

PALESTINE

LIVES!

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THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT

MAY OF THE PALESTINIANS



WOMEN IN PRISON

A Lesson from Vietnam

April 30th the armed forces of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front entered Saigon (now re-named Ho Chi Minh City). Two weeks earlier, the forces of the Cambodian United National Front became masters of Phnom Penh. So ended the twentieth century's longest liberation war, and the peoples of South Vietnam and Cambodia regained their liberty, independence and dignity.

What great lessons for the peoples of the world, and for the story of humanity's progress! The steel will of a small but proud people had toppled three of history's most powerful imperialist forces, one after the other. This same will has now decided, at the cost of enormous sacrifice, the destiny of a whole land.

The Vietnamese victory is clearly due to the conjunction of many internal and external factors: but above all to the Vietnamese patriots' deep understanding of these factors and their importance at each stage of the struggle:

- This understanding led to a clear and well-defined political line, from which flowed strategy and tactics which were generally correct, at the level of the military struggle, in diplomacy, in information, and so on.

- Total and effective mobilisation of the Vietnamese people's living potential made them ever more staunch in their determination to seize their rights. And their leading organisation, in addition to its ability and devotion, was steeped in modern scientific thought and the 'science of history'.

- The deep alliance with the socialist camp provided a vast strategic reserve for the struggle - economically, politically and militarily.

- Brilliant diplomacy and the infor-

mation effort did not neglect the U.S. itself where the anti-war movement was able to influence the American legislature and executive from the 'inside'.

Historians can, no doubt, in the years to come, analyse the various factors of the Vietnamese victory. For our part, we learn the lessons of Vietnam mainly at the level of practice.

Our people's struggle has continued now for more than half a century, meeting successes and failures on its way. (It took a decisive upward turn with the rebirth of armed resistance, just over ten years ago). Our struggle will now be powerfully re-inforced by the victories of the peoples of Southeast Asia, and by the lessons learnt from them. But if there is one principal lesson which must be underlined, it is the importance of understanding, in the light of deep and scientific analysis, the specificity of each struggle.

And our struggle has at least one specific element which makes it unique - that is, the uprooting of the majority of our people from its land, and its replacement by a new 'majority'. This element calls for a new view of the struggle and its successive stages, and the inclusion of a new human factor in the revolutionary view of the future. For the revolutionary knows well that the future can never be a carbon-copy of the past.

This view our Zionist enemy and the American imperialists can never accept, until they are totally cornered - as the Americans were in Vietnam. Humanity continues to progress in spite of them and against them: they will finish in Palestine as they did in Vietnam, victims of their own logic, throwing themselves into the very graves which themselves they dug.

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Lebanon: the Bloody Chronicle

SUNDAY 13th APRIL:

* A bus was carrying a group of Palestinian men, women and children back to their refugee camp after a ceremony celebrating the anniversary of the al-Khalsa (Qiryat Shmona) operation. As it passed through the winding streets of the Beirut suburb of Ain Rumaneh, it came under heavy-weapon fire. It was a carefully planned ambush by armed men of the Phalangist Party, a cold-blooded massacre which left 27 Palestinians dead and 19 gravely wounded. All attempts to evacuate the victims were beaten back by sniper fire, and only succeeded later after the intervention of Lebanese security forces.

* The Phalangist operation was carefully timed to coincide with the meeting of the P.L.O. Executive Committee which was being held in Damascus. The President of Lebanon was meanwhile recovering in hospital from a surgical operation.

* The Palestinian masses showed their true spirit of initiative by facing this new danger steadfastly. The Command of the Palestinian Revolution replied to the Phalangist provocation by saying: «We hold the Phalangist leadership fully responsible for what happened, and call upon the fraternal Lebanese people, its nationalist forces and all sincere people in this country to stand together in the face of this crime and of these murderers who are dragging this country into fighting and bloodshed, so as to put a stop to the activities of the Phalangist Party murderers who allow themselves to shed the blood of innocents among our people as a ser-



Lebanese progressive forces joined with the Palestinians in a massive demonstration after the April 1973 assassinations.

vice both to the [Zionist] enemy and to the enemies of this country.»

* Lebanese nationalist parties and organisations were quick to reply to this appeal, and after denouncing the Phalangist crime formulated the following demands:

1 – Punishment of the top plotters of the massacre and of sectarian strife.

2 – An assault on the regions occupied by the Phalangist militia so as to cleanse them and arrest all the criminals.

3 – Dissolution of the Phalangist Party.

4 – Expulsion of Phalangist ministers from the Cabinet, a boycott of this party nationally and politically, and an end to all dialogue with it.

In pursuit of these demands, the nationalist organisations called on all who opposed the Phalangist crime to participate in all aspects of popular retribution against its planners and whoever is behind them, and to attend a preparatory national congress of all nationalist forces on Tuesday 15th April.

MONDAY 14th APRIL:

* During the night, fighting spread throughout the country in accordance with Phalangist aims. Many areas, however, followed the call of the nationalist organisations to stand firmly against the Phalange. South Lebanon, including Saida, was solidly on the people's side. In Tripoli business halted in support of the nationalist demands, and large demons-

trations were held. The Phalangists were restricted to maintaining road-blocks on the routes north and south of Beirut, and to a few other areas where their support is traditionally strong.

P.L.O. reaction to the incidents was well expressed in a Wafa editorial, which said among other things:

«In the past we always kept silent and tried to heal wounds, and we always believed sincerely that we were acting in accordance with the interest of Lebanon, of the Lebanese and of the Palestinians... Whenever an incident occurred, we used to say: 'We must control ourselves so as to deny to those who are the enemies of Lebanon before they are the enemies of Palestine, the opportunity to act.' But what took place yesterday was beyond belief and more than we could reasonably be expected to bear...

«We have been patient, and we can be even more patient. But, we



Palestinian-Lebanese unity during the latest provocations: (1. to r.) Naef Hawatmeh, Secretary-General of the Democratic Front, Fateh leader Abu Iyyad, and Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party leader Kamal Junblatt.

will defend ourselves. We will suppress fascist violence if it continues to confront us and our masses, full of hate for Palestinians and anything Palestinian and for Lebanese-Palestinian fraternity and for the Lebanese. We will suppress fascist Phalangist vio-

lence if it continues, in defence of Palestinian masses, and also in defence of Lebanon, both people and homeland.»

* A meeting of Arab ambassadors in Beirut was held in the evening. It was addressed by Abu Iyyad, a member of the Fateh

THE PHALANGIST PARTY (AL-KATAEB)

The Lebanese Phalangist Party, founded in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel, has devoted itself exclusively to protecting and propagating confessional (in this case Maronite) interests, against the rising tide of Arab nationalist ideas and sentiments which began to be strongly manifested in the 1930's and 40's. Thus the Party's make-up in 1942 was 95 % Maronite — with the remaining 5 % membership being from other Christian sects.

— The rise of the fascist parties in Europe had its influence on the birth of the Phalangist movement, as did Gemayel's experiences in Nazi Germany where he attended the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. This explains the paramilitary character of the Phalangist Party, and its isolationist, narrow and reactionary confessionalist ideology.

— It is known that contact between certain reactionary and isolationist Maronite leaders and Zionist leaders took place in the

1930's and 40's. One result of the contact between the two was the demand by some Maronite leaders for the establishment of a Zionist state in Palestine, and a Maronite state in Lebanon. (Following the recent massacre, Zionist leaders were quick to praise the Phalangists' action against the common Muslim threat').

— The party's leadership is drawn from and represents the interests of the Maronite banking, real estate and commercial capital, which is subservient and subordinated to Western multinational capital. It is estimated that 20 % of the party's membership is bourgeois (compradore) while the rest of the party is petit bourgeois (20 % being small farmers, and 60 % being traders, agents and professionals). No working-class membership is recorded.

— The petit-bourgeoisie which forms the base of the Phalangist Party remains tied to and serves the interests of the bourgeois section. Thus no conflict of interest

has emerged between these two classes. However, in recent years the standard of living of the petit-bourgeoisie in Lebanon has begun to be eroded because of the crises of the Lebanese economy, which is deeply integrated into the international capitalist market.

— At the same time the country has begun to witness an upsurge in democratic demands and a growth in the strength of the progressive and left-wing parties and forces in Lebanon. The emergence of the Palestinian Resistance movement in Lebanon has had a strengthening effect on these parties. The Resistance, fighting for the regaining of the national rights of the Palestinian people and for its self-determination, found a natural and objective ally in the Lebanese progressive parties. Furthermore, these progressive forces aligned themselves with the Resistance when it came under attack and supported its aims and programme.

— All this explains the hatred

Central Committee, and by Nayef Hawatmeh, Secretary-General of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Abu Iyyad included in his speech the following comment:

«It is no coincidence that only a few days ago Rabin stood before the Israeli cabinet, and when asked why the Government had delayed in retaliating for the Savoy operation in Tel Aviv, answered that it would be more effective to provoke sectarian conflicts in Lebanon to strike at the Palestinian Resistance and the nationalist forces which support it.»

Abu Iyyad concluded by saying that the following factors must be taken into consideration when analysing the events:

1 — The Phalangist Party is responsible for what happened, and for any bloody incidents that might take place in the future.

2 — Until now the Palestine Revolution has not responded to the murder of its people by the

Phalangist Party.

3 — The relations between the Resistance and the Lebanese government are excellent, but the Resistance has an essential demand: that the Government arrest the criminal elements in the Phalangist Party and try to punish them publicly.

* On the same occasion, Nayef Hawatmeh included the following remarks in his statement:

«The Phalange always tries with its attacks to provoke us into larger and bloodier incidents, to lead Lebanon one way or another into civil war. This serves only Israel and imperialism. Yesterday's bloody massacre against our people helps Israel — look at Rabin's declaration that the answer to our Tel Aviv operation will come from rightist forces inside Lebanon. But we will deny the Phalangists the opportunity they need to escalate their violence any further, and we are con-

vinced that the majority of the Lebanese people agree with our stand. We are sure, too, that all honest progressive and nationalist forces here will stand with us. We will not allow the Phalangists to draw us into battles with them, with other elements or with the Government — battles which would only divert our arms away from their position against the Zionist enemy.»

* Throughout Monday the Phalangist action was condemned by all the major components of Lebanese politics, but they continued their aggression. In particular, the Tel-ez-Zaatar refugee camp East of Beirut came under continuous fire. That night, Father Yuhana Maroun, the Secretary-General of the Maronite Bishops Committee and a member of several UNESCO bodies, was hit when Phalangist gangs fired on his car. So much for those who falsely state that they defend Christian interests!

and intensive antagonism that the Phalangist Party has for the Palestinian Resistance. For by weakening the Resistance, the isolationist and reactionary right-wing forces in Lebanon hope to weaken the Lebanese progressive forces, to hold back the tide of the growing democratic movement in the country and to re-integrate the dissatisfied sections of the petit-bourgeoisie.

— The massacre of Palestinians in Ain al-Rumaneh on the 13th of April is only the latest instance of such aggressive acts committed by the Phalangist Party against the Palestinian people and the Resistance movement in Lebanon. Only two months after the signing of the Cairo Agreement (in 1969) which acknowledged the right of the Resistance to operate in Lebanon and to represent the interests of the Palestinians in the country, the Phalangists ambushed and massacred a number of Palestinians at Kahaleh. These acts and provocations continued at more or less regular intervals and were coupled with an intensive propaganda campaign against the Resistance.

— The April events have shown — as did the May events of 1973 before that — the practical impos-



Red Crescent ambulances worked with the Lebanese Red Cross in evacuating the wounded from the recent troubles.

sibility of repeating in Lebanon a 'Jordanian September' against the Palestinian people. The Resistance has emerged victorious and the Phalangist Party failed to achieve any of its aims. The strong and firm support of the progressive Lebanese parties and forces was an essential factor in foiling the plans of the Phalangists and in increasing their isolation. The Phalangists were forced to conclude a cease-fire and accept the conditions laid down by the Resistance

and the Lebanese progressive forces. This deepened alliance between the Palestinian Resistance and the patriotic and progressive forces in Lebanon should be sufficient to foil any future designs aimed at preventing the Resistance from continuing in its major task: the organisation and mobilisation of the people of Palestine for the struggle against the Zionist State and for the regaining of their right to self-determination.



A recent meeting of the Arab Front for Participation in the Palestine Revolution.

TUESDAY 15th APRIL:

* The number of casualties was now so high that the Palestinian Red Crescent made an urgent appeal for blood donations. It also addressed urgent calls to Arab and International medical bodies, asking for large quantities of blood.

