



# ARAB PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

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PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY- PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FORCES

# Arab Palestinian **RESISTANCE**

VOL IV - No. 6

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## CONTENTS

- From the Record ..... 3
- Editorial ..... 4
- Political scene : ..... By: M. T. Bujairami 8
- Israeli Concentration Camps in the Sinai Desert .. 16
- Repression in Israel - occupied territory ..... 26
- Statement by the Religious Council of the Jewish Community of Syria ..... 38
- The Story of Ziad Al-Husseini .....  
..... By: Misbah Al-Budairi 45
- Pressure for Phantoms .... By: Odeh Aburdeneh 54
- Resistance operations (May 1972) ..... 62
- Book Review: One in three million, the story of a  
Palestinian, narrated .....  
By: Ghazi Danial and Written by Hani Faris .... 66
- Violence is not Un-Jewish ..... By: S. Hasan 68
- Israel's Black Panthers expose social contradictions  
..... By: Edmund Ghareeb 82
- Documents: Health assistance to refugees and  
displaced persons in the Middle East. .... 91





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EDITORIAL

## FROM THE RECORD

«There is no basis in either Old Testament or New to support the claim of the Zionists that a modern Jewish state in Palestine is justified or demanded by the Bible or by Biblical prophecy.»

Dr. William F. Stinespring

«Israel according to Holy Scriptures»

pp. 6 - 9 (Introduction)

# EDITORIAL

FROM THE RECORD

The Israelis and the Zionists have always maintained that the June-1967 Israeli attack against the Arab countries, the so-called Six-day war, was forced on Israel by Arab plans of aggression; that the closure of the straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping which preceded the war threatened to strangle Israeli trade and economy; that Israel, at the time, found itself surrounded by Arab armies that endangered its very existence, and that the Israeli armed forces had to deal a decisive preemptive strike to ensure the survival of Israel.

The Arabs, on the other hand, have always maintained that the June-1967 war was a war of expansion and aggression, one in a series of attacks and incursions waged by Israel against the Arab countries under various pretexts in implementation of the Zionist-Israeli expansionist programme which

aims at establishing «Greater Israel», extending from the Nile to the Euphrates.

Recently-revealed information has shown that the Arab interpretation of events is more truthful. The June-19 issue (1972) of Time Magazine quotes statements by Israeli leaders, including Ezer Weizman, who was Israeli deputy Chief of Staff in 1967 and Haim Barlev, present Minister of Commerce and until recently Chief-of-Staff of the Israeli Armed Forces, to the effect that Israel's survival was not at stake in 1967.

Matiyahu Peled, an Israeli political commentator and Arab studies specialist at Tel-Aviv University and the Israeli army's quartermaster general in the 1967 war has gone further in exposing Israel's deception. He describes the survival argument as «a bluff which was born and developed only after

the war.» He adds: «When we spoke of the war in the General Staff, we talked of the political ramifications if we go to war — what would happen to Israel in the next 25 years. Never of survival today.»

To all these telling statements should be added the facts that in 1967 only 2% of Israeli shipping moved through the Straits of Tiran, that for five years Israel has persistently refused to withdraw from any part of the occupied Arab territories and that since the end of the war, expansionism has been the chief guideline of Israeli policy. In the words of Time Magazine — published under the title «Colonisers,» also in the magazine's 19-June issue —: «Five years after the war, Israel's occupation of captured Arab territories has the decided look of permanence. The Israelis are building colonies — or as their critics may say an empire.»

Israel's ambivalence, statements of power and declarations of weakness, which is intended to conceal its true nature as a settler colonialist state bent on aggression and expansion, has proved puzzling to the logic not only of non-Jews but also of Jews.

At the end of 1971, Boaz Evron published in the Israeli newspaper «Yediot Aharonot» an article entitled «We are not being annihilated,» in which he said:

«We find it difficult to decide exactly who we are. One day we flex our muscles with a roar of pride and are ready for a showdown with the Soviet Union and hint at our tremendous power that we keep secret for security reasons. The next day, and sometimes on the very same day, we dissolve in tears of utter helplessness, as if we were the unfortunate victims of a pogrom and the knife of the slaughterers was at our throats!» ■

## Resistance

## **Political Scene**

■  
Now that five years have passed since the six-day war of June 1967, what are the prospects of the situation in the Middle East?

Is the present state of «no-war, no-peace» likely to last for a long time till the world gets used to it? Who is responsible for this deadlock? What are the possibilities of the future?

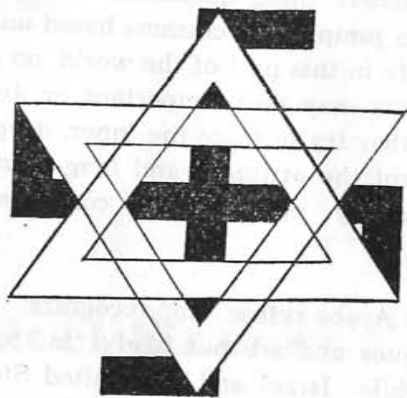
■

To answer these questions, we should not be tempted to jump to conclusions based on the events of daily life in this part of the world, no matter how these events may seem important or dramatic. We should rather try to trace the inner, deeper currents that control the attitudes and long-term policies of those directly or indirectly concerned with this crisis.

The Arabs refuse to recognize the present «status quo» and are not likely to tolerate it for ever, while Israel and the United States want to freeze the present situation, or to extend the scope of Israeli occupation beyond the present cease-fire lines. Both the United States and Israel are launching a full-scale psychological attack against the morale of the Arab people, in an attempt to convince the Arab countries that surrender to Israeli conditions is the best solution, and that any attempt to change the present «status quo» will bring the Arabs nothing but defeat and more misery.

Meanwhile, Israel is bent on «creating new facts» in every part of the occupied Arab territories. Full co-ordination prevails between America and Israel along these lines. The concrete examples of this co-ordination, or rather collusions, are almost innumerable in every field.

Financially, it is through the exceptionally «generous» American aid that Israel is able to cope



with expensive and extensive programmes of housing. Large pieces of Arab land are being confiscated every now and then. The Arab owners are being driven out by force, or even deported to Sinai and across the Jordan river, while the confiscated lands are surrounded with barbed wires and suddenly proclaimed «military Zones» and «no-go» areas!

**This** is being systematically practised, especially near the Arab cities of Jericho, Nablus and Gaza. Israeli colonies are springing everywhere like mushrooms. Israel is already talking openly about the annexation of Gaza and the economic absorption of the West Bank territories.

**When** the Israeli «defence» budget tends to encroach on money appropriated for these projects, Uncle Sam is always there, ready to loosen the

strings of his purse! The most recent example of this is the Congressional approval to give Israel some \$52 million to «balance her economy».

**As** for America's direct military «aid» to Israel, the most recent example is the fact that America is now producing a special high-altitude rocket of the air-to-air type, which is to be used by the Phantom jet fighter bombers in order to guarantee the continuation of an Israeli air supremacy in the skies of the Middle East.

**Regarding** military plans, it has been discovered that Israel had built two secret air bases in Uganda before the Israelis were disgraced, exposed and kicked out of that African country. The said bases were extremely costly, fully equipped, sophisticated and designed to cater for long-range strategic supersonic jets. They were far beyond Uganda's modest defence requirements. They were meant to be used as spring-boards against targets in Southern Egypt such as the area of the High Dam of Aswan.

**Although** Israel has lost these bases, it is believed that there are similar ones, clandestinely installed in Ethiopia and Eritrea; in addition, of course, to the full collaboration between Israeli and American officers within the various American espionage centers and military bases in Ethiopia. This collaboration is kept a closely-guarded secret, especially in strategically important and highly sensitive



■  
**King Hussein**  
also has a  
role to play  
■

operations such as long-range reconnaissance flights over East Sudan, South-East Egypt and the area of the Red Sea in general.

**It** seems that the United States wants to encircle the whole of the Arab Homeland with these bases of military aggression, ready to operate whenever called upon to do so at very short notice. This is exactly similar to the situation in South-East Asia, where in addition to her seventh fleet, America depends on a military pact (SEATO) and a series of naval and air bases encircling Indochina from the North (bases in South Korea and Japan), the East (Guam and some Pacific islands), the South (aircraft carriers stationed off the Vietnamese shores in Tonkin), and the West (bases in Thailand).

**Applying** the same strategic principles in the Middle East, America has: (a) the sixth fleet in the Mediterranean, (b) Israel itself as a stationary aircraft-carrier, (c) CENTO, with special reference to Iran and the highly dangerous role that is being assigned for the Shah — because President Nixon's visit to Tehran was no coincidence at all, at this particular time — and (d) the bases that are going to be used in Greece as from the first day of next July.

**It** seems that the United States is endeavouring to achieve the utmost co-ordination between NATO and Israel. In order to make things run smoothly in this respect, there are already reports of a pending official Greek recognition of Israel. Pressure is also being exerted against President Makarios of Cyprus. He is being threatened with religious penalties by the Greek clergy.

**It** seems that there are American fingers behind this type of contrived harassment with a view to turning this East Mediterranean island into another imperialist spring-board, ready for action against the Arab countries, should the need arise in case of any major conflagration in this part of the world.

**King Hussein** of Jordan also has a role to play in this sinister scheme. His is the role of the «Trojan horse» in the Eastern Front with Israel. He is entrusted with the task of attacking Syria and preventing her from taking part in any battle against Israel, so as to leave the Egyptians com-



pletely isolated and to protect the Israelis from any possibility of having to fight against the Arabs on two fronts at any time.

**Other** efforts are being made to «convince» the Lebanon of the «necessity» to arrange another bloodbath to annihilate the Palestinians. If Lebanon is not «convinced», it seems that Israel is bent on arranging this «bloodbath» herself. A vast Israeli military build-up had been noticed on the Lebanese borders long before the Lydda-airport operation. The Israeli Air Force has been active in the area since last April. Israel has been casting a covetous eye at South Lebanon and awaiting the appropriate atmosphere to devour a large area thereof, may be as far as the sources of the Litani river.

**The** Western press, now outraged at what happened at Lydda airport had very little to say against a dozen atrocious brutalities and genocide crimes committed by Zionist terrorist gangs whose leaders are now cabinet ministers in Israel. These Israeli crimes include the appalling massacres of Deir Yassin, Qibia, Nahalin, Kafr Kassim, Sabha, Tantoura, Karama, el-Tawafiq, Sammou, Bahr el-Baqar and Abu-Za'abal.

**Both** the United States and Britain are in an aggressive mood right now. The recent nationalization of the giant IPC in Iraq and Syria is not likely to be tolerated by either London or Washington. This daring blow to their oil interests by two Arab countries has many implications.

**First**, it provides an example for other oil-producing countries, and can serve as a precedent that may be copied elsewhere, thus ushering in an era of decline for Western prestige and Western «spheres of influence».

