

free palestine

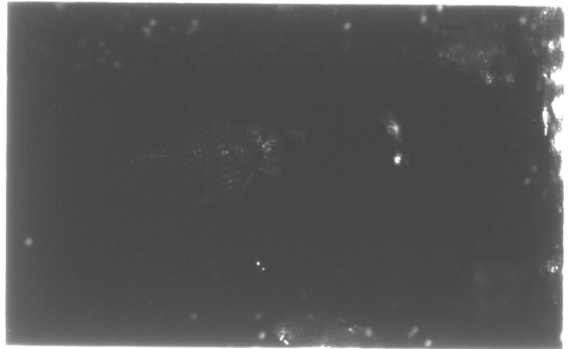
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THE

palestinian democratic state

Preliminary Remarks
on Proposals Debated by the National Palestinian Council

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The subject of the Palestinian state predominated over many other topics of discussion during the recent National Palestinian Council. The interest in this subject indicates the following:

The acceleration of fighting burdens the Palestinian resistance with the responsibility of clarifying the substitute it proposes to set up instead of what it is trying to get rid of.

Clarification of views within the Palestine resistance as to what it aims to achieve will prevent the cheap hyperbole which attempts to make intellectual stands from emotion and the public auctioneering which can only result in the ultimate precipitation of the Palestine problem.

Adherence to specified goals casts light upon the progress of the effort. Without such adherence, progress becomes confused and enters into a maze of detailed interpretations which lead only to more confusion and a lack of organized plans of action and movement.

Since it is the Palestinian resistance which stands against Israel, the world must know the nature of the positive thought which stands behind it, as well as the legitimate natural reaction which

it represents.

The armed Palestinian resistance has the ability to act upon the matter without being influenced by those who practice struggle as an intellectual exercise or those who view intellect as an entity separate from experience. Discussion of the establishment of the Palestinian Democratic State in all the land of Palestine is a clear indication of the serious state into which the resistance has entered and of the impossibility of retreating from the goal of complete liberation. This seriousness necessitates that the views of two types of dissidents be contained.

First: those who say that discussions involving the Palestinian Democratic State are premature, due to their inability to grasp the new stage which serious resistance has introduced into the Palestine question. They continue to treat the Palestine question within a partial framework, considering it as an enduring and suspended problem rather than the problem of a people existing in the inevitably developing course of history.

Second: those who say that they go along with discussions of the Palestinian Democratic State as

a tactic to win public opinion but not as a general strategy for revolutionary struggle. This group in fact reveals its intellectual inability to understand the progressive human element of the Palestine resistance movement and the international realities in which the Palestinian problem evolves. This inability derives from the fact that a few Palestinians—because of their class ties and because they do not begin from the scene of daily fighting and what that involves—continue to evaluate situations and take positions in the light of traditional rather than revolutionary standards, standards which favor tricks and manoeuvring over face-to-face confrontation. But the general development of the Palestinian resistance and its serious and basic leadership has not been at all influenced by the logic of these backward groups. On the contrary, discussion of the subject of a Palestinian Democratic State has been taken as an opportunity to affirm the important principles of the resistance:

First: Abolition of the Zionist entity in Palestine without this necessarily meaning the removal

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Editorial

FIVE WARSHIPS BUILT FOR ISRAEL PASS GIBRALTAR IN MYSTERY... IN HAIFA HORIZON IS SCANNED FOR BOATS... ISRAELIS SEIZE 7-TON RADAR AND LIFT IT OUT OF EGYPT... PRE-DAWN ISRAELI COMMANDO RAID AGAINST LEBANON NETS 21 PRISONERS... ISRAELI JETS RAID CAMPS NEAR CAIRO... ISRAELIS SAY THEY SHOT DOWN 3 SYRIAN MIG-21'S... 2 UAR BOMBERS REPORTED DOWNED. This is but a small portion of headlines about Israel, selected at random from the N.Y. Times, during the two weeks following Christmas 1969. But, all over the press, it was Israel... Israel... Israel... Hurray... Hurray... Hurray.

Where does it all lead, though. Arab farmers have a saying that translates as follows: "When God wishes to do away with the ants, he fits them out with wings."

It is possible to win a battle, it is easier to intrude into the air-space of Egypt, a Lebanese border village is still more vulnerable; but the will of a

nation to resist aggression is hard to break. It is one thing to master a machine, but it is an altogether different thing to control the destiny of a people. The Israeli military seems bent on having its own "Mission Impossible." Western media cheers them on. And the Israelis seem to believe they can accomplish that "mission."

It is obvious that a coordinated campaign of small military action and big headlines aimed at Arab nerves is underway. Israeli leaders openly confess that this psychological warfare is conducted with a view to toppling Nasser. For as long as Nasser is in command in Egypt (according to Israel's Prime Minister), no peace can be achieved in the area.

This policy of pummeling the Arabs to the negotiating table is not a new one; Israel has been trying it since the early days of Ben Gurion. It did not work. Three victories over the Arabs did not drive them to despair, and a crushing defeat of the Egyptian army in 1967 did not result in Nasser's political demise. On the contrary, every battle the Israelis won brought about renewed and more vigorous Arab determination to fight Zionism to the very end; there is no reason to believe it will be otherwise in the future.

The Zionist structure in Palestine will never be tolerated by the Arabs of the area. A place for Palestinian Jewry could be secured within the framework of a democratic secular state of Palestine. The present Zionist leadership, however, insists on tying the security of the Jew to the Zionist structure, at the expense of the non-Jewish Palestinians in the area. Zionist leadership must bear the responsibility for the effects of their course of action, especially as the P.L.M. tries to collapse the Zionist structure in Israel and thereby regain their denied rights.

Zionist leadership is encouraged to follow its present irrational policy by the cheers of Western mass media. That same media that questions the policies of their own governments never questions the principles guiding the Zionist leadership; and its encouragement enhances the political position of Israel's present leadership.

As long as the Israelis themselves do not reject that leadership and as long as they lend it their support, the P.L.M. will have no alternative but to fight that leadership and its supporters. Western mass media shares the responsibility for the bloodshed inevitably resulting from a course of action they encourage.

