

Palestine

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TWO SIDES
OF THE SAME COIN



TO OUR READERS

Solidarity is an important weapon for helping the peoples of the world overcome oppression and injustice. The support and solidarity which the Palestinian people receive helps us to continue our just struggle for our just cause. We are grateful for the solidarity and support we get, but although we have many friends around the world, our enemies are still strong and formidable. They are better armed, better equipped, and much wealthier than we.

Nevertheless, though we may possess limited means, our determination and willingness to sacrifice is unlimited. The world forces of liberation, of which we are proud to be a part, are the emerging forces, and it is to us that the future belongs. The forces of oppression have had their day, and shall be consigned to the dustbin of history.

We thank all of our friends throughout the world for the letters of support and encouragement you have sent to us. Surely, we and other liberation movements will continue on the road to victory.

CONTENTS



Editorial	3
Palestine Chronology	4
Growing Solidarity with Syria, P.L.O. and the Lebanese National Movement	6
Events and Photos	8
What Lies Behind the (U.S.)-Israeli Attack on Iraq's Nuclear Reactor?	10
Zionism in Practice	17
What do the Israeli Elections Mean for the Palestinians	20
Patriotic Lebanese Mobilize	24
to Meet the Zionist-Phalangist Danger	24
Occupation Diary	26
The Occupied Territories: the Annexed Economy and Stunted Development	29
World Events	33
War and Peace in the Middle East	34
Letters to the Editor	36
Solidarity	37
Poem/Enemy of the Sun	39

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EDITORIAL

THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS: DO THEY MATTER?

Who is better for the PLO? Who is better for the Palestinians and their future? Who is better for peace in the Middle East:

Begin or Peres?

These and many other questions about the results of the Israeli elections and whom the PLO would prefer as the next leader of Israel are the subject of common talk in many circles. The June 30th Israeli elections resulted in a neck and neck race between the Labour Alliance (Maarach) of Shimon Peres and the conservative radical bloc (Likud) of Manachem Begin. Out of 120 seats in the colonial-type Israeli parliament (Knesset), the Maarach alliance got 49 seats and the Likud 48 seats. These results are not sufficient to form the Israeli government. Both sides need a coalition with the smaller parties in order to obtain a majority of 61 or 62 seats. The choices are not that numerous. The important smaller parties are mostly of rightist religious tendencies which suit the Likud more than Labour — namely, the National Religious Party and Agudat Israel.

Premier Menachem Begin, "King of Israel" (as he was cheered by the masses during the election campaign) — who is a well-known conservative radical — is leading the Likud bloc. In the past four years of his rule as prime minister, he has practised a policy of genocide against the Palestinians and the Lebanese civilians in south Lebanon. Begin, a Polish Jew, who immigrated to Palestine in the early forties, is a fanatic hater of the Palestinian people and their rights. He believes that he has a God-given right to settle in Palestine and to exterminate its Arab population, to build new settlements on the confiscated land of the Palestinian Arabs. For Menachem Begin, the Palestinians are second-class citizens or even less. Two years ago Begin, Sadat and U.S. former President Carter formulated the Camp David separate peace treaty which gave the Palestinians a self-administration authority which carries less rights for the Palestinian people than a bantustan in South Africa.

As for the second candidate Shimon Peres, the leader of the opposition, he stems from a party which has ruled Israel for almost 29 years. This party has launched all of Israel's wars against the Arabs. This party was the one which started building the settlements in the occupied territories and has taken all kinds of discriminatory measures against the Palestinians.

The political programme of this party denies the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their right to establish their own independent state. The Labour Party programme advocates "the Jordanian option" as a solution for the Palestinian people, i.e. they refuse a state for the Palestinian people.

Chairman Arafat commented on many occasions on the Israeli elections, saying that both candidates have the same intentions. Begin and Peres want the same thing for the Palestinians. The only difference is that Peres will execute the same policy, but with silk gloves.

The fact is that Begin is an easier enemy for the Palestinians because he shows the real ugly face of the occupation and the real ugly face of Israeli policy. Begin helped to expose the fascist policy of Israel towards the Palestinians. Begin also destroyed the so-called "peaceful" image of Israel and the image of Israel "fighting for survival." Begin has no friends abroad and this will help the Palestinian people recover their rights because this will increase the pressure against Israel and its arrogant policy.

On the other hand, Shimon Peres is a shrewd politician and a big liar. He can trick the Western politicians with his so-called moderation and promises. He has a big influence in the Socialist International and this will help Israel out of its isolation and simultaneously make it more difficult for the Palestinians to gain more and more international political support.

For the Palestinians, they have no other choice but to continue the resistance because they cannot bet on one candidate or the other.

PALESTINE CHRONOLOGY

JUNE 11: **Chairman Arafat arrived in Tripoli, Libya, at the head of a Palestinian delegation including Fateh Central Committee members Abu Iyad and Abu al Hol, PLO Executive Committee members Abu Maher al-Yamani and Talal Naji, and 'Issam al-Qadi, Secretary General of Saiqa.**

The official talks with members of the Libyan revolutionary leadership centred on a number of important Arab issues, principally the Israeli military escalation against the Palestinian and Lebanese people in south Lebanon, Israeli threats against Syria and the Israeli air raid against Iraq's nuclear installations.

Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO Political Department, who was heading the Palestinian delegation to the Arab Foreign Ministers' Conference in Baghdad, met with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz. Discussions focused on the Foreign Ministers' Conference which was called in the wake of the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations. Kaddoumi also discussed the need to unify the Arab stand against the Zionist menace.

The heads of Arab diplomatic missions in Prague have named Atef Abu Bakr, the PLO representative in the Czech capital, Dean of the Arab diplomatic corps.

Chairman Yasser Arafat met King Hassan II of Morocco for two and a half hours. The meeting, which was attended by Moroccan Crown Prince Muhammad, and Fateh Central Committee member Abu Iyad, dealt with the Arab situation, in particular the closing of Arab ranks following Israel's attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad. The meeting also dealt with bilateral relations between the PLO and Morocco.

JUNE 13: **On his way, Arafat paid a short visit to Algeria where he met with President Chadli Ben Jedid.** He discussed with the Algerian President the latest developments on the Arab and international levels in the light of the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor and the threats against the national security of the Arab nation.

JUNE 15: **Chairman Arafat received the British parliamentary delegation visiting the PLO.** Arafat explained the latest developments of the Palestinian cause and the situation in the Middle East, in the light of the Israeli aggression in south Lebanon and the recent attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations.

The delegation, which is composed of MPs from both the Labour and Conservative parties, had earlier visited several Palestinian refugee camps in south Lebanon where they saw the destruction resulting from Israeli aggression. The delegation met with the commander of the Joint Forces in south Lebanon who briefed them on the effects of continuous Israeli attacks against Palestinian and Lebanese citizens. The British delegation expressed its solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people, adding that what was happening in south Lebanon was a clear indication of Israel's violation of international law and human rights.

JUNE 16: **Chairman Arafat met with Syrian President, Hafez al-Assad.**

The meeting, which was also attended by Khaled al-Fahoum, President of the Palestinian National Congress, Abu Iyad and Abu Maher, members of the Fateh Central Committee, dealt with developments in the Arab arena and the Zionist threat facing the Arab nation. During the meeting, Arafat briefed the Syrian President on the results of his visits to the North African Arab states.

Chairman Arafat met with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, with whom he discussed the problems currently facing the Arab nation, including the means to confront the Israeli attack on Iraqi territory which is a threat to the national security of all the Arabs.

The meeting also dealt with the situation in the Arab Gulf, the necessity of consolidating Arab ranks and the means to strengthen Palestinian-Iraqi relations.

JUNE 17: **Chairman Arafat met with Yemeni President Ali Nasser Muhammad.** During the meeting, discussion focused on the latest developments on the Arab and international levels and on efforts to confront the challenges and dangers facing the Arab nation. Nasser expressed the support of his country for the Palestinian Revolution, and praised the PLO's role in unifying Arab ranks. Also present at the meeting were Yemeni

Socialist Party Politburo member and Vice President Ali Haidar, and Central Committee member and Foreign Minister Salem Saleh Muhammad on the Yemeni side; on the Palestinian side the PLO representative in Aden Abbas Zaki.

JUNE 18: **Chairman Arafat met with President Ali Abdullah Saleh of the Yemen Arab Republic.** The three-hour meeting was attended by Fateh Central Committee member Abu Iyad, PLO representative Abdel Aziz al-Ghani; Yemeni Vice President Abdel Karim al-Iriyani and the Yemeni Premier and Foreign Minister.

The meeting centred on the latest developments in the Middle East, in particular the situation in south Lebanon. The Yemeni President confirmed his country's support for the Palestinian Revolution and put his country's potential at the disposal of the Palestinian leadership.

JUNE 19: **The PLO office in East Germany held a reception in Berlin on the occasion of the establishment of the Palestinian-German Friendship Association.** The reception was attended by the PLO representative in East Germany, the Head of the German Solidarity Committee, Vice President of the People's Friendship Association in the Democratic Republic of Germany, and several other representatives of government social organizations and heads of diplomatic missions.

Chairman Arafat met with the Yugoslav Ambassador in Beirut, with whom he discussed the latest regional developments. The Ambassador handed Arafat an invitation from the Yugoslav leadership to visit Belgrade.

JUNE 22: **Chairman Arafat met Libyan Prime Minister Abdel Salam Jalloud and Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam.** The meeting dealt with the latest developments in the Arab region.

Arafat also met with the Chairman of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra, with whom he discussed issues related to the Palestinian cause and the efforts of the World Peace Council in supporting the Palestinian people.

JUNE 23: **Arafat met with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad in the presence of Abu Mazen, member of the PLO Executive Committee.**

The meeting dealt with the current situation in the Arab region, the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people in south Lebanon, the Zionist challenges facing the Arab nation, the unlimited US support to the Israeli entity and the means to confront these challenges. The meeting also dealt with the results of Arafat's latest tour of a number of Arab states.

Arafat received the Chairman of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra, with whom he discussed the situation in the region and the Council's contributions on the international level to mobilizing world public opinion in confronting the US-Zionist campaign waged against the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

The meeting also dealt with this year's activities of the International Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian people, which emerged from the Basel Congress, in Europe and Latin America.

Arafat also met Comrade Zasukhov, Vice President of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, with whom he discussed the critical situation in the region, in the light of the latest US-Zionist campaign against the PLO. The meeting also dealt with a number of activities which the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee would carry out to increase international solidarity with the Palestinian people and their just cause.

Chairman Arafat received the Yugoslav Ambassador in Beirut, who handed him a message from the Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. The message touched on the developments of the situation in the Middle East and Yugoslavia's stand towards these developments in the light of the Israeli escalation against the Palestinian people. The message also confirmed Yugoslavia's solidarity with the Palestinian people and their national rights, including the rights of self-determination and of establishing an independent state.

During the meeting, Arafat asked the Yugoslav Ambassador to convey his greetings and appreciation to the Yugoslav leadership for its solidarity with the PLO at all levels.

JUNE 24: **Chairman Arafat received the Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Lebanon, with whom he discussed the latest developments in the region, in the light of the escalating Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.**

GROWING SOLIDARITY WITH SYRIA, P.L.O. AND THE LEBANESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT



At the Solidarity Conference in Damascus: front row (L. to R.) Chairman Arafat, Mr. Romesh Chandra, President Assad, Syrian Culture Minister Muhammad Bajbouj, L.N.M. Chairman Walid Junblatt.

In the face of continuing Israeli aggressive sabotage acts against the Palestinian people, Lebanon and Syria, and the conspiracies of Camp David in the Arab region, an international solidarity conference was held in Damascus on 22-25 June 1981, on the initiative of the World Peace Council (WPC) and its Chairman Mr. Romesh Chandra, under the auspices of the Syrian President Hafez Al Assad.

The conference was attended by the Peace Forces of 140 countries. Speeches were delivered by Mr. Romesh Chandra, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, Walid Junblatt, leader of the Lebanese National movement, Khalid Muhi-uddin, Secretary-General of the Egyptian National Rally Party and representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, Guinea, Cuba, Britain, Cyprus, Sweden, France, and Czechoslovakia.

The opening session was of great importance because the conference was being held at a time when Syria is struggling against the onslaughts of Zionism and imperialism. At the opening session, Syrian President Assad delivered an important speech, in which he welcomed the

participants and the representatives of the parties and popular organizations. He condemned the Camp David accords and shed light on Israel's latest role and attitude towards Syria and the Arab Deterrent Forces in Lebanon, saying:

"Imperialism wants to impose its will and schemes on the Arab masses, disregarding the wishes and interests of these masses. Imperialism wants to impose its schemes and plans at the expense of the interests of these masses. Imperialism wants the peoples of this region to play a specified role in the global imperialist strategy, so that their efforts would be in harmony with, and complementary to, the efforts of the other imperialist tools, wherever imperialism can find them in various parts of the world.

"This means we are required to mobilize our human and material potentials to serve objectives other than ours, and aspirations different from ours.

"We understood things in the light of the Camp David Accords, in the same way as the

entire world understood them from the explicit words included in recent declarations of U.S. officials, and from the contacts and tours undertaken by them, most notably the tour of this region by the U.S. Secretary of State. The purpose of that tour, as publicly stated, was to establish a strategic alliance in the region the basis of which would be Israel and Sadat's regime, and to recruit whomever they are to mobilize in efforts to confront an imaginary danger allegedly emanating from the Soviet Union.

"Zionism wants to establish Greater Israel in this region after it has established 'Kernel' Israel. It is imperative to recognize this fact to be able to comprehend the Israeli policies and aggressive acts which aim to expand and to realize expansion at intervals. Also better to comprehend the mutual relationship between Israel and the forces of racism and imperialism throughout the world. I wish to point out that Zionism has world tasks, but this is not the place to discuss and deal with them.

Arafat's speech at the conference:

Chairman Arafat delivered a speech at the World Peace Council Conference. He started his speech by thanking and praising the role of the participating delegations in supporting the militants of the Arab nation. He said that peace would prevail in the region, but it would be determined by the Arab militants and not by the US, or by Camp David. Arafat said that the continuing Israeli acts of aggression in south Lebanon against the Arab Deterrent Forces and on Iraq's nuclear reactor were approved by a US decision and that the Pentagon issued orders to the Israeli forces to bring the Arab nation to its knees in order to accept its plans. Arafat went on: "We, in the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front meeting, have refused to kneel and pledged to fight to defend our countries, our children and our future". Arafat then referred to the Israeli policies in the occupied territories, in particular the policy of judaization, the confiscation of land and water sources, in addition to the deportation and murder of militants inside Israeli jails. Arafat also referred to the situation in south Lebanon, where Israel occupies a segment of Lebanon under the umbrella of Saad Haddad, and where Israeli forces launch daily attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese civilian population using U.S. weapons, including those prohibited internationally.

Arafat praised the Soviet position and said that Reagan practiced terrorism against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and against the peoples of Latin America. "If our support to the militants in Nicaragua and El Salvador is considered terrorism, then welcome to terrorism." Arafat called for a strategic differentiation between allies and enemies and said, "let Reagan know that the Arab action has friends in

the world on whom we can depend". Arafat said that the attack against the Iraqi nuclear reactor was a dangerous move, because the intention was not to occupy land but to "usurp our will". Arafat then elaborated on a saying of President Assad that Palestine is the southern part of Syria, by adding that "Lebanon is the western part of Syria and Jordan is also its southern part; for we do not recognize the Sykes-Picot agreement". He stressed that the Joint Forces and Syria will resist and fight in this forward trench, despite the sophisticated technology provided to the enemy by Reagan, the US Administration and the CIA which organizes international terror and provides a bridgehead for imperialism in the Middle East. He added: "In 1977, when they pushed Sadat to go to Jerusalem, they believed that the people would follow Sadat, as in 1949. But four years have passed from 1977 to 1981, and we have fought under terrible Arab circumstances, and we will continue to fight, together with free men the world over, with everything we have, until the last bullet and the last child."

Arafat concluded that the road ahead is long and hard, but "we are not alone, for with us stand numerous friends and peace-loving peoples, headed by the USSR. We will fight so that peace can prevail in the land of peace, Palestine. We will not fight in order to oppress or kill, but to preserve the dignity of the Arab nation and its flag".

The Chairman of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra, discussed Syria's significant role in the world's struggle for liberation. He said:

The international conference of solidarity with Syria and the PLO is one of the most important events ever organized in the 32 years' history of the World Peace Council.

Following its deliberations the conference adopted the resolutions and recommendations submitted by the conference's committees.

Among the resolutions were denunciations of the daily Israeli attacks on south Lebanon and the expansionist fascist Israeli policy. The conference considered the Israeli decision to annex Jerusalem as a violation of and a challenge to international legitimacy and U.N. resolutions.

The conference considered U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 to be inappropriate as a basis for solving the Palestine question, and reiterated that the Palestine cause was the essence of the Middle East conflict. The conference also affirmed that a just peace in the Middle East must be based on the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem. Finally, the conference urged peace-loving forces the world over to concentrate their efforts to support a just solution of the Palestinian problem.

