

# PALESTINE FEB. 1975 N°1 lives!

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**AGAINST ISRAEL'S REPRESSIVE OCCUPATION  
AND AGAINST IMPERIALIST PLOTS**

**THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE RESISTS**



## **THE LAST STRONGHOLDS OF COLONIALISM**

In the last quarter of a century more than 70 new states have acquired their independence. In the last year alone, three African peoples have been throwing off the shackles of Portuguese colonialism — something that until recently was considered highly improbable.

In Ethiopia, the struggle of the Eritrean people is at an advanced stage. The racists of Rhodesia have been forced to make concessions, in the face of the great difficulties caused them by the new situation in the African continent. South Africa was forced out of her seat at the U.N. General Assembly at its last session.

The last colonialist strongholds are falling... Old-style racist colonialism is everywhere being wiped out. Why should not we too, the Palestinians, expect its defeat in our country. The omens for this, both locally and internationally, seem favourable.

— Our popular armed struggle, now in its eleventh year, is stronger and more widespread than ever.

— The Arab peoples are unanimously backing our people in its efforts to realise an independent state. This was shown by the meeting of the Arab progressive organisations held in Algiers on 19th December last, which declared its absolute support of the P.L.O. programme.

— The state of world public opinion, as demonstrated by the recent motions of the U.N. General Assembly, recognising as they did our right to self-determination and independence, and recognising the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of our people.

Progressive and democratic forces, and in particular the socialist countries, offer full and unconditional support to our people's struggle.

Meanwhile...

— The policies of the Israeli invaders place them in increasing isolation, and they are condemned throughout the world. These policies turn even against their own authors, causing economic, social and political crises in Israel.

— U.S. imperialism remains the sole support of Israel, supplying her with arms and encouraging her rigid position even in the teeth of a new war situation.

In spite of this American-Zionist plans of settling our country face sure failure, since they leave out the necessary Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and recognition of our people's rights to self-determination and independence.

Instead the Israeli settlers and their protectors continue their criminal practices:

\* They continue to imprison thousands of our patriots... they destroy houses settle new colonies and defile our national traditions and our Holy places.

\* They continue to refuse to recognise any of our people's rights or their representative, the P.L.O.

But what can the invaders do when the whole world is behind us? When colonialism's long-entrenched bastions are falling one by one?

Who can stand against history, when it delivers its firm judgement on the bestial acts of the colonialists in South Africa, in Rhodesia — and in Israel?



# ABU AMMAR'S ADDRESS TO HIS COMRADES-IN-ARMS

## ON THE 10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE START OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE THE YEAR TO INTENSIFY OUR STRUGGLE AND CEMENT OUR UNITY

Since its emergence in 1965, the Palestinian revolution has had to meet all its challenges, to bring in the new era. Held under great oppression, our revolutionaries replied with defiance and disobedience, facing all obstacles and the innumerable difficulties which barred their route. Some people predicted at the beginning at most 10 operations; and now today we are celebrating the 10th anniversary of our revolution! We are venturing on a new year, crucial for the existence of our glorious revolution and its noble principles, in which we shall prove again the steadfastness of our people and its determination to liberate itself...

Our revolution is beating hard at the portals of history. It has already become a legend and is stamped with its Arab heritage, enriching it, and fusing with the revolutionary heritage of all mankind... Together with all the revolutionaries and freedom fighters of the world, our revolution has built a solid and ever-growing front on behalf of all people suffering from oppression, slavery and colonialism. It has risen to do away with the excesses of imperialism and the manoeuvres of Zionism. And along its way, our revolution has remained alive to the spirit of our struggling brothers throughout the Arab world; we have never forgotten that we are an integral part of their historic movement. We think of our friends in the socialist countries, in the «non-aligned» countries and the Islamic countries, our comrades-in-arms of the liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America who fight at our sides...

### COMRADES IN HISTORY!

How many are the honours to your names – but the year we are embarking upon will be different from the other years of combat. In this period of time there will be a series of battles fought in different arenas and at different levels. We are aided, on our well-loved soil, by growing

numbers of military operations and by the vast and powerful mass movement directed by the National Front, and we must fold in our arms the people of the occupied territories. Their popular uprising marks a new level of consciousness and denotes an advanced form of popular struggle. Thus, by the dimensions of their uprising, our heroic people proved how much they support our revolution and its leaders, giving to «popular consultations» their true worth and aborting yet again the plans of their enemies.

This movement, unleashed in such orderly fashion, was a magnificent display of unity. It serves as a rampart for our revolution, providing a great example of the size of the popular movement and of its role in sustaining and defending a living revolution. Thanks to the blood shed by our fighters, these epic events will live on, which saw the noblest examples of sacrifice. Thus, like so many others, Rabab and Muntaha fell as heroes under the bullets and tanks of the enemy. And the resistance of the masses in the camps of our parents and brothers in South Lebanon, holds in check, with the very colour of its blood, the terrorism of the enemy, his planes, his guns and his bombs (made in USA). This resistance completes the picture of resistance which our people has chosen to portray...

**Great people!**  
**Brave fighters!**  
**Untiring militants!**

That all our forces and all our guns may unite to confront the new stage with confidence; and to enter this new year in the life of our revolution, a year of ascent and of revolutionary unity, a year when our fighters will grow ever stronger under the weight of their burdens.

Revolution until victory!  
Abu Ammar  
1.1.75



Scenes of the West bank uprising.

# UPRISING IN THE OCCUPIED

Since the war of 1967, and the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the Palestinian people have waged unceasing battle, in various different ways, against the Zionist occupiers. The resistance inside the occupied territories was an integral part of the global struggle of the Palestinian people, and reflected at each stage the situation of the whole.

It is no surprise, therefore, that an immense movement of popular resistance, shaking all the towns of the West Bank, should have accompanied the Palestinians' diplomatic victories during 1974, which culminated in the invitation of the P.L.O. to the United Nations: On November 13th the people of the occupied territories rose as a single man, and with a single voice proclaimed their revolt against the Zionist occupation.

Widespread hunger-strikes in the jails were joined by huge demonstrations of students and workers, armed with clubs, iron bars and Molotov cocktails, and proudly bearing the Palestinian flag. These demonstrations soon escalated into a veritable insurrection. The people threw up barricades and confronted the police and soldiers of the occupying force who were sent to the scene with their tanks and armed cars.

It was under the tracks of one of these tanks that a 16-year-old girl in Jenin, Mountaha Hourani, was torn to death. Even this comrade's funeral march was not left in peace by the occupying power, but turned into another huge battle — during which another girl, 11-year-old Rabab Sourour, was killed.

These struggles of our people on the West Bank, which demonstrated their solidarity with the P.L.O., dealt a rough blow to all the ideas so dear to the occupiers and their collaborators, that the P.L.O. does not represent the Pa-

lestinians. The struggles showed also the bankruptcy of the insidious allegations made by certain Zionist journalists about the so-called «Palestinians of silence», and by which they hope to separate the struggle of the Palestinians of the «diaspora» from that in the occupied territories, thus questioning the legitimacy of the P.L.O. as sole representative of the Palestinian people.

