CONTENTS

- From the Record .................................................. 3
- Editorial ......................................................... 4
- Political Scene ................................................. 6
- Recent Discriminatory Legislation in Israel .................. 14
- The Good Earth (short story) By: Husam Khatib .......... 27
- A.B.C. of the Palestinian Question ............................. 32
- Palestine Question In World Press ............................ 33
- Israel, the Brutal Occupier .................................... 34
- P.L.O. Research Center .......................................... 43
- History and Future of a Right By: Shafiq Al-Hout .... 53
- Israel, the Burden of Militarization By: V. Lavrovsky . 62
- Israel's Jewish Problem By: Irene Beeson ............... 69
- Book Review .................................................... 79
- Resistance Operations ........................................... 85
- Documents ....................................................... 89
The African mediation in the Middle East, despite the hopes entertained by the mediators in the early stages of mediation, has now failed.

Motivated by a commendable desire to exert efforts to help establish peace in this important area of the world, the thirty-nine members of the African Unity Organization initiated the African mediation mission early in October. The mission was headed by Senegalese President Leopold Senghor and included in its membership the Presidents of Zaire, (formerly Congo Kinshasa), of the Cameroon and of Nigeria.

The four African leaders visited Israel and Egypt twice. They reported on the two rounds of talks, which they had with the Egyptian and Israeli leaders, to the subcommittee of ten African Heads of States delegated by the African Unity Organization to investigate the Middle East crisis.

Notwithstanding the mediation, the African countries had already expressed their views on the current Middle East situation through the resolution unanimously adopted by the Conference of the Organization held in Addis Ababa last June. The resolution, adopted on June 22, condemned Israel’s continued occupation of the Arab territories and demanded withdrawal of Israel from all occupied...
But her eyes went to work harder than any other of her senses, for it was on them that she depended in assessing any situation on the spot.

She gradually began to see threads of light coming through a thin dark atmosphere. With the help of these threads of light she began to perceive rocky walls surrounding the little place with a little opening at the farthest end. She finally saw that she was in a deserted mountain cave. But how did she get here? and when? What was she doing in this place?

She suddenly remembered many things with gaps of oblivion here and there. There were many questions in search of answers, but at the moment they did not seem so urgent. The important thing was that she was not dead. She moved her arms easily, which made her happy. She had more courage, tried next to move her legs which she could do but with great difficulty. She must have been wounded in action. She felt around, and discovered that the wound was in her waste. She felt the congealed blood on the wound. It looked as though she had bled a great deal. She remembered dimly having crawled from the battle ground to this place. It was not easy for her to decide how far she had to crawl.

This was her first battle, but she was not unhappy to have gotten wounded in it. It was not her life that mattered, but the outcome of the battle. Things became clearer now, and the light coming through the entrance of the cave became stronger and stronger. The details inside the cave were more easily seen. When she tasted the earth that had stuck to her lips it did not seem as bad as she had thought. In fact something in that taste was very sweet and reminded her of some vague incident in her past. She began to remember those beautiful days when she was a young girl playing in the street with her friends. She used to get her clothes and hands dirty,
and it was the taste and smell of the earth that she suddenly remembered when she tasted the earth on her lips. There was only one thing that spoiled her innocent childish play: that was her mother's anger when she saw her in the evening. There was always the possibility of a scolding, and sometimes a spanking on the dirty legs and arms, and then naturally the cold water used to wash the dirt.

She never understood why her mother did not like that earth which stuck to her clothes and knees. She felt that the soil was part of her daily life, in fact of her very life.

When she tasted that dirt now, she felt free. It was the freedom that one feels when one can do anything without any restrictions. Now she could leave the earth on her arms and legs and clothes, and she never had to wash it off. She could go on tasting the sweet earth for as long as she wanted to.

She was still young when she had to flee from home with her parents, and she never could understand why they had to exchange their nice comfortable house for a tent in another country. This new life was too much for her; everything was changed, and she had not time to play anymore.

In this new place she began to hear about the commandos, and about the movement for the liberation of the homeland. The name Palestine was vague, until she knew what it meant for all of these thousands of people living in the same camp. It was with a vague feeling of happiness that she enlisted in the movement and underwent the rough training. She began to have a different feeling towards the camp. It did not feel like home anymore. Home was beyond the barbed wires, and that's where she wanted to live when the movement succeeded. The twenty years she spent in those low mud houses did not seem to have made her feel at home.

