

فلسطين الحرة

free palestine

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the palestinian revolution & the jews

Editor's Note: This is the first of a three article series setting forth Fatah's views regarding Jews within the framework of the proposed secular and democratic Palestine. They were first published in FATAH, the official organ of the Palestine Liberation Movement.

It is almost a year since the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Fatah declared officially and for the first time, a political program spelling out the ultimate objective of its liberation struggle. The declaration stated: "We are fighting today to create the new Palestine of tomorrow; a progressive, democratic and non-sectarian Palestine in which Christian, Moslem and Jew will worship, work, live peacefully and enjoy equal rights." The statement further added "Our Palestinian revolu-

tion still stretches its welcoming hand to all human beings who want to fight for, and live in, a democratic, tolerant Palestine, irrespective of race, color or religion."

The statement was repeated, explained and amplified by Fatah representatives in every international gathering attended by a Fatah delegation. The official spokesman of Fatah, Abu Ammar, was quoted by several journalists as saying that "once we defeat the enemy and liberate Palestine we will

create a home for all of us." Abulyad, one of the leaders of Fatah, stated in a long interview with the editor of AL-TALEEA that the Palestinian revolution condemns persecution of human beings and discrimination based on any form or shape and that Fatah would help Jews anywhere if they faced persecution and discrimination based on any form or shape and that Fatah would help Jews anywhere if they faced with persecution on the hands of racists. Abu Iyad said that he would be willing to give these Jews arms and fight with them. Such statement was not just a fantastic propaganda claim, it was put into effect few weeks later when Fatah students protected Jewish Professor Eli Loebel in Frankfurt, Germany, from molestation and attempted murder on the hands of Zionist German thugs last July. Fatah protected all Jewish members of MATZPEN in Germany after their lives were threatened in the same incident.

Editorial

ISRAEL AS THE PROMISED LAND

The recent decision of the Israeli Supreme Court that an individual may be of Jewish nationality without adhering to or professing Jewish religious precepts and the subsequent decision of the Israeli Government to seek legislation nullifying this decision brings into sharp focus the second and third dimensions, the Arab-Zionist and the Human-Zionist, of the Palestine problem. Accordingly, one need not even consider that a whole people, the Palestinians, had been displaced and dispossessed, in order to see the justice of their cause. It is enough to consider the theocratic and racist character of Israel to support their just struggle to create in Palestine a secular, democratic society in which Jews, Moslems and Christians might live on the basis of equality and peace.

In the past, the persecution of religious minorities in Europe and elsewhere has led to the migration of peoples and the colonizing of other lands but the idea of establishing a state in the twentieth

century in which the granting of citizenship is based on religious affiliation and practice must seem as one of the great anomalies and anachronisms of our time. Particularly amazing has been the zeal of western liberals for this project.

A multitude of arguments have been put forward to justify the creation and existence of the Jewish state in the region of Palestine in appealing to the various segments of western society to which the Zionists focus their attention. One such argument was the re-historical one of ancient Hebrew squatters' rights. This argument, coupled with the argument among Jews that they can never be safe as a minority in western gentile culture, resulted in the creation of the modern aberration in Palestine that Israel is. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon about Israel is that in an age which prides itself for its scientific methods, myths and concepts founded in reaction can be put forward as the raison d'etre of Zionist Israel.

Revolutionary New Idea

If this sounds a little difficult to believe, it is because of the bitterness created by the Palestine tragedy since the Balfour Declaration and the Zionist penetration of Palestine ending in the uprooting and evacuation of Palestinians from their homeland in order to create "an exclusively Jewish State": Israel.

The call for an open, new, tolerant Palestine for Jews and non-Jews is a dramatic change in the Palestine struggle, but it is hardly a new idea. Palestinians suggested the creation of such a state to the Peel Commission in 1937. As for the idea of Jew, Moslem and Christian living peacefully and harmoniously in one country, it also is a very old one. The Fatah declaration stated "This is no utopian dream or false promise, for we have always lived in peace, Moslems, Christians and Jews in the Holy Land. The Palestinian Arabs gave a refuge, a warm shelter and a helping hand to

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AT THE FRONT

INVADERS REBUFFED AT GHOR SAFI

On January 21st Fatah commandos were joined by Saudi troops in repelling a 26-hour Israeli mechanized attack on Ghor Feifa and Ghor Safi south of the Dead Sea. ** The invading force—including a total of 50 tanks, 10 full-track vehicles and 20 military jeeps fitted with recoilless guns, mortars or machine guns, artillery and aircraft in support—crossed the ceasefire line at about 6:20 P.M. on January 20th. ** At around 7 P.M. Fatah commandos and the Saudi contingents, equipped mainly with RPG 7 rockets and 106mm guns, took the enemy by surprise as it began its two-pronged attack on Ghor Safi and Ghor en-Numeira. Fatah's fire immediately destroyed one tank and put another out of action. Ten hours later the mechanized enemy was forced to retreat to Ghor Feifa while soliciting artillery and airforce assistance. At this point the militia from the neighboring town of Karak, Jordan, joined Fatah's commandos and gave chase to the retreating enemy, inflicting on it heavy losses in equipment and personnel. ** Fatah's losses were listed as 6 dead, 4 injured; a 106mm gun, a Doska machine gun, two jeeps, & a tractor. ** While the confrontation was in full sway, Radio Israel announced the "accidental" injury of Dayan while visiting the battle site with Mrs. Meir, who reportedly was not in the helicopter with Dayan when the "accident" occurred. ** Military observers said the enemy's abortive incursion into that area was expected after a series of successful Fatah missions, including: (1) the shelling on January 18th of Neot Hakikar settlement and military positions next to it with heavy mortar fire; (2) the setting on fire of al-Hasab camp south of the Dead Sea on January 18th; (3) the shelling with heavy artillery of Sodom and surrounding military installations, January 19th; (4) the destruction by rockets of Sodom's potash works on January 19th, a significant blow to Israel's export production.

FATAH BLASTS EILAT'S MILITARY JETTY

EILAT—Israel's military death toll from Fatah's attack on the military section of Eilat port had reached 24 by February 2.

Over 38 others, many seriously, were injured in the explosion.

The Palestine Armed Struggle Command announced January 24 that a special Fatah task force had placed timed explosive charges at the edge of the western part of the military jetty of Eilat "in retaliation to enemy raids against Arab civilians and villages."

The PASC spokesman said the blast went off in the military dock shortly after 4 p.m. Saturday, January 24 killing a large number of troops and hitting two military landing crafts.

