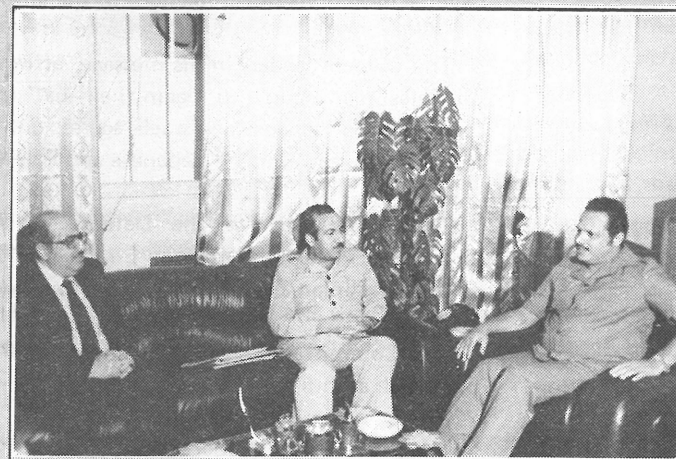
## EVENTS IN PHOTOS



*Chairman Arafat in discussions with a delegation from Non-Aligned countries.*



*With Saudi Ambassador Ali Al Shaer*



*Fatah Central Committee members Abu Jihad and Abul Adib with People's Democratic Republic of Yemen President Ali Nasser Muhammad*



*Chairman Arafat watches Palestinian folk dancing at Dar Al Sumud.*



*Chairman Arafat in discussions with Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.*

### RUMANIA STRONGLY CONDEMS ISRAELI AGGRESSION

The Rumanian news agency *Agerpress* issued a statement on July 23, authorised by the Rumanian Government and strongly condemning the latest barbaric Israeli attacks on the Palestinian and Lebanese people. The Following are excerpts:

"The extent and the devastating character of the Israeli attacks and the bombardment of several civilian quarters of the Lebanese capital constitute an escalation in the scale of the Israeli military actions which must arouse the most profound anxiety. The continuation and the extension of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon aggravate a particularly dangerous situation and amplify the explosive potential in the region. They set up new obstacles in the way of efforts destined to realise a global, just and lasting solution in the Middle East, and bring with them new elements bound to sharpen the tension in international life....

"It is an obvious necessity to understand that, without recognising the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state of their own, one cannot achieve a global, just and lasting solution to the situation in the Middle East, nor install peace and tranquillity in this so unstable part of the world."

### P.L.O. CONGRATULATES RUMANIA ON INDEPENDENCE DAY

On August 26, the PLO Political Department, on behalf of the Palestinian people and the entire leadership of the PLO, sent a cable of congratulations to Rumanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei on the occasion of Rumania's 37th National Day. The cable praised the friendly relations between the PLO and Rumania founded on the basis of solidarity and common work for justice, peace and the liberation of the world's peoples.





Chairman Arafat with Mr. Romesh Chandra.

#### WORLD PEACE COUNCIL DELEGATION VISITS LEBANON: CONDEMNS BRUTAL ISRAELI AGGRESSION

*In the beginning of August, the World Peace Council took the initiative to send a high level delegation to Lebanon at the request of the Lebanese National Movement and the PLO as a reaction to the July bombardment of Lebanon. The delegation was headed by the President of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra, and included Professor Jesus Rhodes, Professor from the University of Barcelona in Spain and a member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC, Miriam Boureghba, member of the National Council of the French Peace Movement and head of the Youth Commission of the French National Peace Movement and Peka Tappula, a prominent Finnish journalist. Palestine interviewed the three members of the delegation, first asking Peka Tappula the purpose of their visit:*

**Peka Tappula:** The World Peace Council represents 137 countries and hundreds of millions of people. As always the World Peace Council has given its full support to the just cause of the Palestinian people and the Lebanese National Movement. We have had to mobilize our whole organization, which means beginning a world-wide campaign for the struggle here. We have to find a way to punish such a country as Israel which is acting in a terrorist manner. Western public opinion, because of the Western press and media, thinks that the Palestinians are terrorists. But this is a lie and we know it and we have to change this opinion in the Western countries. In other parts of the world, they have the correct idea maybe more than in Western Europe and other Western countries.

*On the same day that the aggression took place against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the World Peace Council issued a strongly worded statement alerting the world public opinion to the gravity of the situation. The World Peace Council demanded that the United Nations impose mandatory sanctions against Israel to force it to stop its aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance movement. The World Peace Council mobilized its members all over the world to take immediate action to condemn*

*the aggression. At the same time, the World Peace Council pointed out that while they were condemning Israel, they could not neglect who was behind Israel. Israel was committing the aggression with the full backing of U.S. imperialism. U.S. planes and bombs were used in the current aggression and would be used in future aggression. Palestine asked each of the members of the delegation what the public reaction was in their respective countries concerning the Israeli attacks against Lebanon in July.*

**Peka Tappula (Finland):** After the attacks in south Lebanon and then the Israeli bombing of Beirut, public opinion was very astonished how there could be a country like Israel acting like this against an independent country like Lebanon. And acting like this against civilians who don't have anything to do with this situation. It was an act undertaken in cold blood against the civilians. Many organizations and many parties in Finland condemned the Israeli raids and now those organizations, parties and prominent people are trying to organize a base to mobilize the solidarity movement for the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement.

**Jesus Rhodes (Spain):** In my country there is a very weak knowledge of the Palestinian question and about international questions in general. However, I can say that in Spain among the people and even in government circles there is a general sympathy for the Arab cause and all the principal parties condemned the Israeli aggression. I think that our new political situation will permit us a new preoccupation with these questions.

**Miriam Boureghba (France):** The French people were very sad after the Israeli aggression, because there are many links between France and Lebanon. It's very important to note that now French people are very critical of Israeli policy and of Begin. The idea of general Middle East negotiations including the PLO advanced in the mind of public opinion, after the Israeli raids.

#### SHARON'S NEW POLICY FOR THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES:

### GETTING SOFT OR MORE OF THE SAME IRON FIST?



Israeli War Minister Ariel Sharon announced with some flare on August 12, a supposed "get soft" approach toward the military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Zionist occupation troops would no longer pursue demonstrating Palestinian students onto university campuses, *except when they feel it necessary*. Henceforth, Palestinians would enjoy freedom of expression, although Radio Israel added that "all incitement to terror, murder and revolt will be strongly repressed." Soldiers would be more polite at the numerous checkpoints in the West Bank, although Israeli troops who are supposed to withdraw from the Sinai next year are still scheduled to be redeployed in the West Bank.

The actual occupation policies pursued during the week of Sharon's announcement seemed anything but "soft glove." Two days before Sharon's proclamation, Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij was informed by the occupation authorities that he could not leave the city limits during the coming period. Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka'a complained that the military authorities were continuing to restrict his every move. Ramallah mayor Karim Khalaf was summoned by the military governor and held for questioning for a statement he made to the English language *Al-Fajr* in support of the PLO. The three editors of the West Bank Arabic newspapers *Al-Fajr*, *Al-Shaab* and *Al-Taliya* had house arrest orders renewed for another six months. Outside financing for municipal projects were abruptly blocked for the town of Sa'eer near Hebron by the military authorities. In Hebron itself, town residents were informed that they would be prevented by the military from constructing a new hospital.

Sharon hinted at the implications of the "new policy" two days before when he stated to the press that Israel "was not ready to envision the creation of a second Palestinian state in the West Bank." According to Sharon, Jordan is already a Palestinian state. The real aim of the "new policy" is to ruthlessly crush the over-

whelming popular support for the PLO in the occupied territories and replace pro-PLO popular leaders with Zionist Quislings.

But even other Zionist functionaries were skeptical about whether Sharon could achieve his objectives. The day after Sharon's announcement, the former Israeli governor of Gaza and Nablus, Zvi Peleg commented on Israeli Radio that the policy was doomed to failure. He stated that Sharon was hoping to prevent a repetition of the situation in Gaza in 1971 when Sharon as commander of the southern region was called in with two brigades to occupy the Strip and destroy what he described as the authority of Palestinian organizations over the region. Peleg said that the problem is not whether support of the PLO is permissible or not, but whether it is permissible to oppose it with an alternative plan such as the autonomy scheme. Peleg branded the autonomy plan which Israel wants as a failure and said that Israel will not find one Palestinian to accept a settlement which accords them less than a Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO. In any event, Sharon and the Begin government will go on with their attempts to destroy the allegiance of the Palestinians in the occupied territories to the PLO.

The most recent tactic in attempting to undermine support for the PLO is the Begin government plan to buy a new pro-Zionist leadership in the occupied territories. *Agence France Presse* reported on August 14 that the Israeli government had banned financial funds from the mixed Jordanian-Palestinian Committee from being transferred to West Bank municipalities. It reported that Jordanian political sources saw the move as an attempt to reinforce the integration of the West Bank and Gaza economy with that of the Zionist economy.

After cutting outside independent financing for West Bank municipalities, the second step is to nurture alternative collaborationist leaders. The Begin government is currently placing its





Israeli occupation troops in the West Bank.

bets on propping up new village leagues dependent on Zionist financing for their existence. *Newsweek* of August 24 reports: "Seeking more pliant West Bank leaders, the Begin government has turned to smaller rural villages, which tend to be less politicized than the dominant towns. Until three years ago Israeli military authorities spent only \$3,000 a year on all 75 villages in the Hebron area, but after formation of a village association headed by Mustafa Dudin, a former cabinet minister in Jordan, they have increased spending to \$2 million. Many Arabs consider Dudin a quisling..." *Newsweek* added that Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij noted that "the Israelis are creating similar associations in his area and around Ramallah. 'The military government showers its creatures with favors and money, while we, the elected mayors, get nothing... The intent is obvious.'"

In 1980, there were clear showing of a move away from Palestinian dependency on the Israeli economy. In June 1980, a Bank of Israel study published on the state of the economy in the occupied territories and quoted in the *Jerusalem Post* of March 13 revealed: "During the period studied (1977-78), local authorities, particularly in Hebron, Nablus and the city of Gaza, mobilized much greater investments in municipal infrastructure — many by Arab countries.... These investments grew by 250 per cent in 1978." It is no accident that in 1980, soon after these statistics were studied, Dudin's league of Arab villages suddenly appeared in the Hebron region and the Begin government backed it with \$2 million. Meanwhile, the nationalist mayor of Hebron Qawasmeh was deported along with Mayor Milhem of nearby Halhoul, and the Hebron municipality has been prevented from embarking on any new municipal projects

whether they are long-standing plans for acquiring new electrical generators or the request last week to build a new hospital.

Sharon's "new policy" seems like a very old one to the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Sharon has been obsessed with a single-minded desire to finally crush the PLO and pursue Zionist expansion on a grand scale with moving thousands of settlers onto Palestinian land. However, Sharon does not have a very promising historical record in being able to either realize his settlement dreams or to crush Palestinian resistance. All settlement projects whether in the occupied territories or in the Galilee quiver on the verge of financial bankruptcy and face an chronic shortage of settlers. Sharon's greatest achievement was to have supposedly "pacified" the Gaza Strip in the early 1970's. However, in 1981 there has been an upsurge in armed Palestinian resistance in the Gaza Strip. It included a commando attack this past July in which the Israeli military governor of Gaza was killed along with his body guards. Sharon's policies appear as little likely to succeed now as they did in the early 1970's. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the masses of Palestinians in the occupied territories are any more ready to be fooled by Sharon's rhetoric than they were in the 1970's. Even the normally pro-Israeli *Newsweek* was forced to conclude that Sharon's policy was likely to fail: "Sharon also hopes to lure 'moderate Arabs' into renewed Palestinian-autonomy talks which are to start after Begin and President Reagan meet next month. But most Arabs think that Sharon, who once advocated settling '2 million Jews between the Golan Heights and Sharmel Sheikh' in Sinai, may only be able to deal with men like Dudin."

## WAR AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### SADAT SUBSCRIBES TO HANDOVER OF RAS BANAS BASE TO UNITED STATES

The Egyptian magazine *Mayo*, the organ of President Sadat's ruling "National Democratic Party", said that Sadat, during his latest stay in Washington finally handed President Reagan a written undertaking stipulating the terms of the handover of the Egyptian Red Sea base of Ras Banas to the American "Rapid Deployment Forces" (RDF). Surrendering once more to U.S. demands, Sadat now has ridiculed his own earlier claims, according to which he was not ready to grant the United States any written undertaking for the use of Ras Banas, which would be anyhow only an occasional and "temporary" one.