CLEAVER AND ARAFAT

Yasser Arafat, al-Fatah Guerilla leader, and Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther information minister, hugged each other at a meeting of solidarity with the Palestinian people in Algiers. The 200 delegates and observers at the first International Congress of Committees of Support for Palestine gave the two leaders standing ovations. Cleaver declared "hearty support" for the Palestinians and delivered a strong attack on American Zionists. "We can no longer allow Zionists to point to the bones of the

victims of Nazism and blind us to the piles of bones they are making of the Palestinian people." Cleaver said the Black Panthers were not anti-semitic. "We are just anti-imperialism, anti-oppression, anti-slavery. We have to make a distinction between Zionists and Jews because there are young radicals who are also of Jewish origin." Cleaver added that Panther leaders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale were sent to prison by Zionist magistrates. (Reuters - Washington Post, December 28, 1969)

israel's 'defense laws'

A FACT SHEET

- A. The Israeli Defense Laws owe their legal existence to the British Mandate Government's Defense Laws of 1936, 1939 & 1945 in Palestine. These laws of the repressive British colonial government were adopted by the newly created State of Israel in 1949, for use against the existing Arab Palestinian population.
- B. The British Mandate had enacted the Emergency Laws, 1936, and the Defense Laws, 1939, to subdue the Palestinian Arab population after the Palestinian peasant revolt in 1936. However, at the end of World War II, these laws were enacted in their present form to be used against the Jewish population in Palestine as well as the Arab.
- C. The Zionist colonizers in Palestine, prior to the creation of Israel, strongly condemned the Defense Laws of the British as depriving Palestinians of the most elemental human rights.
- D. The Defense Laws of Israel consist of 170 articles divided into 15 sections. At the same time these laws were enacted, military courts were established to try those who infringed them.
- E. The laws give the Minister of Defense the power to appoint military commanders as governors over any area he may see fit. On appointment, the governor automatically becomes a competent authority with the power to enforce, at his own discretion, all the powers covered by the Defense Laws.
- F. Article 125 grants Military Governors the power to declare an area as closed and to restrict entrance and exit to it. This is one of the most frequently imposed restrictions.
- G. Articles 109 and 110 empower the Military Government to issue an administrative order for police supervision. An individual under such an order may be restricted in his movements and must inform the police of them; he may be deprived of his right to his possessions and he may be refused access to them; his contacts with other persons may be rigorously controlled; his professional work may be supervised and restricted; he may be ordered to live in a certain area and a certain place and forbidden to leave it; he must inform the police of his whereabouts at all times, appear at the nearest police station when so required and remain indoors between sunset and sunrise; the police have access to his home at any hour of the day or night.
- H. Article III allows the detention of anyone whom the Military Government may decide to detain, for any reason whatsoever, for an unlimited period, without trial and without declaring the charge.
- I. Article 112 empowers the Military Government to expel a person from the country or to banish him permanently; it also makes it possible to forbid any person outside the country from returning to it.
- J. Article 119 empowers the Military Government to confiscate or destroy a person's property if the Military Government suspects that a shot has been fired or a bomb thrown from such property.
- K. Article 120 empowers the Military Government to confiscate an individual's property if the Minister of Defense is satisfied that this person has broken these laws or has committed an offense for which he is liable to be tried by a military court.
- L. Article 121 empowers the Military Government to order the inhabitants of any area or village to provide food and lodging at their expense to such members of the police force as may be sent there for any purpose, for as long as the military authorities see fit.
- M. Article 124 empowers the Military Government to impose a total or partial curfew in any village or area.
- N. In practice, some of these powers are used more than others, in particular those provided for by Articles 109 (expulsion), 110 (police supervision), 112 (administrative detention), 124 (curfews), 135 (closed areas and movement permits), and 137 (arms permits).
- O. The decision to enforce the powers granted to them by these laws is left to the discretion of the Military Government, which has the right to enforce them in every case where it is required "to ensure the safety of the people, the security of Israel, the maintenance of public order, the suppression of uprisings, revolt or rebellion, or the supply of provisions or vital services to the people."
- P. Since 1948, 250,000 Arabs who did not flee or were not forced from their homes in what became Israel have been subjected daily to the provisions of the Israeli Defense Laws and it was only in 1966 that the military "cantons" for Arabs in Israel were abolished, while all of the other provisions were continued.
- Q. Since 1967 Israel has specifically refused to abide by the Geneva Conventions in areas occupied by her and has refused to treat persons taken into custody for engaging in acts of resistance as being Prisoners of War under the terms of the Geneva Convention, the Declaration of Human Rights, and general principles of International Law. ●

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-Ibn al-Balad

The influential Hebrew newspaper *ha-Aretz* on November 30, 1969, published a short news item about a lecture delivered at the Architect's House in Haifa by the director general of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Moshe Rivlin. The speaker dealt with the subject of Jewish immigration to Israel from the United States. But, somehow, Fatah found its way into that lecture.

Mr. Rivlin said that by the end of 1969, six thousand young men and academicians would have arrived in Israel from the States. This is three times the average number of immigrants in previous years. The speaker expressed the hope that the number would rise to ten thousand in the year 1970.

Mr. Rivlin emphasized that side by side with the Jewish youths who are experiencing a national renaissance and who identify with Israel and demand that Israeli envoys be despatched to function in Jewish communities; there is another group of Jewish youth. A disturbing phenomenon, these swell the ranks of protest groups of all kinds in the States. The speaker added that today there are even Jewish youths in the vanguard of Arab propaganda. Many among them enthusiastically support Fatah. "It is vital," Mr. Rivlin said, "for us to resist these renegades."

Mr. Rivlin's words represent the general Zionist view of protest movements in the United States. Several other Israeli spokesmen have taken the liberty on various occasions of expressing their unsolicited opinion about the peace movement.

At first glance one cannot help but ask the question: What business does Mr. Rivlin, or for that matter his Prime Minister herself, have in criticizing American youth. But, on second thought, isn't that what Zionism is all about?

These Zionist leaders have established themselves as custodians over Jewish destiny the world over. Hence, they fancy that their jurisdiction transcends national borders.

Mr. Rivlin's enthusiasm about ever greater numbers of American immigrants to Israel is not only because they are an asset to Israel's war effort but also because they help to keep Western dominance in that state. It has been for some time a disturbing prospect to Western Jews in Israel to see that Orientals are becoming the majority. Western Jews fear the state is turning into a Levantine preserve, a prospect which Ben Gurion is known to have regarded as the most serious threat facing Israel (see F.P., Vol. 1, No. 9, p. 3).

Zionism has not only caused the tension between Oriental and Western Jew in Israel by bringing together peoples who have nothing in common but religious affiliation; it is also polarizing the world's Jews over problems essentially foreign to them. The irony of the matter is that Zionism, which came into being as a general solution to the problems of the Jews in the West, has turned out itself to be the problem of the Jews.