**Secondly**, it shows the imperialists just how serious the Arabs are in their struggle for liberation and economic independence and how vulnerable the interests of the West can be in case the West continue their blind support to Israel.

**Thirdly**, it may mark the beginning of the end for the longcherished imperialist motto of «divide and rule». The Arab countries are, at long last, coordinating their efforts in a common, just cause against aggression and foreign domination.

**Imperialism**, therefore, will resort to creating internal or inter-Arab conflicts, troubles, intrigues or conspiracies. If such machinations fail, as there is ample evidence they will, then the last throw of the dice will be to call on Israel, the West's watchdog in this part of the world, to carry out yet another large-scale aggression, with the possibility of a flagrant Anglo-American intervention, should anything go wrong. Iran may also be used to apply military pressure against Iraq.

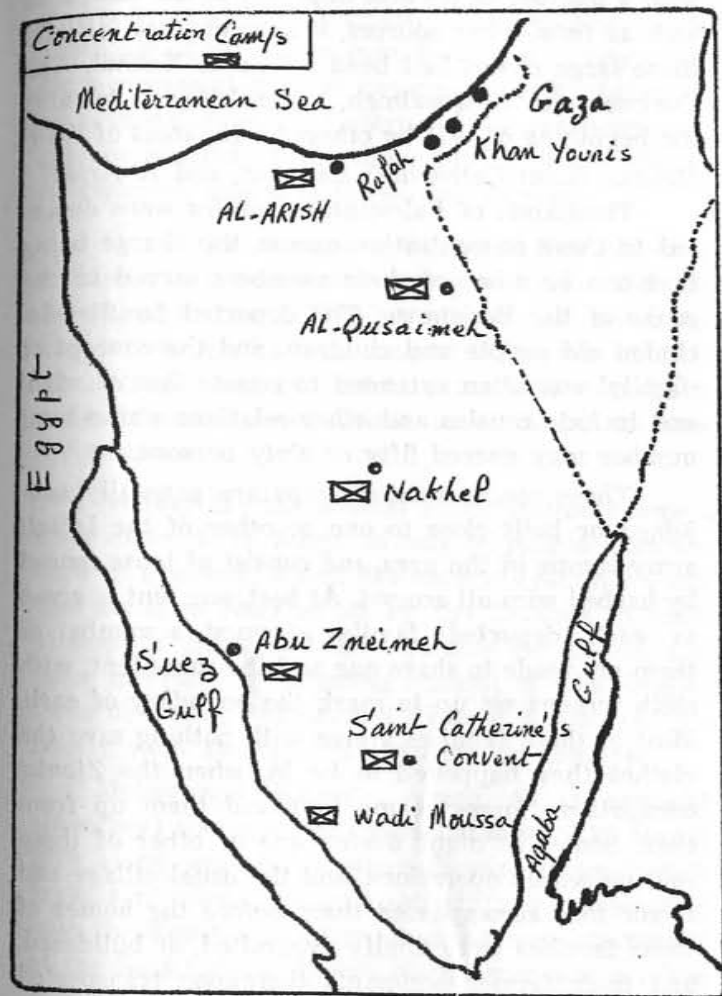
**Tension** is mounting in the Middle East. The present developments are reminiscent of the situation after the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 and after Syria's victory over the IPC in 1967.

## ISRAELI CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN SINAI DESERT.

■

During the 1970/71 period, the Israelis built a number of concentration camps in the Sinai Desert to serve as places of exile for huge numbers of the Arab population of Gaza and its strip, and to terrorize all those who remained in the Strip into refraining from rendering any form of assistance to the Palestinian Resistance.

■



From the information gathered in interviews with a number of persons deported to the camps, as well as from other sources, it appears that initially three large camps had been set up at Nakhel, Abu Zneimeh and Al-Qusaimeh, to be followed towards the beginning of 1971 by others in the areas of Wadi Moussa, Saint Catherine's Convent, and Al-Arish.

Thousands of Palestinian families were deported to these concentration camps, the charge being that one or more of their members served in the ranks of the Resistance. The deported families included old people and children, and the concept of 'family' was often extended to equate that of 'clan' and include cousins and other relatives whose total number may exceed fifty or sixty persons.

These concentration camps are generally sub-joined or built close to one or other of the Israeli army camps in the area and consist of tents fenced by barbed wire all around. At best, one tent is given to each deported family; at worst, a number of them are made to share one and the same tent, with cloth screens set up to mark the boundary of each. Most of these families arrive with nothing save the clothes they happened to be in, when the Zionist occupation forces came to round them up from their homes at night during one or other of those routine search operations, and the usual pillage and terror that accompanied them before the homes of those families were finally dynamited, or bulldozed, and their former occupants thereupon transported in army lorries to the camps.

Each concentration camp is under constant guard by Israeli army troops, whose duty is to prohibit any of its interns from leaving it or any others from coming close to it, not even Israeli soldiers not on a guard duty. The interns of the camp are completely isolated from the outside world: radios, newspapers, and even books are banned.

One of these camps — **the one at Nakhel** — was divided into two separate parts, one for families and the other for men. The latter part had about 400 men-interns at the beginning of 1971, most of them intellectuals and prominent persons known generally for their sympathies with the Resistance movement.

Neither are the Zionist concentration camps a mere exile in the desert, as may be judged from the mass of evidence, which has become available about the practices resorted to by the Zionists in their attempt to intimidate and terrorize the detainees of these camps. The following account of what one of these detainees, Mohammed Khamis Ayash, and his family went through will provide an example:

Mohammed Khamis Ayash (**a 15-year-old schoolboy**) was arrested by the Israelis on 10 March 1970 along with his brother Fawaz, charged with organizing illegal student activity and cooperating with the Resistance. After six months of internment at the Gaza Central Prison, Mohammed was set free without being convicted. During these months, however, he and his brother Fawaz were subjected to

very harsh treatment and torture. «The investigators», he said, «used to strip me of my clothes and lash me with a whip made of coiled electric wires and then to put me under a cold water shower to bring me back to consciousness. They also used to blindfold my eyes and unleash their dogs to rend my clothes, drag me about and tear my flesh. These operations were tried on me scores of times to make me speak, but I didn't.»

Mohammed was re-arrested a month later and, on 10 January 1971, he was deported to Jordan by way of the Ghor-es-Safi desert along with eight others. The road they were made to follow ran through a mine field and their death would have been almost certain had it not been for their exceptional good luck.

On 6 January 1971, Mohammed's entire family, consisting of the two parents and their six children — **aged from 3 to 14** — had been sent to the concentration camp of Wadi Moussa on the eastern bank of the Gulf of Suez. On 14 September 1971, they were allowed to return to Rafah after the mother had given birth to a new child. Arriving in Rafah, they found, however, that the Israelis had blown up their house (**on 4 August 1971**) and damaged the family's 100-dunum grove of citrus and almond trees. They eventually found themselves an abandoned hut at the Rafah Refugee Camp, which they had to put up with. But worse news awaited this unfortunate family, who soon learnt that Fawaz, the

eldest son, had died in prison on 4 September 1971 and that the Israelis had buried him secretly in Beit Hanoun; but yielding to the pressure of student demonstrations, the Israeli occupation authorities permitted his body to be returned to his native town, Rafah, where a funeral procession was organized that took the shape of a huge mass demonstration.

The following is a passage from a letter received by Mohammed in Amman from his father in Rafah (**dated 28.10.71**): «... You express anxiety in your letter over what may have happened to us when we were deported to Sinai. Well, set your mind at peace, for we were not alone but with about 100 other families who accompanied us in Wadi Moussa, south of Mount Sinai; furthermore, food was served us by the authorities, who surrounded us with barbed wires and finally allowed us to return to Rafah when Mother gave birth.»

But besides the concentration camps of Sinai, camps of not an altogether different nature were set up in various parts of the Gaza Strip for the purpose of gathering as many of the population in them as possible, and thus make it easier for the occupation army to bring them under its control. These 'gathering-in' camps were also surrounded by barbed wires and authorization to go out of the camp would have to be obtained from the officer in charge stationed at the only entrance to the camp before any of its inhabitants was allowed to leave.

All inhabitants were also required to be home before it was dark, and some to report twice a day to the officer in charge. Three such camps exist in the area of Rafah alone, and hundreds of families have been forced to abandon their homes and go and live in the tents and huts of these wire-fenced camps.

The three gathering-in camps of Rafah are located in (1) Al-Byouk (north of Rafah), the number of whose inhabitants is estimated at 3,500 persons. The inhabitants of this camp include the clans of Abu el Hussain, Al-Hamamsheh, Al-Maghasbeh, Al-Dabbarin, and Abu Zneimeh.

(2) Um-el-Kilab (north of Rafah), where there are about 1500 inhabitants, including the families belonging to the clans of Al-Masri, Abu Shaath, and Abu Muammar.

(3) The area of Amer's Development Project, where there are about 600 inhabitants belonging to the clans of Al-Malalhah, Abu Tuaimah, and Abu Madi, who refused to collaborate with the occupation authorities.

The decision to set up the collective concentration camps had, according to well authenticated information, been taken by Israel's highest political and military commands and shrouded with complete secrecy. The execution of the decision was, along with the administration of the camps, entrusted to special Israeli army units that were directly superintended by Brigadier Shlomo Gazet, ex-deputy

director of the military intelligence service and military governor of the Gaza Strip, and currently in charge of coordinating Israeli intelligence in the occupied areas.

Although the Israeli authorities did their best to keep both Israeli and world public opinion in the dark with regard to these camps, news about them leaked through a number of leftist Israeli army reserves «some of whom managed to get reasonably near to the camp of Abu Zneimeh», according to a statement by Dr. Israel Shahak, Chairman of the Human Rights League in Israel. A wave of indignation followed in January and February, 1971 when the League made public the information it had been able to gather about these secret camps.

On 28 January 1971, the President of the International Red Cross expressed his Organization's concern over what was going on in the Gaza Strip and announced that he was sending two envoys, one of them his aide, Mr. Manoir, to visit the Strip, which they actually did and were able to see for themselves the two camps at Abu Zneimeh and Nakhel.

The Israeli authorities continued as nonchalant as ever despite all international and local pressure. They even announced a statement denying all that had been published about the existence of secret concentration camps, dismissing the reports about them as sheer hostile propaganda.

On 2 February 1971, the Jerusalem Post published a report, however, saying that Brigadier

Shlomo Gazet firmly refused to permit journalists to visit the concentration camps in Sinai because «that», he said, «was not in the interest of Israel's public relations.»

There is no doubt that the Israeli occupation authorities still maintain quite a few of these concentration camps in the Sinai Desert, although intensified security measures are being observed to prevent any leakage of news about them that may give rise to new international pressures to close them down, as happened in the case of the principal Nakhel camp, which the Israelis had to close down in April 1971 following the intervention of the International Red Cross. 38 families only were then taken back to their homes, while all the remaining families were transported to other camps. On 29 November 1971, the camp at Abu Zneimeh was also closed down; but, again, most of its intern-families were transported to other concentration camps while a very small number of these families were returned home by the Red Cross.

