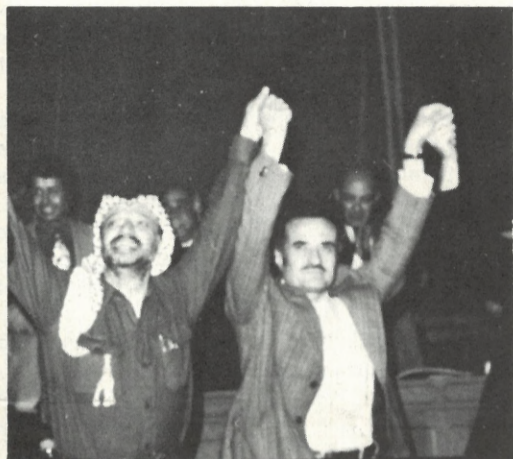


free palestine

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Arafat and Abu-Maher (PFLP) — National Unity

The Palestinian National Congress began its meetings with a discussion of the political report presented by Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department.

The political report focused on the following principles:

1. Reinforcing the position of the PLO on the Arab and international levels as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
2. The recovery for the PLO of full responsibility for the Palestinian question.
3. Confirming the separation of the Palestinian issue, due to its specificity, from that of the Middle East in all international organizations.
4. Reinforcing international belief that the Palestine question is the essence of the Middle East crisis, and the basis for the establishment of a just peace in the area.
5. Working on isolating the Israeli enemy on the international level.
6. Foiling all attempts at linking the Palestinian issue to resolution 242.
7. Confronting and checking all settlement plans.

The Congress continued to receive cables of support from Palestinian citizens in occupied

National Unity

The Palestinian National Council — Junblatt's Session

Palestine and militants in Israeli prisons. One of those letters addressed by militants in Zionist prisons said:

"We, the detainees in Beir Sabe' prison, declare our full support for the Palestinian Revolution and the PLO headed by the General Commander, Yasser Arafat, and express our support for whatever decisions the Palestinian National Congress takes for the benefit of our Palestinian people and Arab Nation."

Another letter sent on 14 March by Sahar Houriah, a detainee in the central prison of Nablus, reaffirmed full support for the Palestinian Revolution and called upon all freedom-fighters to pursue their struggle until the restoration by the Arab nation and the Palestinian people of their dignity and freedom.

SELECTIONS FROM ARAFAT SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, on March 17 made a 4½ hour long speech before the Palestinian National Congress, in which he responded to the questions and comments of the members of the Congress.

In his speech, Arafat stated that "the past three years have witnessed the most dangerous imperialist-Zionist conspiracies against the Palestinian Revolution, in order to achieve the US decision to liquidate the Revolution."

He added that the Lebanese arena witnessed the implementation of this conspiracy, and that the Palestinian Revolution was forced to fight, following the martyrdom of the former Lebanese Deputy, Ma'arouf Sa'ad. Arafat warned that the assassination of the great

militant, Kamal Junblatt, might similarly lead to another round of battles. Concerning the assassination, Arafat declared Junblatt's martyrdom a catastrophe, and described the militant as an "army" in and of himself, because of the Lebanese masses which followed his leadership, and a symbol of the unity of Lebanon and its fusion with the Palestinian Revolution.

Arafat went on to affirm that the Palestinian Revolution has succeeded in avoiding liquidation and has emerged stronger and more experienced from the Lebanese war. He added that new forces had been formed in accordance with the lessons and experiences of the war. Arafat also praised the struggle of the Lebanese Nationalist Movement and its support of the Palestinian Revolution.

Concerning the situation in South Lebanon, Arafat warned against the danger of the situation there and stated that "the Palestinian Revolution in South Lebanon is confronting Israel." He added that the fighting has not yet stopped in South Lebanon, and asked the Arab countries to bear their responsibility towards the situation there.

Arafat also stressed that Palestinian armed struggle has changed the equation in the Middle East and has kept the Palestinian cause at the heart of the Arab-Zionist struggle.

Arafat stressed that the Revolution was neither contained nor weakened after the Lebanese war, and in spite of the conspiracies against it, the Revolution is nonetheless stronger at present than ever before, and

(Continued on page 7)

Editorial

The Struggle Continues

April is a month of bitter memories for the Palestinian people. Beginning with the death of the great military leader Abdel Qader Al-Husseini, in the Battle of Qastal on the 8th of April 1948, and the bloody Zionist massacre of nearby Deir Yassin two days later, in which 254 civilians perished. April has been a month of bloody sacrifices for the Palestinians.

Four years ago in Beirut, on the 10th of April, Abu Yusef Najjar, Kamal Adwan, and Kamal Nasser fell to the Bullets of an Israeli murder squad which entered and left the Lebanese capital with the complicity of the same forces which have been openly plotting against the Palestinian revolution for the past two years.

And two years ago, on April 13th 1975, a busload of Palestinians returning to Tal Al-Zaatar camp was ambushed in Ain-Rummaneh and 28 people killed. This was the spark which set off the bloody war which devoured Lebanon for over 19 months, and which was intended to destroy the Palestinian resistance as an independent political and military force.

But the Palestinian people have learned from decades of bitter and bloody oppression.

They have learned from Qastal and Deir Yasin, Amman and Jarash, From Verdun, From Ain-Rummaneh and From Tal Al- Zaatar. And they and their armed revolution have grown progressively stronger and wiser, learning from their mistakes and developing their potentials.