Of special importance is Mr. Rivlin's reference to those liberated Jewish youths who realized the dangers inherent in Zionism, not only to Jewish people but also to world peace, and who therefore turned against Zionist teachings. It is not because they hate their heritage that they support Fatah; it is not because of anti-Semitism that they espouse the cause of the Palestine Liberation Movement; rather, it is the rationality and justness of that Movement's cause which attracts them to it. Fatah could only be proud of these people and their enlightenment. It is in such people that Fatah sees hope for future reconciliation and brotherhood.

Such being the case, these young emancipated Jews may well be considered a serious threat by the Zionist structure in Israel, by the other side. ●

'an intellectual' '5000 miles away' from Palestine speaks his mind about the struggle.

an interview with NOAM CHOMSKY

FREE PALESTINE is pleased to publish this interview with the distinguished professor, whose views it respects but does not necessarily share.

FREE PALESTINE will welcome its readers' comments on the thoughts expressed in the interview.

F. PALESTINE: Since the June 1967 War, Israel has been characterized by much of the Left as an ally of imperialism and a race supremacist alien settler state. How do you view this analysis?

CHOMSKY: I think there is an element of truth to it, but it is somewhat exaggerated. Israel is primarily trying to defend its national interests, as they are conceived under present world circumstances, and this leads it into functioning as an ally of the Western imperialist powers. But I think that under other circumstances, which I hope can be realized, Israel would be able to function in a way that would be much more in keeping with the wishes and real interests of the majority of its population, and that it would free itself from the imperialist world system. As far as its being an alien settler state, obviously the European Jews who came in were aliens. There is no question about that. On the other hand, I don't think that it is accurate to describe it as an effort at colonizing in the classical imperialist sense. But one might ask the question: what justice there was in the great population flow of European Jews to Palestine—I think that is a tricky and difficult issue. There are conflicting rights involved and I don't know how to resolve them. On the one hand, there is the right of the Arab settlers of Palestine—or any other country—to determine the character of their social existence. On the other hand, there was a very deep need on the part of the Jews of Europe to have some sort of a national homeland—of course, their historic ties were to Palestine. I think there is ideally a general principle that should permit free population flow in any part of the world and that national boundaries should not dominate, in an absolute sense, international politics. I personally think that the real needs of the Jewish settlers and the very just desires of the natives of the country could perhaps have been reconciled, and may still be reconciled in a way that satisfies decent social principles.

F. PALESTINE: Some Marxist writers, such as Leon, have suggested that Zionism was the product of the contradictions of European capitalist society, and that Zionism was in fact not a solution to the problems of Jewry in the West. What is your opinion of this argument?

CHOMSKY: I think Zionism is not a general solution to the problem of the Jews in the West. The general solution to the problem of the Jews in the West is the general solution to the problem of the human beings in the West—which is the establishment of a democratic socialist Western society to replace the repressive and autocratic capitalist system. But under the circumstances of the early Twentieth Century, it seems to me it was not unreasonable to think that for some parts of the Jewish community in Europe the establishment of a National Home within a socialist bi-national framework—and of course, much of the Zionist movement was concerned with this—was a reasonable answer to their specific problems. Today, the establishment of a socialist bi-national Palestine will not solve the problem of the American Jews and could not possibly solve the problem of anti-Semitism by any means—nor should it be expected to. Such a solution should be achieved because it would be in the interests of the people who live in Palestine, whether they are Jews or Arabs. I think the establishment of a socialist Palestine would

contribute to help the world—in exactly the same sense the establishment of a democratic socialist society in any other part of the world, in which extraneous national conflicts could be resolved by the commitment to social justice, would contribute to the general breakdown of imperialism, racism and national conflicts.



F. PALESTINE: You indicated that bi-nationalism on the basis of a socialist state could constitute an effective solution to the problem. Is not bi-nationalism anathema to the essential tenets of Zionism?

CHOMSKY: My own interpretation of the history of Zionism is rather different. I believe that, up until the Second World War, there was in fact no official commitment of the Zionist movement to the notion of the Jewish State, and—though there is no doubt that many people active in the Zionist movement did have this intention—I still think that, within the historical framework of Zionism, a bi-national solution would be consistent with pre-World War II Zionist ideals. With the war, the situation changed very radically and it is quite correct to say that today there are very small and marginal groups in Israel that are willing to consider a bi-national solution. But I think myself that whatever was of human value in Zionism—and I think there have been such elements—is not only consistent with, but in fact leads to the demand for a bi-national socialist society in which there

will be some degree of communal autonomy and a high degree of co-operation along non-national lines between the culturally co-existing and co-operating entities.

F. PALESTINE: Since the groups in Israel that are willing to consider a socialist bi-national solution are marginal, must not Israel undergo a revolutionary transformation before such a solution is possible? How do you envisage this occurring?

CHOMSKY: I am not sure what the order of events ought to be. A move towards a bi-national socialist Palestine as well as a revolutionary transformation of Israeli and Arab societies are very much to be desired. I think that these two tendencies will inter-relate and will reinforce one another. In a sense, they may be part of the same process. I don't think that either will precede the other.

F. PALESTINE: Could not the Arab and Israeli transformations take place independently of one another?

CHOMSKY: I don't think so. In fact, I think that one of the many horrors of this national conflict is that it tends to submerge the class struggle. It tends to make the class struggle subordinate to the national struggle and, consequently, to retard the development towards the socialist society. That is one of the reasons why I personally was always opposed to the Jewish State. Because I thought that the socialist institutions of the pre-Israeli Palestine would tend to diminish in significance within the framework of a state that would develop in terms of national conflict and national rights.

F. PALESTINE: Do you feel that the humanism and belief in the possibility of bi-nationalism espoused by Zionists like Ahad Ha'am can become a significant factor in Israeli politics and further, can this occur before a genocide of the Palestinian people might occur?

CHOMSKY: I think that it might happen. I don't feel that one can predict today whether it will happen; however, I do believe that only if socialist bi-nationalist goals are adopted will the mutual destruction of the people of the two nations in Palestine be prevented. I look at Palestine from the outside and from a safe position—five thousand miles away—but to me, it looks very much like, let's say, the battle of Verdun in World War I, where huge masses of people were slaughtering one another because they were divided by mutual hatred, by national conflict, which was not in any sense a reflection of their real interests. I think that, exactly as in the case of the Franco-German conflict of World War I, the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine today must be replaced by a different kind of struggle—a struggle for a decent humane society in which the distinction between Jew and Arab, though it may persist as a cultural difference, will not be the fundamental dividing line between human beings.

