

# Free Palestine

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## HAS FATAH BECOME 'MODERATE'?

ABU AMMAR INTERVIEWED

**QUESTION:** What is your opinion about what some people have started to say--namely, that Fatah has become "moderate"?

**ABU AMMAR:** Obviously, there are great differences in the standards and yardsticks used in the Arab World. The popular armed revolution we have called for since 1958 aims in the first place at regenerating Arab thought and at equipping it with the correct standards and proper yardsticks to evaluate matters.

The overwhelming majority of the masses believe that Fatah is wise and objective. Wisdom means such proper conduct of affairs that attainment of the objective is guaranteed. And if in saying "Fatah is moderate" some people imply that it uses violence with responsibility, this would be a source of pride to us and it would be an honor to us to be dubbed "moderate" in that sense.

We in Fatah believe that hope is one thing and reality another. Our masses cannot anymore tolerate an extremist demagogue who does nothing to change the status quo. That's why Fatah's Command always tackles matters seriously and refuses to embark on adventures. If you followed closely our march since the beginning of our armed struggle, you would note that we never relinquished any of the positions we are able to reach. Nevertheless, while holding to and safeguarding the gains we achieved, we study our next step thoroughly. We are a revolution which cannot afford a setback at present. This revolution, as you know, is the only glim of hope left for the Arab nation after June 5.

If you were to study the acts and analyses of those who speak of moderation, you would find them based on the principle of haste in reaching the objective, meaning discouragement by the length of the struggle. But we in Fatah, and as a result of our study of all revolutionary experiences in the world, found out that the basic qualification which distinguishes the effective revolutionary from the impotent one is the ability to bear the pains of the struggle and the hardships of the path. Whoever forgets this fact will fail to advance a single step. We always urge our struggling cadres to be bold in their struggle and to get used to wrapping their fists around the burning coal for a long time.

Those who are impatient to reach objectives are like those who force their offspring to walk prematurely--

We in Fatah reject false thoughts and false slogans--that is ideas and actions which we cannot practice or implement. We are thus forced to create the appropriate conditions and the revolutionary atmosphere for any cause we want to embody before starting to execute it. This is why we often feel that the time element, for us, is a rare commodity which we have to exploit carefully. Moreover, if we in Fatah say something, the masses move to execute it.

Some people who want to distinguish themselves from us by acting in such a way as to make the people believe that they are extremists, do so while realizing that mass reaction will be limited. We, on the other hand, are responsible for the masses. We refuse to drive the masses into positions where they cannot secure new mass gains. The revolutionary cannot afford to forget how the Commune of Paris and the miners in Argentina were crushed.

We are proud of the fact that despite the world's knowledge that force has its basic role on the Arab-Palestinian field, we were able to convince the world that ours is a humane revolution which respects the human being, wherever he is. I think it is about time to start speaking of responsible violence which respects the human being and which is exercised for his sake.

**QUESTION:** How old is the Palestinian Revolution today after the plot (of June 9, 1970 in Jordan)?

**ABU AMMAR:** One of the fascinating things about this revolution has been its ability to achieve victories which took a longer time for other struggling peoples to achieve--to the point that we haven't suffered a setback so far. This is a basic characteristic of revolutionary action. Steadfastness and recovery are essential requirements for revolutionary leaderships due to the numerous setbacks to which revolutionary action is exposed.



YASSER ARAFAT (ABU AMMAR)

As far as we are concerned, we were able to end the phase of disperment and vagrancy and to establish the secure base, which is considered the theoretical half-way mark for the revolution, after one year of struggle starting in 1967.

Then came the crisis of Nov. 4, 1968 which marked our first confrontation with the authorities in Jordan. We were able to preserve ourselves and to conclude an agreement which gave the revolution many gains as well as a few negatives. The confrontation of February 10, 1970 came next and we refused to enter into any agreement, planting the feet of the revolution (i.e., root-sinking stage). In this last confrontation of June 8, 1970 we were able to improve a number of matters which pave the way for the establishment of the pivotal revolutionary base.

I feel our revolution is about to embark on the stage of great contributions. It is painful--but revolutionary leaders are required to remain silent about many things because silence is necessary to reap the fruits of victories achieved by the revolution. Should I still be alive and meet with you after a few months, I will talk to you about the real age of the revolution because, in this last confrontation, we achieved a great victory. Reaping the fruits of this victory requires several months. Talking about them ahead of time could be harmful.

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### Editorial

The continued maneuvering by the United States to undercut the revolutionary forces and the Palestine Revolution in the Middle East by means of Roger's recently announced "new proposal" to get the Arabs and Israelis to "stop shooting and start talking" comes in the aftermath of the recent events in Jordan which demonstrated the fantastic growth and popularity of the Palestinian revolutionary armed struggle. This growth and development has brought increasing pressure to bear on the respective participants to the conflicts. They continue to scramble about in a fren-

zied search for a political solution which will preserve their divergent interests.

As the Palestinian Revolution has unequivocally stated on previous occasions, none of this wheeling and dealing by the various governments can or will affect the dialectical development of the struggle and its growth. The rhetoric of Arab leaders meeting in Tripoli, Libya, to plot a so-called "confrontation strategy", the open or surreptitious supply of American arms to Israel, the flating of this or that political solution, and the hemming and hawing at the Soviet Union in its support for the Palestinian Revolution cannot reverse the tide of revolution in the Middle East. The forces which

have been unleashed by the June, 1967 War cannot be turned back.

It is becoming increasingly clear that, even now, in the military planning room of the Pentagon and the drawing rooms of the State Department, American military involvement on the side of Israel in the Middle East to preserve the "peace" in that area is moving to its inexorable realization. The long time employment of American mercenaries in the Israeli armed forces moves toward the commitment of American combat troops.

The Arab and Palestinian masses are preparing themselves and, with Arafat, say "Welcome to another Vietnam."

# the hebrew press

REVIEWED

By a Palestinian

Recently a group of Israeli pupils sent a letter to the Prime Minister in which they expressed serious doubts about their willingness to serve in the army after leaving school. The pupils were Sixth Formers.

The impact of this non-conforming behavior on the part of the pupils left its echo in the Israeli press for some time to come. *Ha-Aratz* (5/6/70) reports of a meeting which took place between the Minister of Education, Mr. Allon, and the rebellious youth, in which Mr. Allon attempted to "explain" the position of his Government. After the meeting, the pupils were asked by journalists about the outcome of the meeting. They replied that although they were glad that it took place, they are far from being convinced of the Government's argument. Two comments, the first by a girl and the second by a boy teenager, highlight the rationale behind the pupils' actions:

(1) "I don't know what has been done for peace. Before we join the army, we hardly know what the Government's plans for men are!"

(2) "I do not boast of Greater Israel. I was born within the border of 1967. Those who are pushing for Greater Israel must have been fed on old biblical stuff. Why doesn't the Government declare that it will return the occupied territories if and when peace is attained?"

