

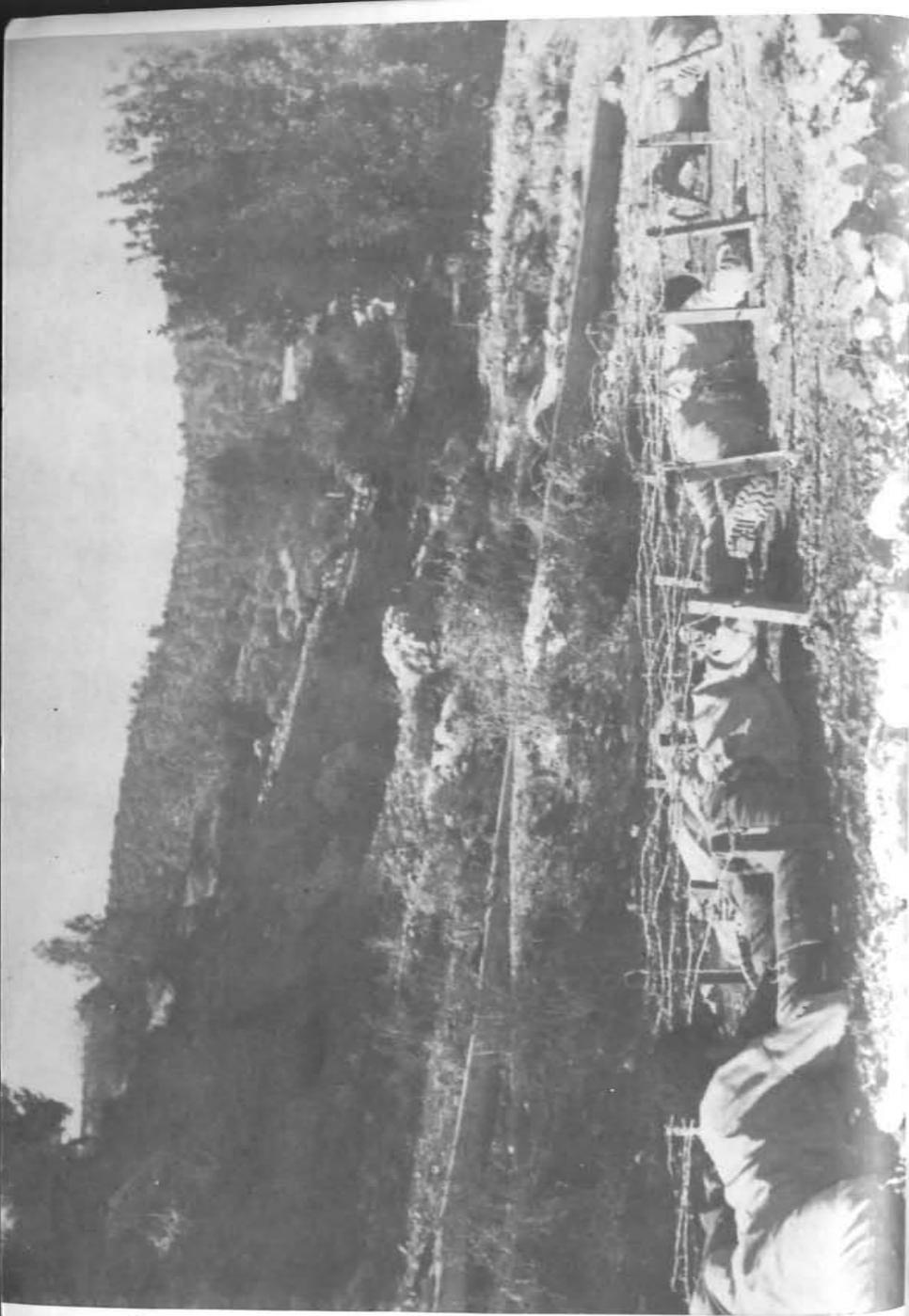


ARAB PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY- PEOPLE S LIBERATION FORCES



Arab Palestinian **RESISTANCE**

VOL IV - No. 4

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CONTENTS

- From the Record 3
- Editorial 4
- Political Scene: Psychological Warfare, To Maintain the Israeli Status quo?
..... By: M. T. Bujairami 6
- Nixon's Congress Report and the Eisenhower Doctrine By: Yousef Khatib 15
- U. S. Military Aid to Israel
..... By: Asaad Abdurahman 21
- Israel today: War or Peace? 27
- Palestine .. Wounded pleading (Poem)
..... By: Isa A. Ali 36
- TARIQ (short story) By: A. Shneiwar 40
- Tax - exemption Scandal 45
- I am ashamed of my country .. By: Norman Dacey 52
- Palestine Question in World Press
(Dissent on Israel - The Washington Post, Feb. 17, 1972) (Israel whips up Tension - New Times, March, 1972) 63
- Book Reviews (The Unholy land) Reviewed
..... By: Dr. George Haggar 70
- Resistance Operations 77
- P. L. O. Political Program 84
- Documents: (Report of the UN Special committee- Findings and recommendations) 89



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Editor: **M. KHURI**

EDITORIAL

FROM THE RECORD

«The Zionists can muster not merely the threat of the Jewish vote, and the no less important Jewish financial and organization skills, but also the blackmail of attacking anyone who opposes the political aims of Israel, as an anti-Semite.»

Davis Reisman in

The Jewish Newsletter

January 9th, 1961

EDITORIAL

The Arabs have always maintained that the expansionist program of Israel has the full support and backing of the United States and that all statements to the contrary, and all talk of an American 'even-handed' policy in the Middle East or of American-Israeli differences, is mere pretence and deceit.

That Israel wants to keep all the Arab territories she invaded in the June-1967 Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab nation is now no longer in doubt. Israeli leaders have made truculent statements which, in their totality, amount to a declaration of the intention.

They talk of negotiations with no prior conditions and of a burning desire for peace. But Arab Jerusalem and the Golan Heights are not negotiable. Sharm El-Sheikh and Sinai will not be given back to Egypt and no Egyptian soldier will be permitted to cross the Suez Canal. The Gaza Strip will not be given either an Arab or a UN rule. As for the West Bank, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan has recently

said in a CBS TV «Face the Nation» interview: «To me the West Bank is part of the Jewish homeland. There is no difference between Tel-Aviv, Hebron and Jericho.»

The Americans know this Israeli attitude perfectly well. They know that Israel wants to retain the occupied Arab territories and to maintain indefinitely the present «no war, no peace» situation. Writing in Newsweek last December columnist Stewart Alsop said: «What the Israeli position really means is that the Israeli Government has made a crucial decision: Come the four corners of the world against us, the Israelis will not budge an inch from the territory Israel conquered in 1967-and spinach to Mr. Nixon, Mr. Rogers, the U.N., world opinion and all the rest.»

The United States has now accepted the defiant Israeli stand. This is evident from the American military and economic aid which continues to be poured into Israel and from statements by Israeli leaders on American policy. Delivery of American Phantoms to Israel has been resumed, and the United States has agreed to provide Israel with factories to produce American-designed weapons. Golda Meir has recently declared that the US has not exercised any form of pressure on Tel Aviv; and Ambassador Rabin has expressed satisfaction at the «deeper understanding» by the American Government of Israel's policies and attitude.

Resistance

M. T. Bujairami

Political Scene

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

TO MAINTAIN THE ISRAELI STATUS QUO?

■

The present stage of the Middle East crisis is characterized by the escalation of psychological warfare against the Arabs to an unprecedented degree in order to «soften up» the solidity of Arab persistence in the protracted struggle to repel the expansionist Zionist invasion.

■

A vicious, well-organized propaganda campaign has been underway to undermine the self-confidence of the Arabs and to intimidate the progressive forces

of the Arab liberation movement. These psychological pressures are part and parcel of a comprehensive strategic plot aimed at liquidating the just cause of the Arab Nation at any price and as soon as possible.

The American fingers behind the scheme are all too obvious to be hidden under any disguise. For the past few months, Isaac Rabin, the Israeli ambassador to the U.S., has been shuttling to and fro between Washington and Tel-Aviv, carrying instructions on how to implement the new plot, step by step. It seems that scientific brains, both human and electronic have been at work in several American and Israeli universities to draw up the details of the new plot, and to synchronize the movements of those who are currently participating in carrying it out.

Generally speaking, America's «Vietnamization» of the war in South East Asia is now paralleled by a similar attempt to «Arabicize» the conflict in South West Asia. Thus America's Henry Kissinger, in close cooperation with the C.I.A. are unleashing their «computer» fantasies on this part of the world in another bid to re-introduce the old imperialist motto: Divide and Rule!

Kissinger is a fanatic Zionist whose loyalty belongs first and foremost to Israel, not to America. Thus his most urgent goal, it seems, is to try to get

rid of the Palestinians, who still insist on existing despite all the bloodbaths that have been arranged in cold blood for them.

Since physical annihilation of these Palestinians has proved impossible, both America and Israel have dictated a new plan to their lackey, the King of Jordan. The plan was to «grant» these Palestinians a kind of «entity» in the West Bank of Jordan, with a sort of «representation» in order to undermine the Fedayeen's claim to represent the will of the Palestinian people.

In this play, the roles have been carefully distributed. First, the King proclaims his project of the «United Arab Kingdom» which includes the region of Palestine in the West Bank, thus reviving the «name» of Palestine, which he himself has never recognized eversince he came to the throne. In order to avoid suspicion by the Arab masses, the King swears that he has never received any orders from Wahsington or Tel-Aviv concerning this new project, which dawned on him out of the blue at this particular time.

Next, Israel tries to deny any relation with this project whatsoever, lest the Arabs should immediately discredit it; but, at the same time, Israel would facilitate the implementation of the project through holding the so-called «municipal elections» in the occupied West Bank, under strict terrorist conditions, forcing the nominees who with-



drew to confirm their candidacy, sealing off the city of Nablus and facing the electors with threats of collective punishment. In short, a new set of «puppets» are imposed on the people as their so-called «representatives» under the protection of Israeli bayonets. Yet Israel has the face to brag about its being the «oasis of democracy» in the Middle East.

The fate of the Palestinians has thus become the subject of bargaining under the military rule of Israel and the Hashimite crown. Things are being decided for the Palestinians behind their backs in the closed rooms of secret dealings in Amman, Tel-

Aviv and Washington. Uncle Sam is playing the role of the «go-between» to synchronize these manipulations.