She went to the daily training with an enthusiasm that made the rough and tumble of the training seem very easy. It was with the same feeling that she and her group infiltrated the night before. Crossing the ceasefire line was made with no difficulty, but half an hour later there was suddenly the barking of dogs followed by the sounds of machine-gun and mortar fire. It was dark, and she did not know what happened to the others; but she remembered feeling the warm blood running down her side and she began to crawl among the rocks.

Now she was receiving a new morning in her life. It was a strange feeling. She knew that there was not hope for her, but she did not care. She only wanted to die before the enemy arrived. It took a few minutes for her wish to come true. First it was the taste of earth getting sweeter and sweeter, and then her eyes were closed; but she still could imagine the small spots on the map. The cities of Haifa, Jerusalem, and Gaza, and the rest of these were no more spots on the map. They became in her mind as big as life. And she felt that they were part of her life, at least the few remaining moments of it.
A. B. C. Of The Palestine Question

In connection with the «Palestine Solidarity Week» organized last May in the capitals of ten countries in five continents, the Art Section of the Department of Information and National Guidance of the Palestine Liberation Organization prepared a series of 33 illustrations which give the basic facts of the Palestine Question.

The following four illustrations are the last of eight consecutive batches planned for publication in «Resistances» issues of May — December, 1971:
Shafiq Al-Hout, representative of the Palestine Liberation in Lebanon and Secretary-General of the Union of Arab Journalists recently visited the headquarters of OSPAAAL (the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America) in Havana, where he met members of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL whom he brought up to date on the present situation which the Palestine revolutionary movement is passing through.

From his words, «Tricontinental» bimonthly magazine published in its issue No. 24 (May-June 1971) the following summary exposition of the Zionist invasion of Palestine and the subsequent struggle of the Palestine people to eradicate it:

**Our** problems started the moment the colonialists entered our country after the First World War. As a result of the Versailles Treaty the Arab countries were divided and remained under foreign
Palestine was placed under a mandate of the British who cooperated, at the same time, with the Zionist movement. Thus the Palestinian people had to fight against two fronts: the colonialist and the Zionist.

The famous Balfour Declaration of 1917 deprived the Palestinians of their rights in Palestine. The people rejected and denounced that declaration and began to fight against the Zionist-colonialist conspiracy.

Unfortunately, few people know that the Palestinians rebelled before 1948 on more than six occasions and that all these revolutions were peasant struggles. Of course, the Zionists were on the side of the British colonialists. It must be made clear that we are not anti-Jewish; we were fighting for liberty, but the Zionists who led all the Jews of Palestine took the position of colonialist invaders.

The revolutions were unsuccessful because of the magnitude of the enemy and certain errors committed by our national liberation movement.

In 1947, when the British colonialists — under the internal pressure of the Palestinians and the international struggle for liberation — had to give up Palestine, our territory was divided. We went to the United Nations at the historic moment in which U.S. imperialism was most powerful. In the United Nations, too, many errors were committed. In the first place, the Palestine people were not invited to state their point of view and their right to self-determination was ignored. In the second place, the UN made a decision it is not authorized to make, and decreed the partition of Palestine into two states: an Israeli state and an Arab Palestinian state. At that time, we fought for independence, for a democratic state in which the entire Palestinian people could enjoy equal rights. I remember that the Syrian delegation to the UN made this point in the name of all the Palestinians but, unfortunately, the United States could recruit all its puppet countries to vote in favor of the partition of Palestine.

Perhaps someone far from Palestine may think this a practical solution; but it was not, for the following reasons: In the first place it is impossible to establish two antagonistic states in a small country. Secondly the geographic partition of a small country means more or less an emigration from one part to another in an impractical way. Thirdly, the partition gave the Zionists more than 60% of the fertile land, while the Jews, legally, owned no more than 8% of all the land. The Arab Palestinians totalled more than a million, while the number of Jews at that time was 600,000.

Nevertheless the imperialists were still not satisfied. They used certain puppet Arab regimes, particularly that of Jordan, to play their game in Palestine. Thus some Arab armies came in, not to liberate Palestine, but to enforce what the UN had decided, and the Palestine national movement was
betrayed by a new alliance of U.S. imperialism and Zionism. As a result of the 1948 war, Israel occupied more land than was allotted to the Jewish state and a million Palestinians were expelled from their lands. The conspiracy didn't stop there. The Zionists and imperialists knew that after taking these lands they would have to finish off the people; they knew that while Palestinians existed, there would be a continuous battle.

