

PALESTINE

LIVES!

published monthly by the p.l.o department of information and national guidance

march 1975 N°2

one palestinian people united in the p.l.o.

WE CAN FOIL THE NEW IMPERIALIST MANEUVRES



CONFRONTATION IN SOUTH LEBANON

THE LAST OF THE MAGICIANS



In dealing with the «problems» of the world, Kissinger has done nothing but try to «freeze» them.

This is what he did in Vietnam after the Paris agreements: he tried to avoid implementing them and to maintain the status quo.

But current events in Vietnam, which are characterised by the inability of the U.S. puppets in Saigon to carry out the Kissinger schemes and by the failure of the whole U.S. strategy in Indochina, demonstrate the fragility of this policy and the dead-end it has now reached.

In the «Middle East», the same freezing policy is carried out under a different guise. Kissinger was Godfather to the disengagements on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. But these measures did not succeed in freezing the situation, and a violent explosion was still

always possible.

That is why Kissinger came back. And once again, he is trying to avoid the core of the «Middle East problem», dealing only with the secondary aspects which seem, to him, the simplest. Once again he is hoping to realise a «freezing» of the situation, at least for the next few years.

In this context, he is trying to realise a «partial» solution between Egypt and Israel, by which Israel pulls back from some stretches of the Sinai desert. Egypt will have, in return, to promise not to wage a new war — even if all her occupied territories have not been liberated. By doing this, Egypt will leave the ranks of the fighting forces in the region, and hence, as the Americans see it, the Palestinian Revolution and Syria will be weakened.

As to the Geneva Conference, the U.S. Secretary of State considers it an obstacle to his policy (which is based upon American monopoly of the efforts towards a solution). If he comes to accept it, it will be only to limit it to formal recognition of the steps already realised by him.

This policy, which favours Israel and the American imperialist presence in the region, does not take into account a certain number of factors, decisive though they are:

The Palestinian Revolution has acquired important military and political weight and large popular support in the region. It has won widespread recognition — from Arab countries and from throughout the whole world — of the Palestinian people's national rights. It is capable of foiling these new American manoeuvres, which are carried out with the agreement of Israel and the complicity of the reactionary and rightist forces of the Arab world. Kissinger diplomacy can never «freeze» the struggle of the Palestinian people, which will continue to grow and get stronger.

A number of Arab countries and patriotic and progressive forces will not sit idle while Kissinger continues his magician's tricks. These forces already have considerable influence, which will enable them to continue their struggle in defence of the national rights of the Arab peoples, and the Palestinian people in particular.

At the same time, the Soviet Union's powerful influence and that of the socialist countries and other democratic forces in the world who are for a just peace, will be of great importance in the balance.

The United States may pursue its looting of the wealth of the Arab world. Kissinger may pursue his «magic tricks» and his «one-man shows». **BUT THEY FORGET THAT MAGICIANS AND THEIR TRICKS LONG AGO LOST THEIR CREDIBILITY IN OUR REGION.**

This is the region that will see the dramatic end of the final trick of the last of the magicians!

the enemy recognizes...

palestinian

military

operations

grow



1974 saw victories on many fronts for the Palestinian revolution. Our diplomatic victories caught the imagination of the struggling masses of the whole world. Popular resistance in the occupied territories was immensely strengthened under the leadership of the Palestine National Front. And underpinning all these activities was a steady increase in the number and scope of our military operations against the enemy.

These operations are based on the following principles: to force the enemy to dissipate its efforts and to harass it continually. This is achieved by constant and quick change of place on the part of a limited group of combatants. This new military tactic was considered a «strategic success for the P.L.O.» by Israeli commentator Eliazar Leuni, who wrote in the Israeli newspaper Maariv of 20/10/74: «We claim that a small group of Jews can attack a large number of enemies unaided, and that in this lies our strength. But it has become clear that in reality a limited number of the enemy succeeds in immobilising a large number of us. Should this situation continue, it can only further the harassment of Israel. The initiative has passed to our enemies and we only reply to their offensive by following the rules of play that they have laid down.»

The results of these «rules of play», that is our fighters' efforts to dissipate the effectiveness of the enemy forces, are very clear from the figures. 22 % of our military operations were in the South of Palestine and in Gaza. In Gaza, where the enemy had been confident of keeping order, gre-



nade attacks were resumed. 29 % of our operations were in the regions annexed before 1967, where the enemy had come to feel itself safe from attack. The main towns — Haifa, Tel Aviv and Natanya — experienced several major operations. In the central region of Palestine, annexed in 1967, 38 % of our operations took place. This area known as the West Bank (of Jordan) is currently witnessing large-scale popular resistance. The Northern regions saw 11 % of our military operations.

1974 was indeed the year when military operations extended over the whole of Palestine — from Eilat in the South to Galilee in the North! This was at the rate of one operation per day, according to the enemy's Minister of Information, Schlomo Hillel, in a statement he made on 30th November 1974.

Zeev Shiv, military reporter of the Israeli paper *Haaretz*, wrote on December 26th of last year that: «The terrorists have succeeded in keeping up a continuous rate of operations. Nearly every day they undertake an operation which either succeeds or fails.» And Shiv admits «that many operations are not mentioned by Israeli army spokesmen and that most Israeli newspapers do not report them, unless there happens to be a large-scale operation. However, the impression that the Israeli government is greatly disturbed is the one that prevails in the (occupied) regions.»

Recently the Israeli leaders showed just how much they care about innocent lives, by giving the order that any building where the fedayeen have penetrated should be attacked **without negotiation**. Journalists are to be rigorously excluded from all such scenes. Moreover, Iser Hrael, the former Director of Israeli security forces, revealed in a radio interview the methods he considered effective against the fedayeen: «We do not need to give them the opportunity of appearing before political tribunals. If we do so, we give them the means of generating further revolutionary action, which profits them. I cannot explain here, without going into global problems and questions of jurisprudence, by what means to strike at any base or source, whether permanent or temporary, or how to disrupt their activities and hit them.» (14/12/74)

ATTACKS ON COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS

Even when the Israeli forces were in a state of

generalised alert, the fedayeen succeeded in attacking several of the heavily-armed Israeli colonies known as kibbutzim. Recent military communiques from the Palestinian Revolution have given details of attacks on the following colonies: Kiryat Shmona, last November 2nd; Kibbutz Dan, on November 30th; el-Rihaniye, on December 1st; Kfar Roch Hanikar (Ras el-Nakoura), on December 6th; and Jebel Dof (el-Sheikh) and Zerit, on the 11th and 18th of December, respectively.

