

# free palestine

Vol. 2, No. 3 JULY 1970

## THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

Imperialism is on the offensive on both sides of the Asian continent. The aim, the strategy and the tactics used in that offensive in both corners of Asia are centrally similar. By quashing the rising power of liberation movements in Vietnam and in Palestine, it hopes to maintain the *status quo* serving its interests in those regions. The strategy is to seek to rally all counter-revolutionary forces and harness them in a drive against revolutionary waves. And the tactics include eliminating the immediately involved yet vacillating leadership.



In Southeast Asia, the American thrust into Cambodia and the widening of the Vietnam war into an Indochina war were last-ditch efforts to save the "Vietnamization" plan. In order for U.S. and South Vietnamese soldiers to enter Cambodia, Sihanouk was deposed and a "pro-Western" government installed. Simultaneously, a propaganda campaign was mounted emphasizing the nationalist nature of the new regime and spot-lighting traditional animosities between the various peoples of the area, especially animosities between Cambodians and Vietnamese. Those who upheld this policy and deemed it a success tried to apply it in the Middle East.

In the Middle East, the goals are: the implementation of the "political solution"—which amounts to the liquidation of the Palestine problem—and the protection of American interests in the Middle East. But the Palestine liberation movement has declared once and again its rejection of that "solution" and its willingness to go on fighting regardless of *who* tries to implement it. The Palestinian and Arab peoples, led by the fedayeen, have effectively foiled all previous attempts to impose that "solution." They prevented Sisco from visiting Jordan and reduced the length of his visit to Lebanon to a fleeting two-hour affair. This came when, on behalf of the American government and its Zionist

protege—state, Sisco was peddling the "political solution" and when some Arab leaders had openly acknowledged their receptivity to it.

The Sisco visit fiasco—and the growing power of the commando organizations it served to highlight—alarmed imperialists and their Zionist allies. American official and diplomatic sources made no secret of their alarm at the strength of the Palestinian guerrillas and no secret of the small chance left for political settlement guaranteeing the continuation of the exclusive settler-state of Israel.

The failure of the Israeli strategy on the Suez Canal front to force the Egyptian military forces to their knees and bring the increasing aggressiveness of the Egyptian army to a halt disturbed Israeli war-lords and proved the ineffectiveness of the "legendary" Israeli airforce. The Israeli hoax as to Russian pilots flying over Egypt, echoed by the U.S. Government, is nothing but a political gimmick to involve the U.S. actively in the war. The danger involved in Israel's resorting to such tactics, together with congressional pressure on the Nixon administration to supply more Phantoms to Israel, made it imperative that the U.S. Government seek again to initiate steps towards implementation of the "political solution." Mere supply of jets to Israel, however, would have completely eliminated any remaining

American influence among the Arabs. That's why Secretary Rogers, when hinting that a decision had been taken to supply Israel with more jets, indicated that the decision would be accompanied by action towards arriving at a political solution.

In order to arrive at such a solution, the Palestinian resistance must be eliminated—or, at least, contained. The only feasible way the U.S. could achieve this would be through Jordan's ruling clique. But if King Hussein were reluctant to go along with that plan because of previous commitments to the guerrillas in Arab summit meetings, then Hussein like Sihanouk would be replaceable. It is within this framework that the plot in Jordan which caused the bloodshed in Amman in the middle of June was concocted by certain commanders of Jordan's regular army—with a palace coup in mind, as a possibility.

At the same time that fighting raged in Amman, the "South Vietnamese" of the Middle East were preparing for an invasion of Jordan. Moshe Dayan, in the same spirit as Cao Ky's, announced that Israel would not tolerate a take-over by the guerrillas in Jordan. As Jordanian troops were removing themselves to Amman, Israeli forces began heavy air and artillery bombardments of suspected guerrilla bases in border positions.

The shelling of Palestinian refugee camps by Jordanian forces was similar to attacks on Vietnamese nationals in Cambodia. This genocidal burst was accompanied by a vicious propaganda campaign aimed at creating confusion, stirring up animosity between Jordanians and Palestinians and, more important, splitting the liberation movement. Unfortunately, in this respect, the behavior of the so-called progressive Arab regimes played into the hands of the counter-revolutionaries in Jordan. By remaining silent through the fighting and then later condemning certain segments of the guerrillas as provocative and extremist (thus assuming the appearance of "even-handedness")—these regimes betrayed the already victimized revolution and helped justify the Jordanian army's aggression.

The "Southeast Asia" plan, however, did not succeed in the Middle East. True, it was costly in lives and in damage done to the image of unity on the eastern front. But it was still a victory for the movement. It threw the ruling clique in Jordan into disarray and exposed, to all the Arab people, the clique's alliances. Furthermore, the struggle in Jordan revealed the true political colors of Middle Eastern governments. But, most important, it resulted in a greater consolidation of revolutionary groups—despite their temporary disagreement on tactics.

# REVOLUTION

## not just for commandos



Fanon's assertion that "it is a liberated individual who undertakes to build a new society" is very pertinent to the Palestinian Revolution and its role in the transformation of Arab society. More specifically what concerns us in this article is the relationship between the revolution and the "liberation" of the Arab Woman.

First of all, to speak of "woman's liberation" is in itself an act of chauvinism, regardless of one's good intention. To speak of "woman's liberation" is to acknowledge her oppression alone—and not that of the total colonized or oppressed nation. It is incompatible with revolutionary thought to speak of the liberation of woman through national liberation, though the liberation of woman may indeed be a by-product of revolution.

Armed struggle and people's war engulf all the oppressed, regardless of their sex or age. In fact, the basis for a popular war of liberation is the total mobilization of the masses and their transformation into revolutionaries capable of taking their

destinies into their hands and of building a new society based on equality and social justice. It is a basic truth that "the liberation of the individual does not follow national liberation. An authentic national liberation exists only to the precise degree which the individual has irreversibly begun his liberation" (Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*). The emphasis here is on the individual and his transformation by armed struggle.

When speaking of liberation, we mean the right of a people to self-determination, we mean the total dismantlement of the oppressive system and all its institutions which deform the culture and life of the people it oppresses, robbing them of their right to determine their own destiny. A movement of national liberation is not merely one which rejects an oppressive system; it takes up arms to destroy that system from its very roots. Fulfilling such a goal requires the total transformation of the oppressed population, also from its very roots. The inevitable transformation of a people is the assertion of their being, their knowledge of their right to exist, to struggle and to win.