Some of us took refuge in the Arab countries; I am sorry to say it but we were treated as if we were in concentration camps, especially in Jordan and Lebanon, where there are large numbers of Palestinians.

In Jordan the Hashemites had ambitions for a kingdom but never had enough people, and so they told us: «You will be our people and will have the facilities to live like human beings». The Hashemites maintained a dictatorship during the last 25 years and more than 25,000 Palestinians have gone to jail. The majority of our comrades, well-known leaders, have spent years in desert jails; and the accusation was always something like «you are a communists». Whoever fights against imperialism is considered a communist and is consequently sent to jail. Some lived from 1948 to 1965 struggling politically under the most severe and inhuman conditions. In 1965 the Al Fateh organization began its first guerrilla activities. It was the first political body of Palestinian resistance recognized by the Arab states after 1948.
As you know, we do not have parachutists; we do not have a fleet of ships and so we have difficulties in entering the occupied territories. The Arab regimes perhaps have certain good intentions, but it is not easy for them to allow us to enter Israel from their territories.

The conflict with Jordan, in which the majority of the Palestinian people live, is well known. We consider Jordan to be our territory. At the beginning, the Jordanians did not fight against the commandos for the simple reason that the West had not offered King Hussein anything, and so he thought: «Why not let these combatants fight?», since he was planning to use us as political pressure; but when the United States proposed the Rogers Plan, the existence of the guerrillas was no longer useful to King Hussein and he consequently began his provocations.

The culminating point of the conspiracy took place in September 1970 when we were surprised by a military government formed in Amman and it was expected that we would surrender to it. We had to resist but it was impossible. We had not thought the Jordanian regime was so cruel and barbarous. The bloody week of the September of that year was incredible because we did not doubt that the Jordanian regime would attack our bases, kill our guerrilla fighters, imprison our leaders, but we never thought it would permit its artillery to bomb the cities and encampments indiscriminately; moreover, the majority of the losses we suffered were unarmed and peaceful citizens, older persons, women, children. They cut off the water from Amman, but the people resisted heroically; the casualties were around 20000 including the wounded, dead, and missing.

Our movement is at an important point. We have a confrontation against the imperialists, the Israelis and the reactionary Arab regimes; we face napalm, cannons, concentration camps and we are surrounded by censorship of information.

In relation to the «legitimate rights of the Palestinians»: Nixon says he wants to give the Palestinians their legitimate rights; Golda Meir says she wants to give the Palestinian refugees their legitimate rights, but what are these legitimate rights? We are not a company asking for legitimate rights, we are a nation fighting for national rights, for liberty, for the reunification of the homeland.

We are very careful to distinguish between enemies and friends, and to point out that the acceptance of the Rogers Plan by certain Arab states represents a contradiction with the movement and that all Arab regimes are not alike although at times they hold the same political line. Some of them want to distinguish matters differently from the others. For example I would say: Egypt accepted the Rogers Plan and so did King Hussein, but in Egypt there is a regime that is strengthening its army, its relations with the socialist countries,
giving the public greater liberty of action; but the Jordanian regime has not reestablished its forces; it is against socialism, refuses to accept Soviet aid and believes that the solution is in Washington and London. The Rogers Plan might satisfy the problem of 1967 with respect to the new territories occupied, but it does not satisfy the basic problem which is the territories occupied in 1948. Moreover, if we study the Rogers Plan, we note the following: first, the Rogers Plan was not directed to nor did it recognize the Palestinians, offers a solution only to the Arab states; two, it speaks of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians but when one speaks of legitimate rights it is very important to know who is speaking of them. For example, Dr. Raúl Roa in a recent speech spoke of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, but Raúl Roa represents the Cuban Revolution and his concept of legitimate rights is different from legitimate rights according to the way the North Americans in Washington understand them. That is why Raúl Roa in his speech described the Palestinian people as heroic, sacrificing, and said that their revolution is an inspiration for all revolutionary peoples; if one speaks of legitimate rights, and it is Raúl Roa who is speaking, it is fine, but when stated by Nixon I do not believe it and cannot trust it.

Many times I do not use the word «Israel», I prefer to say «occupied territory.» We have two classes of occupied territories: those occupied in 1948 and those occupied in 1967. We reject the word

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM IN A NUTSHELL by Henry Cattan, 32 pp, LL 1

At last a book which explains the essence of the Palestine problem in less than twenty-five pages, simply and completely, is on the market.