In her book of the same name, «The Palestinians of Silence», Clara Halter says:

«We know what the fedayin think, we are familiar with their communiques as well as their spectacular activities, their outrageous hijackings, but never have we heard a word from the inhabitants of Palestine, those who have never left the land of their birth. Forgotten by all the world, they have become in effect «the Palestinians of silence». But these are the people who in any settlement will provide the final key to any decision.»

In spite of all her paternalism, this woman's argument expresses nothing but the sentiments of Zionist politics, and reaction in general, which try systematically to limit the P.L.O. to representing only the Palestinians of «the diaspora». After the uprising on the West Bank, this attempt has met a crushing defeat.

Accordingly, the Israeli paper «Davar» has discussed the stale-mate of all Israeli manoeuvres to limit the representation of Palestinians to the notables and Hussein's trustees. «It is now clear», the paper says, «that only the P.L.O. represents the Palestinian people.»

Before this new reality had been decisively forged the Israelis had intensified their repressive measures against our people, with expulsions and arrests. The Israeli government had also, in a desperate attempt to stave off what was



**THE  
KISSINGER  
MANEUVRAS  
ARE  
CONDEMNED  
TO FAILURE.**

For over a year American diplomacy has been moving feverishly in the area. The patriotic war of October has created, it is true, a new regional and global reality. This new situation, which is marked by the mounting power, economic and military, of the Arab world, cannot permit American imperialism to remain indifferent. On the contrary. Given the crisis which has been developing over the past years at an accelerated speed in the capitalist world, the American administration has every interest in not permitting the new course to develop in the Arab East outside its influence. The Americans hold a trump-card, namely the practically exclusive Israeli dependence on the Americans militarily and, increasingly so, economically and diplomatically. Hence only they can make the Israelis «comply» (away from the battlefield). At least this is the illusion they try to create in order to pull the Arab states on the Palestinian front (mainly Syria and Egypt) into the labyrinth of their diplomacy.

In spite of its initial success i.e. the disengagement on the Egyptian front and to a lesser extent that on the Syrian front, the latter coming at the end of a long war of attrition and active soviet participation (a success which earned Henry Kissinger the title of «magician»), American diplomacy finds itself at present at an impasse. This is due partly to the weakening of the Kissinger trend and to the general condition of the whole republican administration after the fall of Nixon and the November 5 elections, as well as to the climate of annexationist overbidding and political disarray in which Israel is presently living. But it is due, in particular, to the irresistible appearance on the Arab scene of the Palestinian

# TERRITORIES

increasingly becoming inevitable, imposed a strict censorship on all expression of opinion through the Arabic-language press. There was space only for Israeli articles which spoke vaguely of recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people.

We would also stress the economic measures taken by the authorities, to put pressure on traders who struck in solidarity, such as those in Ramallah.

The uprising of our people of the West Bank lasted ten days, and covered all forms of struggle. By its success it demonstrated:

- the refusal of the Palestinian people to accept Israeli colonialism;
- their support of the P.L.O. and of the political program accepted by the XIIth Congress of the Palestinian National Council;
- refusal of all tutelage, Hashemite, Arab or any other;
- the Palestinian capacity for struggle, because the uprising was no single spontaneous act but a truly popular movement based on the participation of all patriotic sectors (peasants, workers, professionals, traders and students). It was not, as the Israelis tried to make out, just a series of student demonstrations;
- the support of the Palestinians for their representatives in the National Front, which has regrouped all the patriotic forces in its fight for Palestine, independent, free and democratic;
- the correctness of the present line taken by the P.L.O., calling for the establishment of a national power on all liberated territory. The uprising affirmed that this corresponds with the present interests of the Palestinian people.

▶ Liberation Organisation and the firm stands taken by the Arab nationalists regarding the Kissinger maneuvers.

These maneuvers, called the «step by step policy», aimed and still aim at isolating the Arab countries from each other (especially Egypt from the rest of the Arab world). They aim further at dragging out the negotiations in order to gain time, for the Israeli leaders to create more fait accomplis and for the P.L.O. to be defeated, so as to impose instead the

Hashemite Kingdom and eventual Palestinian puppets (unavailable at the present time) as the representatives of «Palestinian interests» — as they are conceived in Washington. The whole plan aims ultimately at a massive U.S. re-penetration into the region as arbiter of the «Arab-Israeli conflict», but in reality with a view to preserving and developing its own economic interests in the oil areas and the whole Arab East. This comes at a moment when, as one American expert has said, the Arab Gulf is becoming the vital artery of the capitalist world.

One year and three months after the October war, American diplomacy flounders anew. Its attempts at destroying the bridges between the Arab world and its friends in the socialist camp have failed lamentably in spite of some provisional success. The hegemony which the U.S. hopes to re-impose over the Western world (principally Western Europe) is far from being a total success, not withstanding that the American «trump-cards» are multiplied by the «crisis». The state of «neither war nor peace» in which our region finds itself again will not be durable. Even if the military in Tel Aviv impose their belligerent point of view on the strategists of the U.S. State Department, the fifth war cannot bend the general course of events in our region and the world of «the wretched of the Earth».

What is being accomplished in Africa through the liberation of the territories formerly colonized by Portugal and the weakening of the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as what is being forged in Indochina with the patient struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia, is the unpying march of events in our epoch. Palestine does not form part of another planet nor does it exist in a different epoch. Historian Henry Kissinger must know this.



**the palestinian  
resistance  
reinforces its  
links with the  
socialist camp**

Fully to understand the recent visit of the P.L.O. delegation led by Yasser Arafat, the President of the Executive Committee, it is necessary to situate this visit in its Arab, as well as its international context.

The very nature of the struggle waged by movements of national liberation, including the Palestinian resistance, makes them organically linked to the camp of liberty, progress and peace. This arises from the world situation, dominated as it is by two dialectically opposed currents: the current of revolution, and that of counter-revolution. By its nature, the Palestinian resistance is placed with the first current.

Thus the friendship between the socialist camp and the Palestinian resistance will not cease, considering that those who wage struggle against retrogressive forces are travelling with the current of history, towards the end of imperialism. The links forged between us are no accident. They were born of historical necessity: the resistance and the socialist camp both face the same enemy — imperialism, Zionism, reaction. Our friendship is not due to pragmatic or utilitarian considerations, but to political and strategic obligations. It is a friendship of principle: a common struggle against a common enemy.

Hence, the support of the socialist camp has always been a part of the victories won by the resistance. Its weight, whether politically or militarily, has always been an important factor in the success and the development of the Palestinian struggle.

And so, the Palestinian resistance is more than ever resolved to keep up, and strengthen, these links. They were not easily acquired, but were forged and reinforced by the struggle of our people. The Palestinian resistance has had to wage an intransigent struggle to refute the reactionary and demagogic allegations of certain milieux, about the implications of the aid offered by socialist countries to the Arab countries, by which they seek to justify their attachment to the imperialist camp and discredit the role of the socialist camp.

The friendship and solidarity offered us by the socialist camp was shown during the last visits to Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Belgrade, Havana and other socialist capitals. All the socialist countries have given their support to the struggle of the Palestinian people for their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

Having last year broken its last diplomatic links with Israel, Cuba has recognised the Palestinian resistance as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and stressed the impossibility of a just and lasting peace without strict respect of all the national rights of the Palestinian people.