The blast rocked the city so extensively that the sound was heard in Aqaba, the Jordanian port across the narrow northern end of the gulf.

An Israeli "Investigation Commission" appointed by the chief of staff after the Fatah attack concluded January 29 that the "disaster" was "accidental" and occurred when a lorry, loaded with anti-personnel mines of Israeli manufacture, jolted as it was moving off a landing craft onto the quay. The commission's report said it was "reasonable to assume" the explosion occurred as a result of breakage in an armed mine.

Fifteen of the dead enemy troops were killed outright according to official Israeli count.

Occupied Palestine's southernmost Red Sea outlet was rocked November 1 when Egyptian frogmen attached limpet mines to two ships in the port and damaged their hulls.

Fatah commandos shelled Eilat with rockets last April 8.

FATAH HITS TEL AVIV ARMS FACTORY

TEL AVIV—Fatah Freedom fighters hit deep in occupied Palestine on the night of February 1-2, destroying an arms factory east of Tel Aviv.

A military spokesman of the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command (PASC) said "timed explosive charges were placed by Fatah commandos at different locations in the heavy arms factory, east of Tel Aviv and in the heart of the industrial area. The charges went off at midnight, destroying large parts of the factory, causing a large number of enemy casualties and plunging the whole area in darkness as a result of power failure."

Although the Israeli police alleged that the Fatah blast in the Sharon area was "accidental," the Israeli Ministry of Defense appointed February 2 a commission of inquiry to investigate the explosion in the arms factory.

Israeli officials did not concede more than "two killed

and several others injured."

The explosion, heard all over Tel Aviv, shattered windows in houses nearby and caused a general electricity failure.

Gen. Moshe Dayan visited the scene of the explosion early Monday, February 2.

It was the second major strike by Fatah commandos at an Israeli military installation in eight days. Twenty-four Israeli troops were killed and about 38 injured, many seriously, when Fatah commandos struck January 24 the military section of Eilat's port on the Red Sea.

Israeli police refused to give any details of the Tel Aviv explosion but said investigations will be made. Police also declined to give any details on the nature of the arms factory.

Parts of Kfar Saba were also blacked out by the power failure.

ACRE FATAH PRISONERS MURDERED

Four Palestinian freedom fighters were recently tortured to death in Israeli prisons. They were members of the Acre cell of Fatah, eight of whose members were arrested by Israeli troops last November. ** Mohammad Hassan Ghureifat al-Haib, 24, who on instructions from Fatah reinlisted as an officer in the Israeli army and used an Israeli military car to deliver explosives to the Acre commando cell, was instrumental in repeatedly blowing up Haifa oil installations. He was murdered in prison during the last days of December 1969. ** Mohammad Shaker al-Haraz, who was the contact between the Acre cell and a cell in the Nablus area from which the Acre cell received instructions, was murdered in prison on January 22nd; Israeli authorities accused two of his prison inmates. ** Late in January, Youssef Hassan Abu-Kheir and Kassem Abu Khadra came to similar ends after Nazi-like inquisition and brutal torture. Abu Khadra had escaped Israel's clutches following numerous heroic missions and in Lebanon had been training in the use of explosives when, on an arms delivery mission, he was intercepted by an armed Israeli sea patrol and apprehended.

VISIT TO MOSCOW

Yasser Arafat (Abu Ammar), official spokesman of Fatah and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed the PLO delegation slated to start an official visit to Moscow in early February.

The delegation includes military and political experts representing organizations affiliated to the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command (PASC).

Kremlin leaders have lauded the Palestinian People's struggle for liberation on more than one occasion.

Last October, Alexander Shelepin, a member of the Central Committee, said in a speech in Budapest: "We look upon the Palestinian patriots' struggle to eradicate the consequences of Israeli aggression as a just, anti-imperialist war of national liberation, and we will support it."

Chief Soviet government press spokesman Leonid Zamyatin made a similar declaration at a press conference in Moscow on October 13. He said the Soviet government believed the Palestinian commandos were struggling to liberate occupied territory and "it would be wrong to deny this kind of struggle." He compared the Palestinian commandos to partisans who fought against Nazi occupation in World War II.

Premier Alexei Kosygin also pledged in a speech on December 10 the support of the Soviet people to the Palestinian struggle organizations.

In early January, also, the delegation visited the Communist Party.

The PLO delegation, which meanwhile left Ceylon including a special visit to the country to rally mass and official support to the Palestinian struggle for national liberation.



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In a recent interview with James Reston and James Feron of the *New York Times* (February 8th), the premier of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, said: "I don't know what is wrong with us that we can't explain ourselves. We can't get across something which is so simple to our way of thinking: that we want a real political solution, not another cease-fire."

The same day, Mr. Reston in an editorial wrote: "There is a terrifying simplicity to this woman. She thinks she can control military power. She talks about the bombing strikes at the Suez and outside Cairo as if they were simply part of an educational campaign to make President Nasser stop his mischief. He really must stop lying to his people, she says, as if he was a naughty boy she was taking by the ear to the woodshed." The editor of the *New York Times* goes on to say: "It is an astonishing thing in these days of confused peoples and feeble leadership to come upon a nation where the people remain united for purposes they respect and have faith in one another and their leaders. In actual fact, the whole country is as isolated as a ghetto in hostile land, yet inside the walls it is not only united but even happy." Who ever heard of a disunited ghetto.

In the last issue of FREE PALESTINE, the editor laid equal responsibility for bloodshed in the Middle East on the Western media which persists in exalting Israel's paranoid Zionist leadership. But Mr. Reston and Mr. Feron are only two voices in the cheering crowd. Mrs. Meir's words and frame of mind, however, are what concern us here; the admiration expressed for Mrs. Meir's type of leadership by some American journalists is only suggestive of their level of intellect and integrity. That same "terrifying simplicity," for instance, of

which Mr. Reston speaks admiringly evoked a totally different response from George Brown, former British Foreign Secretary. He reportedly told Mrs. Meir, only a few days earlier (*Time*, February 2nd) "that she need not speak so possessively about Palestine because 'you are merely a Jewess from Russia who came to Israel via America.'" The irony here is not only that she should make this long journey to settle and live "in peace" in Palestine... she wants also to wage "an educational campaign" to tell the peoples of the area how to put their houses in order.

