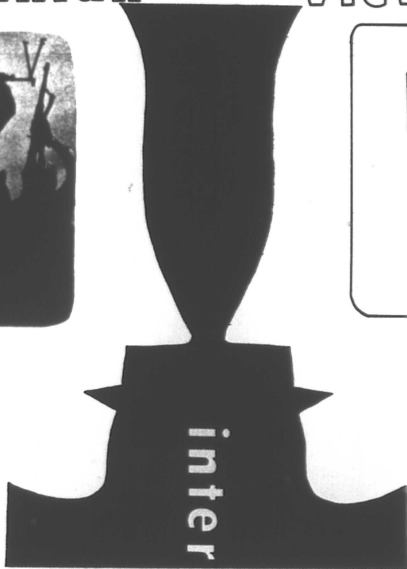


فلسطين الحرة

free palestine

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a palestinian view of liberation



This interview with a staff writer of the Washington-based weekly FREE PALESTINE—who declined to be further identified—was conducted by Michael Stern and Robert B. Stulberg for THE COLUMBIA DAILY SPECTATOR. This is a reprint.

Q. In what way would Palestine be liberated by the Popular Front or al-Fatah?

A. Liberation for the Palestinians means the achievement of their fundamental rights to live with dignity in their homeland—Palestine—and having the basic right of self-determination.

Q. Would that mean a bi-national state where Jews—the present Israeli population—and the Palestinians lived within one communal framework?

A. Yes. That means a largely bi-national socialist state, because otherwise it is impossible. Socialism is the cement which would have to bind the two groups. When we talk about liberation, what we really mean is the des-

truction—if you want to say it that way—of the institutional structure of the state of Israel as it stands today. But we also mean making every effort possible not to disrupt the society of Israel. We would like to preserve Israeli society because nobody, regardless of how much he is against the whole idea of Zionism, can deny that there is an Israeli society there which has its own fabric and institutions. However, the state, the superstructure, is what the Palestine liberation movement aims at destroying. Within the binational state the movement envisions two "ethnic" groups having their special institutions as far as they relate to the needs of one group or the other. That

is, some people want to teach Hebrew and the Talmud and others want to teach the Koran and so on, but other than that, things that do not relate to any ethnic interest do not have to be separated. There will be one government.

Q. What happens to the Israelis—or even the Palestinians—who aren't willing to live in a bi-national state?

A. Let me say that the Palestine liberation front doesn't represent all the Arabs. There are Arabs even more fiercely against this type of movement than the Israelis. There are elements among the Palestinians who would not accept such a solution just as there are elements in Israel who won't. These elements who won't abide with socialism, with the bi-national state, have to be excluded from participation. How excluded? Those Palestinians who won't be happy living in this bi-national state will have to live elsewhere, as will those Israelis who don't want to live as human beings, who came to have exclusively a Jewish state—

Q. They will have to be forcibly expropriated, you mean, or shot?

A. Well, not necessarily. If the socialist state is built by the consensus of the majority of the Palestinians and the Israelis, the others have to either abide by this consensus or leave. But the majority of the people must have the will to live together or socialism would be an illusion.

Q. What's the strategy for accomplishing that? What we see now is terrorism—armed conflict—with the Israeli state as represented by the army and also acts committed against civilians. How does that build toward destroying the Israeli state while preserving its social fabric?

A. The state is maintained by the ruling class in Israel today. This is the first target the movement wants to destroy—the present Zionist leadership which has to be discredited. The strategy is this: If you destroy something, you have to look for its sources of power. What are the sources of power of this leadership? One is the soldiery, the military, which is highly professional and has turned Israel into a garrison state and is still clamoring for additional power. They always complain that the civilian arm of the government does not give them enough power to carry out their projects.

Q. Like the Pentagon.

A. Even more than that. This soldiery thinks that by force of arms they can make the lives of the Jews in Palestine secure and also secure the domination of Zionism in the Middle East. Such a structure as Israel can be maintained only by domination—political, economic and military. (Continued on Page 2)

Editorial

Since the establishment of the Zionist state on Palestinian territory, its leaders have always sought to force their recognition upon Arab nations through a show of military prowess. It has been in an attempt to barter military victory for legitimacy. It's obvious that this policy did not work for Ben Gurion, the father of that policy, nor did it work for his apprentices. The interesting phenomenon, however, is that Zionist leaders in Israel persist in their adherence to such a policy. They have talked themselves into believing that they have no alternative.

Despite their overwhelming victory in the War of 1967, their conviction that they had at last achieved their goal proved to be as illusory as ever. It has become evident to all, except the Zionists, that Arab hostility to the Zionist structure in Palestine intensifies in proportion as that state seems to acquire the outward signs of permanency.

After the way and with the emergence of the Palestine liberation movement as a decisive factor on the military as well as the political arena in the Middle East, Israel re-

The failure of the invading motorized column of the Israeli army to "comb and clean the Fatahland"—as evidenced by the attacks mounted by the guerrillas from the same area only a few hours after the retreat of the invaders—and the participation by the Lebanese army in battle alongside the guerrillas and the unimpaired good-standing of the guerrillas with the indigents of that area all testify to the effectiveness of such a course of action on the part of the guerrillas.

When one reaches a point whereby no matter how much one wins one is still a loser—this is the beginning of the end, Israel is rapidly moving beyond that point. The Palestine liberation movement has so succeeded in reframing circumstances in the Arab world that any future Israeli victory can only be seen by themselves as Pyrrhic because every attempt by Israel to barter military force for legitimacy only serves to create that much wider and more committed a solidarity among the Arabs behind the Palestine liberation movement.

sorted to a policy of representing their military power to be so overwhelming that it is hopeless for the Arab to try to match it. In this respect, the U.S. contributed its share by supplying Israel with phantom jets, despite its obvious air superiority. The supply of these advanced weapons coupled with a propaganda campaign are parts of the psychological warfare with which the Israelis aim to bring the Arabs to desperation and their knees.

Israeli aerial attacks on Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon are aimed at killing the spirit of resistance in these lands, kindled after the way by the Palestine liberation movement. They wanted to create an atmosphere in the Arab world hostile to armed struggle for fear of devastating retaliatory actions by the legendary Israeli air force. This clearly was the aim of the recent attack on southern Lebanon. With that invasion of Lebanon, Israeli war-lords hoped to demonstrate the impotence of the guerrillas, drive a wedge between them and the Lebanese authorities, and discredit them among the inhabitants of southern Lebanon.

interview

(Continued from Page 1)

Q. You mean Israeli imperialism?

A. That's it. Direct imperialism or indirect imperialism. For instance, when a government in Lebanon is being established, you have the (Israeli) prime minister say: "We won't accept a government that has this or that characteristic. If somebody interferes with Jordan, with King Hussein, we won't stand by idly. We have to keep the Hashemite kingdom. There is a government which is nasty in Syria, so we have to hit them on the head." To perpetuate such a structure you have to have complete domination of the environment around you because the structure is an aggressive, continuously expansionist one. Unless you dominate you stagnate.

The liberation movement must fight this, indefinitely, in order to prove to these military lords that military superiority will not give them the ability to achieve their aims.

Q. Do you look toward the Algerian FLN or to the Vietnamese NLF as models?

A. Of course, the ultimate aim is the same, but the tactics are different. The terrain, the population, the type of settlement, are entirely different. With regard to this military class in Israel, the idea is not to defeat them in battle. This is what the movement will keep away from. What the movement wants is to have the Israeli population get sick and tired of this continuous warfare, to develop a new consciousness and to see that this leadership is not leading them anywhere but to destruction.