China and Albania were among the first countries to recognise the P.L.O., several years ago.

The Palestinian resistance, for its part, knows the true value of the attitude of the socialist camp. Yasser Arafat said in an interview with the news agency, Tass, that: «The Palestinians are deeply grateful to Mr. Brezhnev, who re-affirmed, at Ulan-Bator, his support for the Palestinians in their rights to self-determination and the creation of an independent state». He also underlined the importance of the role of the socialist camp in strengthening the Palestinian resistance to face all plots, Zionist, imperialist and reactionary.

The warm welcome accorded to the leaders of the Palestinian resistance in all the socialist countries, and the useful talks held during these visits, help to reinforce our links. Hopefully this marks the beginning of a new stage in our relations.



The « Palestine » session in the UN.

## THE PLO'S ENTRY ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

The Palestinian resistance has reason to rejoice at the large international support that it acquired from the time of the summit conference of the non-aligned nations to the recent resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly. The admission of the PLO (often as a fully participating member) to various international conferences constitutes, without doubt, a multi-level recognition: of the representativeness of the PLO, of course, and stemming from this, the recognition of the existence of the Palestinian people, its right to self-determination and the illegitimacy of the usurpation of its national territory.

The Palestinian resistance is aware that it owes its victories not only to the hard and bloody struggle led by the various patriotic sectors of our people, but also to the active support accorded to it by the progressive forces in the Arab countries and the world at large, principally those of the socialist countries and the forces of liberation in the oppressed countries. In the past, the imperialist powers did sometimes subscribe to resolutions condemning Israeli aggressions (or apartheid in South Africa, for example) or request « the return of the refugees to their homes.» But these were no more than verbal concessions intended as « diversions » from the more pressing claims, and as a cover-up for the greater continuing aggression. At best, imperialist policy on international appeals sought to give false hopes to the weak and the oppressed, in order to diminish their will to struggle.

False hopes? Is the Palestinian

resistance today falling into the trap which it was able to evade during the first years of its renaissance in 1965? The resistance considers that its victory is also the victory of those who have supported it against opposition, imperialist procrastinations and attempts at granting it limited or conditional recognition. But like its allies, the resistance is aware of the limitations of the United Nations and the other international organizations. These are not as courts of justice whose decisions are executive. They cannot automatically bring injustice and occupation to an end. At the most, they can constitute a moral pressure which must be coupled with concrete pressure, given the permanent scorn with which Israel regards international appeals.

The Palestinian resistance owes it to itself, therefore, to continue the struggle on the battlefield in order to realize its revolutionary program, in which the first step is the establishment of national sovereignty over all liberated Palestinian territory. It must therefore continue its armed and political struggle against an adversary who does nothing but increase its arsenal and armed forces with a view to the approaching battle which it wants to be decisive. The Palestinian resistance owes it to itself to show the enemy that he cannot erase the international recognition which the PLO now enjoys by new military adventures. It must not only protect its very existence, but also oblige the adversary to realize that his attempts at domination and **fait accompli** do not pay.

Hence there can be no change of position for the resistance from popular and military struggle towards external diplomatic action. If the politico-diplomatic orientation seems now to assume importance, it is because of the gains attained on the battlefield and the new rapport with international forces, owing to the rise of the forces of liberation around the world. This world evolution has been accentuated in our region by the patriotic war of October 1973 led mainly by the Egyptian and Syrian armed forces, and by the Palestinian liberation forces. Similarly the road to new political victories passes through the intensification of the struggle against the occupier and the strengthening of the continuous support given by the Peoples dedicated to peace and justice in the world to the resistance.

Once more Israel is condemned by an international fact-finding body for its violation of the «Rights of Man» in the occupied territories. In fact the international commission formed by the World Peace Council (which worked in Beirut during December 13-16, 1974) declared in the press conference after its last meeting: «Every article of the Charter of the Rights of Man is violated daily in the

## WORLD PEACE ACTIONS IN 1

The investigation conducted by the international commission was particularly important, for it followed soon after the popular uprising which spread very recently in the territories occupied since June 1967. The committee was composed of Ramesh Chandra, secretary-general of the World Peace Council as Chairman, Ahmed Bella Camara (Sierra Leone's Minister of Information and Television), Oleg Bayanov (Soviet legal expert), Mr. Kothala (Finnish Democratic Socialist member of Parliament), and R.N. Bhatia (Indian member of parliament from the ruling Congress Party).

But what made the investigation stand out, was the fact that 12 of the witnesses who appeared in front of the commission were political figures expelled as part of the measures taken to suppress all popular movements in the occupied territories. Among these were the Mayor of Jerusalem, the president of the West Bank Dentists Union, the secretary of the union of construction workers and private sector workers in Ramallah and Al-Bireh. The remaining witnesses were former political detainees. Thus, the facts enumerated in the testimonies, the truth of which was recognized by the commission, constitute one of the causes of the popular uprising and are subject, on the other hand, to its effects.

Hence the subjects discussed by the commission are burning issues. They may be grouped under the following headings: prisons, Jerusalem, political expulsions as part of the measures taken against Palestinian Arab institutions.

### PRISONS

Every Arab of the occupied territories has to live in fear of detention with its accompanying physical and moral torture, not counting the inhuman living conditions prevalent in Israeli jails.

Political detention appears to be an even more efficient tool of oppression since it takes mostly the form of arbitrary detention. Article III of the 1945 Defense Emergency Regulations inherited from the British Mandatory



occupied territories. Far from being the results of individual actions by isolated persons, the violations committed are part of a policy established by the Israeli leaders. Perpetrated continuously, and in a manner which is becoming increasingly intense, these violations form part of the fruitless efforts of Israel to deny the existence of Palestine and the Palestinian people and to come out of a suffocating isolation.»

## COUNCIL CONDEMNS ISRAELI THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Administration and applied by the forces of occupation, stipulate, in fact, that any citizen may be detained by the military governor for as long as the latter judges necessary, the charge being «endangering security». A person detained under this article cannot appeal to a tribunal and even the counselling committee entrusted with his defense is of no help whatsoever to him. The decisions taken by such a committee are presented simply under the title of «recommendations» to the military governor who is not under obligation to comply with them.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the number of people detained without trial reached its peak in 1974: — 1476 out of 1881 political detainees had had no trial, as against 302 out of 409 in 1973, 229 out of 1089 in 1972, 35 out of 399 in 1971, 43 out of 718 in 1970 and 4 out of 358 in 1969. These are only approximate figures; the overall number of political detainees is difficult to obtain, given the circumstances of detention. Thus the International Red Cross reported on September 1970 that the figure of political detainees rose from 1500 to 2000 in 1968, and to 3000 in 1969, 3500 in 1970. Also, the Israeli daily «Ma'ariv» wrote on May 3, 1971 that «in the Gaza district alone, 5620 have already been sentenced by a court either to life imprisonment with hard labor, or to fines totalling more than 300,000 I.L. Among these are old people of over 80, and children 12 to 14 years old». The newspaper did not mention the cases of the persons detained without trial.

Whatever the form of detention (with or without definite charges) the political detainee is subjected to a whole system of torture, one of the most criminal in the world.