Four camps at least are known to be still in existence: these are the ones at Wadi Moussa, Saint Catherine, Al-Qusaimeh, and Al-Arish. Toward the beginning of March 1972, the Red Cross inquired about the possibility of visiting the camp of Abu Moussa in the area of Mount Sinai, and the Israeli reply was that there had never been a concentration camp in that area.

Incidentally, it may be interesting to note at the end of this account of Israel's concentration

camps in Sinai that the Israeli authorities have sought to obtain assistance from some international bodies in order to cover the running expenses of the camps. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) refused to offer aid to the deportees in the area of Al-Arish and insisted that they should be returned to their former places of residence. The International Red Cross likewise refused to offer any food or equipment for use in those camps. The only exception was the American «Care» Agency, which provided large quantities of foodstuffs, blankets and tents for use in the Sinai concentration camps, through the Israeli Social Welfare Office in Gaza. ■

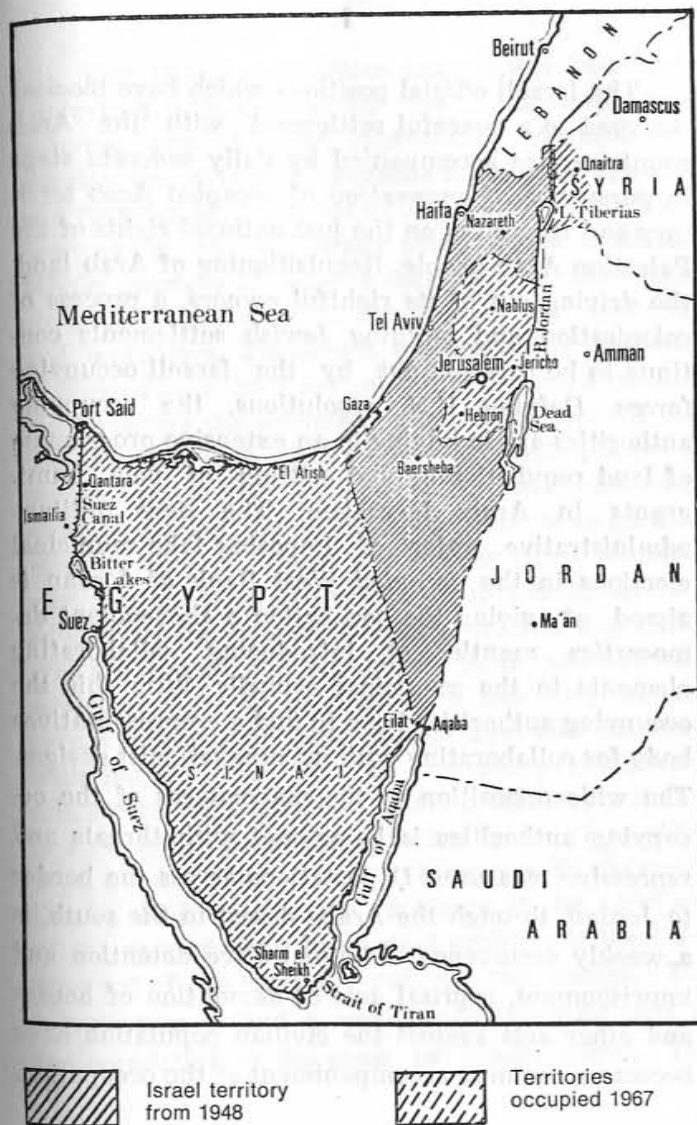


# REPRESSION IN ISRAEL - OCCUPIED TERRITORY

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The following inside account of the repression and persecution to which the inhabitants of the Arab territories, occupied by Israel as a result of the June 1967 aggression, are subjected, is based on an article published in the February 1972 issue of «New Perspective,» Journal of the World Peace Council.

■



The Israeli official positions which have blocked the road to a peaceful settlement with the Arab countries, are accompanied by daily concrete steps in pursuance of annexation of occupied Arab territory and trampling on the just national rights of the Palestine Arab people. Requisitioning of Arab land, the driving out of its rightful owners, a process of colonisation and building Jewish settlements continue to be carried out by the Israeli occupying forces. Defying U.N. resolutions, the occupying authorities are indulging in an extensive programme of land requisitioning and settling of new immigrants in Arab Jerusalem. The new military administrative order of imposing fake municipal elections in the occupied West Bank of Jordan is aimed at giving the occupation a «benevolent democratic» mantle, at introducing collaborating elements to the municipal councils. With this the occupying authorities hope to find a «representative» body for collaborating with its annexationist designs. The wide opposition to the manoeuvres of the occupying authorities is being met with threats and repressive measures. Deportations across the border to Jordan, through the Araba desert in the south, is a weekly occurrence. Administrative detention and imprisonment, reprisal acts of demolition of houses and other acts against the civilian population have become a common accompaniment of the occupation.

The Israeli authorities have lately been concentrating their efforts on the Gaza strip where inhuman acts of terror, repression, imprisonment, murder, demolition of hundreds of houses, expulsion and transfer of thousands of Arab inhabitants, have been going on for many months now unabated. Whole quarters of refugee lodgings in the Gaza strip have been razed to the ground by dynamite and bulldozers. Thousands are forcefully deported to regions near the Sinai peninsula or forced to leave «voluntarily» the occupied areas altogether. All this was carried out under the declared policy of «thinning-out» the population. A continuous man-hunt is carried out against all those who dare to raise a voice of protest and oppose the «humane civilizing mission» of the occupying forces. Labelled as «terrorists», people, including women and children, are hunted and murdered. And now Jewish settlements are to be planted in this very densely populated strip, on land expropriated and encircled with barbed wire by the occupying authorities. «Ha'aretz» correspondent, quoting military authorities (4. 1. 72) about the situation in the Gaza strip, says: «What is the central problem now in the strip? Circles dealing with the problems of the strip are of the opinion that the central problem is the thinning-out of the strip and not of the camps. The intention is to find a way for transferring part of the population of the strip to other places. The



second problem that has to be dealt with, is intersecting the strip. It is impermissible that the strip of nearly half a million inhabitants should be one entity from a political, administrative and economic aspect. Soon Jewish settlements will rise up within the strip thus contributing to the integration of the strip within Israel».

This integration — read annexation — is being exercised at the cost of a great human tragedy, of untold acts of repression, bloodshed, torture and destruction. The nearly half a million Arabs living in the Gaza strip, in their courageous opposition to a foreign colonizer, in their hour of tribulation and agony, are a challenge to humanity's conscience and to international duty towards human life and dignity.

The World Peace Council, all forces of peace everywhere, are called upon to raise their voices in protest against these repressive measures of the Israeli forces of occupation in contradiction of international law.

### III

The last general debate at the U.N. General Assembly on the Middle East situation and the several resolutions adopted, have again drawn attention to the seriousness of the situation and to the responsibility of the Israeli Government in prolonging the crisis. The resolutions condemned Israeli policy in the occupied territories and repeated the international demand for respecting the rights of the Arab refugees to choose repatriation

or compensation. The main resolution adopted on 13. 12. 1971, by an overwhelming majority of 79 votes and opposed by only seven votes, called again for the full implementation of the U.N. Security Council Resolution of November 1967, reaffirmed the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force and affirmed the principles upon which a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab countries should be based. The resolution noted with appreciation the positive reply given by Egypt to Gunnar Jarring's initiative for establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and called upon Israel to respond favourably to this peace initiative of February 8, 1971.

This resolution indicated clearly the isolation of the Israeli rulers in the international scene and showed again the will of the world community for a peaceful settlement based on Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories occupied in June, 1967, and the mutual recognition of the rights of all States for an independent, sovereign and secure existence.

Israeli Government rejection of the U.N. Resolutions and its refusal of Dr. Jarring's initiative based upon the Security Council Resolution, continue to obstruct any progress for a peaceful settlement and create conditions which bear the dangers of a conflagration.

### IV

This dangerous intransigent position of the Israeli ruling circles could not have been exercised and maintained without U.S. imperialist, political,

economic and military support. It is more obvious than before that the U.S.A. perpetuates the crisis in the region and supports continued Israeli occupation of Arab territory as a means of pressure against the Arab countries through which the vested interests in Washington hope to gain concessions and roll back the Arab countries' advance on the path of economic, political and social development. It is more than clear that the Israeli ruling circles, while pursuing their own expansionist Zionist aims in the Middle East, are acting as tools in the big game of the U.S. imperialists in their regional and global machinations.

The double-faced role played by the U.S. statesmen during the last year as intermediaries, middle-men and mediators between Egypt and Israel is mainly aimed at squeezing political concession from the Arab countries detrimental to their economic and political advance and to their friendly cooperation with the U.S.S.R.

The recent visit in November of Israeli Prime Minister, Golda Meir, to President Nixon and the economic and military support that followed, mainly the extended renewed dispatch of more Phantom aggressive planes, only confirm the real anti-peace role played by the U.S.A.

This role of the U.S.A. directed by the economic interests of the American oil magnates and by the Pentagon strategists against the socialist countries, is directed against the independence, security and



social progress of all the peoples of the Middle East. Although appearing as «supporters» of Israel, the U.S. imperialist game in the region is also detrimental to the interests of the Israelis themselves. The history of all imperialist powers in the Middle East, as in other regions, prove the correctness of this warning addressed to the Jewish population of Israel with regard to the unholy cooperation existing between Israel and the U.S. imperialists against the Arab countries.

In pursuance of its pro-imperialist and anti-peace policies, Israel's official circles are mounting their anti-Soviet slander campaign, fanning the flames of the so-called Jewish problem in the U.S.S.R. They cry maliciously about alleged anti-Jewish practices in the Soviet Union in order to demagogically cover up the brutal repressive measures against the Arab people in the occupied territories.

Attached to the strings of U.S.A. global strategy, the Israeli ruling circles, while sabotaging the real prospect that is opened for a just peaceful settlement, adventurously continue along the path of force in dealing with the Arab countries. Depending on overall U.S.A. support, the Israeli government build up Israel's military strength continuously, seeing the use of force as the only way of dealing with the Arab countries. Since the June war in 1967, Israeli military expenditure has grown from 1.2 billion Israeli Liras (about 343 million dollars) to 7.5 billion IL in 1971, amounting to over 50% of the Israeli budget. The military expenditure of Israel has grown from 11% of the national income in 1967 to 30% in 1971, with no parallel the world over. Many of the critics within pro-government circles are disturbed at this spiral growth in military spending, bringing about this year very serious negative results to the economic and social situation in the country itself. Devaluation of the Israeli Lira

by 20%, diminishing social services, greater sacrifices by the working people, lower standard of living for the masses while profits are sky-rocketing, and big business is waving rich on fat military expenditure — all this is a direct outcome of the expanding military budget. In view of this situation where the military spending is rising continuously while peace and security seem to be further away than at any time before June, 1967, many people in Israel ask the question: «Is this the price of aggression?».

