



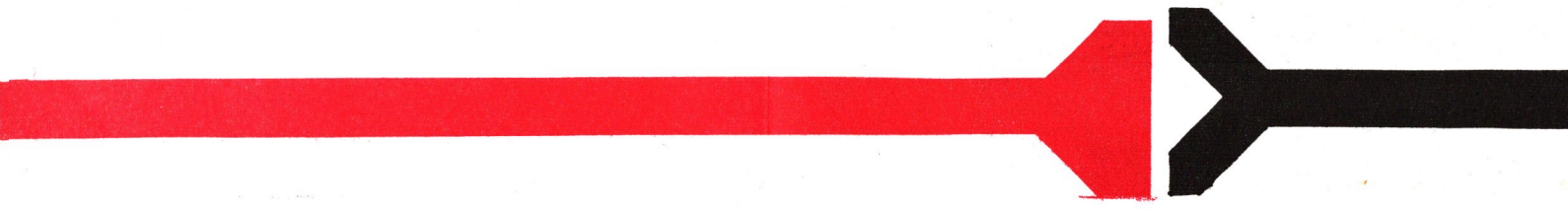
RESISTANCE

in the MIDDLE EAST

No. 1 winter 1971

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* diary of a palestinian fighter * THE
LIBERAL OCCUPATION * against the palstini
an state * GULF LIBERATION MANIFESTO *
eyewitness in gaza * DENATIONALIZATION IN
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The development of events in the Middle East since the 1967 war has in these last months reached a new and frightening climax. The rise of the Palestinian national liberation movement following the total defeat of the Arab armies in 1967 established a potential threat to the status quo in every Arab regime and consequently posed the first genuine threat to Zionism and imperialism since 1936 when the Palestinian revolt tied down one third of the British army.

The Arab governments retaliated by openly attacking the Palestinian resistance movement; witness events of 1970 in Lebanon and Jordan. Zionism prepared itself to defend the Arab regimes; September 1970, Israeli troops and planes were put on the alert to defend the Jordanian army from the Palestinian resistance should this prove necessary. The U.S. had intervened directly in the situation by applying pressure to Israel and the Arab regimes in the form of Roger's peace proposal.

In other words the Palestinian resistance movement was, and still is, being threatened from every direction. As a result of all this, the movement has suffered a severe setback.

This newsletter is the joint effort of a group of revolutionary Americans, Arabs, Israelis, and other Middle Eastern people. It comes out in an attempt to present to the American people certain features of the struggle that are of special interest to them. The increasing involvement of the U.S. in the events of the Middle East should make this work all the more relevant.

the editors
february, 1971.



The Irony of Peace

"All it takes is a lull in the fighting on the frontiers for the fighting to start in the cities between labor and management;" an Israeli labor leader said wryly.

After three months of cease-fire, and with news of fighting almost nonexistent, Israel is in the middle of a waves of strikes with wages prices and taxes threatening to explode into inflation.

Secondary schools throughout the country are closed, the teachers striking for more pay. For a week Israel's national airline El Al which survived the hijackings, flew only a fragment of its schedule because of a strike of maintenance workers.

There were no weather reports yesterday- the meteorological workers had walked out. Power cuts are commonplace for hours on end as the electric workers turn their strike action on and off. Port workers of Haifa and Ashdod, telephone operators, even civil service unions, at several Government ministries have declared strikes for hours, days and weeks.

A severe recession ended with the six day war of 1967, but the new pressures of defense spending, demands for higher living standards, and greater civilian consumption have provoked an economic boom now reaching dangerous proportions, according to Israeli economic analysts.

Domestic economic policy is based on the "package deal" a formula designed to keep wages, prices and taxes in stable relationship. The strike wave is threatening to upset this formula.

When Israel's national legislature, the Knesset, reconvened yesterday after its autumn recess, the labor scene was the first item of debate. Most of the legislators had trouble sympathizing with the electric workers, now earning the equivalent of \$400 to \$700 monthly, the salary of a Knesset member is \$385.

The Minister of Education, Yigal Allon, conceded that the striking teachers had more of a grievance, with starting salaries of \$160 a month, but he pleaded that his ministry's budget simply could not meet the demand of the 10,000 member union for \$57 more.

The basic problem is that the government and the citizenry are living beyond their means.

A sharp increase in taxes last August-

continued, p. 14



diary of a palestinian fighter



Amman, Jordan. The following is the journal of a Palestinian resistance fighter. It was written in Amman in the last half of September during the days of bitter fighting when King Hussein attempted to crush the commando movement.

The journal concerns the battle in the area of Hussein refugee camp. Sixty thousand people live in Hussein camp, a tangle of alley ways and small tin roofed shacks; they were driven from their homes in Palestine in 1948.

The author of the journal is a fighter of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the Palestinian commando groups. One of the author's comrades gave the journal to Al Hadaf, the Popular Front's newspaper; this is a translation from the original Arabic in Al Hadaf.

It is not known what happened to the writer after he made the final entry in this diary.

* * *

Wednesday, 16 September

Everybody is expecting the onslaught of the storm. I heard most of the Arab radio stations saying that the silence in Amman is the tense quiet before the storm. But I have been telling my friends all day that I am not expecting anything.

The tension in the streets, the tension among the people is only superficial. In fact I think that the radio's saying continually that this is the tension before a storm is the reason for the increasing tension among the people.

The King still needs time. Many days still lie ahead of us. The city was very normal this morning for some time after the King established the Daoud military government. But since noon, tension has been rising without a real, direct cause.

Thursday, 17 September²

Today was terrifying. We were angry. We were tense. We quarrelled with each other. I think this was because of the continuous explosions. But our young men fought bravely.

I was in the streets all day. When I came back a few minutes ago, I was looking around and it seemed to me that yesterday was a very distant day in the imagination of another man.

I met Comrade A when I was coming home. He was moving a lot of ammunition. "You know," he said, "I believe now more than ever that our people are going to win. Do you know Abu Hussein? His house was destroyed and his wife and daughter were killed. He wrapped his wife and daughter

in a blanket, and he took up his gun. He is standing over there; you can see him."

At about 5 o'clock in the morning, Comrade Abu Ali told us that tanks were coming along the Ain-razel road. Shelling started before he finished speaking.

It seems that the cannons of the tanks were aimed directly at the offices of the commando organizations. Immediately our men went down and started machinegunning the tanks from a distance. I saw heavy firing from anti-tank guns and RBJ bazookas.

The offices of the organizations are all near each other; the headquarters of the Popular Liberation Forces, the Palestine Armed Struggle Command, the Arab Liberation Front, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Liberation Army and the Democratic Front. The attack was against all of them, completely simultaneously.