After some maneuvers by Israel, announcing its «rejection of the plan,» the Israeli attitude began to «soften» gradually through the statements made by Ygal Allon, who is trying to revive his «plan» for the future of the occupied territories. Personal contacts are kept in a very intimate atmosphere between the Israelis and the Jordanian leaders on the one hand, and American officialdom on the other.

King Hussein flew to Washington (under the strictest security measures Jordan has ever witnessed throughout its history) to get the support and blessings of his bosses in Washington. Other leading Israeli officials also made the same «pilgrimage» for similar purposes. The King was able to get promises of getting Phantom jets from America only after he accepted all the American conditions and declared his intention not to go to war with Israel anymore, and to seek to conclude a permanent «peace» agreement with Tel-Aviv. These terms do not provide for any Israeli concessions, or withdrawal, or dismantling of the newly-constructed Israeli colonies in various parts of the occupied West Bank of Jordan.

It is well known that the Phantom fighter bomber jet is a sophisticated, long-range offensive kind of plane. Even the Western allies of America

in NATO do not possess Phantoms. If these Phantoms are not to be used by the King against Israel to regain the occupied West Bank of Jordan, what can be the purpose of delivering them to him?

Under the prevailing highly suspicious circumstances, one is forced to believe that these planes are going to be used against some Arab country, probably Syria. Why? To suppress the remaining militant Palestinians who insist on proceeding with their armed struggle, and to keep the Syrians occupied and thereby prevent them from co-ordinating their military activities with the Egyptian armed forces against Israel. Thus, the Israelis will never be forced to fight on two fronts; and the Egyptians will find themselves alone — totally alone — in the battle when the decisive time comes.

That Israel is planning another large-scale aggression is evident from the mere fact that the value of the American arms that have been shipped to Israel, during the last three years only, amounts to the huge sum of \$ 2000 million. Furthermore, Israel's large programs for populating the occupied territories with imported immigrants are completely and exclusively financed by American sources, both private and governmental. Without this colossal support, Israel would never be able to maintain its hold on the occupied Arab territories, let alone prepare for another large-scale attack against Egypt or Syria.

Israel's arrogant greed seems to be uncontrol-

lable and insatiable. Israel is already searching for more allies, more sources of weapons and economic aid; hence the deal with Britain to get a number of submarines; hence the pressure on West Germany and Belgium; hence the renewed attacks on the just, neutral French attitude which has been maintained since the days of the great French leader, the late General de Gaulle.

However, the French opposition is being wooed by Israel. François Mitterand was the guest of Allon, the Israeli Deputy Premier, who «convinced» Mitterand to adopt the Israeli attitude towards the West Bank of Jordan.



Recent Israeli moves, in full co-ordination with the NATO strategy, have included attempts to open more fronts against the Arabs in order to produce further fragmentation of their stand. One of these fronts however, has been closed, to the consternation of the Israelis. This front is in the Southern part of the Sudan, where an agreement has been reached to heal the bleeding wound in that Arab country. Thanks to the new, positive attitude taken by President Amin of Uganda, the Israelis will no longer be able to infiltrate into Southern Sudan via Ugandan territory.

It has been recently discovered that all the Israelis posted in Uganda were acting as secret agents both for Israel and for America, organizing their espionage activities in full collaboration with the C.I.A. The Israeli role in East Africa, however, is still active; and especially in Ethiopia, where both Israeli and American military personnel are in full control of the Ethiopian security and intelligence forces. Moreover, there are several military bases in East Ethiopia and the Red Sea operated fully or partially, by the Israelis. One of these bases is located on the strategically important mountain known as Jebel Hamid.

Meanwhile, Israel still maintains the same attitude of indifference to world public opinion, by arrogantly rejecting international efforts aimed at any kind of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, which does not totally accept Israeli conditions and tantamounts to complete Arab surrender.

In the occupied Arab territories, lands are still being confiscated, people are still being arrested, detained, tortured and deported across the cease-fire lines. New Israeli colonies, fortified bastions, plantation projects, summer resorts, housing units and all kinds of installations continue to be constructed.

Israel does not only behave as if she were staying in these areas forever, but it also makes no secret of her future plans to annex them altogether in an irrevocable way! Meanwhile, the Arab owners of these areas, who have been reduced to the status of displaced refugees have had to scatter all over the Middle East and nobody seems concerned with their destiny. As for Israel, it is not ready even to contemplate the possibility of repatriating them, because this might limit the room available for the new Jewish immigrants.

The Palestinians, however, are continuing their heroic struggle in an unequal fight against great odds. They are striking deep into the heart of Israel proper, in Haifa and Tel-Aviv. Israel and her Western allies are maintaining a policy of complete silence regarding these great activities that extend nearly to every inch of the occupied lands. The silence of the Israeli and American mass-media does not mean that the Palestinians have ceased to exist or to strike. Their blows against the occupiers of their homeland express the determination of the whole Arab Nation not to succumb to the Israeli status-quo. ■

by: Yousef Khatib

NIXON'S CONGRESS REPORT AND THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

■

Dr. Jarring has reactivated his mission. He has paid visits to Cairo, Amman and Israel, and has established headquarters in Cyprus for further visits of mediation.

■

His mission, however, is gradually losing all marks of possible fruitfulness or seriousness of purpose. Israel has obstructed the path to peace in the Middle East through its arrogant stand on the question of withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. The Tel-Aviv authorities have repeatedly declared they would not withdraw to the pre-June 1967 boundaries.

Meanwhile, the United States has joined the Tel-Aviv authorities in a carefully-planned political manoeuvre, intended to shift the attention of the world from the basic question of Zionist withdrawal

from the occupied Arab territories to two other aspects of the Middle East crisis.

In connection with attempts at finding a political settlement for the Middle East crisis, the U.S.-Israeli plan aims at shifting stress from the United Nations efforts exerted through the Jarring mission to find a comprehensive solution to the Arab Israeli conflict, to be based on Security Council Resolution 242, of November 1967 which calls upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, to U.S. mediation which concentrates on trying to reach an interim solution, relating to the reopening of the Suez Canal.

The other aspect of the U.S.-Israeli plan aims at shifting world interest from the basic issue of the continuing Zionist aggression against the Arab nation, manifested in the Zionist occupation of Arab land and in repeated Israeli incursions into Arab territories as happened in the recent attacks against Lebanon, to the global issue of military rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Thus in President Nixon's recent Foreign Policy Report, sent to Congress on February 9, much is made of claimed military advantages, allegedly made by the Soviet Union. The report in fact gives priority of place and emphasis to allegations that the Soviet Union has taken advantage of Egypt's dependence on Soviet military supply to gain the use of naval and air facilities in Egypt and that this



advantage has serious implications on the balance of power in the Middle East, in the Eastern Mediterranean, and globally.

The U.S.-Israeli plan of making the major aspect of the Middle East conflict, not Israeli aggression which is maintained with the full military and financial backing of the United States but American-Soviet global rivalry, agrees with the general outline of U.S. Middle East policy as formulated in the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957.

It may be recalled in this connection that on March 9, 1957, the U.S. Congress approved the Eisenhower Doctrine which comprised the following four principles:

1. The President was authorized to co-operate with, and assist nations of the area in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence.

2. The President was authorized further to undertake military assistance programs with any nation or group of nations in the area, desiring such assistance.

3. The United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East.

4. To this end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed forces to assist any such nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed

aggression from any country controlled by International Communism.

The four principles of the 'Eisenhower Doctrine' clearly reveal that the Doctrine was formulated from a one-sided view-point, that of Zionism and imperialism.

In the first place, the Americans seem to believe that they have been assigned the divine mission of leading and safeguarding the so-called 'free world', forgetting that a first requisite of leadership is a deep, thorough and impartial comprehension of world problems. To them and to their government 'the free world' apparently signifies the advanced capitalist countries as opposed to developing countries, which are conceived of as a huge economic reserve earmarked to serve the interests of the so-called 'free world'.

Next, the Eisenhower Doctrine speaks of the «independence and integrity of nations of the Middle East,» placing in one scale of the balance two million Israelis and in the other, the one-hundred million Arabs inhabiting the whole of the Arab world.

The Eisenhower Doctrine, moreover, makes no reference to the Palestinian people who, till 1948, had lived in their motherland for over 4000 years; for in that year, the name 'Palestine' was replaced by 'Israel' and its people were reduced to the status of refugees.

Finally, in principle 4 of the «Eisenhower Doctrine,» — and this is the point most relevant to

the main theme of our talk today —, it is stated that the United States is prepared to use its armed forces to assist any Middle East nation, or group of nations, requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by International Communism.

Obviously, the «state» the Eisenhower Doctrine envisaged as a possible target of aggression is «Israel» and the states described as controlled by communism, and likely to launch aggression, are the Arab States.

All this is very well. But a question may be asked here: What if things turned out the other way round, and «Israel» launched an aggression against the Arab States as happened on June 5th, 1967? The United States, of course, would then help the aggressor, who is its ally in the Zionist-imperialist plots against the Arab nation.

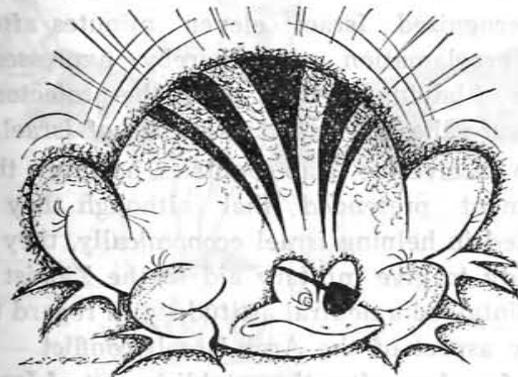
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Rather than dealing with the consequences and ramifications of the Palestine problem and the Middle East conflict, as the Eisenhower Doctrine and Nixon's recent message to Congress do, the World should deal with its very essence, that of Israeli aggression against the Arab nation and the liberation cause of the Palestinian people. Ignoring this basic aspect of the problem cannot be in the interest of either Middle East stability or world peace. ■

Asaad Abdurrahman

U.S. MILITARY AID TO **ISRAEL**

■
A US politician has recently claimed that the Soviet Union is planning to supply Egypt with a factory to make Mig planes; and as usual with pro-Israel American politicians, he relied on the alleged but unsubstantiated claim to call on the United States government to give more military aid to Israel.