The story of this incident does not end here. At one time it looked as if the rest of the nation's youth were reacting voluntarily against the "unpatriotic" pupils as indicated by the "flood" of letters to the Prime Minister. But *Ha-Aratz* (5/3/70) reports of a study which shows that the counter signatures which were elicited in the schools supporting the Government's policies and condemning the rebellious pupils were collected in the classrooms, under the supervision of the teachers and through direct interference from the headmasters!

The educational system together with the Army, the sociologists tell us, provide the most essential tool for Israel's "melting-pot" society.

It's apparent by now to many people, including Israelis, that these two institutions have been shrewdly used as tools of propaganda and brainwashing.

As an example of the powerful influence of the Army propaganda machine, let us take a sober look at an article in *Ha-Aratz* (5/8/70), which is a transcription of a talk given by Haim Hertzog in a broadcast over the armed forces radio on May 6, 1970. The topic of his talk was the Palestinian case seen through the eyes of Fatah. He started off by saying, "One of the problems that worry us the most when examining our position in the world is the increasing support given to the Arab guerrilla, mainly Fatah." He attributes their success to the sophisticated methods used by the Palestinians, especially in dealing with Western Audiences.

"In quite a few places they (the Palestinians) have managed to influence (foreign) youth and even reached a point which enabled them to attract the youth to join the cause of the guerrillas." He went on saying:—"Even a number of Jews and Israelis are supporting the Palestinians' cause." The reason behind this new success are mainly two, according to Hertzog: (1) "Creating a false impression" and (2) "Putting a plan for a progressive political movement." The first of these causes, he claims, is clearly seen in the "new look" which the Arab guerrillas have exported overseas.

"They portray themselves as being secretive, wearing the traditional Arab head-dress which covers most of the face. This, together with the dark glasses, projects a conservative, yet romantic image." The second underlying cause for the success of the Palestinians is basically in their new tactic adopted in putting forward the Arab case. He points out that Fatah, for example, "does not advocate anymore the destruction of the Jews."

"Rather, they praise the Jews and condemn the leaders of Israel who have led the nation astray." The Palestinians, he says, sound off these ideas in the presence of Western intellectuals, thus portraying an image of Israel which is "reactionary, imper-

alist, righteous, militarist".

As an example of the influence of Fatah, he cites the case of Holland's Foreign Minister who recently visited Israel and at the end of his visit said publicly that Israel's stand is inflexible and remote from peace. Hertzog implicitly claimed that the Dutch Foreign Minister proved to be a vivid victim of shrewd Palestinian propaganda.

In order to prove that the Arabs practice double talk, one line designed for Western consumption and the other for the Middle East, he quotes the word of a Palestinian: "One man one vote". Of course being a propagandist, Mr. Hertzog does not bother to understand the rationale behind the rejection of the Palestinians of a facade liberal democracy Zionist style. What is the point in having a system of one man one vote when we know very well that the major decisions which are taken in the political sphere are the result of economic domination by a ruling class?

Examples of Israel's "humanitarianism" are abundant. We take liberty to cite a few cases which would expose the already shabby values underlying Israeli society. *Ha-Aratz* (4/23/70) prints the details of a massacre story revealed by a United Nations investigating team. The paper says that during the Six Day War "a 16-year-old teenage girl, called Kamliah Kamel, gave evidence which proved that the Israeli forces killed her uncle and two of his sons in her presence." Later on they shot her in the head, causing her partial paralysis.

Another witness said that she was compelled to bury her two sons and husband in her own home after being murdered by Israeli soldiers. A week earlier *Ha-Aratz* (4/17/70) printed the words of two priests who testified in front of the investigating committee by claiming that the Israeli soldiers acted in a "barbarous way in entering the churches in the occupied territories and by expelling the Arab inhabitants through the use of threats and force." Let Mr. Hertzog consider these incidents as food for his thoughts.

cluded some 625 delegates who represented 118 countries. Fawaz Najia\* from Palestine "whose scarlet and white kaffiyeh was like a red flag to a delegation of Israelis" (*Newsweek*) was elected Chairman of the Peace Commission.

The Assembly concluded on July 17th, 1970 after adopting a message to the United Nations General Assembly stating its views on a number of world problems and calling for the convening of another Youth Assembly in two years. This message which was drafted by the steering committee was read by Vasile Nicolcioiv from Romania on behalf of the committee.

In its draft message, the World Youth Assembly expressed, "their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people and demand the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories, the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the recognition of the right of all people of that region to an independent existence and of the underlying principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by force."

A number of amendments were proposed during discussion on the draft. Among the amendments to the message that were passed by an overwhelming majority of the votes, there was a

provision calling for the creation of "A Unitary, Democratic State in Palestine". The result of the votes were: 293 in favor to 17 against.

The World Youth solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution as expressed through the majority of the votes of their Assembly, fired the imagination of an Israeli delegate to exhibit his outrage by ripping his copy of the document to shreds and then leave. At another point, an American Zionist had to be physically removed from the Hall by a special U.N. policeman in order to carry out the session peacefully.

In a closing statement, the Chairman of the Youth Assembly's Steering Committee, Lars Thalen of Sweden, who presided over the plenary meeting, expressed the hope, "that, if there is a World Youth Assembly in 25 years, the young people will meet in a world that looks a little like the message we have sent."

\* Fawaz Najia was born in Haifa in 1943. He graduated in economics from the American University in Beirut and at present is continuing for a Ph.D. in business administration. He is on the executive committee of the General Union of Palestinian Students.

# un world youth assembly

The World Youth Assembly which was organized as part of the United Nations Assembly at its 25th anniversary opened on July 9th 1970 at the United Nations headquarters in New York. It in-

# only went to the other side

An interesting, indeed, illuminating article by George W. Ball, former Under Secretary of State, appeared under the title "Suez is the Front to Watch" in the *New York Times Magazine* of June 28, 1970. The article contrasts with the usual fare of pap which generally characterizes that magazine because it sets forth the thinking of those people who control the formulation of American foreign policy and the reasoning process by which they arrive at a given policy conclusion. In this case the policy conclusion is not particularly new. It is that the Soviet Union has presented a serious challenge to the West by its deepening involvement in the Middle East and the West, because of its strategic and economic interests in the area, must be prepared to meet that challenge. Given this postulation Ball then proceeds to develop his argument that the United States must prepare itself to, at the least, have a Cuban missile type show down with the Soviet Union and, at the most, to prepare for American military deployment in the area on the side of Israel. Ball is disturbed by the air defenses which the United Arab Republic has acquired and sees the balance of power in the region being drastically altered by the recent Soviet air cover over the central portion of Egypt. Against this, Ball considers that since "World War II our country has designed its foreign policy to achieve a central objective: to preserve the peace by maintaining a precarious balance of power with the Soviet Union and, more recently, with Communist China as well." Peace, as used by Ball, of course means the maintenance of U.S. economic and strategic interests against the socialist bloc. Thus, Ball argues, because the Middle East is an "area of concentrated American investment providing a major source of foreign exchange earning" the U.S. cannot countenance any change in the balance of power in that region. The difficulty that Ball sees in maintaining this balance of power is that the issue could not "arise at a worse time." In archetypal State Department reasoning, the tragedy of Vietnam for Ball is that the Vietnam conflict has led America close to pacifism and isolationism.