Only within this context can we address ourselves to the question of "woman's liberation" as an integral part of the total process of liberation. In *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon investigates the change that occurred in Algerian society. He analyzes the society's basic unit—the family. Fanon explores and explains, among other things, the change that occurred in the father/daughter and husband/wife relationships. Faced with extermination or armed struggle for survival, the Algerian people had no real choice. Once they had committed themselves to liberation, there was no escape from the total immersion of the whole society in a battle to which they saw no immediate end. The NLF recognized the fact that without the total mobilization and organization of the people into a unified front, liberation would remain a dream. Hence, conditions themselves dictated the participation of men, women, and children—for each had a particular function which no one else could fulfill.

Many a time a woman had to stay away from home for days, even months; but she had no worry about such action, nor did her family. They understood her motive, the necessity, and her commitment; they, too, were part of that struggle. This

unity of goal, vision, and commitment erased all the fears and antiquated taboos of the past, which were essentially the product of many years of continuous oppression. A struggle for national liberation destroys all that does not help fulfill it and creates its own laws and forces. So is the new nation shaped.

The Palestinian Revolution has gone a long way in the process of liberation, though it is still at the threshold of the struggle. One can cite a few examples which illustrate concretely the transformation. The Palestinian women are playing a new role in occupied Palestine. Besides their militant demonstrations, protests, strikes, their bombs and hand grenades, they are unwavering in their commitment to resist. No blowing up of their houses, no imprisonment, no torture is able to break their will to resist the insidious Zionist occupation. Fatma Birnawi, Shadia Abu Ghazalleh, Aysha Odeh and many others have become symbols of the law of revolutionary transformation.

Another example of the role played by Arab women in the liberation movement occurred during the February 1970 confrontation between the Revolution and the Jordanian army. During the crisis Jordanian and Palestinian women were an integral part of the militia and the freedom fighters. They prepared molotov bombs and distributed them to fighters, organized first aid units and moved quickly from one section of the battle to another, were on duty 24 hours a day, guarded certain important centers of the Revolution, and many actually participated in the armed confrontation. The names of Shahla and Ramzia bear witness to the phenomenon of inevitable revolutionary change in social mores.

Perhaps most important of all are the *Zahrat al-Thawra* (blossom of the revolution). There is no doubt that the camps of *al-Zahrat* and *al-Ashbal* are living proof of the transformation of the Palestinian people. The Revolution calls for a new Palestine that is free from oppression and exploitation of man by man. *Al-Zahrat* and *al-Ashbal* are the makers of the new Palestine, for they are manifestations of the spirit of liberation—a liberation not only of men but also of women and children, the beginning of the liberation of all Palestinians and their Arab brothers. Until victory. ●

WARDA

## ZIONISM: On The Offensive Against Jews

ISRAEL is desperately in need of cannon fodder to prepare for the inescapable confrontation with the growing Palestine resistance movement. This is why an unprecedented offensive against the Jews in Britain has been launched by the Zionists and their allies.

Terrified of 'losing' the youth to the progressive movement they do not shrink from exhorting them against the sin of mixed marriages which like the Nazis, they call 'self-extermination.'

By hook and crook they try to isolate youngsters, advising them not to get involved with 'trendy' civil rights activities or anti-Vietnam war marches. They frighten Jews from having contact with Africans with stories of Negro-anti-semitism. Under the camouflage of concern for Jewish security, they inculcate a paranoid fear of all non-Jews into the more credulous of their co-religionists. This had an appalling effect on many people, and it harmed the progressive movement as it had been the plan of the Zionists, as the most consequent upholders of colonialism and imperialism.

Since anti-Semitism has become a punishable crime under the Race Relations Act the Zionists have to take recourse to the 'do-it-yourself' method of whipping up fear and hatred of Jews, since voluntary immigration to

Israel had never been as successful as 'catastrophic Zionism' as a German Zionist referred to anti-Jewish terror. (Pro-Palestine Schriften, 1919) for fulfilling the Zionist program. As a student of Zionist literature in Germany during the inter-war years it struck me, that the same method is now being pursued in Britain.

In his book *TROUBLED EDEN*, (Chaim Berman: Mitchell, Valentine, 1969) the pro-Zionist author supplies material from which even a non-prejudiced 'gentile' could draw the conclusion that the Jews in Britain control an incongruous slice of the economy. He compiles such statistics, as "that 99% of Jewish homes have refrigerators against 34% of non-Jewish homes"; etc.

Since nobody can check whether these facts are true or not, the only value is to promote jealousy and fear of these 'clever' people. The Zionists give the green light to racial antagonism and . . . they flatter the Jews as the precondition for their self-made isolation, to become the tool of the Zionist agents. The German Zionists pursued the same method. They published exact data of the assets of the German Jewish big bourgeoisie and they supplied the Nazis—ready made—the entire propaganda material to unleash the 'hunt'. It may be that by the time Hitler seized power, the big bourgeoisie had safeguarded their

assets by merging their firms with big international monopolies, or by transferring their industries to Palestine with the co-operation of the Nazi government. The late President of the Reichsbank Dr. Schacht proved himself a servant of both the Hitlerite steel barons and the Zionist bourgeoisie. The workers and the pretty middle class, was left as the lightning conductor for the storm which was engineered and which gave capitalism a new lease of life.

It shocks me how frivolous the Zionists in Britain pursue their work. Typical was a brains trust arranged under the title: 'Anti-semitism or assimilation. What is the greater danger?' (Jewish Chronicle: March 11, 1960). A Labour MP who took part endorsed the verdict of the other speakers who proclaimed that "anti-semitism is merely a temporary difficulty, but assimilation a constant danger." It is evident that the removal from the scene of millions of people—who had only been Jews according to the criminal and unscientific racial Nuremberg Laws but who were rarely Zionists and mostly renegades, as a blessing to stalwart Zionists who had now lost their internal opposition. It was one of the most successful pruning operations in the sphere of population engineering. This is the reason why so little resistance against Zionist policy had been heard of during the post-war period.

G.E.

Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli ambassador to the U.S., on Israeli television: "There is no connection between U.S. actions in Cambodia and the situation in the Middle East. Nevertheless, if the Americans will be successful in their Cambodia action, things will be easier for Israel. If not—credibility in America's striking power will suffer, which in turn will influence events in the Middle East." (Zo Ha Derech 5/13/70.)



EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY  
SEN. MARK O. HATFIELD (R. Ore.)  
June 16, 1970

... During my visit to Israel in 1968 (Eshkol) told me... non-Jews cannot be allowed to live in large numbers in Israel... let alone participate in the government... Yet, it is the denial, in principle, of the right for Palestinians to return to their former homelands which remains as the central grievance in the conflict.

Israel, and the United States, must recognize and admit the basic injustice done to the Palestinians in 1948. This admission alone would be one of the greatest single steps that could be taken to defuse the present conflict.

There are forces for moderation within most of the countries directly involved in the Middle East conflict. And it is these forces that must be nurtured before there is total polarization.

There is... the political reality of the Palestinians to be considered: they are a major party in the dispute and must be consulted in the solution.

The Middle East conflict, in summary poses the greatest danger to our own security and to the hopes of us all for peace in the world. Presently, there is the imminent danger of the radicalization and overthrow of existing moderate Arab governments.

The interests of the United States in the entire Middle East are clear and compelling... We have made specific commitments there, and our own security is involved.

We must squarely confront the third rising force in the Middle East, the Palestinian movement. The issue of Palestine must be understood and its meaning in the eyes of all the Arab world must be grasped. Our viewpoints must become sensitive to the injustice that the Palestinians feel so deeply, and our policies must be constructed to deal with this sense of injustice.

# only right to the right to other side

It seems to have become fashionable recently among certain circles in Israel to speak of Palestinian entity and Palestinian right to statehood. The gracious attitude seems to be taken there as a ticket to Jewish Liberalism. In the June 1970 issue of *Commentary* another Israeli professor makes his debut in that semantic circus. Professor Shlomo Avineri, Chairman of the department of political science at Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in his article "The Palestinians and Israel" climbs on the bandwagon that is broadcasting the need for a Palestinian State on the West Bank.

It is not a sense of justice that prompts such individuals to recognize Palestinians as such; they do, rather, because "it is the Palestinians who have done the greatest damage to [Israel's] world image; those who supported Israel wholeheartedly when she was menaced by Nasser's Egypt and when sixty million Arabs threatened to push her into the sea tend to think differently now that the enemy has become defined as a band of people claiming to fight for the liberation of what they consider their homeland from foreign intruders." In a desperate attempt to discredit the Palestine liberation movement, which he presents as an extremist and deadly-stubborn force, Professor Avineri concedes a little to gain a lot. He concedes that Palestinians exist and that his government made a minor mistake in not recognizing that fact—a mistake which spawned the ever increasing extremism of Palestinians.

Professor Avineri's claim that the real conflict in the Middle East is "basically and ultimately... a conflict between two movements for national liberation" is as fantastic as his statement that "despite appearances... the Middle East conflict has never truly been susceptible of analysis in cold war terms." But it is no fantasy that Zionism has been the tooth and claw of various imperialistic forces in their attempt to tear the fibre of Arab nationalism. And it is in this context that we see Zionism changing cold war horses in midstream (pp. 32-33). Even granting, however, that the Middle East is not an arena of Big Power cold war and that Israel's struggle in the area is for national liberation, it is acknowledged (by Prof. Avineri himself) that "ultimately there is no conflict between Israel and Egypt or between Israel and Syria; the conflict is between Israel and the Palestinians." By this very admission, Avineri defines the conflict as between an oppressor and an oppressed people. This is the crux of the matter and the point of departure for the Palestine liberation movement's ideology and strategy. Palestinians today are either living under occupation or expatriated while Israel keeps importing population and expanding its borders. Given the above criteria, it borders on the comic that Professor Avineri accuses Palestinians of being extremists.

The absurdity of Professor Avineri's presentation of the nature of the conflict is less outlandish than his proposed solution to the problem. He states that a solution imposed by the Big Powers or a settlement negotiated between Israel and the Arab states will not be recognized by the Palestinians and that such forces have no control over the Palestinians: "The Palestinian organizations have said time and again—and their statements should be taken seriously—that even if the Arab states make peace with Israel, they will go on fighting. Under such circumstances the border situation between the Arab states and Israel will remain tenuous in the extreme. The same can be said of what would happen in the case of an 'imposed solution' by the Great Powers—a settlement short of peace but guaranteeing cessation of hostilities" (p. 37). Nonetheless, Professor Avineri disregards Palestinian opposition to his own brand of imposed settle-

ment. He divided Palestinians into two categories: (a) those under Israeli rule in Judea and Samaria and in the Gaza strip and (b) those on the East Bank of Jordan. With regard to the latter, they "are outside Israel's sphere of direct involvement and Israel can do very little [about them]. Israel can however initiate a number of steps with regard to the other category of 'Palestinians'—those now under her rule in the West Bank and in the Gaza strip" (p. 39). The professor goes on to say: "In my opinion, what Israel has to do now is to make clear its readiness to discuss peace terms not only with the Arab states but also with the representatives of the Palestinians. What I have in mind specifically is a discussion with the Palestinians now under Israeli rule—concerning the possibility of establishing a Palestinian Arab state on the West Bank and in Gaza." If it were from fear of Palestinian objection only that Avineri discounts Big Power settlement or an agreement between Israel and the Arab states, how come he disregards Palestinian objection to his own plan? Logic exposes his self-serving stance: it is evident that the Israelis would like to negotiate an agreement with that part of the nation which is under occupation in order to present to the world another *fait accompli*.

Furthermore, those "courageous Palestinian leaders" such as Aziz Shehadi, Sheikh Ali al-Ja'bari, and the rest of the collaborators on the West Bank hardly represent Palestinian nationhood. If they are as courageous as the author of the article claims, why don't they go before the Palestinian people in their camps, present them with their ideas, and see what happens to them? For the edification of the author, the Palestinian people have sentenced these men as traitors to be dealt with accordingly at some future time. Avineri's Arab state on the West Bank would be composed totally of such traitors and so would qualify for protection under the umbrella of Israel's armed forces—in which case, the Palestinian Liberation movement would consider that state part and parcel of the enemy.