Mrs. Meir says that Nasser "must stop lying to his people." There is an old Arab saying: a beggar can't stand to see anyone else holding a pan. Nasser "lies" to his people, but what about Mrs. Meir herself? The answer to this question may well be found in her own half-aware admission of fault: "What is wrong with us that we can't explain ourselves?" Truth speaks for itself, but Mrs. Meir finds it difficult to present the world with her own brand of "truth" and she doesn't know why. Under like circumstances, normal human beings look for what might be wrong with the matter they want to explain; but Mrs. Meir searches for what is wrong with her *method* of explanation. Like all her predecessors, rather than re-examine the *essence* of what they attempted once and again to defend, so as to be sure they were in the right—Mrs. Meir never doubts the validity of her cause and blames its difficulty on the *way* in which it is opened to view. Mrs. Meir's problem is neither unique nor the first of its kind; such has been the case with all prepetrators of a big lie. For half a century the Zionists have been having a field-day lying and fooling the whole world; today, somehow, the skies are getting darker, and Mrs. Meir doesn't like

it one bit. She says, "We can't get across something which is so simple to our way of thinking." It is precisely in the "way of thinking" that her trouble lies.

This "way of thinking" comes through in what Mr. Reston had to say about the "nation where the people remain united for purposes they respect and have faith in one another and their leaders." In that wonderland, people are "not only united but even happy" in their "isolated ghetto in a hostile land." What was "astonishing" to Mr. Reston is that the hemmed-in and embattled Zionists are *happy* in Israel. Mr. Reston may have been so astonished that he overlooked one minor fact: Zionists have in a persecuted Israel exactly what they want. Didn't Mrs. Meir undertake the trouble of travelling from Russia to America and back to Palestine in order to help build that ghetto and live happily thereafter within its walls? Isn't her mission accomplished? For an answer, it all boils down to the Zionist "way of thinking."

Mrs. Meir wants a negotiated peace, and that is commendable. But she insists on negotiating with anyone but the party most concerned—and that she finds difficult to explain. She wants to goad Arab leaders into surrender; but to do that by napalming civilians is not so easy to justify. She wants a secure place for the children of Israel; but to place them on the Suez Canal, in Sharm al-Shaykh, in the Golan Heights, on the Jordan River, and still to want to guarantee their security is absurd. She hates the thought of Yasir Arafat because, she claims, he wants to send her back to Milwaukee; but she expects him to be happy being sent back to Arabia where she thinks he belongs. This kind of list is too long to complete in a short article, but the interesting thing is that Mrs. Meir does not see any contradictions in it and blames the world for not understanding her "way of thinking."

Mrs. Meir vents her wrath on the naughty Palestinians: "From then (1947) until 1967 nobody heard of a Palestinian entity. Where were they?" Now, we may ask, where were you, sister Golda, for two thousand years? Nobody ever heard of an Israeli entity during that rather protracted span of time. But the premier of the Zionist structure in occupied Palestine does not permit herself to think along these lines... and this again betrays her "way of thinking." Mrs. Meir goes on to say: "The problem is that we are not accepted. The Arabs have delusions." She is absolutely right... in the first part of her statement. But why is it the Arabs have the delusions and not the Zionists? The Arabs will not accept Mrs. Meir and her fellow Zionists in Palestine, and that disturbs the Zionists; but do *they* accept Arabs in the Zionist state they are trying to entrench in Palestinian soil? No, and they (as Zionists) never will; but the Arabs are always at fault, they say, and that is "our way of thinking."

—Ibn al-Balad

COMMANDO HAIRCUT

JERUSALEM — A Palestinian barber was sentenced to one year's imprisonment on a charge of aiding and abetting commandos—by shaving them and cutting their hair.

Saad Mahmud Ibrahim Saad, 37, the barber of occupied Yatta village was taken by one of the villagers to a house where he gave four men a shave and a haircut, the prosecutor told the Israeli military court in Hebron Monday.

Saad admitted the charge but denied he was aware that the four men were Fatah commandos.

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Jews fleeing persecution in Christian Europe, and to the Christian Armenians fleeing persecution in Moslem Turkey; as well as to Greeks, Caucasian and Maltese among others." One need not go to Medieval history to elaborate on the idea.

However, what is new, is the fact that non-Jewish Arab exiles who have been deprived of their homes and displaced by Jews in Palestine, can still – while holding the guns, and fighting for their land, and their very existence – calls for a new country that combines the ex-victim and his ex-aggressor and persecutor.

Credibility

The idea is revolutionary, and its implications serious and pervasive. In fact it is so revolutionary that few uncommitted people can believe it let alone support and work for it. It is the objective of these articles to discuss, analyze and amplify the idea. Our hypothesis is that the creation of a democratic, non-sectarian Palestine is both desirable and feasible, and that once these two aspects are proven valid, the idea becomes credible. Credibility is very important if people are to be motivated to support the idea and work and sacrifice for it to achieve lasting peace and justice in Palestine.

Exiled Palestinians

The exodus of 1948 was a stunning blow to the Palestinians. A whole nation, more than one full million inhabitants of a country were deliberately terrorized and uprooted from their homes. They were thrown out of their country into a sea of sand surrounding it, in a period of few months. The fact that many Palestinians knew the Zionist intentions and suspected the British of preparing for the eventual exile of the Arabs of Palestine to "the Transient Countries" did not make the blow less hard or stunning. One can hardly believe that the forced exile of a whole nation is possible in the Twentieth Century.

For thirty years under the British Mandate, Palestinians knew who the real enemy was, British Imperialism and Zionist Imperialism were quite linked in the minds of the people. Six bloody revolutions took place between 1919 and 1939. They were basically directed against the British occupiers. Whatever complicity the British had in the Palestinians' fate – and it was great – the Palestinians were driven out by "Jewish" terrorists. Their uprooting through massacres such as that of Deir Yasseen Leaders of their tormentors and oppressors called for the creation of an "exclusively Jewish Home" and considered them – the exiles – as fifth columnists who deserve to be excluded from this home, "their home." In their misery, humiliation and despair the Palestinians learned to hate the Jews and everything "Jewish," everything connected with their enemy.

Jews and Zionists

Few sophisticated leaders, and most propagandists took pains to differentiate between Jews and Zionists. We are not anti-Jewish, we are anti-Zionists it was repeated. We are Semites and Jews are our cousins... they stated. They sounded so unreal and phoney saying: "some of our best friends are Jews..."

We are against the state of Israel, it was claimed. But the distinction was lost on the suffering "refugees" who were told by the Israelis that all Jews were Zionists anyway. Jewish pressure in the United States, Jewish money and Jewish immigrants were making their enemy as entrenched as ever; and their hopes of an honorable return as dim as ever. No wonder bitterness prevailed and fear dominated.