Thus, Wadad Al-Aswan (age 26, native of Gaza) who was arrested without trial four different times between 1972 and 1973 was exposed in the prisons of Gaza and Sarafand to several methods of torture. In Gaza she was kicked and beaten up with sticks, she was forced under an ice-cold shower face up and mouth open for 15 minutes, then whipped with a leather strap; she was compelled to stand,

arms lifted, holding a chair weighing 8 kgms for 12 hours, finally she was burnt with cigarettes on various sensitive parts of her body and threatened with rape. At Sarafand, after being beaten, she was tortured by means of electricity and the projection of multi-color lights into her eyes. Threatened with paralysis, she was helped by the International Red Cross which was finally able to obtain her release on 5.2.74; subsequently, she was expelled.

Another case demonstrating Israeli criminal acts against patriotic detainees is that of Suleiman Al-Najjab, aged 40, from Jerusalem. Lawyer Felicia Langer, who discovered him accidentally during a visit to the Ramallah prison at the end of May, 1974, reported in her testimony, «Nobody had seen him again or knew what had become of him. Arrested 30.4.1974, he remained blindfolded for 15 days, with his right foot held 30 cms above the ground. He was continuously beaten on his naked body so that he would feel the pain more sharply. He was also beaten on the soles of his feet while his feet and legs were held to a chair, the latter having been tilted in such a manner as to bring his legs parallel to the floor and his head close to the wall. I have been informed that at the Nablus prison the detainees must wear, after this torture, shoes filled with salt, which causes terrible suffering. Suleiman was also subjected to another torture. He was beaten on his genitals until he developed a haemorrhage. This torture has become standard in the prisons of Israel... Suleiman developed a state of general weakness and was hit with epilepsy».

To render the condition of the patriotic detainees even more precarious, they are left without adequate care (e.g. Lutifyeh Hawwari, arrested on 7.8.1969, is paralyzed from the waist down).

The living conditions in the centres of detention are in the same vein as the tortures inflicted.

Briefly, the life of the detainee consists of leaving his cell where silence is the rule only to go to the torture

chamber or to another center of detention. Only those who have been sentenced have a right to weekly visits of a maximum of 15 minutes by one member of their family at a time. Rare are those who have a right to a daily outing of 5 minutes in the prison courtyard. Deprived of all medical care, though the diseases wide-spread in the prisons of Israel necessitate more than just an aspirin (the only medicament available for anaemia, an ulcer, rheumatism, a paralysis, epilepsy, a chronic migraine and hysteria), the detainee must manage to survive on 800 calories a day, and in the absence of the most elementary hygienic conditions.

## JERUSALEM

In order to transform the condition of the Holy City completely the occupying forces took a series of measures directed against its sovereignty, its population, its property and the Holy Places.

The infringements against the sovereignty of the city started with its annexation. This was followed by the discarding of prevalent laws as of 28.6.1967 and the non-recognition of the sentences rendered by the Muslim religious courts. Finally, on 29.6.1967, the Municipal Council of the Arab sector was dissolved.

These infringements consist also of confiscation and sequestration of Arab land (22,000 dunum\*) turning out the 10,000 Arabs who worked and lived on it, in addition to the appropriation of 15,000 deeds of property. (This does not include the land which became vacant after the destruction of 800 homes). All this was done with a view to creating 13 neighborhoods intended to house 122,000 new Jewish immigrants. These quarters encircle the residential areas in the remaining Arab sector. The population in the Arab sector is shrinking progressively, given the 15,000 Arabs expelled from June 1967 to December 12, 1974 and the 20,000 more absent for one reason or another at the time of the demographic census of 27.7.1967 and consequently unable to return. The establishment of new colonies west of the city is going to be re-inforced by the creation of an industrial city of 100,000 colonizers (ministerial decree 24.11.1974) on 70,000 dunums of Arab lands confiscated in the area between Jerusalem and Jericho.

The Arab population of the sector annexed in 1967 is deprived of various public services: Arab banks were closed and their funds seized, while the following Arab medical services were transferred to Nablus and Ramallah: the central births and deaths registration bureau, the general dispensary, the laboratories, the blood bank the center for Social Services was closed down while all Arab charitable societies were subordinated to the Israeli Department of Social Service (numerous hospitals, dispensaries and schools now depend upon these societies).

The violations against the Holy Places take various forms. Attacks were made against the Holy Sepulchre (August, 1967, March 24, 1971, April 12, 1973), against the Coptic convent where the monks were clubbed by the Israeli police (April 25, 1970), and finally against the Greek-Orthodox church of Ein-Karem which was left in a state of near destruction. There were also fires: the fire at Al-Aqsa mosque (21.8.1969), the one at the International Bible Center on the Mount of Olives (21.8.1969) and four Christian centres as well as a printing house belonging to a Christian association (11.2.1974). Diverse demolition operations were carried out against two mosques and 135 Waqf properties adjacent to Al-Haram Al-Sharif, then against the girls' school Al-Aqsa, with 3,300 students from the neighboring quarters.

Furthermore, the Al-Aqsa mosque itself and the walls surrounding Al-Haram Al-Sharif are in danger of collapsing because of excavations conducted into its foundations (4.7.1974).

The confiscation and seizure of property has multiplied: the confiscation of four Muslim neighborhoods adjacent to Al-Haram Al-Sharif to the west including 4 mosques, 4 schools, 1948 homes and 437 shops where 6,000 Arabs lived and worked; the confiscation of Arab cemeteries adjacent to Al-Haram Al-Sharif on the southern side on the pretext that they would form part of the public gardens (decision taken by the Minister of the Interior 4.3.1974). Lands belonging to the Greek Orthodox community were also confiscated in several quarters of Jerusalem, as were the building housing «Hotel Fast» owned by the Armenian community and large tracts of land owned by Syriac and Latin convents, etc...

## POLITICAL EXPULSIONS

Aimed at depriving the Palestinian people of Gaza and the West Bank of the leading cadres capable of mobilizing it to face the occupier, political expulsion touches large layers of the population (political leaders, union leaders, mayors, municipal councillors, members of chambers of commerce, doctors, lawyers, teachers and students). Mass and individual expulsion takes place without previous warning. The international commission was presented with a heavy toll: 419 political expulsions in 1968, 27 in 1969, 356 in 1970, 257 in 1971, 84 in 1972, 8 in 1973, 10 in 1974. These figures do not include the exodus provoked by the conditions of life under the occupation.

## MEASURES AGAINST NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

As in the case of Jerusalem, so in all the other regions. Everywhere measures are taken against national institutions. Thus the forces of occupation seek to freeze the activities of municipalities (particularly the municipalities of Al-Bireh, Ramallah, Tulkarm and Nablus). Taxes imposed by the government are not transferred to municipal funds and all political activity is forbidden (note that a signature on a petition presented to the Zionist authorities is considered as subversive action punishable by detention and expulsion).

Medical care is practically non-existent in the West Bank. This stems on the one hand, from a shortage of doctors and medicines and, on the other, by the closing down of clinics in several towns and villages (for example, in the Hebron region alone 11 such clinics were shut down and the others cannot operate owing to the lack of personnel). The authorities refuse however, to open new ones just as they refuse to supply hospitals with necessary equipment. Consequently there is a rise in infantile mortality (a 10% increase has been registered in the hospitals of Ramallah and Al-Bireh).