Experience has taught the Arabs that whenever a clamour is raised in the United States concerning alleged Soviet cooperation with one or more of the Arab countries, there would be some new important American military aid which has been given, or about to be given, to Israel and which the Americans are trying to hide from the world.

To serve their interests in the Arab world, and to protect US oil-exploitation plants in the Arab countries, the Americans like to pretend that their aid to Israel is mainly economic and that this aid is motivated, for the most part, by the desire to contribute to Israeli social development and to the settlement of Jewish refugees in Zionist-occupied Palestine.

This was the deceptive attitude taken by the US government in 1948, when Israel was established, and in the 1950's. Thus the United States government recognized Israel eleven minutes after its official proclamation and thereby expressed its attitude of having set itself up as the protector who will ensure the safety and existence of Israel.

To deceive the Arab countries, however, the US government pretended that although they were interested in helping Israel economically, they were not ready to give military aid to the Zionist state and maintained a neutral attitude with regard to the military aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

A few days after the establishment of Israel in 1948 official negotiations between the United States and Israel began, resulting in an offer of 100 million

dollars of American aid to the Provisional Government of Israel for development projects, mostly of an industrial nature. Truman announced his approval of the loan in a letter dated November 29, 1948 which he sent to Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist movement.

Two years later, in 1950, Israel received an American loan of 35 million dollars. In fact during the first five years of its existence, Israel received gifts and investments from overseas sources, totalling over a billion dollars which came, for the most part, from the United States.

And yet the United States government continued to make declarations of neutrality with



regard to the military aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Such declarations, however, were obviously untrue because while pretending to refrain from giving direct military aid to Israel, the United States Government was using its leading position in the Western camp to pressure other countries to give direct aid to Israel. The case of the Federal Republic of Germany is the best example of the operation of the US policy of giving huge, but indirect, military aid to Israel through the services of a third party.

On March 2, 1956, Moshe Sharett, Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, asked for a definitive answer regarding his request for military aid from the US. The American answer was given on April 3, by J.F. Dulles, American Secretary of State at the time, who stated that the US Government maintained a policy of neutrality and noninvolvement in the «arms race» between Israel and the Arab states. Dulles added that such an attitude on the part of the US Government did not imply that the Israeli request had been rejected, or that the US had any «objection to the sale of arms to Israel by other Western countries.» Geoffrey Barraclough and Rachel Wall commented on this answer in their book «Survey of International Affairs in 1956», in the following words: «This statement appears to have determined the Western line, and as a consequence deliveries of Mystère fighters ordered for use by NATO (from France) were postponed in favor of Israel.»

This took place in 1956. In 1965, when the



crisis between the Arab states and the Federal Republic of Germany was at its highest pitch regarding the secret supply of West German arms to Israel, the State Department spokesman, Mr. Robert McCloskey, disclosed on February 17, 1965, that the US had been consulted in advance about the West German arms supplied to Israel, and had approved the transfer of American-built M-48 tanks from the Federal Republic of Germany to Israel.

In 1962, the United States government shifted to a policy of openly supplying Israel with direct military aid. On September 26 of that year, it was announced in Washington that the United States had agreed to sell short-range Hawk missiles to Israel. The years 1962-1966 witnessed the delivery of large amounts of direct U.S. military aid to Israel.

On May 18, 1966, US Defense Minister McNamara delivered a speech in Montreal, a few days before announcing the Skyhawk deal with Israel, in which he declared that it was the policy of the

United States to encourage and achieve a more effective military partnership with those nations, including Israel which could share in what he called international peace-keeping responsibilities.

In the June 1967 Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab nation, the United States was an almost avowed partner in the aggression and the chief supplier of the offensive military weapons used by Israel in carrying it out.

Since then the United States has been pouring military aid into Israel, notwithstanding Israel's defiant attitude of world public opinion in connection with its continued occupation of the invaded Arab territories. The last moves in this direction were two agreements concluded between the United States and Israel early this year, one providing for giving Israel more American-built Phantom planes and the other, a secret agreement, according to the terms of which Israel will be provided with whole factories to produce American-designed arms, including highly sophisticated weapons, in Israel.

It was, probably, to give some form of justification to these agreements which made an American politician recently allege that the Soviet Union has agreed with Egypt to set up a factory in West Egypt to build Soviet-designed Mig planes.

The story of American military aid to Israel does not only belie all American pretence to an even-handed policy in the Middle East, but it also proves that President Nixon is determined to help Israel keep the fruits of its continued aggression against the Arab nation. ■

Israel Today : **WAR OR PEACE ?**

■
Offered here are excerpts from «Israel Today: War or Peace», a booklet by American publicist Hyman Lumer, published by New Outlook Publishers, New York, and analysing various aspects of Tel Aviv's policies.

■ TOWARDS ECONOMIC BANKRUPTCY

Today policies of aggression and expansion are extremely costly, and the cost is rising ever more rapidly. For Israel the pursuit of this course is leading to economic bankruptcy.

The present military budget (nearly \$ 1.5 billion for the fiscal year 1970—71) is five times that of 1966. And since the cease-fire it has been increased by an added \$ 335 million.



In the case of Israel such astronomical military outlays mean enormous spending for arms abroad, which must be paid in foreign currencies. (The cost of the Phantom jets bought last year was \$ 300 million.) David Krivine wrote in the Jerusalem Post (September 18, 1970): «Israel produces 20 billion Israeli pounds of goods and services, military and civilian, a year, and consumes 25 billion. The outside world finances the missing 5 billion, partly by gifts, largely by loans.» (Note: 3,5 Israeli pounds equal one dollar.)

During the past few years the gap between

imports and exports has been rapidly increasing, and in the past fiscal year the balance of payments deficit reached the unprecedented sum of \$ 1.1 billion.

The total foreign debt is now about half the gross national product. Nearly 10 percent of the budget goes for interest payments alone.

How is this huge gap to be filled in the coming years? «The economists' advice to the Prime Minister,» says Krivine, «can only be: beg, borrow or steal. ... Appeal to Western politicians.»

It is the shaky path which Israel's rulers have taken. Increasingly they have relied on loans, credits and financial aid, primarily from the United States. And increasingly they have placed Israel at the service of U.S. imperialism in return.

In their desperate search for foreign currencies they have gone to fantastic lengths to encourage foreign investment in Israel. For this purpose three «millionaires' conferences» have been held in Israel: in August 1967, April 1968 and June 1969. The foreign capitalists attending these agreed to establish a \$ 100 million investment corporation, seeking profitable investments in Israel.

To secure such investments the Israeli government offered large grants-in-aid, long-term loans, big tax concessions, guarantees of high profits and other inducements. In addition, it undertook to «stimulate rising productivity and lower unit costs» — that is,

to step up the exploitation of Israeli workers.

The foreign capitalists also demanded that the Israeli government cease competing with private firms and dispose of its holding in industrial and commercial enterprises.

This the government has done, to the point where it has little left to sell.

The fact is, however, that despite all the inducements, foreign capital today has little interest in investing in new enterprises in Israel. As a Histadrut official whom I met put it, the conferences produced «much talk and little investment.» The pledged \$ 100 million proved to be only \$ 20 million. And the interest in investing was confined to buying into the profitable government-owned enterprises.

Foreign monopolists have made considerable



inroads into such enterprises as the ZIM steamship line, the Israel Oil Refineries, the Timna Copper Mines and Palestine Potash, and are seeking to buy into the Israel Electric Company.

Thus does the Israeli ruling class continue to barter away the country's economic wealth to foreign monopolies.

The economic burden of the government's adventurist policies is being fastened in growing measure on the backs of the working people of Israel. Profits have risen sharply. In 1968 profits of industrial concerns were 60 percent higher than in 1967. Profits of the leading banks in 1969 rose between 23 and 48 percent over 1968. But workers have been confronted with rising taxes and prices, with reduced government subsidies for key food items, with cuts in social services, with a wage freeze and with compulsory loans to the government.

As a result of these inroads into workers' living standards the number of strikes has been increasing, and this in the face of great pressure by the government and Histadrut and the labelling of strikers as betrayers of Israel's security.

Demonstrations and strikes will undoubtedly multiply as economic conditions continue to worsen.

There is no way out of this economic dead end except through abandonment of the policy of aggression and annexation and with it of growing dependence on foreign monopoly capital.

■ THE ISRAELI ARABS:

OPPRESSION INTENSIFIED

In the racist Zionist conception of the State of Israel, the Arabs are looked upon as intruders, as outsiders in their own country, as non-people. Hence they have been the object of the most blatant chauvinism and have been subjected to severe discrimination and oppression in every aspect of life.

The procedure of administrative arrest is based on the emergency military regulations imposed by the British in 1945 on both Jews and Arabs in Palestine. With the founding of Israel these regulations were abolished for Jews but continued to be imposed by the Israeli government on Arabs. Among other things, they provide for the arrests of individuals without formal charges and their imprisonment for an indefinite period without trial.

As late as October, 1969, there were still more than a thousand Arabs detained under such arrest, I was told by Dr. Israel Shakhak, head of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

Under the same military regulations hundreds of Arab leaders are restricted in their movements. They are confined to their districts or their cities, towns or villages, which they may not leave without a permit. Often they are required to remain in their homes from dusk to dawn, and to report daily to the police.

The requirement of permits is handled in the most arbitrary fashion.

A group of Arabs from Acre were given permits to attend a conference of building trades workers in Tel Aviv, an exception to the usual practice, but were required to return to Acre every night — a distance of nearly 75 miles.

Only one third of the Arab workers are members of the Health Insurance Fund (**Kupat Cholim**) as against 72 percent of the Jewish workers. Moreover, the Fund has few clinics in Arab villages, so that the Arab members receive much poorer service than the Jewish.

According to the official statistics, annual earnings of non-Jewish families in 1967 were less than 64 percent of those of Jewish families.

In institutions of higher learning Arabs are only 1.5 percent of the student body, though they are 12 percent of the population. In such fields as electronics or atomic energy they are excluded as «security risks.» And those few who complete their studies and obtain degrees are often unable to obtain work in their professions.

Arab farmers are discriminated against with regard to credits. Most Arab villages lack labour councils or labor exchanges through which unemployed workers can seek work under union conditions, while these Histadrut institutions are the rule in Jewish communities.