EVENTS AND PHOTOS



Chairman Arafat meeting Syria's President Assad in Damascus



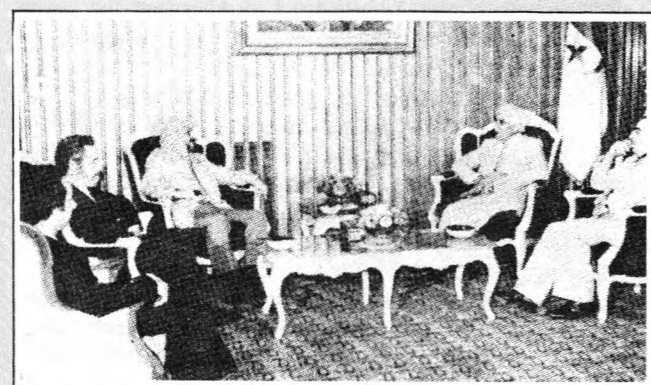
With President Ali Nasser Muhammad of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen



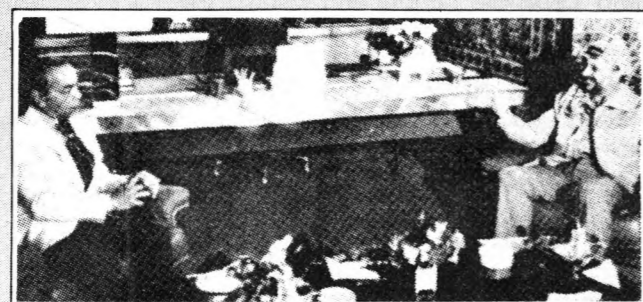
With members of a visiting British Parliamentary delegation



With Iraqi President Saddam Hussein



Discussions with Algerian President Chadli Ben Jadid in Algiers



With Morocco's King Hassan II in Rabat

NAIM KHADER COMMEMORATION CEREMONY IN BRUSSELS

The PLO office in Brussels and the Palestinian-Belgian Friendship Society held a ceremony to commemorate the death of the PLO representative in Belgium, Naim Khader, who was assassinated by Zionist and imperialist agents in Brussels on June 1st.

The ceremony, which was held at the conference centre, was attended by Belgian organizations, societies and unions, a large number of representatives from various political parties and forces in Belgium, representatives of the Arab and foreign diplomatic corps and several Belgian parliamentarians.

During the ceremony, the director of the Arab League Office in Brussels, the Algerian Ambassador, the head of the National Society for Belgian Peace and Development, Marcelle Leman on behalf of the Belgian-Palestinian Friendship Society and representatives of the Christian democratic and Socialist Parties, all delivered short speeches in which they praised the heroic struggle of the martyr Naim Khader and his contribution to the progress of the Euro-Arab dialogue.

Naim Khader's widow and Mahmoud Labadi, head of PLO Foreign Information Dept, both delivered short speeches in which they thanked the Belgian people for their sympathy and hoped this would mark a first step towards the strengthening of relations between the Palestinian and Belgian peoples.

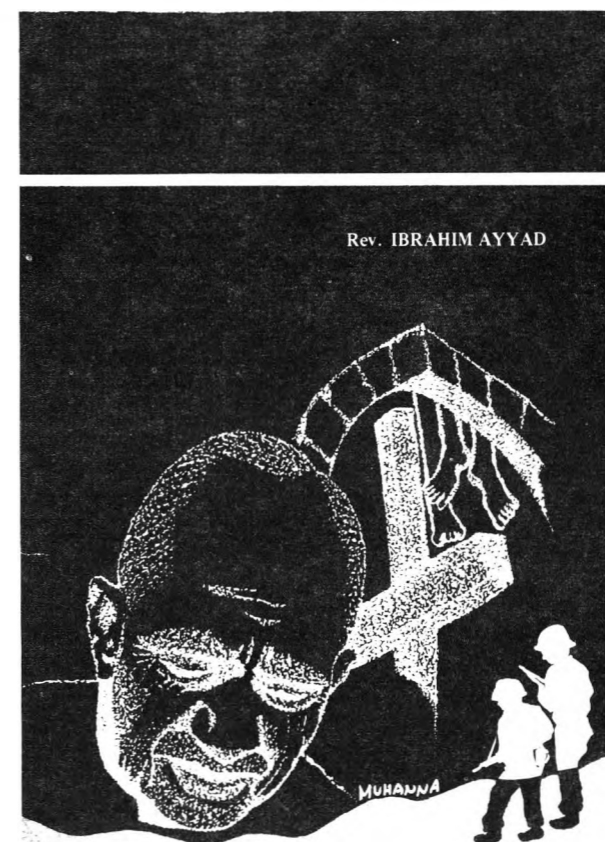
A PALESTINIAN DELEGATION ATTENDS VARNA 9TH FILM FESTIVAL

Under the slogan of "through humanism, for friendship and peace", the 9th Varna Film Festival was held in Bulgaria from 3 to 12 June. The festival, which the International Red Cross Society organises every second year, was a great demonstration in which 63 delegations participated.

A Palestinian delegation from the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (P.R.C.S), headed by Dr. Nabila Nashshibi and comprising Abdul-Rahman Bsaiss, Dr. Omar Muhammad and Monika Mauror, was there. This was the 3rd Palestinian presence in the Varna festival. The P.R.C.S. delegation carried three 35-minute, 16mm. colour films, which were produced by the Society's Information department, by the team of Monika Mauror, Samir Nimr and Abu Zarif.

The films were watched seriously by a Bulgarian and foreign audience, and highly appreciated. The film of "Children of Palestine" shared the "B" category prize with the Soviet film "Return to life". The same film team of P.R.C.S. won many prizes in several previous festivals in Leipzig (G.D.R) and Tashkent (U.S.S.R.).

The delegation received the respect and support of a great number of our Bulgarian and other Socialist friends. On this occasion, Bsaiss expressed greetings, in the name of the delegation and the P.R.C.S., to Comrade Kyril Ignatov, head of the Bulgarian Red Cross society and of the Palestinian-Bulgarian friendship Society, who was completely co-operative, and who fought against fascism.

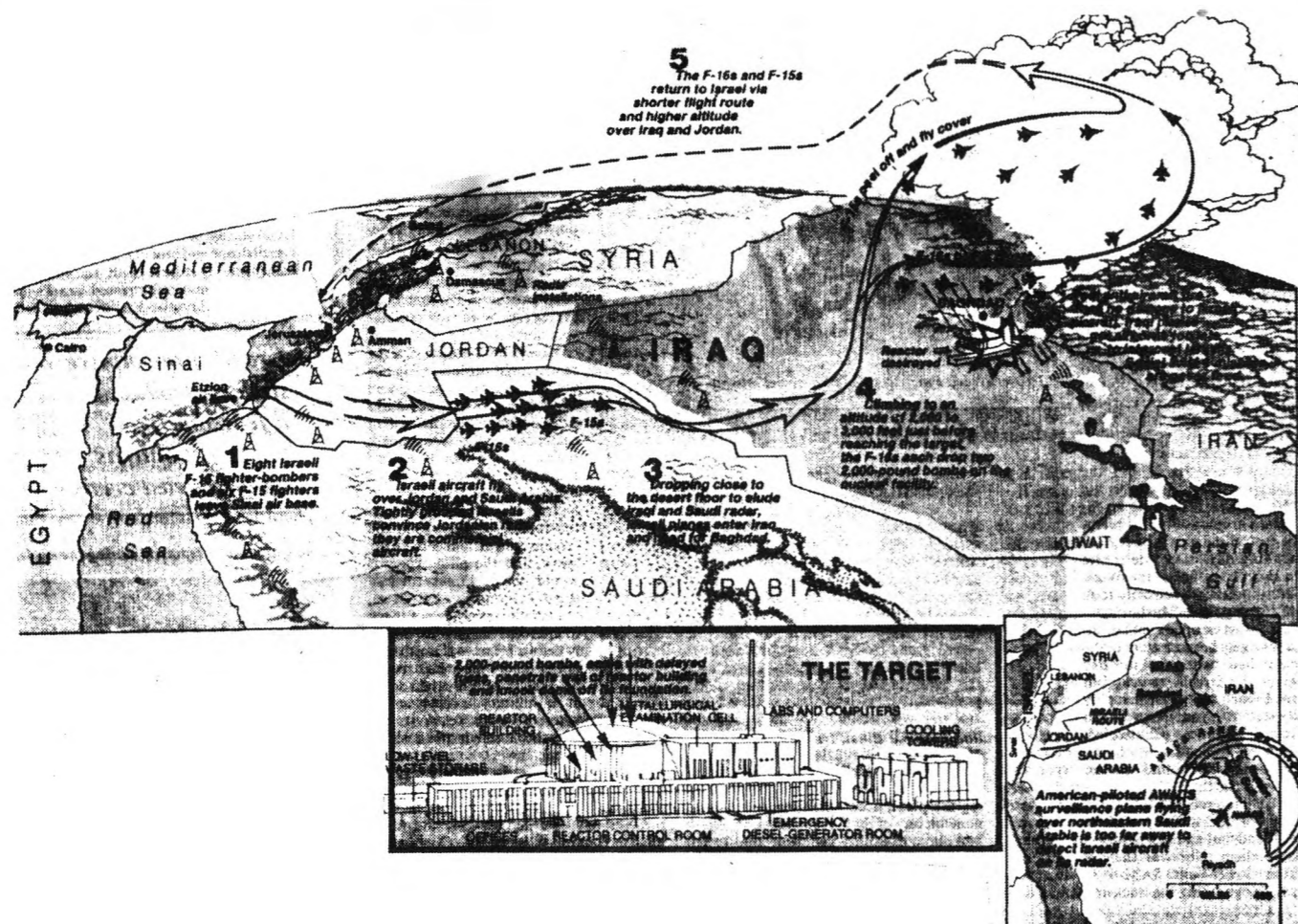


Rev. IBRAHIM AYYAD

ISRAEL AND THE CHRISTIANS, BY THE REV. IBRAHIM AYYAD

This booklet, by a Palestinian Catholic priest who is also a member of the Palestinian National Congress, is a well-documented and accurate account of what it means to be a Christian under Israeli rule. It also clearly shows up the hypocrisy of the Israeli leaders' claims to be the "defenders of Christianity" in Lebanon.

WHAT LIES BEHIND THE (U.S.)-ISRAELI ATTACK ON IRAQ'S NUCLEAR REACTOR?



The gangster attack killed at least three people, among them one French technician. It destroyed the nearly completed \$260 million Osirak research reactor, the centre of years of scientific development in one of the main Arab countries. The aggression was a "clear violation of International Law" (U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim). The 8 F-16 and 6 F-15 U.S. fighter planes, supplied to Israel in the course of the Camp David "peace process", struck without any provocation about 600 miles far from their home bases. They crossed and violated the air space of three Arab countries, spreading destruction

and terror with their tele-guided smart bombs and missiles, likewise provided by the United States.

The world was shocked. The conservative British *Sunday Times* wrote (June 14, 1981): "Israel's action is a fearful and menacing boost for international anarchy. Washington has promised undiminished arms deliveries subject only to temporary delay over four aircraft... The international system as a whole is the loser." The Brazilian delegate to the UN, Sergio Correa, warned the Security Council against this "flagrant violation of International Law and mani-

festation of a menacing inclination to use violence." To tolerate this sort of "preventive aggression... will lead to the destruction of our organisation and the vanishing of any hope for coexistence among the states." The U.S. magazine *Time* quoted a British Cabinet member as saying: "It is a measure of Begin's fanaticism, personal ambition and total disregard of the truth that he was prepared to risk the peace of the Middle East, and even world peace, to achieve his ends."

"King Begin", stronger than NATO, hits the "meshuggener" Arabs

However, it is not the "personal demon" of Begin who should frighten the world. It is the entire Zionist policy based on militarism, violence and racist superiority and unconditionally backed by the arms of the United States and its no less aggressive policy in the area. While a Zionist mob was raving in the streets in Israel and celebrating the crime, the Israeli Chief of Staff General Eytan threatened: "We will know what to do next time as well, and it is not definite that it will be in Iraq in particular. It may be somewhere else." (*International Herald Tribune*, June 13, 1981) — maybe in Italy or even France? Speaking on U.S. television, Begin said (*International Herald Tribune*, June 16, 1981): "I hope that Francois Mitterand will not provide Iraq [again] with these scientists and enriched uranium. I hope Italy will learn its lesson..." On June 16 Moshe Arens, president of the Knesset commission for foreign affairs and defense was quoted on Radio Israel (see *AFP*) claiming that "Israel had today a military power equal to that of one of the forces of the NATO Atlantic Pact."

For the Arabs, Begin and his ilk had nothing left but contempt and racism: He called the Saudi regime names; he told "Mr. Assad" to remove Syrian air defense missiles (from Lebanon) "or else we will destroy them"; he vowed again to "bruise the Palestinians" and his raging electorate mob answered with "Begin — King of Israel, Begin — King of Israel." (*AFP*, June 23, 1981). While bragging that Israel would compensate the family of the French man murdered in the attack, he pledged that, for the Iraqis, of course, he would not pay "a brass farthing" despite the UN Security Council's call for Israeli compensation for the aggression. And to the question of how Israel would react if another Arab country got the potential to build a bomb, "Begin replied, amid laughter, "Let us deal first with that *meshuggener* (Yiddish for crazy or lunatic). With the other *meshuggener* another time." (*U.S. Time*, June 22, 1981.)

The candidate of "the opposition" and opportunism, Shimon Peres, did not much worse: "Once again, the Israeli Air Force has showed it is the best in the world," he commented on June 8. Later on, he only criticised the "timing" of the attack and that Begin openly admitted Israel's responsibility, instead

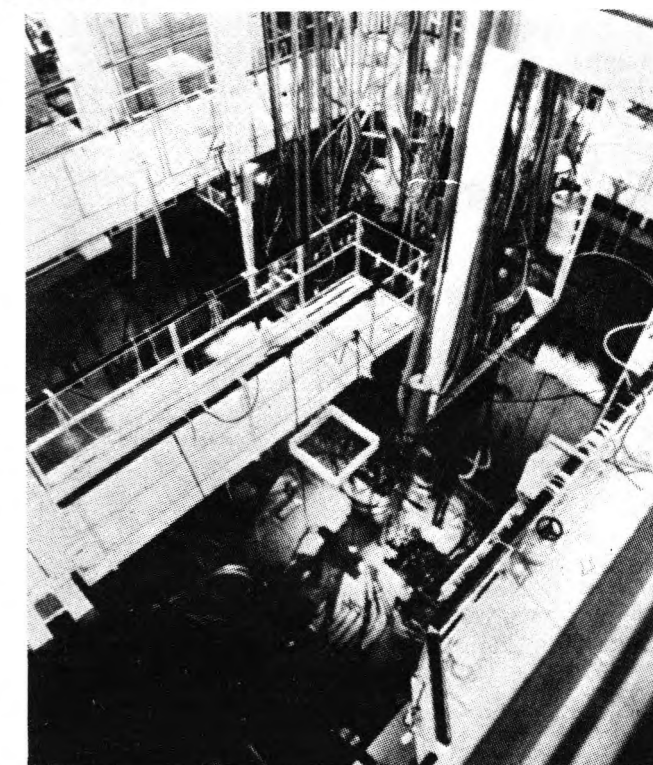
of leaving "the world free to speculate about the mystery." (*British Guardian* June 6, 1981).

Meanwhile in the United States, the Reagan administration, apart from some hypocritical moves to deceive world public opinion, hurried to assure the Zionist aggressors of its further unlimited military and political support. "We in the Reagan administration are proud to call Israel our friend and ally," declared U.S. delegate Jeanne Kirkpatrick before the UN Security Council on June 17.

Zionist lies about a threat of a new Jewish holocaust

It is not astonishing that the Zionist aggressors, supported by the United States, once again are trying to cover their outright aggression with a flood of propagandistic lies. These lies are evident to any reasonable observer. However, after an initial shock and some spontaneous outrage over the aggression, the Western and in particular the U.S. media quickly received these lies in order to exculpate and "justify" the attack on world peace.

First of all, the Begin government and its hands made all efforts to turn the facts upside down, by claiming that the Iraqis were about to build a nuclear bomb threatening Israel with a new holocaust. As Begin put it: "there will never again in history be a holocaust against the Jewish people" (significantly he did not care about holocausts committed or about to be committed against other people and races of minor value, such as the Palestinians and the Arabs in general...).



A view of a research reactor similar to Iraq's Osirak reactor attacked by the Israelis

The lie about an Iraqi bomb

The facts, however, tell that there is no Iraqi or other Arab nuclear bomb in sight which would threaten Israel. Instead Israel, in cooperation with the United States, France, South Africa, and others, has developed nuclear weapons which, in addition to Israel's crushing conventional superiority, threaten the entire region. The International Atomic Energy Agency IAEA, which controls the Iraqi scientific and peaceful nuclear potential, has made it absolutely clear that Iraq had neither the technical capacities to build a bomb in the forthcoming years, nor were there any indications that Iraq, in violation of its various commitments undertaken towards the IAEA and also France, even intended to build a bomb in the foreseeable future. Iraq, contrary to Israel, has signed the Nonproliferation Treaty precluding the production of nuclear weapons.