The ultimate aim of the defeat of the military is not by the guerrillas themselves but to have the Israeli population itself overthrow this leadership. Once this consciousness develops—understand that this couldn't happen without a socialist Israel—then an understanding with the Palestine liberation movement is possible. A classical defeat of the Israeli army—which is theoretical and which is impossible at this stage—would not bring about this solution. It might bring about another occupation of certain Arab territories and probably postpone the revolution for some time, and the problem would be bound to rise again. The solution is really with the Israeli population, for them to change their minds and hearts. That's where the long-term armed struggle is aiming.

Q. I was in Israel about a month ago and spoke with a number of Israeli intellectuals and leftwing students who seem to be developing this new awareness. They said that their government was wrong in not recognizing a national entity—the Palestinians—and that that entity had national interests which had been repressed for many years. But even these people argued very strongly against the idea of a bi-national state, saying that they thought it couldn't work. They pointed to Quebec, to Ireland, to Pakistan. They said that wherever two ethnic or cultural groups which had been hostile for many years tried to federate, the effort simply breaks down.

A. I think that the Israeli intellectuals are no different from some leftist intellectuals in this country. They start analyzing things, find the truth, and then somehow become evasive and say that it's not going to work. One thing for sure, the line that they are following now is not going to work. Zionism, as it is today is not a workable proposition. These people want to prophesy the future and say that something isn't going to work. Why don't they give it a try? The try might be gradual. Why condemn the possibility of human beings living as people within a socialist framework as unworkable and stick to something proven to be unworkable.

Of course, when you come to the practical part, once they recognize this fact and think this is the right thing to do, there will be problems. Where in the world aren't there problems?

Q. Won't simple economic integration prove to be an insurmountable problem, though? Compared to the Israelis, the Palestinians are uneducated, virtually illiterate, and incapable of managing an industrial society or competing effectively within it.

A. It is true that Israeli society is more literate and so on, but the differences are not as big as people believe. The Palestinian people today have more university graduates than Israel itself. But the average Israeli is better educated than the average Palestinian. But the schools will be open to everybody, and those who are better qualified, while they will have better positions, will not be able to exploit this advantage as an ethnic group. The Palestine liberation movement is willing to accept that Israelis who are more qualified than Palestinians will be in better positions. If the Israelis argue that they are, today, better qualified to run the state, we will accept that, even if the President, Prime Minister, and Chief of Staff are Jewish. As long as Jewishness is not the determining factor. But in a secular Palestinian state, ethnic domination will be wiped out.

Q. Do you expect that kind of change to come for this generation? Say the Israelis that are 21.

A. I don't exclude the possibility. But certain objective circumstances are needed to precede the coming

about of such an eventuality. We know intellectuals—if the need isn't pressing, they say well not today but tomorrow. Therefore we have to create a situation with a pressing need for a change of mind. Through propaganda and intellectualizing and through lectures—that's not enough for change.

Q. You mean through overburdening the Israeli state until it becomes oppressive for its own people because it is fighting a guerrilla movement?

A. Yes. We have to make it impossible for the Israelis to see the possibility of achieving at least part of their dream as they saw it when Zionism was conceived. Of course, the leadership of the Zionist movement has been involved in international intrigue. Everybody knows about the Balfour Declaration. If you get a promise from a big power you have to pay the price.

But most average Israelis weren't in on these meetings, and many of them fought to go and live as human beings. Many of them didn't know that there are Arabs in Palestine. They didn't know that they were going to occupy somebody else's place. They didn't know they were going to displace people. But once they came—and they didn't know the Arab scene—they were told they didn't have any alternative. The mentality of the Arabs leaves no alternative; they are going to throw you into the sea, they are going to massacre you. They knew nothing about the Arab scene, they didn't come into contact with the people involved. Israel was hermetically sealed to the Arab world. Not a single Israeli leader has met a representative Arab. Everybody says, oh we meet Arabs, but who do they meet? Truck drivers, taxi drivers, and all of a sudden it becomes a big story: I talked to a taxi driver between Ramallah and Jerusalem and he told me, etc., etc. You turn to this taxi driver and he tells you: I'm not in love with anybody; I wanted my tip. I had to say these things for my tip.

The alienation the Israeli leadership has maintained, probably subconsciously—look at the Israeli leadership, what is it but leadership with a ghetto mentality, all of it. Sixty-five or seventy per cent of the Knesset are Polish Jews who came from ghettos and they don't want to have contact. There is a shyness from the world. And the majority of the people is being told all the time they have no alternative but to fight. The perpetuation of this kind of mentality is detrimental for the Israelis. Therefore the movement must work on two fronts at the same time. One is fighting the Israeli leadership which indirectly will prove to the Israeli people that the policy of warfare is not going to get them any where and on the other hand carry out a tremendous campaign of showing the Israelis that an alternative is possible, that the Palestine liberation movement has come out with a program that will function as a replacement for both Zionism and Palestinian nationalism. The Israelis at the present time are not willing to listen. When we impose on them, through armed struggle, the necessity for listening, when they fight and fight—now they are asking, we fought three wars with these Arabs and they will not surrender, what the hell is going on. And once more and more Israelis are asking why and start searching for the answer, I think it will be the beginning of the solution.

Q. Do you believe that the development of either a Palestinian nation or a bi-national state would be opposed by other Arab governments? Hussein, Nasser?

A. One basic line of policy of the movement is not to interfere in the affairs of Arab governments. It is a tactical thing. It doesn't mean that its ideology supports these regimes. No matter how revolutionary you are, you have to be also somehow realistic and see how much power you wield and how much change you can effect. I can walk down the street and say "Ok, I'm going to revolutionize" and a truck comes along and knocks me over and I'm dead with my revolution.

But there is also an ideological reason why the movement doesn't interfere in Arab affairs. The Palestine liberation movement does not believe in changes imposed from above. The possibility of overthrowing Hussein is so easy—if our people can go to Tel Aviv and plant a bomb, or in any place in Haifa, they can get to Hussein's palace. But the question is whether the elimination of Hussein is going to bring about a revolutionary mentality within the Jordanian people. The same thing with Syria. The line of the movement is not to give liberation on a silver platter to anyone. If they are interested in liberation, they must do it themselves. The movement is not going to make a revolution in Saudi Arabia. The Saudi's must do it, or else it's not going to work.

However, the indirect effect of the revolution on the Arab governments, is inevitable. The Palestinian, despised and hated—now becoming hated and feared—his revolution, which is rallying more and more Arab masses, is bound to pressure the Arab regimes into either meeting the needs of the population or getting out. The Palestine liberation movement is going to polarize the contradictions within Arab society as it is polarizing the political contradictions in the Middle East.

Q. Will a de facto or de jure recognition of the

Palestinians as a national entity by the Arab governments improve their position vis a vis Israel?

A. Let me tell you at this point that the movement is about five years and two months old, in reality since 1967, two and a half years. It has wrested recognition from the Arab governments. Today the Arab governments still try to present themselves as representatives of the Palestinian cause but every one of them know quite well that when it comes to the resolution of the problem it has to be done by the Palestinians.

It has also affected the Israelis. The people in intellectual circles—your here Telmon today arguing with Galili, you hear Shimon Shamir arguing with Harkavy. But not only this. A retired army officer—one of the top generals, Hoperet, who was in charge of logistics during the '67 war—wrote a long article a few weeks ago strongly attacking Israeli foreign policy and straightforwardly saying that the security of Israel lies in recognizing the Palestinians and working out a solution with them. Of course, Mr. Hoperet makes it quite clear when he thinks of the Palestinians he doesn't mean those extremists like Yasir Arafat but the nice Palestinians who are on the west bank. But the recognition that the leadership of the Palestinians is not in the feudal lords or heads of clans or chiefs of tribes but in the revolutionaries is a smaller step compared to the total revolutionary step of Hoperet from no existence for the Palestinians to saying the security of Israel depends on the recognition of the Palestinians and not on negotiations with Nasser or Hussein.