In addition the military regulations have been extensively used to confiscate the lands of Arab farmers by closing them off on the grounds of «security.» These lands then find their way into the hands of the kibbutzim, while the Arab owners are converted into «Internal refugees.»

I visited a collection of galvanized iron shacks on the outskirts of Nazareth. They were inhabited by the former population of the nearby village Ma'lul. I learned also that nearly one-third of the Arab residents of Nazareth are refugees from nearby villages.

The city of Nazareth is illustrative of the whole pattern of discrimination. Lower Nazareth, the old city dating back to Biblical times, has a population of 30,000, all Arab. Upper Nazareth, located on the surrounding hills, with 22,000 residents, consists mostly of a new Jewish settlement.

Lower Nazareth has almost no industry and many of its workers are forced to seek work in other cities. By contrast, the Jewish settlement boasts a Dodge assembly plant, a large textile mill and a number of other modern factories. In these factories few Arabs are employed.

Upper Nazareth also boasts a beautiful Histadrut vacation resort — for Jews only.

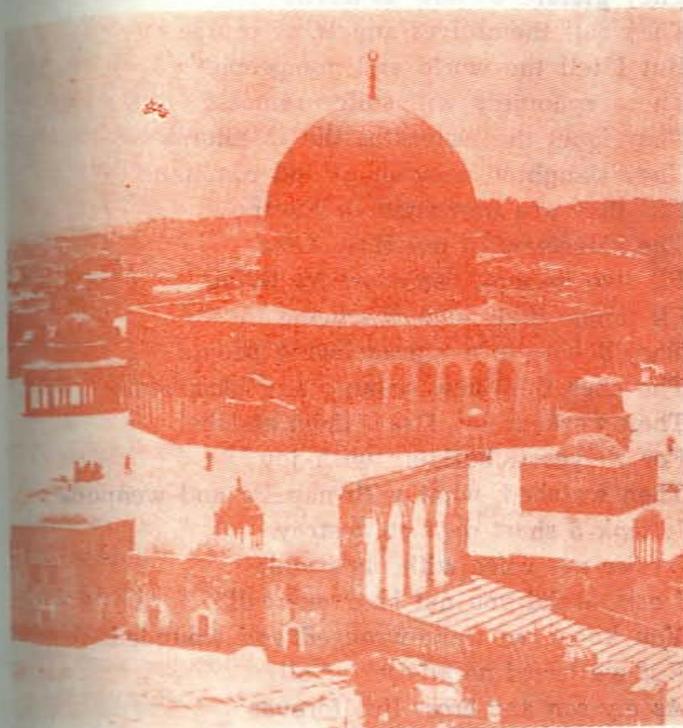
The ultra-religious and right wing elements openly regard Arabs as people whose departure from Israel could only be welcomed. ■

Poem

ISA A. ALI

**PALESTINE ..
WOUNDED,
PLEADING**

I'm Palestine, wounded and pleading,
Oh hear me, who question today
Who's the Mother of Civilization?
The world and her hist'ry, I say
The Mother who gave us the Wise Men
Three oldest and wisest of creeds
But now that I'm robbed and I'm wounded
Whose mother will end the stampedes?
Oh yes, I am robbed and I'm wounded
My people are being abused
Their voices are crying in terror,
They're dying, they're sick and confused.
This Palestine, wounded, can tell you
That history itself will repeat
Look! Those are my son's crucifiers
Who hammered the nail to his feet.



I'm sickened to think what has happened
I'm angered to see what is done
They're burning my people with napalm
At the site of the cross of my son
They who carried the olive tree branches
From 2,000 years until now
They who came to both me and my people

and shared of our precious endow.
They picture us now as devils
They call themselves angels, of course
But I tell the world and my people
Those «phonies» will suffer remorse.
They label themselves as the «Masters»
They slaughter, they shout and command
But they are unwanted in Europe
The «Masters» of my Holy Land
I'll live because somehow by living
I'll topple their violent scheme
They'll bow to my peaceloving people
The ones they now scourge and blaspheme
They worked, yes, I saw them at labor
For 20 years, building with joy
Then watched, what with napalm and weapons
It took 5 short days to destroy.
I raise my voice with my people
I ask — did you not hear our call?
You knew we were wronged and wounded
But we heard no answer at all
As my son and cross live forever
We shall not nor cannot succumb
I've lived through the eons before you,
I'll live through the ages to come
Let eyes see the plight of my people
Where greed has advanced to a flood
Where laughter and singing should flourish
My land is a swamp of their blood.
They prayed for the rain from the heavens
To nourish the ground of their worth

But dead bodies lying upon it
Shall never enrichen the earth.
Oh hear me, the day is fast coming
When they will fall down on their knees
They'll beg for my people's forgiveness
When they are no bigger than fleas.
Remember, I'm Palestine ONLY,
False titles I strongly revoke
They'll suffer for names they have called me
Believing the words that they spoke.
As news of my son's crucifixion
Spread quickly upon every tongue
The world will be hearing my people
When one day their praises are sung.
They're flesh, and they're blood, and they're human
Why can't they be treated as such?
Is wanting escape from their tortures
Considered a little too much?
Is wanting a homeland and comfort
Against all the rules of the law?
It's time someone spoke for my people,
And I think that someone is YOU!
Let papers and magazines tell it
Let TV's and radios blare
Speak truth on the good of my people
For once let them know that you care.
I'm Palestine, wounded and pleading
I'm asking you give me but love
For with it comes peace that we're seeking.
That wonderful peace from above.

(short story)

TARIQ

by: A. Shneiwar

■

He was a young boy of fourteen. His father had been killed by the Zionists in a border clash between the resistance fighters and the Zionist invaders of their country. Since then Tariq had changed completely. He was no longer the calm quiet boy. He began to neglect his studies and to react violently even to everyday occurrences.

■

His mother became extremely worried about him, especially because he was her only child on whom she had learned to depend after the death of her husband.



One morning as she was arranging Tariq's bed, she found a pistol under his pillow, and she became even more worried than before. She called him to her and said: «You are my only child. I don't want you to have anything to do with guns and pistols. I am deeply afraid lest I should lose you as I have lost your father.»

The child replied: **«I have bought this pistol to learn the art of fighting. I want to join the ranks of the resistance fighters to avenge the loss of my father and to liberate my country.»** Meantime his face turned pale with anger and excitement and, pointing the pistol to his head, he said with a voice reflecting

a sense of maturity and a determination much above his years: **«Either you let me go with my comrades to participate in the military operations against our enemy, or I'll shoot myself.»**

Afraid lest Tariq, in a fit of rage, might carry out his foolish threat, she took him to the nearest commandos training base, where the commander of the base did all he could to persuade the boy to forget about it all, to go back to school, and to resume his studies and a normal life until he was older. But the boy was adamant and would not leave the base.

Impressed with the boy's determination, the commander finally agreed to have him join the ranks of young trainees. The mother was sobbing and overcome with emotion. But the boy was overjoyed and he said to his mother as she left the base: **«Do not grieve, mother; I will be a good and brave fighter and a credit to you and to my people.»**

Tariq's mother left and, soon after, the training of her son began. He was clever and fearless; and in a short time he learned all the tricks of commando fighting: attack and defence, shooting, hurling bombs and planting mines. He also became an adept at boxing and wrestling. In six months time, he began to participate in reconnaissance operations.

One evening in the barracks, the unit commander asked Tariq: **«What would you do if you were taken prisoner and tortured to divulge the secrets of your unit?»** Tariq blushed and his eyes kindled with fire. After a short time, he said: **I**



would see to it that I would die before I am taken prisoner.»

Another evening as the unit commander was giving instructions to the men who had been selected to carry out a particularly dangerous operation, Tariq burst into the meeting and begged to be permitted to participate in the operation. At first the commander hesitated but later acceded to the request of the young fighter.

The operation was carried out as planned. As the men were going back to their base, they heard some noise which gradually became louder. They soon discovered that a large number of enemy troops were trying to close upon them and to cut their way of retreat.

The unit commander suggested that the men should move silently across a neighbouring hill while continue to engage the enemy from a rocky stretch on top of the hill. In vain did he try to persuade Tariq to move with the men, but the lad insisted

that he would stay on to help cover the retreat of his comrades.

Without asking the consent of the unit commander, who had no time to waste on trying to dissuade the fiery lad from sharing in the self-sacrificing exploit, Tariq began shooting from different points on top of the hill; and while he was shooting fiercely, the enemy believed a large number of commando fighters were firmly entrenched on top of the hill.

The enemy forces dared not advance. The unit commander feeling that his men had already safety and fearing lest he and Tariq should run short of ammunition, shouted to the young lad to follow him across a secret rocky path that leads out of the rocky hill.

Tariq, however, would not follow. When the shooting stopped the enemy forces began to advance to the top of the craggy hill. To their surprise and amazement they found there a single fighter instead of a commando unit. Tariq faced them motionless and defiant.

As the enemy soldiers were closing upon Tariq, he remembered what he had said to his mother and to the unit commander: **«I will be a brave fighter and a credit to my people... I would die before I am taken.»** Unexpectedly, he hurled a hand grenade at a rock right in front of him. He was torn into pieces and a number of enemy soldiers were killed.

Tariq was dead, but he had kept his pledge.

TAX-EXEMPTION SCANDAL

On the 10th of last November (1971), the «Near East Report» of Washington reported that U.S. Senator Stuart Symington had asked the U.S. Treasury to estimate the total loss of revenue resulting from the fact that gifts of the Zionist-sponsored United Jewish Appeal were tax deductible, and that the answer was that the loss on those gifts, totalling 1.55 billion dollars, was estimated at 430 million dollars.

The scandal of the tax deductibility of the gifts of the Zionist-sponsored United Jewish Appeal was first uncovered eighteen years ago. Early in 1954, Mr. Arthur Churchill, a retired advocate of Portland City, Oregon, asked the House Committee of the American Senate to conduct an investigation regarding the huge sums of money which had been collected over a number of years, and were still being collected, by Zionist American Jews and sent to Israel.

In a report submitted by him to the said Committee under the title «Foreign Charitable gifts», Mr. Churchill pointed out that those sums, though

ostensibly collected for alleged charitable purposes and as such had been, and were being, exempted from federal and state taxes were being used by Israel for purposes which were, for the most part, military and in no way connected with charity.