After each attack the Israelis spoke of reinforcing their defence measures. Recent steps in this direction include a credit of 120 million Israeli pounds towards defences for Northern kibbutzim. There was a far-reaching reform in the structure of the police force, aimed at enabling it to participate with other forces — border guards and the civil guard — in the fight against infiltration by the fedayeen. Finally, this January, the creation of a ministerial security commission was announced.

STRIKING AT THE HEART OF ISRAEL

In the areas which the enemy has occupied since 1948, its smug self-confidence received a number of severe jolts during 1974. Not only was there an upsurge in military operations in these parts of Palestine, as described earlier, but also, their Arab population has been voicing increasing political support for the P.L.O. The enemy now feels that submission to the state by this sector of the population is becoming a «serious problem.»

The Israeli paper *Ma'ariv* of 12/11/74 wrote that «during the last few weeks political activity has intensified in the Arab villages of Galilee, especially in Central Galilee. This activity, ostensibly against the new economic policy and the rise in prices, in reality envisages more far-reaching aims.» The newspaper continues «... Every armed Palestinian group which has recently infiltrated into Israel contains at least one member who was born and instructed in Israel.»

During confrontations with the Arab inhabitants of occupied Palestine, Israeli officials have had to face openly hostile positions from their Arab listeners, who proclaimed their support for the P.L.O. and its leaders. This was particularly the case:

- at premier Rabin's meeting with the young Arabs of Nazareth last November,
- at General Ariel Sharon's meeting with the

young Arabs of Baka el-Gharbia in December,

— at Israeli Minister of Education Aharon Yadlin's meeting with the Arab students of the University of Haifa, also in December.

This, then, is the background to a vicious bill presented to the Knesset by deputies Amnon Lin (of the Likud Party) and Moshe Shahal (Maarakh), which would legislate that all sources of income be cut and all education withheld from any Arab supporting the P.L.O.

OUR TACTICS HAVE EFFECT

The military operations carried out by the Resistance over the last three months have caused high losses to the Israeli occupation forces, who suffered between 200 and 250 killed and wounded. This has had its effect. The Israeli Minister of Tourism was unable to hide his disappointment that, in spite of exceptional security measures taken throughout the country, «a limited number of tourists took part in the Christmas festivities»; immigration into Israel dropped in 1974 by 46 %, while emigration rose for that year. 48,000 emigrants were registered, compared with 33,000 new immigrants. (*New York Times*. 9/1/75)

Thus, the enemy should know by now that their violence only breeds more resistance. It is very clear that our people's national rights and its fate cannot be suppressed by collective violence, nor by vengeance being exacted from the peaceful villages of South Lebanon, nor by bombing refugee camps.

When, after the Beisan operation, the Israeli Minister of Defence pledged himself before the Knesset to make war on the fedayeen until their final extermination, his words were truly misplaced. The newspaper *Haaretz* wrote on the subject that «The War Minister should not have made such an exaggerated statement. Israel is not able to fulfil the pledge he has made. The Minister of War has signed a blank cheque which cannot be met in present conditions.»

Let the last word in the matter rest with resigning Minister of Information Yariv, who said on the same occasion that «it is impossible to finish off the fedayeen, even if Israel were to undertake a whole series of preventive operations. The problem requires a protracted war with both the Palestinians and the neighbouring Arab states.» — A war that Israel can never win.

ABU AMMAR MEETS THE CAMBODIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Farouq Qaddoumi, head of the Political Section of the PLO, had a meeting in Beirut recently with comrade Sarin Chhak, Foreign Minister of the Royal Cambodian Government of National Unity, and his accompanying delegation. Comrade Chhak gave Arafat a personal letter from Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

During the meeting, the situation in Cambodia and the military victories of the Cambodian forces against Lon Nol's puppet military junta, were discussed. Arafat expressed his own solidarity with the popular revolutionary movement in Cambodia and with the struggle of the Cambodian people for the liberation of their country, as well as the PLO Executive Committee's and that of the entire Palestine Revolution.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the Cambodian Foreign Minister stressed the support of the Cambodian government and people for the struggle of the Palestinian Revolution.

AMERICAN MILITARY BASE IN ISRAEL

Communist member of the Knesset*, Meir Vilner, recently revealed that a new international airport being constructed near Beer-Sheba in occupied Palestine, was destined to be used as a military base by the Americans.

The Communist bloc in the Knesset demanded that this question be listed on the Knes-

*The Israeli «Parliament».

set's agenda. Communist deputies said that they have strong reasons to believe that the airport would be used by the USA and by NATO forces. They added that the construction of such bases would be a source of tension in the area and a permanent threat to the security of Arab countries.

THE COST OF WAR

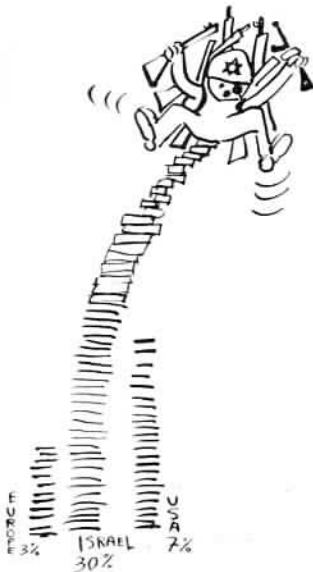
Israel's finance minister announced that 30% of Gross National Product in Israel was devoted to military spending.

He compared this with the U.S.A.'s defence burden (7% of G.N.P.) and with the figures for West European states, which lie between 3% and 5%.

AUSTRALIAN STUDENTS DEPLORE GOVERNMENT'S STAND AGAINST THE P.L.O.

The annual conference of the Australian Union of Students, which has 250,000 members, condemned the refusal of the Australian government to grant entry visas to the PLO delegation which had been invited to visit Australia in January. The students' union asked the government to reconsider its decision. The PLO received a cable from Neil McLean, the union's president, expressing support for the establishment of a democratic state in Palestine. He also supported the latest UN resolution on the Palestine question.

This leader of a progressive student movement confirmed that the movement has decided to stage protest demonstrations in condemnation of the government's stand, and to affirm total support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation.



the palestine national front

«THE RIGHT ARM OF THE P.L.O. IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES»



*The exiled leaders of the P.N.F. protesting on the Jordan

In 1967 the Israeli invaders completed their occupation of Palestine by annexing the Gaza Strip and the east-central sector of Palestine (the West Bank) to the territory already occupied. Thus the majority of the Palestinians found themselves directly under Israeli occupation.