* In the evening, the conference of Lebanese nationalist and progressive parties took place, and adopted a resolution with the following preamble:

«Nationalist parties, unions, forces, personalities and bodies:

– Convinced that the massacre is part of the imperialist-Zionist plot to strike at the Palestinian Revolution and at the Lebanese Nationalist movement, and that its perpetrators are directly involved in this plot, especially in light of Rabin's recent statement;

– Believing that the Phalangist Party lives for and on sectarian strife, and attempts by fascist practices, cooperation with Zionism, participation in the Government and hiding behind the authorities, to impose itself on Christian public opinion and to appoint itself as its spokesman so as to obstruct the role of the progressive and nationalist Christian leadership which believes in freedom, independence, progress and unity of fate, and in Lebanon's role in obliterating the historic oppression of the Palestinians;

– Believing that any dealing with this fascist party which is in league with Zionism, gives it force and a legitimacy it does not deserve, and enables it to provoke more sectarian strife;

– Praising the discipline of the Palestine Resistance, which many times concealed its wounds in order to prevent bloodshed and to protect the unity of Lebanon, and which therefore deserves the support of all Lebanese people;

– Praising Christian public opinion and its nationalist leadership, which condemned the Phalangist massacre and sympathised with the Palestinian Resistance, thus joining with the Lebanese Nationalist movement in isolating fascist forces...»

«... Resolves to demonstrate complete solidarity with the Palestinian people in the face of all its enemies...»

WEDNESDAY 16th APRIL:

* The Lebanese Prime Minister, Rashid Solh, announced that agreement had been reached on the terms for a cease-fire. The Phalangists handed over two of their members to Government forces, in connection with the Sunday massacre. The cease-fire called for the withdrawal of all armed men from streets and public squares, under the supervision of the internal security forces.

* The leadership of the Pales-

tinian Revolution issued the following communique:

«In answer to the call of the Lebanese Prime Minister, Mr Rashid Solh, and to the call addressed by the Lebanese nationalist and progressive parties and forces; out of respect for the noble efforts of the Secretary-General of the Arab League and of numerous nationalist, political and religious personalities; out of concern for the interests of Lebanon and the safety of its people; and to pave the way for the return of quiet and normal life to the country: the leadership of the Palestinian Revolution announces its acceptance of the cease-fire, and asks all its members and friends to commit themselves fully to this decision and to immediately stop firing in all districts. LONG LIVE PALESTINE!»

* Progressive and nationalist parties also endorsed the cease-fire, expressing confidence in the strength of Lebanese national unity and in the common destiny of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

* After the cease-fire, normal social life returned gradually to Lebanon, in spite of the provocative sniping of men referred to as «third party elements». It was widely believed that these were last-ditch extremists from the Phalange, whose party had now experienced the bitter taste of military defeat, political isolation and public disgrace...

Why Did the Phalangists Move?

Abu Saleh, member of the P.L.O. Central Council, gave the following analysis to Wafa on April 17th:

At the start, we would like to put forth an objective basis on which we shall rely in our analysis: the Phalangist Party, first in terms of its numerical strength, second in terms of what it represents, and third in terms of the potential of its members to fight for it, is a party which is certainly not capable of carrying out such a task.

But, was this attempt inevitable? It appears that it was, so that no illusions remain in the minds of the Phalangists or of those who do not believe in the masses, nor know that the masses are always nationalist, Lebanese, Arab, and under no circumstances sectarian.

The Phalangist Party willed this, and even more so their masters in Tel Aviv and Washington willed it to be a war against the Palestinian Revolution (i.e., Rabin's statement, and the line of the Israeli radio over the past few days, which seemed almost to be waiting for a historic opportunity): however, they were not well enough aware of the point the Palestinian Revolution had reached in its unity with the masses.

They were not aware that the Palestinian Revolution has become more able than at any time in the past because it relies on the Arab mass movement, led by its progressive and national vanguard, which is a strong artery, feeding the revolutionary Palestinian heart, and giving it the power to continue and develop with the Revolution until the liberation of the homeland and the liquidation of Zionism and its allies in the Arab region.

In the face of this lack of understanding — which led to the imperialist-Zionist inspired Phalangist strife as a result of the delusion that it was within their power to explode the situation, cause a sectarian civil war, and uproot the Palestinian Revolution — we wish to put forth the following points so as to make things clear to any enemy force which allows itself to leap into the dangerous abyss into which the Phalange has fallen:

1. The Palestinian Revolution is always at the side of the nationalist and progressive forces in Lebanon, and inseparably linked with them, just as the Lebanese nationalist and progressive forces are always at the side of the Palestinian Revolution, fighting with it and defending it against its enemies, imperialism, Zionism, and local agents.

2. The Palestinian Revolution is an inseparable part of the world and Arab liberation movements, and it stands in one trench with the Vietnamese, Cambodian, Portuguese and Chilean struggles, and all just struggles of this world. **The victory of the Cambodian struggle this very day is a victory for the Palestinian revolutionary movement, a consolidation of its forces and manifold support for its struggle.**

3. The Palestinian Revolution, being anti-U.S. imperialist and anti-Zionist, is consequently against local agents, classifies them in the same category as imperialism and Zionism and deals with them on this basis.

These principles which the Palestinian Revolution always takes into consideration while moving firmly along the path of struggle to cut off not only imperialists, Zionists and agents conspiring against the Palestinian Revolution,

but also those who bet on the break-up from within of the Palestinian Revolution

Those who bet on Palestinian disintegration through Palestinian differences are dreaming, for as soon as Palestinian blood is shed by the enemies of the peoples or by their agents, all Palestinian fighters unite and all secondary contradictions disappear.

Those who, by short-sightedness, are prisoners of such a theory of betting on our differences will come to be, historically-speaking, simply a passing phenomenon which we and the coming generations will only remember to condemn.

At the same time, Palestinian progress daily develops and grows stronger, because of conscious revolutionary experience and because of sacrifices everywhere: in occupied Palestine, in Jordan and in Lebanon.

We are not proud of these unfortunate incidents, except insofar as we have been able to defend our existence as a people and as an armed revolution, and insofar as we have foiled the plans of our enemies.

Our assessment is that the cease-fire will continue, but firing might start again, because the enemies of the Arab nation are everywhere. Among them in Lebanon is the Phalangist Party, which wants Lebanon to remain the prisoner of sectarianism and racism, under various pretexts aimed at serving the enemies of all Arabs.

We Palestinians see things further than Ain Rumaneh and further than Lebanon, but the US of today is not that of yesterday, for the struggling peoples have given the Americans lessons which have reduced them to a state of confusion, tension and worry which is reflected in their local agents...

33 PALESTINIAN COMMANDO OPERATIONS DURING MARCH

During the month of March 1975, Palestinian commandos executed 33 daring military operations against enemy military targets and vital enemy installations.

Moreover, on the 6th of March, the Palestinian Revolution struck in the heart of the Zionist entity, breaking through all enemy security barriers in the Savoy Hotel operation in Tel Aviv.

It has become clear as a result of 3 Palestinian commando operations in the Jordan River Valley in March, that the Palestinian Revolution has succeeded in re-opening the Jordanian front, in spite of the role of sentry for the Zionist entity being played by the Royal forces in Jordan and their confrontations with Palestinian revolutionaries both on their way to carry out their combat missions, and on their way back to their bases.

Palestinian commando operations in March and preceding months have given rise to a state of tension and worry in the Zionist entity. Terrorization and suppression of citizens of occupied Palestine was escalated as a result, and a campaign of arrests was waged among them, resulting in 47 arrests: six in the Jenin region, 14 in Jerusalem and Ramallah, 12 in Hebron, 10 in Gaza, two in Nablus, and three in areas of

Palestine occupied in 1948.

Operations in March included eight attacks in Tel Aviv and eight in Jerusalem, as well as three in Gaza (a region allegedly 'pacified' by the enemy over the past four years), two in Bir Sabe', three in Jenin, and two each in Nablus and Samakh. Of the 33 operations, more than 20 were executed in parts of Palestine occupied in 1948. With a few exceptions (such as the two Samakh operations and the Savoy Hotel attack), they were executed either well inside 'Israel', or in the occupied Gaza and West Bank regions.

Among the economic targets of last month's attacks were the Tel Aviv-Bir Sabe' railway line, a garage in Jerusalem, a Labour Office in Hebron, the Bank Leumi branch in Bethlehem, a paper factory in Tel Aviv, a cardboard factory in Tel Baruch, shops in Jaffa Street in Jerusalem, a factory in Bir Sabe', and an electricity transformer in Jerusalem.

Six enemy vehicles were destroyed in these attacks, among them two buses and three military vehicles; and numerous attacks were made on Israeli military targets, including three military patrols, a military intelligence warehouse, and several buildings used by enemy intelligence .

The Palestinian Working Class's Struggle

The role of the working class in Palestinian history has been considerable. Ever since its birth it has confronted the invaders, both British and Zionist; and the very nature of Palestinian workers' trade-union activities was political throughout. Palestinian workers always suffered a dual oppression — nationally and socially.

English colonialism and its Zionist ally carried out all possible forms of oppression in an effort to strangle the Palestinian Arab trade-union movement, wanting to reduce the Palestinian worker to a totally passive being. The tasks facing the Palestinian working-class were thus difficult ones.

The Palestinian trade-union movement has its roots in 1923, when 30 Palestinian workers obtained the permission of the mandatory government to open an 'Arab Railwaymen's Club'. From this evolved a workers' committee called the 'Railwaymen of Palestine Brotherhood Committee' which helped to support needy workers' families. A huge campaign was immediately launched against this committee by the Histadrut,* which wanted to retain its monopoly of the workers' movement. It wanted to prevent Palestinian workers from building up a political-economic force capable of confronting Zionism.

This Zionist attempt failed be-

* The Zionist workers' organisation.

cause of the growing force of the Palestinian workers. The Mandatory Government then allowed the formation of the **Association of Arab Workers of Palestine**, on March 21st 1925. This date is now celebrated by Palestinian workers, as the 'birthday' of their movement.

The Histadrut then launched a different form of attack, which laid bare the racist designs of the Zionist movement. It fought around the slogan 'Jewish Labour', forbidding Jews to engage any Arab workers. Those who disobeyed had their products stamped 'Mixed Production', and could only sell them at a price lower than the current price. This policy represented a grave danger for Arab workers, because the majority of industries were backed by Zionist capital.

The working-class was not passive in the face of these developments. In 1935, a young revolutionary called Michel Mitri founded 'The Arab Workers' Association'. It had a double objective: 1) To build 'workers' groups' charged with defending the interests of Arabs working in Jewish companies; and 2) to force the Mandatory Government to allow these groups to open branches in the Arab regions of Palestine.

The Association was, however, forced to halt its activities in 1938, after Michel Mitri was assassinated by reactionary forces linked with colonialism.

Meanwhile, the working-class had intensified its struggle. In 1935 the Association of Arab Workers appealed to all workers to join it in the defence of the country. By asking 'Izzeddine el-Qasam to write this appeal, instead of asking traditional political forces such as feudal leaders or

notables, the Association showed both its class position and the vanguard role which it wanted to play. Qasam was the Palestinian leader who advocated the armed struggle as the only way to obtain nationalist demands. (He was assassinated in Jenin by the British occupiers).

In the 1936 revolution, thousands of workers took up arms. But the total upheaval that swept through the Palestinian economy, meant that once the feudal and reactionary forces (linked to the reaction of the whole region) had regained control, the workers' movement was considerably weakened.

Economic conditions grew somewhat better in the forties. The trade-union movement took many new initiatives, and the period was marked by the creation of 5 new unions.

Once again, the Histadrut tried to hit at the Association of Arab Workers, this time under the pretext that the Histadrut alone represented the legitimate interests of Palestine's working class. The Histadrut's constant preoccupation was to prevent any alliance between Arab workers, so that their exploitation by the Jewish bosses would continue unhindered and that these bosses might take over the whole Palestinian economy.

The Arab workers' movement, strengthened by its experience of struggle, and highly politicised by those of its members who had a revolutionary ideology, reached its zenith in the **Arab Workers' Congress** on 19th August 1945 — the Congress represented some 20,000 workers. It agitated on two main fronts: to raise the standard of living of the working-

class, and to forge a new and practical policy that would play a successful role in the national struggle.

The Congress was as much a trade-union organisation as it was political, but it was strongly organised and had a program which favoured the creation of a democratic Palestinian state and the strengthening of links with Jewish anti-Zionist workers. However, the objective circumstances (British domination in the area, the alliance of Palestinian reaction with Arab reaction, and of both with colonialism and Zionist schemes) did not permit the Palestinian working-class movement to play a vanguard role in the national struggles which followed. All the same, it remains a fact that it played a vital role as a striking-force against the forces of reaction. And two important facts are significant:

1) The working-class's part in the national movement is evident from its history, and from that of its organised movement; some examples:

— the railway-workers' strike in 1938 demanded equal salaries with those paid to Jewish workers.

— the municipality workers' strike in 1938 also raised the same demand.

— a strike was launched in Haifa in 1939 against the Mandatory Government's nomination of a Jew for the post of Mayor of the town.

— workers and employees launched a general strike throughout Palestine in 1946.

— there was a city-wide strike in Nablus in 1947.