Reading of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" became fashionable, anti-Semitic literature developed by European racists in a completely different context – i.e., where the Jews were the victims – became quite popular. This wave of bitterness, hate and utter confusion spread to other Arabs. It helped Zionist pressure and propaganda

designed to secure the departure of thousands of Arab Jews from their homes to join the ranks of the occupying enemy. Thousands of these Jews would have stayed in their homes under different circumstances, and would have continued to live as they have had for hundreds of years in peace and harmony with their neighbors.

New Doctrine

Revolutionary leaders engaged in a serious study and discussion around the topic. Re-learning old truths emerged. Jews suffered persecution on the hands of racist criminals under Nazism, so did "We" under Zionism. Several revealing parallels were discovered. "How could we hate the Jews qua Jews?" the revolutionaries were saying. How could we fall in the same racist trap?

A study of Jewish history and thought was conducted. Jewish contributions as well as dilemmas were identified. The majority of those who came over to Palestine were fleeing German concentration camps and were told that they are a people without land – going to a land without people. Once they were there, they were told that the Palestinians left Palestine of their own wish, following orders from Arab leaders in a treacherous move to perpetuate a massacre for the remaining Jews.

Further it was discovered, new Jewish immigrants as well as old settlers were told by the Zionist machine that they had to fight to survive, that the only alternative to a safe "Israel" was a

enemy's troops and jailors. A new sense of pride and dignity was emerging and rising. With the hope and the pride, self-confidence reappeared. A nation was reborn. Al-Karama and similar victories, the sacrifices and the martyrs and the escalating struggle developed a new sense of belonging to Palestine. The revolution brought maturity to the fighters. As paradoxical as it may seem, people who fight can afford to be more tolerant. Mental and verbal violence usually accompany helplessness and despair.

A new attitude was being formed toward the enemy. Distinction between Jew and Zionist started to have a meaning. Realization that revenge was not a sufficient cause for a liberation war led to further examination of the final objectives of the revolution. The scores of intellectual liberal Jews who come from all over the world to start a dialogue with the revolution caused further rethinking.

New Image

The Palestinian revolutionary has freed himself from most of his old biases. Foreign visitors are amazed to discover this in the commando bases, and in the "Ashbal" camps in particular. The Palestinian revolutionary is ready to die for the liberation of Palestine and will not accept any substitute to it whatever the cost. But, he is clear about the enemy, and the final goal. When several Jewish students from Europe came to spend part of their summer in a Fatah camp in Jordan, they



massacre or at best a little sinking boat on the Mediterranean Sea. Even Arab Jews – called oriental by the Zionists – who were discriminated against in "Israel" by the European Zionist oligarchy had to accept the argument and fight for what they considered to be their very survival. Fighting the Zionist revealed the strengths and limitations of the "Jewish" character. Jews were not monsters, supermen or pygmies. A new, human image of the Jews was being formed. Martin Buber, Issac Deutcher, Elmer Berger and Moshe Menuhin, all spiritual humane Jewish thinkers were read and reread.

The Revolution, a New Era

Fatah started the Palestinian Revolution on January 1, 1965, after nine years of political preparation. However, the first two years were spent in establishing a military "presence" in the Palestinian arena. It was the 1967 traumatic experience and the Second Exodus that shook the Palestinians to the core and put them solidly behind the Revolution. In the nadir of the new humiliating defeat, a new hope was rekindled. The Palestinian carried a gun and re-entered home with it. He shot at his

were embraced as comrades. Fatah looks forward to the day when several thousand Jews will join its fighting ranks for the liberation of Palestine. Given the recent trend of events, this may happen sooner than most people think.

First Step

The first step, the creation of a democratic, non-sectarian Palestine has been made by the Palestinian revolutionaries. A change of attitude through relearning is taking place. The long exiled and persecuted Palestinians are redefining their objectives and are funding the goal of creating a new Palestine that encompasses them and the present Jewish settlers a very desirable one. For this goal to become feasible one should take a careful look at the other party, the Jews. How do they feel about it and what could change their mind? This topic will be taken up in our second installment in the coming issue. The third installment will evaluate the New Palestine and how does it really look at this early stage of the revolution. We hope that the three articles will help start a dialogue based on serious study. Our revolution is young and dynamic. Young revolutionaries should keep on fighting, and learning – Until Victory. ●

THE BEDOUIN ROUTINE

Proud, independent people, living links to a rich tradition of Arab culture, the Bedouins of Palestine still wander the desolate reaches of their land as they have done for centuries, pitting their endurance against the elements.

More recently, those in the Occupied Territories have faced a more ruthless opponent — the Zionist aggressor — and they have shared in many cases, the same harsh fate of their Palestinian brothers at his hands. Their tent encampments are as prone to indiscriminate mass reprisals as Palestinian refugee camps or the dwellings of other Palestinian citizens, their flocks are slaughtered, and their people tortured by the Israelis, with perhaps more savage brutality than that which is meted out to other "natives".

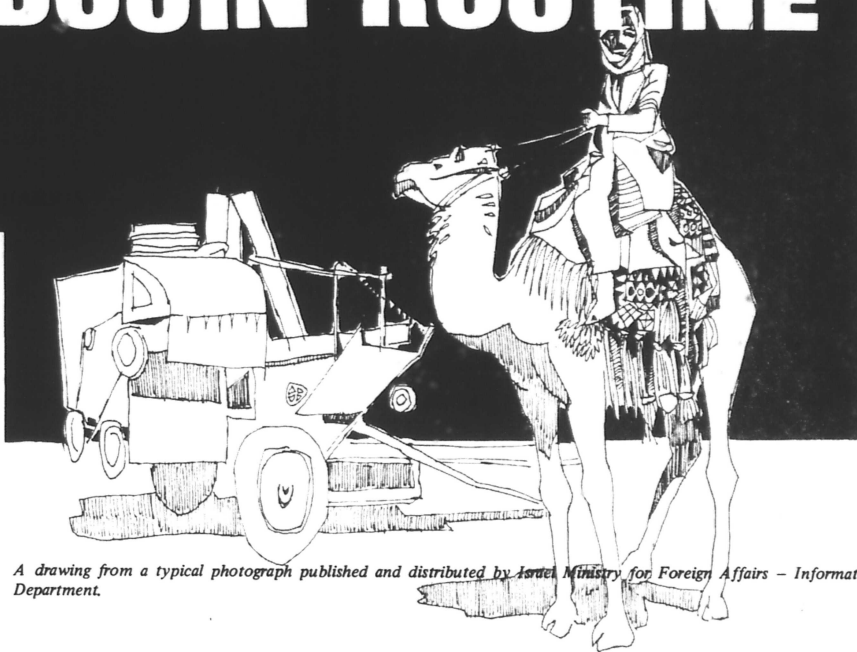
Those Bedouins that can be exploited by the Israelis, such as tribes roving the Negev, are a different story altogether. These are built up as "friends" of the Zionists, receiving token assistance, and various small, meaningless concessions, including feigned respect for their tribal customs by the Government. Such a program of oppression is common to many colonialist regimes, as Franz Fanon says:

The native is promoted; they try to disarm him with their psychology, and of course they throw in a few shillings too, and these miserable methods, this eye-wash administered drop by drop even meet with some success.