Avineri labors under the illusion that the Palestinians, like the Zionists themselves, are only after political sovereignty over any old piece of land. Hence, he hopes that the Palestinians will make the tactical blunder of ousting Hussein and get stuck with Jordan. "Their homelessness would to some degree be remedied, a place would be set for them in the councils of nations with an army, a flag, and all the trappings of sovereignty." The professor can rest assured that the Palestinians want all these "trappings of sovereignty" and the sovereignty as well—in their own homeland, Palestine—and west of the Jordan River, too.

Far from following in Zionist footsteps, the Palestine liberation movement will never countenance perpetrating on the Jordanian people what Zionists have done to Palestinians. It is obvious from the above that Professor Avineri's argument supporting his solution is as unsteady as a unicycle—from which he takes frequent pratfalls.

# WORLD CHRISTIANS' STAND BY PALESTINE



Delegates from Algeria, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Cameroun, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dahomey, Egypt, Finland, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Holland, Hungary, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Palestine, Pakistan, Poland, Senegal, Switzerland, United States of America and West Germany meet in Beirut.

The World Conference of Christians for Palestine May 10 wound up its deliberations with a resounding condemnation of Israel as an illegal state based on violence and the violation of international law.

Abbey Pierre of the large French delegation said "we are witnesses to all that has happened here - we go, leaving with you the confidence that the documents we have obtained will be followed by further works. Now we must convince our brothers abroad. We must eliminate all fear, and meet again in Jerusalem to say the words 'Our Father' together."

Kamal Naser of the Palestine Liberation Organization said, "on behalf of Palestine, I thank you. Through your efforts blended with our struggle, man will emerge much stronger in his humanism. Palestine discovers in you its universality."

"Yesterday while the conference was in session, Zionist planes were dropping bombs on South Lebanon. We will endeavor to throw seeds of hope on that same soil by bringing out the truth," stated Georges Montaron, a secretary to the conference, "If Zionist action amounts to 1000, we will counter it with 2000 in Africa, Asia and Europe - our weapon is the truth . . . the truth of peace and justice which we will spread all over the world."

He then added that the conference was just the first stage, that research would continue long after its end, and ended by extending his thanks to all participants, sub-committees, and all those who had helped it be such a success.

Asked if he was satisfied with the outcome of the conference, Montaron said, "it turned out better than I had hoped for. The number of people who attended were more than I had expected, the unanimity of the participants and the quality of the debates were all very satisfying."

The final resolutions adopted by the legal commission of the conference were then read by Charles Vernier:

He said the Legal Committee:

1. Ascertain once again the unqualified illegality of the creation of Israel, a de facto state founded on violence and on the violation of public international law and municipal law considered in all its aspects, thus consecrating a colonial fact on the level of the law of nations.

2. Ascertain further that the government of Israel resides upon a political ideology of a religious nature, which is racist, discriminatory and expansionist and that it submits the indigenous population to a systematic apartheid which is legally consecrated by its jurisdictions.

3. Affirms that the Christian conscience cannot allow this grave injustice and clear prejudice to law and morality and urges support for the legitimate

struggle of resistance and revolution of the Palestinian people.

4. Notes from the documents, evidence and reports submitted to our conference that there is decisive evidence proving that Israeli authorities have perpetrated war crimes and crimes against humanity including inter alia; torture, deportation, expropriation of private property, collective penalties, destruction of villages, mass-killings, pillage, in disrespect for private persons, property, honor, and religious convictions in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Regulations of The Hague relating to the protection of civilian populations.

5. Condemns with particular vigor the use of Napalm and of other prohibited weapons.

6. Recalls that all these serious derogations have already been ascertained and condemned by all international instances which have had occasion to know about them, among which are the United Nations and the Human Rights Commission, the International Committee of the Red Cross and several non-governmental organizations, as well as several international conferences.

7. In consideration of the situation referred to above and within the present historical and legal context, considers that these acts constitute a blatant aggression, a threat to world peace and a violation of our Christian conception of the rule of law.

8. Therefore expresses its wish, consistent with its concern for avoiding the aggravation of the conflict and to help bring about its solution, that all the national committees created after this conference will undertake a careful and thorough study as a prelude to effective implementation, of a Palestinian proposal for the creation of a democratic state of Palestine recognizing the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights according to the right of self-determination.

Warmly appreciates the example of human brotherhood given by Lebanon to all men of good will and considers that any attack on Lebanese sovereignty, territorial integrity or on its Arab and human mission would be a loss for humanity.

This was followed by the report made by the Organizing Commission:

The organizing committee was unanimous in considering that the World Conference of Christians for Palestine was not an end in itself but rather a step forward. The hopes which have been engendered by this conference must not wane once each participant has returned to his country. Its work must be made known. Public opinion the world over must be made aware of the importance of the work accomplished during our discussions. Contacts and exchanges between participants must lead to action in the coming months. That is the first recommendation of the commission.

The resistance struggle of the Palestinian people, the Arab people's fight, and the considerable force of Zionist opposition, makes it necessary for us to undertake a major drive to inform and explain the facts to Christian communities who are, for the most part, heavily influenced by Zionist propaganda. The commission considers that this specific task within our Christian communities must not be considered as a single objective.

In every country of the world there are Palestine committees or other groups which work toward political understanding and solidarity with the Palestine resistance. It is not for Christians, aware of the Palestinian reality, to replace existing groups and committees with competing Christian committees.

Our task should, on the contrary, complement the action of these groups and committees. The committee urgently requests the delegates to this conference to avoid limiting their action to their own groups and thereby shirking a real political commitment. We have all fought against a narrow and specific concept of the Christian commitment avoiding this aspect. Therefore, our task involves us in allowing an increasing number of Christians to give their commitment a political dimension. Our solidarity with the Palestinian people should lead to a political solidarity. This is the second recommendation of the committee.

How shall we continue the work begun at this conference? The committee has a certain number of recommendations to which it hopes all the participants will agree.

1) Making the Appeal known to Christians.

The appeal we are about to hear must be very widely distributed to all parts of the world. The committee hopes this text will be discussed, commented upon and proclaimed in all the Christian communities of the world. We request every participants to take the responsibility of bringing it to the attention of his home community.

The committee also proposes that an effort be made so that various groups and individuals within every country represented at this conference will be informed of the results of our work. These include:

-- Hierarchies of all the churches present at this conference.

-- Leaders of specialized movements and youth organizations of the various churches and religions of each country.