F. PALESTINE: How should the transformation of Israeli society take care of the link between it and the Jewish community in the capitalist West?

CHOMSKY: I think that Israel should immediately sever all legal relationships with the world Jewish community. For example, I think that the Law of Return is a kind of legal link between Israel and the world Jewish community and is incompatible with the concept of a democratic

(Continued on next page)

AT THE FRONT

major operations

DECEMBER 4 - 19.

DECEMBER 4: Fatah commandos launch heavy rocket attack on Kefar Ruppin kibbutz in northern Jordan Valley. Rockets hit movie theater and other vital installations. Similar rocket or mortar attacks are launched on enemy positions in Tammuniyeh, Quarantina, Turkmaniyyeh and Tel Sheikh Da'oud. Fatah snipers kill four enemy troops in Beit Yosef, Turkmaniyyeh and Tellet el-Khatib regions—All these sites are in the Jordan Valley.

DECEMBER 5: Fatah commandos inflict heavy casualties and property damage on enemy in night rocket attack against Dafna, Shar, Hayishuv, Dan and Lahavot-Habashan settlements in the Hula Valley and on Ahmad Younes post in Beit Yosef region in northern Jordan Valley. Mortar raid on Yardena kibbutz in northern Jordan Valley. Thirty meters of advanced enemy fortifications destroyed in Adassiyeh region, also in northern Jordan Valley.

DECEMBER 6: Palestinian Armed Struggle Command announces series of operations undertaken by Fatah commandos in Gaza, Khan Yunes, Deir el Balah and Hashlosha. Heavy mortar attack on advanced enemy observation posts, ambushes and vehicles south of Zera'a settlement and on Yardena. Rocket attack on enemy military vehicles in Zor Abdallah. Most members of two enemy engineering corps foot patrols killed or wounded when ambushed by Fatah commandos in Adassiyeh and Um Touta in northern Jordan Valley.

DECEMBER 7: Fatah rocket attack on Beisan. Fire erupts at several places in town. Enemy casualties are heavy. Rocket attacks also against enemy positions in Junaydiyeh and Kefar Ruppin. Several enemy troops killed or injured by Fatah snipers or in ambushes in Jordan Valley.

DECEMBER 8: Massive Fatah rocket attack on three enemy settlements in northern Jordan Valley including Mishmar Hashlosha, Tayyara and Yahne'en. Enemy ammunition depots in Um Sidra set on fire after receiving direct rocket hits. Canning factory near Beisan is also hit by Fatah rockets.

DECEMBER 9: Fatah freedom fighters launch massive attack on enemy positions and settlements on a 38 kilometer front extending from Turkmaniyyeh in the north to Suwayma in the south. The operation, code-named "Capt. Khaled," starts at 7:30 p.m. with attacks on Turkmaniyyeh, Um Sedra, Quarantina, Tammuniyyeh, Mindassa, Um Nakhle and Tellet el-Hamra. Enemy helicopter-borne reinforcements are driven away from battle sites by heavy fire from Fatah freedom fighters. Other Fatah units engage enemy for nine hours in Wadi, el-Wabes in northern Jordan Valley. Enemy sustains heavy losses. Fatah loses four freedom fighters: Ismail Abdallah, Mufid Annaba, Ismail Ahmad Ali and Ibrahim Jaber. Fatah commandos launch rocket and mortar attacks on enemy camp on southern slopes of Mount Hermon and on enemy troop and vehicle concentrations near al-Hemma in northern occupied Palestine. Fatah commandos score direct rocket and heavy artillery hits against enemy posts in Maghtas including land-to-land missile base and ammunition and fuel dumps. In Gaza, Fatah commandos blow-up and destroy high voltage power station and pylon in occupied city.

DECEMBER 10: Fatah mortar attack on military installations in Yardena and rocket attack on Beisan town and Hamediyeh settlement as well as on enemy ambushes near Ashdot Ya'akov and Zor el-Shamekh.

DECEMBER 11: Yardena, Bukeia and Ashdat Ya'akov settlements in northern Jordan Valley, Tel Abul-Zahab post south of Quneitra in the Golan, and enemy posts and settlements in Upper Galilee are targets of Fatah commando attacks. Two Fatah freedom fighters fall in Upper Galilee—George Salman and Yusef Mohammed. Fatah commandos also blow up power pylon between Acre and Haifa.

DECEMBER 12: Fatah task forces launch mortar and rocket raids on six settlements in Jordan Valley. Helicopters used to evacuate enemy casualties.

DECEMBER 13: Two enemy vehicles ambushed near Darkumaniyyeh, Hebron district. Metula, the northernmost enemy settlement in occupied Palestine comes under Fatah rocket and artillery fire.

DECEMBER 15: Fatah guerillas rocket Beisan. Rockets hit center of town causing fires. Ambulances seen evacuating dead and wounded. Fatah rockets also hit kibbutz Hamadya.

DECEMBER 16: Fatah mortar attack on Kefar Ruppin. Six-man enemy patrol wiped out near Tulkarem.

DECEMBER 17: Fatah task force succeeds in ambushing and exploding the BMW car of Col. Gideon Bendel, a senior staff officer at enemy's northern command headquarters, on a main road between Ramleh and Latroun. Bendel is killed outright. Member of his aides sustain serious injuries.

DECEMBER 18: Mortar attacks on Degania Bet and Elyatsim settlements. ●

(Continued from Page 4)

state. Other legal instruments, involving ownership and so on, that do involve links to the world Jewish community should really be abolished. However, I would say the same thing about the Arabs in a bi-national Palestine—they should not have legally recognized links with the world Arab community. But although I do not believe that national lines are the fundamental ones along which people should be organized and related to one another, I think there is every reason for strong cultural links between the various entities within the Palestinian community and external communities. Exactly as I would like to see links develop between many other parts of the world. For example, I feel in many ways closer to the left-wing European intellectuals than I feel to many of my own compatriots—and I think that is the way it should be. So cultural and, perhaps, charitable links between the various entities within a bi-national community and elements in the outside world should be encouraged, as long as they are not legally established as part of the structure of the state.