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM IN A NUTSHELL is the most brief, yet complete description of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its root cause, the Palestine problem. The author, a Palestinian lawyer, in this greatly condensed version of his longer works on the same topic, «The Road to Peace» and «Palestine, the Arabs, and Israel», takes the reader from the nineteenth century European Jews’ plan to create a Jewish Home to the Jarring mission which became deadlocked in mid-1971.

The comfortable, easy-to-read style of the author, together with five maps showing the partition plan, land ownership, population, and Israeli land seizures during 1948, 1949 and 1967 make this book an ideal primer for beginner students of the Middle East and an excellent quick reference work for scholars.

GAZA by Arlette Tessier, 33 pp, LL 1

For their courage and dedication in the face of extreme torment, inhuman treatment, and personal abasement, the residents of Gaza deserve the highest medal of honor.
The Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O) Research Center collects information, facts and documents on the Palestine issue and publishes studies and research relating to the Palestine question. It avoids all kinds of propaganda and directs its efforts to the task of filling a long-felt gap in documentation and analytical material on the Palestine problem.

In our «Book Reviews» section for this month we introduce four recent English publications of the Center.*

BLACK SEPTEMBER
156 pp, LL 8

From the time King Hussein succeeded his father and his assassinated grandfather, Abdullah,

to the throne until now, his monarchy has been in political disarray. The king himself has charged not only Syrians, Egyptians and Palestinians, but also his own Jordanian subjects with more than fifteen assassination plots and coup d'état attempts.

Jordan's most serious upheaval occurred in September 1970 between the regime and the Palestinian commandoes over the latter's right to fight Israel from Jordanian soil. The confrontation was a critical turning point for the fedayeen, not only because they were forced to go underground in Jordan and relocate in Syria and Lebanon, but because it signaled the end of western press coverage of the Palestinian revolution.

The gripping account of this confrontation is told in BLACK SEPTEMBER. The story begins in June 1970 after the Resistance Movement's stand was found to be incompatible with US Secretary of State Rogers' peace initiative. The destructive and futile battles in mid-September, the deadly slow conferences of the Arab heads of state, and the final agreement in Cairo to halt the fighting are all revealed in agonizing detail.

BLACK SEPTEMBER is a record of events, truths and lies as told through clippings from foreign newspapers and radio broadcasts. It is not an analytical or historical study, but it does contain valuable background information such as why the Palestinians reject the United Nations resolution 242 which most nations accept as a just solution to the 1967 war, a detailed story of the hijackings, an
explanation of other nations' attitudes toward the struggle and their intervention plans, and a comparison of the commando forces' strength with King Hussein's Royal Jordanian Army.

Later attacks against the Palestinian Resistance Movement by the Jordanian regime from November 1970 to July 1971 bear out the theme of this book, that the confrontation was part of a long-range plan to eliminate the commando presence along the Israeli border. By silencing the people who have the most at stake in the settlement with Israel, the Palestinians, a solution for the Middle East conflict is thought to be easier to find. The validity of that assumption and the success of the Jordanian regime in suppressing the Palestinian revolution will only be proved by time.

Everyone concerned about the Resistance Movement's struggle for survival in the Arab world and the foreign press's presentation of Palestinian influence on events in the Middle East owes it to himself to read this book.
Before the State of Israel was established in 1948, Arab and Jew lived in peace and harmony in the Middle East. JEWS OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES affirms this statement in a brief survey of Jewish nationals in more than ten Arab countries. The authors show how the Jews have formed an integral segment of the indigenous Arab population in which they live, speaking the same language, adhering to the same mores, and sharing the same economic, social and political life. Widespread immigration to Israel from Arab countries, much slower than from Europe and America, did not occur until Zionists, sent in for persuasion purposes, either falsely promised a prosperous life in Israel or created such hostile conditions that Jews had to leave their Arab homes. Understanding the facts presented in this monograph, that for centuries before the Zionist state was erected, Jews lived in Arab nations free from the persecution and pogroms not uncommon in Europe, makes the reader realize the betterment the democratic state proposed by the Palestine revolution would bring to the Middle East.
Their story is told simply, concisely, and with human warmth in GAZA by Arlette Tessier. After a brief historical sketch of this Mediterranean coastal land, Miss Tessier recounts the Zionists' aggression and occupation in Palestine and tells how they uprooted thousands of Palestinians from their villages and forced them to relocate in Gaza. This 5-by-45 kilometer strip soon became so overpopulated that the survival of the 6000 persons per square kilometer had to depend upon the charity of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

Rather than sinking into despair and frustration, the Gaza refugees have emerged as passionately committed Palestinian nationalists, determined to resist Israeli occupation until a democratic, non-sectarian state is established for Arabs and Jews in Palestine. Their determined and valiant resistance, which the Israelis have countered with even more severe oppression, continues today.