-- Christian or non-Christian organizations whose task is to work for peace among nations.

-- Charitable movements, whether they be Christian or not, who are concerned with international problems and with the countries of the Third World.



-- Political or trade union organizations (wherever possible), leaders in government (wherever possible), political or cultural youth organizations.

-- Existing groups and committees partially or totally involved with the Palestinian problem.

-- Jewish communities and particularly anti-Zionist Jews and Jewish groups.

This list is not exhaustive and may be completed according to the conditions prevailing in each country but the committee emphasizes the need for a special effort to be made to communicate the Beirut Appeal to all the daily, weekly, and monthly newspapers and periodical and other mass media such as radio and television in each country.

The committee propose that each delegate or each country specify to the conference secretariat the number of copies of the appeal and the desired language.

2) National Commissions and the Standing Committee of the World Conference of Christians for Palestine.

To extend the spirit and action of this conference, the organizing committee unanimously proposes.

a - The Creation of National Commissions of Christians for Palestine.

The role of the National Commissions will be:  
-- to inform Christian circles about the Palestine question and explain it with the help of documents and information furnished by the standing committee and the other national commissions.

-- to prepare, wherever possible national conferences of Christians for Palestine.

-- to respond to Zionist propaganda whenever it appears in the religious field, and to re-establish the truth, and denounce confusion of political and religious issues.

As of now, national commissions are going to be organized in Algeria, Belgium, Egypt, England, France, Jordan, Hungary, Italy, Lebanon, Spain, Switzerland and the United States. This list is not exhaustive.

b - The Standing Committee of the World Conference of Christians for Palestine.

This Committee will have two poles:

-- One in Beirut which will centralize information about the Palestine resistance and in a more general way about the Arab countries (especially the Christian communities of the East).

-- The other, in Paris, for reasons based on convenience and on the fact that addresses were compiled in that city.

The Beirut pole will have as executive secretariat the secretariat of this Conference. However, as far as inter-Arab orientation and coordination is concerned, a regional commission with the participation of Palestinians and one or two representatives for each country will be created to assist the Beirut Secretariat.

The Paris pole will have the same secretariat and, like its Beirut counterpart will have representatives from all the participating countries and Palestine. The role of the Paris committee will be to assure general coordination, to broaden the information directed toward Christian circles, to coordinate national committee action and to publish an information bulletin. The Conference Standing Committee will meet once, twice or three times a year (and will decide in particular about organizing and planning the date of the next world conference).

3) Information Bulletin:

The Committee proposes that this information bulletin be widely circulated in every country. It will be written in several languages and will include:

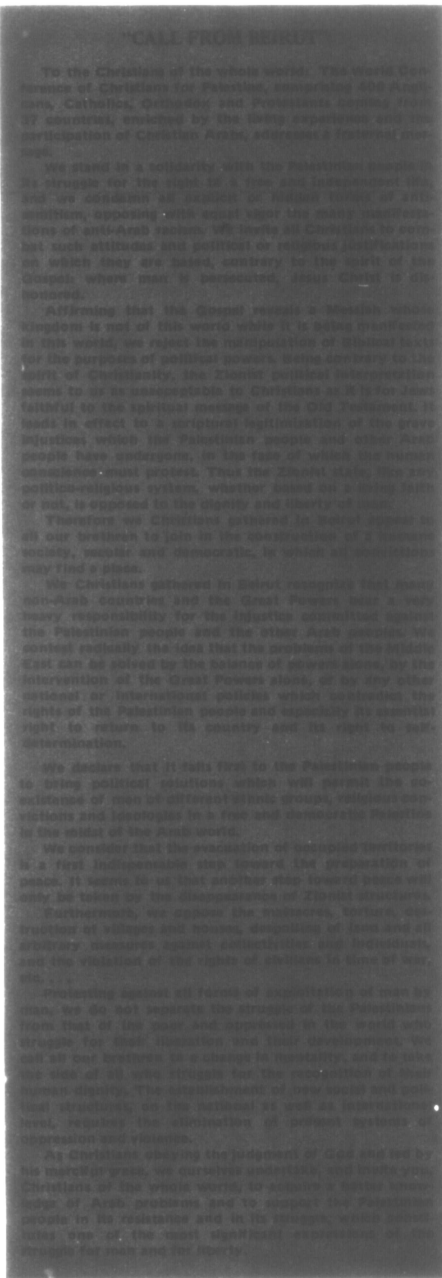
-- information on the Palestine reality, on Palestine resistance and on conditions in Arabic countries.

-- information on the activities of local or regional commissions.

-- various documents of interest to all the commissions and local listening posts.

4) Financing:

As you know financial means are vital to the success, of any information campaign. The committee considers that every participant should feel concerned by this question. The more the Standing Committee has your support in this area the more means of information it will have, allowing for wider dissemination of the Palestinian reality and conditions in the Arab World.



This is why the Committee proposes that the delegates and observers at the Conference show their solidarity by contributing to the Standing Committee an amount in accordance with their financial means but which we feel should be at least equal to the fees they have paid.

Finally the Committee proposes to the Standing Committee to undertake the publication, in several languages, of a book compiling all the Conference's work.

Our work draws to a close this evening. In the long march of the Palestinian people toward liberty and justice we will be by its side, with it. In the Committee we have heard reports about the difficulties encountered from certain Western countries and particularly those from the United States.

The effort to inform and bring awareness which we have undertaken will require persistent toil. But as with other revolutionary commitments, dear friends, this is only the beginning, let us continue together so that Palestine may live.

The resolutions having been presented, the large audience was given a very hearty speech a "Call from Beirut". This, together with all the documentation obtained on the conference's work will be sent via delegations to Pope Paul, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Orthodox Primate Athenagoras, the World Council of Churches in Geneva, and U Thant, the United Nations secretary-general.

It was also heard by the 400 delegates attending the conference, who include church leaders, politicians, journalists, lawyers, businessmen, doctors, professors, students, and Palestinian leaders.

The 78-member French delegation is the largest. The other delegates and observers come from Algeria, West Germany, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dahomey, Spain, Finland, Britain, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Holland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Madagascar, Morocco, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Palestine, Egypt, Senegal, Switzerland, Tunisia, United States, Syria and Iraq.