The French government, too, has stated that under the agreement with Iraq, French technicians were in entire control of all the experiments undertaken by Iraq in the destroyed Osirak reactor at least until 1989, and that it was impossible for Iraq secretly to develop nuclear weapons there. This was even confirmed by the new President Mitterand, who basically supports Israel and is opposed to French nuclear assistance for Iraq. "According to Michel Pecquer, the head of the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), the presence of French scientists, in addition to regular inspections by the IAEA, made it impossible for Iraq to obtain a meaningful amount of nuclear explosive without France or the IAEA knowing about it." (*International Herald Tribune*, June 19, 1981)

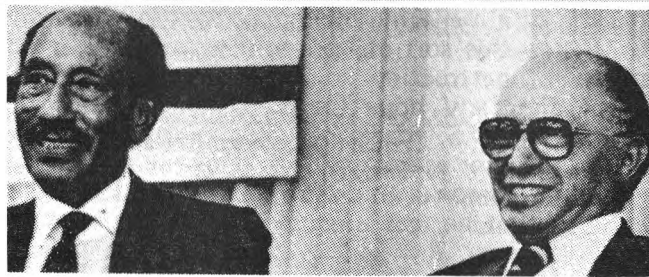
Even an official U.S. report written by the research service of the Library of Congress for the hearings in the U.S. Senate admits that "the Iraqi reactor destroyed by Israel could not have been used to build nuclear weapons secretly." (*Times*, June 18, 1981).

Fabricated "quotations"

Israeli claims that they had also destroyed a secret lab 40 metres under the ground were called by the French authorities a product of "Begin's phantasy" and later even revoked by Begin himself. Another lie was the alleged quotation from the Iraqi paper *Al-Thaura* of October 4, 1980, according to which the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had said that an Iraqi nuclear bomb was directed against Israel. As the *Times* of June 14, 1981 stated, such a quotation did not exist; nevertheless the lie was repeated in Western publications all over the world.

U.S. connivance in the raid

Another Mossad propaganda story is the Israeli account of how the attacking planes allegedly flew into Iraq. Even the Israelis admit that their war planes



Begin and Sadat meet three days before the attack

violated the airspace of at least Saudi Arabia and Jordan, besides Iraq. However, they claim that these planes, taking off from the Etzion base in occupied Sinai, carried out their far-distance operation without being refuelled and without even being identified by either Egyptian, Jordanian, Saudi Arabian and Iraqi radar, due to the special formation in flight and the cleverness of the Israeli pilots who cheated one Jordanian air control post by answering them in "fluent Arabic": a story which even the pro-Zionist British *Sunday Telegraph* found "hard to be believed". Indeed, it is already hard to believe that the U.S. AWACS planes operating in Saudi Arabia, allegedly in the Eastern Gulf area, were "too far" away to discover the at least 14 attacking war planes, apart from all the Arab air control stations. But it would have been just impossible that the planes, if they took off from Etzion in occupied Sinai, had not been discovered by the U.S. surveillance posts which are stationed there according to the Camp David agreements with the special task of monitoring the ground and aerial movements in the area; in addition to the U.S. AWACS planes now stationed in Egypt and covering also the Red Sea and the Arabian peninsula. Moreover, several reports have indicated that the Israeli war planes actually had to be refuelled during their 1,000 miles or so attack flight, probably over "Saudi airspace" (West German *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, June 10, 1981).

All this, and the fact that there was no Iraqi air defense response at all, leaves only two possibilities open: Either the Israeli planes did in fact *not* operate out of Israel, but from somewhere else close to the Iraqi borders, possibly from U.S. land or naval bases anywhere in the Gulf. Or, the large numbers of Israeli planes involved — attack fighters and refuelling aircraft — had the active logistic, radar and anti-radar support of the U.S. stations, possibly even the U.S. AWACS planes themselves indeed, the *Washington Post/International Herald Tribune* of June 13, 1981 said that "Israel possibly knew the routes and schedules of the four AWACS."

U.S. hypocrisy

Anyhow, all the claims by the U.S. administration, that they were "surprised" and politically "embarrassed" by the attack, which they allegedly strongly condemned, are absolutely ridiculous and sheer hypocrisy.

The Israeli government itself has admitted that the operation had been planned since last October and that it once had been halted because too many people, including Israeli opposition politicians, knew already about the planning. Speaking over U.S. television, Begin also explicitly said that Israel had exchanged intelligence with the U.S. over the affair (*Times* and *Maariv*, June 15, 1981). Likewise ridiculous was the decision of the U.S. government to suspend the delivery of the next four F-16s to Israel for some time, with 53 out of 75 planes being already supplied. "The Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, whose immediate reaction was one of admiration for Israel's skill and daring, argued for nothing more than a symbolic slap on the wrist for Israel," reported the *Sunday Times* of June 14 from Washington.

Common U.S. and Israeli aims behind the attack

The U.S.—Israeli collusion in the attack against the Iraqi nuclear potential becomes completely clear if one investigates the true political targets behind the aggression shared by both Zionist Israel and U.S. imperialism.

Israeli nuclear monopoly, U.S.—Israeli hegemony over the region. General Moshe Dayan boasted already in early 1976 in an interview with French T.V.: "I think we have now the possibility to assemble the bomb... The future must include the option and possibility of having nuclear arms without any foreign control." (*Le Monde* February 29, 1976) Indeed there have been abundant reports about Israel having assembled over 20 atomic bombs, and threatened to use them already in the October war of 1973. Besides, Israel has refused to allow any foreign inspection of its nuclear plant at Dimona, neither by the IAEA nor even by the U.S. It is obvious that Israel, in addition to its conventional superiority, uses a direct nuclear threat to uphold its occupation of Arab lands and people. This military imbalance is used to back further Israeli aggression and expansion.

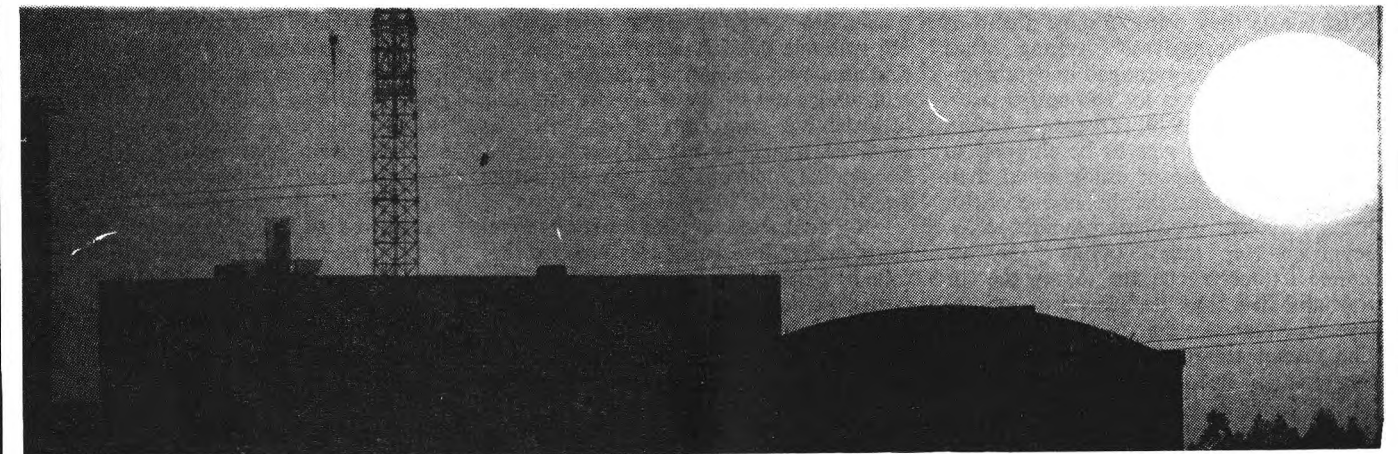
In his declarations following the aggression, Begin has claimed Israel's "right" to uphold for ever this aggressive imbalance, and declared that any attempt by any Arab country to overcome the Israeli nuclear monopoly would give Israel the "right" to destroy this country's potential in "legitimate self-defense". Most significantly Begin did *not* exclude from this the Egypt of President Sadat.

The conservative Swiss *Neue Züricher Zeitung* of June 10, 1981 observed that the latest Israeli attack supports the argument "that the Jewish State wants to have a hegemonistic position and at the same time keep the Arabs economically down and prevent their development."

The United States government obviously entirely supports this doctrine. U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig has assured Israel already on April 7, 1981 that even in case of Israeli-Arab "peace" and U.S. arms supplies to Egypt and other Arab countries, the U.S. would always help Israel "maintaining its military qualitative edge". The Reagan administration has repeated these blank guarantees for Israeli superiority after the latest attack, underlining at the same time that the halt of the F-16 war planes was only temporary.

Receiving Arab ambassadors following the Israeli gangster operation, President Reagan told them that "the Israelis should have used a 'more peaceful means' of preventing Iraq from acquiring nuclear weapons." (*Times*, June 14, 1981). This shows that the U.S. at least shares with Israel the aim of the attack: preventing any Arab nuclear potential which would break the (U.S.)-Israeli strategic superiority in the area.

By keeping the Arabs weak and threatened by its guard dog Israel, the United States tries to perpetuate its own supremacy over, and exploitation of, the entire region, in particular the Arab oil-rich Gulf states.



The Iraqi reactor near Baghdad under construction

Breaking any resistance against Camp David by force. It was not by coincidence that the Israeli attack came only three days after Begin's latest tête-à-tête with President Sadat in Sharm Al-Shaikh of June 4, where the latter again assured him of his absolute subservience to Camp David, even in the aftermath of the latest Israeli aggression against Lebanon and Syria. "Israel's peace with Egypt, reinforced by Prime Minister Begin's sheeting with Mr. Sadat in Sinai last week, had let the Israelis attack Iraq without fearing a counterattack from Egypt." (*New York Times*, June 6, 1981).

Camp David, far from promoting peace in the Middle East, not only has given Israel new room for aggression and expansion. In addition, the U.S. is now trying, through increased Israeli violence, to bully all those Arab states which have refused to accept the U.S.-dominated protectorate over the region as set up at Camp David.

The calculation is that in particular the weak regimes of the Arab Gulf states, where the U.S. is already stepping up its military pressure, will, frightened by increased Israeli blows, eventually turn for "protection" and submission to the United States themselves. Thus, the Israeli attack against Iraq is at the same time an attack against the entire Arab nation and strategically supported by the U.S. It is cheap propaganda, that the latest Israeli raid should have, for instance, damaged the U.S. Habib "peace" mission in the area. On the contrary, it is a flanking attack to promote its aims.

Promoting U.S. arms sales to the area. The U.S. government tries to exploit the Israeli raid against Iraq eventually to promote its planned arms sales to Arab Gulf states. "The case for selling the sophisticated AWACS reconnaissance aircraft to Saudi Arabia has been immeasurably strengthened" in the deliberations of the U.S. Congress, noted the British *Guardian* already on June 12, 1981. And the *Los Angeles Times Service* of June 14 reported that the Reagan administration plans to drop the investigation on whether Israel "might" have violated U.S. regulations on arms sales by its raid, in exchange for tacit Israeli agreement to the stepped-up arms sales to Arab Gulf states: "Though investigation of the Israeli raid is still not completed, there is already widespread speculation that the whole matter will be allowed to drop"... "Instead Israel would abandon lobbying against the sale" (of AWACS and other arms to Saudi Arabia).

Teaching France and Western Europe a lesson. By attacking the Iraqi nuclear potential set up with the help of French and Italian technique and assistance, Israel and behind it the United States also intended to bring home to the Western European "allies" that they have to submit to the strategic, economic and technical predominance of the United States in the area. In his above-mentioned interview on U.S. T.V. Begin already made it clear that he "hoped" that

President Mitterand now would not repeat the same assistance to Iraq which had been provided by the Giscard d'Estaing administration. One should not forget that earlier U.S. administrations had repeatedly pressed and warned the French government not to go too far in their separate nuclear dealings with Iraq. Obviously, both the Israelis and the U.S. government saw the government transition in France as a suitable time for creating a *fait accompli* by destroying the French-built reactor, and pressing the French government for more submission in the future to U.S. and Israeli interests. It is already said that a French reconstruction of Osirak would take place only on a reduced technological level on the basis of less enriched "Caramel" uranium. In a significant interview with the *Washington Post* of June 18, President Mitterand already indicated that France would agree to reconstruct the Iraqi nuclear center destroyed by Israel only if Iraq would agree to new restrictions.

U.S. tries to deceive world public

All the fuss in public over alleged U.S.-Israeli differences over the aggression and the symbolic delay of some arms supplies, as well as the verbal condemnation of the raid by the U.S. in the Security Council, were obviously meant to calm and deceive world public opinion and in particular the Arabs.

In his press conference of June 16, U.S. President Reagan even claimed that Israel had "reason for concern" and that it "might have sincerely believed, it was a defensive move." Commented the Soviet news agency *Tass* of June 16: "In order to please the Zionists, Reagan went so far as to blame not the aggressor, Israel, for the persisting tension in the Middle East, but its victims, the Arab countries. Israel is committed to a policy of *diktat* towards the Arab countries, with the total approval of Washington supplying Tel Aviv with the latest weapons to continue its aggression against the Arab people."

During the deliberations at the Security Council, the United States made it absolutely clear that it would veto any resolution which in any way would provide for effective measures to be undertaken against the aggressor. Such a resolution had been drafted by the Non-Aligned countries supported by the Socialist countries calling on all states, and in particular the U.S., "to abstain from supplying Israel with any assistance of a military, political or economic kind which might encourage Israel to continue its policy of aggression against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people." Out of fear that the U.S. would certainly veto any effective resolution, Iraq finally settled for a mere verbal condemnation by the Security Council.

U.S./Israeli aggression and the myth of the "Soviet threat."

The U.S.-covered Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear potential hit a target representing Arab sovereignty,

economic, technological and military development, and independence in national and international dealings in general. This attack has ridiculed, and unmasked the hypocrisy of, all the propaganda about the "Soviet threat" allegedly pending over the Arab World and the Gulf, from which only the U.S. could save the poor Arabs. There are no proofs of any Soviet moves in the Gulf and the Middle East in general, which would have undermined and threatened the peace and stability of the area in any way similar to Israeli aggression and U.S. Camp David policy.

It is more than clear, who not only threatens but continues to plague the entire region. The latest attacks against Lebanon, Syria, the PLO, and now Iraq have also made it obvious that Arab alliances with the Soviet Union have become in a way a necessity to protest Arab national independence and development. How else could they establish any strategic weight able to counterbalance U.S.-backed and exploited Israeli aggression? In the aftermath of Camp David, it has become clear that wherever there is an attempt to eliminate the Soviet role, it is not peace that is promoted, but the door is opened for more tension, arms build-up, open military adventures and bloodshed.

Playing Fire with Powder Kegs

Apart from providing the Israeli militarists and the U.S. with some short-term advantages, the Israeli aggression against Iraq, of course, has solved nothing. On the contrary, it has brought the entire region — and the world — a further step closer to an eventual catastrophic explosion.

"The nuclear problem was not solved with the destruction of the Iraqi reactor," warned even a worried Mossad chief in an exceptional interview with *Ha'aretz* following the attack. The *New York Times*, not yet censored by the Zionist lobby on June 6, wrote that "Israel's ever-widening definition of

self-defense is illusory," and warned: "Israel has become the first nation to tear yet another of the international system's fragile barriers against anarchy."

The *New York Times* of course forgot to mention the United States in this context: The Israeli policy of violence, sabre rattling and aggression is but an echo of U.S. Middle East and international policy in recent years. Instead of helping to solve any of the basic national, economic and security problems in the area by reasonable and just political means, both are just relying on blackmail and sowing dissension among the Arabs, combined with an unprecedented arms build up, speculating that they can get away for ever with it in the face of Arab disunity and weakness. It is a stupid speculation anyhow. The Israeli policy of fascist subversion and aggression directed against Lebanon has proved the dangerous results. The "Lebanization" of the entire Middle East, as a matter of fact, is by itself setting off and creating more internal (even inside Israel!), regional and international problems and instability than the militarist masterminds will finally be able to handle.

Moreover, violence is never a monopoly, nor will nuclear technology remain one for long. The jubilant Israeli racists, militarists and fascists will not only plunge the region into new bloodshed, but are indeed actively working on the eventual destruction of Israel itself. Those who are sowing wind in this area, so sensitive for the well-being of the entire world, will reap a storm.

WORLD COMMUNITY CONDEMNS ISRAEL'S ACT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

On June 19, 1981, the U.N. Security Council unanimously condemned Israel's attack on Iraq as a "clear violation of the U.N. charter" and termed it a threat to world peace and security.



Begin reiterates his threats at a press conference with Israeli Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan, Air Force Commander David Iri and Intelligence Chief Yehoshua Saguy

During the debate, delegates from the Arab World, from developing countries, from the Socialist bloc and from Western Europe all denounced the latest act of international terrorism and gangsterism committed by the Zionist state.

The Non-Aligned countries led by Cuba had originally called for mandatory military and economic sanctions against the aggressor. The Philippines delegate, for instance, said that without taking effective counter-measures this dangerous precedent could lead to a situation where on the basis of mere suspicion acts of armed aggression could be committed against other states. The Soviet delegate Oleg Troyangovski also called for mandatory sanctions. He underlined that Israel was isolated, adding however, that the country's policy of aggression and expansion was only possible because of U.S. sponsorship and war supplies. "Israel would not have dared to challenge the entire international community unless it were convinced of the understanding and virtual encouragement for its adventurist and expansionist policies from Washington." The British delegate Sir Anthony Parsons warned that Israel's raid "has very serious implications for the international nuclear safeguards system. It amounts to an attack on the IAEA safeguards regime."