Q. You say the movement. How effective do you think the revolutionary Palestinians have been in organizing their own people? The revolutionaries are fragmented themselves; how representative are they now?

A. Let me say a few words about the fragmentation of the movement. It wasn't worked out in a lab. People didn't sit down and think out a blueprint and come to the people and say this is the revolution. The objective circumstances of what happened in '67 gave birth to several movements at the same time. However, in the last year, the revolutionary experiences imposed on these groups made them seek unity because they have no other alternative. In the last few weeks, the clash with Hussein in Jordan, has forced the movement to establish one unified front. Now they are talking about a national liberation front, which wasn't in the air until last month. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a Marxist-Leninist group, kept its autonomy. Now they feel that it's impossible to stand by; in order to survive as a revolutionary you have to move with the main body of the revolution. It is natural that the backbone of the revolution is Fatah and no matter how you analyze things—on Marxist lines or whatever—any group that stays outside the mainstream of the revolution becomes counter-revolutionary and cannot strike roots with the population. We find unity coming about faster than we expected.

About the revolution and the Palestinian population. You know that the population has been shattered, its institutions were destroyed. To create a nation from this shattered people—a revolutionary nation—is not an easy job, especially under present circumstances when you have a people functioning as it were on foreign territory. Therefore you have problems with the Arab governments, with the Arab peoples.

What happened in the beginning was that the movement began to get bigger by recruiting those without previous training. You just can't take somebody from the street and say ok you are a revolutionary. This takes time. And if you want to have people who will fight, you have to train them to use arms, and you have to recruit men who can train them. Well, these things were eliminated. Since the strategy of the movement is based on a long range war of liberation we know that the present generation is not going to carry the revolution through. Therefore the movement has undertaken the tremendous task of educating the younger generation of Palestinians from the age of nine. Within five or six years of training, you can create a human being who knows what he is fighting for.

Q. Are you afraid the Big Four will "impose" a settlement on the Palestinians by reaching agreements with Israel and other Arab governments?

A. It's not only because we dislike the great powers that we resist such a solution. As I said before, our ultimate aim is not to defeat the Israeli army which includes all of the Israeli population up to the age of 54, but a peaceful solution. But what peaceful solution are we talking about? The ones we hear about in the United Nations consider the Palestinian a human obstacle. Ideally, they wouldn't exist; so ultimately, the aim of those solutions is to eliminate or brush aside the human obstacle—the Palestinians—to their success. When they talk about peaceful solutions, they talk about sending the Palestinians to the west bank of Jordan. Now the Palestinians didn't take up arms and fight in order to go back to the same oppression under Hussein. So as long as the Palestinians aren't part of these solutions, and don't agree to them, they won't work.

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LONG LIVE THE
LIBERAL OCCUPATION



Reprint from ISRAC-2*

(Continued from Page 2)

Q. Is there any chance U.N. resolutions and other expressions of "world opinion" can be used for political advantage of the Palestinians?

A. As long as the U.S. keeps flooding Israel with bombs and money and airplanes, Israel won't care for the opinion of the rest of the world. So as long as arms and money are coming, the United Nations resolutions will be of no practical use in the battle of Israel. But in the aim of the revolution at this point to build a front parallel to the front the Israelis have the U.N. resolutions will be very helpful.

This front will be parallel to the same sources of Israeli power we started to talk about earlier. Military, we discussed; therefore the Palestinians have to fight. The second source of power of the Israelis is world Zionism. Parallel to this the Palestine liberation movement has to bring the Arab masses to the same or higher levels of support. Thirdly, as far as the imperialist powers which are supporting Israel, we have to have all of the revolutionary powers of the world behind the Palestinians and the Arab world. By this, we are building our future in cooperation with the forces of the future, while the Israelis are building their future with the forces of the past. No one can say that imperialism is the force of the future.

In the last issue, this space was devoted to an examination of Dr. Nahum Goldmann's article in *Foreign Affairs* (April 1970), "The Future of Israel," in which that prominent Zionist leader unctuously set down his vision of a future and "neutral" Jewish state of Israel. In this issue, we turn to "Israel: Criticism From Within" (one of a set of two group interviews published in *Newsweek*, (April 20th and 27th). The Israelis interviewed were characterized by *Newsweek* as "six of Israel's most eminent liberal intellectuals."

The title of the piece in *Newsweek* is certainly thought provoking. For one thing, it implies that it is a momentous thing that there's "criticism from within" in that perfect little state. For another, and probably more significantly, it attributes the term "criticism" to what are only anxious repetitions of old and worn out considerations. And this brings us to the interview itself and another point.

It has always been claimed by Israeli propagandists that Arabs after every defeat—and there were quite a few—sought to implement resolutions which they had rejected outright before that particular defeat. It seems as though these Israeli intellectuals are assuming the role of that inoperative Arab leadership which previously held the strings to the Palestine problem. Israeli intellectuals never recognized the rights of Palestinians to self-determination or even the right of the refugees to appropriate compensation until these very Palestinians got in their way, fighting for the total destruction of the Zionist structure in Palestine as a pre-requisite to the establishment of a new and free Palestine.

At a time when the Palestine liberation movement has done away with the refugee mentality in the Middle East and turned these Palestinians into the vanguard of Arab revolution, the benevolent Israeli "intellectuals" think they do them a favor by recognizing their right to nationhood "if that's what the Palestinians freely determine they want." It is worthwhile to draw the attention of these Zionists to the fact that the Palestinians will establish their rights to their lands with their guns—with or without Israeli recognition of that right. It is downright insolent of these gentlemen, recent arrivals as they are, to put themselves in the position of deciding the fate of those indigenous to the country. But that's exactly what Zionism is all about!

Furthermore, while the Palestine liberation movement is advocating a new Palestine as a home for all Palestinians as human beings; with dignity as people, spiritually and materially; a state open to all those attached in some way or another to the country—these intellectuals still view the problem in terms of real estate values, at least as far as the Arabs are concerned. Hence, their urgent call to "make payments to the refugees for properties they lost" and to give them "a formal assurance that we are not planning to annex them" and to "get the hell out of Hebron." Mr. Ben Porath, allegedly expert on refugees, extends this mercantile way-of-seeing over the whole Arab population on that piece of real estate: "we are holding them in trust, and trying to develop in various ways a basis for counter-trust." Even so, we are persistently (and

for the past twenty-some years) told that Israel values human life above all things.

Professor Shamir, being as he is the head of the department of Middle East history at the University of Tel Aviv, "would like to see a more sophisticated attitude toward the Arab world." The professor wishes to exploit his knowledge of the weaknesses of traditional Arab society with a strategy of divide and conquer. For him there are "Palestinians in occupied territories, Egyptian intellectuals, Lebanese Christians, etc." who "aren't at all eager to continue this useless struggle." Professor Shamir could have gone further down the line enumerating various other religious and ethnic minorities and those vestiges of religious feudalism lingering in the area. One is curious to know how Professor Shamir explains away the success of the strategy of the revolutionary forces—which calls on the masses to unite and conquer. Professor Shamir's bookish knowledge of the Middle East is rapidly becoming antiquated. A sophisticated political stance is to associate oneself with the forces of the future and not, as Mr. Shamir has done, to bind oneself to an archaic social order.