Montaron said: "The documents presented have been well weighed in every respect." "Those among you who feel bound by these texts and who are prepared to help the cause, stand up and clap." A loud applause filled the conference room at this point as 400 Christians stood up showing their support of the cause.

Their support was further affirmed as participants were interviewed individually after the conference. Michelle DeJean (French) felt that she had gained a great deal from the conference and had learned a lot. "When I first arrived, my stand was in between both sides. Now that I know the true situation, I am definitely siding with the Palestinians."

Her husband, Jacques DeJean, had been to Lebanon two years ago. "At that time, I was all for the 1967 resolutions. Now that I fully understand the resistance movement and their aims for a democratic secular state, my opinions have changed, and I am all for them," he said.

Hamacher Elmar, a German lawyer, explained that he had been on the Judicial Commission of the Conference. "At first occidental members had the impression that other members formulated judicial arguments upon the pre-conceived political directions," he said, though not elaborating on this point. "My general impression on the whole, however, is that all participants have made proof of having a great deal of will in resolving the problem objectively and without sentiments."

Gabriel Habib, secretary of the committee ended the conference with a final word. "We have come from different ideological horizons, but we now walk together for one purpose--the liberation of man. Thus united, man will fight against all obstacles in his path, until they all fall down before him" he said.

"When the Palestinian called himself a commando, he was close to love in content. He will redeem not only his country, but also Jewry and Arabism for a country of brotherhood," he added.

The Lord's prayer was then spoken out by all participants in their different languages as a pledge of loyalty to the cause, and following a very touching skit made by some Palestinian children dressed as commandos who came in offering loaves of bread, which were given to the participants to divide and eat as symbols of brotherhood. They were also given white carnations symbolizing purity, while white doves flew across the room for freedom.

Every one left the conference room and headed for Dar Al Fatwa, where they were invited to dinner by Sheikh Hassan Khaled, grand Mufti of Lebanon. ●

# the hebrew press

REVIEWED

By a Palestinian

ISRAEL has often been portrayed as the only source of culture and enlightenment in the Middle East.

According to Israeli propagandists, one of the main benefactors of Israel's "superior" cultural and educational standing is its Arab minority. Any outsider who is not thoroughly aware of the scene in Israel and reads about Israel's 'achievements' in the educational sphere is bound to think that had it not been for the benevolent Israel, the Arabs would have remained illiterate and backward forever. The deliberate fabrication and misrepresentation of figures on the state of Arab education in Israel can be easily revealed by examining those figures not in isolation, but rather in contextual and relative terms. For example, during a 15-year period, 1948-1963, 2,000 Arab students passed their secondary matriculation examination. In other words, on the average, 80 Arab students passed their exams every year. A rather small proportion, to say the least, when one realizes that there are about 4,000 students from the Arab sector attending secondary schools. This low number of successful secondary school graduates is basically due to an inferior school system in the Arab sector, a system that has been deliberately kept underdeveloped and poorly staffed. Not all successful secondary school graduates apply to places in higher institutions. Up to 1967 there were about 300 Arab students in various universities and other higher training institutions in Israel.

By any standard, the number of Israeli Arabs who benefit from this "superior" standing of Israel is extremely low. The contrast is even more stark when the figure of 300 is compared to 50,000 Jewish students attending universities in Israel. It turns out that in a State where the Arab minority comprises 12 per cent of the total population it enjoys a ratio of 0.6 per cent of available places in universities.

One major aspect of Israeli propaganda regarding the educational status of Arabs in Israel is this: Israel has managed to raise the standard of literacy and introduce the Arab minority to a level of education higher than the one found in the rest of the Arab countries. Rather than compare Israel's position to that of the Arab world in general, let us look at the position of the Palestinians. They provide a "control group" for comparison purposes.

Writing in *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1970), Don Peretz, frequent writer on the Middle East, says this with reference to the Palestinians outside Israel: "In two decades, approximately 50,000 Palestinians attended universities, nearly equating the number of young (Jewish) professionals trained by Israel during this period." He went on to say, "The new generation of Palestinians had all the attributes of a displaced minority group including great aspirations for upward mobility, political restiveness and a

core of revolutionary-minded men who aspire to re-establish a homeland."

A simple inference out of all this is clear, Israel's presence hindered, and not assisted, in the intellectual development of its Arab minority.

After his tour in the West, Amos Kennan, a regular writer in *Ma'ariv* and a well-known civil libertarian, wrote recently about the state of extreme alienation and personal involvement in which the Israelis have put themselves. He painted a gloomy picture concerning the total unawareness among the Israelis—regarding what goes in the rest of the world. It seemed to him that what mattered to the Israelis is not what goes on in the international system, but rather what goes on in their backyard. In other words, problems exist only if they are Jewish and Israeli problems. This total outlook characterized by introspection has serious implications for the educational system which is continuously being dominated by Zionist ideology. The story of Zionist indoctrination does not end here. The apparatus of the Zionist machine is also active overseas too. *Ma'ariv* (4/26/70) describes in some detail the activities of the Jewish Agency in Britain. It mentions how the Agency despatched a special "officer" to contact British Jewish organizations in an attempt to coordinate propaganda programs to insure "that the identity of the Jewish youth in Britain remains safeguarded."

The experience of this officer was rather disappointing. He discovered that as far as the Jewish youth is concerned, "Israel is just another country." Furthermore, he noticed that when it comes to political discussion, Israel as a topic of discussion and concern is usually the last item on the agenda. He made some suggestions to remedy this situation, among which is the following: Israel should send at least "one member to infiltrate every Jewish club in Britain" in order to raise the level of interest in Israel. At the same time, Israel should work to "indoctrinate the leaders of these clubs" so that they themselves believe and understand the meaning of Jewish identity.