Until then, historical Palestine had been divided between the Israel of 1948 and Jordan (previously Transjordan). The Palestinians expelled by the Israeli colonisation were taken in by Jordan — which the British mandatory power had created 30 years earlier, principally with this aim in view. Thus east-central Palestine (the West Bank), including East Jerusalem, with a population of around 800,000, was subject to the Hashemite regime for nearly 20 years. Political organisations — forbidden since 1957 — were a permanent target for repression during this period.

● Weakened as they were, and forced to operate clandestinely, these political groups reorganised after 1967 in order to deal with the new situation. The principal progressive forces — the Communist Party, the Baath Party and the Arab Nationalist Movement* — saw the emergence of a new force among the Palestinians of the exodus, namely the Palestinian National Liberation Movement, el-Fateh. These forces, together, were the natural leadership for the resistance against occupation in the interior.

Military operations, which

*Later the Arab Nationalist movement generated the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P.F.L.P.) and a splinter group jointly with Marxists of other origins came to constitute the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (D.F.L.P.).

were resumed late in August 1967, and more or less spontaneous mass movements, were accompanied by frequent attempts at co-ordination covering the whole occupied territories (Revolutionary Committees, Committees of National Guidance). Six years, however, elapsed before new conditions permitted such an evolution to take place.

In fact, following the first years of the growth of the armed resistance (1968-1970), counter-revolutionary plans were being drawn by the Zionists and their imperialist allies. Incapable of subduing the revival of the Palestinian people, and seeing itself flanked to the East by the embryo of popular power which was developing in the Trans-jordanian towns and refugee camps, the enemy had recourse to major measures: the Rogers plan (for the

so-called solution of the Middle East question) was intended to bring about the isolation of the resistance. While King Hussein's tribal army was to neutralise it militarily (Black September, 1970), the misleading project for a federated Jordano-Palestinian state (the United Arab Kingdom) was to neutralise it politically. The Israeli authorities, for their part, intensified their repressive measures against nationalist elements in the occupied territories, carrying out at the same time an «intoxication and seduction» campaign directed at the Palestinian masses. They organised «elections» and spoke of an «autonomous administration».

It was in the face of these multiple threats that the active forces in the resistance decided to bring the co-ordination and organisation of the forces of the interior to a high level. Thus the 11th Palestinian National Council of the P.L.O. launched its appeal (January 1973) for the creation of a national front.

NATIONAL FRONT A FACT

Contracts among the different organizations fighting the occupation (political parties, resistance organizations, labour unions, professional associations and women's groups, in addition to patriotic individuals) resulted in the proclamation of the Palestine National Front (P.N.F.) on August 15th, 1973.

In its declaration of that day, the P.N.F. stressed first the repressive aspects of the occupation and enumerated the means used by the enemy to break the many-sided resistance of the Palestinian people and to transform the Arab Palestinian face of the occupied territories. The declaration underlined the continuity of the Palestinian struggle and the gains achieved through it, particularly as regards the rebirth of the Palestinian personality, and the international recognition which it had won. The declaration ended with a 13-point programme.

AT THE HEAD OF THE STRUGGLE

The October War of

1973, the intensification of armed resistance and the P.L.O.'s diplomatic breakthroughs gave new impetus to the popular struggle in the occupied territories. Thus the P.N.F. (termed «the right arm of the P.L.O. in the occupied territories» by Abu Ammar) channelled, organised and led the new revolutionary upsurge.

The directives of the P.N.F. were transmitted to the masses through pamphlets, posters and slogans on walls and pavements. Petitions, sit-ins, strikes and demonstrations increased. Often they were sparked off by the unions or the professional associations. The elections a few weeks before the October War to the Histadrut, the Israeli labour union which is a central pillar of the Zionist state, met a complete boycott from Arab workers. During the war, in response to an injunction from the P.N.F., Arab workers in a body deserted their posts in Israeli factories, which paralysed some sectors of the colonialist industry. Thus, joined with an ever-intensified armed resistance, the popular struggle embraced the whole occupied land.

REPRESSION RENEWED

Possibly the Israelis had until then minimised the importance of the popular movement. But after the war, they clamped down hard on the P.N.F. Eight of its cadres ** were expelled to Jordan in December 1973. Wide arrests followed among P.N.F. cadres and militants. Union leaders, journalists, authors, professionals, teachers, students, all were affected. What they call «Administrative Detention» (imprisonment without trial), was carried out without definite charges being brought against the detainees, and continued for long months — as a way of keeping such persons under close watch for an unlimited period. Over 100 P.N.F. cadres are at present victim to this incarceration.

STRUGGLE CONTINUES INTENSE

Meanwhile, in April 1974, the P.N.F. clandestinely published the first issue of its official organ *Falasteen* (Palestine). Hit severely

by arrests, this organ was not to appear again until recently.

But the masses are always capable of forging new cadres, and in spite of all the repressive measures the struggle continues. In October 1974 more than 180 personalities from the occupied territories, figures from the most diverse backgrounds, addressed a petition to the Arab Summit Conference at Rabat demanding the recognition of the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This initiative, which carried great political weight, led to new expulsions and another wave of repression.

Then came the «November of the Palestinians». On the 13th of that month last year, Abu Ammar mounted the rostrum of the United Nations. Immediately a general uprising spread throughout the occupied territories, proof of the unity of the Palestinian people. (See *Palestine Lives*, No 1, February 1975). The P.N.F. was prime mover and co-ordinator of the many types of popular action which constituted «the ten days that shook the occupation».

TOWARDS A NEW DAWN

The living conditions of the Palestinian population under the occupation deteriorate as Israel's economic crisis worsens. Unemployment, the soaring price-increases on basic goods, crushing taxation (in Jerusalem) which affects primarily the Arabs; all these cause even more hostility to the occupation.

Even if the Israeli-Kissinger manoeuvres succeed in prolonging the occupation and preventing the Palestinians from realising their right to self-determination, for some time, the people will continue the struggle, organised, unanimously agreed and taught by its own experience. To the people, the final outcome is by no means doubtful.

** Since June 1974, three of them have become members of the P.L.O. Executive Committee.

PROGRAMME OF THE PALESTINE NATIONAL FRONT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (Excerpts)

The Zionist occupiers give free rein to theft, seizure of goods, and judaisation measures in our occupied country. They seize large expanses of Arab land and property, they expropriate buildings (evicting their owners) and demolish them, replacing them with new quarters and new Zionist colonies. They also take measures aimed at integrating our economy with theirs, that is, making it dependent on Israeli firms. They hope by thus exploiting our people and by raising taxes and the cost of living astronomically, to realise unlimited profits...