While working people, suffering from higher prices, greater burden of taxation, lower real wages and lower standard of living, are reacting with a wave of strikes and economic battles to raise their standard of living, the demagogic appeal of the ruling circles to «security consciousness» is less influential and the Israeli Government with a «Labour» core is resorting to anti-strike legislation. The poorer, more exploited sections of the Jewish population, composed mainly of Eastern Jews (originating from Arab and African countries) raise voices of protest and fight to improve their social and economic conditions. The demonstrations and other fighting actions of the «Black Panthers» in Israel are an expression of this discontent and struggle for a better life.

Also, on the political front, more circles are joining the ranks of the camp voicing protest to, and distrust of, the government policy.

People who ranked some time ago within the

official government camp are now disturbed at the dark perspectives towards which Israel is being driven by its own rulers.

In the face of the growing danger of the renewal of war, a number of organisations came out clearly accusing the Israeli government of bearing the main responsibility for a new explosion. Such organisations, as «Movement for Peace and Security», a movement of intellectuals in favour of peace, the «Independent Left Zionist Socialist Union» headed by ex-Mapam leader Yacob Riftin, or «Siah» (New Israel Left — comprising ex-Mapam members) have recently issued public statements demanding a «yes to Jarring», criticising Israeli refusal of Jarring's proposals and indicating Israel's responsibility in case of renewal of hostilities.

Forty-six prominent Israeli professors and intellectuals addressed a cable, at the end of last month (December) to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, declaring that «We are living with the feeling that the Israeli Government has not utilised all the political possibilities open to it in order to start negotiations with Egypt and prevent the danger of the renewal of war». The signatories call upon the Israeli Government «to re-examine its declared positions and to come forward with proposals which, while not causing harm to Israel's security, would provide a real basis for the possibility of negotiations with Egypt». This initiative by outstanding Israeli personalities, while drawing the

angry criticism of the Prime Minister, has stirred wide sections of public opinion in Israel, which has begun to realize that the position of the Israeli Government cannot lead to a peaceful settlement.

Many people in Israel, who supported the Israeli Government position during the June, 1967, war, now declare openly that if war is resumed, Israel will be fighting a war in defence of occupation and annexation of foreign lands.

The activity of the anti-imperialist forces of peace in Israel and experience itself are helping more people in Israel to realize that the adventurous pro-imperialist policy of the Israeli government has no perspective and leads Israel to an impasse. If the Israeli government managed through the four and a half years after the June, 1967, aggressive war to defy the will of the international community and prevent a just, peaceful settlement, due to U.S. imperialist support and due to weaknesses within the Arab camp, this defiance cannot continue indefinitely. Development of events are leading to changes on the international plane and in the Middle East, to the detriment of U.S. imperialism and of all it stands for, making the continuation of the policy of occupation and annexation by the Israeli Government a very dangerous gamble. ■

## STATEMENT BY THE RELIGIOUS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF SYRIA ■■

■

The Israelis and the Zionists are waging a campaign of falsehood and lies in connection with alleged persecution of the Jewish communities in the Arab countries. They are trying to use the so-called «Plight of Jews in Arab lands» in order to deviate world public opinion from the basic issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict — the struggle of the Palestinian people for the liberation of their homeland from the foreign Zionist invaders — to a ready-made sentimental myth, which is the alleged persecution of the Jews.

The following statement by leaders of the Jewish community in Syria was read at a press conference held in Damascus on June 17, 1972. The statement speaks for itself.

■

World Zionism has, for several months, been launching rabid campaigns against our Country and Government, alleging that the members of our Community are living in bad conditions and are being subjected to arbitrary measures affecting their lives, security and safety.

The scope of this campaign organized and led by Israel and its organs has widened lately. Israeli officials have recently issued statements and declarations, the strangest of which was a statement by Israel Galili, whereby he made false allegations of the «bad conditions» we are living under, and considered us part of the Israeli inhabitants in occupied Palestine.

As Syrians, we consider these declarations an inadmissible meddling in our affairs, and an attempt by Israel for imposing tutelage upon us, which we flatly reject and strongly denounce. Hence, we are asking World public opinion to clarify our attitude towards them.

By expressing the point of view of all members

of our Community in this declaration, we are fully aware that Israel, through its campaign, aims only at concealing its criminal acts and well-known racial practices against the Arab inhabitants, as well as against the Oriental and colored Jews who have been deceived by Zionism by bringing them to its alleged paradise. Furthermore, Israel is trying to flare up sectarian strife between us and our fellow citizens of other faiths.

By this declaration, we wish to emphasize specifically the following facts:

1 — We have been living in this Country for several centuries with other Communities, without any discrimination whatsoever.

2 — We flatly reject the tutelage which Israel is trying to impose upon us, and we consider ourselves Syrian Arab citizens with no allegiance but to our Country and with no loyalty but to its authorities.

3 — During scores of interviews with repre-

sentatives of international press media — some of whom might be among us now —, we had refuted allegations propagated by the Zionist organs concerning the living conditions of our Community.

We wish to add that if some arrests among members of our Community or other communities had taken place, they were due to the mere fact that those arrested had committed violations of the laws in force applicable to any citizen regardless of his faith.

4 — We, as good citizens, fully appreciate the conditions of war resulting from the Israeli aggression against our Country, as well as from the attempts being made by the Israeli organs for deluding some naïve Jews using them as an easy prey for the Zionist propaganda. Zionism, for the sake of achieving its malicious ends, does not hesitate from embroiling these persons in trends to their detriment.

We are also certain that the measures taken by our Syrian authorities aim only at protecting us

from the wily methods of Zionism and its tendentious propaganda.

5 — We are aware that this campaign aims at misleading world public opinion and deceiving the Oriental Jews, making them believe that Israel is concerned about them too, while the fact is that Israel's concern is concentrated on Western Jews, and it is encouraging only the white immigration. The case of the colored American Jews who were recently expelled from Israel is but one example.

We seize this opportunity to express our deep concern for the injustice, oppression, and discrimination to which Oriental and colored Jews are being exposed on the hands of the Israeli authorities. We declare our solidarity with them in their struggle for liberation from all aspects of discrimination.

We also appeal to world public opinion and to the international organizations and to World humanitarian and legal institutions, as well as to the peace and justice loving nations, groups and individuals to intervene for putting an end to the Israeli

racial discrimination, and to the atrocities committed against the Arabs in the occupied territories, which the Commission on Human Rights considered as Crimes of War in its latest resolution.

Furthermore, we request all the various organizations to intervene for stopping acts of oppression, injustice and discrimination to which the Oriental and colored Jews in Israel are being subjected.

Accordingly, we have addressed today telegrams to:

- The Secretary General of the United Nations**
- U.N. Commission on Human Rights**
- Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination**
- International Red Cross Committee**
- Secretary General of the European Council**
- Amnesty International**
- Mr. Alain Poher, Chairman of the French Senate**
- Mr. Rene Cassin, Chairman of Human Rights Institute, Strasbourg** asking them to intervene at once for stopping the acts practiced by the Israeli authorities affecting Human Rights, and putting an end to the constant violations of international conventions governing Human Rights, for which Israel has several times

been condemned by International organizations, as well as stopping all acts of racial discrimination practiced by those authorities in a manner that calls for concern.

By making this declaration before a selection of the representatives of information organs, we request them to transmit our appeal to the world public opinion with the hope of exerting pressure on the Zionist organs for stopping from meddling in our affairs and the affairs of our Country, as well as for eliminating the acts of violence, injustice and discrimination practiced by those organs, noting that we are living in our Country in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual confidence with our fellow citizens of all faiths, as well as with our leaders, the foremost of whom is President Hafez Assad. Furthermore, we shall allow no one to attempt shaking this confidence and sowing the seeds of strife in our Country.

**THE RELIGIOUS COUNCIL OF THE  
JEWISH COMMUNITY  
IN  
THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC** ■

## THE STORY OF **ZIAD AL-HUSSEINI**

■

The following account of the life and deeds of freedom fighter Ziad Al-Husseini, late leader of the Palestinian resistance fighters in the Gaza Sector, is based on an address by Brigadier Misbah Al-Budeiri, Chief of Staff of the Palestine Liberation Army. The address was delivered in Damascus on June 18, 1972, on the occasion of the presentation of the 'Medal' of the World Peace Council to the heroic struggle of the Gaza Sector, represented by the late Major Ziad Al-Husseini.

■



The story of the revolutionary martyr, Ziad Al-Husseini, is inseparable from that of the revolutionary struggle of the Gaza Sector. Ziad played a role of a pioneering leader in the Resistance movement of the Sector. His personal story, therefore, has become a possession of all freedom fighters of the Sector, of the Arab people and nation, and of all freedom fighters throughout the world.

Ziad Al-Husseini was born and brought up in Gaza. When the Tripartite aggression of 1956 was launched, he was a leading young fighter, who valiantly pursued the struggle until the Zionist aggressors were driven out of the city.

In 1963, Ziad enrolled in the Cairo Police College. However, his attachment to military life and the call which dominated his whole being to become a soldier fighting in the front lines and a commando determined to fight across these lines, made him leave for the Military College, from which he was graduated an officer in the Ain Jalut forces of the Palestine Liberation Army.



When the June aggression took place, Ziad and his comrades, the officers and men of the Palestine Liberation Army, together with men of the National Guard who, constituting the People's Liberation Forces, were joined by fighters from the masses of the Gaza Sector. They fought the invading Zionist forces with unmatched courage, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy despite great disparity in weapons and equipment.

The plains and hills of Gaza, the streets and camps of the city witnessed stories of splendid sacrifice and great heroism in facing the invaders.

The heroic fight has continued and is continuing. Its significance and intensity were the result of two things:

**First:** the Palestine Liberation Organization had mobilized the people of the Gaza Sector to a maximum limit, through forming detachments of the Palestine Liberation Army carrying the name of «**Ain Jalut Forces,**» by training and arming the populace to enable them to effectively support the armed military vanguard. Thus our people in the Gaza Sector found themselves capable of facing and defying the enemy forces.

**Second:** A vanguard of army officers and freedom fighters in the Sector started, immediately after the June setback, to organize the activities of the people and of army personnel making of them a fighting force determined to wage a people's war against the invaders.

Led by this vanguard, the fight against the invaders was continued, with the freedom fighters



moving, without any delay, from direct confrontation to the tactics of a guerilla warfare harassing the occupation forces.

The late Major Ziad Al-Husseini, was a prominent member of the vanguard. He participated, with his comrade officers, in forming secret cells and soon became First Deputy to the Commander of the People's Liberation Forces in the Gaza Sector.