Now, Ras Banas will be turned into a permanent and full-fledged U.S. ground, air and sea base, menacing the Arabian Peninsula with military intervention. The United States will expand and upgrade the Ras Banas facilities, to make them fit for accommodating the huge "Galaxy" transport planes of the RDF, and later on also B-52 bombers of the U.S. strategic nuclear fleet.

On August 16, *Mayo* reported that, in "exchange" for Sadat's latest submission, the U.S. administration has decided to allocate \$106 million for equipping and expanding Ras Banas. This amount will be spent during the first year of a plan for the development of the base. American forces will be *permanently* stationed on the Red Sea base ready for intervention also in the Arab Gulf region.

In an interview with the British *Sunday Times* of August 16, President Sadat explicitly promised the U.S. government that he was ready to grant the United States' armed forces "all facilities" for an intervention in case of another crisis in the Arab or the Islamic world, "even as far as Indonesia". Sadat added that Egypt was not acting "as an agent" for the United States but as a "full partner"...

### ... AND BUYS MORE U.S. ARMS

The United States has agreed, to deliver 40 F-16 sophisticated fighter jets to Egypt two months ahead of schedule, and an agreement on a five-year plan to modernize the armed forces will be signed in several weeks, *Al-Ahram* newspaper reported on August 11.

The speedup in delivery and negotiations are a result of President Anwar Sadat's just concluded talks with President Ronald Reagan and his administration, the report said.

In a dispatch the newspaper's correspondent said the 40 F-16 jets will be delivered to Egypt in early

January instead of March. 311 M-60 tanks and 850 armoured personnel carriers are currently being shipped to Egypt. Egypt's Minister of Defense Lt. Gen. Muhammad Abdel Halim Abu Ghazala was quoted as saying his negotiations with Pentagon officials have been "very successful" and a five-year plan agreement would be signed in a matter of weeks.

Two and a half years after the signing of the Camp David "peace" treaty, the Sadat administration is spending more than ever on arms, resulting in the highest foreign indebtedness in the history of Egypt. According to the report in *Al-Ahram*, the Reagan administration is providing another \$1,300 million loan for the financial year of 1983 to finance the latest arms purchases of Sadat.

### ETHIOPIA, LIBYA & SOUTH YEMEN SIGN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION

Following two days of intensive deliberations in Aden, the capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the heads of state of Ethiopia, Libya and South Yemen signed a treaty of friendship and co-operation on August 19, 1981. This move comes on the background of, and in reaction to, the stepped-up U.S. military penetration of the Middle East region parallel to the Camp David policy. The United States tries to set up a neo-colonialist network of bases linking positions in Israel, Egypt, Oman, Somalia, Sudan and elsewhere, and increasingly uses means of direct and indirect military aggression to intimidate the sovereign and independent states in the area.

The new treaty was signed in Aden by Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi, Ethiopian Head of State Mengistu Haile Mariam and South Yemeni (PDRY) President Ali Nasser Muhammad. President Muhammad told the closing session of the summit meeting that the new grouping would be "a material force taking action on the path of joint struggle against all forms of conspiracy and aggression which threaten the peoples of these countries"

When he had opened the meeting two days earlier he made clear that the three states aimed to counter increased military activity in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf by the United States and other Western countries. President Muhammad said peace and security in the area were threatened by action centres and aggressive imperialist bases located not only in Israel but also in Egypt, Somalia, Oman and the Indian Ocean.

Yemeni Foreign Minister Saleh Saleh Muhammad told reporters that the treaty provided for increased cooperation in political, economic and other fields so



## WAR AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

as to serve these countries peoples and enhance their independence.

The three countries control important strategic positions in the Middle East and muster sizeable reserves of money and manpower. Ethiopia and South Yemen lie on either side of the entrance to the Red Sea, a major shipping route. Recently, six conservative Arab oil states, including Saudi Arabia, set up their own political-economic grouping, the Gulf Cooperation Council.

### GREEN LIGHT FOR FURTHER MASSACRES: U.S. RESUMES SUPPLY OF WARPLANES TO ISRAEL

The Reagan administration has decided to resume the delivery of U.S. F-16 and F-15 fighter planes to Israel. This was announced by Secretary of State Haig on August 17, following a session of the U.S. National Security Council attended by President Reagan.

The statement was even preceded by one from Israeli Prime Minister Begin one day earlier, in which he already announced the decision to be taken by the U.S. administration. Referring to the temporary halt of some lots of U.S. war planes being shipped to Israel Begin declared "A wrong was done to Israel. I hope it will not be repeated." (*International Herald Tribune*, August 17, 1981).

It has become entirely clear now that the suspension of the supply of U.S. fighter aircraft to Israel, following the attack on the Iraqi nuclear plant in June and the barbaric slaughter of hundreds of civilians in Beirut on July 17, was nothing but a farce set up to lull Arab and world protests in the aftermath of the latest Israeli acts of aggression, and to hide the fact that the United States itself was conniving at these latest manoeuvres to intimidate and corner the Arab forces opposed to Camp David.

Commenting on the lifting of the suspension, a spokesman for the Begin government triumphantly declared that "Israel did not give the United States any new commitments beyond the 1952 arms sales agreement with Israel." (*International Herald Tribune*, August 19) Earlier, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig had claimed that there would be an "inquiry" into the — obvious — fact, of whether or not Israel had used the planes for offensive attacks. Israel notoriously claims that all its acts of aggression, no matter how murderous they are wherever in the world they occur, happen in the "higher interests of legitimate self-defense" of the Zionist state.

The PLO and the Arab world have strongly con-

demned the resumption of the supply of U.S. war planes to Israel. Clovis Maksoud, the United Nations observer of the Arab League, condemned the lifting of the embargo, adding that Israel "has shown no sign that it regrets its massacre, and has given no guarantee it will stop its indiscriminate attacks on its neighbours" (*ibid*).

The theatrical suspension of the supply of fighter planes had never affected the continuous flow of other U.S. military hardware to Israel. By lifting the short-lived ban now, the Reagan administration shows once more that the United States basically and strategically approves of the crimes of Israel, its terrorist tool in the Middle East. In fact it gives the Israeli militarists a green light to continue their dangerous and bloody adventures.

### ISRAEL BLUNTLY REJECTS SAUDI PEACE PLAN FOR MIDEAST

Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd on August 8 issued an eight-point blueprint for MidEast peace and called for a new United Nations resolution to set the stage for a comprehensive settlement. The plan, a composite of proposals contained in previous U.N. resolutions, called for:

1. Israeli withdrawal from all territory occupied in the 1967 MidEast War.
2. Removal of all Israeli settlements in the West Bank and other occupied areas.
3. Guarantees of freedom of worship for all religious sects in the holy land.
4. Recognition of the right of two million Palestinian refugees to repatriation and compensation for those who did not wish to return.
5. A U.N. trusteeship in the Palestinian-populated West Bank and Gaza Strip during a transition period of a few months.
6. Establishment of an independent Palestinian state with the Arab sector of Jerusalem as its capital.
7. Guaranteeing the right of all states in the area to live in peace.
8. Guarantees of any agreement by the United Nations or some of its members, presumably the United States and the Soviet Union.

Israeli government and opposition leaders immediately rejected the eight-point plan. Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir claimed that there was nothing new in the proposals, which were "dangerous" for Israel and therefore unacceptable. They had been rejected in the past and were rejected now. He dismissed the suggestion that there was any novelty in the implied willingness of the Saudis to recognize Israel, a factor which outside observers claim to be crucial to any comprehensive settlement. The extent of Israeli hostility to the plan was illustrated by the reaction of

leading members of the opposition. Mr. Shimon Peres, the Labour Party leader, and Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, the former Labour Prime Minister, both rejected the scheme.

Introducing his peace plan, Saudi Crown Prince

Fahd also called for a "radical change" in U.S. policy and a halt to the unlimited support of the United States for Israeli aggression and arrogance. He said, Saudi Arabia was still hoping that the U.S. administration would admit the failure of the Camp David policy.



U.S. aircraft carrier Nimitz roving the Mediterranean sea

### AMERICAN PIRACY CONTINUES

Reagan's threats against Libya translated into action on August 19 when a squadron of U.S. F-14s flew off the Sixth Fleet aircraft carrier "Nimitz" and attacked two Libyan planes patrolling Libya's territorial waters of the Bay of Sirt. The Libyan airplanes were shot down after a fierce dogfight. The Libyan news agency announced that one F-14 fighter was also shot down over the bay.

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Palestinian Forces, denounced the U.S. aggression against Libya.

He said: "This dangerous threat is directed against the whole Arab world and not against Libya only. This aggression is only the beginning of a new period of conspiracies against Libya and all the Arab world."

*Newsweek* magazine reported on August 15 just four days before the incident that the Sixth Fleet exercises were the Reagan administration's "First direct challenge" to Libya, partly intended to test Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Qadhafi's reactions to U.S. manoeuvres inside

Libyan territorial waters.

This U.S. aggression against Libya took place in accordance with an orchestrated U.S.-Egyptian-Israeli plan to strike at the Arab progressive forces with the intention of imposing the Camp David accords on the Arab nation, implanting the Arab region with U.S. military bases, maintaining Israeli occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands and furthering U.S.-Israeli aggressive policies in the region. The direct U.S. aggression against Libya is inseparable from the U.S.-Israeli alliance to strike at Arab potentials.

The Western press indicated that the recent U.S. aggression against Libya was not accidental. *The Times* of August 20 reported that "only last month the American House of Representatives Intelligence Committee accused the CIA of planning covert action against Libyan President Colonel Qadhafi". The *International Herald Tribune* of August 21 reported that in a recent conversation, strategists in the State Department, Pentagon and National Security Council stressed the U.S. view that Colonel Qadhafi had become a dangerous figure, that harms Western interests. On these lines the U.S. began an orchestrated international campaign to isolate Libya.





Despite Israeli bombs and terror:

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WORK CAMP RASHIDIYEH 81

For the second consecutive year, young people from all over the world came to join the solidarity work camp in the Palestinian refugee camp of Rashidiyeh in southern Lebanon. From early July till mid-August 1981, about 50 people lived together in the school of the camp, learnt about the life and the cause of the Palestinian people, and constructed a new entrance road to the camp named after Naim Khader,, the successful PLO representative to Belgium who had just been murdered by agents in the service of Zionist terror in early June.

This year's solidarity workers learnt about the cruel experience of the Palestinian people at first hand and quite dramatically. On July 10, Israel unleashed its latest barbaric aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people, and many of the young people from Europe and elsewhere were for days trapped in the shelters of the school under the barbaric bombardment and shelling of the camp. They could all see with their own eyes who were the targets and victims of the Israeli artillery and planes: the civilian population, their shabby houses, their schools, clinics and kindergartens.

The refugee camp was shelled continuously for two weeks and attacked twice by aircraft.

During this period alone, several thousand shells fell on the camp and its surroundings. 16 people were killed and dozens wounded. 376 houses were destroyed or badly damaged.

But they also witnessed the steadfastness and resistance of these people, whose homeland the Zionists continue to deny along with any human and national existence. The solidarity workers also stood by and watched as the greater part of the work done by last year's solidarity work camp, a playground for the Rashidiyeh school, was destroyed by the Israeli shelling. They nevertheless continued and concluded the construction of the road, the road of Naim Khader and their road, and thus themselves joined in the unshakeable persistence of the Palestinian people, who will be victorious, eventually breaking the occupation and restoring their national rights.

*Palestine* visited the Naim Khader 1981 solidarity work camp of Rashidiyeh and talked to some of the solidarity workers about their experiences.

*Why and how did you come to join the Naim Khader solidarity work camp?*

Flavio: (from Britain): I have come with the British Anti-Zionist Organisation/Palestine Solidarity, as one of the eight member solidarity delegation. Our organisation has been sending solidarity teams for several years, and we consider it very important to continue this tradition. In spite of the circumstances — the war broke out the very day we arrived — we are very glad to have been able to stay.

Annemarie: (from Denmark): We were all sent by the Danish Palestine Solidarity Committee. Not all of us are members of the committee, but some of us will join it when we get back, as a result of our stay here. For me it is only a starting-point to be here.

Ingrid (from Norway): We were sent by the Norwegian Solidarity Committee. Some of us are members of the committee, others like me are going to join, to be able to do more for the Palestinian people.