The Bedouins exploited in this manner find the advent of the Zionist occupying power means little more to them than an occasional new source of income or goods, and some free entertainment. In return for official "favours" they passively suffer the intrusion of the foreigners and their guests into their camps for sightseeing, indoctrination and thrills all in one. For them, however, the Israelis are nothing more than the latest wave of marauders in their world. They withstood the antics of the Crusaders, the Turks, the English and the French in much the same, bemused, shrewd manner. None made any impression on their lives. All eventually left them to their flocks and departed.

To the Israelis, on the other hand, contact with these tribes is much more vital, for immediate financial returns to the tourist industry, and more importantly, for long-term perpetration of the myth that Israeli-"Arab" relations really are good. Let us examine the delicate inter-meshing of such tourist propaganda with Zionist political propaganda in greater detail, and see how the Bedouin plays a role in the purposeful bewildering of the West.

The Israelis were quick to see the value of the Bedouin as a tourist attraction. Like the poor and illiterate Indians of Bolivia, the Haitians, the Navajos and other tribes of North America, his nomadic life could be promoted as a bit of local color — authentic "Middle Eastern" — for which visitors would pay to see. In addition to the dollars to the tourist industry, the closely controlled "desert scenes" the guests would see, including the presumably excellent relations between the Israelis



A drawing from a typical photograph published and distributed by Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs — Information Department.

and the local Sheik, would provide good sources of MISinformation which would be passed along to the West through various channels. If these were not in any way related to Zionist organizations — so much the better.

A recent example of such a visit, written up in *Signature Magazine* illustrates how both ends of the Zionist plan are accomplished. The article, entitled "A Feast with the Sheik of Araby", was written by a food journalist who, with a large party of gourmets was chauffeured by Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem to the camp of a Bedouin tribe in the Negev for a feast. Delighted by the tent encampment and armed men on camelback, she described the scene as "right out of Cecil B. deMille, courtesy of the Ministry of Tourism", which of course was exactly right. Although her article dwelt on the excellent Arabic food she received — which she calls "Israeli — good Middle Eastern", it was liberally sprinkled with "facts" fed her by the Zionist officials on the humane Israeli treatment of the Bedouin.

Her own lack of understanding or concern with the plight of the Bedouin people prostituted in this manner by the Israelis, therefore enabled her to become a willing, enthusiastic tool in their hands. The harm done was manifold — for in duping her — the Western readers of her article were also duped!

The seriousness and breadth of this Zionist propaganda program is seen when it is noted that all manner of visiting dignitaries, professional conventions, and journalists are given this Bedouin routine, which duly finds its way into a multiplicity of trade journals, pictorial reviews and personal anecdotes, such as the above cited piece.

These accounts are intended to compliment the all-out effort made by world Zionist organizations to label the Bedouin as the "typical Arab" with whom the "enlightened" Zionist civilization must contend. If one accepts this false image he is more readily led to believe that a nation of illiterate nomads can have little congress with such civilized concepts as "rights", "justice" and "homeland" and he may thus write off the Palestinian resistance as "outside agitation", which is what the Zionists would like him to believe.

This dangerous ruse is pushed to the Western

world in any way possible. Anytime an Israeli official wishes to present a quick and easy demonstration of the "fine relations" he enjoys with "Arabs" he poses with a local Sheik, attends a tribal wedding, mounts a camel or makes some concessions to the tribe so as to record the manner in which Israel helps the "natives".

Both Bedouins and Westerners are thus exploited at the expense of the Palestinian nation.

The Zionists however, run the great risk of falling victim to their own propaganda, when they woo the Bedouin; of convincing themselves that money, or the supply of generators to camps, can indeed buy his loyalty. For the Bedouin, despite his detachment from the world of modern politics, is both shrewd and intensely conscious of ties of blood and tribe. The intense feelings of Arab nationalism and the unified spirit of the Palestinian resistance movement are but a step away for him.

An article in the *Jerusalem Post* of June 16, 1969, entitled, "Arab Attitudes Still Negative" by Military Reporter Ze'ev Schul, contained the following recorded statement:

Do you want me to tell you the truth? I hate you. Yes, I know, before you came I was much worse off. Now I have a herd of camels. I live in a real hut instead of a "husha" and all my sons are working and earning good money. But we hate you all the same. We would rather be oppressed by our own people than live under you, the conquerors . . .

Schul comments, "The clarity of this statement was all the more surprising considering that it came from a Bedouin, head of a tiny clan encamped somewhere south of Hebron."

The Bedouin has a far better choice than those mentioned above. The goals of the Palestinian Revolutionary movement in addition to restoring Palestine to a polyethnic state, include the end of human exploitation in any form, by any person or group, and the extension of dignity in the form of justice and responsibility to ALL persons dwelling in Palestine.

The Bedouin can then expect his Palestinian brothers to offer him the help and guidance he will need as he takes his place as citizen. ●

THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT

On January 25, 1969, the Palestine Liberation Organization recognized the Palestinian Red Crescent Society as an official society performing a first-aid, medical and humanitarian role to serve the Palestinian people and other needy in the area. In the year since its creation, the PRCS has set up medical and social centers in refugee camps and villages along the front-line and in 11 countries; these centers extend free medical care and medication to some 40,000 patients per month, train women and girls in useful handiwork, undertake social work and surveys in refugee camps, extend nursing training to over 200 persons so far, and participate in international conferences of similar organizations. ** At present the PRCS has active operating branches in Abu Dhabi, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the UAR, with headquarters temporarily in Amman. ** The PRCS has participated in the Red Cross, Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun Conference held (January 1969) in Kuwait; in the Arab Red Cross and Red Crescent Conferences held in Cairo (May 1969) and Beirut (also May 1969); and in the International Conference of the Red Cross held in Istanbul (September 1969), where the PRCS presented an illustrated multi-lingual study of Israel's violations of the Geneva Agreement and succeeded in having the 112 delegates call on Israel in a majority resolution to treat Palestinian commandos as prisoners of war. ** The primary aim of the PRCS is "to embody the Palestinian entity and confirm the existence of the Palestinian personality in connection with health, social and cultural affairs of the Palestinians, on both the local and international levels." It does this by every means possible—from delivering letters to Palestinians in occupied Palestine and reuniting families, rushing medical supplies to areas of combat, nursing the injured, keeping the world informed of treatment given to Palestinians by Israelis in occupied Palestine, etc.—to giving Palestinians the world over the opportunity to extend effective help to their embattled brothers at home.