Around the end of 1967, the General Command of the Palestine Liberation Army awarded him the «**Medal of Duty and Sacrifice,**» in recognition of the splendid role he had played in organizing these

forces and the courage he had displayed in fighting the enemy. Not long after, he became a First Lieutenant and the Commander of the People's Liberation Forces in North Sinai and the Gaza Sector.

The leader spared no efforts....

In the cemeteries of Gaza, where he maintained headquarters, he and his comrade fighters, who had pledged to fight until they died or liberation was achieved, were making the legendary story of the heroic struggle of Gaza.

Major Ziad did not stay locked in his headquarters. He developed strong links of cooperation as well as the largest measure of coordination with all Resistance groups in the Sector to enable the Resistance movement to achieve a maximum degree of effectiveness and success.

All the men that fought with Ziad, or under his command, testify that in carrying out commando operations, he assigned to himself the most perilous tasks. Through his courage he set an example to his

men; and gave them tremendous zeal and dedication.

In 1969, he was awarded «**The Order of Duty**» in recognition of the courage he displayed in carrying out resistance operations deep into the occupied territories.

The people of the Gaza Sector remember Ziad for the visits he used to pay, now and then, to the refugee camps, calling on poor families and on families of detainees, prisoners and fighters killed in action, to encourage them and secure for them all he could of their needs. These visits were especially dangerous to the life of a leader whom the enemy sought to capture, dead or alive. In fact the home of Ziad was continually subjected to raids of inspection. Agents were employed to keep constant watch on his house, in order to know his whereabouts. In widely distributed leaflets and posters, high financial rewards were promised to those helping to effect his arrest.

When all efforts to ensure the arrest of Ziad failed, the enemy seized Ziad's father, an old man of

seventy and held him a hostage until Ziad should surrender. The old man was subjected to terrible torture; but Ziad who considered himself belonging to all his people would not yield to enemy pressure, nor would he give up the struggle; whereupon the enemy increased their pressure. They arrested all members of Ziad's family, including his seven-years old sister. His brothers were deported. His father, mother and sister were kept hostages in a concentration camp in the Sinai desert. Ziad, however, would neither yield nor surrender but continued to perform his duty in the best possible manner. What made his behaviour especially creditable was the fact that, throughout all these troubles and tribulations, Ziad suffered from a disease that caused him sometimes paralysing pain. He fought disease with the same unflinching determination with which he had fought pressures of all kinds and remained as determined and dedicated to his duty as ever.

In 1970 Ziad was promoted to the rank of Captain. In that year and the year which followed Ziad and the Resistance movement in the Gaza Sector faced a most grave situation. The enemy was amas-

sing more and more forces in the Sector. Ziad, however, was not daunted by the increasing dangers. He showed great skill and courage in facing the conspiracies, the psychological war and the political and economic plans of the enemy. The result was that in 1971 the enemy suffered a failure in plans and projects, news of which reached all parts of the world furnishing ample proof that the enemy could not impose their authority on the brave and heroic people of the Gaza Sector.

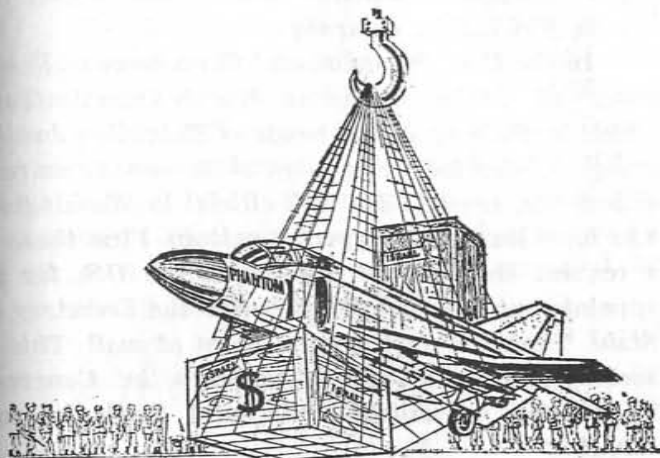
The enemy then exerted tremendous efforts to find the location of Ziad. From the very start, however, Ziad was determined not to fall in the hands of the enemy alive. He kept this determination to the very end, and fell an honoured martyr on the sacred soil of the homeland.

Ziad has handed the torch of the liberation fight to his comrades, who are courageously pursuing the struggle. And now, as they receive the «**Gold Medal**» of the World Peace Council, in the name of their valiant leader, they renew the pledge to continue the struggle until the homeland is freed from the invaders. ■

## PRESSURE FOR PHANTOMS

■

In the following article the writer gives a well-documented account of the tremendous pressure, brought to bear on the Nixon Administration through the mobilizing by Israel of the American Jewish community against Washington's Middle East policy, a pressure which resulted in the decision, taken by the United States government last January, to resume shipments of F-4E Phantom jet fighters to Israel against the best interests of the United States and of the Middle East peace initiatives.



## Israel: our next Vietnam?

In his U.N. speech in October of 1971, Secretary of State William Rogers spoke of the relationship between an interim agreement and an over-all settlement and the necessity of allowing Egyptian personnel to cross to the occupied east bank of the Suez Canal to operate the reopened waterway. To Israeli ears, the Rogers statement sounded suspiciously like the start of a major policy rift between Washington and Tel Aviv.

A week before the Rogers' speech, an Israeli observer commented «if and when we begin to feel some real pressure from the U.S., then we'll start mobilizing the American Jewish community against Washington's Middle East policies.»<sup>1</sup> Soon after the

Rogers' speech, Jerusalem flashed the signal to launch just such a campaign.

In the U.S., the influential Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, which is made up of the heads of 25 leading Jewish groups, girded for a campaign of its own. From past experience, remarked a U.S. official in Washington, **«we have learned to expect a pattern. First there is a request from Jewish leaders in the U.S. for an appointment with the President or the Secretary of State. Then we start getting bales of mail. This is accompanied by a spate of speeches in Congress. Then a few journalists will burst forth in full throat.»**<sup>2</sup>

Slightly out of sequence, a resolution was circulated on October 15, 1971, by six Republican and six Democratic Senators. It called on the Nixon Administration to supply Israel with F-4 Phantom jets. The resolution was circulated by Democrats Stuart Symington, Missouri; Herman Talmadge, Georgia; Gale McGee, Wyoming; Edward Kennedy, Massachusetts; Abraham Ribicoff, Connecticut; and Henry Jackson, Washington; and Republicans Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania; Jacob Javits, New York; Edward Brooke, Massachusetts; Robert Dole, Kansas; Edward Gurney, Florida; and Charles Percy, Illinois. The resolution received the endorsement of 78 Senators.

The Senate move was followed by the introduction of a similar resolution in the House of Representatives on October 27, 1971. The House

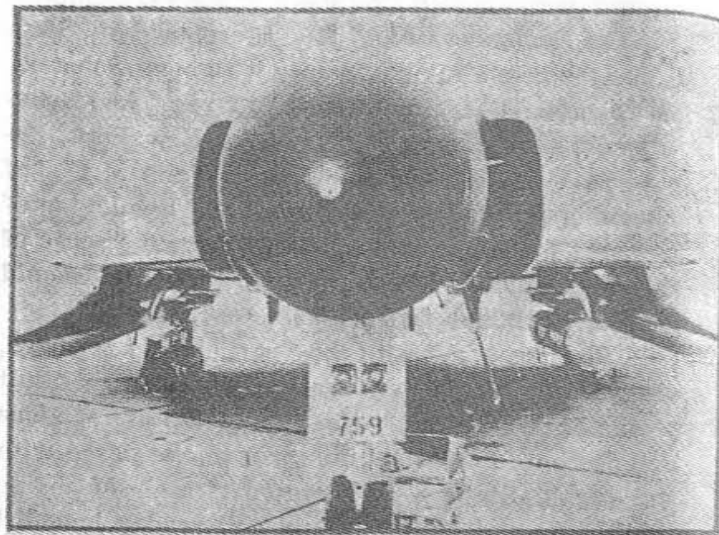
resolution was signed by 250 out of the 435 members.

On November 23, 1971, Secretary of State Rogers had a stormy conference with eight Senators. The eight — Percy of Illinois, Brooke of Massachusetts, Dole of Kansas and Javits of New York, Republicans, and Kennedy of Massachusetts, McGee of Wyoming, Ribicoff of Connecticut and Symington of Missouri — had come to express that **«the sense of the great majority of Congress was that Israel should get the Phantoms forthwith.»**<sup>3</sup>

Rogers, some of the participants reported, charged that Israel was **«falling apart»** as a result of internal political strife due to the tremendous defense burden and its failure to make peace with the Arab States. He accused Israel of being **«stubborn»** and **«intransigent»** and read a long list of statements by Mrs. Meir and other Israeli leaders to prove his thesis.<sup>4</sup>

The Senators took issue with Rogers, and **«one of them interpreted Rogers' remark as amounting to the charge that Israel was sabotaging his attempts to bring about peace, so that it could retain the occupied Arab territories.»**<sup>5</sup>

On the same day, by a vote of 82 to 14 the Senate adopted legislation to provide Israel with additional military sales and guarantees of up to \$500 million, half of which would cover the sale of additional Phantom jets. The legislation, introduced by Sen. Henry Jackson, was in the form of an amendment to the Defense Appropriations Act. This was done despite objections by four powerful De-



mocrats — majority leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, William Fulbright of Arkansas, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Allen Ellender of Louisiana, Chairman of the Appropriation Committee, and Senator John Stennis of Mississippi, Chairman of the Armed Forces Committee.