Kao (from Finland): I come through the Finnish-Palestinian Friendship Organisation. I have been working here also last year and participate for the second time in the solidarity camp.

*What is the aim of your work here?*

Judith (from Britain): We came over to show our solidarity with the Palestinian people and also to learn from the Palestinian people what the Palestinian revolution is about. Here we get concrete experience to help us continue our work in England for the Palestinians and against Zionism. Perhaps we can work harder then, because of the experiences we have had here.

Annemarie: O.K., what we are doing right here is we are building a road, because the camp needs another entrance besides the road they have already. So, if one is destroyed the people will be able to use the other way. This is what we are working on five hours a day. Another part of our activities here is that we have some meetings. We get up at 6 o'clock in the morning. We are breaking rocks and level them out with various tools, handwork you know. Later they will put some gravel and asphalt on top of it.

Flavio: Our road is to be named after somebody who made a very big contribution to the Palestinian cause. His name is Naim Khader, who was murdered two months ago in Brussels. We hope to be able to finish it in time. We understand that it is not our material help alone which is so important as the symbol of us being here. By building a road which the people of the camp are going to use in the future, we show that people from abroad came and supported them, because they understood their plight.

*How do you organise your day?*

Steen (from Denmark): We rise at six o'clock in the morning. Then we go to work at seven. We work till around 12.00. The rest of the day we spend by visiting different places. We may go to the sea and have a swim. In the evening we talk with different people. The food is being prepared for us by two women from the camp. We have nothing to do with it. It is just placed on the table at certain times, every day.

Annemarie: No, we help with the cooking, too. People stay home every day, helping in the kitchen, cleaning the toilets and cleaning the tables etc., you know, keeping the camp in order, also getting water. Because the water pipes were broken by the shelling. It is very important.

*What are your activities besides working and swimming?*

Judith: The most important is the political side. Since we have been here, we have organised a lot of lectures. We have had visitors from different institutions of the PLO who explained to us the work and the problems, about the fight against Zionism. We also have visited Beirut, after the air raids. We have seen the ruins. We have visited other camps and seen the differences between them. We have seen the living conditions of the people. We have been at the hospitals visiting injured people, children, and I think it made a strong impression on most of us. It will strengthen our solidarity work in our home countries.

Annemarie: Leaders of the PLO came to visit us here. Even Yasser Arafat came one day, and also Abu Jihad from al-Fateh and Abu Iyad. We had lectures like the one by Mahmoud Labadi from the Foreign Information Department on Zionist propaganda tactics. We are collecting a lot of information and knowledge about the PLO and the situation of the Palestinians here.

*Now, what happened to you during the latest Israeli bombing and shelling of the Rashidiyeh camp? What were your reactions? How did the people in the camp react?*

Eric (from Denmark): We were sitting together in the meeting room and talking. And suddenly we heard a sound, whistling in the air and an explosion, and everybody threw themselves to the ground, or went out into the corridor of the school. We were all scared, and little by little we all went down to the shelter. Down there we talked about our personal feelings. Some admitted that they were really scared, some said they were not afraid.

After this first day, our activities were cut to



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pieces. One day we had a folklore show and then had to go to the shelter. Our work was interrupted because we had to go to the shelter very often. We slept in the shelters. We organised our life there, we were singing, just making some fun, to overcome.

*What were the targets of the Israeli shelling?*

Eric (from Denmark): I don't know really what the aim is. To me it looks so arbitrary. It is more that they want the people to go away. They are cutting daily life to pieces. People would go out one day for instance for one hour to work, than they are forced to stop suddenly. There would be some rounds of shelling. You had to go to the shelter. Then nothing for two or three hours. We never knew when it came.

There is no real military presence in the camp. There is only a kind of police forces for the security of the camp. The people are all civilians. This school ground for instance has been hit five times, I think. We have been around in the camp to see what the bombs have done. It is all family dwellings. We knew the people. The son of the little shopkeeper for instance showed us his house. We know him, he is a civilian. His house was blown up, his car blown up.

Steen: It is all civilian targets here in Rashidiyeh camp. It is quite clear. Most of it is just to frighten people. To frighten people, by wounding some, by killing others at random. It is amazing for one like me, who has been living in peace all the time, to see what war is doing to civilian people. We really have a strong belief in the Palestinian people after seeing that. Most of the civilians and the Palestinians in the camp stay quite calm during the shelling. They just went down to the shelters. But one night we heard in the close neighborhood that a bomb had hit a house, and then that women were screaming. It was quite shocking. It was not very nice to hear. Because you could hear that somebody was wounded and crying for help, you know.

Eric: The people can't do anything against the shelling. They are civilians. They are just shouting after the airplanes.

Karsten: It is completely arbitrary and by accident, whether the shells hit or not and whom they hit. Most times they hit people who were not quick enough to go to the shelters. They hit often, for example, old people or children. It is completely arbitrary.

Kerry (from Britain): Our experience was rather peculiar. We reached Beirut airport at 6.30 on the morning the war broke out. On our way to Rashidiyeh we came across a traffic jam after about an hour on the road, just before Zahrani. And we found out that a bridge had been destroyed in an air raid, the main bridge across the river. We were forced to return to Beirut. After about one hour, we were told that the bridge had been repaired already. We set off down the road again. We just had reached Sidou, when the shelling of the town started. We were all taken hurriedly from the cars and had to hide in the entrance of a building. After about a quarter of an hour the shelling stopped. We dashed to the cars and set off down the road again. We heard on the car radio that Beirut had been bombed. The bridge which had been repaired had been destroyed again by Israeli planes, too. This time we headed into the mountains to try to find another road to Rashidiyeh. Then we were stopped by Palestinian fighters who told us that the road a few hundred yards ahead was being shelled. We stopped and could hear the shelling going on in the distance. The fighters made us welcome, they gave us tea and coke. After about half an hour they told us that it was too dangerous to stay there either. We were taken by very rough roads to a village in the mountains, where we stayed for a while and were given some food. Then we set off down some kinds of goat tracks, hardly roads at all. In the distance we could hear the Israeli jets. Eventually we got back on the main road beyond the point where the main bridge was destroyed. And at sea we could see an Israeli destroyer. We heard an explosion and discovered that the destroyer was trying to hit the cars on the road. Then we came to another point where a bridge should exist but it didn't anymore. So we had to make our way through a banana plantation and got to a point where there was a foot bridge and the water was quite shallow. We all got out of the cars and crossed on the foot bridge. The cars were pulled over by a truck. And we set off for Rashidiyeh. We arrived here when it was getting dark. We were told about the work that the last year's group had done, which was to make a playground for the school, and we could see that it was destroyed. We were told to get down to the shelters as quickly as possible. That is the story, how we got here. After we had spent 24 hours down in the shelters, we were told that it was too dangerous to stay in Rashidiyeh and we were evacuated for ten days to a Palestinian orphans' school in the mountains

until the ceasefire went into effect.

*After all this experience — Why are you still staying here?*

Kerry: Those experiences have only served to heighten my appreciation of the terrorism which Israel inflicts upon the Palestinian people. It increases my determination to aid the Palestinians with whatever means I can.

Judith: We spoke with a Palestinian family we had met last year. The mother told us that she was really frightened by the shelling which lasted two weeks. But she was determined to stay. I wish we had stayed all the time throughout the shelling to really show our solidarity.

*What do you think is the main aim of all this Israeli bombing?*

Judith: I think the Zionists are trying to take the impetus out of the Palestinian Revolution. The bombing of the south of Lebanon which occurs all the time is part of that policy to depopulate the south. Also their air raids on Beirut — it was genocide, really, and they just want to break the Palestinian resistance. But I think they can't, they are just increasing it.

Bader (from Pakistan): When we were coming here, we could all along the road see people fleeing from their homes, crossing the rivers by foot. We realized that the homes of these people had been bombed and that they had nothing left behind to stay for, and a lot of them were frightened. And we could see that the reason behind the Israeli shelling was to frighten these people, and to depopulate the country, by killing innocent civilians, men women and children.

But the general aim has not been fulfilled. A lot of people are staying behind. When we came here we found that the camp was in a terrible state. Parts of the school were damaged, the glass was broken. We were told the next day that we have to leave for security reasons because the prime aim of the PLO was to look after our welfare before anything else. Although we had decided among ourselves that we wanted to stay. We were glad that we could eventually return and stay, because we came here to show our solidarity with the Palestinian people and to show them that we were with them in one struggle.

*What are the most important impressions you have got so far here?*

Ingrid: What made the biggest impression on me was the enormous will and strength of the people to keep on fighting, to continue the struggle to return back to Palestine. I met the same strength and will, here in Rashidiyeh and

Beirut. People were more angry than afraid at first over the bombing and the terrorizing and the Zionist attempts to liquidate the civilian people. It just made them even more determined to continue their struggle. Another thing which hit me was the hospitality of the people. They are open and friendly and always welcome you to their houses and homes, and they always offer you food. We always felt welcome, despite the bombings and the very hard conditions these people are living in. Well, I just learnt an enormous amount and I just admire these people. This is also the reason that I lengthened my stay, for I should have left the country some days ago. But I wanted to learn more and we missed possibilities because of the interruptions due to the bombings.

Flavio: I was worried when I heard that some people had left the camp during the bombing and the population of the camp was half what it used to be. But then I learnt that they quickly came back — there is a lot of determination to stay. We went around, nearly every family has lost people during the continued aggression throughout the last years. We met an old man the other day in the old part of the camp: he has lost two of his sons, and one of his daughters has lost a leg, his house has been destroyed twice, but he is still here — where would he go? The situation is the same everywhere else in Lebanon.

Bader: We met also a man who had been himself a commando during the earlier wars. He explained to us the situation under which he had fought the Israelis with their superior technical armaments with home-made weapons, and the Palestinian fighters had often been outnumbered by as many as five to one. But they were still going on fighting. He was very happy to see that we had come to this camp and were showing solidarity with the Palestinian people and he was very proud of this. He said: "You see, the Palestinian people are fighting just for one cause, it is a simple cause: they want to return back home, to get a homeland back, something that has been taken away from them by aggression and military occupation. And they have come here, and the Zionists are chasing them even in Lebanon, in order to extinguish the Palestinian population."

*How are you thinking to continue your solidarity with the Palestinian people after you go back home?*

Bader: When we go back, we realize now that the truth here about the camp and the people we have spoken to is never revealed in the Western press. We will take back the truth and explain to our people just exactly what is happening in the Middle East about the Palestinian problem.