Thus, the task which Ball sees ahead is to educate the American public that their "vital interests" in the Middle East may necessitate American

military involvement. He asserts that "Americans have shown their capacity to respond with valor and energy to threats, *once the threats were clearly understood,*" and, on the basis of the understanding and support of the American people which the President would gain, the United States would be in a position to demand, on threat of a direct American military involvement, that the Soviets remove most, if not all, of their military personnel from Egypt. This policy of brinkmanship which Ball advocates can only be successful,

## "CONSPIRACY"

Abbie Hoffman, of the Chicago Conspiracy trial, the author of "Revolution" and "Woodstock Nation" has earned about \$50,000 from his two tomes.

"I give the money to needy projects" says Hoffman, "like the Panthers and Al Fatah. But I don't want to get pegged as a philanthropist. I just want to smash the State. We're ripping off the Establishment, using them to promote the revolutionary consciousness."

NEWSWEEK, July 13th 1970

he suggests, by a de-escalation of American involvement in Indochina. This reasoning perhaps explains why many American doves call for increased American involvement on the side of Israel in the Middle East. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the nine chief anti-war senators would lead the senatorial clamor for increased military assistance to Israel. According to this line of argument, and Ball states it in no uncertain terms, Vietnam is not as important to the United States as is the Middle East and, if we have to chose between involvement, as American self-interest dictates that we must, we must reduce our involvement in Southeast Asia and prepare for involvement in the

Middle East. Ball's article is important for several reasons: in the first place the reasoning and conclusions in the article destroy the myth maintained by Arab bourgeois elements that point out the threat of Soviet domination of the Middle East, or the communication of the people in that region will cause the U.S. to lessen her support for Israel. The truth of the matter is that the United States does not see Soviet domination of the region as a reaction to American support for Israel because Israel is, in the final analysis, the only country which can be depended upon to serve American interests. On the other hand, not one Arab government, given the social, economic, political and historical forces operating can, even absent American support for Israel, continue to be a loyal client state.

The second interesting fact which might be gleaned from this article comes from reading the article in conjunction about Father Berrigan in the same magazine entitled "The Priest Who Stayed Out In The Cold." Father Berrigan is the Jesuit Priest who was convicted for destroying Selective Service records. Father Berrigan made a trip to Hanoi in 1967 at which time the North Vietnamese told him that they had little confidence in the ability of the American peace movement to stop the war. Thus it can equally be said that it is futile to expect that the American public can or will change American foreign policy in the Middle East. Many *ancien-regime* and bourgeois nationalist Arabs continue to think of the Palestine problem and its solution as being a matter of public relations. According to this argument, an informed American public will see the justice of the Palestinians' cause and restore them to their land. This type of counsel from bankrupt Arab classes must be rejected out of hand. At best it does not understand how American foreign policy is formulated and at worst it serves the diversionary tactics of the Imperialists by concentrating energy and attention on subsidiary and unimportant areas.

The Palestinian Revolution is indebted to Mr. Ball for his lucid and ingenuous presentation. It is rare to find someone from such high position talking in such unequivocal language.

GHATTAS

EXCERPTS FROM APPLAUDED DELEGATES:

## un world youth assembly

- BAKARY-KOMIBA TRAORE from Mali in defending the report, he said he was speaking for all of Africa, as well as for the "Palestine Liberation movement." "Even the United Nations Charter is not a perfect document," he went on. When the Palestinian youth set up its own democratic State, would this not make it possible to live in peace?" he asked. "Until a unitary, democratic State was created there, war would continue."
  - ANTONIO GAZTAMBIDE from Puerto Rico, said that both Cuban and Nicaraguan participants had agreed to give him the floor, since he came from the only traditional style colony in the area. He spoke in favor of the report.
- "Social and economic problems could not be solved until a solution was found to political problems," he stated. The prerequisite was "to solve the problem of imperialism."

"American imperialism," he said, "was the greatest danger to peace. If necessary, we will make war to achieve peace."

The imperialists, many of them "hiding behind the mask of democracy," sought to confuse the Youth Assembly, he stated. But those who suffered under imperialism knew that it was necessary to fight it.

As Ernesto Guevara had said, it was necessary to create a "new man", free from chains and prejudice, he stated.

Oppressed peoples including the Black Panthers, Angolans, Palestinians, the 500 dead in the Dominican Republic, the thousands of students killed in Mexico, Patrice Lumumba, Mahatma Gandhi, Malcolm X, Ho Chi Minh and Guevara . . . all would have supported the report of Commission I, he stated.

- JANEZ KOCLJANIC from Yugoslavia, supported the message . . .

particularly for the "just struggle of the Palestinian people for their independence." He agreed with the Israeli delegate that "We are all for peace", but if "you are for peace, you should withdraw your forces from Jerusalem" and other occupied areas he added.

- RODOLFO O.J. PONCE de LEON from Argentina said he supported the draft text "in content and in form." However, he stated, there was one thing lacking. The countries of the Third World could not accept the policy of blocs, a policy which led to limited sovereignty. Did the Palestinians or the Cubans give anyone the right to judge their own revolutions? he asked. The Latin Americans, the Argentinians, did not accord anyone the right to judge theirs.

- JARVIS TYNER, from the Young Workers Liberation League of the United States, an affiliate of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, said he came from "the biggest imperialist nation in the world" and had suffered from exploitation in that country.

Some remarks here had been "pro-imperialist", he stated. Some wished to "leave the Arab brothers without even a damn army to defend themselves".

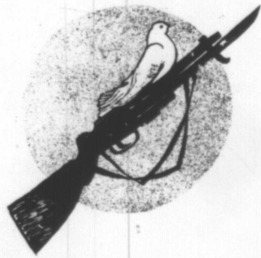
United States imperialism must be isolated in this world, politically and physically, he went on. Some people in this world became rich on intervention, exploitation and racism. North Viet-Nam "would be a shambles" if Soviet missiles were removed, he stated.

United States imperialism could not be fought with bows and arrows, he continued. Let other Governments give aid to those who felt this way.

"You have to be a little out of your mind", he went on, to think that the Americans wanted to help the Czechoslovak people, after what they were doing in Viet-Nam. Just as the United States was carrying out genocide in Indo-China, he stated, it was doing the same in its own land—through its health and medical policies, through the murder of Malcolm X and other acts.

He proposed that the Youth Assembly add to its text a "demand" that the United States sign the United Nations convention against genocide.

People would fight until there was justice and freedom in this world, he stated. If the Youth Assembly ended without condemning American imperialism, he said, "we would have travelled all these miles for nothing".