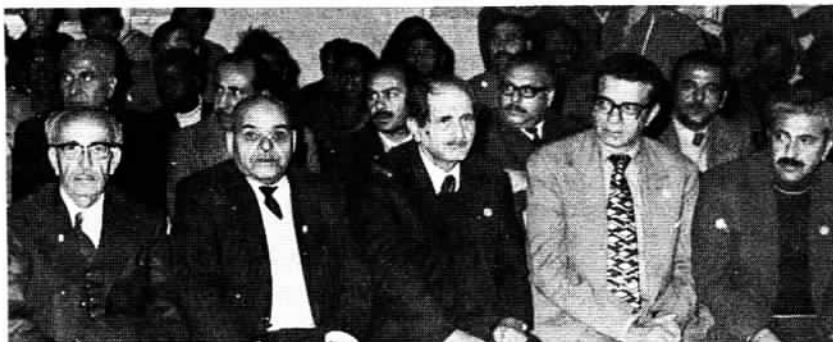
2) The oppression directed by Palestinian reaction against trade-union leaders reached the level of assassination in the cases of:

— Michel Mitri, founder of the Association of Arab Workers and of its defence battalion, in 1936.

— Hassan Sudki Dajani, leader of the drivers' and public-service workers' movement, in Jerusalem in 1937.

— Sami Taha, Secretary-General of the Association in 1947.

The Palestinian working-class, enriched by its experience, has much yet to do. Its true force resides not in its past, but in its future.



Long-time workers for the cause of Palestinian trade-unionism.

The Occupied Homeland

THEIR OBJECTIVE: TO DE-HUMANISE OUR FIGHTERS...

Naivy-Tirza Women's Prison

Below is the poignant testimony of a Palestinian woman-militant held for some years in the prisons of the Zionist military power. This text, which we received only recently, is written with great sensitivity and intellectual honesty and without a doubt reflects the experience of many hundreds of Palestinian women. (There are at present some 400 of them in prison – some facing very long sentences).

This testimony does not deal with the physical aspects of torture (which are systematically used on all prisoners), because these aspects were extensively covered in the latest issues of Palestine Lives. In adding to that coverage, this text shows the more subtle aspects of the process of depersonalisation and dehumanisation which is carried out on a large scale. Thus, this first-hand account is of great value.

During International Women's Year, our thoughts go to these brave fighters from among our people, who are paving with their suffering, the long and difficult road to the liberation of the Palestinian woman, which is an integral part of the struggle for the liberation of the whole of our people. To these Palestinians in the vanguard of the struggle goes the admiration and permanent support of our armed revolution.

PART I: NAIVY-TIRZA

In 1971 the Israeli authorities decided to turn the Naivy-Tirza prison into a 'model prison'.

This is a women's prison both for prisoners indicted under common law (99 % of them Israelis) and for those detained under 'security' provisions who have long sentences (99 % of them are Palestinian). Naivy-Tirza is near Ramleh, and is a kind of women's annex to the huge men's prison of Ramleh. Naivy-Tirza is, however, completely different from the men's prison, both in its exterior appearance and in the spirit of its administration.

The first impression to strike the uninformed visitor when first entering Naivy-Tirza is that of a small guest-house – strict but relatively orderly and innocent. The Zionist authorities, in making certain pseudo-liberal reforms, are in fact trying only to cover up the process of depersonalisation of those of the Palestinian Resistance's best women fighters who fall into their hands. They must guard the liberal

image of their propaganda!

With its deceptive appearance, Naivy-Tirza has come in for much praise in the Israeli press, as well as internationally, especially since 1972. Visits of official delegations and journalists have been increasingly frequent since then, and the resulting reports glowing. But never have any of these visitors even glimpsed the reality of the life of Naivy-Tirza's Palestinian detainees, who are here victim to the most sophisticated and cunning forms of torture which the Zionists have been able to dream up for their prisoners. The reason for this silence is simple: never in the many years I lived in Naivy-Tirza was given to any one of us the opportunity to hold free conversation with anyone from the outside world.

The Israeli law which judges and condemns us, does so through Special Military Courts established through a law dating back to the British Mandate. It does not recognise us either as prisoners-of-war or as privileged political prisoners, and can thus follow its punitive policy (whether of a mediaeval or more sophisticated nature) impeded by no outside control.

The tortures which are generally practised against us, whether during our arrest or in the subsequent period of investigation, and the deliberate and sys-



A moment of relaxation for the Zionist Inquisition:
 — smoking a pipe, General Nir, High Commissioner for Israel's jails.
 — at the back on his left, David Yisraeli, Military Prosecutor.
 — in the centre, Raya Epstein, Director of Naivy-Tirza prison.
 — on her right, clutching his glass, Minister for the Police Shlomo Hillel.
 — at the extreme right, the Mayor of Ramat-Gan.

tematic discrimination practised against us in Israeli jails: these have today become for us Palestinians a 'normal' condition, similar to the global condition in which we live under a blind and aggressive occupation. But it is still worthwhile to examine the new policy practised at Naivy-Tirza, because it is subtle, because it chooses for its victim the Palestinian woman, and because the Zionist authorities hope to extend this type of regime to all Israeli prisons (as far as their financial circumstances permit them to!).

This new policy has three main facets. The first costs the prison administration nothing: it consists in prolonging the psychological isolation to which we are subject during the investigation period. The other two facets require more fundamental changes: they consist, on the one hand, of the Zionisation of our environment: on the other, of the modernisation of surveillance systems, with better-trained and more vigilant guards and even with electronic equipment (microphones in the cells and so on), with the careful choice of colours in the workshops, and other such subtleties...

ISOLATION

In practice, the regime works thus:

Naivy-Tirza is the prison where repression in matters of contacts with the outside world, with its information and culture, is practised to the utmost degree. In other prisons, of the more decrepit type, the lessening of this repression often comes to be proposed as an alternative to the alleviation of the

more material hardships faced by the prisoners — lack of hygiene, lack of space, terrible food.

It is impossible to communicate normally with our families, given that the six messages we are authorised to send to them each month take between four and six months to arrive. We are not allowed to have any contacts at all with our friends, even if these have no connection with any political group or with the resistance movement. We have the possibility (but not the RIGHT) to receive a single 30-minute visit each month, in the presence of at least two guards, during which it is forbidden to mention anything which has happened in the prison, to discuss politics or to mention any names which are not already known to the security services. These monthly visits, moreover, can only be made by the two closest adult relatives, and the fact that they do not occur as of right, and that all visiting can thus be suspended at a moment's notice, is a powerful lever for blackmail in the hands of the prison administration.

For a daily Arabic newspaper, we can receive only 'Al Anba', which is published by the ruling Israeli party. Even this paper cannot enter our building before it is censored, which means that all information about our situation in the occupied territories is suppressed, as well as the slightest reference to our resistance movement.

We are forbidden to get hold of any books on sociology, economics or politics — whether these works are general or specific to our region. The limited number of books which we are allowed are chosen for us by the administration. What a choice! Romantic love-stories, sloppily written in a most

terrible style.

These dictats combine to force the Palestinian prisoners to live completely out of touch with immediate reality, with even their own situation as prisoners, as well as with the general political situation. At Naivy-Tirza, time for us is a-historic. We live in a vacuum.

Add to this the fact that the obligatory work which we carry out in the heart of the prison is very hard and totally stupefying, so as to fatally destroy our ability to concentrate on anything for any length of time, and eventually even our interest in doing so.

ZIONISATION

Onto this picture of our condition at Naivy-Tirza must be grafted the second facet of the prison's policy, namely the total Zionisation of our environment.

Not satisfied with having hebraised as much as possible our living space (which is itself much more cramped than that open to our comrades of Israeli origin), the administration refuses to talk with Palestinian detainees in any language other than Hebrew — though 99 % of its members are oriental Jews and thus speak Arabic perfectly well. The exercising of our intellectual faculties is limited to one class a week in literacy (Hebrew, of course), plus one on the story of the Bible and one on the modern history of the

'Chosen People'. For this purpose a superb classroom has been built — which causes the visitors who tour Naivy-Tirza to gasp in admiration!

Our participation in the religious feasts, rites and political festivals of the enemy is supposed to be obligatory. Each time that we refuse to take part the administration hands down a punishment as harsh as it is vindictive. And our refusal gives them the opportunity to drive a wedge into the class solidarity we try to build, as we think is right, between us and our detained comrades of Israeli origin. Thus, each of these occasions places us in a dilemma. Certainly we are not scared of the authorities and their punishments, but their manipulation of our Israeli comrades is another element to their advantage on the battlefield to which, in reality, the prison is reduced.

SURVEILLANCE

In addition to all these factors is the third prong of the Zionist attack on Naivy-Tirza's Palestinian detainees: to increase surveillance over us by modern technical means. They want to isolate the environment of each of us and to modify it physically so as to increase in each detainee the feeling of isolation. One result of this is that the alteration of our memories becomes very marked after some years.

They are trying by these means also to reduce to a minimum the possibility of comrades developing personal relationships with each other.

LIFE OF MILITANT HALA AL-TAHER IN GRAVE DANGER

A report from occupied Palestine said that the health of the detained militant Hala al-Taher from Nablus is extremely bad and that her life is in danger as a result of the brutal torture to which she is being subjected by Zionist interrogators at the al-Ramleh Israeli prison.

The report said that her case will be brought before the Zionist Military Tribunal on April 23rd.

The mother of the detained militant called upon various mayors and personalities in occupied Palestine to work for her daughter's release and called upon the Red Cross and other concerned parties to save the life of her daughter.

It is to be recalled that the occupation authorities arrested Hala al-Taher six months ago on charges of membership in the Palestinian Revolution and of participating in certain mass activities. She has not been tried or sentenced yet.

(WAFSA, 16/4)

WOMEN'S UNION HOLDS CELEBRATIONS FOR FAMILIES OF MARTYRS

The General Union of Palestinian Women organized on March 30th, a rally on the occasion of International Women's Year and Mothers' Day at the Association for the Resurgence of Palestinian Camps in Chatila (Lebanon), in honour of wives, mothers and sisters of Palestinian martyrs.

The ceremony began with a minute of silence in memory of the martyrs, and was followed by a moving address by Abu Saleh, a member of the Fateh Central Committee, who said that no one deserves more respect than the mothers of martyrs, who are the basis of revolutionary education.

Abu Saleh added that conspiracies against the Revolution will only be foiled by correct revolutionary education. He then related a number of incidents in the struggle of the Palestinian woman since 1936, as well as stories told by Palestinian militants about their mothers.

Um Ali then addressed the audience in the name of the martyrs' mothers, and called upon every Palestinian and Arab mother to encourage her son to join the ranks of the Revolution, saying that when she was informed of her son's death, she simply said: «Is Ali dearer than Palestine?».

Lutfiya Hawary thereupon spoke in the name of female detainees in Israeli jails, saluting in their name all mothers, wives and relatives of martyrs. She described the torture practiced against militants in enemy jails, and confirmed that in spite of difficult circumstances, morale was very high among them.

The meeting was concluded by the reading of a poem entitled «The will of a Martyr», followed by the distribution of symbolic presents given by the GUPW to the steadfast mothers and wives of martyrs, and by the singing of revolutionary songs.

(WAFSA, 31/3)

At Naivy-Tirza, the prisoner's least action is watched — not to help with her rehabilitation, as might seem logical, but rather to destroy all her intellectual and emotional capacities and to contain her in a strictly vegetable existence so long as she refuses the Zionist option.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

By inflicting on us heavy punishments, by cutting off our past, by presenting a pessimistic view of our history, and denying us a future — in all these ways the Zionist prison authorities are doing no more than reflecting their more global policies in the prison-world in which the Palestinian masses of the occupied territories are forced to live.

Among other things, the Zionist authorities were quickly able to discover that our best fighters, like such women as Aisha Audeh, Mariam Shakhshir, Rasmieh Audeh and many others whom I cannot name, are those who are politically conscious. Thus, to strike at this consciousness and at our ability to resist, and to negate the risk of such determined militants as we are ever influencing anyone else, the enemy forces the Palestinian prisoner to live under the most cunning and dangerous torture it can devise. Which is not to say for one moment that they dispense with the physical tortures to which every Palestinian who falls into their hands is victim...



Lutfiya was recently released from a Zionist jail, and now raises support for those who remain.

But the fact remains that the militant work that one is able to carry out inside the prison itself is only possible on the basis of past political and cultural experience. The group of Palestinian militants who are currently detained in Naivy-Tirza retain their determination, and an optimism stemming from the historic advances which our Revolution has won, particularly in these last two years.

The Israeli government's political blindness has already largely been proved, and I need not return to it. All the same, it seems to me that it manifests itself most strongly in its prison policy...

PART II: THE DEPERSONALISATION PROCESS

I have tried to describe above the new policy practised at Naivy-Tirza, a women's prison in Ramleh whose regime the Prison High Commissioner intends to extend to all the Zionist internment camps. Let me now try to examine the effects that the process of integration into the world of the 'concentration camp' has on the Palestinian fighter.

After the first shock of arrest, followed by the investigation, which proceeds in a specific manner (psychological and physical torture, the results of which are often very serious), the Palestinian militant is plunged into a world which is alien to her in several ways. The first of these new worlds are the detention centres which she will visit for a large part of her period of 'preventive detention'. There she has her first experience of solitary confinement. But her most immediate pre-occupation is with the trial for which she must conserve all her energy. The struggle she wages against the enemy keeps alive her hope, dynamism, intelligence and imagination. She lives through this initial period in a state of worry and urgency: the time for prison has not yet arrived.