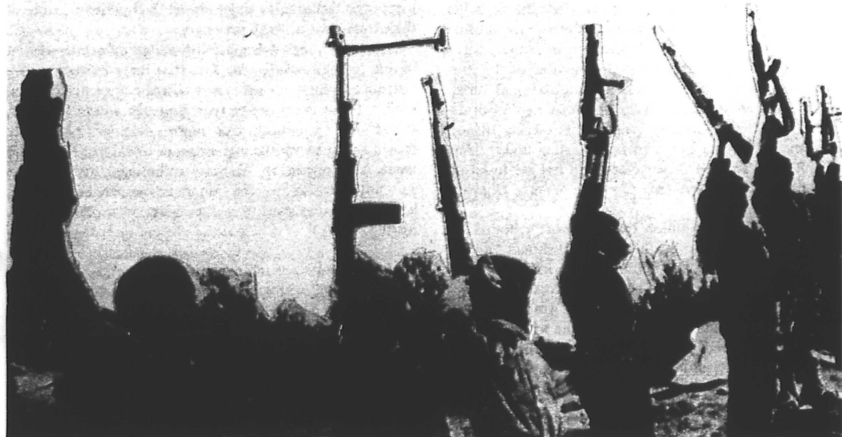
Don Patinkin, professor of economics at Hebrew University, warns us not to "lose sight of the fact that the basic cause of crisis in the Middle East remains Arab intransigence, refusal to recognize Israel and Soviet support for this position." Having lost sight of the basic facts concerning the crisis in the Middle East, Professor Patinkin's warning can't be taken very seriously. The real cause of the crisis remains the Zionist intrusion into the area and their subsequent intransigence—not to mention blatant acts of aggression against the people native to that area. (And, by the way, the U.S.S.R. indeed *does* recognize Israel.) But speaking of intransigence, a prime example of it appears in Professor Shamir's statement: "We must issue a solemn government 'white paper' which would define, for the first time in the history of Zionism, its ultimate goals in this piece of land." Professor Shamir is still talking about Zionism. Nonetheless, the Palestinians could not be more accommodating than they've been in offering the Jewish invaders equal rights in the Palestinian homeland.

Shimon Shamir best summed up the conviction these "liberal intellectuals" share: "The fedayeen proposal for a 'free, democratic, secular Palestine' is not an answer because it ignores our right to sovereignty." It seems that Shamir's concept of his rights is tightly tied up with Zionism, otherwise he wouldn't consider those rights necessarily as Jewish "sovereignty." He seems to put his Zionism above his humanism, a not very liberal attitude any way you look at it. In the free Palestine which the Palestine liberation movement advocates, sovereignty will be exercised by every human being in Palestine. That, of course, includes Mr. Shamir, if he wishes to stay on and call himself a Palestinian. The right to sovereignty on one's land is granted as a birthright and one needn't bother to be a Zionist to acquire that right! The Palestine liberation movement makes life easier for everyone, Professor Shamir. For everyone.

—Ibn al-Balad

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Never have freedom
and international
morality been so
righteously protected

Abba Eban



AMNESTY ISSUES REPORT

At midnight on April 1, Amnesty International, at long last, issued their report on the treatment of prisoners under interrogation in Israel. This report has been delayed owing to repeated criticisms and pressures by Israel and by some of Amnesty's own members to stop the report from being published. Amnesty made numerous private attempts to secure Israeli agreement that she hold her own inquiry with an international observer or another Amnesty inquiry with an Israeli member. In January 1970 three Amnesty representatives with a member of the Executive Committee, who is also an international jurist, went to the Middle East in order to gather new information; at this time, Amnesty renewed its efforts to persuade Israel to create her own investigating body. Israel time and again refused these offers, and has yet to set up a commission of inquiry. (See *Christian Science Monitor*, April 3, 1970.)

Amnesty is of the opinion that its report warrants the creation of such a commission and that it should "not be made dependent upon the willingness of individual witnesses to return to Israel." The latter refers to the fact that Israel has steadfastly maintained that Amnesty's findings are null and void because many of the witnesses have left Israel. The Israeli government contends that the witnesses' identities should be made public and that they should lodge their complaints according to Israeli law.

Obviously, witnesses who have been tortured and who often have family still in the occupied territories are loath to reveal such information and are not willing to place themselves in a position where they might once again be taken and imprisoned. Thus Israel's complaints against Amnesty's report are clear cut attempts to discredit and ignore the testimonies which reveal the inhuman nature of their treatment of Arab prisoners.

Amnesty's report begins with a statement of regret at having to acknowledge the fact that there exists in Israel "practices which are abhorrent to the conscience of mankind." There is no doubt that Amnesty would have preferred not to publish this report, but was practically forced to do so by the intransigence of the Israeli government with regard to Amnesty's findings. Interestingly, and not surprisingly, the American branch of Amnesty has disassociated itself from the report. (*New York Times*, April 4, 1970.)

In the course of its investigation Amnesty found that since the 1967 war some eighty Arabs have been arrested each week under the Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945. According to rough calculations this would mean that in the 144 weeks of occupation approximately 11,520 arrests have been made. Amnesty feels that the treatment of such persons should conform with standards

approved by the Economic and Social Committee of the United Nations in 1957 and with the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. Amnesty has received information from the occupied territories and from Israel that reveals that detainees in Israeli prisons have been tortured and that these practices are continuing. Appendix I of the Amnesty report gives four typical case histories selected from a large number of such testimonies. These histories clearly outline that charges or trials are not given, nor are the prisoners allowed immediate legal counsel. Tortures such as burning, beating, suspension in the air, violation of the genitals and electric and water treatments as used by the Nazis and the French in Algeria have all been employed by the Israelis against Palestinian Arabs. The medical testimonies were taken by an European doctor and the photographs by an Amnesty photographer. These practices are not confined only to men but are also used against women; they also appear to be widespread and not limited to only a few prisoners. Having detailed these inhuman practices, Amnesty reiterates its hope that Israel will cease such activities and will set up its own commission to ensure the proper treatment of prisoners; however, if past experiences are any indication, the Israeli government will once again ignore the appeals of international institutions for humane treatment and will continue her torture of Palestinian Arabs under Israeli detention.

MESSAGE FROM FATAH
TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE
OF CHRISTIANS FOR PALESTINE

The Palestine National Liberation Movement, FATAH, wishes to express its appreciation and respect to all those who have come here from various parts of the world to participate in this conference. The Movement considers their participation as evidence of their desire to endeavor for justice and peace. It also wishes to proclaim its appreciation and respect to all those who express readiness to understand the cause of our people and those whose conscience is moved when they become aware of the injustices, dispersion and persecution that has beset them.

In declaring its appreciation for the aforementioned and all those who, in one way or the other, undertook to clarify and support the cause of our people, Fatah wishes to make the following remarks:

1 - The cause of justice, freedom and peace is a universal cause. It is the cause of humanity and the cause of man in his aspiration for progress and happiness. It is incumbent on all those eager to preserve human values and all men of conscience to work for the prevalence of peace and happiness on earth. Our Movement hopes this conference will turn out to be a serious attempt for such unity of action on the part of those who believe in the cause of man.

2 - Expansionism, imperialism, occupation, persecution and oppression cause wars, misery and destruction and engender hate and hostilities. This implies that genuine peace cannot be achieved except through a rejection of all imperialist, racist and domineering tendencies which run contrary to the dignity of man and his inalienable rights to freedom and self-determination.

3 - Zionism is a racist and expansionist movement which, in its attempt to build a "national home" for the Jews of the world in Palestine, creates two major problems: a) It forces the people of Palestine in particular and the Arab peoples in general to chose between two alternatives—fighting in self-defense or humiliation, submission and death. b) It seeks to attract the Jews of the world from their countries of origin to turn them into war criminals and involve them in a long, destructive war. Zionism in this sense should be condemned and fought such as Nazism and Fascism before it.