Today, after Yasser Arafat visit to Moscow, the PLO, which some had hoped would be destroyed by the Lebanese war, stands in a more secure position than ever before in the Middle East and world arena. And after the liberation of Taibe and Khiam, the continued strength of the Palestinian revolution and its allies in the Lebanese national movement has become so apparent that Yigal Allon has found it necessary to issue veiled threats.

So this April, while the Palestinian revolution mourns its dead and commemorates the bloody massacres to which the Palestinian people have been subjected, the continued vitality and strength of that people and of their armed revolution are apparent to all, and will ensure their ability to continue the struggle for the Liberation of all Palestinian soil and of the Palestinian human being.



Palestinian freedom fighters (Fateh)

On Junblatt



Palestine's Martyr

The Palestinian National Congress devoted its evening session on March 13, to Kamal Junblatt, and decided to name its thirteenth session after the "Martyr Kamal Junblatt." Following the obituary given by Khaled al-Fahoum, President of the Congress, Yasser Arafat expressed his bereavement at the death of Junblatt, saying:

"I am sorry to have lost my nerves when I heard the news, for Kamal Junblatt is not an ordinary man. . . he was a comrade-in-arms. . . he was brave. . . he was not merely a man but rather a whole army fighting by our side against the conspiracy aimed at the Palestinian people and their Revolution, and against the Lebanese people and the Lebanese Nationalist Movement. Thus, the loss of Kamal Junblatt was for us a great one.

He added: "We knew there was a plan for assassination which began with Abdel Wahab and his wife, and Abu Musa who, although seriously wounded, escaped death. Today Kamal Junblatt was killed. We do not know who will be the fourth and the fifth victims, but we all know that the chapter of assassinations has begun."

Arafat continued: "After failing to liquidate the National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution, politically and militarily, they are trying to liquidate its symbols. Kamal Junblatt is a symbol, and will remain one. In your name, I pledge that we will continue the procession fearlessly; for our unity with the Lebanese National Movement constitutes a shield, a shield forged by Kamal Junblatt and his companions. I thereby repeat in your name that we will not yield and will remain alert, and will continue on the same course and with the same principles."

Abu Iyyad, member of the Fateh Central Committee then spoke:

"We were shocked by the death of the great militant, Kamal Junblatt, who did not know what bargaining or submission meant; he represented the pride of this nation which does not know the meaning of weakness."

Abu Iyyad added, "When we talk about Kamal Junblatt, we talk about the great militant who took a heroic stand with our people and exposed himself to danger; for he could have lived as a prince amongst his Druze compatriots, but instead stood as a man to defend this Revolution against the conspiracies planned by the isolationist forces in Lebanon."

Abu Iyyad continued: "There comes the question: who has an interest in assassinating this militant? I do not want to reach conclusions before the investigation is completed, but I want to say to all imperialist and hostile forces that true men are not afraid of death, for all militants know that this is their fate." Abu Iyyad concluded: "Kamal Junblatt did not die in vain, and whoever was responsible for his death will pay heavily for it."

After Abu Iyyad's speech, Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department said: "After the conspiracy in Jordan, Jamal Abdel Naser died defending the Palestinian Revolution; and today another hero has given his life for Lebanon and Palestine, as the price for his stand and for his long struggle."

Abu Lutf added: "Kamal Junblatt died as a pioneer of the National Movement and for the development of Lebanon and the Arabs. American imperialism, Israel, and their agents in the area continue to settle their accounts with the honest nationalists so as to interfere with the peace plan in Lebanon, strike at the Revolution, and prevent the restoration of normal life to Lebanon. If this was aimed at Arabizing the struggle, it will not be us who will do that; for this plan is meant to re-ignite the civil war in Lebanon."

Abul Lutf continued: "We know the murderer and we will one day point him out with our finger." Abu Lutf went on: "Physical liquidation was the only method left after the imperialists, Zionists and their agents had gone bankrupt and failed in their plans.

"We will not mourn Kamal Junblatt, but promise to continue the struggle along its correct course without submission or bargaining."

SPEECH BY TEWFIQ SULTAN

On behalf of the Lebanese Nationalist Movement, Tewfiq Sultan, comrade of the Martyr Kamal Junblatt, made a speech during the session

for the Palestinian National Congress on March 18 in honor of the memory of the late leader. The speech read as follows:

"Dear comrades:

We had hoped not to be here today, speaking on behalf of the Lebanese National Movement, since we have been waiting for our teacher, leader and comrade, Kamal.

"Kamal Junblatt was late in coming, not to observe the Palestinian National Congress but to join the leadership of the Palestinian people in adopting the appropriate resolutions at this critical hour. However, Junblatt was delayed by reasons closely related to your meeting and our cause. Junblatt was delayed because he was engaged in contacts to ensure the existence of the armed national Movement in South Lebanon, to defend our cause there. Kamal Junblatt was killed even before he could be sure of the arrival of these forces in the South to defend it against Israeli attacks.

"Our teacher and leader never was the property of the Lebanese National Movement, not that of his own party; rather, as his comrade Abu Saleh once said, "Junblatt belonged to the Palestinian Revolution, the Palestinian people and the Palestinian Resistance." Junblatt always said: "Were our program to be delayed for a few years, history would only write a few lines. On the other hand, were the Palestinian Revolution to be struck at on Lebanese soil, be sure that the coming generations would condemn and curse us."