THE WORLD 'INSIDE'

The trial comes, and then the shock of a sentence which is usually extremely heavy. Then she is in prison, and her period of time 'outside' is brought abruptly to an end. This 'outside' period was marked by activity and by orientation towards the future. The new period of life 'inside' is marked by:

— a reduction in living-space, the unrelieved monotony of which is greater than anything she has known before.

— inactivity over long periods of time, which are a necessity if she is to adapt to a strange and new environment; equally necessary to enable her to penetrate and understand the alternative infra-structure with which the Palestinian fighters and the 'old hands' secretly confront the enemy's authority in the prison.

— the real and often permanent loss of a complete world (sentences usually stretch for between some years and life). This world is defined basically for the

Palestinian fighter by the Resistance movement within which she was militating and which gave her a historical and personal identity. If one recalls that at Naivy-Tirza time has no historical meaning, then it is easy to see to what degree the isolation in which the new policy suspends the Palestinian (by all the methods described in Part I), is a source of suffering and intellectual and emotional erosion, going as far as eroding life itself.

— difficulty in understanding the system inside. The great majority of Palestinian fighters in Naivy-Tirza come from the territories occupied in 1967, and have not yet had sufficient time to become acquainted with the Israeli mentality, or with the Hebrew language, Zionist practices or the religious rites of Judaism. Isolation from her normal environment, her inability to speak the language, the break with history, the impossibility of keeping even the tiniest link with her own past, coupled with the fact that the future is now unknown: all this increases the feeling of strangeness and powerlessness felt by anyone who has been arrested and imprisoned, out of touch with the familiar environment.

Thus we can partially define the Palestinian detainee's initial period 'inside'. If we add to all these factors the tight Zionisation of the environment, and an aggression which has a lasting effect on our memories and our future, it is easy to understand to what such a brutal uprooting can lead: despair.

CHALLENGE

Arrest, 'investigation', the sentence itself, all are experienced as a failure on her part by the prisoner, even if during this time she is continually and in many ways fighting against the enemy. The relativity of the concept of failure for militants in a struggle such as ours is evident.

Whether it arose from an abortive military operation or whether her arrest was arbitrary, the 'failure' can only be temporary — because our struggle in its totality, along with the constant demonstration of our determination, paves the way for our historical advance. But if we are completely cut off from this realisation, as is attempted by the Zionist authorities, the temporary failure rapidly leads to despair. A long imprisonment is difficult to bear if we remove any reason for being there, if our actions and our struggle appear useless. And despair is the first step towards the fighter's submission to the enemy authorities.

Even if the demoralisation and a sense of failure are only passive, they are no less objective. Despair is their obvious result, and it can then become not temporary but irreversible.

RESISTANCE

The authorities are trying to extinguish from our consciousness any historical justification for the sacrifices we make, for the tortures we undergo, for the price we daily pay, leaving us with only a simple choice: our compliance in the Zionist project or a slow death.



Zionist prison repression.

In the men's prisons, even if the way of life is tougher and the regime more severe, it is easier to keep alive the feeling of struggle and even to develop it. The men's prisons are crowded. The number of prison staff is smaller than at Naivy-Tirza, where there is one guard for every two prisoners. The authorities are obliged brutally to attack any group of Palestinian prisoners who between them keep alive the principle of continual rebellion against the occupier. And it is on this precise point that most of our militant's efforts inside the confined world of Naivy-Tirza are concentrated. Neither General Nir, High Commissioner for Israeli prisons, nor Mrs Raya Epstein, Director of Naivy-Tirza, have the monopoly over our consciousness, any more than Rabin or Peres have the monopoly over our future.

At Naivy-Tirza, our first preoccupation has been to seize all opportunities to undermine the existing enemy machinery.

Understanding the enemy's tactics and its evolution is a progressive step for the revolutionary consciousness. The availability of Zionist doctrine in all its subtlety and contradictions helps in our ideological clarification.

Concretely, then :

We have centred all our efforts on breaking the routine which is forced upon us and which inevitably leads to physical and psychological degradation. We have done this by diversifying our activities during the period of regimented work (with strikes aimed at compelling the authorities to change our assignments at least once a year), as well as in our free time.

The comrades who have studied in secondary

school or at university undertake to give literacy courses (in Arabic, this time) and to teach the history and geography of the region.

Courses in political information are organised : in particular we learn how to read between the lines of the Israeli newspapers, finding out how to arrive at the truth from the given 'news' by deciphering the manner in which it is reported and the implications of the political events mentioned in both the short and the long terms.

At the same time, all the news we collect by different methods, legal and illegal, and that which enters with each new prisoner, helps us to readjust to a constantly new reality.

The deprivation of absolute freedom cannot exist when our minds are active, and we refuse to allow them to be frozen in an absurd and totally artificial reality, however strong the compulsion to do so might appear to be.

We must shrewdly make use of the authorities' desire to 'liberalise' Naivy-Tirza for their own propaganda purposes.

Fully aware that this pseudo-liberalism is a card in the enemy's hands, our struggle and our vigilance in this area is very great : we try not to fall into their trap, and to keep a balance between any violent reaction from them (which would entail even crueller repression) and the breathing-space we need.

Although for a long time we refused to submit to the so-called literacy courses, which are for them an instrument of Zionisation, we are now confident that all the Palestinian militants are sufficiently aware to be able to turn this course to their own advantage, to glean from it some useful information for the better understanding of the enemy.

Furthermore, as the enemy's policy evolves, so does our progress. Our daily activities are capable of having their effect on the apparatus of repression.

I shall leave the task of revealing the full facts to our imprisoned comrades, once they all regain their full liberty.

The newly initiated policy of Zionisation and depersonalisation is, taken as a whole, a failure for the Zionist authorities — as is their policy of colonising Palestine at any price.

THE RAY OF HOPE

Their failure is due not just to our efforts and to the state of active tension which we constantly maintain in order to oppose the enemy : it is basically a result of the objective conditions in which our struggle, currently growing, develops. The struggles inside the prisons are a reflection of this growth

One example of this was the October War, the limits and scope of which were grasped by the prisoners, as was the Palestinian demand to establish a national authority on any piece of liberated Palestinian land. These two factors brought about a change in the development of our struggle inside the prisons, as well as in the evolution of the prison authority's schemes.

The advances made by the Palestinians in their history have an undeniably stimulating effect on their fighters. And the impossibility of establishing any irreversible Zionist « accomplished fact » in the Middle East has its parallel in the impossibility of Zionising the Palestinian fighters inside Naivy-Tirza.

The October War compelled the authorities to limit their ambitions for the prison system, because financial considerations then held up the work of fitting-out and equipping the 'new' prisons.

Furthermore, the Ma'alot operation slowed down the Zionists' prison schemes. Because one of the commandos spoke Hebrew, the Prison High Commissioner decided to suspend the language course for a while.

Something vital to the logic of Zionist authority — faith — had been broken.

The rationalisation of a method requires a firm belief in the policy underlying it. This no longer exists. The authorities in the Israeli prisons, like all Israeli authorities, are currently greatly disturbed. As they should be.

Prisons can never be isolated from society, even if this isolation has all the liberal trimmings. They are an extension of the battle-field. Inevitably they reflect the progress of some parties to the battle, the failures of others.

PALESTINIAN WOMEN OCCUPY FRENCH CONSULATE IN JERUSALEM

Mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of Palestinian exiles and detainees in Israeli jails on the morning of Wednesday 26/3 organized a sit-in in the hall of the French Consulate in the Shaykh Jarrah district of the city of Jerusalem.

The sit-in lasted two hours, during which the Palestinian women presented a petition of protest about the methods

of torture and the ill-treatment to which detainees and citizens in occupied Palestine are subjected.

The women, moreover, demanded that the French Consul transmit their petition to all foreign consuls in occupied Jerusalem and to international organizations. The French consul promised to do so.

Meanwhile, Palestinian detainees in the Ramallah prison presented a petition protesting against the prison administration's treatment, and demanded better health treatment, improvement of meals, and permission to enjoy the light and sunshine.

Meanwhile, **al Shaab**, a Palestinian newspaper published in Jerusalem,

said that the Israeli police arrested on March 25th six Palestinian children from the city of Jenin whose ages range between 8 and 10 years.

The Israeli police said that the six children had thrown stones at the Labour office in Jenin. The police only released the children after bail had been posted by their parents.

(Wafa, 31/3)

Mass Trials of Palestinian Detainees in Shatta Jail

Palestinian detainees in the Israeli Shatta jail will face mass trials as a result of the termination of the work of the Zionist Investigation Committee formed following violent clashes between Palestinian detainees on the one hand, and their jailers and Zionist prisoners on the other, at the beginning of this year.

The Zionist commission unanimously resolved that the Palestinian detainees were the initiators of the clashes and should be brought to trial. **Al-Shaab** newspaper said that Palestinian detainees in the Shatta jail had contacted a large number of Palestinian lawyers for their defence.

It is to be recalled that the clashes in the Shatta jail at the beginning of 1975 resulted in the serious wounding of 18 Palestinian detainees and of 50 Zionist policemen and prisoners. The clashes started when some Zionist prisoners attacked the Palestinian Arab detainees.

(Wafa 10/4)

MILITANT DIES FROM TORTURE IN ISRAELI JAIL

The imprisoned heroic militant Omar Shalabi has died in the Al-Ramle prison as a result of the savage tortures to which he was subjected by his Zionist captors.

According to newspaper sources in occupied Palestine, the militant Shalabi (34) who was born in

Aleppo, died after having been in a coma for a long period following his torture.

A Zionist military tribunal had sentenced Shalabi to life imprisonment after his arrest before the October war for resisting the Israeli occupation.

(Wafa, 17/4)



COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT SHAYKH ABU TAYR SENDS CABLES TO WORLD ORGANIZATIONS

The Permanent Committee to support Shaykh Muhammad Mahmoud Abu Tayr, presided over by Patriarch Maximos V. Hakim, held its first meeting on the 10th of April in the Greek Orthodox Bishopric in Beirut.

The following resolutions were taken:—

1 — To address a call to the inhabitants of occupied Palestine declaring that continuous Israeli violations of the holiness of Jerusalem and other Palestinian Arab cities and actions against the symbols of this holiness such as Capucci and Abu Tayr contradict not only spiritual laws but civilian ones as well, and push us to stand in one rank in the face of such arbitrariness and oppression against men of religion. They also asked them to support and show

solidarity with Capucci and Abu Tayr and their comrades who are subjected to brutality, racism and fascism, and to remain steadfast against racial discrimination, religious oppression and occupation.

2 — To send messages of protest and condemnation against the sentence passed against Abu Tayr to Pope Paul VI, Dr. Waldheim, and the Secretary-Generals of the League of Arab States, and of the Islamic Congress in Jeddah, and to the World Council of Churches, the International Red Cross and other groups.

3 — To provide Arab Ambassadors to the U.N. with a copy of the letter addressed to Waldheim in order for them to be in constant touch with him, and inform him about all Israeli violations of human rights.

(Wafa, 10/4)

FELICIA LANGER CRITICIZES ZIONIST MILITARY COURTS

Felicia Langer, the progressive Jewish Lawyer well-known for her defence of Palestinian militants before Zionist courts in occupied Palestine, attacked these courts bitterly in a program on the Israeli TV Network last Sunday.

She said: «These courts function on the basis of the notorious Emergency Regulations left over from the British Mandate, and on the basis of military laws; it is therefore natural that the decisions of these courts should resemble

the laws on which they are based».

Felicia Langer spoke at length about her work in defence of Palestinian prisoners, as well as about her own political struggle and about the Palestinian organizations, and criticized the Israeli

government bitterly.

The progressive lawyer's appearance on Israeli television caused anger in Zionist circles and in the press, and was called «a scandal» by one of the Directors of the Israeli TV Network.

(Wafa, 17/3/75)

The Palestinian Red Crescent

In 1969, for the first time in the history of the Palestinian people, a national institution was founded to be responsible for their medical welfare — the Palestinian Red Crescent.

At the time of the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland in 1948, the Red Cross and Red Crescent organisations in the host countries gave various kinds of aid to them, providing rudimentary medical care, distributing essential household articles for their tents, and so on. In 1950, this role was taken over by UNRWA.¹ UNRWA's medical aid, one of three types of aid provided by this organisation, was, however, never sufficient to cater for the Palestinians' needs. It was available to only a small number of them, and since UNRWA's status was anyway intended to be provisional, its medical activities were bound to be limited. They consisted only in the establishment of dispensaries, whose doctors were transients filling in time and practice before specialising. The provision of medications was never allowed to exceed a certain pre-determined level and, more seriously, only 32 of those Palestinians registered with UNRWA could be hospitalised each month.

In response to the needs of the whole Palestinian population, the Palestinian Red Crescent has sought since its inception to extend and diversify its operations as much as possible, including tasks which are dealt with in most national homelands by a number of different ministries (Social Service, Health, etc.) and organisations. So today, after only six years of existence, the Red Crescent already is undertaking extensive rehabilitation programs for the wounded and disabled, and informational activities, as well as providing medical services.