With the Amnesty report out, Israel was finally and legitimately exposed as a barbarous State. We would like to add a few more cases to the mentioned report. *Ha-Olam Ha-Zeh* (3/11/70) sheds light on the case of Kassem Muhammad Abu Khadrah, a member of the resistance movement who was captured by the Israelis in action along the Lebanese frontier. It has been finally "confirmed" by the Israeli authorities that this man has met his death in a mysterious way in his prison cell. But what is surprising in this magazine and to us is this. Why did the authorities do away with his body and bury him before they notified his family? *Ha-Aretz* (4/7/70) reports the case of the known Israeli Arab lawyer, Sabri Jiryis,

who has been in administrative detention for more than two months without proper accusation and trial. Together, with 18 other Arab comrades in the same prison detained under similar circumstances, he went on a hunger strike. This overt persecution of the Israeli Arabs has finally aroused the sympathy of three Israeli Jews who demonstrated outside the prison protesting the treatment of the illegally detained Arabs. One is bound to underline the explicit approval of the Israeli Bar association to the treatment rendered to one of their colleagues by the Zionist authorities. Another incident reported in *Ha-Olam Ha-Zeh* (4/29/70) concerns the Israeli Arab poet Fawzi El-Asmar who has also been in prison for two months under the "administrative detention" scheme without proper trial. In light of all this, *Ha-Aretz* (4/8/70) asks rhetorically why is it that "only Arabs are covered by the administrative arrests when there are well known Jews inside Israel who hold publicly similar beliefs to those espoused by the detained Arabs"?

For the first time in the history of the Zionist State, we have seen public opposition to the Government's defense policies as revealed in the recent Jerusalem and Hebron demonstrations. All those who follow the Israeli scene should take a note of this incident, since it signifies the beginning of a turning point in the Israeli domestic scene. Although the public polls inside Israel show that close to two-thirds of the population supports the government's policies. The youth, a very important factor in Israeli society, is becoming increasingly suspicious of the Government's intentions. *Ma'ariv* (4/30/70) mentioned the story of 70 eighth graders from Jerusalem who signed a letter protesting 'against the Government's insufficient efforts to reach peace.' The letter, originating from a group each not exceeding 13 years of age, aroused a serious concern in Israel.

For a long time, the resistance movement has been portrayed by the Israelis in religious and national terms. A main theme that runs through their propaganda literature is this: there are no Christian Arabs fighting in the resistance movement. This claim has been shattered more than once. *Ha-Aretz* (4/29/70) reports of a guerrilla attack in which three Israeli Arabs took part, one of whom was a Christian. The same theme is confirmed in another issue of *Ha-Aretz* (4/10/70). The correspondent gives the names of Israeli intellectuals who have left the country to join the resistance's political activities by explaining to the Western audience the plight of the Arabs in Israel.

Finally, a note from one of the chief spokesmen of the Israeli Defence Forces. When asked about the level of guerrilla activities, he replied that as far as Israeli casualties are concerned "there has been no reduction in the number of fatalities."

## Messages to the World Conference of Christians

### MESSAGE FROM THE IRISH PARTICIPANTS

Recalling the long struggle of our own people to win the right of self-determination, and bearing in mind the fact that the Palestinian resistance is struggling to vindicate a similar right for the people of Palestine, we, the Irish Participants at this World Conference, affirm our support for the establishment of a unitary, non-sectarian, democratic state for the Palestinian nation.

Further, we call upon all Christian bodies in Ireland to inform the Irish people of the facts concerning the struggle for justice in Palestine which hitherto have not been available to them.

The Irish Participants

### MESSAGE FROM THE MAJORITY OF THE BRITISH PARTICIPANTS

1. The majority of the British participants express their solidarity with the Palestinian people in its revolutionary struggle against oppression.
2. We feel that all too often the churches have created a false dichotomy between peace and war. The Palestinian situation is inherently violent. The alternative to the violence of war is the existing violence of poverty, exploitation and imperialism.
3. We note that the revolution has produced regeneration of the Palestinian nation.
4. We call upon the churches of the world to recognise this regeneration and to increase their aid to inherent Palestinian welfare and educational organisations.

5. We consider the political creed of Zionism to be the negation of Christianity. Mankind is indivisible and, for this reason, we reaffirm our belief in plural states, epitomized by the concept of a secular Palestine where Christians, Jews and Moslems can play an equal part in building a nation.
6. We are aware that traditional religious associations with Palestine have been allowed to obscure the nature and aims of the contemporary Israeli State. We call upon the Western Churches to counteract the political creed of Zionism by disseminating the correct information and the theological approach.

The Majority of the British Participants

# THE ISRAEL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Affiliated to the International League for the Right of Man, New York

Bulletin No. 1

## Preface

According to the decision of the general meeting held on 3/9/70, the League for Human and Civil Rights will begin publication of all acts, in Israel and the conquered territories which contravene the principles of those rights. We shall publish in those bulletins the complaints of the sufferers, and we shall demand independent inquiry and satisfaction for the sufferers. We address you the citizen of Israel, and every human being with conscience abroad to help us in those demands.

We shall not bother you with generalizations and mere numbers, but shall collect facts about real suffering people, whose most basic human rights are denied by the Israeli government. We ask you to pass those bulletins to your friends and acquaintances and ask them and do yourself everything to help to uncover the truth and to alleviate the suffering.

*In this first bulletin we shall recount four cases dealing with the conquered territories and five about Israeli citizens.*

1) ISCHAK ALI MARAGAI, from Eastern Jerusalem. Imprisoned in March 1969. Complains that he was tortured in the following manner in the prison of Jerusalem: He was hanged by his feet, head downwards and in this position flogged and hit on his head with a stick. In other times, he was tortured by electricity, and by having hot and cold water poured on him alternatively.

We must add that ISCHAK ALI MARAGAI, remains incapacitated until the present day, and the wounds in his head are clearly visible.

2) HASSAN OTMAN ISA, from Bethlehem. Arrested on 8/19/69. For about two months neither his family nor his lawyer (Mrs. F. Langer) did not know anything about him. On his first meeting with his lawyer on 10/14/69, he complained about his torturers in Ramallah Prison. He had even undergone an operation caused by his torturers. After that meeting HASSAN OTMAN ISA, was not allowed to see his lawyer until 3/4/70. At that meeting, Mrs. Langer observed that HASSAN OTMAN ISA is in very bad bodily state. His left foot and lower left side of his back are very swollen, so that he is barely able to move. His leg may be in danger of amputation. The Commission of Appeals, headed by Major Wolfson refused (on 3/4/70) to hear the complaints of HASSAN OTMAN ISA's lawyer about his condition, saying that it is not its business. We ask you, citizen of Israel or any man of conscience abroad: Is it YOUR business?