Referring to the political and financial injustice involved in the United States Government continuing its policy of considering Zionist donations to Israel tax deductible, Mr. A. Churchill said:

«Zionist contributions to «Israel» have been amazingly huge. What has not been realized is that nearly all of this, as with all large funds, comes from big givers. I am reliably advised that 90 percent of the gifts to Jewish charitable funds comes from 19 or 20 percent of the givers. And under our high tax rates and the charitable exemption rules, these «big givers» are allowed to deduct such gifts from their top brackets, in figuring their income taxes.

«The result has been a very distorted situation. Such deductions do not come out of the atmosphere. The Government must go on. You must find the tax money to finance, for example, the staggering costs of defence. If one group of big givers send their money abroad to a special community in which they have a special interest, and if they are allowed to deduct these sums from their taxable income, the load is merely shifted to other citizens, who may not even inquire about what causes the shift.

«Moreover, a review of the subject of charitable exemptions may remove distortions which greatly



■ Careful! The man might have a tank in his pocket.

contribute to the present chaos in the Middle East. These distortions and the bitterness they produce among the Arab inhabitants of the Middle East may easily plunge the world into the war which humanity everywhere is seeking to avoid.»

Mr. A. Churchill then went on to point out that the tax deductibility of the Zionist sponsored United Jewish Appeal gifts was not merely an unjustified extension of the whole concept of charitable exemptions, but also constituted a menace to peace and jeopardized U.S.-Arab relations. He said:

«If my view be correct, this is not merely an unjustified extension of the whole concept of charitable exemptions. Nor does it merely involve the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars. Far more important is that the reputation of the United States for impartiality is being jeopardized. Both Secretary Dulles and Adlai Stevenson have expressed their fear. In his June 1, 1953, broadcast, Secretary Dulles said, among other things:

«The atmosphere is heavy with hate.. the United States should seek to allay the deep resentment against it that resulted from the creation of «Israel». Today the Arab peoples are afraid that the United States will back the new State of Israel in aggressive expansion.»

More recently, the tax-exempt status of the Zionist-sponsored United Jewish Appeal was analyzed by an American authority on the subject. Replying to an inquiry by Mr. A.L. O'Connell, Chief of the Technical Branches of Internal Revenue

Service in Washington, Mr. Norman F. Dacey, an authority on American tax-exemption laws wrote the following letter:

Dear Mr. O'Connell:

«On April 12, 1971, you wrote me regarding the tax-exempt status of contributions to the United Jewish Appeal, noting that that organization has qualified under Section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code which allows deductions when payments are made «to or for the use of a corporation, trust, or community chest, fund or foundation organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes.

«A very substantial proportion of the contributions to UJA are delivered up to the Jewish Agency, an instrumentality of the Israeli Government. To all intents and purposes, 100% of the financing of the Jewish Agency comes from UJA. The Jewish Agency is delegated by the Israeli Government with responsibility for aliyah, the «ingathering» of world Jewry. The Israeli Government and the Agency seek to create the impression that this is an ingathering of refugees, of persons who are suffering persecution in various parts of the world. Actually, there are few, if any, places in the world where Jews are now being persecuted, This includes Russia, where the «persecution» consists in being denied the right to emigrate not only to Israel but to the United States and other Western countries. Actually, the same restriction applies to all Russians, not simply to the

Jews, and therefore they are not being persecuted as Jews. The point is that the «ingathering» is not a humanitarian plan to save Jews from persecution but is simply a nationalistic scheme, political in its concept, to populate Israel and thereby promote its power as a state. There is nothing «religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational» about such an objective — and money contributed in America to achieve such purposes should not be tax deductible.»

Mr. Dacey then goes on to refer to the abuse made by the Israelis of the tax-deductibility of gifts to Israel. He explains that tax-deductible United Jewish Appeal funds are used to salvage mismanaged Israeli corporations such as the Israeli development company called Rassco, which «earlier this year tottered on the verge of bankruptcy and was saved only when the Jewish Agency stepped in and paid 85 million dollars of the Company's liabilities.» Mr. Dacey adds that «Every penny of this money had been received by the Jewish Agency from the American United Jewish Appeal, and every dollar had been received by the United Jewish Appeal as a tax-deductible contribution to charity.»

Mr. Dacey ends his letter by explaining the discreditable role played by the Israelis in the recent dollar crisis, and calls on the United States authorities to put an end to the scandal of the tax exemption of the Zionist-sponsored United Jewish Appeal. He writes:

«When the dollar was under intense pressure abroad a few months ago, and was being dumped in favor of German marks, Bank Leumi of Israel made a killing, trading millions of dollars for marks, not for customers accounts but for its own account. There we were, shipping our dollars to Israel, and Israel was pulling the props out from under the dollar internationally — all in its own pursuit of profit. While the central banks of the rest of the world were propping the dollar by buying in to support its price, our «friends» in Israel were pulling the rug from under us and the dollars they were selling represented the tax-free contributions of American Jewry.

«I suggest that it is time to end this ridiculous misuse of our tax laws. We cannot regulate what the Israeli Government and its instrumentality, the Jewish Agency, do with the hundreds of millions of dollars which the American Jewish community is brainwashed into contributing on the grounds that it is for a humanitarian end. We can, however, insure that the contribution is made by the Jewish community alone and not by the American people generally in the form of lost tax revenue of phony contributions to charity.»

* * *

If the Zionists treat their American sponsors and allies in this manner, what can the Arabs expect at their hands? ■

Norman Dacey

I AM ASHAMED OF MY COUNTRY

A Letter to President
Nixon

■

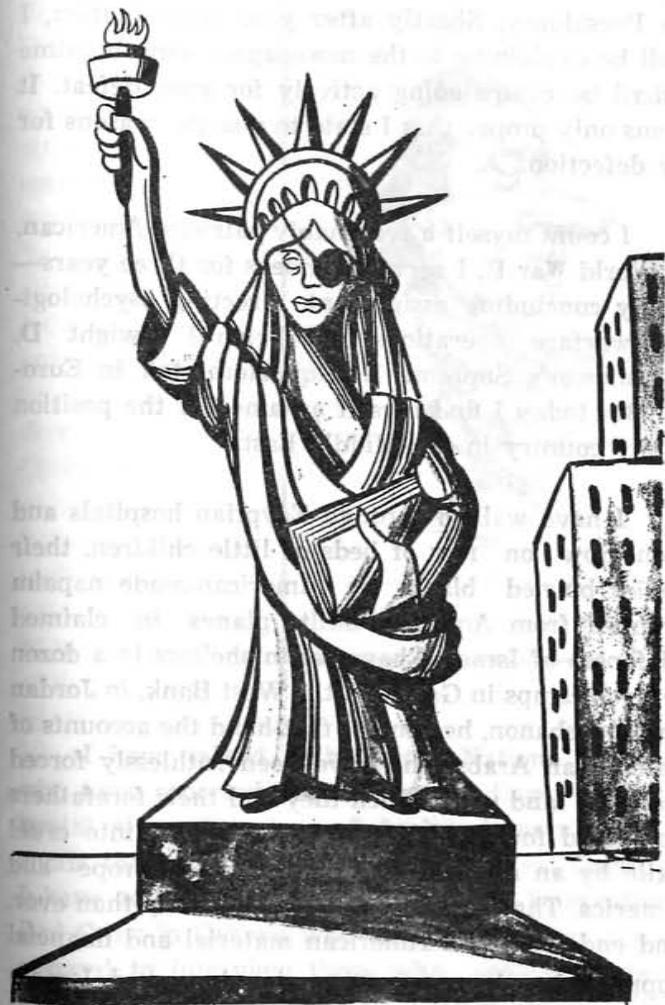
The following letter by a loyal American citizen and a former supporter of President Nixon was sent to the President on January 17, 1972. It strongly condemns U.S. policy of blind support to Israel.

The letter is frank, logical and well-documented. It speaks for itself. No comment is needed to explain its vigorous and cogent arguments.

■

Dear Mr. President:

■ In my files is a letter from you thanking me for my service, much of it full time, as chairman of



the Volunteers for Nixon during your campaign for the Presidency. Shortly after your renomination, I shall be explaining to the newspapers why this time I shall be campaigning actively for your defeat. It seems only proper that I state to you the reasons for my defection.

I count myself a reasonably patriotic American. In World War II, I served overseas for three years—in my concluding assignment, directing psychological warfare operations on General Dwight D. Eisenhower's Supreme Headquarters staff in Europe. But today I find myself ashamed of the position of my country in the Middle East.

I have walked through Egyptian hospitals and seen row on row of beds of little children, their bodies burned black by American-made napalm dropped from American-built planes in claimed «defense» of Israel. I have sat in shelters in a dozen refugee camps in Gaza and the West Bank, in Jordan and in Lebanon, hearing at first-hand the accounts of Palestinian Arabs who have been ruthlessly forced from the land upon which they and their forefathers had lived for hundreds of years, driven into cruel exile by an alien army recruited in Europe and America. That army, more powerful today than ever, and endowed with American material and financial support, has by pure aggression increased Israel's land area 18-fold from the Peel Commission plan, 4-fold in the 1967 Six Day War alone.



I have talked with United Nations personnel who have reported their proven findings that the brutal physical torture of Arab prisoners in Israel rivals the worst that Hitler did in Nazi Germany. I have talked with personnel of the International Red Cross in Geneva who confirm that they are not allowed to interview those who are thus being «detained and interrogated.» I have talked with a leading Israeli lawyer who charges that 80% of all

prisoners are tortured. I have talked with the foreign press corps in Israel who complain that they haven't been allowed inside an Israeli prison for more than two years, that every word they write is subject to the strictest censorship and nothing critical is allowed to be sent out. I have talked with Jewish members of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights and have seen their terrifying statistics of human torture, of mass demolition of Arab homes and wholesale deportation of the indigenous population — all gross violations of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions. The knowledge that my country's moral and material support of this politico/military monster is all that keeps it going is a matter of shame and embarrassment to me, Mr. President.

When the Israeli press can boast as it has done that Mrs. Meir can come to this country whenever her government's excesses cause grumbling in Washington, and sweet talk you and your administration into granting her every wish, I am ashamed of my country, Mr. President. When I read in the London Times, in an article by a long-time U.S. Foreign Service officer, that appointments and promotions to Middle East desk posts in our State Department must be approved by American Zionists, I am ashamed of my country, Mr. President.