While forbidding the return of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees after the 1948 and 1967 aggressions, the Zionist occupiers welcomed to our country with open arms Jews from all over the world...

They are encouraged not only by the unlimited aid given them in economic, political and military spheres by the United States, but also by the steps undertaken by those defeatist forces, which are waiting for an American solution engineered by Washington with the aim of protecting the interests of the imperialist thieves in the Arab world...

Many patriots in the occupied territories stand prepared to face the dangers which are threatening. After discussion, they decided to

create the Palestine National Front in the occupied territories, such a Front being the only way to mobilize and unite all the fighting capacities of our people — a task corresponding to the appeal of the Palestine National Council in its last session in Cairo at the beginning of this year (1973). Consequently, the Palestine National Front is an intrinsic part of the Palestine National Movement represented by the P.L.O. The Palestine National Front of the occupied territories puts forward the following programme:

1 — To resist the Zionist occupiers and to fight for the liberation of our occupied Arab land.

2 — To guarantee the lawful rights of our Arab Palestinian people, and especially its right to self-determination in its own land and its right to return to its homes.

3 — To refuse all solutions which seek to liquidate our Arab Palestinian people and which ignore its rights. That means refusing Zionist proposals which talk of a «Palestinian entity», of a «civilian administration and self-management»; likewise the Allon Plan, the Hussein Plan, and American solutions.

4 — To defend Arab land and property from various measures of seizure, closure, and judaisation.

5 — To protect our Arab economy by guarding our plans

and our agricultural, industrial and commercial establishments from the attempts of the occupiers to wreck them in order to integrate them into Zionist firms.

6 — To prevent our Arab culture and history from being distorted and destroyed by the Zionists, by protecting in particular our school programmes.

7 — To defend our Holy Places from attempts by the Zionists to destroy them or to take them over.

8 — To revive our popular folklore and the resistance literature, symbolizing our people's attachment to its land and its heroic struggle to defend it.

9 — To take care of our fighters, men and women locked away in Zionist prisons, and to fight for their better treatment and liberation; to take care of their families and children, their wives and relatives.

10 — To support popular organizations: workers' federations, trade guilds, students' and women's unions, clubs, religious and social institutions, etc. To support these organizations in their defence of their interests and to mobilize their forces to fight against the occupation; to work with them to prevent the Zionists infiltrating their ranks and to oppose Zionist attempts to disperse our young people, corrupt them and make them forget their national consciousness.

11 — The Palestine National Front attests that the Palestinian and Jordanian people are brothers and one people; and that it stands firm and united in the struggle of the Jordanian National Movement to transform Jordan into a solid base of support, on which the Arabs and Palestinians can rely in their fight against Zionist and colonial aggression.

12 — The Palestine National Front affirms that the national struggle led by the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories is part of

CONFRONTATIO

the Arab liberation movement. For if Zionist aggression and occupation continue, it is not only the rights and interests of the Palestinian people which are threatened but also the rights and existence of other Arab peoples.

13 — The Palestine National Front fights to strengthen links of friendship and solidarity with all progressive and revolutionary forces in the world, especially with the socialist countries; it works at the international level to gain a greater number of sympathisers and friends for our just cause.

The creation of a Palestine National Front in the occupied territories and the grouping of our Palestinian masses around it, constitutes an important step in strengthening our people's self-confidence; in intensifying its struggle against the occupier; denying the argument of the occupying forces which says that our masses in the West Bank lack leaders capable of changing their fate; in reinforcing the struggle led by our people outside the occupied territories, and in proving unity of the struggle which it has led inside and outside the occupied territories.

Let all our Palestinian masses in the occupied territories, all classes and all social groups, peasants, workers, religious leaders, nationalist factory owners, give their support to the Palestine National Front. Every citizen who cherishes the land of his fathers and grandfathers, who believes in our national honour and the safeguarding of our Holy Places should support the Front. For our enemy is fierce and seeks to uproot us. If we want to fight successfully, all our people must participate in the struggle, and this struggle should not be limited to one area, but should embrace all areas in such a way that every citizen, man or woman, can participate, according to his role in society.



Bodies of children recovered from the debris after the Israeli attack on May 16, 1974

ON IN SOUTH LEBANON

The recent fighting in Kfar Shouba and throughout the Arqoub area of Southern Lebanon was no isolated incident, but an intensification of a long-standing policy of Israeli aggression against the inhabitants of the area. So, to understand the importance of the battle of Kfar Shouba, we must understand the aims of this Israeli policy.

Lebanon did not take part in the 1967 and 1973 wars. The Armistice Agreement of March 23rd, 1949, between Israel and Lebanon is still supposedly in force and has been rigidly adhered to by the Lebanese side. In spite of this, the aggressions against Lebanon continue daily — and Israel is even pressing for a new peace treaty recognizing the (Israeli-imposed) «new frontiers.»

Israeli policy in South Lebanon is directed equally against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. It has two major aims. Firstly, to provoke a massive exodus from South Lebanon, leaving the area «cleansed» of Arabs and thus fit for Zionist occupation. Secondly, to isolate the fedayeen from the Palestinian masses and the Palestinians from their Lebanese brothers.

GROWING ZIONIST AGGRESSION

In pursuit of these aims, the Zionists have, since the June War of 1967, been directing their infamous terror against the inhabitants of South Lebanon, Lebanese and Palestinians alike.

As far back as May 12th, 1968, a Lebanese army communique announced that Israeli forces had shelled the village of Houleh, killing one woman and wounding a woman and a child. 1968 saw 5 major Israeli operations in the area, and in 1969 there were 18.

Since then the scale and number of aggressions have drastically increased. The table shows the types of aggression that have been carried out. It records also that of a staggering total of 6,111 enemy operations over five and a half years, no less than 2,310 occurred during the first ten months of 1974 (which is the latest period documented).

On occasion, the Israeli leaders have succeeded in escaping the wrath of international public opinion which should have been aroused by their actions against South Lebanon. The aerial bombardment of the town of Hasbaya on June 21st, 1972, caused fourteen civilian deaths and only four from the military. Yigal Allon explained away this fact by attributing it to a technical defect which the pilot was

unable to correct. But this was not just an unlucky chance, as a comparison of the death-tolls for civilians and military in the Table will show. And the civilian casualties, especially when the refugee camps are bombed, are overwhelmingly among the women and children.

THE TACTICS OF TERROR

Following is a typical scenario of enemy aggression: on May 12th, 1970, Israeli forces entered a village and battle raged for 32 hours. Houses were identified to be dynamited. Water channels and other vital installations were destroyed. Amenities such as clinics, schools and bakeries were blown up.