F. PALESTINE: *In your article, Nationalism and Conflict in Palestine, you state that acts of terrorism by both the indigenous Palestinians and the Zionists prior to the creation of Israel led to the polarization of both communities. At what point did Palestinian terrorism become resistance to Zionist colonization?*

CHOMSKY: I find it very hard to answer that question. As I said before, I think that there were ways in which the just aspirations of Jews and Arabs in Palestine could have been met without terroristic attacks on one another. Once the national conflict develops, each side can very quickly and with some degree of plausibility convince itself that terrorist acts are self-defense. Instead of trying to give an answer to a question

that I find unanswerable, I would prefer to reformulate it and ask whether alternative modes of interaction cannot be developed that lead to co-operation for some kind of a socialist bi-national community. I think that any terroristic attacks on individuals will tend to polarize societies and to force people into the framework of national conflict, which is really irreconcilable with their long range interests. The same thing can be said about wars between states—the people who are killed are not openly at least fighting for their own real interests, but rather for the interests of their ruling classes or other interests that are fundamentally extraneous to them. It seems to me that this is a general principle that also applies in a large measure to this instance.

F. PALESTINE: *You feel that acts of terrorism by both Palestinians and Zionists prior to 1948 led to a national conflict and were undesirable. Do you regard the current guerrilla actions by the Palestinians as equally undesirable?*

CHOMSKY: Again, I think that acts of terrorism against persons are extremely undesirable on either side. They will simply solidify the other society around its most reactionary and repressive elements. That is the general tendency and it is not to the benefit of anyone. I think, however, there are alternatives. For example, there are elements within Israeli society and within the Palestinian Arab organizations that express views that look, at least to me, rather similar to one another. It would be far preferable to have them explore the possibility of whether there is really a framework within which they can co-operate and join one another. This, of course, has to overcome a tremendous amount of mutual hostility and mistrust. But if there is going to be any decent solution to the Palestine problem, it will have to be based on overcoming that hostility and mistrust and discovering

the true interests that bind people independently of their national affiliation. It seems to me that a far greater effort ought to be made in that direction. Just as acts of terror tend to reinforce terrorism on the other side, so acts of social solidarity might hopefully tend to reinforce the progressive and socialist elements on the other side. One cannot guarantee that this will happen, but it is very much worth a serious try.

F. PALESTINE: *Beside this need to create a common goal between leftist Israelis and leftist Palestinian Arabs—which can be first carried out at the level of intellectuals—what alternatives, right at this moment, are open to the Palestinians as far as regaining their rights? Do you oppose all their guerrilla actions?*

CHOMSKY: It would be rather cheap for me, from here, to say yes to that question. Although my tendency would be to suggest that the answer should be yes—I think that guerrilla actions may be somewhat counter-productive—that is, they may undercut the possibility, which I am optimistic enough to believe might exist, for a real union among radical forces within both the Palestinian Arab and Palestinian Jewish communities—again, I can easily understand why a population driven by force from its home will resort to resistance activities in order to protect its rights and to try to recover its home. I would simply ask the question: what is the likely outcome of the guerrilla actions under the given circumstances, and whether there are not alternatives which might not be more successful in achieving a truly just solution to these problems. Although I admit to you this is really at the level of intellectuals and of rather abstract discussion at the moment, it would be extremely important to subordinate virtually every other initiative to the effort of seeing if these alternatives cannot be made to exist. ●



PALESTINE AT THE U. N.

Justine Harris

Since 1967 the international community represented at the United Nations, has addressed itself to the state of Israel in formal resolutions some 18 times with regard to treatment of Palestinian Arab civilians whose lives have been disrupted and in some instances destroyed, by Israeli occupation of their land. The crimes which have been the subject of resolutions emanating from various U.N. agencies including the Security Council, General Assembly, and Commission on Human Rights, are now familiar to most people in the world with access to press and radio. They fall into three main categories—Israel's failure to repatriate refugees who fled or were expelled during and after the 1967 hostilities, and the consequent sequestration of their land and property by Israeli military authorities for Zionist settlement and other Israeli "projects" — parking lots, archaeological digs, etc.; the retaliatory destruction of civilian homes on "suspicion of the fedayeen activity of their occupants"; and the illegal annexation ("integration" according to Zionists) of the city of Jerusalem. The "Special U.N. Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories" is at present preparing a report on these conditions for the Commission on Human Rights.

With the exception of the frantic scramble to throw the Zionist net over Jerusalem by act of the Knesset as early as June 1967, the above policies are claimed by Israeli authorities to be essential to Israeli survival, enabling them to keep a grip on the Occupied Territories through the repression of popular resistance. Thus Premier Eshkol stated in June 1968, that the re-admittance of thousands of Palestinian Arab refugees would be like placing "a time bomb under the State of Israel."

The dynamiting of civilian homes, called "defensive punishment", is aimed at Palestinian Arabs ostensibly for "collaboration" with "terrorists". Few, however, now doubt that Israeli military authorities use such measures as effective means of driving out citizens through organized, state-sanctioned violence in the form of collective punishment, which is specifically forbidden in the Geneva Convention of 1949.

Both policies therefore, are merely updated versions of 1948 barbarities perpetrated to stampede the Palestinian Arab population at that time, and to bar their way back. While thousands of Palestinian Arabs continue the sufferings of twenty-one years, the effects of a brutal occupation, considered by some independent observers to be more severe than Nazi repressions which they had also witnessed, are felt by the civilian population of the Occupied Territories. The Israelis, meanwhile, assure the world and the "Arabs" that if there were peace, (i.e., recognition of the state of Israel) nothing like this need happen. As Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban so eloquently stated at the United Nations in 1967, it is the "supreme goal of national survival" which prompts pursuance of these policies.

These then are the realities reflected to some extent in the UN resolutions which have been addressed to Israel.

Yet, despite the severity and transparency of Israeli policies, and the great suffering of the Palestinian people under occupation, the cause, which seems to speak for itself, must rely on the efforts of numerous U.N. missions for promotion in the world arena. The large number of resolutions admonishing Israel did not generate themselves spontaneously. They were the work of Arab diplomats at the U.N. whose actions form a powerful and important supplement to the work and sacrifice of Palestinian popular resistance. In considering the numerous formal references to the oppressive presence of Israel in the Occupied Territories therefore, it would be less than fair to omit the excellent work of U.N. delegates who bring the conditions of Israeli occupation eloquently and meaningfully to the attention of the world community. (Dr. George Tomeh, Permanent Representative to the United Nations of the Syrian Arab Republic is to be especially congratulated in this respect).