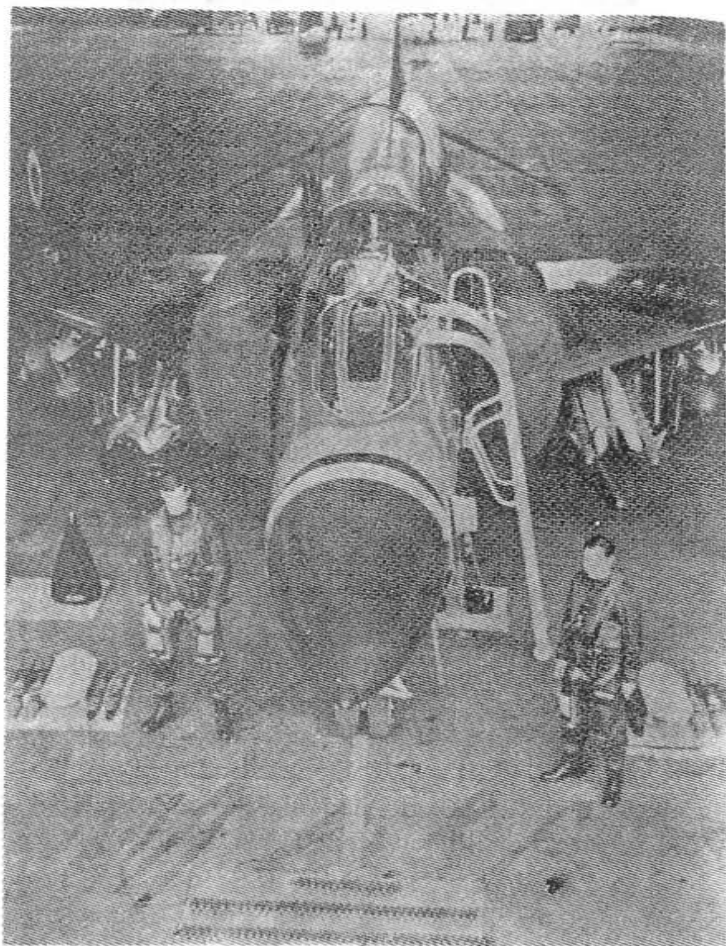
During the debate on the Jackson amendment, Senator Allen Ellender raised a point of order. He complained that the amendment should not be considered as part of the Defense Appropriations bill but was a matter for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Fulbright charged that the Senate was interfering with the Administration's efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement and that the amendment was designed to force the hand

of the President. «I have no objections to the Senate taking issue with any president if they feel that they know enough about the subject matter and that it is in the interests of this country to do so,»6 said Fulbright.

All that flurry of activity, according to knowledgeable observers, was being deliberately spurred in Tel Aviv with three immediate aims in mind. First, as America approaches a presidential-election year, it will serve as a timely reminder to the Nixon Administration that Israel can command impressive support in the U.S. Then, by turning the matter into an emotionally charged domestic political issue, Tel Aviv hopes to force Rogers to backtrack on his Middle East policy which calls for a political solution consistent with the U.N. resolution of November 1967, and to resume the sale and delivery of combat jets to Israel. Finally, it will serve notice on Cairo not to get its hopes up that Israel might soon cave in to American pressure for reaching an interim settlement.

The issue of Phantoms and military aid to Israel went before a Senate-House Conference Committee. The Senate-House Conference Committee, however, killed the Jackson amendment on the grounds that the Senate had already appropriated \$300 million in military credits for Israel.

As a final effort to get the U.S. to resume the delivery of the Phantoms, Golda Meir came to Washington in December to see President Nixon. It seems that her mission was a success. The decision



to send the Phantoms was made at the meeting between Mrs. Meir and Nixon, «but the President wanted it kept quiet in order not to foil any further the relations between Washington and the Arab world, particularly Egypt. It is noteworthy that since Meir's visit to the U.S., the issue of Phantoms has been soft-pedalled by both Israel and the American Jewish leadership.»<sup>7</sup>

Nixon, in a televised interview on January 2, 1972, confirmed the renewed sale of Phantoms by stating that he has decided «in principle»<sup>8</sup> to sell more jet aircraft to Israel.

Columnist Jack Anderson writes that Henry Kissinger was behind Washington's decision to renew the supply of Phantom jets to Israel.<sup>9</sup>

The decision to give Israel Phantoms was influenced by the pressure of Israel's friends in the U.S. and last but not least by the fact that during the time the Zionists were pursuing their goals there was no credible Arab threat against U.S. interests in the Arab world. ■

#### ■ Footnotes

1. Newsweek, October 18, 1971, p. 62
2. Ibid., p. 64.
3. Jewish Week (New York), December 2, 1971, p. 20.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Near East Report, December 1, 1971, p. 191.
7. Jewish Week (New York), January 6, 1972, p. 8.
8. The Washington Post, January 3, 1972, p. A7.
9. The Washington Post, January 7, 1972, p. C23.



## **R**esistance **O**perations

**On May 1,** Palestinian commandos destroyed an Israeli military vehicle in occupied Jerusalem, when the highly explosive charges which they had placed in it went off, destroying it completely. It is believed that some Israeli soldiers were wounded as a result of the blast.

**On May 2,** Palestinian commandos destroyed an Israeli military vehicle, when one of the mines planted on the road to Al-Koshnieh - Tal Abbas in the Golan Heights, exploded under it, killing or wounding all its occupants.

**On May 3,** Palestinian commandos, operating in the Jerusalem area, destroyed an enemy military vehicle at the Tal Biot settlement in the outskirts of Jerusalem, using hand grenades and machine-guns in their attack.

**On May 5,** a Palestinian commando unit attacked enemy military vehicles and installations, in the Ein Al-Wawiyat camp in the occupied Golan

Heights. The raid, which was carried out with rockets, culminated in destroying several enemy vehicles, setting camp installations on fire and killing or wounding a number of enemy soldiers.

**On May 6,** Palestinian commandos attacked a concentration of enemy military vehicles and armored cars in the Yagousa area, in the occupied Golan Heights, where the enemy was engaged in building roads and barracks. The commandos ambushed enemy positions with rockets and machine-guns, causing heavy damage to enemy installations and destroying several vehicles and bulldozers. A troop carrier and a water tank were also destroyed. Several enemy soldiers were killed or wounded.

**On May 6,** Palestinian freedom fighters destroyed an Israeli car parked at Habodin Street in Ramat Gan to the southeast of Tel Aviv, using a timed bomb in the operation. The charge exploded destroying the car completely.

**On May 7,** Palestinian commandos launched a surprise attack with rockets and other weapons against an enemy military camp at Ein Al-Ruwaisat in the occupied Golan Heights. The rockets they fired scored direct hits on enemy targets, destroying several enemy military vehicles and setting installations on fire. A number of enemy soldiers were killed or wounded.

**On May,** Palestinian commandos attacked Israeli

positions in the Dabousiah area, setting one of them on fire. They also destroyed an Israeli outpost, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.

**On May 16**, Palestinian commandos launched an attack against Jibbin Settlement in the occupied Golan Heights, using rockets in the attack and inflicting heavy losses on Israeli troops.

On the same day, Palestinian freedom fighters attacked Samakh area with rockets, scoring direct hits on enemy military installations.

**On May 17**, a Palestinian commando unit launched a surprise attack against an enemy forward post at the Nahal Hagolan settlement in the Golan Heights, using rockets, hand grenades and machineguns in its raid. Several Israelis were killed or wounded.

**On May 23**, Palestinian commandos fired several Bazooka shells at the Israeli border village of Birandit. Israeli military sources admitted the raid, but claimed that no casualties or damage resulted from the shelling.

**On May 23**, Palestinian commandos rocketed an Israeli plant and an observation post in Upper Galilee, scoring direct hits on enemy installations east of the Mansoura settlement, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. Several Israelis were killed or wounded in the attack.

**On May 23**, a commando special unit operating

from inside the occupied West Bank, placed highly explosive charges at an enemy cafeteria in Ben Yehuda street in Tel Aviv. The charges went off destroying the front wall of the cafeteria and killing or wounding a number of persons present at that time.

**On May 24**, Palestinian freedom fighters destroyed part of the railway line between Tel Aviv and Beersheba. A number of railway coaches were derailed and damaged at the Kiryat Gan region.

**On May 26**, Palestinian commandos laid an ambush to an enemy infantry patrol, composed of seven soldiers, in the Deir El Balah area. When the Israeli patrol approached the ambush, the commandos opened fire and attacked it with machine-guns and hand-grenades. The attack resulted in killing or wounding most of the members of the patrol.

**On May 28**, Palestinian commandos destroyed at Damascus Gate in Jerusalem a night-club frequented by Israeli soldiers and intelligence personnel. A large number of enemy soldiers were killed or wounded, when the explosive charges placed therein exploded.

**On May 29**, an Israeli military transport vehicle was destroyed in Eilat, when the explosive charged placed therein went off, killing or wounding its occupants. The commandos who placed the timed charges were members of a Palestinian commando unit, operating in that area. They all returned safely to their bases. ■

# BOOK REVIEWS

## ■ ONE IN THREE MILLION

### ■ The Story of a Palestinian.

Narrated by Ghazi Danial and written by Hani Faris.

Published by PLO Research Center and NEEBI.

File number 332.

Serial number 54595.

Identification number 2734.

Registration number 3254/3201.

■  
In other words this is Ghazi Danial, Palestinian. This booklet is a statement of his life, simply expressed. It is not a political tract, nor a theoretical analysis of the situation, but a plain, straightforward account of the circumstances which led inevitably to his joining the Palestine National Liberation Movement.

It is a story that can be told over and again, because it is the common every-day experience of

countless Palestinians. Conscious of their identity and armed with the belief that someday they will return home, these people refuse to be dispersed. June 1967, which saw a repetition of the 1948 exodus, was the catalyst, and a large number of them, among them Ghazi Danial, took the initiative into their own hands and joined the ranks of the resistance movement.

The purpose of the booklet is to arouse an interest in the ordinary Palestinian, and to show the inevitability of his fight against Zionism. Ghazi Danial is no exception, he is one of thousands whose only recourse is to turn to active opposition to the occupying forces, which can only mean one thing, a revolutionary war of liberation. The intention of the booklet is to express in simple terms that these people are not bloodthirsty avengers, as they are so often depicted in the Western Press, but ordinary citizens, whose circumstances have imposed upon them no other solution but to fight.

The world may turn a blind eye to the Palestinian people, hoping that combined imperialist, Israeli and reactionary Arab pressures will gradually strangle their movement to return home; but their belief in the absolute justice of their cause and their awareness of their identity as Palestinians, constitutes for them, and for Ghazi Danial, the unshakeable knowledge that they will return.

The booklet is published by the PLO Research Center with the permission of NEEBI. P.O. Box 1691, Beirut, Lebanon. Price 1LL. ■

# VIOLENCE IS NOT UN-JEWISH<sup>"1"</sup>

■

It has been said that violence is as American as apple pie,<sup>2</sup> and many people have come not only to accept this premise, but to put it into action as well. The history of the United States is the history of violence — both institutionalized through the use of the US armed forces<sup>3</sup> and as practiced by special interest groups of every conceivable kind, including labor, housing, national and religious business, minorities, and students. In this context, the Zionists of America have proven to be the rule, not the exception. In a permeated society with a violent past, it was only logical that the Zionist movement should play its violent part.

■



From the earliest days of Zionism, its architects and advocates have not hesitated to utilize various violent methods to achieve their tactical and strategic aims. In his efforts to force acceptance and support of modern political Zionism, Theodore Herzl, its founder, used blackmail, double crossing,

intimidation, and social and economic pressure to intimidate the Jewish international communities<sup>4</sup>. As Zionism progressed in popularity in the Jewish community, many Jewish organizations in the US, which had been strictly religious or cultural, became infected with the political doctrines of Zionism and underwent a subtle change. The logical outcome of the violence, which is historically associated with Zionism, has culminated, in the U.S., in the infamous Jewish Defense League.