This was repeated in the report delivered to the Security Council by Sigvard Eklund, the head of the International Atomic Energy Agency. He again confirmed and underlined the peaceful character and purpose of the destroyed Iraqi reactor.

In a key speech to the Council, the Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Shaikh Sabah al-Ahmad repeated that without the support of the United States Israel could not continue its policy of aggression and expansion unpunished. Israel's definition of its "security" and "borders" poses a serious threat to peace and security of our region," he said, and warned the United States against casting a veto which would give the aggressor the green light to proceed with its acts of terrorism and piracy. He concluded: "We ask ourselves for how long will the United States continue to arm Israel with advanced weapons, expertise and technology?"

The PLO permanent observer at the UN, Zuhdi al-Tarazi, stressed that the United States had collaborated with and encouraged Israel in its air raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad by providing it with all the necessary facilities. In his speech delivered during the UN Security Council session, Tarazi added that the American intelligence apparatus could not have missed the preparations for the Israeli air raid. Tarazi urged the Security Council to recommend the application of sanctions provided for in UN regulations. He also expressed the PLO's approval of the Soviet initiative to hold an international conference for peace in Middle East, "with the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO."



**TEXT OF
SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION**

Following is the text of the operative parts of the Security Council resolution, adopted unanimously on June 19, 1981, and condemning Israel's attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor.

The Security Council:

1. Strongly condemns the military attack by Israel in clear violation of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international conduct;
2. Calls upon Israel to refrain in the future from any such acts or threats thereof;
3. Further considers that the said attack constitutes a serious threat to the entire International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards regime which is the foundation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty;
4. Fully recognizes the inalienable sovereign right of Iraq, and all other states, especially the developing countries, to establish programs of technological and nuclear development to develop their economy and industry for peaceful purposes in accordance with their present and future needs and consistent with the internationally-accepted objectives of preventing nuclear weapons proliferation;
5. Calls upon Israel urgently to place its nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards;
6. Considers that Iraq is entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction it has suffered, responsibility for which has been acknowledged by Israel;
7. Requests the Secretary General to keep the Security Council regularly informed of the implementation of this resolution.

**ZIONISM
IN PRACTICE**

Israeli violation of Palestinian inalienable rights continues:

**MEDITERRANEAN-DEAD SEA CANAL PROJECT
DISTORTING THE FEATURES
OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

The Zionist colonialists realised the importance of land and water, since the early start of the Zionist colonisation in Palestine. To this end, they deprived the Palestinian villages of their local sources of water to "develop" their colonial settlements and to accommodate new Zionist immigrants from the four corners of the world.

In 1870, under the name of "Mikveh-Israel" the first Zionist agricultural school was established in Palestine to further the Zionist colonialist schemes.

In his book *Le Sionisme contre Israël*, Nathan weinstock wrote about this school (p. 48,76) that it was aimed at training the newly arrived European Jews, to give them the needed experience to colonize lands and build up the agricultural colonies. So, water played a very important role since the seventies of the last century, in the demographic concentration of newly-built settlements.

Herzl, in his book *The Jewish State 1896*, wrote a lot about the importance of water. He considered the hydraulic engineers the real founders of the planned Israeli entity.

The British Foreign Office published a document which was written by Ben Gurion in 1941, in which he expressed the necessity of including the Litani and Jordan rivers within the Israeli state's borders.

The Zionists have confiscated more Arab lands, and expelled the original population to maintain and impose their occupation. Recently they have turned to more aggressive projects under the disguise of "modernisation and civilisation".

On May 27, Zionist Prime Minister Begin inaugurated the Mediterranean-Dead Sea canal project. Israeli officials and prominent Zionist fundraisers from the U.S. attended the ceremony. Begin called for a project budget of some \$800 million.

Under the government-approved plan, this project will link Kativ, south of Gaza, with Arad, south of the Dead Sea. The canal will stretch for 100-110 Kms.



Such a plan will involve the confiscation of thousands of dunums of land owned by Palestinians, since it will pass through the occupied lands of Gaza and the West Bank. It provides further evidence that the Israelis are committed to making major changes in the physical features of Arab territories. The project stands in blatant violation of all international conventions relative to territories under occupation.

On June 7 the Arab Engineering Committee at the UN conference on Energy submitted a memorandum to be presented to the conference which will be held in Nairobi next August.

The memorandum explains the grave consequences of the project to Arab economic interests, such as Jordanian potash plants along the Dead Sea, and the salt deposits owned by Palestinians along the western side of the sea.

The construction of this project started last March. It was inaugurated by Begin on May 22.

rendering a golden opportunity for him to help in his campaign to be re-elected.

On June 19, Israel radio announced that professor Kash, from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, asked the authorities for more studies before beginning the construction. He expected bad results caused by the changes in water level and percentage of salt in the Dead Sea, which is expected to rise about 17 metres after 15 years of the project's operation.

According to the plan, the water of the Jordan River will be diverted completely to irrigate the lands in Baisan. This will lead to the drying up of the holy place where Christ was baptised by John in the Jordan River.

With the Israeli raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor still fresh, it is not difficult to imagine the Zionist aggressive policy. They have already planned to cool their nuclear reactor in Timon (Dimona) with the water of the "peaceful" new project to "make the desert bloom".

This project and similar ones are only a part of moves to achieve the Zionist dream of a Greater Israel, embodied in the Zionist slogan "from the Euphrates to the Nile".

To this end the Zionists have reached an agreement with the American stooge Sadat regime to irrigate the Naqab desert with Nile water.

The regional offices for the Boycott of Israel, in their extraordinary conference held in Damascus on June 4, denounced the dangerous implications of the Israeli project.

The PLO has called upon the Non-aligned Countries' Coordination Bureau, the forthcoming Islamic conference, the Arab League Council, Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim and all UN bodies concerned to take the necessary measures to prevent this latest Israeli act of theft, robbery and aggression against Palestinian inalienable rights.

... AND PREVENT THEM FROM MEETING BRITISH M.P.S.

Zionist authorities prevented the West Bank Mayors from meeting with the British parliamentary delegation representing the Conservative and Labour parties. The delegation toured the West Bank to examine the conditions of the Palestinians living under occupation. The authorities sent orders to the Mayors warning them against holding any meetings with the delegation.

The British delegation later denounced the Israeli authorities' aggressive policies towards Palestinians living under occupation. One of the MPS said that it was painful to see Israeli families guarded by the Israeli army living in the centre of Hebron in the place of Palestinian families.

On June 18, the delegation visited Nablus and met with Mayor Bassam al-Shak'a, members of the municipality, and representatives of various Jerusalem newspapers to discuss the conditions of Palestinians living under occupation. They were told of the arbitrary

measures taken against universities and other educational institutions, as well as the attempts on the West Bank Mayors' lives. Despite Zionist measures to prevent such meetings, the delegation visited Bir Zeit University and met with Mayors Karim Khalaf of Ramallah and Ibrahim Tawil of al-Bireh, as well as representatives of local newspapers. The delegation expressed its solidarity and total support for the Palestinian people's just cause.

WILNER CONDEMNS POLICE ATTACK ON ANOTHER PALESTINIAN CITIZEN

Meir Wilner, General Secretary of Rakah and candidate of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the forthcoming Israeli Knesset elections, has condemned the savage attack on the Palestinian citizen Hussein al-Khatib by the Israeli police. Khatib was assaulted because of his participation in an election rally in Jaffa. Wilner also sent a cable to the Head of the elections committee, in which he demanded an investigation of the incident so as to prevent its recurrence.

TSEMEL URGES INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF ALI JAMMAL

Progressive Israeli lawyer Lea Tsemel appealed to world public opinion to intervene for the release of the Palestinian detainee Ali al-Jammal. Jammal was arrested on May 5, 1975 on charges of assassinating an Israeli intelligence officer in Jenin.

Lea Tsemel held a press conference on June 16 in Beit Ajroun (the Press House) in Jerusalem in which she exposed the arbitrary measures in the occupied West Bank and the arrest campaign waged against the Palestinian people and particularly against Palestinian University students, namely those of Bir Zeit, Bethlehem and al-Najah Universities.

According to the progressive Israeli attorney, the Israeli authorities planned to expel Ali al-Jammal from the occupied territories. She added that the occupation authorities could not prove that he had carried out the action so they tortured him to extract a confession.

ISRAELI RADIO REJECTS REPORT ON WEST BANK

Israeli radio has refused to broadcast a special report on life in the occupied West Bank, and the situation there over the last year. The report was compiled by a journalist working for the radio station on the occasion of the 1st anniversary of the assassination attempts on the Mayors of Nablus, al-Bireh and Ramallah. It included an interview with Nablus Mayor Bassam al-Shak'a who lost his two legs in a car explosion.

17 NEW BOOKS BANNED IN WEST BANK

The Israeli authorities have placed a number of new books on the black list. The Education Officer in the Israeli Military Government of the West Bank issued a list of 17 new books, whose distribution has been banned in the occupied territories.

MORE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN NABLUS AND GALILEE AREAS

On June 15, the Israeli authorities laid the cornerstone for a new settlement near Nablus, to be called 'Hanita'.

Meanwhile, in Galilee, the Israeli authorities began work on a new settlement near the village of Ableen.

In Ramallah, Israeli land surveyors began work on land belonging to Um al-Safa village near Ramallah. It is believed that these surveying activities are the preliminary to the expropriation of this land for settlement purposes.

ISRAELI AUTHORITIES LAY DOWN NEW 'RED LINE' FOR WEST BANK MAYORS

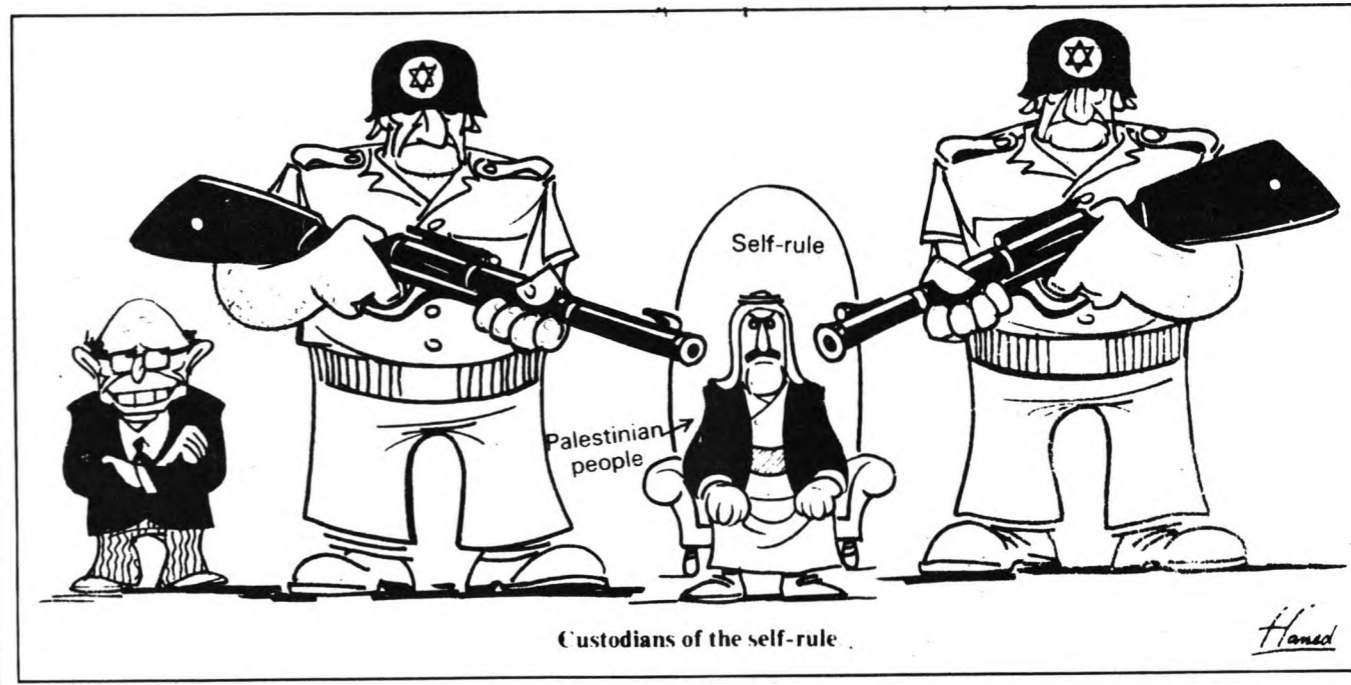
The Israeli occupation authorities have called on all West Bank mayors to end their protests and denunciations and to stop sending

cables to the Israeli military authorities, foreign consulates and embassies.

On June 18, Jerusalem papers reported that the Israeli authorities will consider all cables of protest a violation of the so-called "red line", an arbitrary code of conduct defining limits of acceptable behavior.

The Mayors and representatives of national institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have declared their full solidarity with the Mayor and members of the Nablus Municipal Council, who were prevented by the Zionist occupation authorities from taking part in celebrations marking the inauguration of the new power station in Nablus.

Representatives of Palestinian popular organizations and national institutions in the West Bank and the parts of Palestine occupied in 1948 also sent cables of solidarity to the Nablus masses.



WHAT DO THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS MEAN FOR THE PALESTINIANS?

The outcome of the June 30th Zionist elections means more of the same aggressive attacks against the Palestinians inside and outside the occupied territories. There was no decisive majority by either Labour (49 seats) or Likud (48 seats). As we go to press, it looked likely that Begin would again form the government with a fragile coalition of smaller Zionist parties which are even more extremist than Begin himself. To get an overall picture of the implications of the Zionist election for the Palestinians, we talked to Dr. Elias Shufani. Dr. Shufani is a member of the Palestine National Council and the Fatah Revolutionary Council. He is also the head of the Hebrew section of the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut.

Q: Will a Labour Party victory as opposed to a Likud victory in the Israeli elections make any difference as far as the PLO is concerned?

A: Not really. There isn't much difference between the two major Zionist parties in Israel. Both reject the PLO interim programme. Both want to liquidate the PLO — if they could. It is a matter of method, not a matter of principle. Both want to do away with the Palestinian Resistance. However, they have both gone into the elections with two different platforms — at least as far as the so-called settlement is concerned.

The Labour Party has put forward what it calls "the Jordanian option." The Jordanian option means that in terms of the Camp David agreement, the next step will be negotiations with Jordan. It means that they want to solve the Palestinian problem through Jordan, through negotiations. The principal condition for a settlement with Jordan is the liquidation of PLO. There's no Jordanian option if the PLO is there. It has to do away with the PLO and its programme.

The Likud is working towards what could be called a "Lebanese option." Rather than trying to have the second step of Camp David negotiations with Jordan, Begin wants to concentrate on Lebanon for at least the coming two or three years — to bring Lebanon into the Camp David agreements. That could happen only if Begin succeeded in pushing the Syrians out of Lebanon, and also the Palestinians. According to Begin's plans, the third step will be negotiations with Jordan when Syria would have been pushed out of Lebanon and the Palestinians divided between Syria and Jordan. Then Begin thinks he can negotiate with the Jordanians concerning *East Jordan* — not to the west of the Jordan River. Begin's plan starts from the principle which controls the Likud platform: that the West Bank is Israeli — that they have a historical right to the West Bank. They cannot annex the West Bank now, but they don't want to withdraw. So Begin wants to postpone all discussion on the West Bank until the third stage — after what

he thinks will be the liquidation of the armed Palestinian Resistance.

Both candidates who would form the coalition government in Israel would move towards the elimination of the PLO political formula in the area.

Q: What do the elections mean in terms of changes for the Palestinians living inside the occupied territories?

A: Also there, I don't see any difference in concrete terms. Of course, the Labour Party talks about — not actual withdrawal from the West Bank — but in the Jordanian option they talk about the returning of populated centres in the West Bank to Jordanian rule while maintaining their historical right throughout the West Bank including the right of Jews to settle in the West Bank. They want to keep the Jordan River as their security border.

But the most important thing about the Labour Party's programme is that it is impossible to implement. The balance of forces inside Israel forbids such a possibility. No government in Israel at the present time and within the foreseeable future will be capable of withdrawing from the West Bank. They cannot take the decision. The balance of forces within the ruling establishment is divided almost fifty-fifty: those who maintain that the priority of Zionist action at the present time must centre around the unity of the people in the Jewish state; the others (the Likud) talk about the integrity of Eretz Israel or the land of Israel. So they can't make a decision one way or the other. The Likud cannot annex and the Labour Party cannot withdraw. It is all political talk within the framework of the so-called settlement. We know that there is no settlement and there can't be any settlement in the foreseeable future. The problem is, what is the political game?

I would say some differences exist between the two sides as regards the population in the West Bank. The Likud obviously has its plan according to Begin's understanding of the Camp David agreement that the sovereignty over the land is reserved for the Jewish state. They talk about giving autonomy to the population without giving sovereignty over the land. That means giving an extra-territorial type of self-rule to an alien population which might carry a Jordanian identity on Israeli territory. That might transform the Palestinian population in the West Bank to living under the same conditions which exist outside. There



would be Palestinian refugees in Israel like Palestinian refugees in Lebanon or in Jordan. This is Begin's plan. We know that this plan has become deadlocked. Begin could not implement this plan because of the resistance of our people inside.