1 — United Nations Relief and Works Agency (for Palestinian Refugees)

2 — The PRC has branches in the following countries: Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Egypt, Libya Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Sudan and Morocco.

A COHERENT MEDICAL POLICY

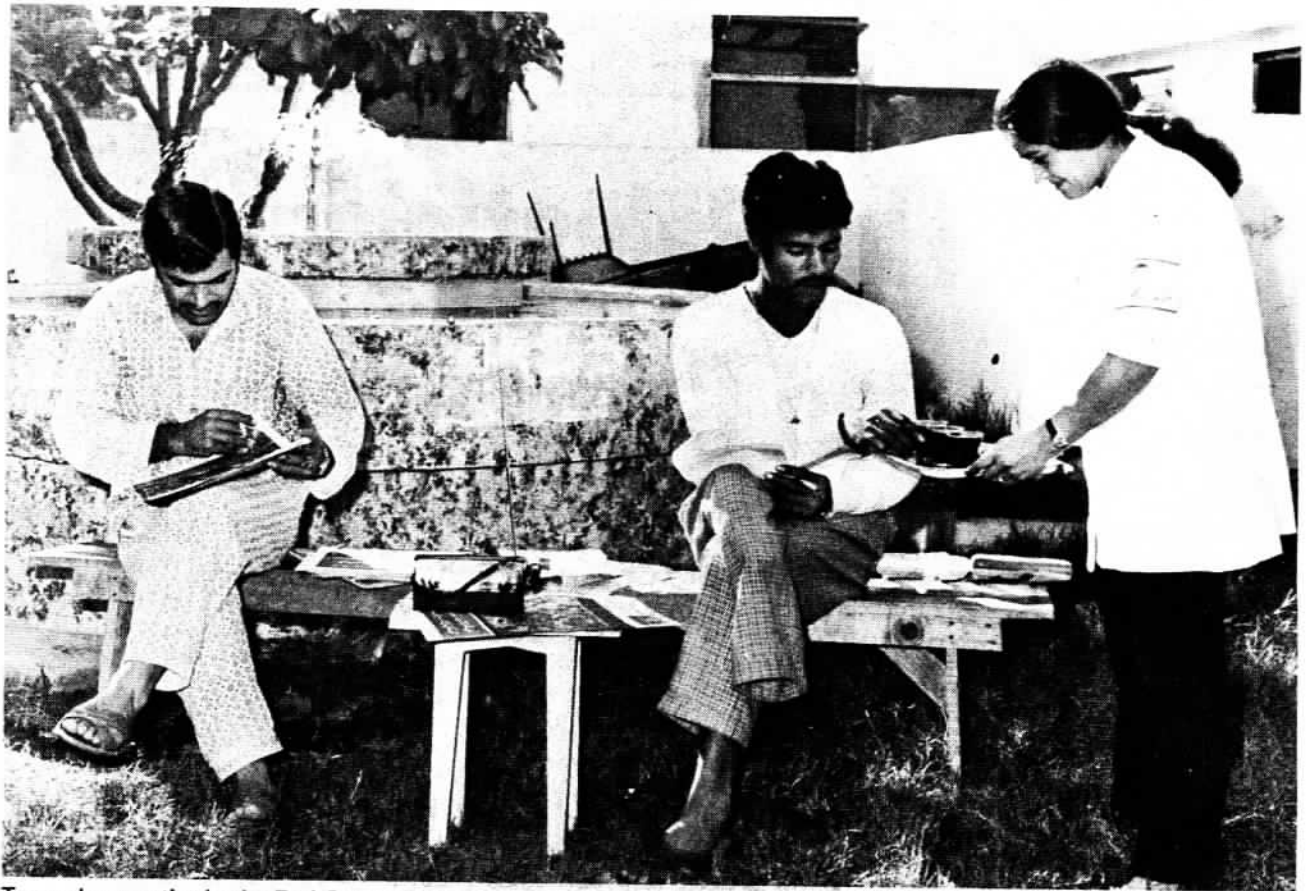
Dr Fathi Arafat, the Red Crescent's Vice-President, described some aspects of the organisation's medical work. « Before 1969 » he said « a medical service existed only for our fighters. Then we created the Red Crescent. We had already felt for some time that the needs of the Palestinians were not being efficiently attended to. For example, an UNRWA doctor has a completely different life and experience from that of the people he treats, and thus finds it extremely difficult to make an effective contribution.

« The Palestinian Red Crescent opened its first branch in Kuwait. The response was overwhelming, and in one week we enrolled 7,000 members. The enthusiasm spread and other branches were soon opened, covering almost all the Arab countries.² The permanent seat of the Red Crescent is Jerusalem, its temporary headquarters depend on circumstances. Right now they are in Beirut .»

Dr Nabil Nassar, a member of the Red Crescent's medical committee, outlined their medical policy as follows: « Our objective is to satisfy all the cases which present themselves. We plan to provide each camp of 20,000 or more inhabitants with a hospital comprising not just a general clinic but a surgery unit as well .»

We visited three of the four Red Crescent's hospitals in Lebanon. They are remarkably well cared for, but they seem to have insufficient facilities for maternity care and a lack of children's beds. The camps of North Lebanon (Nahr el-Bared and El-Beddawi) have as yet no hospital, although each camp has more than 20,000 inhabitants.

We were able to visit the El-Jalil Hospital in the Tyre camp, which attends to surgery and internal



Tea and sympathy in the Red Crescent Physiotherapy Centre.

diseases³ and has 20 beds for men and 20 for women. Other hospitals, concentrated in Beirut and its suburbs, serve differing needs. Al-Quds (Jerusalem) Hospital has 60 beds for men and is the only hospital situated outside a camp. It performs surgery and has ophthalmic and ENT departments. Haifa Hospital in Bour el-Barajneh camp has 30 beds and specialises in internal diseases and paraplegia (paralysis of the lower half of the body). Its premises include the Red Crescent Physiotherapy Centre. A 20-bed ward has recently been opened here for women and soon there will be a children's ward with 8 beds. Unlike other Red Crescent hospitals, Haifa has no X-Ray department, but it does have a laboratory for research and analysis. Gaza Hospital (Shatila camp, 20 beds) is at present the only underground hospital in Lebanon. Intended for surgical cases, it functions only in emergencies such as air-raids. The possibility of adding to it a maternity unit is presently under consideration.

To this group of hospitals will shortly be added a hospital in the Tel-ez-Zaatar camp in a suburb of Beirut. It has already been built, according to the new

3 - In Syria: Jaffa Hospital (60 beds); in Egypt: Palestine Hospital (50 beds); these have the same medical structure as El-Jalil Hospital.

In September 1970 several PRC hospitals in Jordan were destroyed.

4 - A Palestinian assassinated in Paris in January 1973

5 - It has four floors, two of them underground, 12 clinics, several operation theatres. It will initially have 50 beds, which will later be increased to 100.

policy of having one floor above ground for the clinic and dispensary, and one underground with an operating theatre and nearly 30 beds. In the South of Lebanon the Red Crescent has plans to construct the Mahmoud El-Hamchari Hospital.⁴

« Several considerations have affected the drawing up of this project », said Dr Nassar. « First of all, we need a hospital where all departments would be included, among them a maternity unit,⁵ and which would be open to everyone. Palestinian-Lebanese solidarity is growing, and we must be able to provide facilities for the disinherited people of the South as well as for the Palestinians. The demands of security, resulting from increasing Israeli aggression against the area, require a hospital which is not in the front line of attack. The hospital already in existence in the area will serve as an intermediary point .»

The construction of hospitals is an important priority for the Red Crescent. Even after the 'big leap forward' achieved in this field, financial difficulties continue to be a burden since the hospitals are but one aspect of the Red Crescent's medical activities.

« It is necessary to respond to the daily needs of the camp population », continued Dr Nassar. « These can only increase, given the insanitary conditions and overcrowding in the camps. Dermatological diseases and parasitical intestinal diseases are widespread. Continual work in these fields is needed. Several dispensaries have already been opened, and these provide a daily service. Although the number of medical workers (doctors, nurses, technicians, phar-



Waiting their turn at a community dispensary.

macists, and so on) is now at a constant level, this is still insufficient if one bears in mind that an average of three doctors is needed for each dispensary .»

The Red Crescent trains medical staff at several schools in Lebanon — a school for assistant pharmacists, a school for medical welfare assistants, a nursing school and first aid schools. Here, intensive courses teach the students how to deal with the types of situations they are most likely to be confronted with. Their graduates have to staff 70 dispensaries (inside Lebanon as well as in other countries), 10 dental clinics, 5 convalescent centres and 3 mobile hospitals.

POPULAR COMMITTEES DESTINED TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE

Dr Nassar said that friendly delegations had often asked with surprise about the absence of 'bare-foot doctors' such as the Chinese have used to deal with the problem of a lack of medical cadres. « We always reply », he said, « that theirs is a different situation to ours .»

« We have tried to establish popular committees to study the specific needs of the population in such and such a camp, and to launch an information campaign about dermatological diseases. For example, the popular committee in Tel-ez-Zaatar camp, which is at present the most dynamic — it has about 60 members, mainly students — has launched several

campaigns about scabies, which is the most frequent dermatological illness in the camps. Previously it was considered something for its victim to be ashamed of, it was a 'taboo' subject even in front of the doctor.

The Tel-ez-Zaatar committee has succeeded in breaking this taboo by convincing the camp population that such a disease is not confined only to the poorer sections of the population, and that treatment is simple if it is started soon enough .»

Committees in the other camps, however, still need to be strengthened.

PAN-ARAB RESEARCH

The expansion of the Red Crescent's medical activities has led to a close collaboration with official Arab organisations in the important field of research. Dr Fathi said of this, that, « We are fully aware of the benefits science can bring to technical progress and civilisation, and that joint action furthers this progress. Thus, so that our work has more chance of success, we proposed to Arab Health Ministers that they collaborate with us in the study and treatment of injuries. One result so far has been the establishment of an International Arab Centre of Traumatology. Its head office is in Beirut. We are currently working, along with Arab social welfare offices, towards the opening of an Arab Social Work Centre — its office will provisionally be at the Traumatology



April 1975 : fast intervention by the Red Crescent.

Centre. As a result the Red Crescent is carrying out its medical welfare activities on both the Palestinian and the Arab levels .»

THE PERMANENT EXHIBITION OF PALESTINIAN FOLKLORE

The Palestinian Red Crescent's headquarters houses an impressive display of handicrafts, from carpets to wooden sculptures to richly embroidered materials. Pride of place is given to a collection of local dresses from the various regions of Palestine.

Umm Walid, a member of the Red Crescent's Social Committee, explains the exhibition in these terms : « It was absolutely necessary for us to revive our folklore, because our dispersal had led to its decline. But the dispersal itself made the job of collecting and explaining our folklore's main components, an extremely difficult one. Even after studying Palestinian folklore for ten years, I often had to turn to the older people for some explanation of the design of a dress.

« But the aim of the exhibition is not only cultural. It helps us to provide paid work to nearly

8,000 people, because it gives us a shop-window for their handicrafts. Most of the workers are women, but there are also fighters who have become war-invalids. An important number of our workers, about 3,000 of them, live in the occupied territories. In Lebanon we have 2,000, and the rest are scattered throughout Syria, Kuwait, and other countries.

« We try by all possible means to teach a trade to handicapped people and to members of needy families. Our committee has for its objective the support of the resistance against the occupier, which means we must teach the girls professional activities so that they can remain independent of enemy economic organisations. We also work to help the war-wounded and political detainees, and to raise the economic level of the Palestinian family.

« The learning of a trade takes many forms. Our wounded fighters are offered a wide choice of training — a policy derived from a study made in 1972 on the social and medical conditions of Palestinians in the Lebanese camps. Particular attention was given to a group of wounded men, and in 1972, the year of the Red Crescent's expansion, we undertook, with them in mind, courses of study for technicians specialised in radio and television. We have likewise drawn up clerical work courses for those who want them. Others have chosen languages. The

teaching has been adapted to the capabilities and wishes of each person.

« Our social welfare delegates, 12 of them in Lebanon, teach sewing to women, along with embroidery and languages, and advise families on child-care procedures.

« Thanks to our foreign friends, we have exhibited Palestinian handicrafts in several European countries, and in the United States, Canada, and in all the Arab countries. Such exhibitions are a means of information about the history of a people whose traditions have been stolen from them by the enemy, who has even presented them as though they were his own .»

PART OF THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

A many-faceted institution, the Palestinian Red Crescent has helped to check the feelings engendered among the Palestinians as recipients of UNRWA 'aid'.

But although the Red Crescent's medical care is continually increasing, it is still the case, as the first issue of its magazine pointed out, that :

« the state of health of the Palestinian cannot improve radically until he returns to his homeland, where he can choose his place of residence, his way of life, the nature of his food. As long as he remains exiled from Palestine, and because of his existence in the camp, he will have to submit to a physical condition which, while improving, can never go beyond a certain level .»