The rise of Palestinian resistance has, on the whole made a change for the better in diplomatic tactics because of the strength of its international character. The goal of self-determination and national justice sought through a "people's war" waged against an alien settler state, today requires little explanation or vigorous justification at the United Nations. Diplomacy, in short, is following the living facts of a great revolution, abetting it by a humane interpretation of its goals and the national aspirations of its people.

The commitment of Arab states to other liberation movements ensures them the aid and support of groups of states with similar colonialist problems, such as in Africa and Asia. A glance at U.N. records reveals Arab diplomats speaking on behalf of Zimbabwe, (the Black Rhodesian liberation movement) supporting the efforts of African states to pull down the white South African racist regime and promoting Angolan independence from Portuguese overlords.

While there is no attempt here to disguise political expediency as humane commitment, nor to overlook the oppressive domestic policies of Arab reactionary regimes, it can be pointed out that cooperation among African, Asian and Arab states underscores the similarity of the problems faced by these states concerning imposed foreign regimes in their heartlands.

Almost all resolutions urging Israel to undertake humanitarian action to relieve the sufferings of "Arab inhabitants" or "Arab refugees" have been sponsored by "Third World" states such as Pakistan, Indonesia, India or Yugoslavia, and members of the African bloc. In addition, they received the solid backing of the communist bloc in the voting. A large number of resolutions were carried by overwhelming majority. Those that were not, were resolutions which in their wording or intent condemned Israel for violations of human rights rather than merely requesting her cooperation in rectifying an objectionable situation through implementation of U.N. directives. In the former case, voting at a glance seems to have been split along "Cold War" lines, East versus West. It is generally

admitted, however, that in questions of self-determination and related aspects of human rights, the African-Asian Bloc (which includes Arab states) calls the tune, supported by Communist states and opposed by former and present imperialist powers such as U.K., Italy, other West European states, and Australia, Canada and the United States, followed by its hopeless train of Latin American tag-alongs.

Since Israel has taken no steps at all to conform with resolutions passed by U.N. agencies concerning treatment of "Arab inhabitants of the Occupied Territories" or "Arab refugees", the condemnations have multiplied with little change in wording or import. In addition, charges and counter-charges have almost solidified over the past two years.

However, lest we shrug off the effect upon the Zionist state of continuing U.N. censure as action with "no teeth", it should be pointed out that part of the struggle for self-determination concerns world and diplomatic recognition, if not of the justness of the claim, at least of the fact that it is being extended and WILL be pursued and eventually obtained over and above any opposition. Although the battle for human rights, which is considered now to include self-determination, can not itself be won in the diplomatic field, but must ultimately be won by the adept use of Klashinkov automatics in the hands of dedicated Palestinian men and women, the way must be somewhat prepared for eventual victory regardless of when this might occur. Public opinion and a good press are essentials of this process.

These resolutions complemented each other in scope and purpose in a highly laudatory and enlightening manner. One, originating in the Third Committee of the United Nations stressed Israeli violation of specific human rights, by condemning the Zionist practices of "collective and area punishments, the destruction of homes and deportations".

The other resolution, 2535 (XXIV) proposed by the United Nations Special Political Committee, is the latest in a long chain of annual resolutions begun in 1948 concerning repatriation and the continued operations of UNRWA on behalf of refugees. This year, however, the wording of the resolution represents a truly historic development in the Palestinian people's struggle for self-determination. Sponsored by African and Asian states, the resolution recognizes in Part B, "that the problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights..." and reaffirms "THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE", to repatriation in their homeland.

For those who have anxiously watched the re-birth of a nation in the heroic action of its oppressed people, this international "coup" on the United Nations "front" and its important implications, represents a tribute not only to Palestinian popular resistance, but to diplomacy as well—an excellent omen for the new year. ●

amnesty international & Israel

LISA McFARLAND

In a recent edition (November, 1969), FREE PALESTINE mentioned the investigation being carried on in Israel by Amnesty International, a London based organization, on the treatment of Arab prisoners in Israel. This body's inquiry is now completed. In a press statement on December 1, 1969, the organization announced that the

investigation had "revealed serious and substantiated evidence of ill-treatment of prisoners in detention or under interrogation and the Committee considers that the reply from the Israeli authorities to the report submitted in April leaves many questions unanswered." Based on these findings the organization decided to send more representatives to the Middle East in order to secure further information and that the evidence was to be submitted in January 1970. Until that time the report itself was not to be published. This was then an obvious attempt to garner more information before publishing data which was unfavourable to Israel.

Israeli authorities responded to this announcement by bemoaning the prejudicial tone of the organization's report and by banning further visits by Amnesty's representatives.

When approached concerning the Israeli opposition, Martin Ennals, Secretary-General of Amnesty International, reported that the evidence of ill treatment of Arabs had been based on interviews in Jordan and Israel, on photographs and by medical reports. On the basis of such information the members of the organization felt that further investigation was warranted. In fact, Ennals

had suggested that Israel held her own inquiry with an international observer. This had been rejected along with the proposal that Amnesty have an inquiry with an Israeli citizen as a member. The Israeli Foreign Ministry had objected to the subsequent findings of the investigation on the grounds that much of it was not verifiable since no names had been mentioned. Amnesty rejoined that it had kept the names anonymous to provide for judicial protection. (New York Times, December 8, 1969).

Israel's statements against such missions and persistent refusal to permit international bodies to conduct open inquiries within Israel or the occupied territories only serve to emphasize her reluctance to have the conditions be made known publicly. This includes even organizations such as Amnesty International which recently refused to participate in hearings held in Cairo because of the "unsatisfactory political atmosphere" there and which made numerous concessions to the Israelis. However, Amnesty will probably submit its findings to the United Nations in the near future. Thus Israel's intransigent stand against Amnesty International is yet another attempt to hide from world public opinion the obvious mistreatment of Arab prisoners now in Israeli jails.

(Continued from Page 1)

of Jews from Palestine.

Second: Acceptance of the right of Jews to Palestinian citizenship, but rejection of any right of the Jews to a national presence.

Third: Beginning from the point of view that the mere fact that a man is Jewish does not give him any prerogatives or additional rights, such as those which the Zionist usurpation and the establishment of the State of Israel attempt to ensure for him. Nor does the mere fact that a man is Jewish exclude him from the practice of his rights of equality and participation which are denied him by anti-Semitism and racist ideologies.

Fourth: Emphasis that although the Jews have no real historical, religious or political rights as a group in Palestine, the Palestinian Democratic State must guarantee the rights of Jews as individuals among those who opt for membership in this state.