But this is a relatively dramatic instance. The everyday activity of enemy forces is that smaller patrols visit frontier villages and try to sow terror by warning the villagers to expect the worst — and they show what they mean by this: by torturing Lebanese agricultural workers before the eyes of their powerless comrades (at Kfar Kella, Blida, Meis el-Jebel, Ramieh); by taking hostages and looting homes (at Kfar Kella on 4/1/1970); by leaving burnt harvests and slaughtered livestock in their wake.

And of course they continue to blow up houses. Thus, during the last weeks of April 1971 dozens of homes were dynamited in the villages mentioned above.

EXPANSIONIST AIMS

Currently the Zionists are trying to entrench their position in South Lebanon. They have nearly finished the construction of roads necessary for infantry operations — which will give them complete strategic domination over the South-East (the Arqoub area). Already they have installed several military posts armed with heavy machine-guns and artillery, inside Lebanese territory, in hillside positions which stretch from Mount Hermon to the coast. By April 4th, 1972 Israeli forces were already occupying some 2,000 acres of Lebanese land (e.g. the hills of «Adeiseh, Abbasiyeh, Rweisat and Ramieh — this last



*The Nabatiya camp before the air attack of May 16th, 1974.



*The Nabatiya camp after the air attack of May 16th 1974.

on the site of a former Lebanese Red Cross centre).

On June 1st, 1970, Israel officially announced what was then termed a «new policy», namely its determination to «redraw the border with Lebanon». So, what began as occasional Israeli patrols inside Lebanese territory would have grown into the annexation of significant stretches of land. Israel could not even be satisfied with the land it expropriated during the '67 war, from 14 farms around the Lebanese frontier village of Sheb'a!

But there is nothing new about Israeli designs on South Lebanon. (Zionism has always sought to keep its aims hidden from those who would suffer by them, until it feels strong enough to announce a **fait accompli**). It is enough to recall the plan submitted by the World Zionist Organisation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 (see map), in which the future Zionist state would stretch to the waters of the Litani. Later declarations by Zionist leaders are to the same effect. Among these is Moshe Dayan's statement soon after the June War of 1967, that: «The Israeli frontiers, except those with Lebanon, are ideal.»¹

Current Zionist propaganda seeks to justify the planned annexation of the area by giving the impression that it is not really part of Lebanon at all – they like to call it «Fatehland». Much of the Western press has taken up this name, which is a dangerous sign, but it should not blind anyone to the fact that the South remains an integral part of Lebanon.

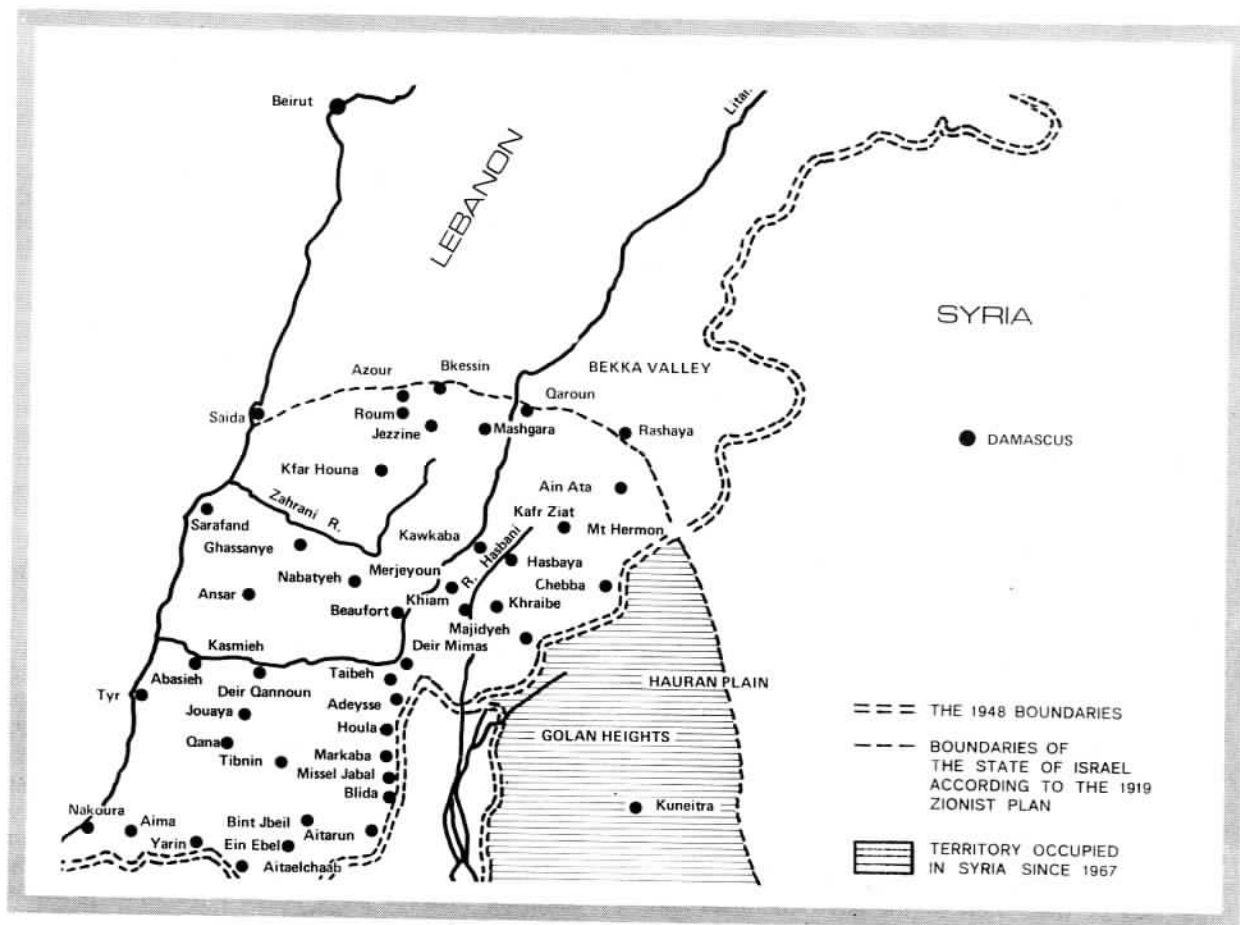
ISRAELI OPERATIONS IN SOUTH LEBANON, AND THE DAMAGE CAUSED.