When I read in the Jerusalem press a statement by a senior Israeli government official that

«we know that we can take care of the Arabs, but we need to know whether the United States can take care of the Russians,» I am heartily ashamed of the part I played in helping to elect an Administration that deliberately allows this renegade member of the world community to lead us inexorably down the road to the ultimate disaster of a nuclear confrontation with the Soviets.

When I read that you have pliantly acted in accordance with Congressional «resolutions» calling upon you to give all-out support to Israel, however intransigent it may be and however defiant of U.N. decisions on Jerusalem, and then I observe in the Congressional Quarterly the fees which the sponsors of the resolutions have received from Zionist sources for their infamous services, I weep for my country and its future. Washington columnist Joseph Alsop reports that with one exception, «every liberal senator receives more than half of his campaign contributions from Zionist sources.» In the Forrestal Diaries, the former Secretary of Defense expressed his concern that «one group in this country should be permitted to influence our policy to the point where it could endanger our national security. It is a disastrous and regrettable fact that the foreign policy of this country is determined by contributions a particular block of special interests make to the party funds.» NEWSWEEK a few weeks ago reported that «100 of the nation's most influential Jewish leaders have announced plans to convene in

Washington next week to push for a resumption of weapons' sales to Jerusalem. In talks with top Republicans, the Jewish leaders are expected to underscore the importance of Jewish support for Mr. Nixon's re-election next year.» It is a sad measure of the degree of our fall from grace that our foreign policy can now be bought for a few shekels.

Your «even-handedness» toward the Arabs may provoke smiles at the United Nations, but to the Arab Middle East it is far from a joke. I predict that an oil-short United States will one day pay a huge price for the fantastically-inept foreign policy with which your Administration has indulged itself in that area of the world. Virtually every American ambassador stationed in the Middle East since 1943 warned explicitly against backing Zionism because it was the Achilles heel through which the Soviets would advance their interests in the area. You would do well to recall John F. Kennedy's admonition that «American partisanship in the Arab-Israeli conflict is dangerous both to the United States and the free world.» Contrast your position with that of Dwight Eisenhower who, in 1956, unhesitatingly put principle above politics and ordered not only Israel but a powerful Britain and France to surrender what they had seized in the Middle East. I respectfully remind you that he left office honored by the entire world. How would he judge your policy today?

Equally lamentable is your persistent refusal to acknowledge the existence of the Palestinian Arabs and to give your support to their efforts to bring some kind of order out of the chaos. Ignoring the obvious fact that the Suez Canal, Sharm el-Shaik, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights are simply peripheral problems which will never be solved until the basic problem of Palestinian nationalism is solved, you and your Administration have four times rejected overtures made on behalf of a representative group of responsible Palestinians.

Over the past year, I have had occasion frequently to applaud and support your domestic economic policies in my radio and television commentaries. In that area you have done an excellent job. Why, then, am I not going to support you in the coming campaign? Because I am convinced that if you continue your present foreign policy of blind support for Israel which in the U.N. has isolated us from the rest of the world community, there won't be any United States, economically sound or otherwise. With consummate skill and cunning, the Israeli government which we have imposed upon the peoples of the Middle East is turning its conflict with the Arabs into a confrontation between our country and Russia. If they cannot have their own way, they are quite prepared to spark an Armageddon which will destroy us all.

Perhaps future scholars researching your official

papers will discover the reasons which have impelled you to adopt policies so contrary to our country's best interests in the Middle East. Certainly those reasons are not now apparent. When the American dollar was in its deepest trouble abroad, Bank Leumi of Israel made a financial killing trading millions of U.S. dollars for German marks for its own account. On what grounds does your Administration justify handing them hundreds of millions of additional dollar credits? The over-enthusiastic receptions given Prime Minister Meir by your Administration stand in marked contrast to the reception given American citizens in Israel — the American consul in Jerusalem has confirmed to me that in a recent single week the consulate received more than fifty complaints from American citizens who had been beaten up and/or imprisoned without charges by the Israeli police.

Why are we giving Israel such blind support? To save the Middle East from Communism? But it is Israel which has brought a Communist presence into the area. Because it is our policy to support democratic regimes? What is democratic about a regime which is bound by its «fundamental» laws to discriminate against people, not because they are Christians or Muslims, but simply because they are not Jews? What is democratic about a country with a parliament not one member of which has been elected by the people but whose members are instead appointed to their posts by political party

bosses? What is democratic about a regime in which the Sephardic Jews who constitute 60% of the total population are «represented» by only 15% of the parliamentary seats? What is democratic about a system which uses our dollar credits and tax-deductible United Jewish Appeal funds to support a growing body of «fat cats» living a life of luxury while thousands of their Sephardic Jewish and Arabic fellow citizens exist in unspeakable slum conditions?

In the refugee camps, two million displaced Palestinians who believed Wilson's Fourteen Points, who believed the Covenant of the League of Nations, who believed the Charter of the United Nations — all of which guaranteed them their freedom and independence — wait and hope pathetically for justice from what was once the greatest nation on earth, apparently unaware that that nation has become a dancing bear, responding dumbly to the commands given it directly by the government of Israel and indirectly through a potent Fifth Column which operates here in America and which gives blind obedience to the Zionist credo that all Jews everywhere owe national loyalty to Israel, a loyalty which is enjoined upon «the Jewish people» everywhere by the so-called «Status Law» enacted by the Knesset in 1952. What is our world image in the light of the recent Zionist announcement that in the year 1971, more than 10,000 American Jews «fled» to Israel to escape persecution, their passage paid by the Jewish

Agency from tax-deductible American «charitable» contributions to the United Jewish Appeal?

In summary, Mr. President, I find your Middle East policy intolerable. That is why I shall work vigorously for your defeat, giving the widest possible dissemination to my reasons. The defection may be of small consequence, of course. On the other hand, when I was asked to serve in your campaign, someone must have assumed that I was capable of influencing others. I shall try my best to do that, hoping that thereby I may help my country regain some measure of its self respect.

**Respectfully yours,
Norman F. Dacey**

pALESTINE QUESTION IN WORLD PRESS

Our «world press» extracts for this month include two items: (1) a letter by Professor Alan R. Taylor of the American University, Washington, defending the views of John P. Richardson on the oppressive and colonial nature of the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories seized in 1967. The letter which was published in the Washington Post on February 17, 1972 is also concerned with upholding the right of American citizens to challenge Israeli views and policies without being exposed to the Zionist blackmailing threat of being branded as anti-Semites. (2) a comment published in the March-1972 issue of the Moscow New Times magazine, pointing out the intense escalation of the current Middle East crisis produced by the large-scale Israeli aggressions, committed against south Lebanon in the last week of February.

DISSENT ON ISRAEL

(The Washington Post, Feb. 17, 1972)

The content of Zionist reply to any criticism

of Israeli policy has reached the saturation level of credibility in a world which has wearied of polemics and the arguments of bias. An editorial in the Christian Century a few years ago put it succinctly: «It simply will not do any longer for some Jews to demand dialogue... while making authentic dialogue impossible by tarring honest dissent as anti-Semitic...»

The case in point here is the response to John Richardson's letter (Jan. 28) on the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The Richardson Report represents the considered opinion of a responsible expert on refugee affairs, following a recent trip to the Middle East. The substance of his findings was that the occupation involves above all a political problem in which the rights of the occupied peoples have been subordinated to the gambits of Israeli diplomacy. Beneath the strategy, he feels, is an Israeli disregard for the prerogatives and even the very existence of the Palestinians as a people. Prof. Jacob Talmon of the Hebrew University recognized this three years ago in an open letter which warned: «In the eyes of the world, and in my eyes, too, the recognition or lack of recognition of the Palestinian Arabs as a community with the right of self-determination is the cardinal question at issue. It is the acid test that will determine whether we are bent on settlement and reconciliation or on expansion—on respect for the rights of others or on ignoring them.» Yet the «non-being» of the Palestinians has remained an official policy endorsed by

the prime minister, while the occupation itself has become a shield which the character of Jerusalem and the West Bank is being subtly but persistently transformed, against the wishes of the world.

Though a number of observers, including the foreign editor of the London Times, have substantiated this view, the responses to the Richardson report by Irving Herman (Feb. 4) and Rabbi Marvin Bash (Feb. 8) fall back on the attempt to discredit the author as an «Arab propagandist» and to justify the occupation and its methods as matters of Israeli self-defense. It is also suggested that Mr. Richardson rejects Israel's right to exist, which is not evident from the text, and that in any event the Palestinians under occupation are better off than they were before.

On closer examination, it appears that the occupation was the result of an Israeli military invasion under conditions of widely recognized superiority and that the system of subordination which has been imposed represents an instance of colonial rule. The question of rights is always embarrassing to Zionism in historical perspective, since its announced aim at an early stage was to make the predominantly Arab-inhabited Palestine «as Jewish as England is English.» Similarly, the conjectural matter of welfare is really secondary to the political issue of tenure and self-determination. What it all comes down to is that what Israel expects the conquered Palestinians to accept would in a reversed situation be totally unacceptable to Israel

itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that the single standard which the United Nations and professional observers such as John Richardson seek to apply is precisely what Israelis and Zionists find most difficult to accept. Yet the fact remains that it is impossible to speak meaningfully about rights or justice if separate codes are applied to the adversaries in a common **dispute.**

ISRAEL WHIPS UP TENSION

(New Times - March 1972)

The situation in the Middle East has again deteriorated through the fault of Israel, showing once more that the smouldering embers there are apt to flare up anew at any moment.

Early in the morning of February 25 Israeli units crossed the Lebanese frontier and seized several villages on the slopes of Mount Hermon (Jebel esh Sheikh). This was by far not the first provocation of this kind against the Lebanon in recent years but it was definitely the biggest in strength and duration. The invader remained in occupation of the large Al Arkub area for four days and Israeli planes shelled and bombed nearby localities and roads. One of the bombs destroyed a school and another hit a kindergarten. Lebanese newspapers report that six children were killed and ten wounded.

Later, planes with the Israeli insignia raided the outskirts of the Syrian town of Déraa. On March 1 the Syrian Air Force retaliated with an attack on Israeli settlements on the occupied Golan Heights.