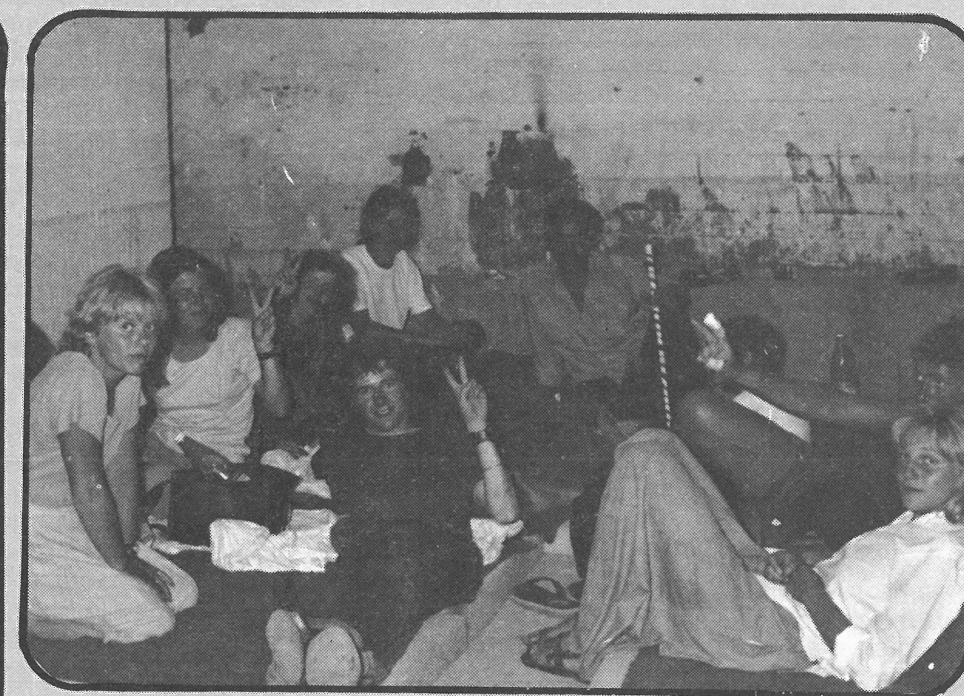
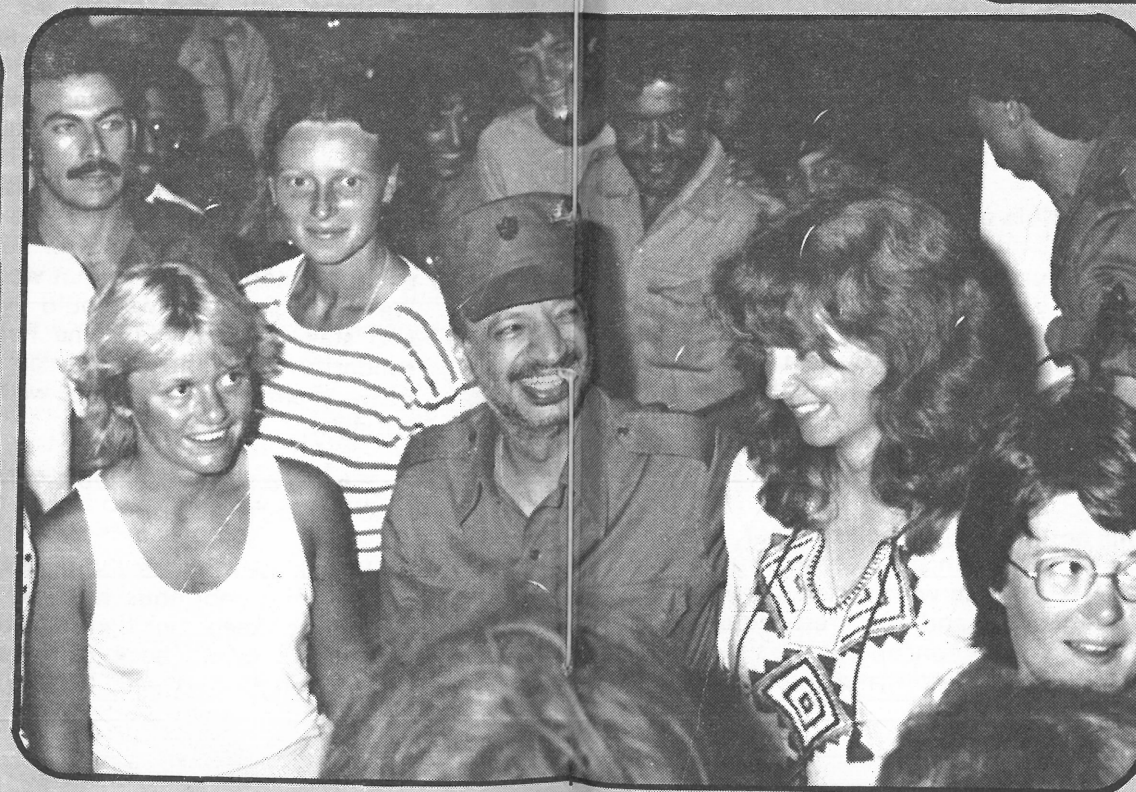


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SCENES  
THE

FROM  
CAMP



Solidarity workers inside a shelter during Israeli bombardment



TWO WEST GERMANS AFTER  
FIVE YEARS IN ISRAELI JAILS:

## "WE HAVE LEARNT TO SURVIVE TORTURE AND REPRESSION"



Brigitte Schultz and Thomas Reuter

*In January 1976 in Kenya, two West German citizens were arrested under mysterious circumstances and then abducted to Israel by the Israeli secret service. There they were held in absolute secrecy and systematically tortured for over one year in the special military camp of Geder. It was only by a series of accidents and due to the intensive inquiries made by their relatives that the fate of the two young Germans, Brigitte Schulz and Thomas Reuter, eventually came partly into the open. After spending five years in Israeli jails, they were released in December 1980 following mounting international protests. Brigitte and Thomas are currently visiting the PLO in Lebanon, where they, together with some colleagues, are doing a film about the living and social conditions of the Palestinian people. We interviewed Brigitte and Thomas about their past experience in Zionist jails and their present plans.*

**A:** "We want to discuss our experiences in the prison with the Palestinian organisations and we want to deepen our knowledge about the struggle of the Palestinian people, and also about the political dimension of this struggle here.

"In addition to this we feel there is a need in Western Europe to deepen the understanding of the people there about the democratic and progressive contents of the Palestinian Revolution, which is not only a revolution directed against imperialism, Zionist aggression and occupation but also a social revolution directed against traditional oppressive social structures in Arab society. In order to promote this understanding, we are trying to produce a film."

**Palestine:** Your case has attracted very special international attention, because of the mysterious circumstances of your deportation from Kenya to Israel, also because of the fact that your fate had been kept completely secret from the entire world for over one year, and because you were tortured in the special military interrogation camp of Geder. How do you evaluate your individual case politically?

**A:** We were confronted in Israel with an integrated system of institutions specially set up to suppress the Palestinian population in Israel and the occupied territories. And we had the experience which all Palestinians have who are struggling politically or militarily. Therefore I do not grasp my own experience as an individual one.

"We have also learnt that it is possible, despite the physical and psychological war machinery set up against the revolution, to survive against torture and repression by means of a clear consciousness.

**Palestine:** You have been abducted from Kenya together with three Palestinians who are still in jail in Israel. What happened to them?

"The three comrades, Hussein Abul at-Ta'r, Mahmoud Issa Maqousi and Ibrahim Yussif Ibrahim are in Nafha prison, this notorious isolation camp situated in the middle of the desert in southern Palestine. Nafha prison is an attempt to apply isolation as a strategy against the Palestinian Revolution in prison. We are still struggling for the release of the comrades, and I want to seize the occasion to greet them from here with revolutionary greetings.

**Palestine:** Your terrible experience in Israeli interrogation torture camps and prisons did not prevent you from continuing your solidarity work with the Palestinian people. Why?

"Our political development started from the analysis of fascism in Germany. And especially as Germans we have to help and to support all peoples who have to struggle against occupation, foreign domination and against racial discrimination.

"Besides being anti-fascists, I believe that internationalism based on common interests in struggling against imperialism is an issue which must attract the attention of democratic and progressive-minded people in Europe, especially concerning the situation in the Middle East and the Palestinian cause.

DOCUMENT

Towards a viable Independent Palestinian State

## THE ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATION OF THE PALESTINIAN STATE

by Bernadette and Naim Khader

(Supplement No. 3 of the Revue des Relations Internationales, January-February 1981).

### 1. Introduction

We start from the hypothesis that structures of an independent Palestinian state have been established on portions of territory (the West Bank and Gaza) which would be evacuated by the Israeli occupation forces. It will certainly be up to the PLO and the parties concerned to determine the political conditions in which this state will be formed, the practical modalities of its establishment and the type of relations it will have with its neighbours. The formation of this state does not postpone the claim for a single unitary state or indefinitely exclude it by any means.

Having made this clear, we would like here to examine the possibilities for development of an independent Palestinian state.

Let us straight away exclude a misunderstanding. One must not confuse the term "independent state" with the different one "self-contained state". It goes without saying that a Palestinian state which would be established in an area of 6,000 square kilometres cannot envisage its development in isolation. It is bound to fashion its relations with its neighbours, become part of its region and trade and exchange material goods and scientific and technological attainments in regional terms. While awaiting the achievement of the Arab unity desired by the Arab nation, this state will certainly have excellent relations with its Arab neighbours and special relations with Jordan. Thus independence in no way implies seclusion or isolation.

### 2. Conditions for an Independent Palestinian State's Viability

We have stressed in the above paragraph that the smallness of a territory is not, in principle, a factor making an independent state unviable.

The Palestine of tomorrow will be highly urbanised and, no doubt, industrialised. But is it possible or not to industrialise the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

According to the recent experiences of developed states, the essential foundations for industrialisation are: a) the existence of a qualified labour force and

staff in charge of management and professional specialisation in the given sectors of industry; b) a transport and communications network which enables the provision of raw materials and the distribution of products to the external market; c) enough capital to finance this state's construction plans.

### THE NECESSARY ACTIVE POPULATION

The national reconstruction plan for the Palestinian state (inhabited by its present population and the refugees who will return there) should envisage a programme to divide the employment available as follows: 25% in industry, 15% in construction, 15% in agriculture and 45% in the services sectors(1).

The Palestinian economist Elias Tuma and the Israeli economist Hayim Darin-Drabkin, in a conference held in Brussels on Wednesday 30 March 1977, envisaged a Palestinian population of the future state which should not exceed 2,374,000, namely 60% of the total Palestinian population:

750,000 originating from the West Bank,  
350,000 originating from the Gaza Strip,  
390,000 citizens of the Arab countries and inhabitants of refugee camps,  
834,000 coming from the Arab countries,  
50,000 coming from Israel ("Israeli" Arabs),  
10,000 coming from outside the Middle East.

If one calculates that the active population should amount to 30% of the total population, the future Palestinian state should have an active population of 700,000 workers, which is amply sufficient for laying the foundations of a modern state.

### THE STAFF

*Defying Exile through Education*

The Palestinian people constitute the "Latin Quarter" of the Arab World and the Third World, in the sense that they contain an impressive concentration of experts and intellectuals of all specialisations.

The ratio of university education among Palestinians is estimated at 16 or even 17 per 1,000, a ratio equivalent to that of Israel and broadly exceeding that of all the Arab countries and even that of certain European countries like Greece (8 per 1,000) and Spain (9 per 1,000).



## THE ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATION OF THE PALESTINIAN STATE

Today, there are more than 115,000 Palestinian university graduates, of whom only one tenth are at present employed in the West Bank and Gaza.

However, while the number of Palestinian university graduates is impressive, it is nevertheless a fact that the Palestinians' university education has some distortions and weaknesses.

### A. The predominance of the humanities over the scientific branches

A recent study on a sample of 10,000 students(2) reveals that nearly 60% of these Palestinians have degrees in the humanities, 36% in the sciences and 4% are difficult to classify. Let us recall that for Europe the percentages are 58.1% for the scientific branches and 41.9% for the humanities. However, it must be stated that such an orientation was forced on the Palestinians by their situation as exiles and the job opportunities — notably in education — offered to them by the Arab countries.

This imbalance among the holders of university degrees could in future, in the framework of the Palestinian state, handicap social and economic development somewhat. But there is a possibility of reducing this danger by introducing better educational planning in the future universities.

### B. University education to the disadvantage of girls

Among Palestinian university students, the ratio of girls to boys was 4 to 1 in 1969 and 3 to 1 in 1979. This distortion is not fatal, since it is tending to diminish as the years pass.

### C. The brain drain

All Third World countries suffer from the painful and disquieting problem of the brain drain. In the case of the Palestinians, however, this drain is aggravated by the Palestinian population explosion, the expulsion of nearly half the Palestinians outside their ancestral country and the lack of a national state able to absorb Palestinian capabilities.

Almost half the teaching staff of the secondary schools of Kuwait and the Gulf countries is made up of Palestinians(3). At Kuwait University, nearly a third of the academic staff is made up of Palestinians.

The brain drain is even more acute with regard to doctors and engineers. Dr. Elias Zein estimated in 1972 that, out of Syria's 13,000 engineers, more than

8,000 worked abroad(4). Today there are over 25,000 Palestinian engineers and 22,000 Palestinian doctors, the overwhelming majority of whom work outside Palestine.

In spite of the distortions and weaknesses of university education, one fact remains: the constant will of the Palestinian people to emerge from anonymity, defy exile through education, give their national identity a new life in the face of attempts to crush and dissipate it, and prepare its future by training tomorrow's experts.

Thus, with regard to qualified experts, the Palestine of tomorrow will be endowed with the best specialists trained in the Arab World and abroad. In spite of attractive salaries and a comfortable material situation, many specialists wait with impatience for the day when they can place their qualifications at the service of a sovereign and independent Palestinian state.

there remains the problem of middle management staff and technicians. All Arab countries feel the shortage of them and have constantly to be alerted to the fact and show their imaginativeness, seeking to set up the university structures capable of closing such a gap.