"Some may ask, why did they kill Kamal Junblatt? Or more meaningfully, who killed Junblatt? Our answer would be: everybody knows who killed Junblatt, and why. In any case, the comrades of Kamal Junblatt will foil the plans of his assassins, because they are pupils of a teacher who deserves his title; who never sought power but instead dwelt in the hearts of all the militants in the world. Here, and at this critical hour, we admit that they have deprived us of something very valuable, but not of everything. All we really want now is our confiscated weapons to confront Israel's attacks on our South. Although it is obvious to us that the decision for war is subject to numerous calculations, the people always fight with their bold will, and they will do so in Lebanon, and will force this Arab nation to fight there.

What we ask for at this moment is only what Kamal Junblatt always dreamt of, namely Palestinian national unity, and resolutions that mean to confront the imperialist attack on our nation. We also demand a popular revolutionary and national front, on the Arab level, to expose and confront these conspiracies.

"All that we can say in reply to those who ponder what was the contribution of the Lebanese National Movement and Kamal Junblatt, is that he contributed his sister and his comrades in the national movement. For those who still accused him of contributing too little, Kamal Junblatt gave the answer himself.

"As he always stated "I am a sacrifice for the Palestinian Revolution, and for the Arab liberation movement." He lived up to his words and was martyred as an embodiment of his ideals.

(Continued on page 3)

Shirley Graham, Supporter of Palestinians, Dies



Shirley Graham DuBois with husband

A dedicated and humane friend of the Palestinian and Arab people has passed away. Shirley Graham DuBois, Black activist and writer and wife of the late W. E. DuBois, died of cancer in Peking, China in March. She was one of the most prominent Black-American writers to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people and call on American Blacks to support and help Palestinian revolutionary struggle. In a speech at Howard University in 1974, Mrs. DuBois compared Israel to South Africa and called on Black American to struggle against both racist regimes. She expressed solidarity with the Palestinians, who as Third World people, are struggling for liberation and freedom. In Cairo, where she lived and worked, Mrs. DuBois knew many Palestinian activists and worked with them in the cultural and educational fields. The Palestinian people have lost a comrade and friend. Shirley Graham, however, lives in the minds and hearts of the Palestinian people.

Lebanese-Palestinian International Day in Commemoration of Junblatt



Arafat and Abu Iyad paying condolences to Walid Junblatt, the martyr's son

(Wafa) — At an emotional mass rally held at the UNESCO compound in Beirut on May day, representatives of nationalist and progressive forces from all over the world as well as thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese citizens gathered to pay tribute to the martyred Lebanese Leader Kamal Junblatt on the 40-day anniversary of his assassination. Among Junblatt's many posts, he was President of the Progressive Socialist party, Head of the Central Political Council of the Lebanese National Movement, Secretary-General of the Arab front for participation with the Palestinian Revolution, President of the Lebanese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and a member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council. Junblatt was also a holder of the Lenin Peace Prize.

The rally was accompanied by the appearance of wall posters throughout the Lebanese capital and other towns and villages, and by popular processions from all over Lebanon which, beginning early in the morning, all converged on the Festival Hall.

The rally was opened by Dr. Salah Salman, the Lebanese Minister of the Interior, who spoke for Prime Minister Salim al-Hoss, who represented Lebanese president Elias Sarkis at the ceremony.

Towards the end of the proceedings, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee gave an emotional speech, in the name of the Palestinian Revolution in which he said that it is extremely difficult for him "to stand thus, eulogizing a comrade, a teacher and a leader, a Palestinian, Lebanese, progressive Arab and international Leader, a brother and a

friend. For the loss of Junblatt to all of us can neither be described in words or in speeches". Arafat added that the Palestinian people found in Junblatt and his brothers in the Lebanese National Movement brothers-in-arms, colleagues and comrades, sharing one trench and one cause, and thus their profound sense of loss at the death of Junblatt.

"But", Arafat went on, "I say to Kamal Junblatt, to Kamal Nasser, to Kamal Adwan, to Abu Youssef and to all my martyred brothers in the name of these masses and these heroes of the Palestinian Revolution here in Lebanon, in the occupied homeland, in every Arab land and

in every free part of this world, that the cause is yours, and that both the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement will continue, and that this Palestinian-Lebanese unity will continue its march and will daily gain strength through the great sacrifices offered by Junblatt and his comrades"

Arafat concluded, declaring that all Palestine mourns Junblatt: "therefore I tell my brother Walid Junblatt, his comrades in the Lebanese National Movement, and all free people in Lebanon that our pledge remains the same, our oath remains the same, and our hands will remain firm until all the goals for which Junblatt was martyred are realized"

Speaking for the Lebanese National Movement, Muhsin Ibrahim underlined the necessity of confronting "the persistent racist, sectarian partition plan master-minded by Israel, A plan to split Lebanon from the Arab World, destroy its unity and identity, isolate the south, (and open bridges between Israel and all the Arabs). He called this plan "The most dangerous in modern Arab history since the establishment of the Zionist entity."

Muhsin added that there was a possibility of a "balanced solution of the Lebanese crisis which would lead the country toward peaceful democratic development within the framework of Lebanese unity", stressing that Lebanese President Sarkis is capable of directing the dialogue between all political forces in Lebanon to reach a program with a minimum common denominator of democratic reform.

The rally was concluded with a speech by Walid Junblatt, son of the martyred leader, who pledged to continue the struggle on the path trod by his father and the hundreds of other Martyrs of the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution.



Tawfiq Sultan mourns Junblatt at Palestine National Council

On Junblatt (Continued from page 2)

"To his assassins, we say that the impact of Kamal Junblatt which upset them so much while he lived, will upset them no less after his martyrdom, and will even increase, because his comrades will bravely confront the conspiracy."

"We all know that the first chapter of the conspiracy started with the assassination of the Martyr, Ma'rouf Sa'ad; and it seems that the second chapter has just begun.