Suddenly we all got together. All the barriers between organizations disappeared. We met together in a trench, behind a wall, on the sites of the ruins of the offices. All of us from different groups were working together without hesitation.

We waited until the infantry approached us. I don't remember that any of us shot. Then all at once we opened up with out machine guns. After two minutes the army men started running away.

At 8:40 the army's rockets and tanks totally destroyed our office. We remained hiding in the ruins until the tanks reached the square in front of the Ministry of the Interior. They stopped firing and began to shell.

I think among all the commandos we lost 20 killed and 30 wounded during the fighting by 10 o'clock in the morning.

We were everywhere. We went up very near to the blind tanks and when they drove forward we fought them at close range.

Then something which we had not expected happened. The cannons of the tanks shelled the houses in a very unnecessary way, savagely, without even differentiating between homes and commando offices.

It was really frightening. We were paralyzed, seeing the houses collapsing and suddenly seeing in the unexpected rubble many of the small pri-

vate things of people, the warm small things of people, torn, sometimes bloody. In the midst of that hell we heard people crying out: "Comrades please rescue me." "Comrades, I am wounded." "Comrades, I am dying. The army killed me."

Like blind steel beasts tanks rolled toward Maxime circle. All the commando organizations evacuated their offices and retreated. Men were running from the tanks as if the surprise had really worked, as if everybody really didn't know what to do.

Something really strange happened. Abu Amar [Yasser Arafat] came down to Hussein street. He asked the fighters who were retreating to stop running away and to plant mines and build barricades of cars, gas cans, any kind of metal.

He brought his own car himself, and with some other men, pushed it into the middle of the street. Immediately high morale filled the area and men started to come back.

Abu Amar with his Egyptian accent shouted, "Two hours, my comrades, and by God, we are going to give them a lesson which they will never forget."

From between the houses, men came back with the RBJ bazookas to Maxime circle. Suddenly Maxime Circle turned into an unimaginable hell. The tanks began to pull back very rapidly. The tanks were so large that when they were retreating they looked, in a way, comical. They went back on the road as far as their morning position, where they had been before the battle, and from there started shelling the houses around Maxime again.

As I went back with my group I saw Abu Amar, Abu Maher, Abu Eyad, Naef Hawatmeh, Dr. Monef El Razaz and Farouk El Kadoumi leave the office of the Popular Front-General Command.⁴ Everybody went off alone.

Abu Maher and Dr. Razaz were walking together, and when Abu Maher saw me, he laughed and called, "I hope you are feeling good. The bastards ran away."

About 1:30 in the afternoon a new column of tanks approached Maxime Circle, but again we forced them back. The tanks gathered in a special formation and rocketed and shelled Hussein Street methodically, inch by inch, as if they wanted to destroy the barricades and detonate the mines we had planted.

Fire was everywhere. Shells were exploding all over the street, but we held our position. We heard people crying from many places.

At that moment I received a message to return to the refugee camp. We were expecting the war to come to every house in the camp.

They shelled the outskirts of the camp as I reached it. Then artillery began hitting the camp like a rain of fire. All at once, death lost its meaning. One could think that the people lying there were sleeping, resting on the side of the road. Death, ruins, gunpowder, dried blood looking like red mud, the pale faces, fear -- in a few hours all this can become a sort of habit which a person can really coexist with.

We formed special teams and moved most of the dead and injured to houses, schools and UNWRA centers.

I really needed the order which came to me at 5 o'clock from the headquarters of the Popular Front. "Go home and sleep well. We'll need you all day tomorrow." Tomorrow, who knows?

Friday, 18 September

Again we forced them to retreat. The day ended with us still keeping them from Maxime Circle, which by then was like a garage full of burned steel.

The shelling was frightening today. Artillery shells rained on the streets and the refugee

camp, which cannot defend itself from that death falling from the sky.

The most important thing that happened today is that the army called on loudspeakers for the commandos to surrender. We shot at those loudspeakers and silenced them.

Comrade Q was afraid today. I felt rather sad when I saw him feeling shy after we discovered him spending the day hiding. I began to think about the meaning of courage and the meaning of cowardice. One day I think I'll write about those magnificent words which actually mean nothing. They are words we use to describe our feelings in a certain situation, but we use them only when we are no longer in that situation.

A while ago we dug a grave for many martyrs, and we buried them. Now they are embracing one another beneath the earth, in limitless love, completely united. And this, I think, is the fate of poor oppressed people, fighting for their share in this world.

Saturday, 19 September

If things are relative in this world, even concerning human death, I could say that today was better than yesterday.

A volunteer from Aleppo. I don't know how we found him among us, said that he wanted to fight. We spent the entire day planting mines in the streets of Hussein refugee camp. I can say truly that we built our own hell under the hell of their tanks.

At noon, the man from Aleppo, as we call him, remarked to me, "These Arab regimes are still silent. I am afraid all of them are cooking up something against us." I felt a little scared, as if a hand caught my neck in the darkness.

Monday, 21 September

We are now in the fifth day. They have destroyed all the commando offices outside the refugee camps. We have less and less anti-tank ammunition. They rocketed the Hussein and Nuzha refugee camps and Hadadi Valley more than ever today. In fact now no one cares about burying the dead.

In the evening the loudspeakers again called us to surrender. They are calling to the commandos and to all the young men. All the young men-- this is a fantastic equality. But it shows that they are planning a genocide, a genocide that neither bothers to disguise itself nor is ashamed. They have threatened to level all the refugee camps.

So now they are making no distinctions between commandos and young men, between resistance and

refugee camps. Is there some significance in this? Yes, of course. Our friends are still holding fast.

Tuesday, 22 September

I am afraid that here at least everything is coming to an end. I can see only that people prefer to die resisting.

Today resistance was weak on the nearby mountain, but very heroic and brave in this refugee camp. I wanted to think our gunfire is faltering because we haven't enough ammunition, not because our men are being killed. But the facts are frightening. Many friends have been killed. Many bullets are going.

We don't have enough food and haven't slept sufficiently. Now all day long the loudspeakers are asking the refugee camp to surrender. No one really understands the meaning of these words. How can a refugee camp surrender, and to whom? Is there a surrender greater than that of the life of the camp?

My comrade told me that a young man went to a woman's home and asked her to give him refuge. She refused, and said to him, "You are no better than my son, and my son fought until he was killed. So why shouldn't you fight to the last drop of blood?" Sometimes heroism takes on a harsh voice, but it seems necessary.

Death is in every square inch of the Hussein refugee camp. Also thirst and hunger. The cruelest thing is for death to look into the eyes of a scared child.