In all its work, whether medical or social, the Red Crescent is thus a part of the Palestinian struggle to return to the homeland. This struggle has been carried by the P.L.O. into the international arena, and here too the Red Crescent is part of the struggle. Dr Fathi described the Red Crescent's current struggle for international recognition, in his interview with **Palestine Lives**.

« In principle, the creation of an institution such as ours constitutes one of the last stages in the recognition of a people. With the creation and



Women entering productive work.

A PAGE FROM THE STRUGGLE
OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

The 1936 Revolution

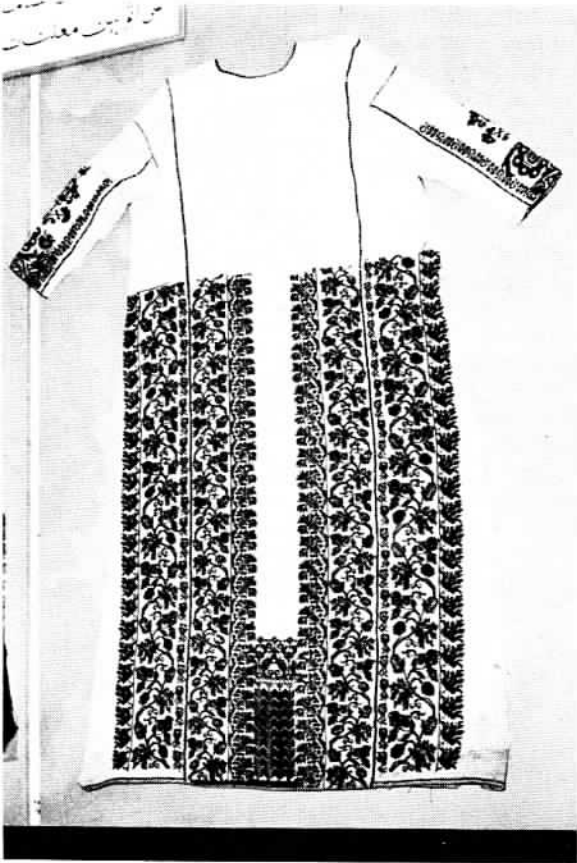
The struggle of the Palestinian people for its national independence is by no means recent. It began as soon as the Palestinians became aware of the seriousness of the Zionist project and the dimensions of its threat. The struggle has seen both success and failure, but has never ceased to grow. The Palestinian national identity was not forged after 1948, as certain Zionists claim, it was long ago a reality; and our uninterrupted struggle bears witness to this. Our people has long defended its land, its existence, and its right to exist, as have other peoples.

The 1936 Revolution marks an important stage in the history of our people's struggle. Its eruption was not an isolated incident in the region, but was an integral part of the Arab peoples' fight for independence from Western control. It was linked to the Egyptian uprising which took place in November 1935 against the British occupation, and to the Syrian uprising of 19 January 1936. The Arab people of Palestine integrated its fight with that of other Arab peoples fighting colonialism and its big-power plundering of the Arab countries.

Two factors of unequal importance brought to bear on the revolution of 1936: the first and fundamental factor was the presence of British imperialism and the Zionist attempt to usurp Palestine; the second factor was the economic crisis which broke out some years ago, reflecting the general crisis of the capitalist system, and which created unemployment and hardship. The Jews were less affected because they were relatively protected by the existence of Zionist capital, and the industrial and agricultural development this engendered.

We must add to these two factors the threat and insecurity hanging over the Palestinians with the intensification of Jewish immigration, which reached its highest level in 1935 with 61,854 immigrants.

The Palestinians were not blind to the collusion existing between the Zionists and the British, which gave free rein to the influx of Jewish European immigrants.



An example of today's Palestinian folkloric production.

consolidation of the Palestinian Red Crescent the Palestinian people takes its place among the other peoples of the world, allying itself to the world-wide humanitarian struggle. It is an independent organisation based on the Geneva Conventions and the Charter of Human Rights. It never refuses help, as was shown in the recent Cyprus events, and it sends doctors to countries which are urgently in need, such as Sierra Leone, in spite of its own difficulties.

« It is therefore incomprehensible that the International Committee of the Red Cross should refuse the Palestinian Red Crescent's participation as a full member. A resolution advocating this was taken at the last (7th) conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent organisations of the Arab countries, in January. This conference recognised the Red Crescent as an active member of the international organisation, and recommended the modification of the Geneva Convention's laws so that every people, might be represented in the International Committee. »

The Red Crescent attended, with observer status, the Conferences of the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion which were held in Istanbul in 1969 and in Teheran in 1973. Certainly, it is not isolated — it has many international contacts and already several European countries have Associations for the Support of the Palestinian Red Crescent. But the major battle for international recognition remains to be won. Only then can the Palestinian people take its full part in international humanitarian efforts.



British Mandatory Police repressing a Palestinian demonstration.

The strike played a role of paramount importance in the uprising. It began spontaneously in Jaffa, 19 April 1936, and quickly spread throughout the country. It continued for six months, a length of time which demonstrates to a startling degree the high political consciousness of the Palestinian people. It was called off on 1 December 1936 as a result of the sordid role played by the Arab regimes, subject as they were to the exigencies of British imperialism.

The participation of the Palestinian people during this struggle was total. In every town and every village the resistance was organized at all levels. Nevertheless, this national struggle was severely repressed by the British government. There were more than 3,000 fighters dead for independence. The number of prisoners rose to 4,500. For this bloody operation the British deployed 25,000 troops, supported by armed Zionist forces, 5,000 men of the Haganah.

The Zionists themselves played an active role in this repression. The future racist colonialism was already the instrument of classical colonialism, and the two, finding themselves on the same ground, joined together to control the 'natives'. This doesn't seem odd if one recalls a statement made by Zionist Max Nordau: «If we Jews were ready to support the British in the Middle East; if we were ready to stand at their side to watch over the Suez Canal and the route to India, and to forbid foreign and enemy influence to threaten the interests of the Empire; if we did that, we would render a big service to England.»

The Anglo-Zionist alliance helped ensure the failure of the 1936 revolution. It should be noted here that in spite of the political domination of feudalism, the bourgeoisie of the towns made its voice heard, but the main role was played by the peasants.

This revolution failed because the big feudalists sacrificed the national interests to their own interests. The fighting peasants were to them only material to be exploited.

Historically, our people's adversaries have been the same: Zionism, imperialism, and the forces economically and politically linked to them.

Faced with this very real threat, the leaders of the patriotic movement demanded that the British stop not only Jewish immigration, but also the sale of land to the Zionists, which was being undertaken by the big feudalist landlords and which was driving thousands of peasants into the towns by depriving them of their means of subsistence. These demands fell on deaf ears.

The Palestinian people continued to lead a multifarious struggle, mobilising all its forces to safeguard its national independence.

On 11 October 1935, Izzedine al-Qassam set in motion the armed struggle, relying on the most unfavoured social sector of the population, the peasants. The reverberations of this movement demonstrate its historical importance. Following this undertaking, and after the heroic death of its leader some months later, the revolution spread through the whole of Palestine. The daily affront of aggressive Zionist practices towards the Arab Palestinians expanded the fight into a real mass movement.

Because of this Palestinians will continue to militate so that the popular forces take over their liberation movement completely.

The Palestinian people today is seeking to create new conditions which will bring about the failure of all reactionary attempts to sabotage its fight.

The 1936 Revolution was a high point in our struggle, which is slowly, but inexorably, leading to victory.

The Arab Dimension of the Palestinian Liberation Movement

The organic relationship between Zionism and imperialism is an undeniable and objective historical fact. Moreover, our struggle and the forms it has taken in recent years have highlighted the relationship between Israel — the offshoot and tool of the Zionist movement and world imperialism, particularly American imperialism.

Hence the main issue now revolves round the specific role which Israel plays in the American imperialist strategy and the various forms in which this is manifest.

The more interlocked the spheres of imperialist aims and policies with Israel's own expansionist schemes, the more specific and sharp becomes the struggle. Class alignments and their various political manifestations in the different Arab liberation movements and forces have come to be distinguished by more militant programmes and anti-imperialist policies.

Here too, the issue revolves no longer around the particulars of the confrontations between the Palestinian people and the Arab national liberation movement on the one hand, and Zionism (with Israel) and imperialism on the other hand, but around the nature of the confrontation between the Arab liberation movement as a whole and Israel linked to imperialism. The issue demands the search for the basis of this new

situation with regard to the organic relationship between the Palestinian and Arab liberation movements and the part they play in the world liberation movement. It also demands the specification of the various forms of the struggle that have been taken by the revolutionary camp against the counter-revolutionary camp.

THE CREATION OF ISRAEL AND ANNEXATION OF THE WEST BANK

From the beginning of World War I and until the end of 1947, the Palestinian people and its national liberation movement confronted British colonialism, as did other Arab peoples. But in addition, the Palestinian people confronted Zionism, which penetrated the area under the protection of British imperialism.

During this phase, the Arab liberation movement participated in the struggle against Zionism within the limits imposed upon it by colonialism and by Arab reaction. In the first Arab-Israeli war the Arab liberation movement was fettered by the feudal and comprador regimes, which ferociously blocked participation in the struggle against Israel. The official policies and concrete actions of these regimes were characterised by connivance and surrender at the expense of the Palestinian people and homeland.

After the establishment of Israel in 1948, and the loss of the greater part of the Palestinian homeland to it, the remaining West Bank area was annexed to the Hashemite regime in accordance with the liquidationist schemes of Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction.

OPPOSITION TO LIQUIDATIONISM AND GROWTH OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL.

Throughout the period between 1948 and 1964, expressions of unity of the Palestinian and Arab liberation movements in their confrontation with Israel as a tool of British and American imperialism, increased. The Palestinian people, having lost its homeland, was faced with Israeli and Hashemite conspiracies aimed at effacing all traces of its national personality.

The Palestinian people led a many-faceted struggle on various fronts against Israeli and the Hashemite policies which sought to dissolve the national personality, particularly in the territory occupied in 1948 and the West Bank. In this phase, the Arab liberation movements were facing the tasks of national revolution embodied in political, economic and military independence.

In addition to the tasks involved in preserving the Palestinian national character, the West Bank Palestinians joined the Jordanian liberation movement in the struggle against the Hashemite regime with its dependency on imperialism. Their aim was the creation of a national democratic regime which could further the interests of both the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples and make possible the resumption of the struggle against Israel.

The Palestinian masses living in Lebanon, Syria and in other neighboring countries joined in the struggle of local liberation movements and joined the ranks of the various patriotic, political, and democratic parties. This parti-

icipation rested upon the theoretical and practical principles dictated by the unity of the Arab-Palestinian liberation movement in the face of the main enemy.

But this participation was concentrated within national movements (especially Nasserism, the Arab Nationalist Movement and the Ba'ath). This was due to the programs adopted by these parties and the anti-Israeli nationalist slogans they raised. This phenomenon had its concomitant objective and ideological causes. Between 1948 and 1964 the Palestinian people was unable to crystallize and revive its independent national liberation movement. This was a result of the existence of the Israeli state and its expansionism and the annexation of the West Bank by the Hashemite regime, both of which entailed the destruction of the material foundations of Palestinian society (economic, social and political). The policy of the reactionary regimes contributed to the establishment of this fact. In the early fifties, when Arab nationalist regimes began to emerge, this establishment took various new forms.

REBIRTH OF THE INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN NATIONAL PERSONALITY

Between the years 1948 and 1964 the real Zionist aims and their link to imperialist aims were made clear by the Israeli state. The Palestine question became central to the programs, policies and slogans of the various groups constituting the Arab liberation movement. Several Arab nationalist regimes, opposed to imperialism and Israel, attempted to grapple with the question of economic and political independence. The Palestine question and the confrontation with Israel had to be taken into consideration in their programs and policies.

On the other hand, there emerged a Palestinian national movement which militated for the crystallization of an independent Palestinian personality. Palestinian and Arab elements (popular and governmental) joined forces to make possible the formation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964.

However, the true renaissance of the Palestinian personality began to emerge with the rise of armed Palestinian struggle. This began on 1st January 1965, and the Palestinian liberation movement began to grow. The relationship between the various groups forming the Arab liberation movement had to become more defined and to move towards more revolutionary formulations. The Palestine question was put on its feet after having been stood on its head by, firstly, the hegemony of the reactionary regimes, and secondly, the tutelage of the national regimes.

THE RISE OF THE ARMED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

In the wake of the collapse of the Arab armies and the occupation of the remainder of the Palestinian homeland by Israel, objective circumstances developed which permitted the escalation of armed struggle against the occupation. The defeat brought down the barrier that the Hashemite regime had built to insulate the Palestinian masses from their leadership and from the struggle against Israel. The defeat also diminished the credibility of the claims made by the nationalist regimes in terms of which they justified the restrictions they imposed upon the Palestinian resistance movement. These factors contributed towards the upsurge of the Palestinian masses who resorted to arms and rallied around their patriotic leadership. This situation, in turn, led the Arab masses to break through national borderlines and the barriers of governmental restrictions; hence to join the armed resistance movement.