**The Jewish Defense League** was established in 1968 in New York, with the avowed purpose of protecting Jews from harassment and attack, stemming from a series of incidents in a predominant poor Jewish part of Brooklyn, where elderly Jews had been mugged with increasing frequency. The conclusions which the JDL drew from these attacks were that anti-Semitism was on the rise, and that the only proper response to this alleged wave of anti-Jewish sentiment was a so-called defensive reaction, which soon grew into preventive physical response. But the JDL, in no sense represents a new kind of reaction among American Jews, since its leader Meir Kahane had been a leader of the Betar, the youth movement of the Herut (which was the political successor in Israel of the Irgun terrorist organization). Betar's political philosophy was, and remains, simply — anything which offends the state of Israel, offends all Jews, and hence constitutes anti-Semitism. The only proper way to respond to anti-Semitism is «with the mailed fist.» Although

Betar had existed in the US for a number of years, it was relatively quiescent and little was heard of its activities outside the Jewish community. In the period before the rise of the JDL in 1968, the Betar had been associated mainly with anti-Arab activities, such as the two attacks on the Syrian mission to the UN which took place in the fall of 1966 and the fall of 1967. Betar slogans may still be found in the city, but they have been almost completely replaced by the JDL's «Never Again»<sup>5</sup>.

### ● Anti-Black Activities ●

**Aside** from its early activities in the Jewish community (which took the form of armed vigilants patrolling the predominantly Jewish parts of the city in radio cars), the first public attention relating to the JDL focused on the community control issue in the Ocean Hill Brownsville area of Brooklyn. Decentralization attempts in the New York city school system had resulted in the predominantly Black community raising the demand for more Black teachers in the Ocean Hill Brownville complex. Pitted against this move on the part of the Black community was the United Federation of Teachers, the New York city teacher's union, which saw community control as an infringement of its rights. At stake in the dispute were the jobs of several teachers, who were for the most part Jewish. Reacting to what it viewed as anti-Semitism<sup>6</sup>, the JDL offered its «defensive» services to the union, which turned them down<sup>7</sup>.

**The outcome** of the Community Control issue was a teacher's strike and the eventual abandonment by the city of the decentralization plan. Although it is doubtful that the activity of the JDL had any impact on the final decision, yet the JDL leadership has tried to take credit for the result of the issue.

**The activities** of the JDL against the Black community did not cease, however, with the termination of the teachers' strike; rather they showed a steady increase over a two year period. In May of 1968, when James Forman, former head of 'CORE's threatened to disrupt services at temple Emanuel in Manhattan, reportedly to ask the congregation for «Black Reparations» payments, members of the JDL led by Meir Kahane were there armed with clubs and chains to stand guard. Mr. Forman did not appear.

**A synagogue** in Philadelphia invited Mohammad Kenyatta, the local spokesman for the Black Economic Development Conference to speak. The JDL warned the Synagogue, tried to cancel the speech and picketed the meeting.

**In January, 1969**, members of the JDL picketed New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, alleging that the catalog of a photographic exposition of Black community life in New York entitled «Harlem on My Mind», had an anti-Semitic introduction. In June, 1969, when Black and Puerto Rican students and workers on the campus of New York City College had locked themselves inside protesting racism in the school, the JDL went to court to force



the opening of the school. In the Spring of 1970, members of the JDL, again led by Meir Kahane, picketed the New York headquarters of the Black Panther Party. The Black Panthers charged that while attention was focused on the scene in front of the building three or four JDL members attempted to ransack their office. The reason the JDL gave for the action was the alleged anti-Semitism of the Panthers, and significantly, the strong anti-Zionist

position which the Panthers had adopted only a short time before. The JDL continues to speak out against the alleged anti-Semitism of militant Black organizations, but the burden of their attack has shifted to the American left. Even now, when Black groups are attacked for alleged anti-Semitism, it is on the basis of their position on Israel, which bears in almost all cases a left-analytical character.

### ● Attacks on the Left ●

Since the June War of 1967, certain segments of the New Left in America — as a result of the expansionist and aggressive policies of Israel, and because of the emergence of Israel as a base for American imperialism in the Middle East, started to question the prevailing position of liberals on the Arab-Israeli conflict and to adopt a less sympathetic position to the Zionist-Israeli position. The anti-war movement in America as a whole has been forced to take a more positive stance, which is sympathetic to the Arab position in general, and to the Palestinians in particular.

The JDL claims to have answers to the anti-Israeli stance of the New Left in whose membership many young Jews are active. This development and claim are important and of vital concern to Israeli-Zionist circles. The JDL asserts that the New Left is «capturing young peoples' minds and destroying law and order»9.

In its attempts to recapture the Jewish Youth

who are disenchanted with Zionism and to win back the sentiment of those who have joined the New Left, the JDL has ironically been trying to imitate the atmosphere that one sees in an SDS office or in a Black Panthers' working place. Some of their members look like typical long-haired radicals — liberal college students. In its surroundings, one gets the atmosphere of urgency and constant hyper-activity. This of course is by design and not accidental in order to «attract activist kids, for this is the environment in which such people flourish»10.

At about the same time, the JDL was beginning to attack the Panthers; they invaded and ransacked the offices of the **Daily World**, the organ of the CPUSA, which had been running articles critical (in the same degree as similar articles in the Soviet press) of Israel. There were also an attempt and several threats made in the office of the **Guardian**, an independent national radical paper.

### ● Attacks on Arabs ●

Zionist activities against Arab organizations in the U.S. began a renewed phase on Aug. 29, 1969 with an attack on the New York office of the Palestine Liberation Organization in which a group of people, who left behind slogans associated with the JDL, beat an American professor who was there doing scholarly research, tied up his hands and those of the secretary of the office, taped their mouths and handcuffed them to the sofas, stole some files

from the office and ran away. In the following May, six young men forced their way into the PLO office, beating the director severely with sticks and knives, damaging office files and equipment. Within fifteen minutes of the first, a similar action took place at the office of the Action Committee for Arab-American Relations, a moderate pro-Arab organization, where both the head of the office and his assistant were beaten. A period of relative quiescence followed until Oct. 6, 1970, when the office of the PLO was victimized again during the night when a pipe bomb was placed outside the door, damaging the office extensively<sup>11</sup>.

**During** the three attacks on the office of the PLO, the JDL gang left behind them stacks of mimeographed material bearing the slogan «Never again». In the first attack they were asking for the director and threatening him with violence. During the second attack while beating up the director they were constantly saying that they shall kill any one who is against Israel. They were yelling «Deir Yassin,» and «Never again».

Telephone calls, letters and at times cables threatening the PLO staff have become a routine activity of the JDL particularly after every major action carried out against Israel by Palestinian commandos. There are days in which hundreds of obscene, threatening, short phone calls are made to the PLO office with the aim of disrupting their normal activity, creating tension and scaring the staff.

**The JDL** has sent, on more than one occasion, telegrams to practically every Arab mission to the United Nations threatening their lives. These threats were brought to the attention of the United Nations and at times discussed in the Security Council only to be brushed aside by the assurances of the U.S. Mission that the police authorities are looking into them. Since January 1969 when some Iraqi spies were sentenced to death, including some members of the Jewish faith, the Iraqi mission to the UN has been the target of repeated violent demonstrations.

**In January 1971**, a small bomb exploded in front of the United Arab Republic's mission to the United Nations. Very little damage resulted. However, as a result of these repeated attacks on Arab offices and personnel, the New York Police Department, under instructions from the State Department, placed guards in Arab missions and offices for a short period of time.

#### ● Attacks On The Soviet Union ●

Another target of Zionist violence in America that has received the widest scope of publicity because of the position of the target in the international arena has been the Soviet Union. The Jewish Defence League, for the past two years, has engaged in a series of activities directed against the Soviet Union, its embassies, tourist and commercial offices, its airlines, its diplomats and its cultural institutions.

**Attacks** by the JDL against Soviet cultural



programs in the United States seek to achieve two goals:

1. Realizing that the USSR is proud of its cultural programs which have been very effective and profitable in America, and aware that Russia would like to see it continued, the JDL hopes that in exchange for stopping its harassment, demonstrations and picketing, the USSR will agree to facilitate the immigration of Soviet Jews into Israel.

2. The second and more crucial reason for the disruption of USSR cultural programs is an economic factor. Sol Hurok, the famous impresario in the U. S., who is a Zionist and who has been handling the various Soviet artists and companies touring America, would be forced to bargain with the JDL and pay it protective money.

On June 24, 1970, 28 JDL members invaded the offices of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, a Soviet trading agency, caused havoc in the offices, destroyed files and furniture, threatened the employees, and pushed and shoved them. All were arrested. They were arraigned on charges of burglary, of entering the premise illegally to commit a crime, of second degree assault, of criminal mischief and harassment. The defendants were paroled by Justice Hyman Solniker!

The JDL's strategy is to heighten tensions between the Government of the USA and the Soviet Union. Its attacks on senior American officials, including the President of the U.S. (charging that he is not doing anything about the so-called plight

of the Russian Jews and that the State Department and Russia are in collusion), incredible as they may seem, catch the attention of the average Jew-The young potential recruit, and the donor of funds.

#### ● JDL and the Zionist Establishment ●

Although the Jewish Defence League has been critical of the existing Zionist order in America and has accused the existing Jewish establishment of sitting on its apathy for 53 years asserting that they should have the decency to keep quiet when someone else tried to do something,<sup>12</sup> the establishment has been critical of the JDL and its tactics, but not of its strategy. It is with reluctance that they take a stand against the JDL, and although they dissociate themselves from its activities in their public statements, they look with favor upon it, contribute to its funds and take deep, though hidden, pride in its deceptive accomplishments. More and more acceptance of it by the establishment is gradually taking place. In April 1970 Israel's Day Parade on Fifth Avenue in New York, the JDL was excluded from participation only to be admitted one year later in the same parade with a brigade of fisted young men and women. The very same establishment which criticizes Kahane and his group and calls them racist, fascists, paranoids, hoodlums and street thugs, joins with the JDL in rallies for Israel's support and feels that it is essential not to exclude it from participation in Zionist activity in the United States.

The Zionist establishment, including the Jewish

agency, share with the JDL the same objectives and goals, though the direct confrontation techniques of the JDL may embarrass their image of respectability. But is not this the same situation that existed in Palestine in the forties between the Irgun and the Haganah? One day Kahane may write a book and reveal the division of labor between his League and the Establishment exactly as Begin did in the «Revolt». ■

1. Meir Kahane, quoted in **NEWSWEEK**, Jan. 25, 1971.
2. Originally attributed to H. Rap Brown: «Violence is as American as cherry pie.»
3. As cited by the Senator Dirksen, the armed forces of the US have been used on more than 150 occasions in foreign interventions (Congressional Record, 115, No. 103, June 23, 1969.)
4. See, for example, «The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl», Herzl Press and Thomas Yoseloff, New York and London, 1960.
5. A reference to the words on a monument which stands at the entrance to Auschwitz Camp.
6. «Raw, undisguised anti-Semitism is at a crisis level in New York city schools, where unchecked by public authority, it has been building for more than 2 years». Bnai Brith spokesman, quoted on 1/23/1969.
7. This turn of events had been preceded by the reading of an allegedly anti-Semitic poem directed against the teachers and the president of the UFT, Albert Shanker, on New York Radio station W-BAI (a somewhat radical station, which became the object of much JDL

abuse and activity shortly after) by Les Campbell, an outspoken Black political commentator. The JDL later filed a court petition to have Les Campbell barred from the school system, alleging anti-Semitism. The petition failed.