Wednesday, 23 September

The King's infantry entered the refugee camp. They concentrated their power behind the ruins, while the tanks shelled incessantly.

They killed many young men, a number I can't count. A certain weeping spreads throughout the camp, like the weeping of one woman, like the weeping of the mother of the camp--weeping for the hungry, thirsty, fearful, those waiting for the unknown, weeping for a person dying alone under a hammering he cannot resist.

These people here gave a real lesson to those who are watching.

My comrades and I gave what was left of the food to women and children. Now our men fight starvation in the first line as they face the tanks.

The headquarters of the Popular Front asked me to give my position over to our woman comrade S., and to try to reach the Wahdat refugee camp.

Wahdat is said to be in a stronger position, but the road to Wahdat is death. Wahdat camp is



death, exactly as Hussein camp is death. And I don't know if I will be able to reach there.



SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. On the morning of Sept. 16, King Hussein appointed a new military government, nominally headed by Brig. Mahmoud Daoud, the Prime Minister, but actually run by Hussein himself and Field Marshal Harbes Majali, whom Hussein made commander in Chief of the Army and Military Governor of Jordan. (Several days later when Daoud was sent to Cairo to represent the king at the Arab summit conference, he resigned, denounced Hussein's attempt to liquidate the commandos and asked for political asylum in Libya.)

Hussein had been preparing this new attempt to crush the Palestinian resistance movement since August, when he agreed to the "peace plan" of U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers.

In the last weeks of August, Hussein pulled his army away from the border with Israeli-occupied Palestine, concentrating the troops around Amman. In the first two weeks of September the Jordanian army destroyed a number of guerrilla bases in southern Jordan, attacked bases in the north and engaged in almost nightly fire-fights with commandos and militia in Amman. In several instances the Army massacred groups of commandos and mutilated the bodies.

In the first two weeks of September the King's strategy emerged: Hussein's forces were clearing the commandos out of certain areas (especially in the south), forcing the commandos to expend valuable ammunition, and trying to erode the morale of the fighters and the population in general.

The final phase in Hussein's strategy began to unfold early Wednesday, Sept. 16, when his new military government declared martial law and ordered the fedayeen militia, the part-time fighters who make up most of the resistance's armed men, to turn in their weapons to the commando offices.

The commandos responded by placing all their fighters under a unified command, and called for a general strike to begin the next day and to continue until Hussein's "fascist military government" was toppled.

2. At approximately five in the morning on Thursday, Sept. 17, King Hussein's artillery, positioned on the hills surrounding the city, launched a merciless attack on Amman.

King Hussein later admitted that when he ordered his army's attack he thought he could crush the resistance movement in one day. Captured Jordanian soldiers told commandos that their officers had said they would eliminate the full-time commandos in four to six hours, and that it would then take almost no effort to crush the fedayeen militia.

3. Yasser Arafat is generally known among Palestinians by his nom de guerre, Abu Amar. He is the chief spokesman of Al Fateh and the chairman of the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Central Committee, which functions as a front to which all ten commando groups belong, placed all fighters under Abu Amar's command the day before the war began. (The Journal refers to Abu Amar's Egyptian accent: he was educated at Cairo University.)

4. Leaders of different resistance groups, who sit on the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Abu Maher, who speaks to "Bassem" in the next paragraph, is a leader of the Popular Front. Members of the Central Committee met at least once a day in Amman throughout the war to coordinate the fighting.

5. Wahdat refugee camp, which has housed 75,000 Palestinians since 1948, is on the southern edge of Amman. For eight days Wahdat was severely shelled, and phosphorous bombs were freely used against it by the army. A quarter of the houses at Wahdat camp were completely destroyed.

CONFIDENTIAL

In an exclusive talk to Israeli students on December 1970, Mr. I. Rabin former commander of Israel's Army and presently Israel's ambassador in Washington had the following to say:

"The invasion of Cambodia by the U.S. was in the interest of Israel, no matter how unpopular it may sound," stated Rabin, the Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. In elaborating this point, he said that anything that keeps the U.S.S.R. off balance will reduce the chance of a deepened Soviet involvement in the Middle East. "Unfortunately for Israel," he continued, "the people of America are not in the mood to take further international responsibilities. Thus our true ally is not the American people but rather the American regime, undemocratic as it may be."

Rabin said that he is aware that the decision to invade Cambodia was made by a narrow executive circle, without consulting the senate (not to mention the people), "but the Russians see this dictator and are frightened. We, from our narrow point of view, do not care about the democratic nature of America." He added that, in fact, a dictatorship in power in the U.S. would frighten the Russians more, and that "the moment the Soviet Union stops fearing the U.S. we are lost; this fear may determine the fate of Israel more than everything else."

the liberal occupation...

ELECTIONS IN NAZARETH

The citizens of Nazareth voted in the general municipal election which took place in November 1965. As a result, the government coalition consisted of the New Communist party (which won the election) and one member of Mapam. Disorder caused the Ministry of Interior to disband the city government within a few months. The Ministry then proceeded to appoint a committee to take care of the city administration and to prepare a new election.

Note: In this election it was arranged that the ruling party of Israel (Mapai) would win, but now the time has come for new elections in which, as presented in the article, it is "feared" that Rakah (the New Communist Party) will win again.

Ha'aretz 11.27.70

ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS

"Demonstrations on the 40th day of Nasser's death will be banned."

A decision to prevent the possibility of staging processions or demonstrations in the Arab villages of the state [Israel] on the 40th day of Nasser's death has been accepted of late among the relevant circles.

It was revealed that there have been consultations after the demonstrations which had taken place on the burial-day in several Arab settlements. It was noted that the extent of the demonstrations and the number of settlements involved and in particular the violence that erupted in Nazareth and Acre must be dealt with severely and their repetition should be avoided. ...

Ha'aretz

ARAB WORKERS

The workers in Yehuda and Shomron are an important factor in the industry, in construction, and in agriculture in the Sharon.

The price of a day's work in agriculture is 17.74 Israeli Pounds [app. \$5.00; \$1 = IL 3.5] brutto, IL 13 netto. A worker from the territories receives IL 10. IL 3 are deducted for organized travel expenses which sometimes takes three hours both ways. ... The payment is made through the Labor Agency. The net wage of a Jewish worker reaches IL 16 to IL 18 due to seniority benefits.

"Rais" [organizer - speculators] brings a load of workers from Tira or Teibe straight to the producer and takes only IL 16 per work-day. The workers, and especially female workers, receive IL 6 to IL 8 from the "Rais." The Labor Agency is aware of this situation, but is helpless in its struggle against the "Rais."