# TOWARDS lasting peace

SHIRLEY GRAHAM  
**Du Bois**

*Shirley Graham DuBois is the wife of W. E. B. DuBois the noted black historian and one of the earliest black leaders who advocated socialism as a solution to black oppression in the U.S. Thoroughly disillusioned in 1960, DuBois moved to Accra, Ghana at the invitation of Premier Nkrumah. Six months before his death of August 28, 1963, DuBois became a Ghanaian citizen.*

*Since the imperialist overthrow of Nkrumah, Mrs. DuBois has been living in Cairo.*

*Shirley Graham DuBois has recently been denied an entrance visa to visit the U.S. This article by her, had been especially written to 'FREE PALESTINE.'*

July 1, 1970, Cairo

There will be no lasting peace in the Middle East until the just claims of the Palestinians are met. Everybody out here knows this and its time the peoples of the world should be told the Truth. No Arab country can make "peace" with Zionist Israel!

Had Israel accepted the Security Council Resolution of November, 1967, had she then withdrawn from the territories she had overrun in her blitzkrieg, she might have been able to live calmly for several years to come. And it is possible that in the course of those years, some basic agreement for peace might have been achieved. There is precedent for such action. In the autumn of 1962 the Chinese army beat the Indian army as quickly and as decisively as the Israelis executed their strike into Sinai and Jordan. Immediately afterwards, the Chinese voluntarily withdrew to their positions, despite the fact that the Assam region lay open to them with no defense whatsoever. By so doing, China did far better than Israel with her policy of holding everything in her fist to impose pressure on the Arabs. The winning card has exploded in her hand! and now there can be no "agreement." Too much blood has been spilt; too many more refugees have been made; too many houses have been blown up and too many young Palestinian patriots have been tortured.

"Stop fighting and start talking!" About what? About Egypt withdrawing from her Canal and turning more of her land over to aggressors? About "secure borders for Israel" while the Palestinians are still homeless and Israel keeps tight hold on Jerusalem and the Golan Heights? Does somebody think the Arabs are out of their minds?

"Under flaming, fiery skies, through seas of crimson blood - to Peace." This is the way designated months ago by Gamal Abdul Nasser. And the people of Egypt responded, "We will go!"

This "way" has already been opened up and followed by the new force which has risen so dramatically in this part of the world - a popular, peoples army - which transcends national boundaries, maintains recruiting stations throughout the Islamic world, is financially supported by all the oil-rich countries, has its own Military Command and has as its goal the wresting of Palestine from the grip of the Zionists and returning it to Palestinians.

The Palestinian Commandos were not created by national decree or constitutional amendment. They came into being out of necessity.

The core, of course, dates back to the beginning of Palestinian resistance to the take-over of their

country. We shall not here review the bloodshed and pillage through which the Palestinian people not only lost political control of their country, but also lost the right to live in their homeland. A conscious-stricken world, shamed and sickened by the fate of Jews under Hitler, paid little attention to what was happening in the Middle East. The West was intent on washing its own hands of guilt. It ignored the fact that by the time the "State of Israel" was recognized, Palestinians still alive had been stripped of everything, were refugees in desert camps, or were scattered to the four winds.

With each passing year, the Israelis made further encroachments on Arab lands. Neither Jews, who originally lived in Palestine, nor Jews who had suffered under Hitler had a voice in the developing policies of the new state. Its policy makers and rulers came from the United States of America and from South Africa. And they brought with them not only all the imperialist designs of the first, but also the hideous apartheid thinking of the latter. *They are the top, superior people* - all others (Jews from surrounding countries, Asia, etc.) are inferior and Africans or peoples of African descent are designated as *kushites*, traditional "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

This policy was carefully camouflaged at first when Israel was struggling to establish herself firmly in the region. Instead, an exaggerated interest and concern was shown towards the emerging states of Africa. Israel was among the first to acknowledge their independence and to negotiate for diplomatic relations. Aid was offered and accepted by the anxious, ambitious underdeveloped countries. The projects undertaken and technical assistance sent to African countries from Israel would be incredible if one does not realize that behind this "generous little state" are the vast resources of the United States - in large part extracted from Africa and the Middle East.

On their side, Africans, who had suffered so much, had instantly responded to the needs of suffering Jews. Offers had early been made by Africans to accept Jewish refugees. Plans went forward for settlement of the victims of Hitler in Guinea, while it was still part of the French community. Of course, these plans were not accepted.

Gradually, however, time has torn off the mask! Africans are beginning to recognize Israel for what it is. In June, the West African State of Gabon broke off diplomatic relations with Israel because of insulting treatment towards the wife of Gabon's President during her visit there. As one black man from the States described it to me:

"Israel is Whitey's most arrogant Front, bent on holding a strategic base at the important center of the crossroads between Africa and Asia!"

Throughout all the years of occupation secret guerrilla bands of Palestinians have done what they could to inflict damage wherever they could. Following the 1967 war, the guerrilla movements stepped up their activities, the refugee camps came alive with purpose and determination. Al Fatah, under Yasser Arafat, emerged as a large armed military unit and proved itself capable of engaging the Israelis in open warfare. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, under George Habash, captured headlines with its attacks on Israeli planes and the announcement that it intended to strike at Israeli interests "anywhere in the world". The idea of the commandos caught on - their ranks swelled - not only by additions of young

Arabs, men and girls, from near and far, but from France, Italy, Sweden, Denmark and (believe it or not) from the United States, came young Blacks, asking to be allowed to "join up!"

Thus, the Palestinian resistance movement has assumed proportions which has been recognized by friends and by enemies. The goal of all the commandos is identical: the *return to Palestine*. But different groups have used different tactics and strategy. This sometimes gave rise to disputes and waste of effort. Good sense has prevailed and now all groups have come together to form the Palestine Liberation Organization operating under a strong Central Executive Committee. Liberation of Palestine comes first, followed by the setting up of "a progressive, non-sectarian, democratic State in which Jew, Christian and Moslem may live in Peace with equality for all and discrimination towards none."

Neither the Palestinians, nor the surrounding Arab countries have yet reached their peak of effort. So far, the UAR, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon have only *defended* themselves. They have not attacked Israel - their raids have been into their own lands, occupied since 1967. When one reads, therefore, of a settlement or village being shelled, remember that it is a settlement which the Israelis have set up in *occupied territory*.

Time is on the side of the Arabs. Last September, I wrote, "The Libyan Revolution has changed the balance of power in the Middle East." I was criticized for my "optimism." "Those young men," said my critic, "have seized power by a daring strike; they may be sincere, and mean well, but they have no *experience*. How can they hold out against the cunning, skill, maneuvers and sheer weight of western imperialism? If you think the United States and Great Britain are going to let *Libya* slip out of their hands - you're crazy!"

So - nearly a year has passed - and I'm still crazy. If "those young men" had accomplished nothing else but the ridding of north Africa of British and American military bases, they would have made an historic contribution to the liberation of this continent. But much more has been accomplished by the new Libyan Government. For one thing: Palestinian Commandos are now being trained on Libyan soil which was formerly used as training ground for American pilots!