BERTRAND RUSSELL'S LAST MESSAGE.



Cairo, February 4,—Philosopher Bertrand Russell, in a last message before his death, called for a new world campaign "To help bring justice to the long-suffering people of the Middle East."

The message, dated January 31, was read out Tuesday night to an International Conference of Lawmakers now meeting in Cairo.

Russell, who died, aged 97, at his home in north Wales Monday night, said in the message to the parliamentarians "All who want to see an end to bloodshed in the Middle East must ensure that any settlement does not contain the seeds of future conflict."

The British philosopher and pacifist campaigner said that an essential ingredient to any genuine settlement was the return of Arab refugees to their homelands.

He said the tragedy of the people of Palestine was that their country was "given" by a foreign power to another people for the creation of a new state, which resulted in numerous people being made permanently homeless.

"With every new conflict their numbers have increased. How much longer is the world willing to endure this spectacle of wanton cruelty?" Russell asked.

He said, "We are frequently told that we must sympathize with Israel because of the sufferings of the Jews in Europe at the hands of the Nazis.

"I see in this suggestion no reason to perpetuate any suffering. What Israel is doing today cannot be condoned, and to invoke the horrors of the past to justify terror of the present is gross hypocrisy.

"Not only does Israel condemn a vast number of refugees to misery, not only are many Arabs under occupation condemned to military rule, but also Israel condemns the Arab nation, only recently emerging from colonial status, to continuing impoverishment as military demands take precedence over national development," he said.

Russell said that Israel's recent bombing raids deep into Egypt were a "profound miscalculation" and will not persuade the civilian population to surrender, but will stiffen their resolve to resist.

He said this was the lesson of all aerial bombardments, shown in the American heavy bombing of the Vietnamese and Hitler's bombing raids of Britain in 1940 which produced a unity and determination among the British people.

Russell's message was described by an Egyptian Government spokesman as an "historical document and probably his last will to future generations."

He added, "humanity has lost one of its great sons."

—REUTERS

Letters to the editor:

an israeli worker answers noam chomsky

February 16, 1970

The Editor
Free Palestine

Having lived in Israel for many years, until after the '67 war I would like to comment on Prof. Noam Chomsky's interview with FREE PALESTINE, Vol. 1, No. 10, Feb. 1970.

I don't want to go into the rights or merits of Jewish colonialisation of Palestine but Prof. Chomsky's assertion that neither the Jewish settlers nor their leaders necessarily envisaged a Jewish state is open to debate. As long ago as in the 1890's the father of theoretical Zionism, Theodore Herzl published his books, "Der Judenstaat" and "Altneuland", which fired the imagination of his contemporaries who strove for a state as Jewish as Ireland is Irish.

Lenin said that one must have concrete facts in dealing with concrete situations.

I am afraid that Prof. Chomsky, no matter his expertise and erudition does not come up with concrete facts in the case of the Middle East. To start off he proceeds from an idealised position which holds that previous to the creation of Israel there was a possibility for a bi-national state and on this premise he builds the rest of his arguments.

Now the one concrete fact is, that no matter the lesser or greater possibilities of a bi-national state at one time or other, this period has passed and the Arabs today are confronted with the establishment of a unilateral specific Jewish state on Arab territory, which has caused the expulsion of most of the former Arab inhabitants, 3 wars on Arab states, the annexation and exploitation of more Arab territory, as well as the attempt by Israel to intervene in the internal affairs of Arab countries for the

benefit of imperialism as well as to force their surrender on Israel's terms.

To disregard all of these things which have happened and downgraded Palestinian guerrilla activity for other alternatives which Chomsky really never spells out, so that there may be a possibility in the far future of a rapprochement between the Jews (of which only a few marginal groups still opt for bi-nationalism, to use Chomsky's terms) and the Arabs is rather far fetched.

Chomsky really never attempts to explain why the Israelis who so far have been militarily successful, should voluntarily relinquish their privileged position for less privileges in a bi-national state. The only explanation would be that their position is insecure and indefensible from a long term view. Chomsky either forgets or does not seem to realize that in today's Israel a Jew is and feels superior to an Arab by definition of Israeli law and circumstance. This superiority in many cases not being necessarily economic, but psychological so that even the poorest and darkest of Oriental and African Jews think themselves as primarily products of Europe and Western civilisation rather than feeling any kinship or understanding for the peoples of the third world. Experience has shown in Algeria, that even the European communists and socialists, when their privileges were threatened, supported the colonial bourgeoisie, and there is no reason to believe that the Israeli Jews, with a few honorable exceptions, will do otherwise.

The only way a change of thinking could come about is precisely if the Arabs could inflict a series of heavy military defeats on Israel. But unfortunately here Chomsky, although he uses terms such as class struggle and national conflict, looks at the Palestine conflict from a pacifist view equating it to World War I which in truth was a war waged by the falling out of imperialists through

economic rivalries for control of imperialist exploitation of the globe, whereas the Israeli-Arab conflict and especially the struggle of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation is in essence a war of national-liberation which by definition is just, progressive and anti-imperialist.

Now contrary to what Chomsky thinks of the transformation of Arab and Israeli society towards socialism, going hand in hand together, the facts have borne out that since the birth of Israel, Arab societies have gone towards aspects of socialism, witness the transformation of a series of Arab states and growth of Arab liberation movements from Palestine to Oman and Eritrea, in spite of tremendous odds (tradition, C.I.A. intrigues, and outright imperialist interference) whereas during the same period socialism in Israel has diminished from the shrinking of the idealised kibbutz movement, to the growth of Gahal (Israel's fascist party) being in coalition with the government. Even most Israeli Jewish communists got infected with the Zionist virus so that they support the government of Golda Meir which is firmly in the camp of U.S. imperialism.