Ha'aretz 4.22.70

ARAB STUDENTS

Among the 16,000 students in Israel there are 200 Arabs. Their studies demand a peaceful and comfortable atmosphere, but Arab students have a complex of problems and obstructions which disturb their studies. Not all the Arab students can get university housing and the housewives in the western [Jewish] section of the city are not prone to lease them rooms. Many of the Arab students are under travel restrictions and two of them are under administrative arrest. Almost all the Arab students consider this restriction to be the result of their objection to government policies. Very few of the Arab students can get jobs while studying.

Ha'aretz-11.27.70

THE CAPITAL

The hectic construction work was multiplied ever since the announcement of the Roger's plan. Huge construction and ... destruction forces were let loose as a result of the fear that East Jerusalem will be returned to the Arabs unless we immediately create what is called by the Ministry of Housing "grips." Meanwhile, new roads were constructed that had not been thought of by anyone before because they are not immediately needed. ... Once we thought that real-estate speculators, capitalists of Babbit's type in Upton Sinclair's books destroy urban scenes and force human beings to live in what seems to be a pre-designed slum. Today we know that socialist ministers aren't much better than them. Patriotism of which it is said that it is the last refuge of the scoundrel, is also the final justification for the worst heartless bureaucratic designer.

Ha'aretz 11.27.70

VICTORY AT ANY PRICE + PROFIT

A golden rain of military orders which is falling on the Israeli industry enables its rapid development and increases its technological potential and fills its treasury with

Against the Palestinian State

profits. ... Never has the Israeli industry enjoyed such a boom -- and never have so many apprehensions filled the hearts of the industrialists. The continuation of this development involves large investments estimated by the Ministry of Industry to be 800 - 1000 million dollars a year. However, it is not the source of the money which worries the industrialist but rather the fatal question: What will happen if and when the "peace will break out?" ... We should not disregard the fact that after the war the Israeli industry gained a public of 1 million consumers in the occupied territories. In these days of Roger's Plan and Jarring talks, in addition to the apprehensions about the possible limitation of military consumption, additional fears arise in the minds of the industrialists that the Arab market may very well be cut off from the source of supply in Israel.

Ha'aretz 6.70



INTERVIEWS FROM REFUGEE CAMPS
IN THE GAZA STRIP

[The reporter was accompanied by two armed Israeli soldiers and was chased out of one of the camps by a grenade explosion.]

Ali Nadjar (age 45):

Q: How many are you in your family?

A: Fifteen.

Q: And how much do you make a day?

A: 3.5 Israeli Pounds [\$1]. However, before the war I made 1 Egyptian Pound [\$2].

Q: So how do you provide for a family of 15 with IL 3.5 per day?

A: I get food from UNWRA, but even so I don't have enough.

Q: Is your standard of living better or worse as compared to the pre-67 period?

A: It's the same. I have been living in this 3-room apartment for 20 years

Nimmer Hassan (age 34)

Q: Do you live well?

A: We are living in a time of war.

Q: Is the standard of living better compared to the period before the war?

A: Before the war I worked for the U.N. at the Suez Canal with Canadians, Swedes, etc.. Up to 3 months ago my income was good, higher than before the war, but then, before the war, everything was cheaper; now everything is expensive.

In the main street of Muazi (a refugee camp) there is no traffic. The stores are open, but there are no shoppers. I approached the merchants and asked them what the reason was. "There aren't any shoppers. No one comes. The people in the camp have no money."

Q: Is life better now than before 67?

A: Wartime is never good for anybody.

Q: What do you think of the development in the Gaza strip since the war?

A: True, Israel has built roads and installed lights in the street. But what is all this worth if there is no peace? Every evening we are stuck at home from 7 o'clock and we cannot leave home until the next morning. There is still a curfew in all refugee camps.

Issa Mahmoud (age 20)

Q: Your camp was the first to be connected to the electricity network and where roads were first paved. Are you satisfied with this?

A: We are certainly satisfied, but we realize that this is also to the advantage of the regime.

Q: Why do you think so?

A: Where there is light the fedayeen [guerillas] can be caught more easily because they operate mainly at night.

The Dream of Return

Reporter: In the Muazi camp I was confronted with the political question of the refugees. All those with whom I talked demanded their return to their place of origin, to their house in Jaffa, Ramle or near Gedera. They are not prepared to live even in villas or other luxurious quarters. 'Only where we were born' -- they say decisively.

A refugee: "I am not prepared to leave this camp by any means. I am leaving to study and I'll return. I will move only to one place -- to the house where my father was born and grew up."

Someone else: "Our house was the best in the city. I was born in Yasur. I want to die there."

Another refugee: "We will not agree to any rehabilitation. All the refugees want to return to their homes where they were born," the elder man answered decidedly.

Ha'aretz 9.30.70

Recently there has been much talk about a Palestinian State in the West bank of the Jordan river. The U.S., Jordan, Egypt, and some prominent Palestinians in the Israeli occupied West bank have expressed implicit or explicit interest in establishing such a state. Finally Israel too announced her approval of the plan. According to the Boston Globe of January 1st, 1971, "in a speech over the Israeli television addressed to the Arabs in their own tongue, Foreign Minister Abba Eban said, 'In a state of peace there will be to the east of Israel a state in which the Palestinians will constitute a majority and of which most Palestinians will be citizens. The welfare and the freedom of the Palestinians are conditional on the establishment of peace in the Middle East,... and on it alone.'

The militant Arab leaders have demanded the return to Israel of 1.5 million Palestinian refugees. Israel has rejected such demands on the grounds that acceptance of the refugees would mean the end of the Jewish state.

Since the 1967 war there has been much public discussion over the creation of a Palestinian state on the West bank of the Jordan river."

The following is a reprint of the editorial of Palestine Resistance Bulletin, Nov.-Dec. 1970 issue. P.R.B. is put out in the U.S. by a group of supporters of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. It includes translations of Arabic articles from the DPF publications and occasional translations of Hebrew articles from the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen).

For more information about the Bulletin and subscriptions (\$1.50 for 12 issues) write to P.R.Bulletin, P.O.Box 59, Somerville, Ma. 02144.

After the onslaught of King Hussein's army on the Palestinian resistance last September, all governments with interests at stake in the Middle East conflict have launched a propaganda campaign for the recognition of "Palestinian nationhood"-- calling for the creation of a

Palestinian entity to be carved out of the Hashemite Kingdom.

This campaign represents a new phase within the wider strategy of forces led by the U.S. at quelling the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle in the Middle East. It will be intensified in the coming months, in the hope that conclusive results will be achieved before the second cease-fire period expires.