Libya is a very rich country. And when the new government demanded a larger share in the profits of their oil, the American-owned Esso Oil was the first of the twenty-one foreign oil companies operating in Libya to agree. A cut-off in the flow of petroleum from Libya would affect the United States not only in the loss of profits, but also in the subsequent weakening of the economic and defense systems of United States allies.

So, 28-year-old Col. Moamer El Qaddafi, Chairman of the Libyan Revolution Command Council and Prime Minister spoke from demonstrated strength when, this June, he traveled from one country after another in the Middle East urging Heads of States and people to pool all their resources for the struggle. In Cairo, he told the National Assembly:

"We are facing great world powers, which stand frankly and directly with Israel against the Arabs. This means that the sons of the Arab nation must rise above all challenges, it calls for the overall mobilization of the Arab nation from its ocean to the Gulf in preparedness to fight the people's war

# The New York Times

# WANTED



like  
you

The full-page ad which appeared in the *New York Times* of Sunday, June 28, 1970, billed as an "Appeal by Black Americans for United States Support to Israel" is more important for what it does not say than what it says, and thus should not be overly alarming to the reader. While the article sets forth all of the standard Zionist canards and the generalized attack on the Arabs as a people, such as Israel is a democracy while Egypt, Syria and Iraq are dictatorships which persecute their minorities, that all of the wealth from the oil is used to sustain Sheikdoms and thus *all* of the Arabs must be castigated for this, that half the Israeli population are immigrants from Africa and Asia and thus Black support of the Arabs is not an expression of Afro-Asian solidarity and that the principle motivation of the signers is the continuing "plight of impoverished Arabs" whose real interests are not being served by a continuation of the conflict. Further, the signers charge the Palestinian armed struggle with every sin of the admittedly corrupt Arab regimes.

One looks in vain throughout the whole Appeal for the word "Imperialism" or the word "Colonialism". Have the signers of the Appeal forgotten

what these words are? Or perhaps they never knew them. Do they ask themselves why it is that Shirley Graham DuBois lives in Cairo after the overthrow of Nkrumah and not in Tel Aviv? Do they know what the Black community at the grassroots level feels about U.S. and Israeli deprivations against the Palestinian and Arab masses?

The signers of the Appeal are the *creme de la creme* of the American Black establishment. One cannot help but wonder why the list does not include the names of Black writers, artists, and political activists. The answer is simple. The Appeal is an expression of the Zionists' anxiety for Black American support in the U.S. because Israel is becoming increasingly viewed by Black people in the U.S. as an agent and tool of American Imperialism against the Arab people. No Black person who is aware of the revolutionary political currents in this country and abroad and who is not beholden to certain sections of Zionist liberalism in America would affix his name to that Appeal. The Israelis, and their supporters and benefactors in the U.S., have endeavored to carefully cultivate Zionist sentiment in the Black establishment. Carl Stokes' recent visit to Israel and effusive phrase for it on his return is just one example of such cultivation. Accordingly, it is no surprise that the "Ad" doesn't even mention the words "Zionism" or "Palestinian".

Strangely, we do agree with one point of the Appeal, and that is that there is no inherent solidarity of non-white people, as is demonstrated by the signers of the Appeal, but only by people who are oppressed. That these "Black Americans" should sign an Appeal written by Zionists can only serve to further point up who is the oppressor.

in the necessary battle of resistance . . ."

The fiery, young revolutionist urged definite plans of unified action everywhere he went — together with *unified economic pressures*. The very same day that he told welcoming crowds in the southern Iraqi city of Basra:

"The Arab masses have now broken all shackles and gained the freedom of expression to demand unity and freedom" —

That day the Libyan Revolution Command Council in Tripoli nationalized all Barclay's Banks in the country.

In February of this year, Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, UAR Minister of National Guidance and Egypt's most astute military analyst, discussed in the *Caro* daily, *Al Ahram* "The Next 100 Days of War." I should like to set out some of the points he made:

1. "In the coming 100 days, pressure on you will reach its extreme. They (Israelis) are carrying out a policy upon which they have agreed with the United States . . . because that is the time that remains for the evacuation of the American base at Wheelus, near Tripoli.

"The Libyan revolution came as a great surprise for Washington. This was a shock to Washington which made it hard to assess the loss caused by Libya's exit from the framework of imperialist domination . . . Three events followed which irked the United States more than anything else in the Arab world. These were: Gamal Abdul Nasser's reception in Tripoli and Benghazi, the special rapprochement between Egypt, Libya and the Sudan, and the French-Libyan arms deal involving one hundred Mirage aircraft . . .

"The considerations would up in full agreement on the need to escalate action against Egypt by all means and to intensify that escalation in a way that would achieve certain results before time for the evacuation of the Wheelus base. They want destruction of the set-up in Egypt while they are still in Wheelus and have not completely left it, on the assumption that they will be able to arrange things for themselves there.

2. "The United States has authorized Israel to use Phantom aircraft in raids in depth over Egyptian territory . . . it has exerted pressure

on the United Nations to prevent the recording of the types of aircraft which violate the ceasefire line . . .

3. "After that is to come intensive concentration on Gamal Abdul Nasser . . . Everybody in Israel from Golda Meir to David Ben Gurion, repeats the slogan that Gamal Abdul Nasser should go and go quickly. His departure would be the first step towards the solution which would satisfy Israel . . . The military establishment in Israel believes it can, by intensifying the pressure on Egypt through air raids obtain results in a matter of six weeks. They imagine that in six weeks they can rid themselves of the entire regime in Egypt . . .

Well, the "raids in depth" certainly took place! Towards the end of March, UAR military intelligence picked up the warning that the Israelis were planning a concentrated attack on President Nasser's home in the suburbs of Cairo. With no sign yet that he was "toppling" it was reported they were going to try to kill him. I had personal knowledge that Israeli planes *could* fly over Cairo — having been almost tossed out of bed at dawn one morning by what seemed like the crashing of a bomb — very close. It turned out that this was not a bomb, but the breaking of the sound barrier by an Israeli plane right over my head! In spite of rapid firing of anti-aircraft guns, the plane got away. It was flying so low that our guns could not get it in sight.

Nobody dared suggest that President Nasser leave Cairo. I had seen him a few days before, walking slowly through the streets with other mourners in the funeral procession of a slain officer — and everybody knew that he turned up at any hour of the day or night on the Canal front. Egyptian planes clashed with the Israelis — Egyptian soldiers crossed the Canal and destroyed Israeli installations on the occupied bank. But still the faster, more powerful Israeli planes were getting through.

All the world knows now what happened: The Russians came with their latest defense equipment.

The Israelis give out exact figures on how many Russians, tanks, planes and flyers are here. I have no such information. I have yet to see a Russian soldier in Cairo — but we all know that the precise

SAM 3's are around. And we know that Russian warships and plane carriers are close by in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea.