Finally after having criticised certain aspects of Noam Chomsky's theories I must admit that his basic premise, that only socialism, and I would add, true socialism, will bring a just solution to the Palestine conflict, is valid.

And here to paraphrase Mao Tse-Tung that political power comes out of the barrel of a gun, only a protracted Peoples warfare against U.S. imperialism and the state of Israel will accomplish that, therefore all support for the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Power to the People

Michael Rubin
Member of the Committee to
Support Middle East Liberation
Seattle, Washington

"confusion between oppressor and oppressed"

January 21, 1970

Dear Editor:

After reading Naom Chomsky's answers to the interviewer's questions, one comes away with a feeling of dream like impressionism, a created mood of ruminant cerebration. Here equivocation has been developed to a fine art. Conscious or unconscious the interview does not determine. More likely the conscious and unconscious merge, resulting in another apology for Israel and its policies. One looks in vain for a clear denunciation of the aggressive chauvinism of Zionism and the colonialist pattern that has emerged in over a half-century of Jewish "peopledom" in Palestine and beyond. Chomsky says it is not accurate to describe Israel as colonizing in the "classical imperialist sense", omitting to define just what is the "classical imperialist sense." The question of the Justice of European Jewry's immigration to Palestine is confessedly too much for Chomsky's moral balance sheet. That is a "tricky" issue.

Although allegedly opposed to the Jewish State personally, he maintains "there was a very deep need on the part of the Jews of Europe to have some sort of a national homeland." He follows this psycho-social insight and concession to the nationalism that he seems to decry with utopianism - "I think there is ideally a general principle that should permit free population flow in any part of the world and that national boundaries should not dominate in an absolute sense, international politics." How this scheme would operate in practice he leaves to the imagination. Some of us have seen how "free population flow" has operated in the past. During the last half millenium population has flowed out of Europe resulting in the plunder of whole continents and the rading and obstruction of entire peoples and cultures. To this development the Arabs, and especially the Arabs of Palestine, have been no exception.

Chomsky's "interpretation of the history of Zionism" looks to appearances rather than reality. Speaking of "pre-world War II Zionist ideals" as being consistent with a bi-national solution, he contradicts his immediately preceding statement that until the second world war, "There was in fact no official commitment of the Zionist movement to the notion of the Jewish State." This contradiction is qualified by "with the war the situation changed very radically" and today only "very small and marginal groups in Israel are even" willing to consider a bi-national solution.

Chomsky's faith in Zionism appears unbounded. He conceives of "whatever was of human value in Zionism" as leading to the "demand for a bi-national socialist society." Yet in response to the question of how might this occur, he is unsure of the order of events and hopes for a mutual revolutionary transformation of both Israeli and Arab societies, believing that neither will precede the other. Again, Chomsky gives no analysis to support this amazing premonition.

Chomsky associates the Palestinian guerrilla resistance with "terrorism". The last three replies to the interviewer's questions reveal Chomsky's confusion between oppressor and oppressed and propensity to wrap himself

in the mantle of the intellectual, which may be the agency that transcends the reality he finds so "difficult" and "tricky".

Those who read Chomsky's article in the November 1969 "Liberation" may remember that he wrote that Fatah fights for the freedom of the Palestinian Arab People in vain. After Vietnam we should not be disposed to such talk. Which poses a question to the Arab Liberation Movement and its supporters-at this stage of the struggle, what is accomplished by talking with petit-bourgeois pacifists like Chomsky? Surely we have had enough of the advice that urges us to explore other "alternatives". It's time words and concepts catch up to the line of the resistance. An example in point is the following quoted from an editorial in the November issue of FATAH entitled "Sisco [Joseph-U.S. Under Secretary of State], Stay Home!"

"The people's experience with the United States and the United Nations on such issues as Palestine, Vietnam, China, Rhodesia, South Africa and Angola leave the Palestinian Revolution with due conviction. "What in the final analysis will register in the different regions of world imperialism is that which issues from the barrel of a gun. Nothing else will suffice for those oppressed people of the globe who would live as free men in a just society. "The clamor of the Palestinians for international justice for the last 21 years has passed. "Bygones are bygones and nothing will liberate and bring just peace to Palestine but our armed struggle."

A suggestion that the promotion of the Arab cause might better be served, particularly in the U.S. of A., by becoming "up to date" would not be extreme. In sum, thoroughly overhaul our approach to conform with the needs of the Arab masses, rather than tedious appeals to the consciences of the inhabitants of the metropolis, given from positions at best legalistic and at worst eleemosynary. The evocation of legal and human rights has its limit within the class struggle. By any just standards Zionism has no case in Palestine. Nevertheless, Zionism is today entrenched there, firmly allied with imperialism and the Arabs are a tormented and tortured "minority" within their own land.

The constant reference to one million (now two million) refugees is also of questionable utility. There are people in the ghettos of big city America of whom, it can be said, are worse off than refugees in the camps. By recognizing this, one does not belittle the woe of the Palestinian Arabs, but places it in perspective, as another instance of imperialism's reckless disregard for the rights and welfare of the people. The issue is not Arab paths, but what does the Arab Revolution offer the world. We know the stakes, many potential allies do not. One task is to disabuse people of the Balkan stereotype of "Arab vs. Jew" and present evidence that the Palestinian Liberation Struggle, the leading catalyst of Arab Liberation, is indeed a genuine popular REVOLUTIONARY struggle deserving the support of every revolutionary and anti-imperialist.

Educating along these lines is giving away no secrets. The boys at Rand and Langly (C.I.A.Hq.) have plotted and programmed all the possibilities. Their main variable is unpredictable-the people.

Subordinate to the positive is the negative of the struggle-Israel and U.S. Imperialism. Israel is fond of advertising itself as a progressive element in the Middle East, as a "democracy", regionally the only democracy. This canard is becoming increasingly difficult to put over. The use of torture, incommunicado arrests, "neighborhood punishments", racism, napalm, theocracy, the reduction of the Arabs to hewers of wood and drawers of water, and Israel's necessarily closer embrace of imperialism open it to attack. The task is to persistently expose Israel by presenting evidence of its crimes and those of the larger imperium, U.S. capital, to the people, who will judge.

Ernest Nassar
Pittsburgh, Penn.



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February 11, 1970

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FREE PALESTINE: KHAS VEKHALILAH!

Book Review

PALESTINE AND ISRAEL: THE LETHAL DILEMMA.