4 - The evicted and persecuted people of Palestine who have suffered from Zionist occupation since 1948 did not muster the concern or necessary respect for their nationhood until they took up arms to protect their homeland. They are struggling today to protect noble human values, particularly the right of man to live in freedom, independence and happiness in his homeland. If armed forces and the forces of injustice and aggression seek to control the world, the forces of justice are bound to confront them through armed struggle.

5 - The people of Palestine do not bear any grudge or hostility toward any Jew as a human being. They are fighting the Zionist occupier and the State of Zionist Occupation. This is why our Movement has declared that the ultimate objective of its armed struggle for liberation is the establishment of a democratic state in Palestine. Our Movement believes that the liquidation of the State of Zionist Occupation will make the realization of this objective possible. And there is no way to liquidate this racist state, which is armed to the teeth, except through armed struggle. By the same token, it is impossible to establish such a democratic state before the fall of the State of Zionist Occupation. Democracy and occupation are incompatible.

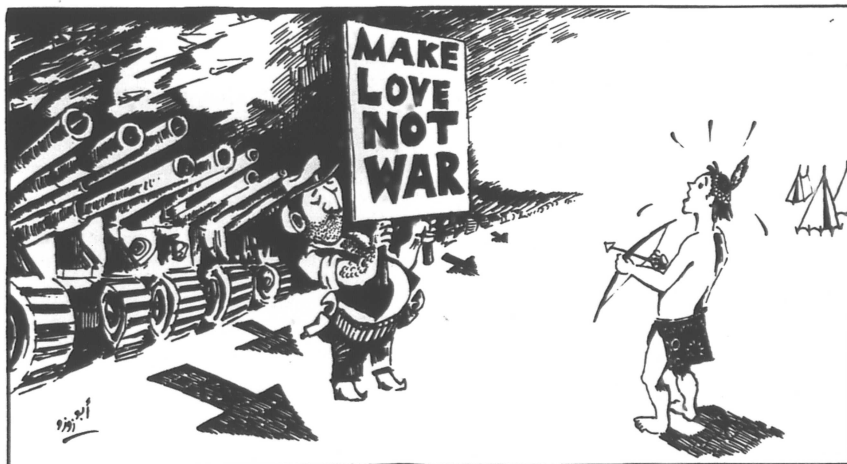
6 - The State of Zionist Occupation is exercising a policy of arbitrary oppression against peaceful civilians—sequestering their property, destroying their houses, detaining thousands of them arbitrarily, desecrating Holy Places and violating all human and spiritual values.

Our Movement, which realizes the importance of Palestine to all religions, struggles against Zionist racism bent on Jewish exclusiveness. It believes that the downfall of Zionism will make the Palestine-of-Tomorrow a homeland of tolerance for all religions and all those who believe in justice, peace and brotherhood.

Our Movement hopes this conference will succeed in creating greater understanding among those working for genuine fraternity and peace, reiterating that the arms it is carrying are but means to achieve genuine peace and justice.

Fatah also seizes this opportunity to greet the people of Lebanon serving as hosts to the conferees and to reassert its eagerness to preserve Lebanon's freedom, independence, sovereignty and national unity.

REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY



cave canem!

by Lisa McFarland

"The Association for Peace," a Jerusalem and Tel Aviv based organization with a mailing address in Rome, was created after the 1967 war and is now sending out expensive Madison Avenue advertising type brochures to Americans they term "opinion makers." The first brochure is entitled, "The Middle East in the Year 2000"¹ and is mailed directly from Israel, although it was printed by the Beacon Press in Boston. The second is called, "Four Solutions to the Palestinian Problem" and is received by the "opinion maker" a few days after the first; presumably this is to convince the recipient of the organization's earnestness in attacking the problem of the Middle East conflict and to encourage him to respond favorably. These pamphlets are worthwhile for what they reveal about the nature of Israel's future goals and on Zionist propaganda in the U.S.

The first pamphlet attempts to project what the Middle East will be like in the year 2000; the charts, graphs, and statistics demonstrate that Israel expects to be the forerunner in all phases of development and industrialization. Some cleverly constructed graphs also show how far behind the Arab states, particularly Egypt, will be if peace is not attained. Israel is depicted as the focal point for development (i.e., computers), transportation, travel, and culture. All of this material is given as basic data to save the reader from looking it up "in reference books." The reader is then asked to make suggestions for development and to send detailed plans of his ideas on to Israel. Outline maps are conveniently included to facilitate the process. This completes phases one and two; in phase three the organization's own research group will take these ideas, study them, expand on them, and offer comments. If this proves sufficiently encouraging they "may decide to develop this project in depth, examining separately and in greater detail some of the concepts raised in the previous phases." In effect this means that the Israelis hope to receive development schemes free of cost and provided by U.S. "opinion makers." The cost to the group, which does not reveal its membership, is said to be \$15,000.

The second mailing purports to present four solutions to the Palestinian problem. The bias of the organization is stated from the start when it is pointed out that the authors, also unnamed, believe that the Israelis and the Palestinians are different and have an equal right to live differently as they choose. It is obvious from the outset that the solution of a binational state will be rejected out of hand. The reader is urged to peruse the four solutions and then to act on the one he feels is best.

The first is entitled the destruction of Israel, which implies the military destruction of the state and its people, and quite wrongly is given as the solution that Fatah and all other Palestinian organizations support. This is defined as a negative solution which will involve protracted struggle and cause more suffering to Arabs than to Israelis. It is emphasized that Israel has the superior strategic and economic capability and can withstand such protracted conflict indefinitely. The first pamphlet on the year 2000 is cited as a source for this contention. In the second solution the idea of a Palestine with an Israeli minority is discussed and is given in a footnote as the solution of the Palestine Liberation Organization led by Yasser Arafat. Ironically, the authors seem not to notice that they already had ascribed solution number one as the one espoused by Fatah.

This solution is discarded because the Israelis consider it racist and it forces them into a minority status. To buttress this argument the pamphlet cites that Arab states deny equality to their own minorities, and as one example, mistakenly use the Copts in Egypt, while ignoring the minority groups in Lebanon and Syria which live in close harmony. In further attempts to destroy this solution, the authors supply statistics comparing the number of newspapers, Gross National Product, electricity, doctors, and cars among Israelis, Jordanians/Palestinians (the two are grouped together), and Egyptians. The findings are that there is a great disparity among the three groups and, therefore, the authors conclude that it is impossible for Palestinians and Israelis to live together. Of all these comparisons undoubtedly the one which most clearly demonstrates the Israeli point of view is that in which the principal culture ties are compared. Israel's are with the Jewish people and Western civilization while the Jordanians/Palestinians and the Egyptians are with Arab countries and Moslem civilization. Therefore, it is glaringly obvious that Israel has no intention of modifying her Western ties or of even attempting to assimilate or become part of the Middle East.

An Israel with a Palestinian minority is presented as the third solution; this entails the annexation of all land occupied in 1967. The advantages are seen as giving Israel strategic frontiers and restoring Israel to its ancient boundaries, while raising the standard of living of the Palestinians. Strangely, this is not viewed as a racist solution, as solution number two was. However, the authors are at least realistic enough to recognize that it is unlikely that the Palestinians will accept this particular solution. Having noted this fact the authors go on to stress that Israel may have to implement this solution anyway if the struggle continues. Then, in an incredible *non sequiter*, it is reasoned that it will be "Arab policy of protracted conflict which may induce Israelis to adopt this solution."