Fifth: The Palestinian resistance cannot recognize the presence of a Jewish "people". But the Palestinian resistance automatically recognizes the presence of Jews who may be members of the Palestinian people.

Sixth: Zionism has and continues to work to make Israel in conformity with what it calls the Jewish Nation. This means that Israel is to be the gathering place of all the Jews of the world. The Palestinian resistance cannot, under any circumstances, concede to the Jews any special right in Palestine and consequently the Jews have no special relationship to Palestine other than spiritual ties, similar to the ties of Christians all over the world to Palestine. Just as spiritual ties do not give any political rights or rights of existing as a privileged group to Christians or Moslems, so the spiritual ties of the Jews do not bestow on them political rights in Palestine. The basic right to a national political presence in Palestine belongs to Palestinians alone and the right of self-determination is a right which may be neither abandoned nor renounced. The liberation movement must be considered as the expression of this basic right.

Seventh: The Palestinian resistance acquires complete legality, not because it opposes the occupation, but because it opposes the Zionist usurpation and the political entity which resulted from it. So what the Palestinian resistance is confronting is necessarily the Zionist entity as a whole, because it sanctifies the rights of the Jews, as a group or people, as a national political entity built on the ruins of the national political rights of the Palestinian people. If the existence of the Jewish "people" is accepted then the piece of land on which Israel establishes its state is secondary. When the Palestinian resistance confronts Israel it confronts its right to exist and not the space on which it exists.

If the opposition of the Palestinian resistance to the existence of Israel is considered a basic change, this revolutionary step is not taken only on the basis of the above principles, but is also aimed at the following successive goals.

First: acceleration of clashes between the Palestinian people and Israel will prevent the continuation of world Zionism as a power capable of securing Israel as a frame for polarizing the Jews of the world and stripping of their various nationalities. To the contrary, Zionist Jews take into account the fact that any movement except towards an entity which can endure is failure while the resistance has made its extinction increasingly possible.

Second: Escalation of the armed Palestinian struggle and affirmation of the human, democratic concepts behind it increases in turn the campaign of doubts and opposition carried out by those anti-Zionist Jews who consider Zionism — and fealty to Israel — as threats to their rights in the societies of which they are members, as well as by

those progressive Jews who oppose Zionist doctrine as a manifestation of a primitive ideology which uses continued aggression against the Arabs as a device to efface the original injustice committed against the Palestinian people.

If the Jews have the opportunity for intellectual reflection on their interests in peaceful participation in those states of which they are citizens, the fundamental ways in which Zionism constitutes a barrier to the free participation in modern intellectual and human trends, and the premeditated anxiety which Zionism and Israel introduce into the life of a Jew as a person — certainly, if Jews had this opportunity then the Palestinian resistance would realize an important strategic goal of increasing the probability of cutting Zionism and Israel off from many sources of moral, material and human support.

Even though there is unanimity in some circles of public opinion in flinching from support of the Palestinian resistance — not from hesitancy in supporting the right to resist but out of ignorance of the intentions of the Palestinian resistance and the Arabs in general in dealing with the Jews who committed the injustice against the Palestinian people — then posing a clear alternative is sufficient to abolish fear and hesitation and restrict the practical and moral support to Israel from politically compatible racist groups — Imperialist and Fascist — and from imperialist interests which see Israel as a tool to achieve domination, exploitation and suppression of the hopes and aspirations of the third world.

Third: Looking towards the creation of a Palestinian Democratic State while discriminating among the broad aspects of the commitment with the same values which are affirmed by the new generation and new political propagandists in every part of the world — values of openness, human magnanimity and concentration upon the worth of a man as an individual rather than as a member of a group — constitutes basic insurance that the power of the future will be on the side of the rights of the Palestinian people now and in the coming stages.

Fourth: The power of the future in the world must inevitably solidify its support to the Palestinian people and their revolution, not only because of what it represents but also because of what it rejects: sectarian narrow-mindedness, racist exclusivity, boasts of the ability to oppress and the resort of vengeful interests to technology to thwart legitimate and spontaneous resistance movements.

The Palestinian resistance movement, in its refusal to make religion the basis of nationalism, affirms the modern development of nationalism through which it becomes a focal point for human interaction, unlike Zionism which has proven itself aloof from such humanism.

The principles to which the Palestinian resistance is committed make clear the outlines of the Palestinian Democratic State with regard to the definition of the secular state and the diversity of its society. However, it is unlikely that the Palestinian resistance will set forth in detail its concepts for the building of the state and the constitution of its society, since many of the details will be defined by the nature of the battle and the conditions established by liberation. It is neither possible nor permissible for the resistance to digress through details which ought to be made firm constitutionally, administratively, upon liberation and not made rigid on the basis of philosophical concepts which are principles of resistance before liberation.

Similarly, discussion and explication in detail of the organization of the state and the nature of supra-national guarantees to be given to all-Palestin-

ian citizens, no matter what religion they espouse — guarantees which must spring from the scientifically constituted state — take the resistance into judicial labyrinths which are not all relevant to the present stage of the struggle.

We do not say this as an escape from the intellectual necessities of the moral requirement of the proposed Palestinian state, but recognizing practically and scientifically that these detailed aspects must be determined as a result of formulae established in the last stage; they are by nature mortgaged until the time of their realization.

As a final point, the Palestinian Democratic State proposed as an alternative to the Zionist presence in our land is to be linked to the general national entity, i.e., the Arab Nation, and consequently the form of Democratic Palestine will be that of an extension of a united Arab democratic entity. This means that the Palestinian resistance must be or expect to be considered the vanguard of the whole Arab will for liberation and that Palestine will be part of a nation and not a nation by itself.

It follows from this that the Arab nation must bear as part of its responsibility the amelioration of conditions which can solve problems arising after liberation. And it must from now begin to think of reinstating in the Arab countries those Jews who were once participants and who want to return to the places they left during reactionary eras in collusion with imperialist plans. The proposal to establish the "Palestinian Democratic State" must be a summons to the Arab countries to repatriate any Arab Jew who wants to return to his country, with the knowledge that Israel will strongly oppose any such attempt above all. Israel has already begun to do so in fact by attempting to compare Arab citizens of the Jewish faith — as though it were the will of their destiny — to Israeli actions towards Arabs in the occupied territories, thus sabotaging the mission of the U.N. investigating commission. Therefore an important aspect of the problem depends on an announcement by the Arab states of their moral and political commitment to give to Arab Jews the right of return to the countries which they left.