In addition, the regimes in direct confrontation with Israel began organizing and financing armed Palestinian groups. These groups constituted extensions of these regimes' policies, especially on the Palestinian question. Furthermore, the resistance movement was able, owing to the solidarity of the Arab masses, to wrench military, political and financial support from the various regimes.

At this stage the Palestinian liberation movement began to

weave its ties with the world liberation movement and the progressive nationalist and socialist regimes and parties.

TEMPORARY UNION AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HASHEMITES.

The Hashemite attacks of September 1970 and July 1971 to annihilate the Palestinian people and its armed movement, the course they took and the consequences they entailed, are concrete examples of the nature of the relationships which governed the conflicts between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary camps — i.e. the patriotic and democratic Arab liberation movement versus imperialism, Israel and the Hashemite regime. The battles and their results were extremely instructive. In one camp the United States sided unequivocally with the Jordanian regime, to the point of mobilising the 82nd Division of the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. US troops were put on the alert in anticipation of possible intervention against the Palestinian resistance movement and the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples in the event of a tip in the balance of forces in favour of the latter. High-pitched threats of an adventurist nature risking a Third World War accompanied the preparation and movements of these troops.

The Arab liberation movement was unable to offer concrete and effective support to the resistance, owing partly to the fetters and restrictions imposed by the regimes on the liberation movement, and partly to the rudimentary degree of coordination which governed the relationship between the Resistance movement and other Arab patriotic and democratic parties and organizations.

Actual participation was consequently limited to the combatants who had joined the armed resistance movement after 1967. The position of the Syrian regime during the fighting and later indicated the close ties linking together the elements constituting the Arab liberation movement. It was an embodiment of the unity of struggle, bringing together the Palestinian liberation movement

and the Syrian regime into the battle against the Hashemite regime and American blackmail.

Finally, the solidarity between the revolution and the world liberation movement was manifested effectively.

Following the period of temporary recession after September 1970 and July 1971, the relationship of the revolution to the Arab and world liberation movement took on various new forms and expressions.

The revolution entered into its struggle against the Hashemites and the proposed liquidationist plan of the 'United Arab Kingdom' which paves the way for the liquidation of the revolution. While the relationship with the

Arab liberation movement (as represented in the joint Arab Front and the struggles of the Arab masses) was characterized by total support of the revolution against the Hashemite proposal, the nationalist regimes held varied positions which changed in relation to changes in the momentum of the various elements of the struggle.

In Lebanon, the Lebanese Arab liberation movement totally supported the revolution in its struggle against Israel and its repeated attacks against the Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages. The stand which the Lebanese masses and the Lebanese progressive movement took after the April (1973) raid on Beirut and the May attacks on the resistance and the Palestinian camps

provided a living example of the unity of the Arab liberation movement, the oneness of national destiny and the unity of action in the face of common enemies.

During this stage, support for and solidarity with the revolution were shown by the patriotic and progressive Arab regimes. The regimes supported the revolution in its struggle against the liquidationist Hashemite project and all that the project entailed. This solidarity and support resulted in the resolutions of the Algiers Summit Conference (November 1973) which cemented the recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian homeland.

During the October War 1973 and later, relations between the

PRESENT TASKS FOR THE

We are presently at a stage when American designs on our region, with their policy of pushing through partial and surrenderist solutions to continuing problems, are far from being defeated. Meanwhile, criticism of the unilateral initiatives undertaken towards partial solutions, is growing — and this criticism is becoming increasingly resented by the parties concerned. Thus, to face imperialism's conspiracies and its tools in our region, the Arab liberation movement must in the coming period practise new forms of revolutionary struggle within the framework of its fundamental strategy and objectives.

The experiences of previous years warn the Arab patriotic forces that they must now propose before the Arab people a **national democratic program**, whose elements can be summarised as follows: the liquidation of the bastions of foreign influence by expelling and dismantling imperialist military bases and putting an end to the existence of the Zionist regime in Palestine; the abolition of unjust treaties and agreements with imperialist states; the raising of the Arab people's ability to resist and retaliate against foreign intervention and aggression and the threats of occupation which are evident from recent American naval manoeuvres and the establishment of American bases to tighten imperialist domination over Arab oil resources, and which is also apparent from the heavy Iranian program of arming and from other current danger signals from within the Arab homeland.

In addition to this Arab national program, and as

its most crucial step, is the **liberation of the Arab economy** from imperialist domination, which consists primarily in: liberating Arab petroleum from the clutches of imperialist monopolies; halting the infiltration of the World Bank and other financial institutions of neocolonialism into key positions in the Arab economy; realising the ambitions of the Arab generations to build an independent and prosperous national economy; carrying out major reforms in the fields of agriculture and culture; and leading the Arab masses to democracy and the realisation of the democratic unity of Arab peoples. **These tasks call for a strong, reciprocal alliance amongst the Arab patriotic forces in a broad democratic front**, which is the only instrument capable of uniting Arab masses, urging and leading them to final victory and executing the Arab national program.

SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The Arab national movement must stand firmly with the Palestinian revolution because the Palestinian liberation movement occupies an important position in the totality of the Arab revolution; because it plays an active and vital role in the incessant confrontation with the forces of imperialism and Zionism in the area, as well as counter-acting the effects of imperialism and its aggressive solutions.

The Palestinian Revolution in recent years has won — on Arab and international levels — important

Palestine Liberation Organization and the various world liberation movements and patriotic and progressive regimes grew increasingly stronger. They assumed new expressions and superior forms of struggle, which are of great importance to all the liberation movements opposed to imperialism.

On the basis of the unity of struggle between the revolution and the patriotic regimes, and on the basis of the support of the Arab liberation movement, it became possible for the Palestine liberation movement to carry through the Rabat resolution in late 1974 and officially put an end to the Hashemite claims, exposing their total bankruptcy and scoring a victory for the PLO. Throughout 1974 the military,

political and popular weight of the revolution in the main area of struggle inside the occupied homeland increased. The victories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip together with the Arab resolutions at Rabat, were reflected in world public opinion and affected the balance of forces within the international organizations. The unity of the various forms of struggle was crowned in the support and official recognition offered by 105 countries to the PLO. The world organisation officially recognised the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and its land. The PLO took its place among the representatives of the nations and liberation movements of the world.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

At this stage in the struggle, and in the face of the series of American-Israeli proposed settlements which have a stake in the liquidation of the Palestine question, the revolution finds itself in one of the most important phases of its contemporary history. The more the proposed settlements progress, the more advanced the forms of unity between the Arab Palestinian and world liberation movements become. On the Palestinian level, the struggle is assuming new aspects; internationally, the nature of the struggle is imposing alliances with the peoples of the world and the patriotic and progressive regimes.

ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT

and fundamental successes; to a great extent made possible by the exposition of the Palestinian Revolution's short-term strategy — namely, the PLO's policy for the establishment of an independent national Palestinian authority on all Palestinian territories liberated from Zionist occupation (as a transitional step towards the final objective). It is clear that to achieve this important step, a long and bitter struggle must be waged, but the accomplishment of this decisive and fundamental step in the Palestinian Revolution will mean that the Palestinian people's struggle is finally on its triumphant course towards the restoration of all its historical and legal rights.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

We can thus summarise the immediate tasks of the Arab revolution in the following points, within the framework of the general Arab struggle against imperialism and its institutions, and against Zionism and its expansionist policies which are directed against the interests and the existence of the whole Arab national movement:

— The struggle for the liberation of all Arab territories occupied in June 1967, and opposition and resistance to all moves towards a bilateral or partial solution; at the same time, the struggle against all trends acquiescent towards American imperialism, which try to sow illusions about the possibility of neutralising imperialism and thus advocate the li-

beration of occupied lands with American help.

— the consolidation of the Palestinian Arab people's struggle under PLO leadership, to return to its country and determine its own future in its homeland, as well as for its right to establish an independent, national state.

— the strengthening of Arab solidarity against imperialism and Zionism, in order to liberate the occupied Arab land and ensure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

— the support of the patriotic revolution in Oman and Dhofar, and unwavering struggle against Iranian infiltration and expansionism in Oman and elsewhere in the Arabian Gulf.

— fighting for a development policy based on the following steps as pre-conditions:

* nationalisation of imperialist interests, especially its oil monopolies,

* investment of the funds and resources arising from our mineral wealth so as to achieve an extensive, planned economic development — which is the only concrete basis for Arab economic independence;

* strengthening the democratic changes — economic, political and cultural — in both town and countryside,

* vigilance against capitalist 'aid' as regards the scientific and technological expertise required to meet the needs of the Arab countries, and which might be used as a tool in pursuit of certain political aims or to exert pressure on our countries, taking advantage of vital needs.

The State of the Enemy

IN ISRAEL

Fall in Immigration Rise in Emigration

While the wave of emigrants leaving Israel keeps on growing, the movement of immigration into Israel is slowing down. This is the impression given by certain facts and figures revealed by the Israeli press itself.¹

Flights to Vienna

The newspaper **Hatsofeh** (13/3/75) wrote on the subject of emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union: «During the last few months, immigration from the Soviet Union has registered a fall unequalled in the past 2 years. There are no more than 900 immigrants² per month, compared with a monthly average of 1,250 in 1974 and 2,500 in 1973.» The newspaper adds: «In February, 590 immigrants left European Russia, 85 left Georgia, and 14 left Boukhara. 29% gave up the project on the way.»

The newspaper **Davar** of 4th March 1975 cites the following figures: «The number of immigrants from the Soviet Union and the West has risen to 1,600. The Jewish Agency admitted yesterday that the proportion of Soviet Jews who, once arrived in Vienna do not wish to continue their journey, is continually increasing. It is thus that, of the 150 Jews who left the Soviet Union last week only 70 arrived in

Israel; and of another group of 40, only 12.»

Al-Hamichmar (13/12/75) reports extracts from a big press conference given by Integration Minister Shlomo Rosen: «One of the major problems which the State has to confront today is that of the encouragement of immigration, because of the fall it is currently experiencing. 55,000 people immigrated to Israel in 1973 compared with only 32,000 in 1974. We fear that the immigration movement will continue to fall this year. Last month (January) the total number of immigrants was 1,500.»

IN SPITE OF 'THE FACILITIES GIVEN TO THE NEW IMMIGRANTS'...

Al-Hamichmar (17/3/75) citing Pinhas Sapir, President of the Jewish Agency and ex-Minister of the Economy: «The volume of immigration originating in the Soviet Union decreased in 1974 and continues to decrease. The Russians are trying hard to suggest that the number of requests for visas has fallen, but it is clear that the break in the Soviet-American trade accord has contributed to this slowing down, as have also Israel's economic situation, security conditions and social

problems. On the other hand, 2,800 Jews immigrated from Latin America in 1974 compared with 4,400 in 1973, while immigration originating from the United States has fallen 30%.

The slowing down of immigration is attributable to various factors such as security problems, the economic crisis, difficulties of adaptation and integration in the country. The Israelis themselves affirm this, among them Shlomo Rosen who declares on this subject: «The fall in the number of immigrants from the West and from the Soviet Union is due in my opinion to the possibility of a recommencement of war, to the feeling of insecurity and to the difficulties of the economic situation. Among the Jews of the Soviet Union who last year received exit visas, 4,000 went to the United States, not to Israel.»

(**Hatsofeh**, 20/2/75).

COUNTER-IMMIGRATION

Pinhas Sapir, in **Maariv** (18/2/75), worries about the problem of the emigration of Israelis to other countries: «Israeli emigration is the equivalent of desertion; we must take a careful look at this agonising phenomenon — the exodus of Jewish veterans... and we must forbid Israeli and Jewish embassies and

institutions to employ emigrants.» Sapir notes that in the past «candidates for exodus left Israel secretly, but now they do it in sight and sound of everyone.» **Al-Hamichmar** cites the words of an intellectual newly arrived from the Soviet Union: «It should be noted that the enthusiasm which existed until recently in the Jewish intelligentsia has diminished a lot. I notice this among my friends. He who earlier wanted to emigrate to Israel is now hesitating; he who was hesitating before, is today waiting to see; he who before thought of the possibility of emigrating, hardly thinks of it today. The bad news we receive from Israel is to a large extent responsible for this change in attitude. It is not only intellectuals who complain of the bureaucracy, of the difficulty of finding work commensurate with their qualifications, but also engineers, scientists... These people are asking themselves if Israel really needs them. The intelligentsia, who are the sector most preoccupied with this problem, prefer to immigrate no longer to Israel, but, for example, to the United States, where one can shift for oneself more easily. Out of the group of 12 with whom I left the Soviet Union and arrived in Vienna, I was the only one to come to Israel: The others went on to Rome. The figures, unfortunately, are significant.»

Fall in immigration, rise in emigration, Israel has had the wind taken out of her sails. And so we hear the Israeli leaders giving cries of alarm, intended to arouse the new devotion of determined or fanatical immigrants and increase Israeli solidarity by making Israelis aware of the threat posed for Israel by the slackening of immigration.

1. The quotations from the Israeli press are taken from the bi-monthly bulletin of the Institute of Palestine Studies (1/4/75)

Hatsofeh: daily paper of the National Religious Party (rightist)

Davar: daily paper of the Histadrut, close to the government.