The last solution is described as Israel and Palestine as separate states. No boundaries are given for these states, but the only disadvantages are seen as the Arab's refusal to accept it. Nonetheless this is envisaged as the only solution. If the reader opts for solutions one through three, the authors have but profound regret and urge them to reconsider. However, if he chooses number four, then it is suggested that the "opinion maker" discuss and convince Arabs of the correctness of this solution. This is to be done since the authors—quite rightly for a change—assume that their views will not be considered impartial and will, therefore, not be influential.

These two pamphlets indicate that Israel has no intention of becoming part of the Middle East except as the dominant state over all the Arabs. She will furthermore seek to maintain and strengthen her ties with the West even to the detriment of her neighbors. The aforementioned brochures are merely two examples of the sort of Zionist propaganda disseminated at great cost under the pretense of objectivity in hopes of convincing Americans to support Israel. Nor has Israel any intention of living together with the Palestinians or of giving up any of the occupied territories. This policy will continue until the current government and the Israelis themselves realize that in fact they cannot maintain an exclusivist state support by a form of Western imperialism.

¹Beware of the dog.

The title of this Israeli projection thirty years hence may be taken from Herman Kahn's and Anthony Wiener's *The Year 2000*, which describes the science fiction world which the capitalist West intends to dominate.

Towards THE DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE



The Palestinian Revolution has officially adopted the creation of a democratic, non-sectarian Palestine where Christians, Jews and Moslems can live, work and worship without discrimination as the ultimate objective of its liberation struggle. Our earlier articles discussed the desirability and feasibility of such a goal from the point of view of the Jews and of the Arab Palestinians.

Establishment of a progressive open society for all the Palestinians is the only humanitarian and permanent solution to the problem. It is certainly superior to "throwing the Arabs to the desert" or "throwing the Jews in the sea."

For the goal to be feasible, it must be accepted to the parties concerned, as well as to the people of the world as an interested third party. It must be shown that it will work.

Our first article explored the attitude of the Palestinian revolution towards the goal by focusing on its attitude towards the Jews. A revolutionary change of attitude was discerned. Palestinians after the revolution do not see the Jews as monsters, supermen, pygmies or as eternal enemies. They clearly identify this enemy as the racist-colonialist state of Israel and its imperialist allies. Reading Jewish literature, joining hands with progressive Jews around the world and acquiring self-confidence as the revolution escalates . . . all helped the Palestinians change their attitudes. Racist-chauvinistic solutions epitomized by the "throw the Jews in the sea" slogan have been categorically rejected by the revolution, to be replaced by the goal of creating the New, democratic Palestine.

The attitudes of the Jews were analyzed in our second article. Perceptions of the Palestinians as nomads, blood-thirsty terrorists and treacherous villains have persisted through Zionist propaganda. But, several Jews—especially those living outside Palestine—are changing their minds, and are rallying to the call for a progressive non-sectarian Palestine. Changing the minds and attitudes of Jews in Palestine remains an important and unfulfilled task of the revolution. A popular war of liberation aimed at the destruction of the racist-imperialist state will create new conditions that make a new Palestine possible. In its process, the alternatives presented to the Jews of Palestine are drastically changed. Instead of the security of Israel vs. being thrown in the sea, the revolution offers a new set of alternates: The insecurity of an exclusive racist Israel vs. an open, safe and tolerant Palestine for all of its patriots. The Palestinian revolution thus aims—in the long run—to recruit Jewish Palestinians as well as non-Jews in its liberation forces as an important step towards its final goal. This requires a basic change in Jewish attitudes.

It is towards the fulfillment of such goal that further elaboration on and clarification of the Democratic Palestine is attempted. Therefore, we will presently address ourselves to the question: What is really meant by the democratic, non-sectarian Palestine?

DIFFICULTIES AND LIMITATIONS

It is quite difficult and risky at this early stage of the revolution to make a clear and definitive statement about the New Liberated Palestine. Realism rather than romantic day dreaming should be the basic revolutionary approach. We do not believe that victory is around the corner. The revolution does not underestimate the enemy or its imperialist allies. What will happen during the years of hard struggle for liberation cannot be easily predicted. Will the attitude of Palestinian Jews harden or become more receptive and flexible? A further drift to the right, stepping up anti-Arab terrorism—in the Algerian O.A.S. tradition—followed by a voluntary mass exodus on the eve of liberation will pose a completely different problem.

On the other hand joining the revolution and working with it will lay firmer growth for the new Palestine. The revolution is striving hard to achieve the second alternative. Guerrilla operations are basically directed at the military and economic foundations of the Zionist settler-state. Whenever a civilian target is chosen, every effort is made to minimize loss of civilian life—though one would find it hard to distinguish civilians and non-civilians in this modern Spartan militaristic society where every adult is mobilized for the war. Hitting quasi-civilian areas aims at the psychological effect of shocking the Israelis into realization that the racist-militaristic state cannot provide them with security when it is conducting genocide against the exiled and oppressed Palestinian masses. In the Dizengoff street bomb (Tel Aviv), Fatah guerrillas delayed the operation three times to choose a place (in front of a building under construction) and a time (12:30 after midnight) to maximize noise but minimize casualties. The result, few were injured, but thousands were shocked and made to engage in serious rethinking.

In conclusion, despite all uncertainties, there is the hope, the vision and the behavior of the Palestinian revolutionaries designed to achieve a better future for their oppressed country. Answers must be thought out and found for myriad questions relating to this future. Even if the answers are tentative, they will start a dialogue which provides the road towards maturity and fulfillment.

PROFILE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE

1. THE COUNTRY

Pre-1948 Palestine—as defined during the British mandate is the territory to be liberated and where the democratic, progressive state is to be created. The liberated Palestine will be part of the Arab Homeland and will not be another alien state within it. The eventual unity of Palestine with other Arab States will make boundary problems less relevant and will end the artificiality of the present status of Israel, and possibly that of Jordan as well. The new country will be anti-imperialist and will join the ranks of progressive revolutionary countries. Therefore, it will have to cut the present life line links with and total dependence on the United States. Therefore, integration within the area will be a foremost prerequisite.

It should be quite obvious at this stage that the New Palestine discussed here is not the occupied West Bank or the Gaza Strip or both. These are areas occupied by the Israelis since June 1967. The homeland of the Palestinians usurped and colonized in 1948 is no less dear or important than the part occupied in 1967. Besides, the very existence of the racist oppressor state of Israel based on the vacation and forced exile of part of its citizens is unacceptable by the revolution even on one tiny Palestinian village. Any arrangement accommodating the aggressor settler-state is unacceptable and temporary. Only the people of Palestine: its Jews, Christians and Moslems in a country that combines them all is permanent.

2. THE CONSTITUENTS

All the Jews, Moslems and Christians living in Palestine or forcibly exiled from it will have the right to Palestinian citizenship. This guarantees the right of all exiled Palestinians to return to their land whether they have been born in Palestine or in exile and regardless of their present nationality.

(Editor's Note: This is the last in a series of four articles designed to study the future of liberated Palestine.)

Equally, this means that all Jewish Palestinians—at the present Israelis—have the same right provided of course that they reject Zionist racist chauvinism and fully accept to live as Palestinians in the New Palestine. The revolution therefore rejects the supposition that only Jews who lived in Palestine prior to 1948 or prior to 1914 and their descendants are acceptable. After all Dayan and Allon were born in Palestine before 1948 and they—with many of their colleagues—are diehard racist Zionists who obviously do not qualify for a Palestinian status. Whereas newcomers may be anti-Zionists and work ardently for the creation of the new Palestine.