## THE PALESTINIAN OPEN UNIVERSITY

In this context, it is not irrelevant to underline the importance for the Palestinian people of the project to establish a Palestinian Open University.

The idea was born in Palestinian circles a few years ago. It would involve establishing a Palestinian open university capable of providing an education and ensuring a university training for several thousand Palestinians who do not manage to enrol themselves in the Arab or foreign universities. In fact, out of the 32,000 Palestinian students who pass the baccalaureat each year, scarcely a quarter, about 8,000 students, succeed in enrolling themselves in Arab or foreign universities. In some respects this is a wastage of Palestinian human resources(5).

Hence the PLO reached an agreement with the Arab Development Fund on the one hand and UNESCO on the other, to conduct feasibility studies on the establishment of a Palestinian Open University. UNESCO entrusted this task to Dr. Ibrahim Abu Lughod, an eminent Palestinian professor. He assembled a team of experts and submitted his report at the end of June 1980.

Operating on the basis of "teaching at a distance" and provided regional centres in all places of Palestinian population concentration (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Kuwait), the Palestinian Open University

is a true revolution in the traditional system of university education. Not only does this university "go to the students" instead of the reverse, but also it intends to change the educational theory of the teaching radically and give particular attention to the branches of learning neglected in the traditional universities by giving priority to the training of middle managerial staff, in the fields of agriculture and public health as well as other fields.

An independent Palestinian state would not only have a sufficient surface area, but would also be provided with abundant labour, middle managerial staff in sufficient numbers and experienced senior staff who in other national contexts have acquired many-sided and enriching experience.

### 3. The investment necessary for laying the foundations of an independent Palestinian state

To appreciate the volume of investment required in the first phase of building up an independent Palestinian state, one must take into consideration the number of refugees who will choose to install themselves there.

We assume that, out of the 4,000,000 Palestinians today, the future state will include only a part amounting to between 60% and 70%, namely a population ranging between 2,300,000 and 2,800,000.

There is therefore an unknown factor which risks falsifying all forecasts and calculations. So we content ourselves with some indicative trends.

## THE BASE CAPITAL WILL BE INVESTED IN FOUR DIRECTIONS

A. *Urbanisation*: the total sum of expenditures necessary for urbanisation covers the material infrastructure (roads, water piping, electrification and sewage), the economic and social sectors (schools, health services, public and private administration). According to a study undertaken by the Council of Europe, the investment amounts to \$1,100 per inhabitant in Turkey, \$1,900 per inhabitant Ireland and \$5,360 in Norway. It is clear that this sum varies according to the national economic level expressed in Gross National Product *per capita*, namely \$360 for Turkey, \$1,672 for Ireland and \$3,464 for Norway.

If we consider that the economic level of the future Palestinian state should resemble that of Ireland, the total cost of urbanisation for a million Palestinian refugees (not all refugees necessarily live in camps) will be \$1.9 billion.

B. *The sources of employment in industry and the other branches of the economy*. In general, the investment required for the creation of a single job is

estimated at \$10,000. In concrete terms, this means that the creation of 100,000 new jobs requires the mobilisation of \$1 billion (10,000 x 100,000 jobs). Thus the creation of 200,000 jobs involves the mobilisation of double that amount.

C. *National infrastructure*. It is appropriate to estimate the amount of investment necessary to lay the foundations of a national infrastructure at 50-60% of the total cost of urbanisation. For the future Palestinian state, this expenditure would therefore be in the order of 1,010 million dollars.

D. *The modernisation of agriculture*. Traditional Palestinian agriculture suffers from a shortage of capital and of means of production. It is therefore required to modernise this agriculture by introducing capital, fertilisers and mechanisation to it. In addition, it will be necessary to improve new land, increase the area under cultivation, make irrigation widespread and exploit the great possibilities of the Jordan Valley. All this requires the mobilisation of a total sum of between \$1 and \$2 billion.

To sum up, the total investment which will be needed in the first phase of building the independent Palestinian state will be between \$5 and \$7 billion.

This figure is an under-estimate. In fact, Elias Touma and Darin-Drabkin made a higher estimate during their conference in Brussels in 1977. The investment required will be more likely \$12 billion, almost double the estimate made in 1974 by Darin-Drabkin.

These sums can be collected through the indemnities which should be paid by Israel, Arab official aid, United Nations aid and Palestinian capital transfers, both official and private.

### 4. A possibility we should not neglect: tourism

The Palestine of tomorrow will have to include Arab Jerusalem, the Bethlehem region and other holy places of Islam, Judaism and Christianity. In addition, the West Bank includes choice tourist areas such as the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley. Gaza has a sandy beach capable of attracting hundreds of thousands of foreign tourists. All these assets lead one to believe that the tourist industry could be rapidly developed. It will, of course, be up to the Palestinian authorities to determine what importance they will give to this development in their overall policy.

### 5. An additional asset: the PLO's industrial enterprises

The PLO is not waiting for the building of the Palestinian state in order to create the embryo of a new industry. This already exists, despite all the obstacles of which we know. But it also exists in all the places of Palestinian population concentration, particularly in Lebanon.

The establishment of industrial enterprises



## THE ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATION OF THE PALESTINIAN STATE

attached to the PLO fulfills several aims: providing work for martyrs' families, satisfying the needs of Palestinians in the refugee camps and Palestinian combatants, making use of Palestinian scientific potentials, ensuring self-sufficiency for Palestinian refugees, providing employment for the huge mass of real or disguised unemployed and laying the industrial foundations of the future Palestinian state.

Among specifically Palestinian enterprises, it is worth mentioning:

The enterprises which have financial and administrative autonomy. Among these, the most important is the SAMED enterprise, or the association of enterprises for the sons of Palestinian martyrs.

SAMED was founded in 1969 in Jordan, with the aim of providing a solution to the problem of Palestinians without jobs and helping the families of martyrs. It then consisted only of a sewing workshop. Moved to Lebanon in 1971 following the "Black September" massacre, it developed in order to deal with the growing needs of the Palestinian Revolution, of which it at present represents the real economic arm.

The activities of SAMED, which extend to Arab and African countries, in effect cover three major sectors: industrial and handicraft production, cinema production and agricultural production.

The industrial sector, in response to the principle of economic self-sufficiency put forward by the Revolution, includes 33 production units which employ more than 3,500 workers of both sexes, fixed wage-earners and workers at home, and produce all that is necessary to meet the needs of Palestinians in the refugee camps and combatants: clothes, blankets, furniture, leather and plastic items, traditional toys, etc. One unit devotes itself specifically to producing handicraft objects and traditional costumes, thus combating Zionist propaganda which denies or tries to appropriate the Palestinian cultural heritage. The growth of production is the result of a fruitful co-operation with various countries, particularly those of the Socialist bloc.

In the cinema sector, SAMED is endeavouring to ensure the production and distribution of Palestinian films. It has produced several documentaries including "The Key" and "The Day of the Land", which have been screened in Europe and the Socialist

countries, and hopes to enlarge the scope of its activities, but it lacks specialist staff (in particular directors and scenario writers).

The agricultural sector works lands put at its disposal by certain African countries (Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Uganda, Congo Brazzaville, Sudan and Somalia). Its activities consist of sending engineers, technicians and machines to the location and ensuring the professional training of local personnel. The produce of the crops and herds is sold locally and the profits of the enterprise are directly reinvested there. Palestinian experts have thus been able to participate in setting the agricultural reform of some of these countries on its way: such a contribution to development also provides the advantage of strengthening the links which unite the Palestinian people with the African peoples. These are also projects related to promoting the agriculture of some Arab countries, especially North Yemen, at whose disposal the FAO has asked the PLO to place one of its engineers.

Furthermore, SAMED takes part in international fairs and has permanent showrooms, thus strengthening ties of co-operation with the countries concerned.

Half the workers of SAMED are members of the families of Palestinian or Lebanese martyrs or war victims, while the others come from other Arab countries or from Africa. Two hundred of them are survivors from Tal Al Zaatar.

(1) Hayim DARIN-DRABKIN, *L'Etat Palestinien indépendant: exploitation économique et mise en valeur du sol*, in *Cahiers Bernard Lazare*, Oct. 1974, No. 48, p. 6.

(2) This is the study undertaken on the initiative of Eugene Makhoul, Antoine Zahlan and Elias Eid, in co-operation with the Institute for Palestine Studies.

(3) See Bilal AL HASSAN, *The Palestinians in Kuwait: a statistical study* (in Arabic), Palestine Research Centre, Beirut, 1974.

(4) Cf. Elias ZEIN, *The Arab Brain Drain* (in Arabic), Arab Institute for Studies and Publication, Beirut, 1972, and his article *The Exodus of Arab Engineers and the Battle in Shu'un Filistiniyya*, No. 48, Sept. 1975, p. 77.

(5) The document presented by Ibrahim Abu Lughod, *POU curriculum colloquium*, Doc. 2, Oct 1979, UNESCO, Paris, p. 1.

(6) Lenelette VON BOTHMER, *Un programme de développement pour les Palestiniens*, in *Eurabia*, No. 4 1976, p. 14.



## WORLD EVENTS

### PRETORIA AGGRESSION AGAINST ANGOLA DENOUNCED

On August 17, the Angolan Defense Ministry denounced South Africa's continued aggression against Angolan southern territory and the propaganda campaign Pretoria is carrying out to weaken the events there.

The communique stated that the aggressors continue the occupation of the Evale Commun in Angola's most meridional southern province with infantry troops and Impala PL warplanes and Allouet helicopters.

The communique added that the aggressors are continuing the occupation of the Evale Commun in Angola's southern-most province with infantry troops. Impala and Allouet, warplanes, Puma helicopters, armoured cars and artillery.

The South African aggression is still affecting the regions of Ombala-Yo-Mongo, Maulila, Mupa, Anhauca, Chana Mulavi, Chitumbo, Doudadola, Naulila and the Ondjiva-Xangongo-Covelai way in southern Angola.

### NEUTRON DECISION, STEP TO MASS DESTRUCTION WAR

The Soviet Union on August 13 described the United States decision to produce the neutron warhead as a calculated step towards unleashing a war of mass destruction using conventional, biological and nuclear weapons.

Commentator Vitaly Korionov, writing in the Soviet newspaper Pravda, said U.S. leaders began preparations in 1945 by dropping atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

He added that in the late 1970s, the process was interrupted when world public opinion foiled President Carter's plans to begin production of the neutron weapon.

"But Reagan's instructions (to produce the neutron weapon) mean that the present administration in the United States is speeding up movement along this fatal path... which is threatening the world with atomic catastrophe", Korionov said.



In that region, the communique added, the invaders are murdering the civilian population, burning houses and property of the population, slaughtering cattle and destroying other food supplies of the population and are seizing wells.

The denunciation called on the attention of world public opinion in view of the "lies with which the racists are seeking to justify the invasion of our territory.

The communique added that it is timely to recall that ever since Angola attained independence, a state of permanent aggression by South African troops against our country has been taking place, under the pretext to harass the Swapo.

Meanwhile; from Dar Es Salaam: The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa claimed responsibility for the attempt carried out against the largest South African military centre in Vortrekkerhagt, where there are two air bases and other installations.

A declaration issued in this capital stresses that the so-called invincible racist army, which is used to repress South African and Namibian women and children and carry out aggression against other neighbouring countries, is incapable of facing the actions of the fighters of the ANC.

"This decision is an integral part of the course steered by the American war machine towards preparation of a war, using not only conventional but also atomic, biological and neutron weapons", he added.

A commentary by Novosti Press Agency commentator Yuri Alexeyev, issued in Moscow on August 12, said the Soviet Union had the industrial and technical potential to match the U.S. in arms production.

"This move by Washington, if carried through, will force the Soviet Union to take appropriate reciprocal measures to strengthen its security and that of the other Socialist countries of Europe", Alexeyev said.

"Washington is sorely mistaken if it believes it can come in first in (an) arms race and force the Soviet Union into submission. In doing so it is overestimating the industrial potential of the U.S. economy and gravely underestimating that of the Soviet Union", Alexeyev added.

He rejected the arguments of Western military experts concerning its impact. It was as deadly and indiscriminate as any other nuclear weapon, he said.

"The hawks in the United States who speak in derogatory terms of the anti-war movement in Western Europe... should be reminded that neither New York nor Chicago nor Los Angeles would be immune if a world conflagration breaks out", Alexeyev said.