Three months have elapsed since the abortive attempt to liquidate the Palestinian resistance by force of arms. It has become imperative for imperialism and its allies, Zionism and Arab reaction, to get rid "peacefully" of the Resistance, the only serious obstacle to a political settlement in the Middle East. The proposal for a Palestinian entity (although its territorial location is still a source of disagreement among its sponsors-- witness, for example, the denunciation by the Jordanian government of H.Kan'an's Palestinian project, The N.Y. Times, 12/13/70, Week in Review) must first be seen in the following light: Short of being able to physically eliminate the Palestinian mass movement, the proposal is an attempt to isolate it geographically and diffuse its revolutionary (Middle Eastern) potential. The "Palestinian entity" is being sold to the Palestinian masses as an alternative to the program of the Resistance. This alternative, a combination of induced economic "prosperity" in the West Bank and political "independence" for the Palestinian bourgeoisie, is being pushed precisely after the military setback suffered by the Resistance last September, and at a time when the Palestinians under Israeli rule-- because of their isolation from the events in the East-- are left in a state of political demoralization.

This atmosphere is contributing to the creation of a popular base for the "Palestinian entity"; thus helping the intent of its sponsors to undermine the Palestinian armed struggle and its present leadership. This, today, is the chief obstacle within the mass movement to the logic of confronting imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.

[Notice that the Zionist government, as one of the sponsors of the "Palestinian entity" (even in case it is defeated as result of popular pressure), is seeking to regain some

of its faltering "democratic" image by proposing an alternative framework to the Democratic Palestinian State. In addition, while the former (Palestinian entity) secures a recognition of the Zionist state, the latter challenges its very foundations.]

A second objection to the proposal of a "Palestinian entity" should be made independently of its effects to contain and eventually reverse the Palestinian mass movement. It concerns the concept of self-determination for the Palestinians. It should be obvious to all democrats that the roots of national oppression of the Palestinians lie in the denial of the territorial component of Palestinian nationhood. The right of the Palestinians to determine their existence away from their reservations and in their national homeland cannot be subjected to compromise. This is a

more basic objection, made also independently of the shape the proposed Palestinian entity would have. Such an entity under the prevailing conditions would have to come under the oligarchic leadership of the pre-1967 period representing the only elements willing to cooperate with the Zionists while at the same time gaining for themselves a popular image by publically denouncing Hussein's regime. (Between the leadership of the Mufti--1936-1948--to the demagoguery of Shukairy 1964 to 1967 -- and the present Kana'n's and Jabari's there are minor ideological differences.) Such a Palestinian state, constituting one more Levantine mini-state could only be an economic extension of the Israeli market and further consolidate the rule of imperialism in the region

A final word must be added for those on the "left" who are quick to point that the right of self-determination for the Palestinians although acceptable in principle-- is in fact a "tragic unrealistic" objective, since it must ultimately come in conflict with the national rights of the Hebraic community (the theory of two-- irreconcilable-- nationalism.) For socialists fighting for the self-determination of the Palestinian people the struggle involves more than the creation of a "non-sectarian, democratic state". It must recognize in principle the national rights of both peoples in Palestine. The fact that the Jewish colonial settlers in the process of the last fifty years have, under the political hegemony of Zionism, formed an oppressive nation does not deny them the right of self-determination. But (and this is more important) neither the "issue of that right" allows the Zionists to impose any rationalisation for the present oppression and displacement of the Palestinian people, nor does it allow them to redefine the territorial limits within which the Palestinians can have their self-determination. Those limits can only be imposed by a democratic

continued, p. 14

Israelis Display

the Palestinian Flag

The permit of return of the local Palestinian politicians deported from the occupied areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the past three years has now come to the open due to the flood of several thousand applications received from Palestinians living in unoccupied Jordan. This however should not mislead one to think of the Palestinians' request as a preferential one because we know that "even the most chauvenistic Israeli officials do not maintain that the Arabs prefer to live under Israeli administration. Their application to return are considered a reflection of the insecurity felt in Jordan since the civil war there in September."

In response to this situation and the treatment of the Palestinians by the Israeli government in general, a group of Israeli students at Hebrew University who call themselves the "New Left" demonstrated outside the University urging for the support of the "National rights of the Palestinians". This is the first time a Palestinian flag has been displayed at an anti-government demonstration in Israel.

Few days before this demonstration Uri Avneri (the independent and controversial member of the Israeli Parliament) in a parliamentary session stated that: "It's the Palestinians we have to speak to-- the Government must recognize the people of Palestine and encourage them to send representatives with whom we can speak."

Within the Cabinet there are differing views about how to deal with the Palestinian population. However the prevailing argument in the Cabinet has been that "Palestinian autonomy is premature, that the most practical plan is to strive for a settlement with the Jordanian Government of King Hussein and let it resolve the Palestinian problem."

The above solution is perhaps the most dangerous, inhuman and unrealistic solution for the Palestinians. The civil war in Jordan and the events up to this day should be proof that King Hussein is far from 'the best ally' of the Palestinians, and their alliance with Hussein will mean the total extermination of the Palestinian movement.

Quotations are from The New York Times, November 19, 1970.

--- Eyewitness in Gaza ---

(This interview was recorded with an Israeli who during the summer spent a period of three weeks on call-up as part of the military occupation force in the Gaza Strip. For obvious reasons the name of the eye witness is being withheld.)

EYE WITNESS: Before I went to Gaza, I knew already from reports in Hebrew newspapers that the situation there is bad. For example, Ha'aretz of February 10, 1969, reported openly that the situation in Gaza is very much worse than during the Egyptian rule and that economic conditions are very bad. On April 30, General Dayan himself admitted that he had seen the hunger in Gaza and said that this situation "doesn't give Israel a good image abroad."

However, when I actually went to the Gaza Strip during the summer I was surprised to find the situation very much worse than reported. There is a desperate hunger among the child population. I have witnessed children who were prepared to work long hours in the hot sun for the price of slices of bread.

I have witnessed Arab workers asking for the left-overs from Israeli soldiers' plates, and when this refuse was brought to them, in plastic bags all mixed together, I saw them falling down and fighting amongst themselves for this nasty bit of food. I have seen people even willing to offer their sisters, wives and children for prostitution just for a bit of money.

The usual wage for an Arab worker in the Gaza area when I was there was 2.4 Israeli pounds per day (about 75¢). Even the Hebrew newspapers consider this a hunger wage. In addition, there has been enormous inflation in Gaza, mainly because very many Jewish workers, on enormously high wages, work in the Strip area; also housewives from surrounding towns, like Askalon or Bersheba, come to buy on the markets.