As of this date, bombing "in depth" has ceased — the Libyan flag flies over Wheelus Base — and Gamal Abdul Nasser is still around!

Speaking June 25th, at Benghazi, on the occasion of celebrations marking the withdrawal of all foreign bases from Libyan soil, President Nasser said:

"Brothers, heroic people, revolutionaries and free men, we are preparing for a major battle against Israel which is supported by the imperialist forces of the United States. We will soon be able to catch up with Israel air superiority and to attain air equality because we are training hundreds of pilots and we are receiving hundreds of aircraft.

"They (Israelis) confine their raids to the Suez Canal area because they know that the Egyptian army has completed its training for crossing, and that if the Egyptian army has the chance to achieve air equality, no power in the world will stop it from crossing, even if America, American press and American leaders call for preservation of Israeli superiority.

"We say here that whether the question is to be dealt with politically or militarily, we will not accept anything, less than withdrawal from all usurped Arab territories. We will not under any circumstances forego the rights of the Palestine people to their land and their country."

These are not idle words. Gamal Abdul Nasser is the Elder Statesman who has stood firm through the storms of many years; as a soldier he crawled away from a battlefield strewn with his dead comrades; he was the leader whose followers faltered and drained away behind him; he is the Man who would not give up in the face of defeat. Now, as President Nasser looks out from the place where he stands, he sees the vast Arab Nation uniting as never before in its history, he sees the emergence of valiant, young leaders, confident and sure of themselves and their peoples, he sees the masses alert to their capacities, willing to sacrifice and unafraid.

And up ahead — he hears the mighty tramping of the Palestine commandos — their eyes and hearts lifted — their voices raised in salute to Free Palestine. ●



*Abu Ammar Addressing The Militia*

**QUESTION:** How would you compare the June War to what happened in Jordan?

**ABU AMMAR:** My immediate reaction, when recalling the June War and recent events, centers around simple numerical comparisons—namely, that the number of our people killed on the hands of the authorities is about three times the number of fatal casualties inflicted on the Zionist enemy during the June War and three times the number of fatal casualties sustained by some of the Arab armies during the said war. This is over and above the spirit of hatred which was impregnated on the innocent soldiers. It pained me to see the soldiers so misled. They were firing on us because they did not know that we are struggling for their sake. This is something we must succeed in relaying and communicating to the instruments of the Authority. They also moved some army units and isolated them for several months, without even radios, to succeed in “brainwashing” them.

You know that June 5 did not come as a surprise. Those responsible for June 5 are still practicing the same methods with the same mentality.

**QUESTION:** Do you expect the Arab states to continue calling for the peaceful solution?

**ABU AMMAR:** We have learned that revolutionaries must create facts then build on them. So that colonialism, imperialism, hirelings, lackeys and traitors may fail along with the peaceful solution and so that we recover the whole of Palestine, we must create the alert, organized and armed people.

We are in the process of creating this as an actual fact, not as words on paper. Thereafter we shall build the great reality, namely the comprehensive Arab revolution.

**QUESTION:** Everyone speaks of the role of the United States. Don't you think Britain had a role in the conspiracy?

**ABU AMMAR:** When we speak of imperialism, we concentrate on the United States because the JS today is the leader of the colonialist, imperialist camp. This does not negate the colonialist role of other states. The colonialist community constitutes a whole. But International trusts being headquartered in the US, schemes are always hammered out there and the rest have to execute. Britain, for instance, has to ask for America's permission before action.

Whereas the downfall of American imperialism means the downfall of all its offshoots, the downfall of British imperialism does not necessarily mean the end of US imperialism.

Herein lies the historical role of the Palestine and Vietnamese revolutions in that they are battling today against US imperialism. Both, in other words, are striking against the head of imperialism.

**QUESTION:** In your capacities as head of the PLO Executive Committee and the Central Committee of the Palestine Resistance Movement, what were the forces which saved the revolution?

**ABU AMMAR:** Many things have changed in me in the course of struggle experience and practice. Talking about the masses and the people is not poetic or imaginary.

The forces that changed the course of events were the armed masses who sprang to defend the vanguard of the Arab revolution.

The steadfastness of our people improved the situation. Had it not been for the outstanding steadfastness of the masses, many things would have changed.

When Jabal el-Taj was shelled (with artillery fire), I went there while preparing for a word to the masses about sufferings, sacrifices and steadfastness. I was surprised that none of the people complained about anything. The masses were not adversely affected. They were asking me to carry on. They said their sacrifices are the price for the victories they were bent on achieving. Whoever lived the recent events in Jordan must realize the significance of the following words:

“The masses are the real fortress of the revolution. They make history.”

Naturally, the intervention of Arab nationalist forces helped reduce losses and put an end to the conflict in a shorter time.

**QUESTION:** What was the role of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement, Fatah?

**ABU AMMAR:** If you were to refer to the minutes of the Central Committee meetings, you will find out the basic role undertaken by our movement. I was greatly touched when all the concerned organizations and parties insisted on recording their appreciation of this role when the crisis ended.

Events have proved that we were aware of the nature of the phase, of the enemies and of the counter-revolutionary forces. This awareness was reflected in the preparation of the revolutionary forces and the means of struggle liable to face up to the situation. Our local broadcasting unit which played a basic role in Amman had been readied a long time ago for this situation. Our confrontation plans proved that we assumed our role as a basic organization along with the other brothers-in-struggle.

The people know exactly our role but the counter-revolutionary forces realize now the violence of the tactical, psychological, strategic and military confrontations with which we opposed them.

**QUESTION:** Do you expect attempts in Lebanon to strike against the revolution?

**ABU AMMAR:** Obviously, we have new analyses and evaluations for conditions in all the Arab World. If authorities in Lebanon comprehend our analyses and adapt themselves accordingly, no crackdown attempts will be made. But if authorities in Lebanon do not reach the conviction of having to live with the revolution and the revolutionaries, a confrontation will take place.

I wish to emphasize here that we, in the Palestinian Revolution, will not retreat from any emplacement we have reached.

Our emplacements or positions are those of the masses. That's why we shall not be defeated in Lebanon. The Lebanese people and its masses want us to be where we are. Time will prove how much the masses in Lebanon can contribute to the revolution if we succeed in making the picture clear to them and in convincing them that we are dying for their sake.

**QUESTION:** What do you think about the burning of the Jordanian embassy in Beirut?

**ABU AMMAR:** We greet the initiative of the masses in expressing their wrath over the actions of the authorities in Jordan by occupying the embassy in Beirut. But setting fire to a building or matters paid for by our people in taxes cannot serve the interest of the masses.

Another time I regret—substitution of the Palestinian flag to the Jordanian flag. Both flags should float together side by side to reiterate the unity of the sons of the two (Jordan River) banks in particular and that of the Arab nation in general.