8. Congress of Racial Equality, was one of the first Black organizations to adopt a militant stance in the early years of what was then the civil rights struggle. In recent years its policy is one of considerable less militancy.
9. **Midstream**, April 1970.
10. *Ibid.*
11. **N. Y. Times** Oct. 7, 1970 p. 13.
12. **Midstream**, April, 1970, p. 13.



## ISRAEL'S **BLACK PANTHERS** EXPOSE SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS ■ ■

■

Israel's Black Panther leaders are beginning to veer away from their limited political platform and narrow outlook to move in the direction of formulating a broad social and political program which, if successful, promises a great deal of trouble for Israel's leaders.

Panther leaders have, after a period of relative silence, come out to express their new political viewpoint and to usher a different trend in Israeli politics. These views were expressed at a meeting where several Panther leaders addressed the Mapam Party's «Hashomir Hats'ir» in Ghor Baisan last month.

■



The call for a social revolution was among the principles expounded by the Panthers at the meeting: «Our goal is to bring about a social revolution in the country and to create a new leftist society which is unlike the one in the Soviet Union, China or anywhere else in the world. It will resemble the Kibbutz, but won't be exactly like it. We will institute the society of total equality».

The Panthers also spoke of a common struggle with the Arabs and the other oppressed groups. «We must reach a situation where we struggle, side by side, with the Arabs and the oppressed against the regime. We, Panthers, are the only ones capable of

forming a bridge toward peace with the Arabs on the basis of fighting the regime.»

#### ■ NEW PARTY

The Panthers also opposed the Zionist settlements taking place in the Arab West Bank and the Gaza Strip. «We are against settlements which mean the robbing of the populace. It is for this reason that we do not distinguish between a military or a civilian settlement.» The Panthers went even as far as speaking of organizing a large political party with the aim of changing the society. «We are looking forward to the establishment of a large Socialist Party.»

What is important is the change of the Panthers from being merely a small group of young Oriental Jews opposing the discrimination of the Israeli state against the Sephardic Jews to an organization which is aiming at the transformation of the Israeli society with the cooperation of the Arabs. This is a significant and unique development. And although the weight of the Panthers in Israel is still far from being significant enough to affect the system, the fact that the change has taken place at all and that the Panthers find adherents and even listeners is a trend worth of notice.

#### ■ PANTHERS ON THE SCENE

The Panthers surfaced on the Israeli scene in late January 1971. The name Black Panthers modeled after the American Panthers, for publicity reasons attracted wide attention in Israel. At the time Panthers were voicing the disaffection of

Israel's uneducated and marginalized youth centering around Jerusalem's poverty districts. The number of the group was estimated by the leaders of the party at the time came close to 300 people.

The main reasons behind the emergence of the Panthers were social and economic rather than political factors. The Panthers opposed the housing developments which were being constructed for the immigrants from Eastern Europe and the West while the Sephardic Jews from Africa and Asia were still living in overcrowded slum areas. They opposed the Israeli government's campaign to bring more Soviet Jews while not doing enough for the North African and other Arab Jews. They also attacked the government for the poverty prevalent among the Oriental Jews and their large families.

The Panthers also formed a War on Delinquency Committee of 24 members all of whom came of Sephardic origin. They projected a program which included «rehabilitation based on proper vocational guidance, attacking job discrimination against youths who have been rejected by the Army, and demands that boys who have become involved with the police be sent to Kibbutzim of reform schools», and an end to Oriental Ghettos.

The Panthers articulated the legitimate grievances of the Sephardic Jews against the system.

#### ■ WORK PROBLEMS

Lodging and employment were among the main areas of discrimination. About 18.3 percent of the Oriental Jews live more than three persons to a

room compared with 5.8 percent of Ashkenazi Jews. 23.8 percent of the immigrants who were born in Africa or Asia work in agriculture compared to 12.3 percent of the Ashkenazi. In the public services, the percentage of Oriental Jews is only about 13.9 percent and 9 percent in the financial and commercial sectors. The percentage of the Sephardics in the high echelons of the Histadrut (General Labor Organization) is less than 1 percent.

Kokhabi Shemesh, a leader of the Panthers who spoke at the meeting last month said that discrimination existed in the high echelons of the government and that this was the reason why they won't participate in the coming elections. «We have found, after a great deal of study, that we can win at least two seats in the Knesset. But we will not seek them because, under the circumstances, the chances for changing the system are nonexistent. At this point, it does not matter to us if there are 120 Ashkenazis in the Knesset because they do not have the power to decide. The decisionmakers are the high officials of government. And it is unfortunate that from among more than 300 hundred high officials ranking in the 1-3 degrees there is no more than 9 of the Oriental sects. Even these belong to the two hundred families who have the decision-making power in the government.»

#### ■ NO MORE ANTI-ARAB

The Panthers are beginning to speak more and more as the representatives of the Oriental Jews who form more than half of Israel's Jewish popu-



lation. This is an important development since the Oriental Jews of Israel used to take an anti-Arab attitude similar to the one that poor whites in the U.S. take against the blacks. It is always comforting to find someone that you feel you can look down at.

At the same meeting, Shemesh discussed the issue of Oriental Jews feelings toward the Arabs. He said that prevailing belief is that the Oriental Jews who come from Arab countries hate the Arabs and that this was untrue. «The regime is responsible for developing the hatred by the methods they used when we were in Iraq and Morocco. The Jews lived peacefully side by side with the Arabs in Iraq until the messengers of zionism came and threw explosives on the Jewish communities to create problems between the Arabs and us.» He added that the Panthers «have made contacts in the poor sections and with the Arab youth in East Jerusalem, Nablus and other areas and with other circles. They seem to understand us and sympathize with our activity. The truth is that the simple Arab feels with us. It is unfortunate that we cannot cooperate with him because of the social makeup of this country. But we must reach a position where we can struggle side by side with the Arab against the regime.»

While this trend of the Panthers is important one must not forget the fact that the power and potential of the Panthers are not, at least for the foreseeable future, very promising in terms of affecting decision - making in the regime. The Panthers answered a question about the time when

they expected the social revolution to occur and they said «after 30 years».

#### ■ VOTING FOR RAKAH

The Panthers also said that their voting for the Communist Party, Rakah, is an expression of support against the system. Concerning another issue-violence-Charles Baytoun, one of the Panther leaders said that «violence is necessary to counter violence. The rights of the state protect the state and not the citizen. This is why we have had to use violence against violence.»

It is important to note that the Panthers organized several demonstrations last year, some of which led to violence with the police and there were riots and Molotov cocktail throwing incidents last spring.

The change in the outlook and platform of the Panthers shows signs of maturity and toughness on the part of a group that was described by the Israeli press and officials at the time of its emergence, as «juvenile delinquents». The vote for Rakah, the abandoning of the anti-Arab slogans, the call for fighting side by side with the Arabs and the oppressed, the call for a Socialist society, the demand for a social revolution and the use of violence are new elements in the Panther ideology. It is too early to tell what the Panthers can do within the Israeli system.

There is no question that the regime, the parties, the Ashkenazis and the 200 ruling families of whom the Panthers speak seem to have perpetuated

themselves without paying attention to the currents of change around them.

It was inevitable that the contradictions within Israeli society were going to bring the disenfranchised, the disorganized and the unemployed to take the initiative. The system has used the threat of future conflict with the Arabs to contain the disgruntled and disaffected among the Israeli populace—especially the Sephardim. It, however, will not find it easy to bring about change unless they are willing to threaten the meager existence they have.

As a result, it was the poor, the angry and the unskilled or semi-skilled among the Oriental Jews who organized and began to search for an identity. This search for identity has led the Panthers to take their present positions.

#### ■ **THEIR REAL SIZE**

The Panthers and their allies, undoubtedly, could be easily broken within the Israeli society if, and when they become a serious threat. But the fact remains that there are two different and contradictory societies living side by side inside Israel and with an ever increasing gap between them. It is this threat that the Israelis fear most. One Israeli leader is reported to have said that if it was not for the threat of war with the Arabs, Israel would be facing civil war. For Israel, having this listless and impoverished majority leads to discontent; which, coupled with organization, results in political chaos. It is in the Panthers' ability or lack of ability, to organize that their success or failure will depend. ■

## DOCUMENTS

■

On May 25, (1972), the Twenty-fifth World Health Assembly adopted a resolution on «Health Assistance to Refugees and Displaced Persons in the Middle East». The resolution condemns Israel because «it continues to displace by force thousands of persons from their homes and shelters» and because it continues to commit «repeated acts of expulsions of human beings and destruction of their homes and shelters, which directly affect their physical and mental health and constitute grave violations of the fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August, 1949».

■

## HEALTH ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Twenty-fifth World Health Assembly,  
Bearing in mind that the health of all peoples  
is fundamental to the attainment of peace and  
security;

Conscious of the fundamental right of all hu-  
man beings to physical and mental health, without  
distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic  
or social conditions;

Having considered the report of the Director  
of Health of the United Nations Relief and Works  
Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East  
(UNRWA);

Disturbed by the fact that Israel not only con-  
tinues to refuse to allow the refugees and displaced  
persons to return to their homes but continues to  
displace by force thousands of persons from their  
homes and shelters;

Noting that these acts have included the de-  
molition of a large number of UNRWA shelters,  
causing further suffering to the refugees, and ag-  
gravating the financial crisis of UNRWA;

Gravely concerned about the consequences of  
such acts on the physical and mental health of the  
refugees, displaced persons and the inhabitants of  
the occupied territories;

Recalling its resolutions WHA21.38, WHA22.43,  
WHA23.52, WHA24.32, WHA24.33,

1. REAFFIRMS that the protection of the life  
and physical and mental health of the refugees and  
displaced persons requires that they immediately  
be afforded to return to their homes, in accordance  
with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

2. DEPLORES Israel's repeated acts of ex-  
pulsions of human beings and destructions of their  
homes and shelters, which directly affect their  
physical and mental health, and constitute grave  
violations of the fourth Geneva convention of 12  
August 1949;

3. DECIDES that, meanwhile, emergency  
assistance to the maximum extent possible be given  
to the refugees and the displaced persons in the  
Middle East;

4. REQUESTS the Director-General of the  
World Health Organization to:



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