In a famous interview Abu Iyad, one of the officials of Fatah, reasserted that not only progressive anti-Zionist Jews but even present Zionists who will be willing to abandon their racist ideology will be welcome as Palestinian citizens. It is the belief of the revolution that all present Israeli Jews will change their attitudes and will subscribe to the New Palestine, especially after the oligarchic state machinery, economy and military establishment is destroyed.

3. THE IDEOLOGY

The Palestinians in the process of, and at the time of liberation will decide on the system of government and on the political-economic-social organization of their liberated country.

(One repeats at this juncture that the term Palestinians includes those in exile, under occupation and Jewish settlers.)

A democratic and progressive Palestine, however rejects by elimination a theocratic, a feudalist, an aristocratic, an authoritarian or a racist-chauvinistic form of government. It will be a country that does not allow oppression or exploitation of any group of people by any other group or individuals; a state that provides equal opportunities for its people in work, worship, education, political decision-making, cultural and artistic expression.

This is no utopian dream. For, the very process of achieving the New Palestine inherently produces the requisite climate for its future system of government, i.e., a people's war of liberation brings out new values and attitudes that serve as guarantees for democracy after liberation. Witness changing attitudes towards collective work in refugee and guerrilla camps in Jordan and Lebanon. Palestinians and other brothers joining them volunteer work and livelihoods. They are not exploited or enslaved labor. The values of human life changes. Unlike Israeli Napalm raids and indiscriminate killing, Palestinian guerrillas kill sparingly and selectively. New forms of human relations emerge. No master-slave relation can be attained among fighters for freedom. Increasing awareness of the international dimensions of their problem and discovery of who backs the oppressor and who supports the oppressed create new responsibilities to the international community especially to the supporters of liberation and democracy.

Therefore, Palestinians after liberation will not accept subjugation from anybody and will not reintroduce oppression against any group for this will be a negation of their reason d'être and abdication of their revolutionary existence. This is quite obvious in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan. After twenty-two years of oppression, humiliation and manipulation by secret police and local exploiters, the camps have awakened to the revolution. In the process, the exiles have broken their bonds, have thrown out the secret police and its spies and allied exploiters and have instituted democratic self-management. Medical, educational and social services are being provided locally through the revolutionary organizations in a self-help fashion that have brought back dignity and self-respect. Crime rates in these camps have drastically gone down to 10% of its pre-revolutionary magnitude. Self-discipline has replaced the police. The New militia is providing the link between the revolutionary avant-garde and the base of the masses. Democratic checks are built in. These Palestinians will not accept oppression and subjugation from anybody and will not enforce it on anybody.

Newsmen and other foreign visitors have discovered that nowhere in the Arab World can they find equally mature and tolerant people vis a vis the Jews than in the camps in Jordan and Lebanon and especially among the Ashbal: the fighting lion cubs. These young Palestinians (8-16 years) are almost totally free of any anti-Jewish biases. They have a clearer vision of the New democratic Palestine than that held by bourgeois city-dwellers. These young people are the liberators of tomorrow. They will complete the destruction of Israeli oppression and the rebuilding of the new Palestine.

If the democratic and progressive new Palestine is utopia, then the Palestinian guerrillas and camp dwellers are starting to practice it.

TWO MISCONCEPTIONS

Several interpretations of the Democratic Palestine have sprung up in different quarters that require clarification and some corrections. An attempt will be made presently to discuss two of them that seem to be quite vital:

1. The call for a non-sectarian Palestine should not be confused with a multi-religious, a poly religious or a bi-national state. The new Palestine is not to be built around three state religions or two nationalities. Rather, it will simply provide freedom from religious oppression of any group by another and freedom to practice religion without discrimination. No rigidification of religious lines is desired by the revolution. No hard and fast religious distribution of political offices and other important jobs is envisioned. The Lebanese model (where the reactionary, quasi-feudalist or commercial-capitalist hierarchy divides jobs and offices on the basis of sectarian lines to perpetuate its domination of the masses) is completely alien to the revolution.

Abu Ammar reiterated several times that the president of the liberated Palestine could be a Jew, a Moslem or a Christian not because of his religion or sect but on the basis of his merit as an outstanding Palestinian. Furthermore, religious and ethnic lines clearly cross in Palestine so as to make the term bi-national and the Arab-Jewish dichotomy meaningless, or at best quite dubious.

The majority of Jews in Palestine today are Arab Jews - euphemistically called Oriental Jews by the Zionists - . Therefore, Palestine combines Jewish, Christian and Moslem Arabs, as well as non-Arab Jews (Western Jews).

2. The New Democratic Palestine is NOT a substitute for liberation. Rather, it is the ultimate objective of liberation. A client state in the West Bank and Gaza, an Avneri-style Dezionized or Pasteurized Israel or a Semitic Confederation are all categorically rejected by the revolution. They are all racist blueprints to delude the Palestinians and other Arabs and continue Israeli hegemony and Palestinian subjugation. They all assume the maintenance of the basic aggression that led to the forced exile of Palestinians and the oppression of the masses. The sine qua non of the New Palestine is the destruction of the political, economic and militarist foundations of the chauvinist-racist settler-state. The maintenance of a technologically-advanced military machine through a continuous Western capital flow and exchange of population have led the expansionist Zionist machinery to perpetuate one aggression after the other. Therefore, liquidation of such a machinery is an irreplaceable condition for the creation of the New Palestine. When the machinery of the Nazi State was liquidated, the German people were liberated together with other nations that were oppressed by Nazi-Germany such as Poland, Hungary, Holland and France.

THE TRANSITION, AND AFTER

It is quite logical to expect specific transitional collective accommodations immediately after liberation, and even few remaining in the normalized Permanent State, i.e., some collective or group privileges besides the pure individual privileges, Jews or non-Jews for that matter would have the right to practice their religion and develop culturally and linguistically as a group, beside their individual political and cultural participation. It is quite logical for example to have both Arabic and Hebrew as official languages taught in governmental schools to all Palestinians, Jews or non-Jews.

The right of free movement within the country and outside it would be guaranteed. Palestinians desirous of voluntarily leaving the country would be allowed to do so. Immigration would be restricted in a transitional period to the return of all exiled Palestinians desirous of return, in a normal permanent state, however, subject to the agreed upon regulation and the absorptive capacity of the country immigration would be open without discrimination. Freedom of access, visits and extended pilgrimage and tourism would be guaranteed-subject of course to the normal regulation - to all Jews, Moslems or Christians of the world who consider Palestine a holy place worthy of pilgrimage and meditation.

IS THE NEW PALESTINE VIABLE?

Several well-intentioned critics maintain that even if the creation of the democratic Palestine is possible, it will not survive for long. Their basic contention is that the population and cultural balance will be heavily favoring the Jews in the new Palestine. This - in their argument - will lead either to an explosive situation, or to the domination of the New Palestine by the Jews and a possible reversion to a neo-Zionist state in disguise.

The argument is serious and looks quite plausible given the present set up, and the European Dichotomy of the "Arabs" as a backward group and the "Jews" as a modern one.

As for population, the Jews in Palestine today number 2.5 millions which is compared to 2.6 million Palestinian Arabs (Christians and Moslems) in the occupied territories before 1967 and after it, and in exile.

Birth rates and net natural growth rates are higher among Arab Palestinians compared to those for the Jews in Palestine.

Immigration, however, has been the major cause of growth in the Jewish ranks. Nevertheless one must consider the fact that 250,000 Jews have permanently left Palestine (emigrated) since 1949 in a period where relative security prevailed. Most of the emigrants were European Jews. Whereas most of the new immigrants were Arab Jews who found it very difficult to stay in their countries after the creation and survival of the aggressor settler-state of Israel.