**QUESTION:** How do you anticipate future Jordanian relations with the Palestinian Revolution?

**ABU AMMAR:** Future relations depend on the Jordanian authorities' capacity to understand history.

The guns of the Battle of Valmy (in north-eastern France in 1792) led a philosopher like Goethe to say: “An era has ended in Europe . . . and a new one has just started.” What took place in Jordan recently and what happened on June 5, 1967 marked the end of an era in the Arab World and the beginning of another.

We hope everyone will realize this historical fact and that the Aghwar is the Arab nation's door to history. We would then look into the future with optimism. But should the butcher hold on to his knife, we shall be obliged to end the contradiction, which becomes a hostile contradiction, through responsible violence rather than a responsible dialogue.

**QUESTION:** What is “reaction” in your opinion?

**ABU AMMAR:** It is noticeable that we, in Fatah, avoid using the term “reaction.” The reason is that the unsuccessful experiences of many of the sincere forces which preceded us disfigured many terminologies and gave them different meanings. For instance, the word “reactionary” was not only rightly used to describe those who stood against the people and their aspirations and openness to historical development but it was also misused by the authors of the unsuccessful experience of the Jordanian Communist Party to describe non-atheist or pious workers and peasants. The latter forces are revolutionary and basic forces such as the Buddhists in the Vietnamese Revolution.

That's why we, in Fatah, say that we stand against colonialism, imperialism, Zionism, lackeys, traitors as well as those whose interests meet with colonialism, imperialism and Zionism. We prefer this longer qualified statement to avoid the mistakes of our predecessors . . .

**QUESTION:** What was your most difficult decision during the conspiracy in Amman?

**ABU AMMAR:** The order to shell the artillery units directing their fire against refugee camps and to destroy any tank advancing toward Amman. I wished those soldiers and those tanks were destroyed while confronting the Zionist enemy. ●

# ABU OMAR INTERVIEWED

*Abu Omar, Fatah spokesman, granted this interview exclusively to a FREE PALESTINE staff writer.*

**FREE PALESTINE:** How do you describe your organization?

**Fatah:** We are a national liberation movement.

**FP:** What specifically do you mean by "liberation"?

**Fatah:** By liberation we mean putting an end to the occupying military power in our country, Palestine, reasserting the rights of our people to return to their country and determine their destiny.

**FP:** What is your strategy for the liberation?

**Fatah:** Our strategy for liberation is to fight the enemy—not in a classical war where he can be superior because of his technological superiority, but to fight a long-range war, which can be called either a people's war or a popular armed revolution.

**FP:** Why should it be armed struggle?

**Fatah:** Because history has shown—and the experience of other revolutionary movements and oppressed peoples have shown—that when you are subjected to superior force and violence, the only way to meet force is with force.

**FP:** The movement definitely has its enemies. In what order do you view the forces hostile to your movement?

**Fatah:** Of course the occupying Zionists are the spearhead, the main enemy. But the Israelis are not an isolated phenomenon; they are part of the world Zionist movement; the Zionist movement is allied with world imperialism; and then, of course, world imperialism has its connections and its puppets in other parts of the Arab world.

**FP:** What is your attitude towards the Arab governments?

**Fatah:** In our analysis, we do not emphasize governments very much. Governments come and go. We insist on our independence from all governments and judge them on the basis of their support or hostility to the revolution. But, we emphasize our link with the Arab masses and all free people everywhere.

**FP:** Do you view the Arab governments, all of them, as being in one camp?

**Fatah:** Definitely not, because the nature of the systems existing in the Arab states and the nature of their relationship with imperialism are quite different. We make this distinction—and also we distinguish them by their position *vis a vis* the revolution.

**FP:** How do you view your struggle in the world context?

**Fatah:** We feel that the struggle against oppression and exploitation in the modern world is one and indivisible. Therefore, we view our revolution as part of the world revolution, part of the struggle of all oppressed people, the colonized people, against colonialism and oppression.

**FP:** Do you, then, view the Palestine people as an oppressed nation, in what context, how?

**Fatah:** Of course, they are an oppressed nation. Not only have they been subjected to oppression in that they have been subjected to an alien invasion and the implantation of an alien society, an exclusivist and racist society; they have been thrown out of their country and not allowed to return to their country because they do not happen to be of the religion of the colonists.

**FP:** Who are your friends in the world and who are your enemies?

**Fatah:** The simplest way of defining our friends and our enemies is to say that all those who support our liberation movement we consider our friends and all those who oppose our liberation struggle we consider our enemies.

**FP:** Do you see your struggle in the context of Arab revolution?

**Fatah:** Whatever happens in Palestine cannot but have its repercussions and its echoes in all the Arab world. Our revolution is the first sustained mass movement in the Arab world. And the enemy we are fighting, imperialism, does not threaten only Palestine—it threatens the Arab world as a whole. Therefore, we consider our revolution to be the vanguard of the Arab revolution. It creates the revolutionary climate for changes in the neighboring countries. It also has pointed out the right path for facing colonialism and imperialism and oppression.

**FP:** In this respect, what is the response of Palestinian masses to the movement?

**Fatah:** When our movement began in 1958, the response was not very favorable at that time. But as the unfolding of events has proven the soundness of our analysis,

all the Palestinian people now have joined or are supporting our revolution; and of course they are supporting it not only because we have the correct analysis but because we are carrying on the struggle on the basis of that analysis and are not merely intellectualizing.

**FP:** Would you say that Arab response—of the Arab masses in general—is the same as that of the Palestinians?

**Fatah:** I think the response of the Arab masses, as far as commitment to the revolution and belief in it are concerned, is as strong as the support of the Palestinian masses—with this exception, that, for ourselves, we are not depending on mere profession of support but are in the process of organizing, mobilizing and arming our masses, and naturally Palestinians have a special role in this process of arming, organizing and mobilizing.

**FP:** Is there any reaction to your movement, your struggle, within the enemy ranks now?

**Fatah:** I think that now that our revolution has gotten going, it has forced Zionists to stop and reconsider whether the path they are on can lead to security and the good life toward which some thought they were working. For the first time we're hearing the beginnings of doubts about Zionism, the beginnings of discussion amongst Jews all over the world who have been supporting and have been deluded by Zionism; the beginnings of change are here. People are beginning to see the failure of Zionist ideology. No significant changes have taken place yet. Yet, there is doubt, and we think doubt is the beginning of change. Of course, militarily, there is a very important difference. For so long as the confrontation was on the basis of classical armies, those who had the ability to act speedily and had superior technology were dominant. But in this type of war, using guerrilla warfare, using people's war which does not depend on technology but on the human being as the primary factor, we think that Zionism cannot withstand, in the long run, our revolution.

**FP:** Does your movement engage in activities other than military—within the ranks of your friends, your enemies?

**Fatah:** Certainly our struggle, our revolution, is not merely carrying guns. Our revolution is a political-military revolution; it is a revolution that has a definite political aim which is the creation of the progressive, democratic Palestinian state for all those who want to live in it without any discrimination. It is a revolution that depends on the masses, their education, their mobilization, their organization. And it depends on our struggle. All these are related and can't be separated.