French demonstrators protesting neutron bombs



# OCCUPATION DIARY

## UNIONS & STUDENT ORGANISATION REQUEST OPENING OF HEBRON POLYTECHNIC

The Administration of Charity Associations in Hebron has requested the Israeli occupation authorities in the town to reopen the Hebron Polytechnic and allow the students to continue their studies.

The municipality of Jenin sent a similar request to the Israeli Military Governor of the West Bank, denouncing the closure of the Polytechnic as detrimental to the educational situation in Hebron and the rest of the occupied territories and an open violation of international conventions.

The Hebron Polytechnic was established last year but closed in July by the Israeli authorities who also arrested a number of its students and staff. No satisfactory explanation has been given for these oppressive and arbitrary moves.

## ISRAELI BAN ON NEW HOSPITAL IN HEBRON

The Israeli press recently mentioned that the Israeli authorities in the West Bank have issued an order to prevent the Palestinian inhabitants of Hebron from constructing a hospital in their town. The Israel authorities justified the decision by stating that if the inhabitants of Hebron can afford to build a new hospital, they should transfer the money to previously existing hospitals.

Meanwhile the Israeli military authorities have banned all funds from Amman from reaching the municipality of Sa'eer in the Hebron area. The funds were aimed at financing a number of projects in the village. A similar measure has been taken against the village of al-Shouyoukh, also in the Hebron district.

## HALF A MILLION DUNUMS SEIZED FOR NEW SETTLEMENT RING ROUND JERUSALEM

The Israeli occupation authorities in the West Bank issued an order recently, banning construction on an area of land in the West Bank and the suburbs of Jerusalem amounting to over half a million dunums.

The Israeli authorities claimed that the land is part of a planning project, adding that construction on it is prohibited unless approved by a specially formed Israeli military committee. In practice, this means that Palestinians will be

prevented from building on their own land, while Israeli settlers will encounter no obstacles in expanding their presence.

The construction ban extends from Ramallah in the north and Jericho in the east to the Gush Etzion settlement complex near Bethlehem in the south.

The ban appears to be designed to pave the way for a massive Israeli colonisation drive aimed at creating a second 'ring' of colonies around Greater Jerusalem.

The Israeli occupation authorities issued another two orders last week for the confiscation of a large area of land in the Ain Yabroud area near Ramallah. The first order was issued so that a new water reservoir could be built for the Gush Emunim settlement of Ofra, which lies on land previously confiscated from Ain Yabroud. The second order was issued for 'security reasons'.

## ZIONIST REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST PALESTINIAN TEACHERS IN NABLUS

The General Committee of West Bank Public School Teachers strongly denounced Israeli measures against teachers in general, especially members of teacher committees.

The General Committee held a meeting on August 13 and issued a communique describing the latest Israeli retaliatory measures taken following this year's open strike by West Bank public school teachers.

The communique added that all expelled teachers had been members of teacher committees and denied claims by the Israeli authorities that they lacked qualifications. It said that all their qualifications were available for examination.

The communique then referred to the low achievement of students as found in examination results, directly relating them to the chaotic educational situation caused by Israeli interference. It concluded by rejecting the expulsion of colleagues and calling for their immediate reinstatement. Finally, the communique appealed for the support of West Bank patriotic institutions.

The educational institutions and organisations and the student movements in the occu-

pied West Bank have strongly denounced the dismissal of two Palestinian teachers, Safa' al-Sous and Khadija Ammar, by the Israeli authorities.

The Palestinian bodies stated that the Israeli policy of dismissing Palestinian teachers from their jobs is seriously affecting the level of education in the occupied territories. Three other teachers in the Ramallah area have recently been dismissed for allegedly opposing Israeli education policies in the West Bank.

## RESTRICTION ORDERS ON JERUSALEM EDITORS EXTENDED SIX MORE MONTHS

On August 13, the Israeli authorities extended for a further six months the restriction of movement orders imposed on the editors-in-chief of the Jerusalem newspapers, *Al-Fajr*, *Al-Sha'b*, and *Al-Tali'a*, Ma'moun al-Sayyed, Akram Haniyah, and Bashir Barghouti respectively.

The restriction orders, which were first issued by the West Bank Military Governor on August 7, 1980, expired this week. The three editors were summoned to the Israeli military government headquarters in Ramallah where they were notified of the renewal of the orders until 10 February 1982.

Observers note that these arbitrary measures against the newspapermen come one day after the institution of Sharon's new policy towards the occupied territories which is supposed, according to the Israeli media, to be to the benefit of the Palestinians living there.

## ISRAELI MILITARY VEHICLE KILLS 21 PALESTINIAN WORKERS, INJURES 48

On August 10, an Israeli military vehicle collided with a bus carrying Palestinian workers from Deir al-Balah in the Gaza Strip, killing 21 and injuring 48 of the workers. Palestinian citizens gathered at the scene of the accident, blocked the road and threw stones at Israeli military vehicles and other vehicles which did not stop to help take the victims to hospitals.

Zionist police arrived and dispersed the citizens by force, ignoring the many injured workers who remained lying on the ground for hours. Zionist authorities claimed they were investigating the accident.

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, issued an order on August 11 declaring the workers from Gaza killed by the



## WIR WOLLEN...

Das Großreich Deutschland 1933 - 1945 + DAS GROSS - ISRAEL 1948 - ?

B. Karkuti

Israeli military vehicle on the Ashdod road to be martyrs of the Palestinian Revolution.

Protest against the killing of the workers erupted in both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. In an editorial on the incident, the Jerusalem newspaper *Al-Sha'b* said that the martyrs had fallen while travelling to work that could not be found in their camps. As such, they were victims of the tragic situation which had been forced on them, the newspaper said.

News from the occupied territories reported that the wave of outrage at the accident is continuing to mount. The condition of the wounded Palestinians is said to be deteriorating but their families have been prevented from visiting their injured relatives in hospital.

The people of the occupied Gaza Strip have come out in their thousands to express their outrage at the killing of the Palestinian workers. The inhabitants of Deir al-Balah and the surrounding villages from where most of the victims came staged a protest march to the hospitals where victims were taken. Zionist troops tried unsuccessfully to block the marchers' passage. Hundreds of women dressed in black were also seen near Al-Shafa' hospital.

At the same time, strikes were held in towns and villages in the Gaza Strip in protest against the deliberate killing. Reports from the occupied territories say that Zionist troops have been poured into several areas to suppress the tide of anger prevailing in those areas.

The martyrs are: Salem Hussein Abdelhadi al-Buheisi, Mohammad Abdel Khaleq Ahmad al-Buheisi, Ismail Mahmoud Khalil al-Buheisi, Hassan Ali Abdelhadi al-Buheisi, Izziddine Ibrahim Mahmoud al-Buheisi, Mazen Mahmoud Abdelkarim al-Buheisi, Nasser Mahmoud Mohammad al-Buheisi, Yusef Sha'aban Hamdan al-Buheisi, Kamal Ibrahim Mustafa al-Buheisi, Khalil Jadallah Abdelrahman al-Buheisi, Kamal Ibrahim Mustafa al-Buheisi, Khalil Jadallah Abdelrahman al-Buheisi and Awad Hamdan Deeb al-Buheisi.



## ISRAELI CITIZEN ARRESTED IN ROME

On August 12 Italian police arrested an Israeli criminal who was on the run for several months after he was charged with armed robbery and the murder of two people.

Aharon Rashamin (42) was arrested in a Rome hotel after several hours of pursuit. Italian police sources said that Rashamin and three other Israelis attacked a truck and stole ten million francs' worth of jewellery from several places in Rome. Rashamin killed two of his partners while dividing the loot. (A.F.P. August 13, 1981).

## 25 PALESTINIAN HOMES DEMOLISHED

Zionist military authorities in the Gaza Strip ordered the destruction of 25 homes belonging to Palestinian families in the Jabalia refugee camp. Observers see that the new Zionist policy in occupied Arab territories requires the demolition of hundreds of homes in order to pave roads for Zionist military vehicles patrolling refugee camps.

## ISRAELI AUTHORITIES ARREST PALESTINIAN WRITER

On August 6, the Israeli military authorities detained the Palestinian writer Asaad Al-Asaad in Ramallah for "questioning" concerning the publication of works which are alleged to contain incitement against the Israeli occupation authorities.

Israeli forces stormed his office, breaking down the door, and went through his papers before taking him off to jail. In Beirut, the GUPWJ issued a communique condemning Al-Asaad's arrest. The Union said that it would organise a campaign in coordination with international organisations to expose the Israeli authorities' fascist practices.

## SHARON VISITS SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN PALESTINE

On August 9, the new Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon visited the settlements in northern Palestine which were exposed to the Joint Forces' bombardments during the latest Palestinian-Israeli war.

The settlers of Kiryat Shmona organised a demonstration in protest against the neglect they had suffered from the Israeli authorities.

The French News Agency AFP reported that the visit of Sharon, who was accompanied by the Israeli Minister of Tourism and several high-ranking Israeli army officers, caused dissatisfaction among the settlers who have not yet recovered from the shock of the Palestinian shelling. The news agency observed that for the first time Israeli settlers had fled in thousands from the area being shelled, something which had never happened during Israel's previous wars.

Sharon also visited the occupied Lebanese territories and met with Saad Haddad in Marjeyoun.

## ZIONIST GANGS THREATEN EMIL HABIBI

Fascist Zionist gangs recently threatened the Palestinian writer Emil Habibi, editor-in-chief of the Haifa newspaper *Al-Ittihad*. He has been threatened with ultimate elimination if he continues to oppose Israeli occupation and the daily oppressive measures of the occupation forces.

Habibi says that he received a telephone call in the middle of the night from an unidentified person threatening to kill him.

This wave of threats against Palestinian patriotic leaders and figures by fanatical Zionist gangs has increased in recent months and specifically since the appointment of Ariel Sharon to the War Ministry.

## ANOTHER PALESTINIAN JOURNALIST ARRESTED IN RAMALLAH

On August 13, the Israeli authorities arrested the Palestinian journalist Ghazi Abu Kishk while he was on his way from Ramallah to Jerusalem. He was picked up at an Israeli checkpoint and taken to the military government headquarters in Ramallah, where he was interrogated. No reason was given for his arrest. The Israeli authorities also confiscated a number of Palestinian literature books which he had in his possession.

Abu Kishk previously worked as a reporter for *Al-Fajr* daily in Nablus.

## JERUSALEM ELECTRICITY COMPANY ATTACKED BY ISRAELIS

The Jerusalem Electricity Company was attacked by the Israeli 'Ishab' company for the third time on August 13, when the four main high tension lines near Gilo settlement to the north of Jerusalem were broken by the Israeli company's machines. This led to power cuts in this region in addition to the Bethlehem area for more than eight hours.

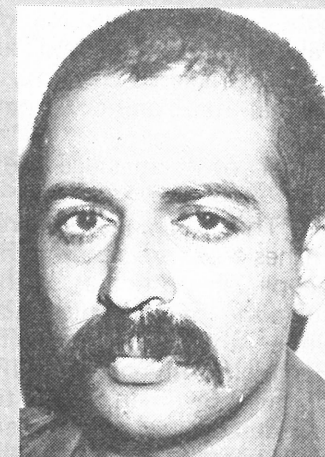
Officials in the Jerusalem Electricity Company confirm that the power cuts were caused deliberately as part of the Israeli campaign to take over the Palestinian company.

## AMERICAN JEWS CONDEMN ZIONIST AGGRESSION

Israeli daily *Haaretz* on August 14 published a letter signed by 127 American Jews condemning the bloody Zionist raid on Beirut's residential areas. The letter said: "How can we support Israel when we know that the Zionist air raid killed 400 and injured 800 people, mostly civilians?"

The letter, which was signed by Jewish Rabbis, professors and journalists, called on Israel to start negotiating with the Palestinians instead of liquidating them.

## ARMED RESISTANCE



This is Sgt. David Menashi, the Israeli prisoner of war captured by the joint Palestinian-Libanes forces during the latest Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people and Lebanon. He was captured during an unsuccessful Israeli landing attempt in southern Lebanon on July 20, 1981. The Israeli authorities first tried to deny his capture, until he gave an interview on the Hebrew Service of the *Voice of Palestine* on July 24. David Menashi stated that he was an Israeli army sergeant, military no. 2411851, of the Karmiel Brigade, of the Nahal company no. 609. His residence is no. 1 Lavendi Street in Tel Aviv. Sgt. Menashi confirmed that he was treated well since being captured by the PLO.