"Nevertheless, we will keep on confronting the conspiracy, side by side with the Palestinian Revolution, not withstanding their assassinations, their jails, their terror, and their torture.

"Comrades, I tell you, it is high time for confrontation, and I am sure that Kamal Junblatt, by his death, will awaken the Arab people to their national

cause, to what is happening in Lebanon, to the possibility of the establishment of another Israel there, even before we have succeeded in confronting the Israel we know. Therefore, let me ask you all, and ask them all, in the name of Kamal Junblatt, to prevent the establishment of another Israel."

In the United States, friends and supporters of the Lebanese and Palestinian people gathered to pay tribute to the late Kamal Junblatt. Memorial services were held in Washington D.C. and New York City to honor the great leader. Among those who paid tribute to Junblatt and praised his contributions to his people and to humanity were Senator James Abourizk, Dr. Clouis Maksoud, Dr. Constantine Zuriek and the Lebanese Journalist Ghassan Tueini.

Hassan's Right Arm

by N. Srouri



On August 15, 1975, Israel mounted a coordinated land, sea and air raid attack against Palestinian refugee camps in Tyre-Rashidiyeh area. The Israeli press quoted military spokesmen as saying that the raids had killed and wounded a number of terrorists, and Israeli Defense Minister Peres said that the raids were not aimed against civilians. Following is the story of Hassan Ajjawi, 12 years old, whose arm was cut off by the Israeli raiding party.

Friends, children of my age,
I'm now 12
I know life.
Once at night,
It was hot

Once asleep in my shack
I heard a shot,
Then more shots
Fiercer, nearer, louder,
It was midnight past.
I have passed the age of fearing night.
Quickly, swiftly,
My little sister in my arms
She was 4, I held her tight,
Away to shelter
Which we made for such cases,
Oh, how I wanted to see their faces
How I wondered as a child
To see the witches
In their capital
Tel-Aviv.
Do they wear faces?
Up-to-date?
Oh, my God. Before the shelter
I was caught
My little sister,
Whom I carried in my arms
Oh, my God,
Fell down dead,
By the firing of their guns.
There I stood.
My empty arms.
Ha ha ha, I heard them laugh
It was dark, I could not see
My sister's blood
Wet my feet

I looked up
To see their faces
As I said, I always wanted as a child
To see their faces,
Masked? Or not?
Before I could
One of them, Or many of them,
I can't recall,
1, 2, 3, 4,
How many shots?
Made me Kneel
As they bid me, to their might
I did kneel. Had to. They were many
They were armed.
I'm a child. I wasn't. It was dark.
It was midnight past.
I looked again to see their faces
Before I could,
One of them
Yelled at me: Palestinian, Stretch your arms.
I hesitated, stretched the left.
"Come on," he ordered, "With your right."
I did. I had to. They were grown ups,
They were many
I was one.

1, 2, 3, shots.
There, at once,
My right arm fell
By the might of their guns.
Ha ha ha, they laughed again
For their triumph
For the conquest of a child.
Ha ha ha, the three of them
Who shot my arm
"You'll never carry guns"
As they moved fast,
One of them
Stepped on me
He got mad,
Kicked and Kicked
Shot me thrice in the back.
They disappeared,
Bombing, bombing on their way
As they left.
There I lay bleeding
Mother rushed, weeping
Oh, my son, Oh, my daughter. Oh, my home
Oh, my God.
Damn. Damn. Damn.
She sobbed, and sobbed
Have they no hearts
Like all of us?
Now, I swear,
I could swear,
By the heart they had shaken
By the home they had broken
By the child they shot, and
Killed
In my arms
By my love,
The love I've learnt and taken
From my parents
As a child.



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The Palestinians and the Conflict in Lebanon

by F. Moughrabi

Most conflicts give rise to myths, falsehoods and distortions; the Lebanese conflict is obviously no exception. Any analysis therefore must be preceded by an attempt to clear the field of such distortions in order to raise the fundamental questions and to clarify the main issues. Of the many erroneous and misleading questions raised with regard to the conflict in Lebanon, perhaps the most important is the following: why did the PLO opt for involvement in an internal Lebanese affair instead of preserving its strength to deal with its main enemy, Israel? A seemingly logical followthrough question is often asked: why did the PLO decide to fight against Syria, the Arab country which has been, at least in appearance, the most supportive of the Palestinian cause?

These questions are predicated on assumptions which cannot be supported by facts. One such assumption is that the Palestinians had a choice in the matter, namely, that they could have maintained a posture of neutrality. Another deals with the contention that the Lebanese conflict is simply an internal affair, either between Christian and Muslim, or between left and right. A third assumption is that the Palestinians may be permitted to conduct their struggle against Israel without any interference from either the US or any of its client regimes in the area.

None of these assumptions is correct. In the first place, the Palestinians were the first victims of the Lebanese conflict when on April 13, a busload of Palestinians was ambushed by Lebanese rightists. This was the event which triggered the hostilities. However, prior to this the situation in Lebanon was quite tense with occasional outbursts occurring intermittently between 1969 and 1975. By 1975-76 the level of violence became more intense than ever before reflecting a high level of training and military preparedness by the Lebanese right wing militia. Outside aid seems to have been abundant, coming from Israeli and American sources, in addition to heavy reliance on mercenaries to train the right wing militias.