Israel's new armed provocations have had wide repercussions throughout the world. At its meeting on the night of February 28 the Security Council unanimously demanded that Israel immediately halt its air and land operations against the Lebanon and withdraw all its military forces from that country. Yielding to strong international pressure, the Israeli forces withdrew from Lebanese territory by the evening of the following day, leaving behind blown-up houses, burnt-out barns, destroyed communication lines, and dozens of killed and wounded.

But the clashes did not end with that. Israeli planes continued to fly over south Lebanon in the days that followed and Israeli artillery bombarded Palestinian refugee camps in the southern areas of the Lebanon and Syria. On March 2 several Israeli aircraft appeared near the Syrian port of Lattakia but were driven off by the air defences.

According to the official Tel Aviv version, the invasion of the Lebanon and the air raids on Syria were undertaken to wipe out Palestinian guerilla bases. But the duration and the scope of the operations suggest that the Israelis pursued more far-reaching aims. The Paris La Nation, for instance, wonders whether the guerillas' activities in the Lebanon were not seized upon as a pretext for preparations for the permanent occupation of part of southern Lebanon. There appear to be some good grounds for this assumption, particularly since the champions of Greater Israel make no secret of their plans for the annexation, along with other Arab

territories, of southern Lebanon all the way to the Litani River.

Previously, when the Israelis staged air and land attacks on these areas, Lebanese army units did not usually come into direct contact with the aggressor, confining their activity to retaliatory artillery and anti-aircraft fire from remote positions. This time, however, the situation was so serious that the Lebanese army joined in the fighting and advanced towards the frontier, occupying the territory from which the Israelis retreated.

Commenting on these latest Israeli provocations, Arab newspapers write that the operations were co-ordinated with the Middle East plans of the imperialist powers, notably the United States. Without continued American military, economic and political aid, they say, Israel would never have dared to stage one armed provocation after another against Arab countries and ignore the U.N. Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. «The responsibility for the fact that the Middle East crisis has not yet been peacefully resolved lies wholly with the United States,» President Anwar Sadat of Egypt declared when Israel invaded the Lebanon.

The provocations against the Lebanon and Syria have definitely aggravated the situation in the Middle East and further complicated the settlement of the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict. ■

by: Dr. George Haggar

BOOK REVIEWS

THE UNHOLY LAND by A. C. Forrest. McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto 173 pages, \$6.95

A. C. Forrest's «The Unholy Land» was one of the most important books published on the Palestine question in 1971. In view of the position of the author, the distinguished editor of Canada's United Church Herald, and because the book presents an image of the Arab-Israeli conflict which is not identical with pro-Israeli reporting, the Zionists vigorously opposed it when it was first published and, for some time, succeeded in removing it from major distribution centres in Canada and the United States. Since then, it has established itself and gone into a second printing.

The book is reviewed by Dr. George Haggar, who teaches at the Department of Integral Studies, University of Waterloo, Canada.

The Middle East cauldron has been interpreted in a multitude of ways by partisans of either Zionism or Arabism. Zionism on the American continent has prevailed as a «given» because effective Zionists are mostly Westerners well-integrated into the patterns of North American life, thought, and modes of action. Other contributing factors to Zionist supremacy on the American scene range from Western guilt



feelings generated by the Nazi holocaust the Jews to feelings of admiration for Israel's military victories.

With the publication of *The Unholy War* by Professor David Waines of McGill University, Zionist supremacy is challenged for the first time in Canadian academic history. Waines' account is both a judicious and a scholarly exegesis that exempts neither Arab nor Jew from criticism. Zionists will doubtless label it a sophisticated apology for the Arabs. But Zionists are losing their grip on absolute certainty and righteousness as a consequence of Israel's arrogant power displays, expansionism and utter disregard for public opinion.

Unlike most authors, Waines does not dwell on America's support of Israel or the United States role in the creation and maintenance of Israel. However, as an historian, he seems reluctant to pontificate regarding the prospects of the Palestine resistance movement and its transformation into an Arab revolutionary vanguard. As a matter of fact, he allocates very little space to such a momentous and unanticipated movement.

The central thesis of Professor Waines' book is that a people without a land—the Jews—sought to establish a state in a land with a people in Palestine. By beginning with such a stance, Waines immediately shatters one of the most hallowed myths of Zionism: «Give us, a people without a land, a land without a people.» Although he concedes that Arab

Jews have always lived in Palestine, he categorically denies that Palestine was «desolate and uninhabited» and provides ample evidence to confute Zionist assertions that they made the desert bloom and carved a state out of the wilderness in «their ancient homeland.» The crucial point, however, is not what myths Arabs or Zionists propagate, but what the truth is; the incontrovertible truth, according to Waines, is that the conquest of Palestine by Zionism and the exclusion of the Palestinians from their homeland is the story of continuous denial by the Palestinians' friend and foe:

Great Britain denied independence to Palestine alone among the mandated territories in the post World War I period. Zionists denied the existence of a people and society in Palestine as they strove to transform it into a European Jewish enclave (p. 198.)

If we were to acknowledge the story of denial as substantially true and proceed to ask Waines, what we should do in order to rectify such a transparent inhumanity on the part of all of us towards the Palestinians, he would have no specific answer other than: recognize the Palestinians as a people who have a right to their homeland, stop treating them as refugees, ask Golda Meir to admit they exist. As Professor Waines is a scholar, not a propagandist, he insists that «to understand the problem, we must revert to its basic roots» and by so doing, he informs us that:

In the Zionist field of vision the Arab never

of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, Waines sums up his evaluation thus:

Under the Mandate for Palestine, the Jewish Agency had never at any time formulated a positive policy of cooperation with the Arab population. Indeed, implicit in Zionist ideology and explicit in practice, the Arabs were excluded from consideration in the functions of the Jewish National Home. Separate development of the Arab and Jewish communities was the rule. Any other arrangement would, in the Zionist view, impair the specifically Jewish character or personality of the National Home (page 131).

As Waines debunks Zionism and exposes its «humanitarian» pronouncements and explodes Israel's democratic pretensions, he indicts the Arab leadership for its failure to alleviate the lot of the peasantry, for its concern with status and privilege and for its unwillingness «to co-opt the full support of the masses.» Waines declares that

The effendis could not think in terms of being obligated to the lower classes in the context of a total national struggle. They could only feel some obligation for the lower classes insofar as this did not conflict with their own vital interests (p. 90).

Since the Jews were a minority in Palestine who desired to establish a state as Jewish as Britain was British, the expulsion of the Palestinians was from the outset a correct logical deduction, an im-

PLICIT assumption, a practical policy. Therefore, immediately before and after the creation of Israel, the Zionists engaged in a «psychological blitz» that forced nearly 700,000 Palestinians to abandon their homes only to be supplanted by a comparable number of Jews in less than four years. The «refugees» did not after two decades of pestilential living penetrate the complacent conscience of the world as a people entitled to return home. The Zionists convinced the world that the Palestinians left «voluntarily» and that it would be best for them anyway to be assimilated by their own Arab people rather than be repatriated to Palestine, where they would constitute a subversive «fifth column». As to the Arabs who remained behind, they lived under Israeli defense laws in cloistered environments where property, person, civil rights, and national aspirations were subject to the will of military commanders in the ruling Mapai Party, an organization that did not have a single Arab member, but provided an Arab «political list» for the voters to «choose» from.

The upshot of the whole argument is that the Israelis, by their own grave deeds created their own grave-diggers. Meanwhile, the Palestinians have decided to start writing their own script and have commenced their own revolution—a drama whose unfolding will have repercussions throughout the world. ■

Resistance Operations

(March 1972)

On March 1, 1972, a Zionist military spokesman admitted that several Katyusha rockets were fired by Palestinian commandos at Kiryat Shemonah settlement. The rockets which exploded in several places splintered the glass in the windows of a number of houses. The spokesman alleged that no casualties were sustained.

On the same day, Palestinian commandos ambushed an Israeli military patrol on the main road north-east of Dabousiya village in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The commandos used rockets and automatic weapons against the Israeli patrol, killing or wounding several enemy soldiers.

On March 2, a mine exploded under a bus carrying workers to an arms factory located in a

forest east of Acre. The explosion destroyed the bus and killed or wounded more than twenty passengers.

On the same day, a number of shells were fired at an Israeli military post in the Kuneitra area. The Israelis admitted the attack and said that Israeli forces exchanged shellfire with the Palestinian freedom fighters, but alleged that no casualties or damage had been reported.

On March 3, a Palestinian commando unit shelled the Israeli Fardawi camp and armored vehicles near Jibbein in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The attack was carried out with heavy rockets, setting fire to the camp.

On the same day, Palestinian freedom fighters launched a surprise attack on the enemy military command headquarters and on camps in the occupied Golan Heights near Kuneitra, using heavy rockets and machine guns. They scored direct hits inflicting heavy losses on enemy installations and causing many casualties among enemy personnel. Enemy positions were set on fire, and rescue squads and fire-brigades were rushed to the scene to extinguish the fire and evacuate casualties.

On March 5, explosive charges planted by Palestinian commandos at an enemy sweets factory at the Yan Street in the heart of Tel Aviv, went off,

setting the building on fire and destroying all the contents of the factory.

On March 6, a land-mine planted by Palestinian commandos exploded under an enemy military power-wagon, carrying enemy soldiers from Sinai to Rafah. The vehicle was destroyed and its occupants were killed and wounded.

On the same day, Palestinian commandos rocketed the Ain Wawiyat camp in the occupied Syrian Heights, inflicting heavy losses on enemy installations. The enemy sustained many casualties.

On March 7, explosive charges planted by Palestinian commandos at the Police Investigation Department in building No. 16 in Tel Aviv, exploded, causing great damage to the building. Several Israeli intelligence personnel were injured or wounded.

On the same day, an enemy intelligence officer, called David, was killed, when his car was ambushed by a commando unit near the Jebaliyah camp in the Gaza Strip.

On March 8, Palestinian commando patrols clashed with an enemy military patrol at the outskirts of Ain Yaheef settlement in the Negev. The enemy patrol sustained a number of casualties. Our men used hand grenades and machine-guns in the attack.

On March 12, a Palestinian commando unit placed explosive charges at the Hofesh Mar Restaurant on the shore Lake Tiberias frequented by enemy soldiers. The charges exploded, destroying the restaurant and setting it on fire. Several Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded.