Rejection of a dualistic Palestinian state. All of this makes clear our complete rejection of any plan advocating a dual Palestinian state, on the basis of its human composition, which might be called the Arab-Jewish state. This rejection is based on the fact that while the word "Arab" indicates a nationality, the word "Jewish" indicates a religion. Any mixing between these two concepts leads to recognition of a Jewish "people" even though at a level weaker than the concept of exclusively Jewish Zionism. The Palestinian state will recognize one citizenship only and that is Palestinian citizenship, neither excluding Jews who decide to participate in Palestine's fateful destiny nor conceding any additional rights from the Jews which attribute to the usurpation of any rights no matter how small.

The majority of the Jews who came after 1917 came as the result of the usurpation and consolidated their position with the aid of imperialism. Consequently, they as a group have no rights which the Arabs can recognize. However, the Jews as individuals have rights — in spite of the injustices perpetuated against the Palestinian people — as individuals who join their fate to the Arab Palestinian entity and enjoy the same rights as others they are also expected to undertake the same obligations of comprehensive participation. Although some of us are not capable of such openness unless it is considered part of our share in the maintenance of human, civilized principles of human relations, this will not be the first time that the Arabs have shared such principles in this domain. ●



THE QUIET ONE
Jumana

You were a quiet, lovely child in Haifa.
You did not cry
When Amin died in the street holding
The small red rose you'd picked for him
At half an hour before.
You did not cry.

You were a quiet, friendly child at Sur.
You did not change.
When I saw you go and stand where you could
See a garden, quite alone perhaps
With thoughts of Haifa . . . of your Father's face.
You did not change.

And you are quiet still. Leaning by the door
You do not speak.
Your body hung with weapons, glittering with hope,
Your hand to me the purpled petal of a long dead rose.
You do not speak.

Part with screams of love and loss —
Oh! Amin!
Silently

A PANEL DISCUSSION ON ARAB GUERRILLAS

A panel discussion about the Palestinian commando movement was held at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. on November 25. It was sponsored by the Middle East Institute. The participants were John Cooley, Middle East correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor; Dr. Hisham Sharabi, professor of History at Georgetown University, and author of "Palestine and Israel: The Lethal Dilemma"; Dr. Michael Hudson, professor of Government at Brooklyn College, and Granville Austin, Director of the State Department's Office of Research and Analysis for Near East and South Asia.

John Cooley began the discussion by stating that while the guerrillas have been in existence since 1956, they were ignored by all sides. However, since 1967, they have emerged as a "major force" to be reckoned with, and they have the strength to block a solution imposed by the US and the USSR. Cooley declared that there are three million Palestinians who want to establish their own state "regardless of the costs". There are two main types of guerrilla groups, stated Mr. Cooley, the "universalist", and the "institutionalized". The universalists seek to be free of any dependence or relationships with Arab governments, and to diversify their sources of weapons and funds. The largest among these groups is the PLO-Fatah, which is politically "neutral", and is impatient with ideology. The Popular Front (PFLP), and the Popular Democratic Front (PDF), a Marxist organization whose funds are more precarious than those of PLO-Fatah were included among the universalists.

The second type are "minor ones", and are official or unofficial arms of Arab governments or parties. These "institutionalized" organizations were formed by Arab governments not only to "steal the thunder" from the Palestinian guerrillas, but also to convince their peoples that they can adapt to the needs of revolutionary warfare.

Mr. Cooley concluded his statement by stating that he sees the guerrilla as being more than a hero to the Arabs, rather, "a new Arab man" liberated from the Israelis and

from the "hesitations" of his own government. The rise of this movement, he predicted, carries within it implications for social change that may "revolutionize" the patterns of thinking and bring about a new Arab generation.

The second speaker, Michael Hudson, saw the movement developing in three areas:

1) The increasingly successful resistance in the occupied territories and in Israel itself. He stressed the growing support given to the guerrillas by 'Israeli Arabs', and the growing cooperation in the West Bank. The escalation of internal opposition, he felt, is much more important than border raids.

2) He discussed the growing consolidation and organization of the movement as follows: a) Increased linkage between the guerrillas and the masses; b) The establishment of the Armed Struggle Command to build a "working relationship" among the diverse groups; c) The regularization, if not harmonization, of relationships with groups outside the Command, such as the PFLP; d) The ingathering of radical elements in the Arab world who share a "sense of success and a commitment to activism, egalitarianism and communalism".

3) The guerrillas have been able to use their position of strength to influence the "decision-making apparatus" of Arab states and to move them in the direction they want.

Dr. Hisham Sharabi looked at the June War as a "turning point" since it created a "seismic shift" in Arab consciousness, psychologically, politically, and intellectually. The June war also helped to transform the Palestine conflict from a problem between the Zionist colonists coming to Palestine and a native population, to a total Arab problem representing the "vortex" within the third world of a "total third world liberation war directed against the bridgehead of colonialism, imperialism and world Zionism". The aim of the liberation movement is to create a

"secular, democratic Palestinian state" in which all who share this goal can live.

Dr. Sharabi predicted a "long war of liberation ahead", since the Zionist leadership will refuse to respond to the movement and to give up its "arsenal state". The movement, he also stated, presupposes a radical transformation in Arab thinking and in the structure of Arab society which are necessary to convince Israel that it cannot subjugate the Arabs through the use of force. The growth of the Palestinian movement and the brutalization of the war will lead to Israeli escalation. "This time next year" he intimated, Damascus, Beirut, Cairo and Amman will be under bombardment. He also noted that the bombs and planes will be American.

Zionism will not collapse through a classic military war, rather, it will fall because of its undermining the "moral and psychological underpinnings" that uphold Zionist leadership, both in Israel and in the U.S. When the Israelis recognize that peace cannot be achieved by force they will overthrow their government. Dr. Sharabi emphasized the fact that the liberation movement keeps its arms open to all Jews who agree with its aims and support as some have done already.

The fourth panelist, Mr. Granville Austin, posed more questions than answers. He spoke of four developments that will affect trends in the area. 1) Increased Soviet attempts to communicate with the guerrillas. 2) The rise of the guerrillas to a position "virtually equal" to that of many Arab governments. 3) Al-Aqsa fire which may be a psychological turning point, or it may fade out and disappear. 4) The fedayeen position towards a settlement.

Mr. Austin raised several questions pertaining to the influence and position of the guerrillas towards a settlement with Israel and their attitude towards the Arab states and the big Powers. He concluded by predicting increasing "instability, anarchy, and chaos" in the area.

A lively question and answer period followed the presentations.

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