## CONCLUSION

The pages of the record of crimes committed by the Israeli occupation are far from exhaustive. Every day new crimes are committed against the Palestinian population. It is with reason that the important delegation from the W.P.C. has decided to inform international public opinion. To start with, a «week of solidarity with the Palestinian people» will be organized running from February 13th. An international campaign in support of the thousands of patriots detained in Israel must also be initiated.



Scene from the « Danse Macabre » in Beisan.

### OPEN AIR CREMATORIUM ISRAELI STYLE

Last November 19, three fedayin forced their way into a building in the town of Beisan, in the central part

of the eastern region of Palestine. They demanded, through leaflets and loud-speaker, the liberation of a certain number of patriots detained in Israeli prisons, including Mgr. Hilarion Capucci, Greek-Catholic Apostolic Archbishop of Jerusalem. Unconcerned about the lives of their citizens, the Israeli military gave battle, causing several deaths, including that of the three Fedayin who blew themselves up at the approach of the assailants.

After the battle, a screaming wave of military and civilians entered the building, threw the bodies out of the windows, doused them with gasoline and set them on fire. A danse macabre was then performed to the shouts of « another one » in front of the cameras of a horrified international press. Next day, the Israeli press which had spoken at the outset of four Fedayin, revealed that the fourth burnt body was that of an Israeli civilian, Yehuda Bibas, who had been found wounded — hence still living — at the side of the three

Fedayin and was taken to be one of them.

Some foreign correspondents revealed that they had received blows from the « mob » participating in the hysterical ceremony, bringing about the destruction of their cameras.

This atrocious episode demonstrates the hysterically racist and anti — Arab climate in Israel, which is kept up by its political leaders and mass media. Some survivors of the Nazi concentration camps must have felt deeply ashamed at such behavior; but when Israeli children are being taught hatred and racist « scorn » of the Arab « enemy » the way is inevitably paved for scenes of this nature.

Sixty years ago the land of Palestine was a land of peace. Racism, hatred, the concepts of a « chosen people » and « inferior peoples » have since been introduced.

### ...THEY ALSO BURN BOOKS

More recently, on December 10, rockets moulded on tourist cars were fired against three PLO offices in Beirut. In view of their cultural and social nature, these offices are situated in the cosmopolitan zones, and hence the more difficult parts of the Lebanese capital to guard. The timing (around 10 am) and the technique (at one of the offices two sets of rockets exploded at a 15-minute interval) indicate that the death of the greatest number of people was sought. Happily, partly owing to the vigilance of the Lebanese and Palestinian guards, but mostly by pure chance, there were only a few casualties, most of them with surface wounds only.

Material losses were, however, much more serious. Particularly at the Palestine Research Center where only the library,

situated on the second floor, was hit. Hundreds of volumes, many of them rare, were ravaged by the explosion. Among these works is a sizable number of books of Israeli origin, and in various languages, dealing with Israel, Zionism and the history of Palestine.

Have they in Israel reached the point where they wish to deny the Palestinians the opportunity of reading Israeli works proper, and to prevent Arab readers from learning about the Zionist idea? Or is it that they are so afraid of the great cultural leap that the « refugees » of the 1948 exodus and their descendants have achieved, that they wish to bring them back to the « stone age » as an American general once said when talking about North Vietnam?

In any case, history has been a stern judge of those who throughout the centuries have burnt books and libraries.

### FREE MGR. CAPUCCI

For over four months now, Mgr. Hilarion Capucci, Greek-Catholic Apostolic Archbishop of Jerusalem has been detained in Israeli jails.

Accused of collaboration with the fedayin, he was sentenced on December 9th to 12 years imprisonment by an Israeli « court » held in the occupied city of El-Quds (Jerusalem). Throughout the whole episode, he had to submit to the injuries and humiliations inflicted on him by his jailors, as well as to a campaign of moral denigration carried in the reactionary Israeli press.

He faced these vexations and moral tortures with great dignity and unshakable courage, and thus transformed his « trial » into a political trial of the Israeli occupation. Upon the



passing of the sentence he denounced his accusers, saying: « ... Here I am, victim of the persecution of the occupiers... Shame to those who profane the Holy Land... I pray for our land, our beloved land called Palestine... ».

Numerous demonstrations in support of the patriotic prelate have been held in the occupied territories and the Arab world. Several attempts by fedayin commandos have been made to free him.

These demonstrations and acts will continue. They must even spread to other parts of the world, particularly the Christian world. International public opinion must defend the ideals of justice and true peace for which Mgr. Capucci has been struggling.

We salute the great defender of Jerusalem and the Palestinian homeland who has demonstrated that the duty of a Christian, be he the highest in the Church hierarchy, is to remain on the side of his people not on that of its oppressors; that indifference to the misery and suffering of the people is tantamount to complicity with the invaders.

Glory to Mgr. Capucci! Glory to the thousands of Muslim, Christian, Jewish and atheist patriots who sacrifice their lives and their freedom for the great cause of liberating the Homeland!

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# AN ISRAELI SPEAKS

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## THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

In my opinion, the Israeli occupation regime in the conquered territories is not only not a liberal one; it is in fact one of the most cruel and repressive regimes in modern times. Maybe we can start with a simple problem: the number of Palestinians living now in the occupied territories is slightly above a million. Before the Israeli conquest the number of Palestinians living there was a million-and-a-half, plus some three hundred thousand more relatives working temporarily in various countries.

The first thing which the occupation authorities did was to organize by all means, both by ways of cruel coercion and by supposedly «human» ways a mass-expulsion of Palestinians from their motherland. This mass-expulsion (unlike the expulsion of individuals, about which I'll speak later) was carried out until King Hussein shut the bridges against further expulsion. There is almost no Palestinian family where that «policy» hasn't caused separation of parents from children, of brothers from brothers and sisters, in short human suffering which it is hard to describe. But for the government of Israel, for all the Zionist parties and for undercover servants of the government like Uri Avneri, this is not a human problem, this is not a gross and cynical trampling underfoot of the most elementary values of justice — this is only the well known «demographic problem». In the «united» Jerusalem of today also, the very same situation prevails. The Israeli government speaks of «reunion of families» when it comes to Russian Jews, but does not allow the «reunion of families» when it comes to Palestinians of Jerusalem. And I talk of **Right** and not of some act of charity, sometimes accomplished as a measure of favouritism.

People who were born, and lived most of their life in Jerusalem are not allowed to come back and settle **in their own city**, if they are not Jews of course; but if a Dutchman converts to Judaism tomorrow (by way of Orthodox Jewish conversion, indeed) he will not only be allowed to do so at once, he will also get an apartment in Ramat Eshkol.

All the arrangement known as «summer visits» (so praised by all sorts of hypocrites) is essentially meant to aggravate the problem: brother is allowed to see brother, children to see their father. Of course nostalgia becomes overwhelming, and then they are told: You want to reunite? Please do so. But on the other side of the Jordan river! Thus does false liberalism serve the real aim of the Israeli government: the expulsion of Palestinians from their country...

## DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Not only are political parties — all political parties — totally forbidden; even unions, such as trade-unions, student-unions or cultural associations, are forbidden. It is not only forbidden for Palestinians to demonstrate, it also is forbidden to go on strike, it is even forbidden to close one's own shop as a sign of protest, even though it is hard to imagine a more peaceful way of protesting.

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THIS ARTICLE WAS WRITTEN BY DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK, PROFESSOR OF ORGANIC CHEMISTRY AT THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM AND CHAIRMAN OF THE ISRAELI LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. DR. SHAHAK ORIGINALLY WANTED IT TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE ISRAELI PRESS, AS AN ANSWER TO THE VAST WITCH-HUNT HE IS FACING IN ISRAEL. FACED WITH THE REFUSAL OF THE EDITORS OF ALL THE IMPORTANT ISRAELI NEWSPAPERS: IT WAS PUBLISHED IN THE FOREIGN PRESS.

WE HERE REPRODUCE MOST OF IT FROM A RECENT ISSUE OF THE LONDON «MIDDLE EAST INTERNATIONAL». WE MAKE ONLY THE FOLLOWING REMARKS.

1 — WHILE WE EXPRESS OUR DEEP SYMPATHY FOR THE NOBLE EFFORTS AND THE GREAT MORAL COURAGE OF DR. SHAHAK, WE DO NOT NECESSARILY AGREE WITH EVERYTHING IN HIS ARTICLE.

2 WE CAN EXPECT THAT THE PUBLICATION OF HIS ARTICLE IN OUR ISSUE, MIGHT CAUSE NEW PROBLEMS FOR DR. SHAHAK IN ISRAEL.

NEVERTHELESS WE BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE LIKE DR. SHAHAK CARE MORE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE JEWS OF ISRAEL AND THE ARAB-JEWISH COEXISTENCE IN PALESTINE THAN DO HIS DETRACTORS.

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I recall those facts, not only because I condemn and oppose them very deeply, but also to stress that here lies the root of Palestinian terrorism. And even though I condemn all terrorism, be it Palestinian terrorism or Israeli terrorism — the latter being bigger from the point of view of the number of innocents who fall victim to it — I place the heaviest responsibility upon the shoulders of the Israeli government. It is only natural that a people whose existence is denied, whose most basic family and human rights are denied, and who are denied any right to wage a political struggle — should choose another form of struggle, some manifestations of which certainly deserve to be firmly condemned.

### VIOLETIONS OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION

Moreover, Israel shamelessly and cynically violates, in the conquered territories all the Geneva conventions. The same people who have the audacity to recall the Geneva conventions on prisoners of war when it is violated by the Syrians... the same people were silent and are still silent, when Israel violates overtly, through acts committed in broad daylight the 4th section of the set of Geneva Conventions of 1949, the section which deals with the status of the residents of occupied territories. Out of the many violations I shall quote only three, which are committed overtly, on the basis of an almost unanimous agreement inside Israel.

Let us take as an example the blowing up of houses and other collective punishments. The facts are well known: when the occupation authorities arrest a suspect, even before he is put on trial sometimes even before he is «officially» indicted, an order is issued to destroy the house in which the suspect lived. Sometimes it is the house of his family, sometimes not. Sometimes «refinements» are introduced. All the inhabitants of the village are forcibly concentrated on a nearby hill so as to watch the «educative show». It must be stressed that such an act is fundamentally barbaric. People who even in the eyes of the authorities are innocent, are ousted. Children, old people, women, sick, cripples, and all of them together are thrown onto the street, regardless of weather. This is one example of collective punishment such as is expressly prohibited by the Geneva conventions, as well as by any notion of natural justice. More than once in the course of my functions, I had the privilege of sitting, together with one of such families, on the ruins of their house, and nothing convinced me more of the barbaric character of our occupation than the sight of children in the ruins of their house. Aside from that punishment, there is a whole set of different collective punishments. Does one want to punish the area of Hebron? Grapes are not allowed to be transported on the roads during harvest time, until the «notables» finally fall on their knees before the military governor. Does one want to punish the city of Ramallah? The sale of mutton is forbidden in that town for two months or the municipality is not allowed to receive contributions coming from natives of Ramallah abroad and sent for purposes of municipal development. Does one want to punish the town of El-

Bireh? An order is issued to take pictures of Palestinian folklore off the walls of the city hall, and to hide them in a cellar! I could go on indefinitely, and give innumerable examples of this kind.

### LEARNING FROM ANTISEMITES

As a Jew, I must say that all this is quite familiar to me. Collective punishments inflicted upon Jews, the belief that all Jews in the neighbourhood are «guilty» of this or that deed committed by one Jew, and that they must therefore be collectively punished, all this is quite well known in Jewish history. All the collective punishments and the «justifications» raised to rationalize them only demonstrate in my opinion, to what extent the State of Israel is adopting progressively all the values and opinions of anti-semitism. The discussion between the Israeli government and false liberals is only about the question of knowing whether «it helps» or not. In Israel one is not allowed to say that to take an innocent child and inflict a cruel «punishment» upon him is a barbaric and horrible act in itself. This is «calumny», for to say this is to relate to Palestinians to non-Jews as human beings, while false liberals only deal with the «interest of the Jews»; they only deal with the hypocritical question: is the oppression of Palestinians a good or a bad thing for the Jews, in the short and in the long run?

### INDIVIDUAL EXPULSIONS

I have spoken of the mass expulsion that was interrupted in 1968 after King Hussein refused to cooperate. But the expulsion of individuals is taking place all the time. Here again, the story is simple. The authorities come to a man's house in the middle of the night. They give him a half-hour or an hour to pack up a few things, while making sure that neither he nor his family get in touch with the outside. A group of such people is taken to the Jordan Valley, and with the help of blows, shots (and even wounds caused by the blows) they are forced to cross into Jordan. The majority of the expelled belong to the leadership of the Palestinian nation: mayors of towns, lawyers, engineers and intellectuals. Of course, they are not officially charged with anything, so that they have no possibility to defend themselves. The day after, the Israeli government announces that they had «incited» the population; and the Israeli intellectuals, the judges, the lawyers, the writers and others, who shout, for instance, about the harassment of «immigration activists» in the USSR, do not pronounce a single word of condemnation against that barbaric act, in which a person is uprooted from his motherland, a father from his family, without a legal charge. And, of course, to a family thus orphaned of its father, they say simply: Why don't you also go and reunite outside? In many cases the family rejects this sentence of «liberal» occupation, and stays, and suffers, only so as to prevent the success of the Israeli authorities' plot to expel as many Palestinians as it can from their country. And the well-known «calumniator» Israel Shahak, with his «primitive style» (according to

Amnon Rubinstein) hereby announces that he has more respect for those families than for the whole Israeli government together with its overt and covert servants, and that he will continue to struggle, in Israel and abroad, in order that those people obtain justice!

### JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE CONQUERED TERRITORIES

At the time of the sterile discussion about «legal» or «illegal» settlement, there is a tendency in Israel to forget that any settlement of civilians of a conquering power in the occupied territories is a violation of section IV of the Geneva conventions. I regard with much greater opposition the «legal» settlements authorized by the Israeli government than the illegal settlements. Not only because of the Geneva convention, and not only because it prevents or does not prevent Peace (what Peace?), but also because of more essential motives: the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, from their very nature, constitute a dispossession, a discrimination and a system of apartheid. The territories confiscated, or acquired by pressure and deceit for settlement, become territories where only Jews are allowed to live, and where only Jews shall be allowed to live in the future. They are taken out of their natural geographic context and become typical imperialist bases serving the strategic needs of the colonialist power — in this case Israel — that has erected them. Thus, by the way of «legal» settlement, the «Jordan Valley» has become one half of the West Bank, and almost reaches to the eastern suburbs of Nablus. Thus the Gaza Strip constitutes a concentration camp (and just like a concentration camp it is surrounded by barbed wire) «guarded» by the settlements of the Rafah area, and the «Jewish fingers» those are the kibbutzim which Moshe Dayan and Arik Sharon have planted in the strip. The function of those settlements, clear to anyone who consents to look at the map, is territorial expansion, it is the enslavement of the Palestinian population on the occupied territories.

### IS THERE A JEWISH TERRORISM?

I condemn and oppose all terrorism. I have condemned in the firmest way every Palestinian act of terrorism, and I have done so in particular when in front of a public which sympathizes with the Palestinians. But unlike hypocrites, I really condemn all terror. Not only terror directed against Jews, but also terror committed by Jews and directed against Arabs. So as to save time, I shall not speak of the terrorism of all the Jewish underground organizations under the Mandate, and I shall start with the existence of the State of Israel. It seems to me that it would not be hard to find a man more worthy of the name of terrorism than Meir Har-Zion. In his diaries and in the many interviews with him in the Israeli press, that man revealed, not only what an assassin he was, but also how much he enjoyed — purely and simply enjoyed — murder. How much he enjoys killing an Arab, particularly with a knife, because he can then feel that he is «male». (Ha'aretz weekly supplement,

9.11.1965). He then asks his commander for permission to kill an unarmed Arab shepherd, precisely with a knife, and then describes with sadistic enjoyment the way his comrade holds him while Har-Zion plunges the knife in his back «and the blood splashes from the wound» (See Meir Har-Zion Diaries). Are we in need of the further description of Har-Zion's deeds which appears in Moshe Sharett's diary (Ma'ariv, 28.6.74)? Sharett tells how Har-Zion, with a group of terrorists like him, went across the borders of Israel, got hold of six Arabs, and killed with a knife, five of them, one after the other while the others watched, and left the sixth one alive so that he could tell... And that man is considered by the majority of Israeli Jews as a national hero. That man was praised, and presented as a model to the youth by the Defence Minister of Israel and the general in charge of the Southern Command (Moshe Dayan and Arik Sharon) and no protest was raised against that «model», not even among many people who talk of peace!

I will add to this the «Beirut expedition» of April 1973, an operation in which were murdered, not only PLO leaders, but also a woman whose sole crime was that she lived next to them (a murder lauded by Uri Avneri). I will add to this the napalm bombings in Irbid, Es-Salt and other Jordanian towns in the summer of 1968. I will add to this the summer-1974 habit of bombing refugee camps in Lebanon, and on top of ordinary bombs, dropping delayed action bombs which only explode after one hour or two, i.e. when the families and medical squads are searching through the ruins to rescue the wounded. And one can add much more to the list... Do those who are not ready to condemn the sadistic declarations of Meir Har-Zion and the transformation of such a character into a «model for the youth» have any right to condemn Ahmed Jibril? My answer is: I have the right to do so. They don't. Murderers and accomplices of murderers had better not pose as moralists. And to those who justify (and even enjoy) the murder of non-Jews, to those for whom only Jewish children bleed, and for whom, so it seems, Arab children have water in their veins, I will simply say: It is not you who can preach morality to me.

### TORTURE

My considered opinion is that people are tortured in Israel and in the conquered territories. I confess: I have in the matter no hard evidence, and I do not expect to obtain any. I am not naïve as to believe that a torturer will stand up and announce: I have tortured! or that he will introduce two witnesses into the torture chamber so that they can testify afterwards. But such is the situation in all countries. There are no such testimonies about Brazil, none about Greece under the Colonels' rule. Moreover there are no such testimonies about that which was inflicted upon the Israeli prisoners in Egypt and in Syria. All the claims — most of which I believe — are exclusively based upon the testimony of the victims of torture. Therefore it is not a matter of «proofs», or of «unchecked allegations». It is a matter of Jewish racism. The majority of the Jewish public in Israel (and also out of it) believes that only Jews are

human beings, and therefore deserve to be trusted, while the Gentiles usually lie, as stated in most cases throughout Talmudic Law. So that when a Jew claims that the Syrians tortured him, we must believe him at once, on the basis of his testimony. But when a Palestinian claims that the Jews tortured him, we must not believe him in any way, because he is a gentile... see the most striking evidence that the Israeli government and its agents torture systematically thousands of people in the fact that all the supporters of the Israeli government, be they vocal or hidden, refuse to demand an independent inquiry on the subject.

### THE RIGHT TO CHECK

What is in my opinion even more appalling than the tortures themselves, a fact which I do not doubt, is the attitude of the majority of the Israeli public vis-a-vis the complaints about tortures, and especially the arrogant claim that the facts haven't been sufficiently checked. And how do Rubinstein and Avneri «check»? They never get in touch with the claimants or their lawyers. They do not answer letters demanding an interview with them, letters demanding a chance to give the opportunity to hear what the man himself cries from his own pain. The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from this is that when Rubinstein and/or Avneri claim that they have «checked», they mean they consulted someone in one of the «security branches», and consider that the answer they got is the truth, without hearing the other side, without hearing the claimant at all. The political conclusion is clear but the human conclusion is worse than that: in the State of Israel the majority of the judges, the jurists and the intellectuals, not to mention the politicians, are indifferent to this most basic human rule: that the claim of a man who says he's been mistreated must be listened to, and must be examined objectively. That is, in my eyes, infinitely more important than the tortures themselves, for the majority of the public, and especially the leading members of the public have been and are guilty of that sin. And even though I am convinced that there have been numerous cases of torture I may be wrong, and if my claims were checked, and the proof of the opposite was made, I would stand up and admit that I was wrong. But I am not mistaken, and I cannot be mistaken when I claim that the majority of the Israeli public shut their ears to a simple human cry; that it ignores the most fundamental political duty — the duty of an independent inquiry — and that this is the source of the corruption which is being uncovered, and that will continue to be uncovered in many diverse places.

### NAZIFICATION

Therefore I am not afraid — neither in that field, nor in other fields even though certainly not in all fields — of the comparison with «that which befell the German people between the two world wars» and I am not afraid to say publicly that Israeli Jews, and with them most Jews throughout the world, are undergoing a process of Nazifica-

tion. Does a people whose official «hero» is Meir Har-Zion deserve any other title? Would we give another name to a people whose hero enjoys killing Jews with a knife and seeing how the blood splashes? Isn't it the Nazi «Horst Wessel» who spoke of the pleasure of Jewish blood dripping from his knife?