On the other hand, the lowest paid Jewish labourer working in the Gaza Strip receives L45 (Israeli) per day. This, by the way, is a worker who stands with a rifle guarding Arab labourers. Such people are usually completely without professional skills and drawn from those just freed from their military service. Moreover, the skilled workers-- for example railway officials, military government officials post officers etc, receive 65 to 85 (Israeli pounds) per day. More skilled workers-- tractorists and others employed on machines receive between 100 and 125 (Israeli) per day. All these workers live and eat in military

camps not in the town itself, but they are free to move in the whole area of Gaza and they spend their money especially in the evenings, in the manner that I indicated above.

Since my stay there, the pay of the Arab was raised on September 1 to 3.3 (Israeli pound) but in the mean time inflation has made the increase senseless. As I heard an Israeli suggest, we are keeping these inhabitants so that they will always be hungry but never actually die of hunger.

BH: Are the Israeli officials aware of these effects on the occupation, particularly on the condition of living for the Arabs in Gaza?

EW: I am sure that all the Israeli officials actually concerned with the administration of the Gaza and North Sinai are very well aware of what happens, and this includes not only the military officials but, for example, the medical authorities.

Thus, the doctors in charge of hospitals have been aware for some months that the mothers of children admitted into hospitals are so hungry that they quite often cannot maintain themselves and, when visiting their children eat some of their food. The doctors explain this by saying that Arabic mothers lack maternal instinct-- but in their private talk they are aware of what is going on.

In private, they are very ready to admit that the main point of their administration is, as they put it, to thin out the population. As a matter of fact, this thinning out of the Arab population in the Gaza strip is quite openly talked about in Hebrew newspapers and openly proposed by the Israeli government, as reported in Ma'ariv on January 12.

I will divide the repressive action into three categories. First of all, there is what is called curfew. People are not merely confined to their homes, but the following happens. The female population remain shut in their houses, which sometimes, especially during the summer, can be a very painful form of torture, since the houses in Gaza are often without water or sanitary facilities and the people are usually given only half-an-hour or an hour in 24 hours to drink water or to relieve themselves.

However, the male population is taken out to some place far away -- often in the desert -- and is usually divided into two groups: younger men of about 25, and those older than this. These groups are situated

so that they can barely glimpse each other, so that the dividing of fathers from children causes the greatest pain. Each group is then pressed, each to another, as closely as possible, and made to adopt a humiliating, uncomfortable physical posture.

The usual posture is squatting on their haunches, but sometimes kneeling is also adopted. They are then told to remain in this position for long periods of time -- usually eight, nine or ten hours without changing it.

This is not a special repressive measure, but is used continually, especially in refugee camps, and may be justly described as a normal measure of government. If, on the other hand some specific act of guerrilla warfare happens, then two other methods are employed.

First of all, the thing to do is to grab as many "suspects", as they are called though, in reality, Arabs situated nearest to the scene of Israeli forces arriving who are then, without any check to see if they had anything to do with the deed, taken and tied with electrical cords. Ropes are not used, because it was found that electrical cords are much more hurtful. Also, by tying them tightly, it may be possible to slow the stream of blood in the arteries, so that an affected limb becomes gangrenous in a few hours.

The person who is tied-up knows that his limb will become gangrenous and that after a certain time, it will have to be amputated. It will be easy to find in the Gaza area and in North Sinai people who have hands and feet amputated for that reason, or people who were freed because they talked.

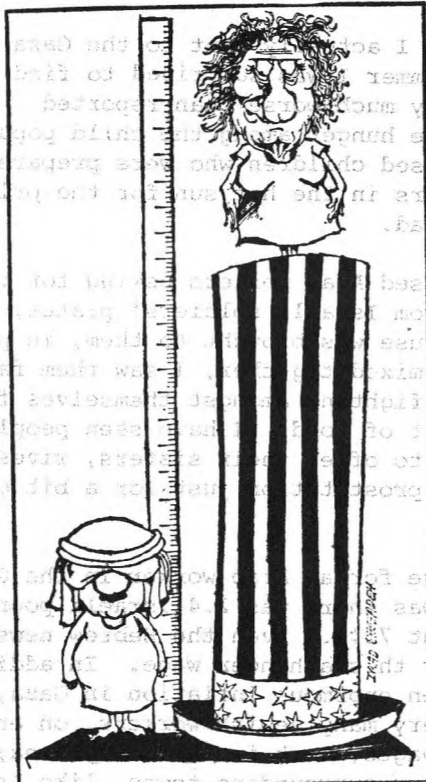
If suspicion is stronger and the authorities think that people actually know or were themselves with the forces who did the guerrilla action, then the torture is much more severe. The main torture employed in this case consists of breaking the shin bone by repeated blows with the butt of a rifle.

In this torture, there is an enormous flow of blood. Since it is carried on far away from any towns or cities, and since people tortured by this method are anyhow in danger of dying before they can be taken for medical help, it became a common rule that such people would be killed after being tortured.

I have not witnessed this last method myself, but I have heard mentioned very many cases of this method of torture by Israeli soldiers. I must say that this is so much an open method that it is referred to and discussed completely freely -- as also is the method of tying by electric cords.

As Ha'aretz said in a leader on November 24, 1968, "appropriate measures will have to be taken in order to keep the initiative and thin out the reserves of the population which may in future be used by the terrorist organizations." Of course, the guerrilla organizations usually use educated people, which is why there is a great deal of pressure on them to leave. But this pressure, while it is considerable, is much easier than in Gaza.

Excerpts from "Eye-witness in Gaza" published in Peace News, October 31, 1969.



From the Daily Star in Beirut.

IN SWEDEN:
Among students and the radical left the Vietnam issue has rapidly waned, in favor of demonstrations and rallies in support of the Arab commandos in the Middle East. In downtown Stockholm there are buttons and signs everywhere reading simply: "Al Fatah."
The New York Times, 10.29.70

Gulf Liberation Manifesto

DECLARATION TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE

For over a century Britain has ruled the Arabian Gulf, first to protect the approaches to India, then to guard its oil interests. In the Gulf itself British rule has involved direct occupation of the area. In Muscat and Oman her rule has been indirect, through the local Sultan; he is formally independent but is in fact a British client, financed, armed and preserved by British power.

This British presence has led to the suppression of all movements that threaten Britain and her local servants, or that try to overcome the underdevelopment and misery of the people. The local people have been excluded from the politics of their country and the prisons of the Gulf are full of democrats who oppose this system. Britain has artificially preserved the separate units of the zone. In Oman there are no schools or medical services and the Sultan has over 5,000 private slaves to work his plantations and staff his bodyguard. This is the regime Britain is supporting.