## TWO EXPLOSIVE CHARGES IN THE JERUSALEM AREA

The Palestinian Military Spokesman on August 9 issued the following communique:

### No. 39/81:

Palestinian commandos operating inside the occupied territories planted a timed explosive charge near an Israeli security forces post at the entrance of the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem.

In the afternoon of Saturday August 8, the charge was discovered and an Israeli explosives expert, having failed to dismantle it, was forced to detonate it. In the blast, the guard outpost was destroyed and several cars damaged.

The security forces encircled the area, searching for other charges. Several Palestinian citizens were arrested on suspicion of their involvement in the operation.

### No. 40/81:

On the night of August 9, a special unit of Palestinian commandos placed a timed explosive charge at the entrance to a security forces office in Neve Yaakov settlement, north of Jerusalem. During the night, the charge was discovered by an Israeli explosives expert who detonated it at the same place. The

office and its contents were damaged in the blast.

The Israeli forces immediately erected check-points on the Jerusalem-Ramallah road and searched the area for other charges. Several Palestinians were arrested on suspicion of their involvement in the operation but the commandos returned safely to base.

## PALESTINIAN COMMANDOS AMBUSH ISRAELI PATROL IN JORDAN VALLEY

The Palestinian Military Spokesman issued the following communique:

### No. 41/81:

While one of our groups operating inside Palestine was carrying out a reconnaissance mission observing the positions and activities of the Israeli enemy along the eastern borders of occupied Palestine in the Aghwar (Jordan Valley), enemy troops found out about the group's movement and tried to pursue it. The commando group then, at 7:00 a.m. on Tuesday 11 August, 1981, set up an ambush for the Israeli troops near Marj Na'aja. The commandos clashed with the Israeli troops using all kinds of weapons. Twenty enemy soldiers were killed or wounded, two military vehicles

damaged and several weapons captured. The group then withdrew outside the region of the operation and returned to their base inside occupied Palestine. No casualties were reported among the members of the commando group.

## EXPLOSIVE CHARGES IN JERUSALEM INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The Palestinian Military Spokesman issued the following communique:

### No. 42/81:

Palestinian commandos belonging to special Unit B placed several timed explosive charges inside a military equipment factory in the industrial area of Jerusalem.

At 8:00 p.m. on Wednesday August 12, the charges went off, damaging most of the machines and causing extensive fires to break out. Several of the factory's staff were injured. Rescue teams rushed to the scene and managed to bring the fire under control after several hours.

Israeli forces erected check-points in streets in the area and arrested dozens of Palestinian citizens on suspicion of their involvement in the operation. The commandos, however, returned safely to base.



## SOLIDARITY



Stop Israeli terrorism against Lebanon

### PROTESTS IN NORWAY AGAINST ISRAELI TERROR

The recent Israeli acts of aggression against south Lebanon and Beirut have provoked strong protests in Norway. Three days after the bombardment of Beirut, on July 20, a demonstration outside the government building in Oslo demanded that the government condemn the Israeli aggression.

A quantity of pamphlets were distributed in Oslo and in other cities and towns. Several leaders from the main trade unions signed a protest with a similar demand, which was published in newspapers, radio and television. Also on the 25th, the Palestine Committee arranged a solidarity meeting in the centre of Oslo. Norwegian artists participated, and short speeches were given by Bjorn Hennum, chairman of the Norwegian Union of Social Workers, and by Torill Paulsen who had just returned from Lebanon. She had participated in the PLO's international working camp, and had experienced the Israeli attack on Rashidiyeh. A call from the PRCS for surgeons and anaesthetists has had a good response from Norwegian doctors. Surgical teams have been organised to be sent to Beirut, and the first team left for Beirut on July 27.

### WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN NORWAY OUTRAGED BY BEGIN'S TERROR

The Norwegian Federation of Trades Unions, angered by the persistent inhuman Israeli actions, the last of which were the terror bombing raids of Beirut (the Lebanese capital) and the Palestinian refugee camps, which aimed at an annihilation war against the Palestinian and the Lebanese people, sent two messages to both

the Palestinian workers and the Israeli Histadrut. The message which was sent to the General Union of Palestinian Workers denounced Begin's policy of terror and showed solidarity with the Palestinian people and support for the Palestinian inalienable rights to a homeland and normal life as any other nation.

Part of the message said:

"The Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions wishes to express sympathy with the Palestinian people, in particular in the present situation of suffering of the Palestinian civilian population under the Israeli bombing operations of the Begin government. The NFTU supports the right of the Palestinian people to realize their national self-determination and their right to a homeland. For that reason the Israeli air and ground bombing operation should cease immediately, as has been stated by UN Security Council."

The NFTU message to the Histadrut read:

"We ask you to use your influence vis-à-vis the Begin government to effect an immediate cease-fire, to ensure the discontinuation of the bombing of refugee camps and villages in Lebanon, as such attacks hit the civilian population. That may open the way for a settlement which must ensure the ending of the sufferings of the Palestinian people."

### MORE SOLIDARITY CABLES FOR THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

Chairman Arafat received more solidarity cables condemning the Israeli military escalation and aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian people. The cables were from:

Tibetu Shifer Raw, General Secretary of the Ethiopian Committee for Peace and Solidarity.

Ernie Ross, M.P., President of the British-Palestine Friendship Association.

The Executive of the National Union of Lebanese Students.

The National Liberation parties and organizations in Aden.

The Italian Communist Youth Union.

The Arab Community in Malta.

The General Secretariat of the Arab Communications Workers.

The Arab office for Labour and Culture in Damascus.

The Women's Organisation of the Islamic Revolution in Tehran.

The International Union of Students.

These cables supplement a large number of earlier cables we already mentioned in our past issues of Palestine.

### TURKISH MEDICAL AID TO P.R.C.S.

The Turkish Red Crescent has dispatched a medical team to join the Palestine Red Crescent Society in providing medical aid to thousands of wounded Palestinian and Lebanese people, afflicted by the barbaric US-Israeli aggression launched against civilian targets in Lebanon.

A team of doctors and nurses sent to Lebanon during the last week of July brought some of the seriously wounded to Turkey for further treatment.

### MOSCOW SOLIDARITY MEETING IN SUPPORT OF PALESTINE

A solidarity meeting was held on August 7 in Moscow in support of the Palestinian people's just struggle against Israeli occupation and in denunciation of the U.S.-backed Israeli military attacks against Lebanon and the Palestinian people.

The meeting included the participation of the Union of Soviet Associations for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign and Arab Nations, the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, Arab embassies in the Soviet Union and the Institute for Oriental Studies in the Academy of Sciences.

During the meeting the Dean of the Institute of Oriental Studies delivered a statement in which he confirmed Soviet support for Arab rights and the Palestinian people's struggle against the Zionist enemy.

The President of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian People condemned the U.S.-supported attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

Finally, PLO Executive Committee member Talal Naji thanked the Soviet participants for their support of the struggle of the Palestinian people.

### U.N. YOUTH AND STUDENT DELEGATION UPHOLDS P.L.O. ROLE

A delegation of the United Nations Youth and Student Union held a press conference on August 4, at the headquarters of the General Union of Palestinian Students, in which they stressed the importance of the PLO's role in the region. The delegation is currently visiting Lebanon at the invitation of the GUPS to witness the situation in the war-torn Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese villages following the Israeli air raids on Beirut and the south.

The President of the Union explained the function of the international youth organisation which includes 65 member states and abides by UN principles and aims. He denounced the latest Israeli aggression as a violation of international law.

He said that a seminar on the Palestinian cause will be held in Copenhagen this December which will be attended by a number of international organisations as well as the Union's member states.

He affirmed that "the PLO is not only a military institution but a political, social and economic organisation and the Palestinian people owe their continued existence to the PLO." He added that "we condemn all attempts at minimising the PLO's importance." Finally, he paid tribute to the role of GUPS.

### WIDE CONDEMNATION IN JAPAN AGAINST ISRAELI AGGRESSION

A large number of organisations and personalities have expressed their condemnation of the series of the latest escalation of Israeli aggression against Palestinian and Lebanese people.

The Japan Socialist Party issued

a statement by its International Bureau head strongly condemning the acts of aggression and urging the Japanese government to take resolute sanctions against Israel. The Japan Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Japanese Federation of Women's Organisations registered a protest against Israel by handing their protest statement through the Israeli embassy in Tokyo.

The PLO office in Tokyo also received messages from prominent figures, especially academics, writers and experts on the Middle East question, expressing their condemnation of the barbarous aggression and the massacring of civilians and also their sympathy and support to the PLO and Palestinian national rights.

### SOLIDARITY SEMINAR FOR P.L.O. IN HANOI

A political seminar was held on August 4 in Hanoi under the title: "Solidarity with the Palestinian and Arab People." It was attended by the PLO representative in Vietnam, the head of the Vietnamese Peace Council, representatives of Arab embassies and the press and other media.

### GUYANA PEACE COUNCIL DENOUNCES ISRAELI ATTACKS

The Peace Council in Guyana has denounced the latest American-backed Israeli attacks on Lebanon as a violation of UN resolutions. In a statement on August 5, the Council also called for an end to US imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries and the removal of US bases from the region.



# THE BATTLE

Translated by  
Shirley Eber

The following short story was published in the Jerusalem weekly *Al-Fajr* on June 27, 1981.

One of our villagers — my lord judge — always used to say, "spare no expense to educate your child." I swear that's right, because it was a school kid who told me all about it before it actually happened. He said to me, "Watch out, Abbas!" But what's done is done and anyway you can't change fate!

I'm sure you cannot judge this case unless you get to the root of the problem and then maybe someone other than me will be standing here before you.

The story, your honour, is not simple. My child often gets hold of a reel of thread. What can I do? My wife, Nijmeh, is absent-minded, so the child begins to play with it and by the time she realizes, the thread is all tangled up and you can't tell one end from the other. My wife, God help her, is nervous. She takes after her mother. She can't unravel the thread, then it breaks so she hits the child and courses his father and grand-father.

You may say, your honour, that what happened is a daily occurrence in the villages. But it's not true. It only happens now and again. May Allah protect us from evil doers, my lord! But what can we do? Strangers only bring trouble. Nothing gets people going like injustice.

It was the beginning of summer. Thank God no one from the neighboring village is here. They often gloat over us and say, "Ha! You people of X!" The summer has come and there are plenty of watermelons and honeymelons and grapes and bamia (okra). What are you going to do with the produce? "Who will be the victim? This provokes many verbal battles between them and us. God damn them! It wouldn't be so bad if there wasn't an element of truth what they say.

That summer, my lord, a stranger from the city — judging by his dress and his accent — came to our village. He was driving a new car which showed how well off he was. He was put up in the guest house of our local sheikh. This was not unusual because he has a constant stream of visitors, especially at the height of summer — since, as I'm sure your honour is aware — there are a lot of watermelons, honeymelons, grapes, figs, bamia and young chickens.

Well, one evening the village warden came round to all the houses to invite us to drink a cup of bitter coffee in the sheikh's guesthouse. This meant that this was no ordinary visit. So it's not surprising that all of us accepted the invitation even though we were dead tired from the heat of the day and our back-breaking work.

He was really smart, this man. He spoke softly, with his hands, his eyes and his tongue. He told us that he loved us, that the government party thought more highly of us and of our village than of others, that the party would never desert the majority and support the minority.

"Yours is the largest constituency, my friends. We'll give you everything you ask for. Try us and you will see. Bear in mind that this autumn the government will appoint a local council, influential people. The head of the local council is like the head of the government — if not more so. In my opinion yours is the greatest constituency in the area and who is more fitting for this eminent position than Sheikh Maso'ud? Don't be bashful, Sheikh Maso'ud. The job's the only one for you and you're the only one for the job."

Sheikh Maso'ud replied humbly, "I don't want it for myself, only for my people. If anyone else wants the job, good luck to him!"

"God forbid, Sheikh Maso'ud. You are made for the job! Who could want anything so long as you are there. We are your soldiers, to obey your command!"

The man was delighted with the respect which we had for our sheikh and went on to say, "Whatever you want, ask for it! Sheikh Maso'ud has asked for a job in a bank for one of your children; he really cares. There will be jobs for you all, I promise. You want a leader in the local council? I will explain everything to them in the city and you will find out just who I am. I'm as good as my word — ask the people in the area — a man is as good as his word."