The Labour Party is talking about returning the populated centres to Jordanian rule, but there will be no possibility for the Labour Party of passing such a resolution in the Knesset. However, the Labour Party would abstain to a large extent from settling in the occupied territories in the same way which the Likud does. The Likud's policy is based on the idea that if you cannot judaize the country, the second best option is to de-Arabize it. That doesn't mean that the Labour Party isn't for such an option. It will do it in a more subtle way. They would not resort to a political settlement as the Likud does. They will settle for purposes of security.

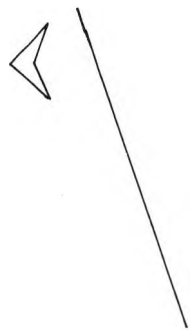
For the interim period, the Zionist activity in the field of settlement would relax if the Labour Party came to power. However, it is very obvious that the Likud is coming to power. If the elections were held today, Begin would form the government. He wouldn't have an absolute majority, but he would obtain the largest number of seats in the Knesset. Therefore, one has to think about the process which has been going on in the last four years in the area of settlement. And what we in Lebanon are concerned about, is Begin's push towards what is called the "Lebanese option."

Q: The Labour Party has accused the Begin coalition of exacerbating fascist tendencies within

Zionist policy. But what does fascism mean concretely when we talk about Zionist ideology as a whole and its relationship to the Palestinian population?

A: When one talks about Zionist attitudes toward the Palestinians, one really goes far beyond the matter of fascism. Zionist ideology began with the idea in mind to judaize Palestine — land, people and economy. There was no place in Zionist ideology for the Palestinians. However, Zionism failed in its central point of departure — the idea of bringing all the Jews to Palestine. As of now, they have succeeded in luring less than 20% of the totality of Jews in the world to Palestine. They failed in judaizing the population. They failed in judaizing the economy. As far as land is concerned, they are trying to de-Arabize it and cultivate it.

Israel's Zionist-fascism and racism is exemplified in its attitude towards the Palestinians. From the very beginning they deemed them to be absent, nonexistent — beginning with their physical absence. They launched their first slogan: "A land without a people, for a people without a land." They negated the very physical existence of the population. Then they went on to strip the Palestinians of all vestiges of civilisation — attaching to them all attributes of barbarism and backwardness as if to say that whatever they wanted to do in Palestine is nothing harmful to the process of world civilisation which for them meant Western civilisation. Today there is the negation of Palestinian political existence. They deny to the Palestinians the right to self-determination. They distort the nature of the Palestinian struggle for



there are differences concerning the priorities of the Zionist project. One says the best thing to do in this interim period is to solidify the Jewish state in order to finish the job later. The other says no — solidifying control over the land is the most important thing; we can get rid of the population later.

As far as these practices are *fascist* — they vary in degrees. As a whole, the principal Zionist aim is a racist aim — aiming at the elimination of that relationship between the native population and their homeland.

Q: *What about the charges of violence during the election campaign?*

A: If one looks at this present election campaign in Israel, one notices some very salient features. None of them is very new to Israeli polity, but is a matter of degree. Everything is accelerated. The first thing that comes to mind is that the idea of Israel as being a melting pot for different Jewish ethnic groups has failed. The first of these features and probably the most important is the fragmentation of the political life. There are 36 lists competing in the election. The day before the deadline for party registration there were 75. A country of 3 million settlers has 36 lists competing in the election.

There is a very interesting phenomenon that within the framework of fragmentation, we notice this time lists which are based completely on ethnic origin. This has always existed in Israeli political life. From the very beginning, the interim government nominated by Ben Gourion in 1948 had one Oriental Jewish minister for tourism. The nomination was clearly on an ethnic basis. Interestingly, the police ministry always remained in the hands of Oriental Jews until the last one (Shlomo Hilled) in the last Labour Party government.

To my mind Israel has failed to integrate these different ethnic groups.

Another salient feature is violence. Of course, Zionism was a violent movement from the very beginning. Israel is not a state which possesses a military machine — Israel actually is a military machine where on its fringes a state is being built. The essence of Israel's existence is violence. This violence was directed towards the surrounding Arab countries. There is a very thin margin between applying the violence to outsiders and applying the violence to insiders. In the past few years, because of the acceleration of resistance activities inside Israel, the civilian population was heavily armed including personal weapons, explosives and what have you. For these people it is really easy to resort to violence.

liberation. They do not recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. All these negotiations and nullifications of Palestinian existence are vestiges of Israeli racism and fascism.

As far as the population inside the occupied territories of 1948 is concerned — they are practically colonised. The proletarianisation of the population within the 1948 occupied territories is very obvious. They expropriated the land, turned the population into hired labour and thus they controlled their economy completely. They control them culturally and politically. So there is a process of practical colonisation.

And the suppression of political freedom is also obvious in the 1967 occupied territories. Israel has been condemned so many times by the various United Nations organisations and commissions, but particularly by the Commission on Human Rights. Israel has violated every rule in the book as far as the Geneva Conventions are concerned — including expropriation of land, establishment of settlements in the occupied territories, interfering in the life of the population under occupation. They go far beyond that by claiming a historical right to the 1967 occupied territories once they began to think that they had the historical right to the territories occupied in 1948.

The ultimate aim of all Zionist parties is to Judaize Palestine completely, land and people and economy. But because they are incapable of doing this at the present time, they have to resort to an interim solution. Here on this level there are major differences between the two major currents in the Zionist movement — the revisionist right-wing current and the sort of labour movement, middle of the road liberal Zionism. One raises the slogan of the integrity of the land. The other raises the slogan of the unity of the population. On this level the revisionists are doing their best to de-Arabize the country — to get the population out through economic squeeze, military oppression, trying to force people out in whatever way possible. The Labour Party takes things at a slower tempo. They have time. They want to build the economy of the country. They think that they can use Arab labour in this respect until the time comes when they can get rid of the population. The two of them have the same aim in the end. However,

Violence in Israeli elections has been a permanent feature since the very beginning. This time it has risen to very unusual levels. It is not true that only the Likud exercises violence. On the contrary, the Likud accuses the Labour Party of exercising violence. One can notice very clearly that in the final analysis, people in the Labour Party constitute the core of the military machine in Israel including the pilots in the air force, the infantry, the navy etc. So those people think that they have really built the state, that they have constructed this Zionist project. They are not willing to give it up for what they consider to be the Likud mafia, the lumpenproletariat of the cities. They think that they can answer the Likud violence with similar violence or even more organised violence.

In the election propaganda there is something very interesting. They try to emulate how campaigns in the United States are run. The two major parties evade political issues. They concentrate on individuals. They present the voter with the option of: would you rather have Begin as prime minister or Peres? Would you trust this man or that man? Would you feel safer with Sharon as Defense Minister or Rabin? The language in the propaganda is deteriorating day by day. The so-called leftist parties in Israel never raised one single slogan about socialism — not a single word. Mapam, Mapai — all these so-called socialists — not a single word. On the other hand, the right-wingers accuse the others of treasonous acts — betraying Zionist principles in the sense that they are going to negotiate a solution with Jordan based on the idea that there would be territorial partition of the land. All in all, this campaign has brought the political scene in Israel to new levels of violence and demagoguery and political deception.

Q: *What role does the Israeli Communist Party Rakah play in the elections and in consolidating Palestinian national unity in the 1948 occupied areas?*

A: It is very difficult to call Rakah an Israeli Party. It is true that Rakah is a political party in Israel, the base of which is 95% Palestinian. People rally around Rakah because it constitutes the leadership for our people under occupation. One of the major impediments in our people's struggle under occupation since 1948 was the absence of political leadership. The nature of the Israeli conquest of Galilee in 1948 deprived the local population of political leadership. In the process of being so many years under occupation, a new leadership developed and it is within Rakah.

Rakah is not going into the elections as Rakah. There is nothing like this. There is one list which is a coalition of democratic forces called the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. The candidates on that list are not all communists. There are other forces: the League for the Defense of Arab Land and other political forces which are in alliance in this front.

Rakah constitutes a leadership for our people in the occupied land. The political position of Rakah is developing and improving all the time. Recently they came out with a declaration that our people inside the occupied territories are part and parcel of the Palestinian people and that they consider the PLO as their sole representative. They have adopted the PLO interim programme. They talk about the establishment of a Palestinian state. That doesn't mean that I accept their platform. That doesn't mean that I'm a Rakah man. I adhere to Fatah's liberation programme. But I would say that the political position of Rakah is improving all the time under pressure from its base which is Palestinian.

The PLO recently has taken a decision to support Rakah in the elections. We have called upon our people inside the occupied territories to give their votes to Rakah rather than give them to Zionist parties. We have urged people to participate actively in the elections, not because we want to recognize Israeli institutions, but because of our principle which governs our policy in the PLO, which is that Palestinians should be active politically wherever they may be. Palestinians must participate and must show their presence by all means possible under any circumstances. So they should look upon the means possible under any campaign as a part of their struggle and should push our struggle as a whole one step forward in any way possible. So we have called upon our people to support Rakah because it is the only Arab political body that sponsors Arab cases in defense of their rights internally in democratic ways. Politically Rakah is improving as far as the PLO is concerned in terms of the solution to the Palestinian problem. They abstain from Zionist practices internally in matters of land expropriation. Of course, they fight against Zionist repressive practices against our people in the occupied territories. And that's a kind of Arab leadership which is developing inside the occupied territories. We see our role as supporting this leadership and helping that leadership to develop and crystallise as a leadership to a certain segment of the Palestinian people at the present time. That segment lives under Israeli occupation and is a colonised people.

PATRIOTIC LEBANESE MOBILISE TO MEET THE ZIONIST-PHALANGIST DANGER

Since April 2, Lebanon has faced its most serious crisis since the 1975-76 civil war. What provoked the immediate crisis was a provocative attempt by the rightist Phalange to expand their area of control to include the central valley town of Zahle in the Beqaa. The advance was thwarted by the Arab Deterrent Force staffed by Syrian forces. Zionist collaboration with the Phalange has long been an open secret, but the coordinated attacks of the following two months have shattered any illusions that the Phalange are anything other than a local Israeli agent.

While the Phalange have ruthlessly bombed civilian areas of West Beirut and have tried to press their advance in the Beqaa, Israeli forces have threatened to explode the situation into a full-blown regional conflict by attacking Syrian forces in the Beqaa and escalating their attacks on the Palestinians from the refugee camps in the south to the farthest reaches in northern Lebanon near Tripoli. Israeli warplanes have attacked Damour south of Beirut and carried out extensive bombing raids near Sidon and a variety of other areas in the south.

In a special Knesset session on June 4, Zionist Prime Minister Begin openly revealed for the first time that he met with rightist Phalange leaders in 1978 to coordinate moves against Lebanon. He revealed that he had guaranteed Israeli air support for any move the Phalange intended to make against Syrian forces. He promised to mount continual attacks against the Palestinians in Lebanon. Begin also revealed that this pledge was renewed by a special envoy sent to the rightist — held town of Jounieh exactly on April 2 of this year. For the past several weeks the Zionist press has rumored that Israeli Chief of Staff Raphael Eytan himself was the special emissary sent by Begin to Jounieh on April 2.

The Palestinian Resistance began preparing for such an eventuality last summer when it announced a general mobilization of its forces. But the Palestinian Resistance is not alone in the confrontation in Lebanon. The primary body protecting the sovereignty and national integrity of Lebanon is the patriotic Lebanese National Movement (LNM) which groups together the majority of progressive forces in the country. Fighters from the LNM have long stood beside Palestinian fighters in south Lebanon to defend the country against the continual Zionist aggression. To meet the new danger, the LNM has initiated a general mobilization in all areas of Lebanon to ensure security in the wake of both the pervasive Zionist attacks and the recent Phalangist escalation.



A training course organised by the Lebanese National Movement.

In the first week of June, *Palestine* visited a training base of one of the parties in the LNM, the Lebanese Communist Action Organization. This base is only one of numerous centres being organized to meet the needs of the LNM general mobilization both on a military and social level. We interviewed the commander of this particular base, Comrade Iyyad, to learn about the mobilization implementation in general. Following are his remarks:

Q: Why a general mobilization now?

A: Clearly, the military and political situation has escalated recently in such a way that we should be at a high level of preparedness to meet the challenge posed by the Zionist-Phalangist alliance. To achieve this level of preparedness, we were determined to take the necessary measures in all branches of our organization, both through communication with the people and through internal mobilization. We were determined to mobilize the majority of our party cadres in conjunction with the call for a general mobilization by the Lebanese National Movement (LNM), to which our organization belongs. The general mobilization call was publicized in political meetings, through general outreach to the public and through communiques issued by the LNM. There has been a campaign to open training camps and to organize the people to join training programs. The present situation threatens every individual working for preserving the national, Arab and democratic character of Lebanon. Since we are committed to these values, we are determined to put them into effect through training and being prepared for the battle at our doorstep. We don't have the choice in delaying the necessary preparations.

Q: Who is being mobilized?

A: As you've seen yourselves, our organisation is actively providing training for our comrades and friends. We are training them to participate in fighting units or in other activities of the party. One of our present tasks is to provide as much of a peaceful environment as possible for the people living in the shadow of war which naturally affects their normal daily life. Comrades and friends who have responded to the general mobilization call, participate in military positions, in security functions or are activated to provide needed social services for the people. Each one of us has a distinct role in the mobilization plan of our party as well as in the general mobilization plan of the LNM.

All the people have been called upon to participate in the general mobilization. No distinction is made between men and women. The danger is a threat against everyone: men, women, the elderly and children. Of course, young people are called upon to take up the immediate tasks because they are the most capable. The elderly are asked to increase the general morale and to provide the domestic atmosphere that allows their children to participate in the mobilization. Many women have been trained and have proven that they are able to confront any kind of Zionist-Phalangist aggression.

Q: How do the various organizations participate in the mobilization?

A: The Central Political Council of the LNM has declared an emergency situation after a collective assessment of the present danger posed by the recent Zionist-Phalangist military and political escalation. Every organization is presently mobilizing its own cadres and then they will be centrally organized by the LNM. We are all working together to put this decision into effect. Anyone from any group can be trained in any of the existing mobilization centres. We consider this an important response to the mobilization order issued by the LNM. Therefore, it doesn't make any difference where someone receives training or by whom, as long as they respond to the call and abide by the decisions of the LNM. We are presently intensifying our efforts to strengthen relations among groups within the LNM. We are also intensifying our outreach to the people — every organization through its own publications and then also through the joint publications of the LNM.

Q: Has the mobilization campaign been a success?

A: Since the time that the LNM declared the general mobilization, two kinds of people have responded: members of organizations and general supporters of the LNM. Organization members have been mobilized on a full-time basis and working people have been organized on a part-time basis. Full mobilization of working people would be difficult since taking up a great deal of working time for training purposes would cause economic disruption. But the danger is a common one and threatens



Palestinians train in readiness to defend themselves

everyone. The danger would be even greater if the Zionist-Phalangist alliance were able to force us to accept their conditions on the battlefield. Because of this fact, we have the full sympathy from working people and they are aware of what's going on. They accept the duty of helping make the general mobilization a complete success.

At present, there is a large number of volunteers in the training camps. We are just about ready to complete training for people who first responded to the call. Most of them are not in organizations since party members are already mobilized. Many ordinary people who haven't participated in any political activities are also being trained because the recent escalation provided them with a clear idea of the situation. The LNM and its national allies, the Palestinian Resistance and Syria, have played an active role in providing the people with this clear idea about the danger posed by the Zionist-Phalangist alliance. This alliance would mean the destruction of every national undertaking and place us under Zionist-fascist control with the complicity of American imperialism. What it would be like to be under Phalangist control is hinted at by the anti-democratic manner in which they deal with their own allies. People in the national areas are certain that Phalangist ideology and their program are not a solution to the 'Lebanese crisis and don't offer Lebanon any security. But the program of the LNM emphasizes the unification of Lebanon and its democratization. The LNM has a program for the secularization of Lebanon which guarantees the interests of all the people no matter what religion they belong to. The LNM is determined to rescue Lebanon from the present crisis. Only Israel can gain from maintaining Lebanon as a time bomb and a bleeding wound in the body of the Arab world. Inside Lebanon, the Phalangists are the tools of the Zionist exterminators.

CLASHES BETWEEN ISRAELI TROOPS AND DEMONSTRATORS IN DUHEISHA

As tension persists in Duheisha refugee camp, the Israeli authorities sent more mobile troops and infantry to the camp, which is still besieged by troops and vehicles, despite the Israeli announcement that the curfew in the camp had been lifted. Massive demonstrations were staged in the camp on June 12, a few hours after the curfew was declared to have been lifted. Students taking part in the demonstration chanted anti-occupation slogans and clashed with troops trying to disperse the march. Dozens of students were arrested and several houses were broken into, on the pretext that inhabitants of these houses had thrown stones and empty bottles at the troops and military vehicles below.

The Israeli authorities on the same day arrested members of the committee to implement the water project in the camp, as part of their plan to cut off the water supply to the camp and therefore put more pressure on the inhabitants. Among those detained are Hussein Shahin, supervisor of the Duheisha youth centre; Muhammad Hussein al-Atrash, President of the centre's administrative board; Abdel Rahman Hammash, Salah Abed Rabbo and Rawhi Mazhar.