Maariv: daily paper of wide circulation. **Al-Hamichmar:** organ of MAPAM (a faction of the main coalition in the government.)

2 In March, only 560 came from the Soviet Union. And the total number of immigrants was 1200 against 1600 in February (**Maariv** 3/4)

ZIONIST POLICE INCAPABLE OF CONFRONTING RESISTANCE

Saul Rozalio, Inspector General of the Israeli Police, has admitted the failure of the Zionist police apparatus in dealing with the increased armed resistance to the Zionist occupation in Palestine.

Rozalio described the escalation of Palestinian resistance operations as an additional weight on the back of the Israeli police, requiring the large-scale reorganization of the Israeli police.

Confirming the statement of the Inspector General of the Israeli Police, Abraham Aloni, the mayor of Qiryat Shmona (al-Khalsa) described the situation in the town as extremely difficult.

In an Israeli radio interview on 7/4 he said that a very difficult year had gone by, a year of struggle to conserve the town, which has witnessed a painful and worry-

some wave of emigration, following the attack on the town by Palestinian commandos one year ago.

He explained that more than 250 families have left Khalsa, and he called for the development of the town and its improvement in order to lure Zionist settlers to it.

It is to be recalled that a group of Palestinian revolutionaries on 11/4/1974 assaulted the village of Khalsa and took positions in a number of buildings there, waging battles with the enemy forces which lasted from 6 A.M. until the afternoon of the same day, inflicting grave losses on the enemy.

Palestinian commando activity has since then increased dramatically in the North of Palestine, and particularly in Khalsa.

(WAFA, 9/4)

ITALIAN COURT ACCUSES KILLERS OF Wael ZUAITER

Italian Magistrate Francesco Amato has accused the Zionist intelligence network — «Mossad» — of murdering the militant martyr Wael Zuaiter on October 16, 1972 in Rome, and issued warrants for the arrest of 12 Zionist Mossad agents who executed the crime.

The Italian judge, who was in charge of investigating the murder of Zuaiter, said he has definite proof that these individuals are directly connected with the crime and with other killings such as those of Mahmoud al-Hamshari, Basil

al-Qubaisi and Mahmoud Boudia in France, Abu Khair in Nicosia and Ahmad Bouchiki in Norway.

The Judge officially asked Interpol to intervene immediately and arrest the criminals, three of whom are already in Norwegian prisons, while the nine others are fugitives from the law.

The names of the criminals issued by the Italian Court are: —

1 — Ethel Gladnikoff,
2 — Sylvia Rafael, 3 — Abraham Germaz, 4 — Gustave Pistanier, 5 — Dan Gerbel, 6 — Albert

Lieberman, 7 — Zwi Steinbag, 8 — Michael Porf, 9 — Jonathan Impliby, 10 — Jean Sevenier, 11 — Gerard Emile, 12 — Rolf Baer.

It is to be noted that this is the first time that definite official accusations are made against Zionist intelligence in Europe for its murder of P.L.O. representatives in various European countries. It is also the first time that an official order has been issued asking Interpol to intervene to arrest members of the Zionist Intelligence apparatus.

(WAFA, 7/4)

The World and Us

ARBITRARY BRITISH MEASURES AGAINST PALESTINIAN STUDENTS

Palestinian students have lately been the victims of arbitrary and racist measures by the British authorities, according to a special report reaching Wafa from London.

Many Palestinian students were prevented from entering Britain to continue their higher education even though they had re-entry visas, and the student Majid Awwad was arrested for 42 days upon his arrival at Heathrow airport without the authorities giving any explanation of his arrest.

Meanwhile, the British authorities have refused to extend the residence permits of many students and have asked them to leave the country, among them Atallah al-Said, who is studying engineering in London.

The report stressed that the

British authorities have lately made it a point to interrogate regularly the majority of Palestinian students, especially GUPS members. Ali Saleh al-Nimr, for example, was called up lately and threatened with expulsion for supporting «terrorist» groups in Britain.

The report said that questions asked by British interrogators were related to students, ties with the P.L.O., and added that various threats were used in order to extract information.

Moreover, many Arab students were arrested for no reasons because the warrants were issued by a body higher than the law: the Home Office, and were executed via the British intelligence service, as for example in the case of the student Hani Baabaa.

Wafa's political editor comments: —

«Such acts by the British authorities are a grave injustice against the Palestinian people, and naturally bring to mind the role played by British policy in the creation and consolidation of the Zionist entity in Palestine.

«The determination of the British authorities to continue such measures moreover convince our people that they are aimed at the Palestinian identity from a racist point of view. It also reminds us of the stand taken by Federal Germany against Palestinian workers and students in 1972, and the racist campaign waged by Federal Germany against Palestinians then.»

(Wafa, 10/4)

PALESTINIAN DELEGATION MEETS MAKARIOS

Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, received a P.L.O. delegation headed by Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar, member of the P.L.O. Executive Committee, in Nicosia on March 31st.

Following the meeting, the following official communique was issued by the Presidency of the Cypriot Republic: —

«The President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, received Mr. Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar, member of the P.L.O. Executive Committee, and Mr. Abdel Razzak al-Yehya, Director-General of the P.L.O. Political Section, who handed him a message from Mr. Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian people.

«In his message Mr. Yasser Arafat expressed the feelings of fraternity and solidarity of the Palestinian people with the people of Cyprus in their struggle for independence and sovereignty.

«H.E. the President expressed to the Palestinian delegation his

great appreciation of the Palestinian people's solidarity with the people of Cyprus, and at the same time stressed that the Cypriot Government completely and totally supports the struggle of the Palestinian people and the immediate execution of the two UN General Assembly Resolutions Nos. 3236 and 3237 on the Palestinian question which were issued during its latest session.

«He also emphasized that the Government of Cyprus recognizes that the P.L.O., headed by Mr. Yasser Arafat, is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.»

«Discussions were also held with the Palestinian delegation, which expressed its desire to establish a P.L.O. office in Cyprus. The Cypriot Government gave its complete approval, and agreed that this office should enjoy all diplomatic rights and privileges.»

Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizar, made the following statement at Nicosia airport, following the de-

legation's visit to Cyprus.

«We held lengthy talks with the militant President Makarios, which dealt with conditions in the region and with the future of Palestinian-Cypriot relations. These talks were all-encompassing, fruitful and very successful and took place in a fraternal atmosphere.

«The Cypriot Government's decisions during these talks... confirm the firm militant ties between the Cypriot and Palestinian peoples, and contribute to the deepening of cooperation and solidarity between them against the common Zionist and imperialist enemy.

The Palestinian Delegation visited Cypriot refugee camps, made a number of speeches in them and held talks with representatives of these camps.

The Palestinian delegation also held a conference at the headquarters of the Cypriot Socialist Party on the Palestine question which was attended by the politburo and party regional officials.

(Wafa, 1/4)

QADDOUMI MEETS PRESIDENT OF ARAB-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION

Farouq Qaddoumi, head of the P.L.O. Political section, met on the 30th of March with the President of the Arab-Japanese Friendship Association, Takeo Makatani, currently visiting the Arab region.

During the meeting, they reviewed the situation in the region and the latest developments. Abu Lutf thanked Mr. Makatani for his association's interest in and support of the just struggle of the Palestinian people. Mr. Makatani in turn handed Abu Lutf an official invitation to Yasser Arafat to visit Japan.

(Wafa, 31/3)

P.L.O. OFFICE TO OPEN IN BUDAPEST

The first step towards the signing of an agreement to open a P.L.O. office in Budapest took place on the 9th of April in the Hungarian capital.

The draft agreement was signed on the Palestinian side by Abdel Razak al-Yehya, Director-General of the P.L.O. Political Section, and on the Hungarian side by Dr. Mulnar Bella, Deputy - President of the Hungarian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

The Palestinian delegation, headed by Abdel Razak al-Yehya and including Imam Abdin, Director of the P.L.O. office in Bucharest, came to Budapest at the invitation of the Hungarian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

(Wafa, 10/4)

MOHSEN AND HAWATMEH MEET CHINA'S AMBASSADOR

The Ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Beirut recently reaffirmed the continuous Chinese support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and all Arab peoples against their Zionist and imperialist aggressors, and for the liberation of occupied Arab territories and the restitution of the Palestinian people's national rights.

These reaffirmations took place during two

meetings held in Beirut at the beginning of April, one with Zuhair Mohsen, Secretary-General of the Saika organisation and head of the P.L.O. Military Department, the other with Nayef Hawatmeh, secretary-general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The Ambassador laid stress in these two meetings on the danger inherent in the American policy of 'step by step',

which tries to drive a wedge between Palestinian and Arab peoples. He insisted on the importance of unity between the organisations of the resistance if it is to face the imperialist strategy.

He finally re-iterated the permanent attitude of China, which considers the P.L.O. the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and gives it absolutely full diplomatic recognition.

GROWING SYMPATHY FOR THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE IN SWITZERLAND

Swiss committees of support for the Palestinian people collected, during last November and December, many hundreds of signatures on a petition supporting «political prisoners detained in Israeli jails», and supporting also «the legitimacy of the Palestinian people's struggle for the realisation of its national rights.»

These signatures are evidence of a growing

sympathy with the Palestinian struggle - in the country which was the scene, over three-quarters of a century ago, of the birth of the Zionist movement (in Basle).

Evidence also, was the welcome given to a representative of the P.L.O. Information Department who travelled to Switzerland at the invitation of the Switzerland (Romande) Support Committee, at the beginning of

March. He took part in two public conferences, in Geneva and Lausanne, as well as holding other meetings with representatives of Swiss political life and the Press. He saw for himself the growing understanding amongst these people for the Palestinian struggle, in spite of the huge power of pro-Zionist circles.

One page from the Swiss petition.

PALESTINIAN DELEGATION IN FINLAND

A delegation from the Palestinian Committee for Peace and Afro-Asian Solidarity, led by its secretary Abdallah Hourani, arrived in Helsinki on February 13th. The delegation, which went to take part in meetings of the World Peace Council, seized the opportunity to make some very fruitful contacts. It was thus present at the inauguration of the Palestine-Finland Friendship Society,

which includes a number of leading personalities from Parliament and the Press, as well as leaders of trade unions and student unions.

The delegation met the leaders of the principal Finnish parties, in particular those of the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Centre Party. Interviews were also conducted with members of the cabinet (amongst

them the Minister of Foreign Affairs), parliamentarians, students and workers, and with representatives of other Finnish political and social circles.

These meetings were conducted in a climate of sympathy and understanding, promising a hopeful future for the relations between the Palestinian and the Scandinavian peoples.

QADDOUMI MEETS SRI LANKA DELEGATION

Farouq Qaddoumi, Head of the P.L.O. Political Section, met on the 1st of April in Beirut with Dr. Badi' al-Din Mahmoud, Deputy-President of the ruling Party in Sri Lanka and Minister of Education and Mr. Saheb Alef, Director-General of Cabinet Affairs in Sri Lanka.

The two sides reviewed the latest developments of the Palestine question, and studied certain steps related to the coming conference of non-aligned countries.

(WAFA, 2/4)

PALESTINIAN DELEGATIONS VISIT RUMANIA AND BULGARIA

Farouk Qaddoumi, head of the P.L.O. Political Department, made an official visit to Rumania and Bulgaria at the end of March and the beginning of April. These visits permitted an exchange of views and a reinforcement of the cordial links between these two countries and the Palestinian people.

A joint Bulgarian-Palestinian communiqué stressed in particular the necessity for the presence of the P.L.O. as a full delegation at the Geneva Conference. The Bulgarians, on their part, affirmed that no just and durable peace is possible without the total withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied territories, and the realisation of the national rights of the Palestinian people — which comprise its rights to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

The Glorious Victory of the Cambodian People

On the 17th April, the patriotic forces of the National United Front of Cambodia took control of the Cambodian capital Phnom Penh. This victory crowns an armed struggle which has lasted more than five years and which has finally put an end to the American aggression in the country, one of the cruellest aggressions in its history. It is a major defeat for American imperialist policy and an important date in the history of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle.

Only a few years ago reactionary circles in the world were attributing to the Khmer people 'pacifism' and apathetic nonchalance, which was contrasted with the 'violence' and fighting spirit of the Vietnamese. Relying on such a myth, these circles fomented the rightist coup d'état of March 1970 and the massacres of Vietnamese in Cambodia which followed.

In 5 years, a very short time in a people's history, this myth has been shattered. In this period, the Cambodian people has accumulated a wealth of experience which will no doubt serve it well in its present and future tasks of reconstructing a free, democratic and prosperous Cambodia.

The Palestinian people, as its leaders have affirmed, has felt this victory as its own; and as the leading figure of American imperialist 'diplomacy' has also affirmed, the Cambodian nationalist victory has contributed to the failure of this diplomacy in our area.

This solidarity caused Norodom Sihanouk to state that his country will never recognize Israel, Rhodesia nor South Africa, and will consider the P.L.O. as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. A few days away from the realisation of a great victory for the patriotic South Vietnamese forces, the peoples of the world are witnessing the approach in Indochina of the final crushing of imperialism and the beginning of a new era in the history of humanity.