The process of the revolution will inevitably increase the tempo of emigration especially of those beneficiaries of a racist state who will find it very difficult to adapt to an open plural society. Parallel to that development will be the increasing modernization of the Arab countries and toleration of all minorities including the Jewish citizens. Fatah is already engaged in serious negotiations with several Arab countries to allow Jewish emigrants back and to return their property and to guarantee them full and equal rights.

These factors are expected on the whole to maintain relative population balance in Palestine.

The pace of social and educational development is rising rapidly among the Arab Palestinians as well. It is estimated that the number of University Graduates among the Palestinians in exile exceed 50,000.

Palestinians have successfully played the role of educators, professionals and technicians in several Arab countries especially those in the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa. Arab Palestinians faced this cultural challenge in pre-1948 Palestine and managed in the relatively short

period of 30 years to compete effectively with the Jews in agriculture, industry, education and even in the field of finance and banking. Armed with the spirit of a victorious revolution, hopefully in comradeship of a significant number of Jews, the Arabs of Palestine will become effective and equal partners, in the building of the New Country.

Integration of Palestine within the Arab region will add to its economic and political viability. Present Arab-boycott will obviously be replaced by economic aid and trade, a goal which the settler-state of Israel completely failed to achieve, remaining thus an American Ward and protege during its entire existence.

CONCLUSION

The Democratic, non-sectarian Palestine still lacks full clarity and elaboration, but this is the best that can be done at this stage of the arduous liberation struggle. The Palestinians have outgrown their bitterness and prejudice in a relatively short time through armed struggle. A few years ago, discussing this proposal would have been considered as a complete sell-out or high treason. Even today some Arabs still find it very difficult to accept the proposed goal and secretly—or publicly—hope that it is nothing more than a tactical propaganda move. Well, it is definitely not so. The Palestinian revolution is determined to fight for the creation of the New democratic and non-sectarian Palestine as the long-term ultimate goal of liberation. Annihilation of the Jews or of the Palestinian exile: and the creation of an exclusive racist state in Palestine be it Jewish, Christian or Moslem is totally unacceptable, unworkable and cannot last. The oppressed Palestinian masses will fight and make all needed sacrifices to demolish the oppressor exclusive state.

The Israeli racists are greatly irritated by the idea of a democratic Palestine. It reveals the contradictions of Zionism and bares the moral schizophrenia that besets world Jewry since the creation of Israel. The adoption of several significant progressive Jews of the new goal scares world Zionism. Israeli Jewish Professor Loebel and French Jewish writer Ania Francos were threatened and molested by Zionists for their sponsorship of the Democratic Palestine as the ultimate goal of liberation. The Zionists are stepping up their campaign to discredit the idea especially among the Jews. Their effort has been in vain. The force of logic and the effect of years of persecution in exclusive societies on the hands of racists are opening the eyes of Jews and others in the world to the only permanent solution that will bring lasting peace and justice to our Palestine: building a progressive, open, tolerant country for all of us.



panthers

PANTHERS, VANGUARD SUPPORTERS OF ARAB LIBERATION



One of the most important contributions made by the Black Panther Party to the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States has been its consistent spirit of solidarity with all oppressed people. This is perhaps best shown by the Party's support for the Palestine national liberation movement.

The question of Arab self-determination has been a crucial test of internationalism for American radicals in the present period, and one which far too many self-styled revolutionaries in America and Europe have failed, falling victim to the ruling class barrage of pro-Israel propaganda.

The Panther Party, victimized by constant fascist repression since its inception and therefore under far greater pressure to avoid taking an unpopular stand than any white revolutionary party has faced, has nonetheless refused to be opportunistic on the Middle East issue. On the contrary, the Party has devoted much energy to explain that the Arab struggle is part of the world anti-imperialist effort and that Zionism, far from representing a progressive solution to oppression of Jewish people, has instead served as an instrument of U.S. exploitation.

The Panthers' support of Arab liberation is particularly impressive, and should serve as an example to progressives everywhere, because it shows how political consciousness develops in the course of struggle. Eldridge Cleaver, for example, spoke in Algiers in July, 1969, condemning the Zionist regime as a "puppet and pawn" of the U.S. which had "usurped the land of the Palestinian people" at the imperialists' behest.

The exiled Panther leader had previously incorrectly equated the Zionist aim of building a "homeland" in Palestine with the Black nation's need for self-determination. The mistaken assumption of Zionist "progressivism" was reversed once the facts became known, i.e., that Israel was from the first an appendage of imperialism to be used against the Arabs, and that its first victim was the Palestine nation which it usurped.

The Panther Party has made these facts available to the readers of its press in a lengthy article by Field Marshal Don Cox (January 3, 1970). Numerous other articles have appeared in the Panther Paper on the Palestine national liberation movement. These include reprints of statements by Fatah as well as other guerrilla groups such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Eldridge Cleaver spoke at the December, 1969 conference on Palestine held in Algiers, where he again voiced the Party's support for the "Palestinian people's just struggle." Masai Hewitt spoke on behalf of the Party at a Palestine teach-in in Montreal, March 11. This meeting was the culmination of a several week-long Mobilization for Palestine, organized by the Quebecois Palestine Solidarity Committee in cooperation with various Arab student groups.

The right-wing has seized upon the Panthers' anti-Israel position as a device to create a mode of hysteria in the Jewish population, to smooth the way for the legal lynching of the Party. Their charge of "anti-semitism" is as ridiculous as the police fantasy that an organization like the Panthers, which exists to serve the people, feeds breakfasts to children, etc., would blow up botanical gardens and department stores. The Panthers oppose Zionism, not Jews. As Eldridge Cleaver said: "We are anti imperialism and slavery because these are the things we have suffered from." He referred to the Israeli leaders' cynical use of Jewish suffering, saying, "No longer can Zionists point to the bones of the victims of the Nazis and blind us to the pile of bones they are making out of the Palestinian people."

For the Black Panther Party, the indivisibility of the global struggle is a basic article of revolutionary understanding. This was recently illustrated in a simple but telling way when the Panther Paper carried a story on scientists in the Palestine guerrilla movement, under the headline "A Practical Application of Juche." Juche is the expression for self-reliance coined by Kim Il Sung, leader of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

The gains made by the DPRK, or by the Palestinian revolutionaries, are gains for Black liberation. Phantom jet strikes against the Arab people are aimed equally at the Black Panther Party. If militant anti-imperialism is to have any meaning, it must include defense of Arab self-determination. And it is equally the duty of every supporter of the Palestine cause to actively aid the Black Panther Party in its life-and-death struggle with U.S. imperialism.

by RITA FREED
 Chairman of the Committee to
 Support Middle East Liberation
 Reprint from *Workers World*,
 May 1, 1970

JAFFA

RASHID HUSSIEN

An opiate cloud hangs over Jaffa
 And the lean roads are pregnant
 with flies and boredom.
 In the streets of heaven, the moon's funeral.
 Jaffa is then without a moon;
 Jaffa is then blood on a stone.

Jaffa, who suckled me the milk of orange,
 Thirst! She whose waves watered the rain.
 Jaffa, who broke the days on these sands,
 Her arm is motionless, her back broken.
 Jaffa, who once was a garden, its trees were men,
 Is now an opium den dulling our senses.

I was in Jaffa, removing the rats from her
 forehead.
 Raising the rubble, uncovering corpses without
 knees,
 Burying the stars in the sands and fences.
 I took the bullets from her bones and
 sipped anger.

And, when feeling tired, I got myself a dry bush,
 Smoked it and rested.



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