Britain claims she will leave the Gulf in 1971. This is a fraud. Britain has grouped her client shiekhs into a Union of Arab Emirates which will pretend to be an independent state. Yet it will continue to protect British interests and it will be preserved by a mercenary army commanded and supplied by Britain. The sole aim of this army is "internal security" -- i.e. suppressing political opposition. Britain aims to continue her role by proxy. Moreover in Muscat and Oman Britain's position will not alter at all since she claims that the Sultan is already independent. Her bases, planes and military personell will remain there and will be ready to suppress any opposition.

In addition American imperialism is expanding its influence in the area and hopes to replace Britain as the dominant power. The reactionary monarchies of Iran and Saudi Arabia are being backed by America, all of them intend on controlling and supressing the peoples of the Gulf.

Since June 9, 1965, we, the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, have been fighting an armed struggle against British imperialism and her local clients, to liberate the whole of the Gulf from

imperialism and oppression. In the Dhofar province of Oman we have liberated over two-thirds of the territory and driven the British into a defensive position.

Using RAF planes and Pakistani mercenaries commanded by British officers, Britain has replied to military defeat by a brutal attack on the economic life of the liberated area. They have bombed and shelled our herds and the villages, pastures and wells where our people work. British officers have tortured prisoners and innocent citizens, and have personally ordered many of our villages burnt or bombed.

We are fighting against both national and class oppression; against the oppression of our nation by Britain and Iran, and against Saudi Arabia; and against the class oppression of the reactionary despots of the Gulf. We are also fighting on two fronts; a military fight against British intervention, and a social fight against the backwardness that imperialism has preserved in this area; that is against illiteracy, tribal division and subjection of women. The liberation of Dhofar is only the first step to the liberation of the whole Gulf.

We demand the complete and immediate withdrawal of Britain from all areas of the Gulf, and the renunciation of all British defense ties with Sultans, sheikhs and emirs she has been propping up for so long. We denounce both the Labour and Tory Parties for their identical policies of oppression in the area. Moreover we know that the British people have been kept in complete ignorance of these facts by a tight censorship and in particular by the refusal to permit independent observers to visit Dhofar.

Our struggle is part of a world wide movement against imperialism and against exploitation by capital. We are one with the heroic people of Vietnam and with the people of Palestine and we stand with the people of Rhodesia and Northern Ireland who like us are fighting disguised forms of British colonial rule.

We appeal to all progressive forces in Britain to support our cause, and to oppose this savage and secret war being fought by Britain to protect her oil and her slave-owning Sultan. We shall continue our fight till the whole of the Gulf has been liberated

Denationalization in Egypt

President Anwar el-Sadat on December 28 ordered the return of nationalised property to its former Egyptian owners. Raymond H. Anderson reported from Cairo in the December 29 New York Times that it was "doubtful" the decree would apply to foreigners.

Under a practice known as sequestration, introduced in Egypt under Nasser, land and businesses were nationalized and the owners were paid a monthly stipend as compensation. Some of the property that is to be returned has been nationalized for nearly a decade.

Sadat's decree ordered the creation of legal committees to study each particular case and decide whether the property should be restored. Anderson indicated that this procedure was owing to the fact that in some cases "property was seized as a means of curbing or punishing dissent in th country".

Sadat also instructed Premier Mahmoud Fawzi to prepare a law governing future nationalizations. The law would require that property seizures be approved by special courts on which ordinary citizens were represented. Nationalizations would be carried out only for reasons of national security or "to protect the people's socialist gains".

Anderson wrote that the retreat from nationalization was intended to encourage private investment:

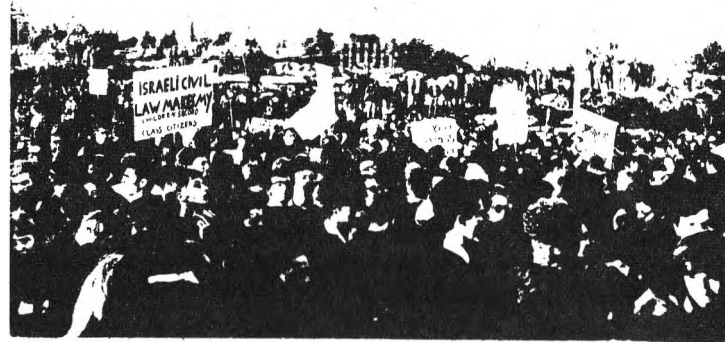
"The threat of confiscation has been a restraint on private investment in the economy of Egypt. Recently, the so-called private sector has been receiving assurances of a secure place in a largely socialized society."

Reprinted from Intercontinental Press, 18/1/71.

'Peace' (cont. from p. 2)

on imports, gifts and travel- plus new sales and corporation taxes, will probably succeed in raising \$500 million more by March, but it has so far had little effect in its other purpose, dampening domestic consumption.

Reprinted from the New York Times
Jerusalem, November 10 1970



Israelis demonstrate against the prevailing Zionist definition of a Jew as a person with a Jewish mother, and against the identification of Jewish religion with Israeli nationality.

Gulf Lib. (cont. from p. 13)

and until British Imperialism has been finally driven from the area. Long Live the Unity of the Anti-imperialist struggle in the World.

British and American Imperialism out of the Gulf.

Long Live the 9 June.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, Dhofar 12-2-70

PFLOAG P.O.Box 5037, Maala, Aden, South Yemen.

Against Palestinian State (cont. from p. 9)

(i.e. in this case internationalist) solution, establishing an arrangement for the existence of both national groups in Palestine,

The historical experience of oppressed peoples in the twentieth century has clearly shown that this democratic task can be accomplished only under the leadership of the working class armed with proletarian ideology. The failure of the Algerian revolution in our time points out the essential need for Marxist-Leninist leadership-- not only to carry the war of national liberation to its socialist goal, but also to preserve the gains of the revolution in its national-democratic phase.

ISRAEL STAMP WITHDRAWN AFTER RELIGIOUS PROTESTS

Thousands of Israeli stamps with the word Jehovah on them have been withdrawn from circulation because Orthodox Jews contended that to lick or cancel them would be blasphemous.

The four-cent stamp depicts the Great Synagogue in Tunis. Jehovah, the Hebrew word for God, is barely visible in the middle of a Star of David on the synagogue wall.