But the silence concerning other claims is worse. It includes — exactly as it did in Germany — not only those among us who are in my opinion real Nazis and there are a lot of those, but also those who do not protest against Jewish Nazism, so long as they think it serves a Jewish interest. It is for instance a fact that, according to Jewish Talmudic law, legally valid in Israel today, any gentile woman is considered as impure, slave, gentile and a whore, and when she embraces the Jewish faith she stops being impure, slave and gentile, but she remains a whore. The argumentation provided by Talmudic law to back that judgment, when raised in the XXth century, can only be compared to Julius Streicher; for instance the judgment whereby all «gentile women» must necessarily be prostitutes. Did a jurist in Israel explain this sentence? Did anyone warn any of the famous «female converts» that, together with conversion, they undertake to be «whores»? Did anyone raise the question of knowing whether that law is wise and just or not? The answer is clear, and just for the same reason the same jurists in Nazi Germany accepted the Nuremberg Laws (which are infinitely more moderate than the «gentile» regulations in Talmudic law), and exactly for the same reason, the leading Israeli jurists don't even want to examine the demand for inquiry on tortures raised by a non-Jew.

I can only conclude with the words of Hugh Trevor-Roper, at the end of his book «The Last Days of Hitler», where he was talking about Albert Speer: «He had the capacity to understand the forces of politics, and the courage to resist the master whom all others have declared irresistible. As an administrator he was undoubtedly a genius... His ambitions were peaceful and constructive. he wished to rebuild Berlin and Nuremberg, and had planned at the cost of no more than two months expenditure to make them the greatest cities in the world. Nevertheless, in a political sense, Speer is the real criminal of Nazi Germany, for he, more than any other, represented that fatal philosophy which has made havoc of Germany and nearly shipwrecked the world. For ten years he sat at the very centre of political power; his keen intelligence diagnosed the nature and observed the mutations of Nazi government and policy; he saw and despised the personalities around him; he heard their outrageous orders and understood their fantastic ambitions; but he did nothing. Supposing politics to be irrelevant he turned aside and built roads and bridges and factories while the logical consequences of government by madmen emerged. Ultimately when their emergence involved the ruin of all his work, Speer accepted the consequences and acted. Then it was too late Germany had been destroyed.»

So far Trevor-Roper. I am trying to act before it is too late.

YOU SPEAK OF AN IMPROBABLE FUTURE «GENOCIDE», WE SPEAK OF AN ACTUAL «GENOCIDE»

ON NOVEMBER 20TH «LE MONDE» PUBLISHED A «POINT OF VIEW» BY TWO IMPORTANT FRENCH INTELLECTUALS ON THE PALESTINE-ZIONIST CONFLICT, INSPIRED BY THE RECENT U.N. AND UNESCO RESOLUTIONS. WE SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CLARIFY CERTAIN POINTS. THIS CLARIFICATION HAS BECOME INDISPENSABLE BECAUSE OF THE VAST CAMPAIGN LEADING HUNDREDS OF INTELLECTUALS FROM THE CAPITALIST WESTERN WORLD TO EXPRESS THEIR RESERVATIONS (IF NOT WORSE) OF THE LARGE DIPLOMATIC GAINS ACHIEVED LAST YEAR BY THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION.

These gains are in effect due to a conjunction of local and international factors. Nevertheless it remains that the principal factor which for the first time in modern history has brought about the recognition of a body representative of the aspirations of the whole Palestinian people, is the hard struggle conducted by all the patriotic sectors of our people, especially in the last ten years, in an attempt to break through the wall of silence erected since the drama of 1948. If a majority of states and political forces in the world have expressed their support for the re-nascent Palestinian people, it is not due to a Machiavellian awareness of immediate economic interests (as the vast anti-Arab campaign would have it). It is because this Palestinian people has survived the multiple attempts at political genocide to which it has been subjected during the past sixty years.

Remember, gentlemen, the Partition (planned and blessed by the Western powers) of our territory in 1948 between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, a partition reflecting the new post-war balance between the United States and Great Britain in the region. The word « Palestine » itself became for twenty years a non-word, banished from « geography and history. » You undoubtedly recall, gentlemen, that hardly eight years ago the adjective « Palestinian » was unknown in your countries and the very existence of the Palestinian people was not suspected by the average citizen in Paris, Stockholm or New-York.

Thus it is because it has survived the continuous attempts at « pacification » made by the two « guardians » of its territory, that the Palestinian people affirms itself to-day. Remember Sammou in 1966, Karameh in 1968, the Black September in

1970, and the numerous Sammou, Karamehs and Black Septembers which have been attempted up to this day. Only recently, in May 1974, several Palestinian refugee camps (especially Nabatiyeh) in the south of Lebanon were razed by Israeli aeroplanes, burying hundreds of dead civilians under the rubble.

Remember, gentlemen, that thousands of Palestinian patriots are stagnating in Israeli prisons. Several have come out actual human wrecks. We shall not say much about them — to find out more, you can read the courageous work of the progressive Israeli lawyer, Felicia Langer (for there exist progressive Israelis. Some of them even share life with the Palestinian patriots in the jails of « liberating » Zionism).

Indeed, gentlemen, it is primarily the sacrifices of the Palestinian people which actually form a recognized « subject » in international appeals. If the past months have witnessed a conjunction of occurrences favorable to the Palestinian people, the reason is that its struggle is not in a void but in a changing world characterized by the irresistible rise of the forces of liberation. 1974 was not only the year of victory of the Palestinian people on the diplomatic front. The struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique and the islands of Cape Verde, Principe and Sao Tome (all old Portuguese colonies) has tasted success. 1974 has seen the weakening of the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. It was also the year of the deepening of the economic crisis latent in the world imperialist system.

If all these factors have joined to favor the rise of our people on the international scene, well, we are proud and satisfied. For we prove also that we are in the anti-imperialist liberation camp, in the central

current of modern history.

Nevertheless it must be added, even if it is evident, that the diplomatic achievements of 1974 do not in themselves bring about victory. The struggle continues, patient and difficult, in order to turn principles into facts and motions into concrete realities. Great sacrifices have yet to be made in order to impose on the enemy the recognition of the Palestinian people and of its rights. The efforts of all those who desire peace in our region must be channelled in this direction.

Hence to speak, in a tragic tone, of the Jews of Israel running the risk of falling victim to a « genocide » (even if the word is not always mentioned) is somewhat to force events. Israel, this arsenal of ultra-modern American armaments, is still capable (and desirous if it were only up to it to decide) of plunging the region into a ruinous war. Through the voice of its President, Katsir, it has even threatened neighboring Arab countries with its atomic bomb (the « Washington Post » recently confirmed rumours of the construction of the bomb in Israel).

Those who want to spare our region from becoming the arena of a frightful « modern » war, and we think, gentlemen, that you count among those, must address themselves first to Israel, not to the Palestinians who have neither atomic bomb, aeroplanes, nor tanks. The violence of the weak, to which our combatants and our people have recourse, is not comparable with that other violence which has engendered it, though the latter receives sometimes less publicity in your Western press.

Our ambition, gentlemen is to create, in spite of the sufferings of the past sixty years and the bad feelings built up, a peaceful, democratic and progressive region. We are now far from being able to decide alone its political and human form. But to the extent that other Felicia Langers and Ehud Adevs (the latter is in prison in Israel for supporting the Palestinian guerrillas) join us giving our struggle its character of a common fight against all forms of discrimination and oppression, to this extent there will be in our homeland room for all particularisms and respect for all collective aspirations.