**FP:** Do you try to relate these platforms of your movement to the outside world?

**Fatah:** Once we started our revolution and presented a correct analysis of the situation prevailing in Palestine, all progressive forces around the world have begun to support our revolution. Our cause is known much better than it was in the past, and the credit goes not so much to our efforts and activities (because we are concentrating on working on the home front) as to the effort of our friends, all the free people, all the progressive forces that see that our struggle and theirs is part of the same struggle and have helped in clarifying the situation and the problem in Palestine to their peoples.

**FP:** Could you, roughly, describe the class structure of your fighters?

**Fatah:** Most of our people now are refugees, which makes it difficult to fit them in specific class categories. There are Palestinians who have joined the existing bourgeois segments of the neighboring societies, but the overwhelming majority of our people are dispossessed refugees who have been either peasants or laborers before. Our movement is for all the people, of course, because it is a national liberation movement. The main force of the movement in armed struggle comes from the dispossessed—peasants, workers, and revolutionary intellectuals and others who can participate. But we realize that with the progress of the revolution, not all segments of the society are going to contribute in the same way and to the same extent. Whatever classes or differences do exist socially, they are not very sharp and they are not the basis for the struggle. We are a national liberation movement, where all segments of the society feel the grievance. ●

To the Zionists

you call me  
masochist  
mis-guided  
self-hating

when i look  
at my sister elaine  
from syria  
& see myself  
when my brother  
from lebanon speaks to me  
& his saalam aleikom  
is familiar

as a child i learned  
that the people's story-teller  
in the shetl  
bore the same name

sholem aleichem  
the universal greeting  
of semitic peoples . . .

you call  
me foolish  
for loving my  
people  
while you  
blighted by  
Europe &  
talk of master race  
continue  
the nazi  
plague  
(to sit in a cafe  
& smell no smoke  
but your own cigarette)

if you have heard this poem before  
perhaps it is because you  
wrote it.  
this is not a poem  
but the heart of the people  
beating in everyone,  
even in you.



to K., a Palestinian

there comes a point  
where the past will not serve  
and unprepared, our research incomplete,  
our ammunition inadequate, our  
loved ones scattered,  
we  
begin at this moment, now.

marilyn lowen  
fletcher.

(to be continued next issue)

# i\$rael UNDER ATTACK

## IN africa

### DAVID AND GOLIATH REVISITED



Israel will soon unveil its own version of the U.S. Peace Corps in an attempt to defuse mounting criticism in Africa of its pro-western development projects.

Plans for the Israeli volunteer force, disclosed in a confidential newsletter published in London, are intended to give the Israeli diplomatic effort in Africa a more idealistic image in the face of increasingly frequent attacks by progressive African leaders. This peace-corps maneuver will be complemented by an expanded program of jointly sponsored development efforts. The projects, staffed by Israelis, will have capital supplied by western powers which include the United States, West Germany, Canada and the Scandinavian countries.

By giving its development efforts more of an international look and less of an overt political

africa research group

p.o. box 213 cambridge, mass. 02138

tone, Israel hopes to blunt growing African displeasure with the Zionist state's aggressive posture in the Middle East, and to undermine any revolutionary African-Arab solidarity. A recent Organization of African Unity (OAU) ministerial council passed a resolution in support of the United Arab Republic in the Middle East, while at the UN all but the most conservative African States have voted against Israel.

"Many left of center African officials," reports Philippe Decreane in *Le Monde* (June 3) "regard Israel merely as a counter-revolutionary tool which the United States is using to strengthen American influence in Africa." Decreane cited the Africa Research Group's expose of Israeli-American links in Africa which appeared in the Havana-based journal *Tricontinental* and the U.S. magazine *Leviathan* as echoing and illustrating the reasons for increasing hostility towards Israel among African leaders once receptive to Israeli technical and military help.

The article "David and Goliath Collaborate in Africa" (copies available from ARG for 10 cents) revealed that the U.S. had financed a number of Israeli projects through use of the semi-covert "Third Country Technique." A recent study of "Israeli Technical Assistance to African Countries" for the Geneva-African Institute offered even more details of Israel's work on behalf of U.S. imperialism. It cites a number of instances of U.S.-Israeli "cooperation" including the setting up of a technical instruction school in Guinea "at the request of the U.S. Government."

Many of Africa's militant leaders have condemned Israeli intervention in their countries. In Chad, the liberation movement now fighting a French expeditionary force, has attacked Israel for training and advising a special para-commando security force for Chad's repressive regime. This counter-insurgency force was trained, interestingly, in Congo-Kinshasa, a pro-western state whose own para-commando's (led by General Mobutu, the country's president) were also Israeli trained. The Sudan's revolutionary Government has announced seizing "staggering quantities" of Israeli supplied arms from the breakaway rebels in the country's south. Earlier, Nigerians condemned Israel for giving military aid to the abortive Biafran secession.

South Africa's liberation movement, the African National Congress, joined the attack by publishing a blistering condemnation of the little

known "Israeli-South Africa axis" in its magazine *Sechaba* (April 1970). Charging that "Israel and South Africa both serve imperialism in the Afro-Asian world," author Brian Bunting documents the expanding links between Israel and the racist South African government.

According to Bunting, South African officials including its pro-Nazi Prime Minister, have spoken warmly of Israel and praised its military maneuvers as well as its occupation and control of Arab lands. During a currency crisis when all extensive transfers of money out of South Africa were prohibited, the apartheid regime permitted large transfers of private funds, with contributions also from the ruling Nationalist Party, to Israel after the June 1967 six day war. In September of that year General Mordach Hod, commander of the Israeli Air Force, paid an official visit to South Africa and addressed a selected group of white officers at the Air Force College. He lectured on Israeli surprise attack methods. His visit came at a time when South Africa was threatening Zambia with air strikes for harboring freedom fighters.

Other top Zionist leaders, including David Ben Gurion, have subsequently visited South Africa and met with government officials. As additional evidence of the growing binds between the two states, Bunting cites a *Johannesburg Star* report of January 3, 1969: "Israel will try in the future to maintain closer and fuller links with South Africa." The correspondent said that for years Israel had played down her relationship with South Africa, "because the assumption was that closer links with South Africa would be detrimental to Israel's friendly relationships with the independent African nations... There has now been a complete reappraisal of the situation... The pro-South African faction has, so it seems, won the day."

As relations between black Africa and Israel cool for a number of reasons—the Middle East crisis, new attempts at Arab-African Unity, the spread of Islam in Africa—the Zionist state may move closer to the apartheid Republic. Israel's important diamond finishing industry has for years serviced South African diamonds while South Africa's influential Jewish community has long agitated for closer bonds between the two countries.

Israel's politically inspired Africa programs are reaching a crossroads. *Le Monde* says Israel's "honeymoon in Africa is over." As the PR images of Israeli beneficence melt away, Israel's links to racism and imperialism becomes more apparent.

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