Politically, there seems to have developed a convergence of interests between the US, the Israelis, the Jordanians, the Lebanese right wing, the Syrians and other Arab regimes which found in the Lebanese nightmare its point of intersection. All these powers agree on one fundamental approach to the Palestinian problem, namely, the need to discredit the 'radicals' and to promote a moderate leadership. Such a moderate leadership would

become more amenable to compromise by accepting a more subdued role vis-a-vis the Arab regimes, and a partial settlement which would result in the establishment of some form of Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza within the more general framework of a solution of the Arab-Israeli crisis. This is viewed by both Israel and the US as part of the overall process of change toward moderation which would ultimately lead to geopolitical changes in the region favorable to Israel and the US on the one hand and to various Arab regimes on the other. For the Palestinians, this process would be symbolized by an acceptance of Resolution 242 of the UN Security Council and a recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state.

Given such a powerful combination of interests and such determination to engage in the process of settlement, is it at all possible for the Palestinians to have any choice in the matter? If the Palestinians are in fact the main object of attack, how can they be neutral in the conflict?

In the second place, the Lebanese conflict is not simply an internal Lebanese affair. As James Zogby points out, Lebanon is a microcosm of the larger Arab world, reflecting its main contradictions while being at the same time organically linked to it. Thus Lebanon becomes, not accidentally, the scene of the struggle between those who oppose settlement and an American solution to the problems of the Arab world and those who accept such an alternative. Again the Palestinians cannot stand idle while a settlement is imposed on them and while their main allies in Lebanon are being massacred.

In the third place, the Palestinians have very few options in the face of a massive Syrian intervention. Syria supported the Palestinians as long as such support coincided with its own strategic interests. More specifically, Syria supported those among the Palestinians whom it hoped to eventually coopt into some kind of overall solution. The initial Syrian attacks in Lebanon were largely directed against the members of the 'rejection front' who had refused settlement and who benefitted from Iraqi support. In 1970 the Jordanian regime tried unsuccessfully to disengage the so-called good Palestinians from the conflict, maintaining that it was simply interested in eliminating the radical left. The Syrian regime tried to achieve the same result using the same tactic. By early June 1976 Syria's intentions became quite clear: to prevent partition of Lebanon and to restore the *status quo ante* with some minor reforms; and to link Lebanon to a proposed confederation including Syria, Jordan and a tamed Palestinian movement which would strengthen Syria's negotiating position in a future settlement with Israel. In opposition, the Palestinians responded by rallying together and forming a unified command which included all Palestinian organizations with the exception of the Syrian-controlled Saiqa faction. The choice became quite clear also: to surrender to Syria's control or to fight. The Palestinians opted for the latter option. Any other option would have run counter to the long history of Palestinian struggle, to the fundamental objective of the Palestinian movement, and to the interests of the Palestinian movement, and to the interests of the Palestinian people. Had the Palestinians opted for surrender to Syria's hegemony, they would have returned to the pre-1967 period where Arab regimes dictated the nature and the course of Palestinian action. Ten years of Palestinian struggle to resurrect a Palestinian identity and to preserve its right to conduct its own fight against Israel would have therefore been in vain.

It is therefore obvious why the questions posed at the outset are, to say the least, misleading. One should rather inquire why the



Children of Tal-Zaatar: New Hope

Lebanese right wing decided to launch such a massive and well-planned attack against the left and the Palestinians at that particular time? One should also ask why the Syrian regime intervened so massively and so boldly against its seemingly nature allies? What gains do the Syrians hope to achieve and what costs will they and their backers be willing to incur? A more significant and often unheard question is this: will this massive attack against Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon succeed in bringing the region closer to a settlement? Assuming that the Palestinian armed presence is either contained or liquidated and a settlement were to be put in place, will it in any way be favorable to the Arab regimes, not to mention the Palestinian people?

The defeat of the armed Palestinian organizations in Lebanon will not bring an end to Palestinian resistance. In occupied Palestine, in Jordan and elsewhere the Palestinians will continue their resistance activities. Such resistance is likely to become even more intense as liquidationist and settlement plans are gradually unveiled. In the Arab world itself, armed Palestinian resistance may be forced to go underground for a while but it is not likely to be inactive. Two tendencies may emerge: one may decide to wait for a more opportune moment to relaunch the struggle while a second may reactivate a campaign of terror on a regional and on an international scale. Those Palestinian groups which may accept the *fait accompli* of Arab hegemony over the Palestinian movement will move likely be discredited and therefore unable to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. In any case, the Palestinian movement will have to restructure its relations and solidify its alliances with the Arab revolutionary movement for the coming stage of the struggle.

It is doubtful whether the defeat of Palestinian armed resistance in Lebanon will bring the region closer to a settlement. There is scant evidence that Israel is willing to accept any substantial withdrawals from occupied Arab territories because the Israeli ruling coalition is both unable and unwilling to make any such major concessions. Pressure from the US, even if forthcoming, will not impose any far-reaching compromises on Israel. Armed to unparalleled levels, Israel is not in a weak position. In fact, it seems to be stronger than ever before both militarily and politically. Consequently, without any substantial territorial concessions, the Arab regimes will not be able to take the final step towards a settlement no matter how anxious and willing they are to do so. Repressive as they are, none of these Arab regimes is able to withstand the political upheaval and criticism which such major concessions will inevitably bring about in the Arab world. US and Israeli diplomacy may have been able to bring the Arab horse to the water, but making him drink poses altogether different problems. To force these Arab regimes to take the second step of embracing Israel as a full and equal partner in the Middle East is infinitely more difficult than forcing them to recognize Israel's right to exist in the region.