Zionist troops kept up their intensive patrols and carried out more house to house searches. The camp has been under curfew since June 10 when Israeli troops shot dead the 18 year old Palestinian Muhammad Mustafa Jibrin. The camp has been sealed off and check points were placed on the main Hebron-Bethlehem road. Despite these offensive measures, the camp was the scene of a mass sit-in in front of the martyr's house, during which slogans were shouted against the occupation and in support of the PLO. On June 11 the camp's inhabitants had clashed with Israeli forces during a demonstration against Jibrin's murder. The troops had fired into the crowd in an

attempt to disperse the demonstration.

The martyr's family had negotiated with the Israeli authorities for the handing over of his body for burial. The body was brought in a military vehicle, but the Israeli forces demanded that the crowd disperse while the body was being handed over. The crowd refused, and the Israeli troops shot at them, then threw the body of the martyr into an alleyway in the camp. At midnight Israeli soldiers surrounding the camp began shooting, and centred searchlights on the camp. Then they stormed the martyr's house and took back his body. They also forced ten of the martyr's relatives to accompany a group of military vehicles to the Bethlehem cemetery where the body was finally buried. Demonstrations and sit-ins were staged in several towns and cities of the West Bank in protest at the assassination.

Another sit-in was staged outside Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij's house, in condemnation of the murder. Mayor Freij has called for an end to all repressive measures imposed on the camp's inhabitants, for lifting the curfew, and for allowing the camp's students to sit for their exams scheduled to begin on June 17.

The atmosphere in the camp deteriorated after prisoners in the camp's jail seized the loudspeakers, announced the lifting of the curfew and chanted slogans against the Israeli occupation. The Israeli soldiers, in response, stormed several houses and arrested a hundred citizens of the camp. Jibrin's father, upon hearing the news of his son's death, had a heart attack and was taken to hospital. Muhammad

Jibrin had left school to help provide for his family since his father's heart condition had prevented him from working.

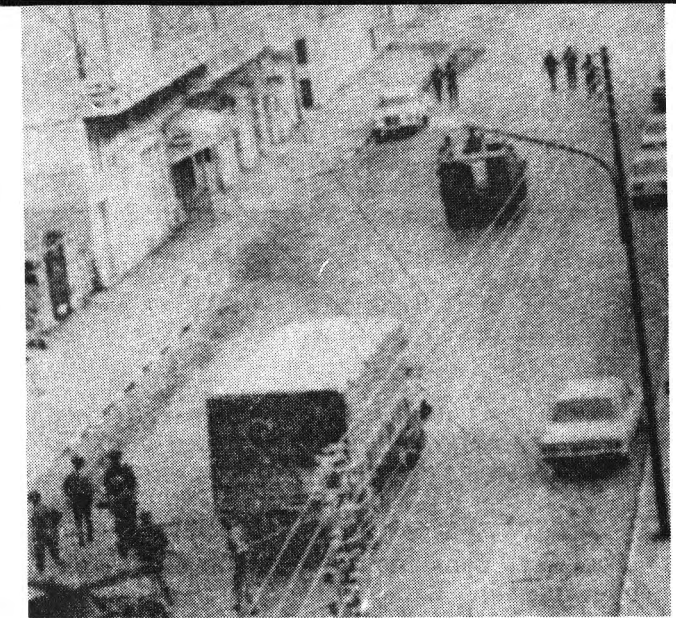
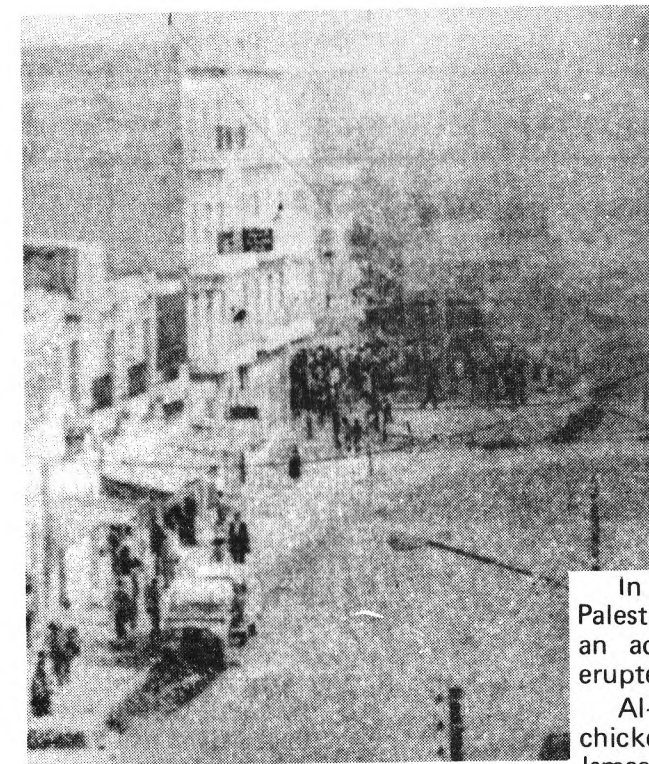
Jibrin's brother said that Muhammad was grabbed by the Israeli soldiers as he was heading for the main street in Deheisha near the camp's mosque, taken aside, and then shot three times.

ISRAELI FORCES STORM NABLUS POWER STATION

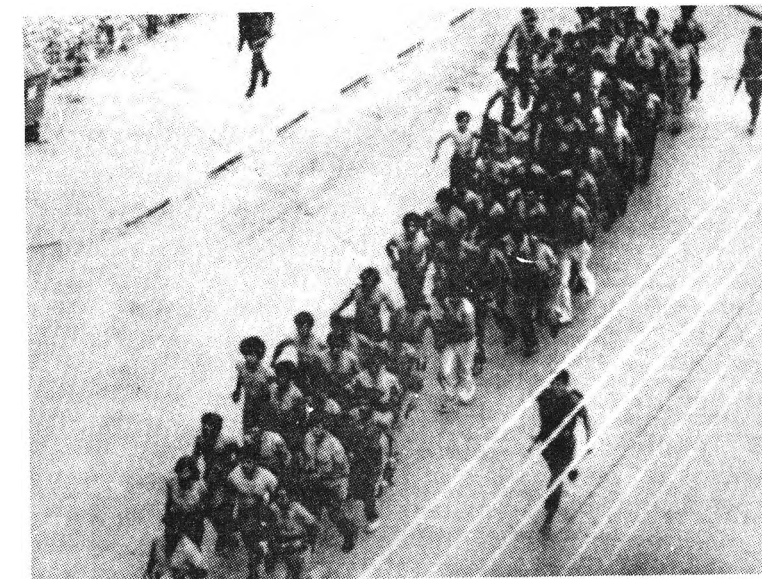
On June 16, Israeli forces stormed the Nablus power station and arrested several of its employees after having set up barricades on the roads leading to the station. Nablus Mayor Bassam al-Shak'a, members of the Municipal Council and the Nablus Qadi were prevented from attending the opening ceremony of the new power station and the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Nablus electricity network. They were also forced to leave their cars and return on foot. The Israeli military governor of Nablus had earlier issued an order banning any celebrations at the power station, and had warned of the possible consequences of anyone approaching the station.

In an attempt to prevent any popular reaction to the above measures, Israeli soldiers surrounded the Nablus Municipality building and prevented Shak'a and other members of the municipal council from entering it. They also threatened to use force against the Palestinian citizens gathered in front of the building.

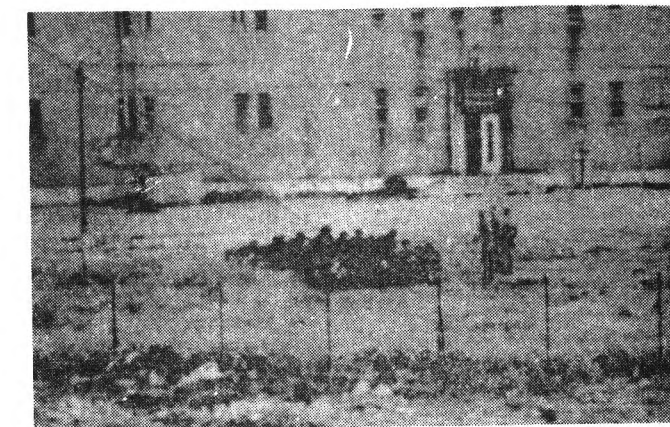
At the same time, the Israeli military authorities in Ramallah refused to allow Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf to go to Nablus to participate in the celebrations.



In its issue of 10-16 May, the Palestinian weekly *Al-Fajr* published an account of the events which erupted in Ramallah on April 25. *Al-Fajr* reported the story of the chicken coop owner Mustafa Ismaeel and 21 others who were forced to clean up the remains of tyres burned during the massive demonstrations on that day. The then had to wipe up the street with their shirts, and run to the military headquarters. Such occurrences are not unusual for Palestinians in the occupied territories but it is only very rarely that they are captured and recorded on film. Following is the event in photos.



From left to right: A. Hundreds of tires burning in Ramallah manara (center circle) during massive demonstration. B. Demonstrators disperse as military arrive on the scene. C. After being forced to clean up the streets with their shirts and t-shirts, shopkeepers and other innocents who had not participated in the demonstration run shirtless to the military headquarters. D. 72 men run more than one kilometre from Ramallah city center to the military governorate on the outskirts of town. Those who lag behind are beaten. (Notice soldier at far right clubbing civilian.) E. The men wait for hours, sitting on the grass outside the military headquarters, surrounded by soldiers and barbed wire.



WEST BANK MAYORS DENOUNCE ISRAELI RAID ON IRAQ

The West Bank mayors were unanimous in denouncing the Israeli raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor, in various statements they made on June 9.

Nablus Mayor Bassam al-Shak'a said that Israeli domination of the region is a result of Israel's arrogance and its threats to the stability of the region and of the whole world. He added that Israel had taken advantage of the confused situation in the Arab World, of the Iraq-Iran war and of events in Lebanon to implement a pre-planned operation, in an attempt to change the existing order in the whole region to the advantage of its expansionist policy. Shak'a concluded that this latest aggression calls for a reassessment of the situation to suit Arab national interests.

Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf said that this was not the first Israeli aggression against Iraq,

ARAB STUDENTS SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN ISRAELI KNESSET ELECTIONS

Arab university students in the parts of Palestine occupied since 1948 have declared their support for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the Knesset elections on June 30. The position was announced following the 2nd Arab Students' Union Conference.

The students said that their support for the DFPE was declared on the basis that their struggle is part of the wider struggle for a just peace and for equality. They decided that voting for any other candidate list would only benefit the enemies of the Palestinian people. The students also demanded the

cancellation of all arbitrary measures against Arab students. They called for absolute solidarity with Palestinian people in the occupied territories, especially with the students of Bir Zeit University and the inhabitants of the Golan Heights. Finally, they demanded the release of the five detained Druze leaders.

CONDEMNATION OF ATTACK ON UM AL-FAHM CITIZEN

On June 11, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in Um al-Fahm condemned the savage attack by agents of the Israeli authorities on Dr. Ali al-Muhammad,

and that Israel had taken advantage of the war with Iran to achieve its own ambitions.

Al-Bireh Mayor Ibrahim Tawil stated that the raid was clear proof of Israel's aggressive and expansionist intentions against all Arab states, urging Arab leaders to review their calculations and strengthen Arab unity so as to confront the anticipated danger.

Mustafa al-Natsheh, the Deputy Mayor of Hebron, also denounced the raid, which he described as contradicting Israel's claim of being a 'peace-loving country'. He added that the raid had exposed Israel's hostility against the Arab nation. Natsheh finally called on Arab leaders to forget their differences and unify their words and actions in confronting this new threat.

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij explained that the Iraqi nuclear reactor — the only one in the Arab region — was built for peaceful purposes, adding that the Israeli raid will escalate tension in the area.

one of the town's Municipality leaders.

Dr. Muhammad was attacked on Monday June 8 when a person came to his house and asked him to accompany him to see a sick patient. On their way, the car was diverted to a side-track, and two other persons assaulted the doctor, beating him severely.

The Israeli authorities have done nothing to follow up the incident, which is only one of a series of attacks on Palestinian personalities in the parts of Palestine occupied since 1948.

LES ARABES DANS LES TERRITOIRES OCCUPES
Colloque 2-23-24 janvier 1981
Bruxelles

DE ARABIENEN IN DE BEZETTE GEBIEDEN
Colloquim 2-23-24 Januari 1981
Brussel

THE ARABS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES
Symposium 22-23-24 January 1981
Brussels

**THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES:
THE ANNEXED ECONOMY AND
STUNTED DEVELOPMENT**

Naim KHADER

The economic situation of the occupied territories today is, from many points of view, disquieting, if not dramatic. Like the Palestinian territories themselves, the entire economy has been "annexed" by the occupier in his own exclusive interest. Palestinian agriculture is subservient to the needs of the Israeli market. Commodity production is taking the place of food production. The cost of living increases force the farmers out of the villages and proletarianise them. The input for Palestinian agriculture is purchased in Israel and the output sold to Israel.

Palestinian industry is handicapped by the domination of Israeli industry which, having more capital and more facilities, masters and enslaves it. There is also the development of counter-peripheral relations between Palestinian industry and Israeli industry, with all of the harmful effects this implies for the periphery, as in any colonial-type domination.

The labour force of the occupied territories is diverted, by the conditions of occupation, towards the Israeli market where it is employed in the most demanding sectors and under extremely difficult, indeed often humiliating and degrading, conditions. This "deviation" creates a scarcity within the occupied territories, both in the primary and the secondary sectors, and leads to the progressive abandonment of agricultural activities, the depopulation and the ageing of the rural areas. If, in addition to that, one considers the Israeli control of water resources, the exploitation of Arab labour, the confiscation of land, the dynamiting of houses, the establishment of settlements and the destruction of crops, one has a clear idea of the more-than-dramatic

economic situation obtaining in the territories which have been occupied for over thirteen years.

This new division of labour imposed by the Zionist authorities aims at transforming the occupied territories into a vast and guaranteed market for Israeli products and a cheap, abundant and flexible labour pool. The "open bridges" policy is a bid to divert towards Arab countries the Palestinian products which are so moderately priced and abundant that they could constitute a factor of disequilibrium for the Israeli economy. It also serves to sell "camouflaged" Israeli products in the Arab countries with a view to thwarting the Arab boycott measures which we consider legitimate and justified.

An "Adapted" and Sabotaged Agriculture

Before the 1967 war, the economy of the occupied territories was basically a subsistence one. Only part of the agricultural surplus was sold on the Arab markets. Approximately 46% of the active population of the West Bank and 33% of that of the Gaza Strip were employed in agriculture. Agricultural income represented almost one third of the total income of the occupied territories.

From the beginning of occupation in 1967, the Israeli authorities implemented a policy designed to adapt Palestinian agriculture to the needs of the Israeli market, and to promote the development of the agricultural sector only in so far as such development was in the interests of the Israeli domestic or export market.

THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES: THE ANNEXED ECONOMY AND STUNTED DEVELOPMENT

Thus, the authorities imposed various restrictions on the export to Israel of many products which directly compete with Israeli products (the price difference can reach 30-60%) and began diverting them to their traditional market in Jordan and other Arab countries thanks to the "open bridges" policy. The West Bank agricultural production not sold on the Arab market is purchased by the Israeli government — through the TNOUVA, an almost monopolistic purchasing and distribution cooperative linked to the Histadrut — at prices far below the normal market level.

Furthermore, the Israeli occupation authorities encouraged the Palestinian farmers to plant crops of interest to Israel for domestic use or export. Thus, by bringing pressure to bear by means of loans, the sale of fertilizer and tools, price manipulation, etc., Israel has forced the Palestinian farmers to neglect traditional crops such as watermelons, barley and wheat (1) and to move towards other products (oats, eggplant, peppers, cotton, tobacco, sugar beets, sesame, etc.) needed by its economy. In 1971/72, for example, total watermelon production was 8,000 tonnes, as compared to 36,000 in 1967-68. In the Gaza Strip, there is a ban on the planting of new citrus trees. The occupation authorities who damaged hundreds of fruit trees, allegedly for security reasons, went so far as to offer premiums to farmers who would uproot their trees, claiming that water stocks were insufficient (2).

Between 1967 and 1974, the agricultural surface area of the West Bank was reduced by almost 23% (60,000 hectares), not to mention the 150,000 hectares (27.3% of the total surface area of the West Bank) already confiscated by the Zionist authorities who have founded settlements on almost 35,000 hectares of mainly agricultural land. Between 1969-70 and 1977, there was a 35.5% drop in the number of farmers in the West Bank, and a 15% drop in the Gaza Strip (3). In 1977, there were only 2,600 paid farm workers in the West Bank, as compared to 8,600 in 1970 (- 70%).

Palestinian agriculture is thus becoming progressively subservient to Israeli capitalism which considers it as a make-up agriculture and a stock of agricultural raw materials. It is therefore no surprise that, in 1977, the agricultural share of the GNP was 21% in the West Bank (as compared to 35.5% in 1968) and 22.9% in the Gaza Strip (28.1% in 1968).

The Zionist authorities use this colonialist policy above all in an attempt to sever the link between the Palestinian and his land, to uproot the farmer and proletarianise him in order better to succeed in usurping his land. Control of the water resources is one of the means used to achieve this goal.