We thanked the man, almost kissed him for his love and concern for us and for his high regard for our village.

The guest was silent a moment. Then he gave

a broad smile — a smile to bewitch both hearts and minds, your honour, and said, "show me I'm not mistaken in my judgement of you. aren't!) Don't let them ask me mockingly, 'Well, Ezra, are these your people or aren't they?'"

Some of us coughed in embarrassment.

I said to him, "you are speaking to men, sir, and a man holds his tongue. We have always been respected, if I may say so. Ask the neighboring villages about us, the families of Abd el-Hamid and Younis. You must know them."

The man looked me up and down for a while, then said, "that's what I want to hear. In a month's time you will see for yourselves how true my words are. I'll prove to you in my office that I'm right and you will get what you want."

We understood what he wanted.

I said, "we were with you on previous occasions, sir, and we won't let you down this time."

He said, "I don't want words but action. As you sow, so shall you reap!"

I tell you frankly, when we heard this we got quite irritated and shouted: "Look here, you're talking to men, not children!"

The bastard got the message and said, "don't be angry. This is no time for anger. I know you very well. But those Ashkenazis over there want to be sure."

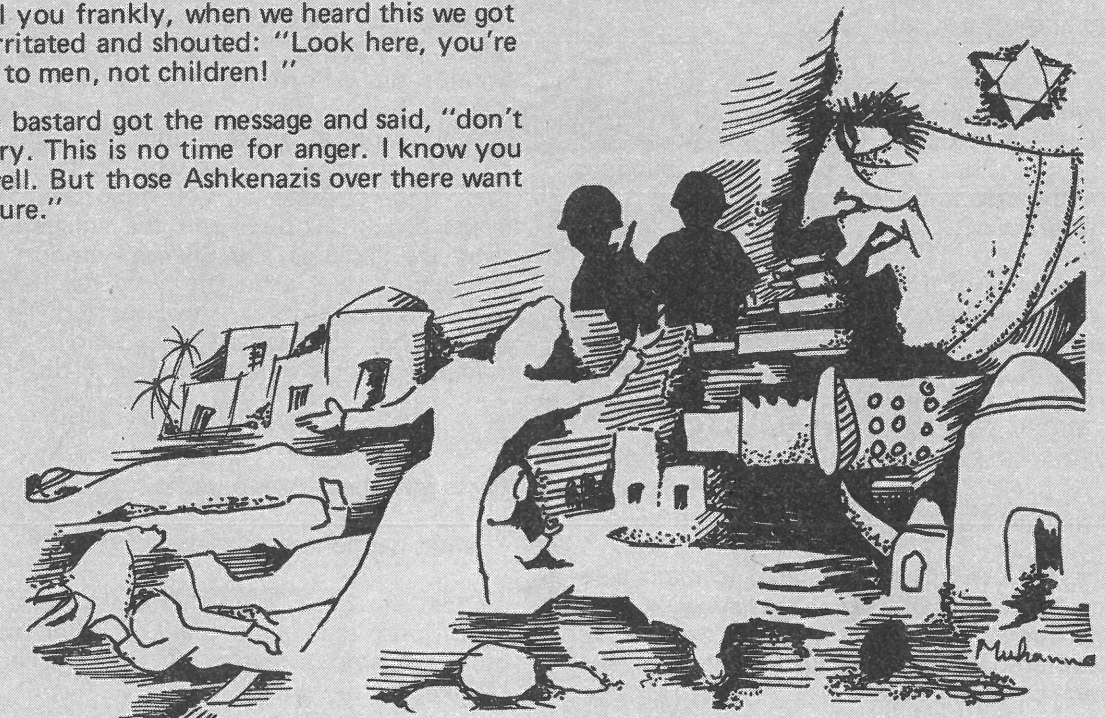
Abu Ata said, "aren't they sure of us yet? This is the seventh time, sir!"

The man smiled and said, "I'll tell you the truth. Actually it's a secret, but because it's for your own good, I must tell you."

We huddled up close.

He looked at us all, then said, "the day before yesterday Sheikh Barakat — the sheikh from the lower constituency — came and had a long talk with the chief. He asked him for the leadership of the local council and for several jobs — and the chief promised him..." We nearly screamed out, he promised him! but he went on... "if we can believe what he said. I spoke with the chief and decided it was only right to come and tell my friend and brother Sheikh Maso'ud what was cooking. Things are going on which you know nothing about!"

We looked at each other. Has Sheikh Barakat gone mad? How could he bring himself to do such a thing? Who was behind the son of...? And to do it to a village as important as ours?





## THE BATTLE

Sheikh Maso'ud said, "but, my friend, we are larger than them!"

The man said, "so what? I know it and those in power know it, but Sheikh Barakat has promised at least 100 votes, on the line. If he's true to his word, his influence will be greatly increased. Nothing we can do about it!"

Then I said, "but we have more than 300 votes. That's a proportion of one to three."

The man sat down and nodded, "that's right, but will you give us all of them? I doubt it. We found out from Sheikh Barakat that many of your young people won't be with us. That's dangerous! You may say, 'brother', — pointing at me — 'despite that, we will still give you more or maybe even double the votes of the lower village.' But that's not enough, some are missing. The chief, and it's he who is ultimately responsible, will have a higher regard for Sheikh Barakat if he gives us his 100 without exception, than for you if you give us 250. Because the boss will ask where are the other 50 of Sheikh Maso'ud's followers. So who knows? Will I be able to guarantee my friend Sheikh Maso'ud the leadership of the local council? No, of course not! This is distressing for me, for Sheikh Maso'ud and for you all!"

Well, we nearly exploded, your lordship! It was certain that Sheikh Barakat would give 100 votes. His constituency is small so he can get them together. Were we to become the laughing stock of the area... the upper constituency ruled by the lower one?

The majority of those assembled in the guest-house, led by Sheikh Maso'ud, agreed that no one would leave, that whatever was fated to be would be, like it or not! Without further ado, we agreed to give the man our Arab word of honour and he gave us his Hebrew word. Everything would become clear in the course of time.

The man said goodbye and left.

We began a thorough campaign to make sure that not one of the 300 would get away, so that our constituency would not be so unfortunate as "the woman whose hen laid its eggs in the neighbors' chicken coop."

We kept away from the people of the lower constituency and began to regard them scornfully. God forbid that we should have Barakat as our leader! Who was this Barakat anyway? If you only knew his father, your honour! His father is...

Oh, pardon me. Let me finish what I was saying. Yes, you're quite right, sir. The introduction is a bit long, but it's necessary. The gist of it is that our whole village was in turmoil after the visit of Mr. Ezra. It was as though he'd given us a dose of liver salts to drink!

Well, what's done is done, which is why I stand accused before you today.

Sheikh Maso'ud came back from the city, your honour, without his ak'al (band placed over the cloth of the male headcover). Do you know what the ak'al represents?

When I get angry with my wife over something, I take the ak'al off and put it on her head and I say to her, "speak, you're the boss. Abbas is silent!"

In my grandfather's time, when people took out a heavy loan they didn't sign a bill of receipt, but they swore on the hair of their beard. Nowadays, the ak'al is the beard. It is our honour, our everything, your lordship.

You look at these things like the school-children from our village who do their sums on their fingers. After all, you might say, the ak'al is the Sheikh's honor and the village's honour. And the ak'al is the Sheikh's honor and the village's honour. And the ak'al has been stolen from his head. It's a local matter. There's no doubt that it was the man who is after the leadership of the local council who did it!

You went too far, Barakat!

We have been provoked!

What happened, happened!

Yes, sir, I led the protest. What else could I have done, seeing the Sheikh's ak'al stolen and our leadership threatened? Can I accept being rebuked by my wife?

"Where have you been, Abbas?" she asked me.

"I've been fighting in the square. I told Barakat he could have his position as chief and leader. I asked where his men were. Count your useless ineffective men!"

Not one of them was left unhurt.

We returned to the cheers of our women.

And today we've come to confess to you, your honour. But I beg of you, sir, before you deliver your verdict, I must tell you the rest of the story.

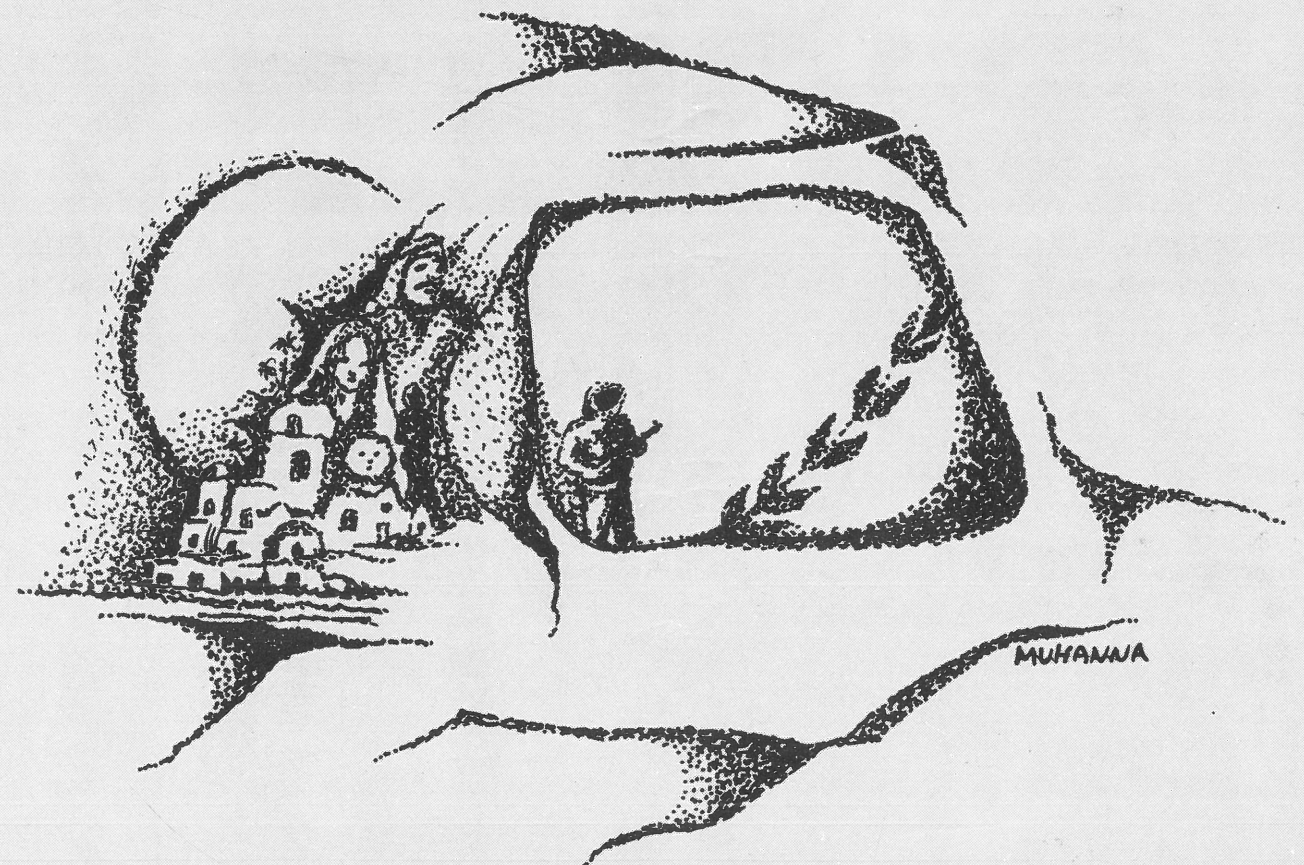
The election day came. We all of us voted, and the lower constituency kept their word too.

And here we are, my lord, one year later, as you see, and everything in our village is just the same as it ever was. There is no local council. There is no leader. And not one of our children has a job in the bank.

And the strangest thing of all is that the story of Sheikh Maso'ud's ak'al was all a lie. The Sheikh fabricated it and I don't know who put him up to it.

So the boy was right when he told me, "watch out, Abbas!"

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THE CHILDREN  
OF PALESTINE AND LEBANON  
ARE VICTIMS

OF ZIONIST TERRORISM  
AND AMERICAN POLICY IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST

# Palestine

P.L.O.  
information  
bulletin

MAR 1982

1-15 September 1981  
Vol. 7, No. 15



The Story of Fatima al-Halabi  
**A SYMBOL OF HOPE  
BORN FROM  
DESTRUCTION**