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that a settlement were to be finally implemented. Will it be *just*, *permanent*, and *favorable* in any way to the Arab masses? Will such a settlement be favorable to regimes such as Syria and Egypt? The evidence suggests that the answers to these questions are negative.

No matter what final shape it will assume, such a settlement cannot be *just* for the

(Continued on page 6)

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تل الزعتار: البطولة والشهادة

TAL AL ZAATAR: The Fight Against Fascism

The Palestinians & The Conflict in Lebanon (Continued from page 5)

Palestinian people. It will sanction Israeli control over most of Palestine and legitimize it. It will confirm Israel's right to exist as a Zionist state. It will deny the national rights of the Palestinian people to establish their own authority over their land. Nor will it be permanent, for nothing in the Middle East is permanent unless it is based on the aspirations of the masses and in conformity with their interests. There is no likelihood that a settlement imposed on the region by force will last for more than a generation at most.

An American settlement will freeze the actual balance of military and economic forces in the region. The pattern of US imperialist economic and military relations with the various countries in the region indicates that Israel, Saudi Arabia and Iran will be the main anchors of American interest in the region. In such a situation, both Syria and Egypt will be relegated to a secondary role, permanently dependent upon the whims of the Israelis and the Saudis. Furthermore, these regimes will not be able to generate the necessary economic development which will enable them to play significant roles in the region, or even to maintain themselves in power.

Following the initial successes of the Arab armies in October 1973, the Arab regimes lost the strategic advantage they held for the first time since 1949. They also lost the diplomatic battle by failing to present a united front which would enable them to impose on Israel and on the US certain major concessions. Such an Arab defeat is infinitely more costly than the defeat in 1967; it is also infinitely more complex. Its direct consequence is the ultimate sacrifice of the last remnant of the radical wing of the Arab national movement, namely, the Palestine Resistance. The latter, in essence, has become the sacrificial lamb on the altar of Arab defeat, the price these regimes had to pay for being defeated in October 1973.

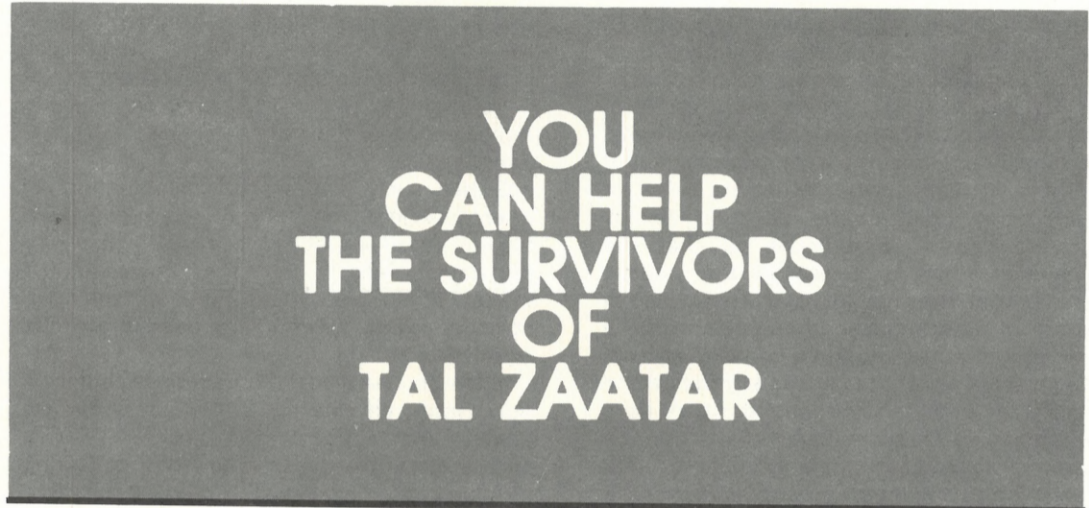
Nevertheless, this process of Arab capitulation in the face of imperialist attack will reach its logical limits very quickly. It is evident that beyond this point, such a process cannot proceed. More capitulation will incur the wrath of the Arab masses, not so much because of their commitment to the Palestinian cause but because such capitulation will run counter to their direct interests and will eventually expose the bankruptcy of these regimes.

Palestine became an issue mainly as a result of Arab weakness and Arab defeat in 1949. It remains an issue because of continued Arab defeats. The elimination of the Palestinian problem will not insure Arab strength because Palestine is not the cause of Arab defeat but rather the symbol. Neither is it simply a Palestinian-Israeli problem; it is organically linked to the fate of the Arab world at large and therefore becomes a major Arab problem. Its solution within an Israeli-imperialist framework constitutes a final acknowledge-

ment of the Arab defeat in 1949. It is as if these various regimes are saying to the Arab world and to the world at large that they have fought Israel for the last thirty years and were not able to defeat it; that they are not able to fight American imperialism in addition to Israel, and that consequently they will accept their defeat and learn to live with it as best as possible. This kind of thinking is presented to the Arab world as the height of wisdom and pragmatism. It is nothing but a subterfuge for defeat. The alternate solution which would require an intensification of struggle against Israel and US imperialism requires certain fundamental transformations in the Arab world and a

willingness to see the conflict through different spectacles.

It is ironic that in such a situation the Arab regimes themselves would proceed to tidy up their defeat by liquidating the Palestinian movement in Lebanon. Tragic as this may be, it is also logical given the actual turn of events. The Palestinians are the constant reminder of Arab defeat and weakness. They are the conscience of this Arab world. And just like murderers, the Arab regimes destroy their conscience in order to live in peace with their guilt. But this conscience will not die; it will continue to agitate until the "peace" which reigns over Tal al-Za'atar is once more broken.