Control of the Water Resources (4)

Before the 1967 war, all of the water resources in Israel were already in use. Furthermore, by drilling deep artesian wells near the armistice line in 1967, Israel was already tapping 500 million cubic metres of water in the West Bank, some five-sixths of the total volume. This is why the water resources of the occupied territories were so vitally important to the occupation authorities. As a matter of fact, an Israeli journalist wrote that "this may be the true reason for the six-day war, unknown until now" (5).

Another Israeli recalled that Israel even had to launch "its planes and commandos (against Syria and Jordan) to prevent them from using the waters of the Jordan and the Yarmouk" (6). This explains why the Israeli occupation authorities moved so quickly — and illegally — to control the water resources and to impose very severe restrictions on the Palestinians with a view to having more water available for Israel and its settlements.

Clearly, the insufficiency of water resources necessarily reduces economic activities in the occupied territories and creates difficulties for the farmers and more particularly for the citrus-fruit producers and market gardeners whose crops depend on irrigation. Thus, there are still only 8,100 hectares of Arab land in the West Bank and 9,000 hectares in the Gaza Strip (respectively 4% and 45% of total arable land) irrigated today, whereas that figure should at least have doubled over the last ten years.

The occupation authorities have in fact strictly forbidden the Palestinian farmers to drill the wells needed not only to break new land, but simply to maintain existing crops. They have placed a ban on increasing the pumping capacity of existing Arab wells and in certain areas have gone so far as to reduce that capacity. They have confiscated wells on the pretext that the owner was "absent". 24 new deep wells were specially drilled for the Israeli colonies (17 of which are in the Jordan valley alone), whereas only 7 authorizations have been granted to Palestinians for the drilling of wells for domestic use only.

Moreover, because of the depth of the Israeli wells (an average 300 metres as compared to 100 metres for Palestinian wells) either the Palestinian wells and sources dry up (12 have done so already) or there is a drop in water level and an increase in salinity, which places a double handicap on agriculture.

Many Palestinian villages have fallen victim to these measures. We will mention here only the case of the village of *Aloja* whose inhabitants have lost, because of the lack of water, 375 acres of banana trees and 100 acres of citrus trees. This loss has been estimated to run to some 2.75 million dollars a year. In addition to this, while these villagers were suffering considerably from thirst, two large wells were drilled nearby to meet the needs of Israeli settlements which were founded on land confiscated from the village and which have several swimming pools (7).

Israel takes directly about 500 million cubic metres of the 620 million cubic metres of water in the West Bank. Of the remaining 120 million cubic metres, the 8,000 Israeli settlers (1% of the population) use 17 millions (15%), leaving just over 100 millions for the 800,000 West Bank Palestinians (8) who own 314 wells. The Palestinians use 90% of this remaining water for agriculture.

The consequences of this situation imposed by the military occupation are dramatic, indeed catastrophic, for the population. Many Palestinians, in order to avoid starvation, are forced to remove their children from school (to save money), go into debt, sell their land or even leave the country. This in any case suits the occupiers, since one of their goals is to empty the territories of their native inhabitants and replace them by Zionist settlers (9).

"Annexed" Industry and "Monopolized" Trade

On the eve of the 1967 Israeli aggression, only 14-15% of the active population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were employed in the primary sector which barely accounted for 8% of total national income. Palestinian industry was rudimentary, composed mainly of small workshops employing 5 or 6 people, yet prosperous and flourishing. The trend was towards a development which, if not for the occupation, would have set the stage for a true Palestinian national small industry.

The occupation authorities took advantage of the situation and "annexed" Palestinian industry to develop and transform it into "subsidiaries" working and producing for the profit of Israeli companies. This stifled the actual Palestinian national industry which had neither the financial means nor the necessary protection to compete with the Israeli companies which enjoyed encouragement, protection and a privileged position. In point of fact, from 1969 onwards, the occupation authorities offered many incentives to stimulate investment, Israeli of course, in the occupied territories: protection, exemption from tax, guaranteed supplies of raw materials. Additional aid was granted in 1973.

Moreover, in order to neutralize any Palestinian impulse towards independent development the occupation authorities closed all Palestinian banks and financial institutions in 1967. Thus, any banking or

financial activity depends completely and obligatorily on Israel. Credit granted to Palestinians is always reduced to a minimum, and large loans must be applied for through the military authorities (10). This opens the door wide to arbitrary decisions, pressure and blackmail, and encourages parasites and collaborators.

The exorbitant annual interest rate charged on loans granted to Palestinians, very often 28%, discourages investors and compromises the profitability of any project. This of course leaves the field free for Israeli investors who enjoy protection, facilities and guarantees (11).

The purpose of this policy is to submit the occupied territories to the needs of Israeli capitalism, thus turning them into a vast and protected market, a type of private club, for Israeli products and industry. Another aim is slowly but surely to separate the occupied territories from the Arab countries.

Thus, the occupation authorities determine the volume and even the nature of trade between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip on the one hand, and Arab countries on the other. Goods imported from Arab countries are subject to the customs duties and excise taxes in force in Israel, levied for the sole benefit of the occupier. It is therefore not surprising that, under these conditions, Israel has become the main supplier of both agricultural and industrial products to the occupied territories, currently its top client after the United States.

In 1977, for example, the value of Israeli exports to the occupied territories exceeded 48 million dollars as compared to 254.6 million dollars (excluding diamonds) to the United States, 224.2 millions to the United Kingdom and 275.4 millions to the Federal Republic of Germany. In the same year, almost 91.1% of the total imports of the occupied territories came from Israel, and almost 61.1% of their exports were sent to Israel (12).

In 1973, however, only 2.3% of Israeli imports came from the occupied territories. It is therefore logical that there is a balance of payments surplus in favour of Israel; this surplus totalled some 293.1 million dollars in 1977 alone. Need it be said that, as in any colonial situation, Israel imports raw materials and semi-manufactured goods at very low prices from the occupied territories, and exports them as finished products at high prices. Most of Israel's exports are manufactured consumer goods (13).

This large balance of payments surplus with the occupied territories is more than enough to cover Israel's actual operating costs for the occupation. The occupied territories therefore in no way place a burden on the Israeli economy; on the contrary, they constitute a limitless source of profit. A comparison

of the two tables in the Annex provides conclusive proof of this statement (14).

Cooperatives

The Palestinians, in order to remedy this dramatic situation, improve agricultural production and increase job opportunities, have instituted a system of cooperatives. As Mr. Shahadeh Dajani has said, "in our situation, the cooperative system is the best way of stimulating development and increasing productivity". In point of fact, holdings of less than two and a half hectares constitute 48% of all farms in the West Bank (15).

The Palestinians of the occupied territories have shown a great deal of interest in cooperative ventures. The creation of such cooperatives, however, is blocked by the insurmountable obstacles placed in their way by the Israeli military authorities who impose draconian restrictions on the registering, financing and running of cooperatives. Mr. A. Abedat, director of a cooperative in the Hebron region, explained: "We must ask the authorities for approval on everything, and we never get anything (16)."

Since 1967, 76 cooperatives, 25 of them agricultural, have been registered with the military authorities. Since 10 January 1979, however, shortly after the Arab summit of Baghdad decided to support such projects, no answer has been given to any of the 43 applications for registration (four of which have been pending since 1976) (17).

To give a specific example, a housing cooperative in Al Bireh was recently refused permission to accept a loan granted by Jordan, whereas in 1977 a cooperative of 30 Palestinian workers was able to obtain a loan and a building permit. Shortly afterwards, however, the four and a half hectares of land on which the houses were to be built were confiscated by the military occupation authorities for the Jewish settlement of Beit El (18).

The "Sabotage" of the United Nations Effort.

The PLO has also turned to the specialized agencies and institutions of the United Nations family in order to request aid and assistance for the Palestinian people. Many resolutions have been adopted, especially in the Ecosoc and in the United Nations General Assembly. In general, however, they have never been of any actual assistance to the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Israel in fact does not stop at simply refusing to cooperate, but actually blocks and sabotages any international initiative.

In Resolution 2026 of 4 August 1976 (19) and in Resolution 2100 of 3 August 1977 (20), the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations "requests the UNDP, the specialized agencies and

other organizations within the United Nations system to intensify, as a matter of urgency, (...) their efforts in identifying the social and economic needs of the Palestinian people", and to establish specific projects to ensure the improvement of those needs. On 20 December 1978, the General Assembly adopted these resolutions "concerning assistance to the Palestinian people" (21) which is to be accorded in consultation and close cooperation with the PLO.

Some specialized agencies and institutions of the United Nations have demonstrated a striking lack of goodwill in the implementation of these resolutions, or have hidden behind statutory or other arguments which are at least unjustified and in any case unacceptable. Others, however, such as the ECWA, the UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, the FAO and the WHO have truly endeavoured to come to the aid of the Palestinian people. Many of the efforts made to help Palestinians in exile have borne fruit. Unfortunately, as far as the occupied territories are concerned, these efforts have been systematically sabotaged by the Zionist occupation authorities.

The UNDP, for example, has made considerable efforts. It has identified, through an inter-agency committee which has established a voluminous file on the subject, the needs of the Palestinian people, drawn up a list of 18 priority projects and allocated the three and a half million dollars needed to finance them. Unfortunately, and despite the many discussions the Administrator General — an American — has had with Israeli leaders, none of the projects has been implemented yet because of the categorical refusal of the occupation authorities.

The attitude has on many occasions been condemned by the International Community, although this has not led Israel to change its position one iota.

The Indifference of the EEC

It is not our intention to speak of Europe's attitude towards the occupied territories. Mr. Andrew Faulds, with his better grasp of the situation, will do that better than I could hope to. Let us simply note here that the European attitude has never been backed up by specific action and that Europe has never gone beyond the stage of making declarations of principle.

It is true that the EEC gives aid to the Palestinians through the UNRWA. It is also true that Europe supplies aid indirectly through the contributions made by its member States to the budgets of certain international organisations which make efforts to aid the Palestinian people. But the aid of the EEC remains very limited and falls far short of its possibilities and means.

None of the member States of the EEC has voted in favour of any of the resolutions of the Ecosoc and

the United Nations General Assembly. On the contrary, Europe has often used all the means at its disposal to ensure that they are rejected. Various pretexts have been used for this, especially the fact that this assistance is to be supplied in consultation and close cooperation with the PLO. The EEC grants development aid to all the peoples of the region (Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon), including Israel. The Palestinian people living in the occupied territories and in an extremely difficult situation are the only one which does not obtain European aid. A gleam of light must however be included in this pessimistic note. Some European countries do in fact make efforts, especially in the field of scholarships and vocational training. This is the case with France and Belgium. Moreover, non-governmental organizations (such as OXFAM and the Entr'aide Socialiste in Belgium) offer considerable aid by co-financing development projects. Non-governmental organizations in other European countries do the same. In addition, we seem to see, in the EEC, a sincere desire to help the Palestinian people and more particularly the inhabitants of the occupied territories. We note this with satisfaction and hope that this desire, which we believe to be sincere, will soon take specific shape in the form of projects. It must be clear, however, that any aid should be granted in consultation with the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

(1) "Agriculture in the West Bank and Gaza" (in Arabic), *Al-Ard*, Damascus, n° 20, 7 July 1979.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) In 1969, there were almost 48,800 farmers in the West Bank, and in 1970 there were some 16,800 in the Gaza Strip. By 1977, these figures were 30,800 and 12,600 respectively.

(4) On this topic cf. the interesting study "Politique d'Israël en ce qui concerne les ressources en eau de la Rive Occidentale", United Nations, New York, 1980.

(5) LITANI Y., *Haaretz*, 27 November 1978, in "Politique d'Israël...", *op. cit.* (note 4), p.

(6) MAGEN A., *Davar*, 26 November 1978, in *ibid.*, p. 6.

(7) The Committee for the Defence of Palestinian Human Rights under Israeli Occupation, circular n° W. 282, 26 November 1979.

(8) cf. "Palestine Solidarité", Bulletin of the Franco-Palestinian Medical Association, March-April 1980.

(9) The Palestinian population of the West Bank has decreased by almost 32% since 1967.

(10) *The Captive Economy* (in Arabic), Royal Scientific Society, Economics Department, Amman, November 1980, p. 6.

(11) *ibid.*, p. 6.

(12) Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Israel, pp. 212-225, in "Agriculture in the West Bank and Gaza", *Al-Ard*, Damascus, n° 20, 7 July 1979.

(13) *The Situation of Arab Workers in the Occupied Territories*, PLO, Department of Information and Culture, Beirut, 1980.

(14) *Palestinian Statistical Abstract*, n° 1, PLO National Fund, Central Bureau of Statistics, pp. 47-48.

(15) ARONSON Jeff, 8 Days Magazine, 25 October 1980, in "Palestinian Development: Israel blocks the way", *The Palestine Report*, PLO Office, London, n° 10, November 1980, p. 12.

(16) *ibid.*

(17) *ibid.*

(18) *ibid.*

(19) Ecosoc, Resolution 2026 (LXI), 2031st Session, 4 August 1976.

(20) Ecosoc, Resolution 2100 (LXII), 2084th Session, 3 August 1977.

(21) General Assembly Resolution 37/147, 90th Plenary Session, 20 December 1978.

U.S. PREPARES FOR NUCLEAR WAR IN WESTERN EUROPE

Reagan's new Arms Control Chief, Eugene Rostow, announced in late June that the United States would not be ready for arms control talks before the fall of 1982. In conjunction with stalling on arms limitation talks, the U.S. is pushing its West European allies to agree to the stationing of MX missiles to be directed against the Soviet Union and to increase overall defense spending to bolster NATO's preparedness for nuclear confrontation. Soviet President Brezhnev made a swift response to the Reagan Administration stalling tactics in a speech to the Supreme Soviet on June 23. He stated: "Bellicose and militaristic circles, headed by American imperialism, have launched an arms race unprecedented in scale. They evade negotiations on restricting rearmament.... They unabashedly encourage acts of open aggression and international banditry on the part of their clients."

One threat the U.S. is using to force its European allies into accepting the MX missile deal and the defense spending increases is to plan actively for a nuclear war to be fought on West European soil. The British *Guardian* reported on June 11 that "all main hospitals throughout the United States have been asked by the Pentagon to keep a proportion of their beds free at all times to receive 'decontaminated' casualties from a nuclear attack in Europe." So far the main effect of this policy has been to swell the ranks of the anti-nuclear movement in the U.S. since the emptying of beds in public hospitals has meant drastic cuts in medical services to the poor and residents in the central cities.

More evidence of the U.S. preparations for the nuclear destruction of Western Europe came on June 15. Again the *Guardian* reported that CBS television discovered that "United States Forces in West Germany are being trained in integrated nuclear and conventional warfare in the belief that the U.S. and Soviet Union might become involved in a tactical nuclear confrontation which would destroy large parts of Western and Central Europe..."

The U.S. nuclear threats are likewise swelling the mass movement against the NATO nuclear strategy in Western Europe. While the Reagan Administration was calling for more delays in the arms talks, 100,000 West Germans demonstrated in Hamburg on June 22 to press their government not to station any nuclear weapons on German soil whatsoever.

WAR AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

CHAIRMAN ARAFAT: "OUR FUTURE GENERATIONS ARE THREATENED"

In a speech to a crowd of Palestinians and Iraqis at the PLO office in Baghdad on June 16, Chairman Arafat said that Arab and international reaction to the Israeli air raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor was not of the level required and not commensurate with the act. He said it was not enough for Arab foreign ministers to issue yet another statement, adding that "what is needed now is a responsible, unified and comprehensive Arab stand on the danger threatening the future of our children."

"In 1967 they had occupied our land, Arab land: the whole of Sinai, the rest of Palestine, parts of Syria and parts of Saudi Arabia (the island of Sanater facing Sharm al-Sheikh). But with the Israeli-American air raid, they are trying to deprive us of something much more critical which is an attempt to usurp our will to achieve progress and development, and to expose the national security of coming generations."

He clarified that any iron and steel factory in any Arab country can be considered a threat to US security, i.e., to US control of the region, and can therefore be attacked; so can any technical school which trains electronic engineers be a target. In submitting to such an aggression, the Arab nation and this generation in particular would sentence the coming generations to live in bondage deprived of progress and development, dominated by Israel and the USA. He added:

"I am ringing the alarm bell for the whole Arab nation to wake up. For it is not only the Palestinian people who are targets but the whole Arab nation, from the Atlantic to the Gulf. The raid was not aimed at Iraqi regional security but at Arab national security." Arafat stressed that the Palestinian Revolution had decided to fight on until the last bullet and the last stone in the hand of Palestinian children in the occupied territories; adding that, in these difficult circumstances and up to now, the Arab nation had not reacted strongly enough to the air raid on Iraq.

EGYPTIAN LAWYERS DEMAND ABROGATION OF CAMP DAVID

The Association of Egyptian Lawyers has demanded the abrogation of the Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty and discontinuation of any relations with

Israel. The association's statement, published by the newspaper "al-Ahrrar" on June 15, says that after signing the treaty, Israel stepped up its aggressive actions against Lebanon and carried out a bandit attack on Iraq's nuclear research center. The document says that by signing the treaty with Egypt, Israel wanted to take Egypt out from the all-Arab front of the struggle against the Zionist aggressor so as to dictate its own conditions. The Egyptian Lawyers' Association called for the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations for its aggressive actions.