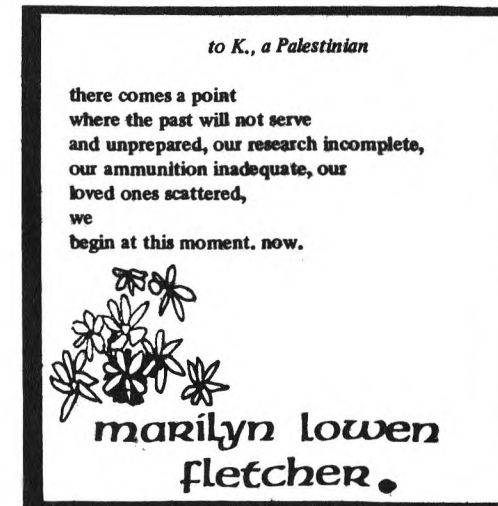
Postal officials said the stamps might have to stay in their vaults forever. The Orthodox object just as much to destruction of anything carrying the name Jehova.

The New York Times, 11.15.70

ALGIERS TAKES TWO U.S. OIL FIRMS

The Algerian Government Thursday announced the nationalization of the American-owned oil companies Mobil and Newmont Overseas.

Christian Science Monitor,
11.13.70



RELEVANT LITERATURE

Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers:

- M. Rodinson, Israel and the Arabs, Penguin Press.
- P. Buch, Burning Issues of the Middle East Crisis, Merit Publishers.
- N. Weinstock, and J. Rothschild, The Truth About Israel and Zionism, Pathfinder Press.
- A. El-Kodsy and E. Lobel, The Arab World and Israel, Modern Reader.
- B. Nirumand, Iran, The New Imperialism in Action Modern Reader paperbacks.

Anouar Abdel-Malik, Egypt: The Military Society Vintage Books.

L. Hochman, Zionism and the State of Israel, New England Free Press

G. Novack, How can the Jews survive?, Pathfinder Press.

M. Menuhin, The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time, The Institute for Palestine Studies.

Free Palestine, published monthly, P.O. Box 21096 Kalorama Station, Wash., D.C. 20009.

A. Leon, Marxist Interpretation of the Jewish Question, out of print.

From Palestine Resistance Bulletin:

Documents from the DPF (2nd. ed.), 35¢
Tabitha Petran, Zionism: A Political Critique, 25¢

Reprints from PRB, Pamphlet No. 1 (includes: Terrorism vs. Revolutionary violence; Leninism vs. Zionism; The role of the party in people's war) 25¢

Orders should be sent to PRB P.O. Box 59, Somerville, Ma. 02144. Please add 20% for postage.

From Israeli Socialist Organization:

Israc 1,2,3, 40¢ each.
The Other Israel, 40 ¢.

Two articles reprinted from the Other Israel 20 ¢.
Matzpen (in Hebrew) 50 ¢ per issue.
Write to P.O. Box 82, M.I.T. Branch, Cambridge, Ma. 02139.

From Middle East Research and Information Project:

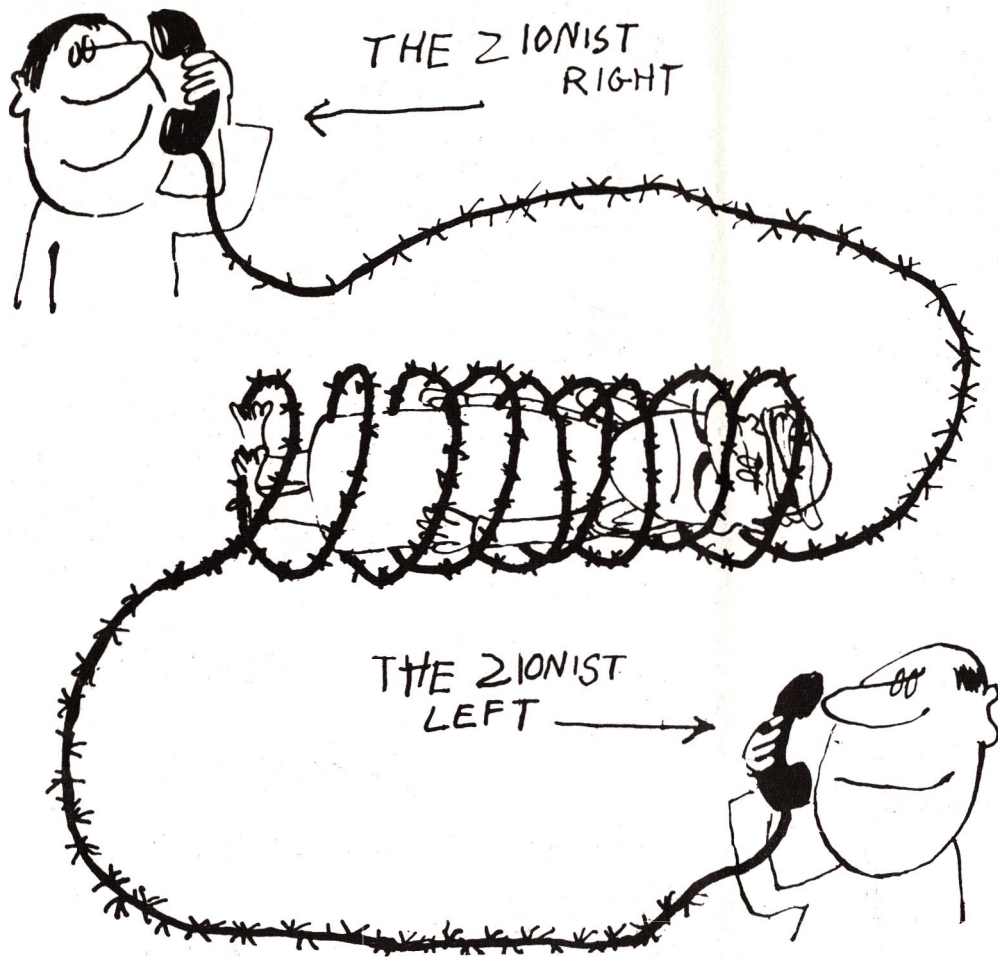
Tabitha Petran, Zionism: A Political Critique, reprinted from Tricontinental, 20 ¢.
Towards a Democratic State in Palestine, political position of Fateh., 15¢.
Political and Armed Struggle, Fateh's doctrine of popular war. 25¢.

Sharon Rose, & Cathy Tachney, Palestine, reprinted from Off Our Back, 10 ¢.

From Refugee to Palestinian, American movement activists returned from Lebanon and Jordan, interviewed by The Liberated Guardian, 10¢.
Peter Johnson, Palestinians Fight a Three-faced Enemy, reprinted from The Liberated Guardian, 5¢.

A. El-Kodsy, Nationalism and Class Struggle in the Middle East, reprinted from Monthly Review \$ 1.00

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