(Source : The Lebanese Association for Information on Palestine
P.O.B. 11-7037)

		12/5/68 to 1/11/74	1/1/74 to 1/11/74
OPERATIONS			
Roads opened		30	1
Violations of air-space		1265	560
Violations of territorial waters		199	113
Artillery shelling		1623	1321
Heavy machine-gun fire		79	55
Aerial bombardment		367	176
Incursions into Lebanese territory		238	84
DAMAGES			
Killed	military	29	1
	civilians	291	167
Wounded	military	109	21
	civilians	652	412
Kidnapped	military	23	6
	civilians	97	23
Homes	destroyed	479	97
	damaged	779	292
Head of livestock slaughtered		766	397

LEBANESE VILLAGERS LIVING UNDER TERROR

Not a village, not a town, in South Lebanon has been spared from the Israeli operations. A few figures will show what losses have been incurred by the civilians. The Council for the South (a government



body created in 1970 to check the exodus of villagers from the South) paid the following sums between 1/6/1970 and 31/12/73:

* 1,336,500 L.L.² indemnities to relatives of the 168 Lebanese killed.

* 402,735 L.L. financial aid to the 407 Lebanese wounded

* 7,088,128 L.L. indemnities for the homes of Lebanese villagers destroyed or damaged.

The Zionists seemed at one time to be succeeding in their plan to depopulate the South. It was estimated at one stage that 20% of the 159,000 Lebanese from frontier villages had left for the north, or gone to the poorer suburbs of Beirut. This flight accelerated after the attacks of May 1970 (whereas before then, only isolated departures took place).

But more recently many have returned, and those who have left for good are primarily those who lost their livelihoods when the Israeli forces annexed their land (e.g. the villagers of Adeiseh, el-Habbaniyeh, Kfar Hamam). Those who remain raise their cattle, cultivate their lands, and gather their crops of tobacco, fruit and vegetables — as best they can under the daily fear of Israeli operations.

TRYING TO ISOLATE THE REVOLUTION

Israeli terror in South Lebanon also aims to isolate our freedom-fighters from our people, by the policy of massive recriminations against them whenever our

fighters score a victory, and to divide our Palestinian people from the Lebanese people. South Lebanon has now become the fiercest exterior front in the Israeli war against our revolution.

Yitzhak Rabin has summarised Israeli aims on this front as follows. Firstly, to completely seal the Israel-Lebanon border (or rather, one-way traffic across it only!) Secondly, to hit at the fedayeen before they can hit in Israel, and this is an important part of the global war to exterminate the fedayeen. Thirdly, to force the Lebanese government to bear responsibility for every feda'i action against Israel carried out from Lebanese territory.³

ISRAELI PLANS FOILED

But so far most of the Israeli aims in South Lebanon remain unrealised. The Palestinian people has not been cowed and is solidly behind our revolution and its leadership the P.L.O. And relations between the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in South Lebanon have never been stronger.

These were the real victories of Kfar Shouba!

1 — The Jewish Chronicle (6/10/1967). Evidently Dayan was referring to the post-June frontiers, namely the River Jordan and the Suez Canal.

2 — 1 L.L. (Lebanese pound) — £ 0.18, \$ 0.45 (roughly).

3 — Taken from Yitzhak Rabin's press conference held at the close of the World Zionist Organisation's Convention. (London, August 1974).



*Weizmann, the first president of Israel, «as Jewish as England is English.»

IS PEACE COMPATIBLE WITH ISRAEL'S NATURE?

There is constant talk of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East; but is this peace compatible with the nature of Israel?

The answer to this question can be found by a close examination of the essence of Zionism, which is the official ideology of Israel and is also widespread amongst the Jews of the world. Zionist writings shape the political thought of the majority of Israelis, and determine their relations with their environment in terms of their daily life in Israel and of their view of the Arab countries and people.

Zionist ideology insists upon the **specificity** of the Jewish people as a people who has no equal and possesses unique characteristics. The Jewish people is the Chosen People; to permit itself to be debased to the level of other peoples will sully its pure essence and harm its historical mission.

According to Leon Pinsker, an early proponent of the Zionist idea, «The Jews formed a spiritually chosen nation whose essence is ineffable». Thus, the Jewish «nation» is not only a chosen nation; it is also a mysterious entity — incomprehensible, in the face of which the human spirit remains powerless. Judaism must remain a phenomenon to be accepted as it is in theory and in practice.

The Zionist philosopher Martin Buber speaks of «the ultimate superiority of the world Jewish nation.» The Jews are «the only people in the world which was formed in the earliest times as both a nation and a religious entity, simultaneously.» They are «the crowning of the divine creation.» Accordingly, «the world Jewish nation has a specific role in the history of humanity; in a certain sense it is God's eternal herald, a messenger whose mission is to intervene in order to maintain the equilibrium and the honour of humanity.» (For more details, see «Israel dans la conscience juive», ed. by Neher, Paris, 1971).

Also in this book, Pierre Bernard writes: «At the end of the 19th century, Western thought was in a crisis; the big names that I have just mentioned, scholars of Jewish origins, had pulled out the scien-

tific and artistic ideas from their impasse and permitted them to proceed towards the gigantic transformation of today» (p. 121). The contribution of the Jewish intelligentsia is not judged in its historical and social context, but is seen as the intervention of a mystical force to re-establish equilibrium in human society. Such a conception, rooted in a superiority complex, assumes grave proportions when it is put into practice in society.

Zionist ideology insists upon the importance to the Jewish people of an auto-ghetto to safeguard its «purity». To mix with non-Jews is equivalent to the betrayal of Jewish «authenticity», to the commitment of an outrage against the Jewish race. Jews, therefore, should not create social ties with non-Jews, but must on the contrary withdraw within themselves.

Zionist Jews, imbibed with this ideology, put their ideas concretely into practice in Palestine. Zionist leaders had never hidden their colonialist designs. Chaim Weizmann, later the first President of the State of Israel, declared: «We want Palestine to become as Jewish as England is English.» Herzl's lieutenant Max Nordau was even more explicit when he said: «We shall guard the European culture from which we have drawn for the last two millennia. We can only mock those who advise us to become Asiatic. We shall become Asiatic as much as the Anglo-Saxons in America have become Indian.»* Nordau thus completely excluded any Arab influence or presence from his projects; where Arabs existed, a means must be found to annihilate them.

The Zionists did not fail their doctrine: with imperialism's help, they occupied Palestine. And to make this doctrine well known to the Arabs, they practised their criminal terrorism at Deir Yassin and Kafr Qassem. With no scruples, Max Nordau had seen the Arabs as the new American Indians... **which implies their extermination.**

* Sufferers from the « European culture » of Israel today also include Israel's oriental Jews.