U.S. REPLACING ISRAELI TROOPS IN SINAI

The representatives of the U.S., Israel and Egypt announced in Cairo on June 25 that they had reached agreement on the setting up of a so-called "multinational" force to police the Sinai peninsula after the Israeli withdrawal supposed to take place in April 1982. Details of the agreement have not yet been released. Recent reports, however, suggest that in practice U.S. forces are going to replace Israeli forces in the occupation of Sinai. The bulk of the "multinational forces" will be dispatched by the United States, under an overall U.S. command. U.S. forces are also to be stationed in strategic positions near Sharm Al-Shaikh. The U.S. forces will be part of the United States' overall rapid intervention concept in the Middle East. Despite repeated claims on the part of the U.S. government, it is still unclear what, if any, troops from other countries will be ready to participate in the U.S.-sponsored police force which is set up behind the back of the United Nations.

GOLDMANN: NO PEACE WITHOUT PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

The former head of the World Jewish Congress, Nahum Goldmann, in an interview with an Austrian newspaper in late June, stated that unless the Palestine problem was solved, it would not be possible to achieve true peace in the Middle East. Goldmann said that peace was impossible in the Middle East if the Palestinians were not given their right to self-determination and the establishment of a state. He added that Palestinians should be given these rights just as other peoples have.

TAKE NOBEL "PEACE" PRIZE AWAY FROM TERRORIST BEGIN

The Palestinian writer and journalist, Mrs. Rimonda al-Tawil, has requested the General Secretariat of the Nobel Prize Committee to

withdraw the peace prize it awarded to Menahem Begin. His terrorist and inhuman acts were hostile to peace. Mrs. Tawil said she has sent a cable appealing to the Committee to divest Begin of the Nobel Prize, because it is meant for those who serve humanity and work for world peace, while Begin's brutal acts, based on racism and Nazism, have revealed that he is plotting against peace and killing innocent Palestinian children and old people.

ARAB NUCLEAR CONFERENCE SUGGESTS PAN-ARAB PROGRAMME AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) on June 16, 1981 suggested the establishment of a pan-Arab nuclear programme to help ensure fuel supplies for the 21st century. Assistant Secretary-General Adnan Mustafa made the proposal in a paper presented to the first Arab Nuclear Conference being held in Damascus just over a week after Israeli aircraft bombed an Iraqi atomic plant near Baghdad.

Dr. Mustafa said Arab countries could jointly build and operate about 20 nuclear power stations to provide electricity for the year 2000 and help conserve dwindling supplies of oil and gas. He proposed the creation of an Arab nuclear fuel company to explore for uranium in Arab countries, and the unification of electrical grids throughout the Arab World so that power could be shared. Dr. Mustafa said the reactors could be sited in Morocco, Tunisia, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Algeria could accommodate a pan-Arab centre for uranium enrichment and processing, he said.

The nuclear facilities would have a generating capacity of 1,000 megawatts each, he added. Dr. Mustafa estimated that the programme would require a \$25 billion investment between 1985 and 2000, and about 59,000 tonnes of natural uranium. This was the volume of assured Arab uranium resources already discovered, he said. The company would establish close ties with the International Atomic Energy Agency and nuclear states so that the Arab programme could be got under way soon, Dr. Mustafa said. In particular, he proposed developing links between the Arab World and Canada, France, Japan and West Germany to help secure nuclear supplies.

The five-day Conference was attended by government and scientific representatives from 21 Arab and foreign countries and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the Arab League and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

I.C.O. GULF MISSION TO RENEW PEACE EFFORTS

A high-level mission trying to end the Iraq-Iran war is to appoint several committees to investigate various aspects of the conflict, Islamic Conference

Organisation (ICO) sources said on June 21. The mission had received replies from Iran and Iraq to its peace proposals, which included the setting up of an Islamic Court and a commission to study rival claims to sovereignty over the Shatt al Arab waterway.

The mission, which has visited Teheran and Baghdad several times since its creation last January, met at ICO headquarters in Jeddah on June 28 to review its work.

It will then go to Dacca to discuss with the Bangladesh government the mission's next move. Assassinated Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman was a member of the mission, which was led by President Sekou Toure of Guinea. Pakistan, Turkey, Senegal, Gambia, Malaysia, the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the ICO Secretary-General Habib Chatti are the other members.

PALESTINIAN WORKERS IN AUSTRALIA DENOUNCE PRO-ZIONIST AND FASCIST ACTIVITIES

The Central Committee of the General Union of Palestinian Workers (Australia Branch) issued a political memo on May 3 in response to Lionel Bowen, the deputy leader of the Australian opposition Labour party. Bowen has earlier expressed his support of the allegations of the Phalangist gangs in Lebanon and defended their collaboration with the Zionist Israelis. Following are some excerpts of the memo:

— The trouble in Lebanon was generated by the Zionist occupation of Palestine for 33 years in which two million Palestinians became homeless.

— The Zionists are responsible for all the bloodshed they have created in the Arab World. The Zionists are behaving as if they have assumed the role of the Nazis and given the Palestinians the role of the Jews. The Zionists' programme is murder, destruction, collective punishment, and confiscation of land and properties.

— It was decided by the Zionist gangs in 1955 to occupy Lebanon at that time. And according to Moshe Sharett, Israel's first Foreign Minister, Moshe Dayan wanted to buy the heart of any Lebanese officer or bribe him with money or just to get the officer to declare himself the saviour of the Maronite population, then Israel will enter Lebanon and create a Christian regime.

— If you are so worried about the Christians why can you not protest against the Zionists for the crimes they have committed against the Palestinian Christians, or can you not condemn your Zionist masters because you are scared to death? It is always the case with the Western politicians, they always bury their heads in the sand instead of attacking Zionism and its crimes.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Friends:

We of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party want to thank you very much for the opportunity you provided us to participate in the proceedings of the 15th session of the P.N.C.

The knowledge which we acquired will only make us better Fighters for Justice. We were happy to see so many comrades whom we have had the pleasure of meeting and working with throughout the world, since 1967. We greatly appreciated your honesty in not hiding from us your inner struggles. While making us struggle, it also assures us of your inevitable victory. Your hard work inspired us. We have established yet closer links! Again, we thank you.

Long live the P.L.O.!

For the Democratic Secular
State of Palestine That Must Be,

Kwame Ture



Dear fellows,
I would like to meet the Chairman Yasser Arafat and the P.L.O. forces and the struggling masses of Palestine who are fighting for their land which was subjected by the American-Israeli war machine. What I can assure you brothers is that all these imperialists being stationed in our motherland Palestine are just passers-by. They are not going to stay there because Palestine is ours, it is not theirs.

Therefore we are very sure that we are going to drive them out of our land, as our brothers did in Vietnam and all other countries like Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

They try to make some sophisticated weapons like F-16 or F-18, but this is nothing to people because people are more decisive than weapons, and people are the makers of history. The people of Palestine should make their history and return to these homes in Palestine.

The Israel regime may design so many new weapons but they will not be able to design a weapon that will turn our brave Palestinian people into cowards.
Forward with P.L.O.
Forward with people of Palestine and PLO.
Forward with comrade Chairman Yasser Arafat.
Down with Israel and Zionism
Down with all Imperialists all over the world.

Yours Faithfully brother

Peter Moy
Salisbury
Zimbabwe

Your sister in Islam,
Suzan Aboutalebi
U.S.A.

May 1, 1981

Dear Sirs:

I am very supportive of your efforts, although my knowledge of the Palestinian cause is not as good as I would like it to be. As an American, my views are not generally shared. Being a Muslim, though, I am totally in support of your goals.

I feel as if my hands are tied because I desire to do something to help in the Palestinian struggle, but at the present time I cannot contribute to it financially because my finances are very low. I do have a talent I wish to utilize and contribute something to your cause.

I have designed and printed some posters in support of my brothers and sisters fighting in the struggle against Zionist oppression. I wish to give them to you, if you desire them, to use as you like. I only ask that my name be printed on them. I am proud of my work and wish it to be known. This is all I ask of you. If you are interested on my offer I will mail you the finished products as soon as possible.

Thank you for your kind attention. May God aid you in your fight for freedom so that one day you may again return to your homeland. As-Salaam Aleikum.

SOLIDARITY

REPRESENTATIVES OF 29 STATES AT U.N. DECLARE SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

The heads of delegations of 29 states at the UN on June 16 condemned the Zionist attack against Iraq and the Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples in general. The declaration came during the United Nations Security Council meetings on the Israeli raid on Iraq.

The delegations of Vietnam, Romania, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Sierra Leone and several other states also called for the adoption of the Soviet proposal to hold an international conference for the settlement of the Mideast conflict, based on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, and the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland.

The delegations' heads affirmed that the USA was the main party to blame for the Zionist military crimes and acts of aggression against the Palestinian Arab people, since it is the USA which supplies Israel with military, economic and political support.

They also called on the UN Security Council to impose the necessary sanctions against Israel and put an end to its continuous violations of international laws and conventions.

DUNDEE REAFFIRMS SUPPORT OF P.L.O.

On June 5, the City Council of Dundee in Scotland reaffirmed its support to the Palestinian people by keeping the Palestinian flag hoisted inside the City Hall at the entrance to the Council Chambers.

The Palestinian flag has been flying since March 29 when five City Council members of Dundee declared Nablus to be a twin city to Dundee.

The Dundee Council is controlled by left-leaning members of the British opposition Labour Party: Among those who visited Nablus were the Lord Provost of Dundee, James Gowans, with four other City Council members.

They inaugurated the twin-city agreement and pledged to deepen the understanding of the Palestinian question all over Britain.

The agreement angered Israelis and Zionists whose manoeuvres to displace the Palestinian flag were in vain.

PALESTINIAN WRITERS REQUESTS RELEASE OF EGYPTIAN POET

The General Secretary of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, Yahya Yakhluf, on June 6 requested that Amnesty International send a delegation to investigate the conditions under which the progressive Egyptian poet Ahmad Fuad Nejm is being detained in Egypt. Yakhluf, who sent a cable in the name of Palestinian writers and poets, also requested that the international association pressure the Sadat government into immediately releasing Nejm.

NICARAGUA CELEBRATES PALESTINE WEEK

A "Palestine Week," organised by the Nicaraguan Committee for Solidarity with the People of the World in cooperation with the PLO office in Nicaragua, was inaugurated on June 9.

The Nicaraguan media on this occasion concentrated many articles and bulletins to the Palestine cause. Popufar rallies, seminars and film shows were also held in the Nicaraguan capital and other regions.

ALGERIA AND BULGARIA AFFIRM SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN CAUSE

Bulgaria and Algeria have affirmed that there will be no peace in the Middle East without the realisation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the participation of the PLO, the sole legi-

itimate representative of the Palestinian people, in any negotiations concerning the Middle East.

The statement came in a joint communique issued on June 11, after the visit of the Algerian President Chadli Ben Jedid to Bulgaria.

During a banquet held on June 10, Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov confirmed his country's solidarity with the Palestinian people's just struggle to realise their rights, including the right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. He went on to denounce the continuous Israeli attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in south Lebanon, and demanded the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories as a fundamental precondition for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Zhivkov declared his approval of the positive Soviet proposal for an international conference with the participation of the PLO on an equal footing with other parties, to resolve the Middle East crisis.

The Algerian President also declared that Zionism, backed by U.S. imperialism, continues to deny the rights of the Palestinian people. He finally condemned the relentless Israeli attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in south Lebanon.

CYPRIOT-PALESTINIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY EXPRESSES SOLIDARITY WITH P.L.O.

On June 14, Chairman Arafat received a solidarity cable from the Cypriot-Palestinian Friendship Society. The cable confirmed support for Palestinian national rights, including the rights of self-determination and establishment of an independent state. The cable also expressed support for the holding of an international conference with the participation of the PLO on a footing of equality with all other parties, to find a just and permanent solution to the Palestine problem. The cable also called for unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories.



PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

Poem

ENEMY OF THE SUN

*I may – if you wish – lose my livelihood
 I may sell my shirt and bed.
 I may work as a stone cutter,
 A street sweeper, a porter.
 I may clean your stores
 Or rummage your garbage for food.
 I may lie down hungry,
 O enemy of the sun,
 But
 I shall not compromise
 And to the last pulse in my veins
 I shall resist.*

*You may take the last strip of my land,
 Feed my youth to prison cells.
 You may plunder my heritage.
 You may burn my books, my poems
 Or feed my flesh to the dogs.
 You may spread a web of terror
 On the roofs of my village,
 O enemy of the sun,
 But
 I shall not compromise
 And to the last pulse in my veins
 I shall resist.*

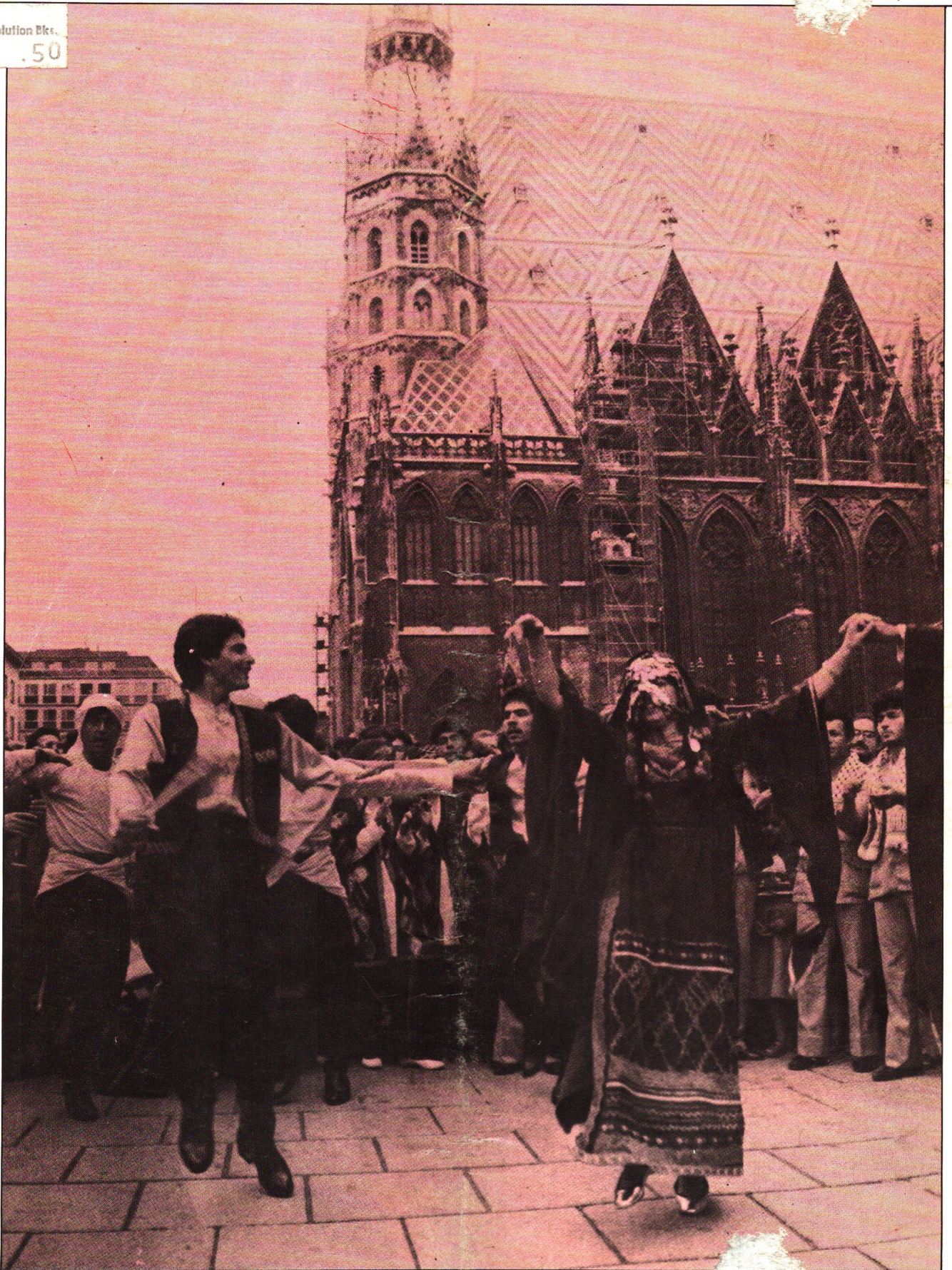
*You may put out the light in my eyes.
 You may deprive me of my mother's kisses.
 You may curse my father, my people.
 You may distort my history.
 You may deprive my children of a smile
 And of life's necessities.
 You may fool my friends with a borrowed face.
 You may build walls of hatred around me.
 You may glue my eyes to humiliations,
 O enemy of the sun,
 But
 I shall not compromise
 And to the last pulse in my veins
 I shall resist.
 O enemy of the sun
 The decorations are raised at the port.
 The ejaculations fill the air,
 A glow in the hearts,
 And in the horizon
 A sail is seen
 Challenging the wind
 And the depths.
 It is Ulysses
 Returning home
 From the sea of loss.*

*It is the return of the sun,
 Of my exiled ones.
 And for her sake, and his
 I swear
 I shall not compromise
 And to the last pulse in my veins
 I shall resist,
 Resist – and resist.*

Samih Al Qasim



Revolution Ekt.
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PALESTINIAN FOLKLORE AT THE WORLD SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
YOUTH FESTIVAL IN VIENNA (5-11 JUNE 81).