By
Hisham Sharabi

New York: Pegasus, 1969, 224 pp. \$6.95

THE PALESTINE DILEMMA: APPEARANCE AND REALITY by Alan R. Taylor

In a former age as disturbed as ours, Plato analyzed the human condition as a dilemma of perspective. Between the perceived world of the individual and the actual world outside stood a barrier of understanding. On the one side was appearance and opinion, on the other, reality and comprehension. The problem before men was to bridge the gap, to replace illusion with definition.

Though the metaphysics of Plato's dialogues seem very dated and academic today, the circumstances of our time suggest their relevance. The paradox we live with every day is that while ours is an age of science, it is also one of fiction. This is especially true in the political realm, where the circumstances of engagement are obscured by the polemics of partisan publicity.

The matter at hand is the problem of Palestine. The confrontation of the Arab and Jewish national movements in the land of Palestine has stimulated such a variety of images and arguments that the underlying truths have become elusive. In the meantime, the struggle has escalated to disturbing proportions, threatening the already sensitive balance of global relations. What is most needed today, therefore, is the advantage of perspective and analysis to provide the guidelines of proper understanding.

Professor Hisham Sharabi's book, PALESTINE AND ISRAEL: THE LETHAL DILEMMA, is a product of the new search for scrutiny and re-evaluation. The author's thesis is that the problem of Palestine and Israel is encompassed by a veil of appearances which obscure the essential realities. The most common image of the conflict portrays a benign and beleaguered Israel which seeks peace but is forced to adopt war as a way of protecting itself from hostile neighbors. Dr. Sharabi questions this supposition. He suggests instead that while Israel is superficially the advocate of peace, it is by origin and sustaining elan the agent of war. As a colonizing movement, Zionism has been committed to a fundamentally aggressive policy and can relate to its adversary only through

force. For this reason, Zionist strategy "is directed not at solving the conflict but at protracting it." Furthermore, since Israel is faced with a yielding environment, it is inclined to expand its position in terms of territorial speculations expressed by Zionism in earlier days.

Approaching the enigmatic question of intent through descriptive analysis, the author notes that Israel has remained unresponsive to such Arab peace overtures as those expressed in the Lausanne Protocols. Its Arab policies have been based at various stages on expulsion, massive retaliation, and punishment, without regard to the question of Arab rights. Dr. Sharabi also suggests that Israel as a modern state confronting modernizing societies is not really as preoccupied with the question of security as it might seem. It has, in fact, spurned the political security of international law by down-grading the role of the United Nations, ignoring the Geneva Convention in occupied territories, and requiring conditions of negotiation which the Arabs cannot accept without assuming a posture of inferiority.

Dr. Sharabi understands the Arab position as essentially defensive and committed to the rights of the Palestinians. Hence, "what from the Arab standpoint constitutes the heart of the matter, is, for Israel, no longer even a valid subject for discussion." This is not only the most misunderstood aspect of the conflict, but its basic source.

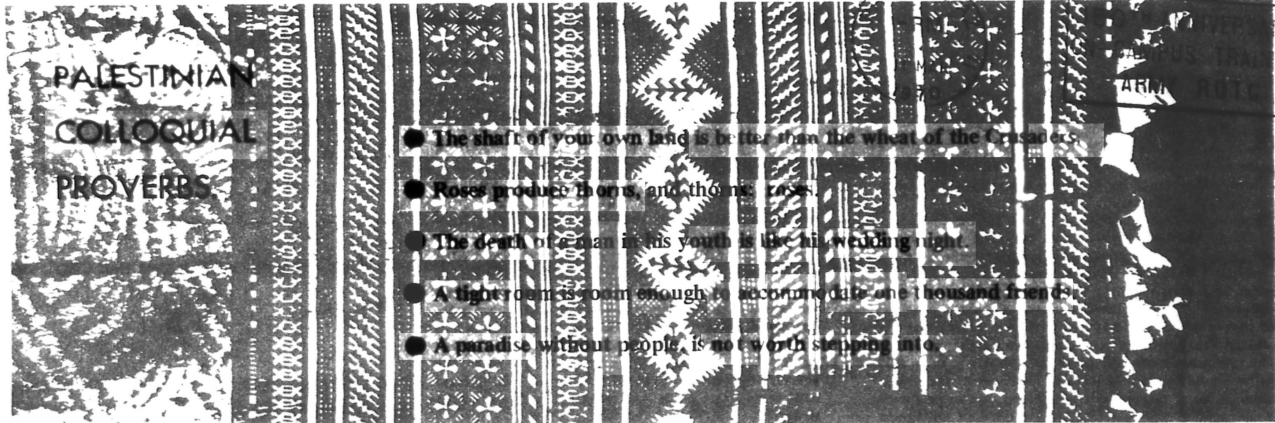
The combination of misrepresentation, Western gullibility, and the inability of the Arab states to contain Israeli expansionism has created a new dimension—the Palestine guerrilla movement. The underlying premise of the resistance is that "since force is the basis of Zionist strategy . . . the invalidation of force as the instrument of a Zionist peace . . . could never be accomplished by persuasion, only by force." Ultimately, "the Zionist strategy of force would become more costly to those who practiced it than to those who were subjected to it, as had happened to the French in Vietnam and Algeria."

The actual sequence of events is the exact opposite of the external appearance, and the image of Arab assertiveness which the Zionists manufactured to cloak their own intrusive activism has now become a reality. Perhaps the escalation of Israeli militarism in recent months is best explained as a reaction to the realization that the dialectical encounter of the Arab and Zionist movements has completed a cycle, and that the roles are in the process of being reversed.

The reality of the American and Russian involvement in the conflict emerges from Dr. Sharabi's analysis as a paradox of the cold war. The American stance is conditioned by Jewish pressure at home and the vision of a communist threat in the world. Both concerns carry little weight among the Arabs, who experience a Zionist threat at home and a communist support in the world. Hence, America's search for a security system based on anti-communism rather than mutuality of interests has served to move the Arabs into the orbit of Soviet policy, which operates on a pragmatic level and expresses a more substantial attitude of sympathy without demanding ideological concessions.

Dr. Sharabi's work has helped to place the Palestine problem in developmental perspective by narrowing the gap between appearance and reality. In so doing, it has underlined the essential fact that peace and resolution depend in the final analysis on the replacement of distortion with clarity and opinion with understanding.

Dr. Alan R. Taylor is an associate professor at the School of International Service of The American University in Washington, D.C. He is the author of PRELUDE TO ISRAEL, AN ANALYSIS OF ZIONIST DIPLOMACY, 1897-1947, and of numerous articles on Zionism and the Palestine problem.



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