To justify its colonialist policy, Zionism takes refuge in mysticism, in the mythology that, «now Jews have returned to the Promised Land.» According to Raschwald (*Diogene* (Paris), no 80), the true Jew cannot exist without the Promised Land, or he will be always errant and unhappy. Besides, he will be damned by God, for God gave the Promised Land to the Jewish people who must guard it. As long as he stays away from the Promised Land, original sin will be inherent in the Jewish soul.

The political meaning of this argument is as follows: the occupation of Palestine is done in the name of God. Consequently Zionist colonialism must be taken as it is, as an act taken in the name of God. It is a case of using divine justification for a colonialist fact.

But a question arises: if, according to Raschwald, the Jew outside his Promised Land is always unhappy, why then do American Jews and so many others prefer to remain outside Israel?

Zionism has employed all possible means to hide its true nature. Nevertheless two facts remain concrete:

- The occupation of Palestine by force, and
- The expatriation of the Palestinians, the people whose land was usurped.

The belligerent nature of Zionism does not only arise from its own ideological contribution, but is due also to its links and uninterrupted relationship with the camp of imperialist aggression. Long before the creation of the State of Israel, Zionism had already established good relations with the colonialist forces. Thus, in his correspondence with Rothschild, Weizmann insisted upon the identity of interests, English and Zionist. Zionism may have changed partners — from the British to the Americans — but it has never left the imperialist camp.

Since it came to be, Israel has never known real independence, either political or economic. Its policy has constantly been guided by imperialist interests and strategy, and strongly linked to both. The aggressive and colonialist policy of Israel and the Zionist movement is determined not only by the structure of Zionism but also by imperialist aims.

The Israeli aggression of 1967 was but the continuation of Zionist occupation of Palestine. Israel has since its inception played an important part in checking the Arab progressive and revolutionary movements.

From the totality of these factors — the internal (namely, the chauvinistic, racist and colonialist nature of Israel) and the external (imperialist interests) — only one path is possible: war and a renewal of war, which is according to the Israeli leaders the only springboard towards peace. For them, the prior condition to any peace is the assurance of their own absolute superiority. Peace must be imposed by force. One recalls Moshe Dayan's famous remarks about the Arabs, that «The only language they know is that of force,» and «to cohabitate with them one must hit them very hard.»

Under such conditions, what are the prospects in the near future, for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East?

THE POLITICS OF AGGRESSION IS BARELY PAYING OFF...

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN ISRAEL



*The Israeli citizens express their discontent

During the first years of the post-1967 occupation, the Israeli economy was soaring. There was full employment, with a plentiful pool of cheap Arab labour to work on the projects financed by the conscience money which poured in during and after the war. There were the oil-fields of Sinai. And there were the vast new markets in the occupied territories for Israeli products.

But recently the picture has looked distinctly less rosy. The Israeli economy was faced with a growing defence burden, and the cost of increased internal security. The patriotic war of October 1973 only intensified the downward trend.

Today Israel is faced with a massive and growing balance of payments deficit — it is estimated that the deficit for 1974/5 will reach \$3.6 billion. Foreign debts are currently rising towards \$6 billion, and currency reserves are dwindling fast (at least \$75 million per month since the beginning of 1974). Key industries such as weaving and diamond-working are obliged to restrict their output.

Israeli citizens and the Palestinians under Israeli rule are faced alike with a soaring cost of living. The currency devaluation of last November hoisted the inflation-rate for the year around 40%, and these rises are felt most in the sector of consumer necessities: the prices of meat, sugar, milk-products and rice were raised between 50% and 300%.

Although the financial aid from Jewish com-

munities abroad is now derisory compared with official American aid, its amount is still an indicator of confidence in the Israeli economy. In 1974 the United Jewish Appeal only received \$ 215-220 million which was far less than in 1973 (\$ 478 million), and even in 1972 (\$ 230 million). The confidence of prospective immigrants is also at a low ebb, and immigration in 1974 was 46 % less than in 1973.

The economic situation is becoming starkly reminiscent of 1965 and 1966. Then, too, there was growing unemployment, a lessening of Israeli purchasing power and international confidence in Israel's economic performance was being sapped. The impasse of those years was broken by the Israeli expansion of June 1967. Do the Israeli leaders want to use the same method to pull themselves out of today's crisis (which after all is not only economic, but has far-reaching social and political implications)?

But whatever the Israeli leaders decide to do, it remains a fact that they are firmly wedded to the interests of American imperialism. And since this is itself entering an international crisis of massive proportions, the Israeli masses cannot expect to find a solution to their very real problems, through the dealings of the neo-colonialist Washington — Tel Aviv axis.

ZUMWALT SEES PEACE IF ISRAEL IS PART OF U.S.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C. Feb. 14 (AP). — Elmo Zumwalt, a former chief of U.S. naval operations, said that a solution to Mideast turmoil could be to make Israel a dominion of the United States and to place troops there.

Addressing students at the University of North Carolina last night, Mr. Zumwalt said: «I believe that forces could be stationed in parts of Israel to insure that they were neither invaded nor did they invade.» He added that this would «defuse the situation.»

Mr. Zumwalt also suggested that Israel might be given the status of a dominion similar to Puerto Rico. He said that this would «insure that it was recognized as U.S. sovereign territory by the Arabs and, alternately, give us the responsibility (to make sure) that the Israelis did not spill across the border.»

From the « International Herald Tribune », February 15th 1975.

THE REACTIONARY REGIME OF THE SHAH OF IRAN... MIDDLE EASTERN SUB-IMPERIALISM

More than three years ago, Iranian troops invaded and annexed to the Shah's Empire, three islands at the entrance to the Gulf, near the coast of the Arab peninsula.

And more than one year ago, the Shah's troops landed in the South of the Arab state of Oman (this time with Sultan Qabus' permission), to confront the revolution led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, which was centered in the province of Dhofar.

Spending billions of dollars in the U.S.A. on the most sophisticated arms, the Shah follows a truly mini-imperialist policy in the region. With the new financial power bought by Iran's oil-production, his reactionary attacks on the Iranian masses now spread beyond the frontiers of Iran.

Today, the Iranian masses do not suffer the Shah's counter-revolutionary 'dynamism' alone.



Neighbouring Iraq is frequently victim to his aggression. Egypt, distant though it is, is no less the object of the Shah's economic and political offensives. His shadow lies over the entire region.