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participates fully in decision-making in the Middle East.

Arafat affirmed that "the decision in the Palestinian arena should always be Palestinian." He added that the Palestinian Revolution as a progressive and revolutionary force in the Arab region, will neither submit to pressures, nor come to an end, "as long as there lives one cub (shibl) being trained in the use of weapons, and as long as we retain the freedom of military and political action in the Arab region."

Arafat also stressed "the necessity of Palestinian fusion between all revolutionary factions and forces in the name of all our martyrs, appealing to the Palestinian consciousness, which created the Revolution, to allow us to stand as one man side-by-side with our Palestinian people and Arab nation to achieve victory, and write the history of our Arab nation for future generations."

He added that democracy should always be the only means of communication among comrades-in-arms in the Palestinian Revolution, and warned against the imperialist conspiracy to destroy Palestinian unity.

Concerning political achievements on the international level, Arafat affirmed that the Palestinian Revolution has acquired new strategic depth on the African, Socialist, Islamic and non-Aligned levels. He added that the Revolution has also once again placed the Palestinian people on the political map beginning with the General Assembly session of 1974. He also stressed the Revolution's concern for Arab unity, particularly the unity of the confrontation states; Egypt, Syria and Palestine, which are the target of imperialist conspiracies.

Arafat concluded by praising the struggle and steadfastness of the Palestinian people inside occupied Palestine against all Zionist plans and their loyalty to their Revolution under the leadership of the PLO.

At the end of his speech, all members of the National Congress rose while the hall resounded to heavy applause in support of Palestinian national unity, and Arafat was embraced by the leaders of all Palestinian factions, who then joined hands and raised them, symbolizing Palestinian unity.

Following the speech, the head of the International Students' Union, made a speech in which he declared the Union's support of the Palestinian struggle under the leadership of the PLO. After the speech, the head of the Union, on behalf of millions of students, handed Arafat the medal of 13 November, which is the highest medal awarded by the Union to revolutionaries and militants.

15 POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS

The following is the full text of the Resolutions presented by the Political Committee of the Palestinian National Congress and adopted by the Congress by an over-whelming majority:

"On the basis of the Palestinian National Covenant and of the resolutions of the previous National Congress; out of its concern for the

political resolutions and gains achieved by the PLO on the Arab and international levels throughout the period following the 12th Congress; in the wake of a discussion and study of the latest developments of the Palestine cause and in reassertion of support for the procession of Palestinian national struggle in Arab and international forums, the PNC stresses the following:

1. The Congress stresses that the Palestine cause is the core and basis of the Arab-Zionist conflict, and that Security Council Resolution 242 ignores the Palestinian people and their inalienable rights, and the Congress therefore reaffirms its rejection of this resolution and of any action on the basis of it, either on the Arab or international levels.

2. The Congress stresses the stand of the PLO in its determination to pursue armed struggle, accompanied by various forms of political and mass struggle, to realise the non-negotiable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

3. That all forms of struggle—whether military, political or popular—in the occupied territories, represent the central link in its program of struggle. On this basis, the PLO struggles to escalate armed struggle in the occupied lands, as well as all other forms of struggle accompanying it, while giving all possible moral support to our masses in the occupied land in order to escalate this struggle and consolidate their steadfastness to wards liquidating the occupation.

4. The Congress stresses the PLO's stand in rejecting all types of American capitulationist settlements and liquidationary projects. It also stresses the PLO's determination to confront and foil any settlement achieved at the expense of our people's inalienable national rights. It calls on the Arab nation to shoulder its national responsibilities and concentrate all its potential to confront these imperialist—Zionist plots.

5. The Congress stresses the importance and necessity of national unity, both militarily and politically, among all factions of the Palestinian Revolution within the framework of the PLO, for national unity is an essential precondition of victory. Therefore it is imperative to consolidate national unity at all levels, on the basis of commitment to these resolutions, and to set down the required programs for their implementation.

6. The Congress stresses its concern for the right of the Palestinian Revolution to remain on the soil of fraternal Lebanon within the context of the Cairo Agreement and its addenda, arrived at between the PLO and the Lebanese authorities; and stresses its commitment to their implementation in letter and in spirit, in protection of the Revolution's gun and the security of the camps, and rejects any one-sided interpretation of this agreement and its addenda with full concern for the sovereignty and security of Lebanon.

7. The Congress salutes the heroic fraternal Lebanese people and stresses the PLO's concern for the unity of its land and people, for its security, independence,

sovereignty and Arabism; it stresses its pride at the support shown by this heroic fraternal people for the PLO, which struggles to regain the national rights of our people in their own homeland and their right to return to that homeland, and strongly stresses the necessity of deepening and consolidating the cohesion between all the Lebanese nationalist forces and the Palestinian Revolution.

8. The Congress stresses the necessity of strengthening the Arab Front for Participation with the Palestinian Revolution and of deepening unity with all the participating Arab nationalist forces in all Arab states. It also stresses the necessity of escalating the joint Arab struggle and of putting forth a formula of support for the Palestinian Revolution to confront Zionist-imperialist plots.

9. The Congress resolves to intensify Arab struggle and solidarity on the basis of anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist struggle towards the liberation of all occupied Arab territories, and in support of the Revolution in regaining the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, without peace treaty or recognition.

10. The Congress reaffirms the PLO's right to exercise its militant responsibilities on the Arab level towards liberating occupied land.

11. The Congress resolves to pursue the struggle to regain our people's national rights, headed by their right to return, to exercise self-determination and to establish their independent national state on their soil.