On March 13, explosive charges and incendiary bombs planted by a Palestinian commando unit, went off under an enemy military land rover carrying enemy soldiers to the south of Deir El-Balah. The vehicle was destroyed and its occupants were killed or wounded.

On March 14, traffic on the Israeli railway-lines in the Gaza Strip was interrupted as a result of Palestinian commando attacks. The destruction of the railway line near Jerusalem resulted in derailing a railway coach.

On March 15, two Israeli soldiers were killed and five wounded when a landmine, planted by Palestinian commandos blasted their car on a dirt track, 19 Kilometers from the Lebanese frontier. An Israeli lieutenant and a corporal were killed. The explosion took place deep in Israeli held territory near the town of Karmiel.

On March 19, a commando unit attacked an enemy ambush near Kuneitra, using rockets and mortars, scoring direct hits on enemy targets. A

number of Israelis were killed or wounded. The attack was launched after a gap had been opened in the enemy electronic fortifications erected by the Zionists near Kuneitra.

On March 22, a special commando unit placed highly explosive and incendiary charges at a clothes store in Dizenkov Street in Tel Aviv. The charges exploded, setting several neighbouring buildings on fire. Enemy losses were estimated at thousands of Israeli pounds. The enemy admitted that the store had been completely destroyed and that the fires had spread to a neighbouring commercial shop. Several Israelis were injured.

On March 24, a Palestinian commando unit laid an ambush to an enemy military patrol on a dirt track east of Dabousiya camp in the occupied Syrian Heights. An enemy half-tracked vehicle was damaged with machine gun fire and rockets and its four occupants were killed or wounded.

Also on March 24, a special commando unit attacked a concentration of enemy military vehicles north of Kafr-El-Ma in the Syrian occupied Golan Heights, using machine-guns and heavy rockets. The attack resulted in damaging a number of enemy armored vehicles and in killing, or wounding, a number of enemy soldiers.

On March 25, Palestinian commandos attacked

Tal Abu Dahab camp in the occupied Syrian Heights, using rockets and other weapons. The rockets scored direct hits on enemy barracks and concentration of vehicles. The attack resulted in killing or wounding a number of enemy soldiers.

On March 26, Palestinian freedom fighters launched an attack against an enemy patrol near Beit Lahya in the northern part of the Gaza Strip, using machine-guns and hand grenades in the ensuing battle which lasted for two hours. Several enemy soldiers were killed or wounded. ■

P. L. O. Political Program

The Palestine National Congress, which was held in Cairo in the first two weeks of April 1972 and which was attended by 500 Palestinian delegates, approved on April 10 the following political program for the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.):

The Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) will concentrate its struggle on four main objectives:

1. Continuing the mobilization and organization of all the potentials of the Palestine people, inside and outside the homeland.
2. Cementing the struggle of the Palestine

people with that of the people in Jordan in the form of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian Front, which will work for the liberation of Palestine and also the liberation of Jordan from the Royalist regime and the establishment of a democratic national rule there.

3. Cementing the ties that bind the Palestinian and Jordanian struggle with that of all the Arab nation through the establishment of a united front of all progressive and nationalist forces opposed to imperialism, Zionism, and the new imperialism (in Jordan).

4. Coordinating work with the world struggle against imperialism and Zionism with the ultimate objective of attaining national liberation.

On the Palestinian front, the P.L.O. has the following strategy as its objective:

1. Continuing the struggle for the liberation of all the Palestinian homeland and the establishment of a Palestinian democratic rule, where work and a decent living will be available to all citizens. Guarantees to the interests of all those who participated in the revolution or supported it will be given. Even those who were sympathetic to the Palestine cause and who refrained from cooperating with the

enemy or making its objectives easier will get similar guarantees. Freedom of expression, meeting, demonstrating, striking will also be guaranteed, in addition to the establishment of national political organizations. The state will also guarantee freedom of belief to all citizens.

2. Continuing the struggle AGAINST all plans for solving the Palestine problem through the establishment of fake entities or a Palestine state on any part of Palestine.

3. Consolidating national unity with the masses in the areas occupied by the enemy in 1948, the people in the West Bank of Jordan, in the Gaza Strip and in lands outside Palestine.

4. Resisting the policy aimed at deporting Arabs from the occupied territories, the establishment of Jewish settlements and the measures aimed at Judaizing part of the Palestine homeland.

5. Mobilizing and arming the masses in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to enable them to resist the occupying authorities.

6. Organizing the masses in the form of unions and syndicates to enable them to protect their daily interests and to resist attempts by the Histadrut to attract the Arabs in Israel to join the organization.

7. Supporting Palestinian laborers working in Arab establishments and providing them with guarantees that will make them turn down offers for work by the enemy.

8. Supporting the farmers in the occupied territories by providing them with the facilities that would deter them from moving away from the land.

9. Taking care of the interests of the Palestinians in all the Arab homeland by providing them with all the economic and legal rights enjoyed by the citizens of the countries in which they are living.

10. Putting the Palestinian woman on an equal footing with the man at all levels.

11. Improving the status of the Palestinians in the camps through the establishment of popular committees under the auspices of the P.L.O. to take care of the affairs of the camps.

12. Considering any person who cooperates with the enemy as an enemy of the Palestine revolution.

13. Taking care of the interests of Palestinians who emigrated to foreign countries.

14. The Palestine Liberation Organization will

be formed of all resistance groups - political and military-and of all Palestinian popular organizations- Unions or educational associations. Membership of the P.L.O. will be open to all national groups and personalities.

15. The activities of the P.L.O. will be handled by a provisional political and military leadership that will be formed after consultation with all the groups that make up the Organization. This provisional leadership will prepare for a General Congress of the Organization, which participated in electing the Central Committee of the P.L.O. and will implement the organization's strategy for liberation.

16. The provisional leadership will merge all cadres that at present make up the Organization.

17. The P.L.O. will exercise its official role by taking charge of the affairs of the Palestinians in the Arab world. The P.L.O. will continue to represent the political aims and objectives of the Palestine people; it will continue to be the highest political leadership for the Palestine people and it will be the sole organization speaking for the Palestinians in all matters affecting their destiny. ■

DOCUMENTS

REPORT OF THE UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE - FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

■
On October 5, 1971, the three-member UN «Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories» submitted to the UN Secretary-General its second report. The Report condemns Israel for serious violations of the rights of the inhabitants of the Occupied Arab territories and makes recommendations to deal with these violations.

Last month we gave the full text of the Findings of the Report. Below is the full text of the Recommendations.

Recommendations

■
of the Special Committee to Investigate Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Occupied Territories. ■

84. The Special Committee, having examined the evidence before it, reiterates the recommendations that it made in its first report (A/8089, paras. 145-156) with the modifications indicated below.

85. The Special Committee notes that the declared Israeli policy of annexing Jerusalem has become even more manifest in the construction of large housing projects on the occupied eastern limits of the city undertaken as an apparent instrument of that policy. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly call upon the Government of Israel to desist from all measures for the annexation of the occupied part of Jerusalem.

86. The Special Committee also notes that since the presentation of its first report certain policies and practices which the Special Committee found to exist in the occupied territories have been continued, in some instances on an even wider scale. This is especially so in regard to the policy of encouraging the movement of Israeli settlers into such settlements. The Special Committee recommends that the Government of Israel be called upon to discontinue this policy.

87. The Special Committee must also draw attention to the fact that the practice of deportation of civilians from the occupied territories has continued unabated, and must record its grave concern that this practice, together with the policy of

establishing settlements in the occupied territories, seems calculated to eliminate an identifiable Palestinian community altogether from the occupied territories. The Special Committee, therefore, recommends that the General Assembly at the same time call upon the Government of Israel to permit, unconditionally, all persons who have fled the occupied territories, or who have been deported or expelled therefrom, to return to their homes.

88. The Special Committee still maintains that the existing arrangements for the enforcement of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions are, in the circumstances, inadequate as they neither enable complete and exhaustive investigation of allegations of violations of these Conventions nor do they in a positive sense ensure their scrupulous observance. Such an investigation can be effective only if the parties concerned extend their willing co-operation.

89. The evidence before the Special Committee shows that the practices and policies found to exist in the occupied territories in 1970 have not ceased, and for this reason the Special Committee would reiterate the recommendation contained in paragraph 155 of its first report (A/8089) regarding the establishment of a mechanism to ensure the safeguarding of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories. In renewing this recommendation the Special Committee must emphasize that it attaches the highest importance to the proper

representation of the interests of the Palestinian population, which has not yet been given the right of self-determination. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize the need for effective implementation of the Geneva Conventions; and that humanitarian considerations should transcend all political differences and difficulties. Humanitarian considerations and the importance of protecting rights accorded under international law can and should be kept separate and distinct from the political issues. The Special Committee is satisfied that the arrangement it proposes does not and cannot prejudice any final settlement of the political problem involved in accordance with the terms of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

90. The Special Committee, therefore commends to the States parties to the conflict in the Middle East the adoption of the arrangement proposed by it in its first report. The merit of that proposal is that it conforms to the spirit of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions while avoiding certain political problems inherent in the present situation. For such an arrangement to be effective, three elements are essential:

- (a) There must be supervision of the conditions of occupation;
- (b) This supervision must be exercised by an independent and impartial body;

- (c) The investigating body must enjoy freedom of operation in the spirit of the Geneva Conventions.

91. The arrangement proposed by the Special Committee in its first report (A/8089) and recommended by it again is as follows: The General Assembly might recommend:

- (a) That the States whose territory is occupied by Israel appoint immediately either a neutral State or States, or an international organization which offers all guarantees of impartiality and effectiveness, to safeguard the human rights of the occupied territories;
- (b) That suitable arrangements be made for the proper representation of the interests of the large population in the occupied territories which has not been given the opportunity of exercising the right of self-determination; and
- (c) That a neutral State or international organization, as described in (a) above, be nominated by Israel and be associated in this arrangement. The Special Committee recommends that the State or States or international organization duly nominated under this arrangement might be authorized to undertake the following activities:

- (a) To secure the scrupulous implementation of the provisions relating to human rights contained in the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions and in particular to investigate and determine the facts in the case of allegations of the violation of the human rights provisions of these Conventions or of other applicable international instruments;
- (b) To ensure that the population of the occupied territories is treated in accordance with the applicable law;
- (c) To report to the States concerned, and to the General Assembly of the United Nations on its work. ■



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