Some years ago, American Imperialism learnt a good lesson in Vietnam. Direct intervention by American troops is today considered only as a last resort. Priority is given to reinforcing those regimes which remain faithful to Washington — as happened during the «Vietnamisation» of their aggression in Vietnam. This «new policy» is today applied throughout the world. America's allies have become veritable armed fortresses, and play the role of local sub-imperialisms, all in the service of a single global strategy. Such has always been the role of Israel — which is today facing increasing crises — and the same now applies to Brazil, South Korea and Iran.

The Shah's stance on the oil question, and the increased room for manoeuvre which he has gained through the price-increases, cannot hide this new reality. The Shah admitted as much himself when he said at a press conference last October that his destiny was indissolubly bound to that of the capitalist world.

Hence our solidarity with the Iranian patriots, who are struggling under difficult conditions, and with the fighters of Dhofar who are heroically facing an Unholy Alliance between all the reactionary forces of the region and the major imperialist powers of the world.



*Yasser Abed Rabbo expressing the solidarity of the Palestinian people with the people of Chile.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN PEOPLE

● The «Magician» who is welcomed with open arms by certain regimes in our region, and who earlier was the recipient of half a Nobel Peace Prize: this «Magician» has on his record one of the bloodiest massacres of modern times. The Chilean people knows well the value of Kissinger's conception of peace. And so do we.

So it was in a warmly fraternal spirit that many Palestinians took part in a recent meeting of solidarity with the Chilean people and their bravely-resisting left-wing movement.

The meeting took place last January 23rd in Beirut, in the big hall of the Arab University. It was

organised by the PLO Department of Information and National Guidance. Hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese militants packed the hall, and several important guests. Among them, the ambassador of Cuba and representatives of the embassies of progressive Arab countries and of socialist countries, as well as the secretary-General of OSPAAAL (the Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America), Mrs Montalvo, who was visiting Beirut at the time.

Comrade Montalvo took the stage to underline the globally similar nature of U.S. imperialist policy everywhere. The head of the PLO department, Yasser Abed Rabbo, then spoke of the deep solidarity of the Palestinian people with their progressive

Chilean brothers, who are at present suffering under bloody repression. The showing of a film which related the dramatic events of Chile's recent history provided more insight into the human aspects of the situation there. Pictures of Salvador Allende, Pablo Neruda, and numerous militants now dead or in prison, received great applause. The scenes of the great poet's funeral cortege in Santiago evoked especial emotion in the audience.

American imperialism, he warned: the martyrs of «the Chilean Spring» will be revenged! The peoples of Latin America and the whole world will render the account. And the children of Santiago and Valparaiso will one day, we are sure, rebuild People's Chile.



THE TRUTH WILL OUT

We would be the first to admit that, until quite recently, the arguments against Zionist colonialism have not always been very well presented in the West. The Palestinians sincerely thought that their case would be judged on its own merits, and did not see the importance of helping people to form this judgement.

In the last years, however, there has been a definite improvement. So striking, in fact, that a recent issue of the London «Spectator» carried feature articles on «The Middle East Propaganda War».

The case for the Zionists was set out by a Mr. John Laffin. Laffin's main contention was that Arab information is becoming so good, it has lost its hysterical tone and now sounds so reasonable, so plausible... that it must have been written by imported Western experts!

But Laffin's remarks, strange though they might seem, should remind us of the importance which Zionism has always attached to its «information weapon», (and of how seriously they view its present blunting by what is called the «erosion» of confidence in its truth.) The Zionists have themselves over the years deliberately had to construct a particular view of reality... Palestine was a desert until the Zionists «made it bloom»... Their battles against the British were «a war of liberation»... «There never were any Palestinians»... And so on.

Perhaps these myths change slightly over the years, in line with new political aims, but the effort

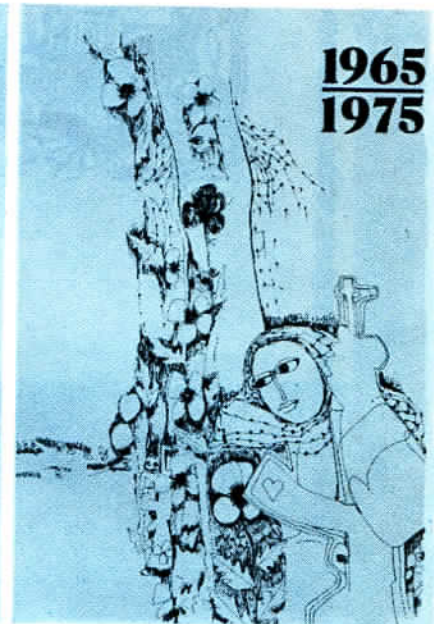
behind their propagation has never let up. It has always been a major preoccupation of the Zionist leaders to have the Zionist myths accepted by the majority of public opinion. Herzl travelled the length and breadth of Europe to find backers both in diplomatic and editorial circles. He was himself a journalist and knew well the value of publicity.

Weizmann in 1914, saw that the Zionist movement was getting nowhere – but then he met up with the Editor of the «Manchester Guardian», Mr. C.P. Scott. Scott offered Weizmann the use of his columns to agitate for the Jewish State in Palestine. It was Scott too who introduced Weizmann to Lloyd George and Herbert Samuel, two members of the British government which later issued the Balfour Declaration.

It is too simple, as well as untrue, to say that the Western press is financed and controlled by the Zionists. But the fact remains that the Zionist movement has been working assiduously, for eighty years now, to have its distorted view of reality accepted as the Truth. And of course this work has not been without its effect. Our revolution is a comparative newcomer in the public-opinion field.

But to get back to those sinister Westerners who are revamping the Palestinian information effort... one Westerner we can do without is Mr. John Laffin, whose description of the oil countries as «inconsiderate brutes trying to inflict economic collapse on the Western world», we find, is definitely over-hysterical.

D.Khoury.



WE SHELL REMAIN



It is a thousand times easier
For you
To pass an elephant through the needle's eye
To catch fried fish in the milky way
To plow the sea
To teach the alligator speech,
A thousand times easier
Than smothering with your oppression
The spark of an idea
Or forcing us to deviate
A single step
From our chosen march.
Like twenty impossibles
We shall remain in Lydda, Ramlah, and Galilee.

Here upon your chests
We shall remain
Like the glass and the cactus
In your throats
A fiery whirlwind
In your eyes

Here, we shall remain
A wall on your chests.
We wash dishes in the hotels
And serve drinks to the masters.
We mop the floors in the dark kitchens
To extract a piece of bread
From your blue teeth
For the little ones.

Here, we shall remain
A wall on your chests.
We starve,
Go naked,
Sing songs
And fill the streets
With demonstrations
And the jails with pride.

TAWFIG ZAYYAD