12. The Congress stresses the necessity of consolidating cooperation and solidarity with the Socialist countries, the non-aligned states, the Islamic states the African states, and with all national liberation movements in the world.

13. The Congress salutes the stands and struggle of all states and forces which took a stand against Zionism as a form of racism, and against its aggressive practices.

14. The Congress stresses the importance of the relationship and coordination with the Jewish democratic and progressive forces inside and outside the occupied homeland, which struggle against Zionism as an ideology and as a practice; and calls on all freedom, peace, and justice-loving forces and states in the world to cut off all forms of aid to, and cooperation with, the racist Zionist regime, and to reject any contacts with it or with its tools.

15. Taking into consideration the accomplishments achieved on the Arab and international levels since the end of the 12th session of the Congress, and after reviewing the political report presented by the Executive Committee, the Congress resolves the following:

A. Stresses its concern for the PLO's right to take part, independently and on a basis of equality, in all international conferences, forums and efforts related to the Palestine question and the Arab Zionist conflict with the intention of realizing our non-negotiable national rights adopted by the UN General

(Continued on page 8)



Popular Front delegation at Palestine National Council

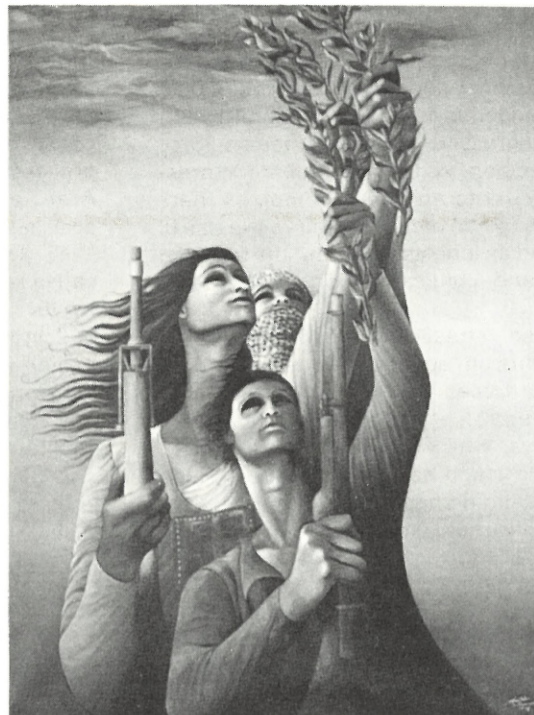


Soviet Representative mourns Junblatt at Palestine National Council

Palestinian Art Exhibit To Tour US



Sliman Mansour, the Ballad of the Harvest



Sliman Mansour, the Struggle Continues

An art exhibit of some forty paintings by Palestinian artists in the occupied West Bank and Gaza will tour the United States during May and July 1977. The exhibit representing paintings of ten young Palestinian men and women toured towns and villages in Occupied Palestine where it was enthusiastically received. The paintings and drawings reflect the feelings and aspirations of the Palestinian people under occupation; their determination to struggle for freedom and their desire for peace in their homeland. Two prominent

artists from the occupied West Bank, Sliman Mansour and Issam Badr, will accompany the exhibit which will open in Washington, D.C. on May 26, and then move to Boston, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Dallas. The exhibit is sponsored by Arab-American Cultural Associations, and attempts to project Palestinian Art and Culture to the American people in hope of better understanding and brotherhood.

National Council *(Continued from page 7)*

Assembly in 1974, in resolution 3236.

B. Declares that any settlement or agreement which harms the rights of our Palestinian people concluded in their absence is void in its essence.

NEW PLO EXECUTIVE

Following the adoption of the political declaration on March 20, the Palestinian National Congress discussed the election of the new Executive Committee. With all Palestinian factions and popular organizations participating, the Congress agreed unanimously on a list of national unity constituted during the discussions. The new Executive Committee is constituted of the following Palestinian personalities: Yasser Arafat; Farouq Qaddoumi; Abdel Muhsin Abu Maizer; Yassir Abd Rabbo; Zuheir Muhsin; Talal Naji; Muhammad Zuhdi Nashashibi; Abdel

Rahim Ahmad; Abdel Jawad Saleh; Hamid Abu Sitta; Ahmad Sadqi Dajani; Habib Qahwaji; Majdi Abu Ramadan; Dr. Alfred Tubasi; and Dr. Walid Qamhawi.

Following the election, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution, made a speech in which he reaffirmed the intention to continue the march in accordance with the resolutions of the Congress.

Arafat said:

"What has happened over these days, affirms the Palestinian unity which springs out of our belief that we are comrades on the same path and in the same procession. This moves me to thank our brothers in the Popular Front and the Arab Front: thank you, for you have decided that we shall be together until victory, until victory, until victory."

"This, moreover means that the new Executive Committee enjoys the confidence of all Palestinian people in all regions, which you represent, which is really a good omen that I announce to our steadfast people, our heroic people, inside occupied Palestine, who are confronting the Zionist occupation of our land with pride, strength and force. We reaffirm in your name our insistence to march along the road, in accordance with what you have decided, and in the spirit of those who were martyred along the road, in defence of our ideals and our sacred land."

"In your name, and at the end of this session, the session of the heroic martyr, our martyr and comrade-in-arms whom we have lost, the martyr Kamal Junblatt after whom this session is named, I once more declare that we will persist in our pledge, of revolution until victory."

Free Palestine is a monthly paper published by the Friends of Free Palestine. All readers are invited to participate by submitting their comments, letters and art.

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