3) NAYM EL-ASHHAB, from Eastern-Jerusalem, is held without any accusation more than a year. His freedom was proposed to him on condition that he will emigrate, and never return. Two months ago he was severely wounded in the notorious Shata Prison, by a Jewish prisoner. We must note that the deputy-director of the prison was cautioned several times in advance, that NAYM EL-ASHHAB is going to be wounded, but didn't take any precautions.

4) KHALIL RASHIDI ABU-NASRA, from Bethlehem. An old man, 90 (ninety) years old, arrested as a hostage for his son. (A common occurrence in the conquered territories). Taken to Ramallah Prison, and then to Nablus Prison. Died in Nablus Prison at the beginning of March 1970. Following we give four cases of Israeli citizens.

5) FAWZI EL-ASMAR, from Lydda. A well-known poet and journalist. Held in prison without charge for more than eight months. His administrative sentence was prolonged several times. The authorities counsel him to leave the country permanently.

6) SABRI JIRYIS, from Haifa. A well-known writer. Author of the book "The Arabs in Israel". Held in prison without charge.



*In the next bulletins we shall describe many other cases of imprisonment, limitations and other persecutions of the Arab intelligencia in Israel. We assume that this policy is intentional.*

The two last cases will introduce the old case of the 'Absent-Present'. For those that don't understand that Kafkaesque term we shall explain: The 'Absent-Present' are those citizens of Israel (only Arabs) who while bodily present, were declared to be legally absent (without any process of law) for the purpose of stealing their possessions. We consider this robbery as contravention of basic human rights, and the fact that the robbery was sanctioned by an official law makes it in our opinion even more abominable. We shall describe in the following bulletins very many cases of such 'Absent-Present' whose possessions were taken away, beginning with those cases:

7) RAUF UNALLA, an 'Absent-Present' from Nazareth, father of 11 children. Used to own 300 dunums of land in Iksal (village near Nazareth). This was confiscated.

8) ADV. HANA NAKARA, an 'Absent-Present' from Haifa. His library, which contained many precious books, was confiscated, by the force of the 'Absent-Present' law.

9) YAIR AVRAMSKY, Assistant in Economic Department of Hebrew University refused the yearly Israeli military service on grounds of conscientious objection in April 1970. He was arrested and placed in the notorious Schneller Military Prison. He conducted a hunger strike and was beaten severely, both by the authorities and other prison-

ers who were encouraged to do so. Afraid to face the consequences of a political trial against a Jew on his grounds of conscientious objection, placed Avramsky in an asylum for the mentally ill, refusing him any visitors, including his lawyer, family, the Chairman of the Association of Pacifists and the Chairman of the Israeli League of Human Rights.

Citizens of Israel and men of conscience everywhere! We described those few cases in our first bulletin. We pledge ourselves to continue in this duty we have assumed, to be a mouth for every suffering human being, and to help everyone whose human rights are denied, in Israel and in the conquered territories. We want to continue. We ask you to help us in this task.

*Please send your donation to this address:*

The Israel League  
for Human and Civil Rights

P. O. Box 201/78  
Tel Aviv,

Israel

# LEST WE FORGET THE OTHER WAR



An alarm bell of warning must be sounded to the anti-war movement about the conflict in the Middle East. This "other" war is growing, becoming more ominous day by day.

The stakes in the Middle East for U.S. imperialism are

enormous. The imperialist ruling class has much greater investments there than in all Southeast Asia. Until recently, it relied on national divisions created by the colonial powers and the complete subjugation of the masses by colonial puppets to maintain its empire of oil over the Arab world.

But the winds of socialist revolution and national liberation are sweeping the world, and the Arab masses are mastering the art of revolutionary politics and people's war. This strikes panic in the hearts of the imperialists, who are beginning to fear for their very survival. They are capable of wild adventures, as can be seen in the Cambodian and Laotian escalations of the Indochina war. It seems highly possible at the present time that U.S. imperialism, with Israel acting to all intents and purposes as a second military arm, will unleash some new aggression against the Arab people.

There has already been the invasion of Lebanon—almost overlooked because it coincided so neatly with the invasion of Cambodia that absorbed the attention of the world.

The U.S. ruling class is united behind the Mideast war. Many of the doves on Vietnam are the most virulent hawks on the Mideast—precisely because they feel that the latter war is much more in their interest. In fact, many are opposed to the Vietnam war because they feel that the U.S. will not be able to wage other wars like the one in the Mideast while they are "bogged down" in Vietnam.

Nowhere are the failings of the official anti-war leaders more apparent than on this question. Used to tailing behind the criticisms of the Vietnam war raised by dissident members of the Establishment, they have shown no concern for the "other" war. They cannot act independently of the liberal capitalist Establishment. Their strictly non-struggle orientation on Vietnam confirms this in a positive way—but their refusal to take up the Middle East war shows it in the most dangerously negative way.

Three long years ago, just after the June War, the Chairman of Workers World Party, joined by a representative of Youth Against War & Fascism, brought a resolution condemning U.S.—Israeli aggression before the National Mobilization Committee. The NMC refused to even discuss the war, and tabled the motion—where it has remained while more jets, ships, napalm and tanks have been rushed to the Mediterranean to be used against the Arab people.

It was criminal to table discussion of the war then. It is even more criminal now to suppress this issue when three more years of bloody conflict have made it clearer than ever that the question in the Middle East is essentially the same as that in Vietnam: the right of oppressed people to liberate themselves from the tentacles of U.S. finance capital.

The failure of the anti-war leadership to take a position on the Mideast war and their refusal to rally the anti-war masses is not simply a betrayal in the abstract. The practical dangers of suppressing discussion on this issue are enormous and frightening.

The New York Times has already asserted in an editorial that the Mideast war is more dangerous than the Vietnam war. The possibility of a surprise attack against the Arab people by U.S. imperialism grows greater with each passing day.

Should the Israeli puppets be unable to carry on the war alone, U.S. imperialism would certainly intervene (as they were ready to do during the 1967 war). Such an event would catch the entire population, no less the anti-war masses, entirely unprepared to resist. By refusing to rally the people against this war, the anti-war leadership is leaving the movement totally disarmed in the face of a potential disaster which could overcome, disorient and ultimately destroy the anti-war movement itself.

Reprinted from  
**WORKERS WORLD**

May 21, 1970

*Free Palestine* is a monthly paper published by the Friends of Free Palestine. Editor: Abdeen Jabara. "Free Palestine" welcomes its readers submitting comments, letters and articles.

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