Everyone who values human life and justice, regardless of his political ideology or nationality, should read GAZA.
mission and, in particular, to the proposals of February 8 of the UN mediator, which were accepted by Egypt and rejected by Israel;

«REAFFIRMS solidarity with the UAR and appreciates the positive attitude reflected in its reply to the February 15, 1971, initiative of the UN special peace representative, which is an effective move taken with a view to establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East»;

«DEPLORES the disregard of Israel for this initiative and invites her to make a positive response (as Egypt did) to the peace initiative of the UN special representative.»

(2) From Resolution of the 10th Session of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (Damascus - June 24, 1971).

«1 — The problem of Palestine is not and has never been a problem of refugees; it is basically a problem of a people who have been forcibly deprived of their basic rights by an imperialist-colonialist minority. Therefore, the committee asserts the validity of these rights, which no people can possibly renounce, particularly the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in their land. The international community will be deceiving itself and its peoples if it believes that peace can be established in the Middle East without the Palestinian people regaining their rights. The UN General Assembly has asserted these facts and these rights in resolutions it has adopted by a two-thirds majority since 1969 — resolution No. 2535 of 10 December 1969 and resolution No. 2672 of 8 December 1970.

«2 — The committee denounces the Israeli aggression committed against the Arab nation in June 1967 and calls for the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied territory and the removal of all the effects of the aggression, and condemns the annexation of land by force.

«3 — The committee denounces both Israel and South Africa, in accordance with UN General Assembly resolution No. 1649 of 30 November 1970, which denounces governments that deny people their right to self-determination, particularly the Arab people in Palestine and the people of South Africa.

«4 — The committee recognizes the legitimacy and legality of the Palestinian resistance, especially since the UN General Assembly has approved the right of self-determination of the Arab people in Palestine and has condemned Israel's violation of these rights. The committee regards the Palestinian resistance as a vanguard movement for liberation from the ugliest forms of colonialist imperialism and a movement having the right to resort to armed struggle and other means in its struggle against Israel and Zionism. In this respect, the committee points to UN resolution No. 1415 adopted in 1960, calling for an end to colonization of peoples...»
Resolutions of Antiochian Church Convention (Boston – August 27, 1971).

RESOLUTION NO. 1: Status of the Holy City of Jerusalem

The Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of New York and All North America repeating and reaffirming its unanimously adopted resolution (August 2, 1969) at Miami Beach, Florida, again protests the annexation of the Arab Section of Jerusalem by Israel, an annexation which represents expansion by force of arms and unilateral action in defiance of world opinion and moral law.

We especially view with dismay the current arbitrary physical changes being made in East Jerusalem by Israeli occupation forces without regard for the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants and without regard for the legal and spiritual rights of the inhabitants.

We particularly deplore the steps taken by the Israeli government to effectively force the Christian and Moslem inhabitants to leave the Holy City, steps which are being taken to «create facts» which would make East Jerusalem also a Jewish City.

As Christians we regard Jerusalem as the city of our Lord Jesus Christ, closely associated with His Life and Death and Resurrection, at the same time that we recognize that Jerusalem is also holy to Jews and to Moslems.

RESOLUTION NO. 2: Treatment of Non-Jews in Israel and in the Occupied Territories

At this time we particularly call the attention of North American Christians to «An Appeal to Christian Conscience» regarding the violations of Human Rights and International Law in Jerusalem, made by 9 patriarchs and pastors of Christian communities in the Near East, including our own Patriarch Elias IV, patriarch of Antioch and all the East.

At this time we join with many others who have recently expressed their concern about Jerusalem, such as Pope Paul, the World Council of Churches, the Near East Bishops, the United States and Canadian governments, and the United Nations. Accordingly, we continue to give support to the expressed policies of the United States and Canadian governments against the annexation of Jerusalem and we urge Washington and Ottawa to exert their influence to effect implementation of the Geneva Convention and of United Nations Resolutions with regard to the Holy City of Jerusalem.

RESOLUTION NO. 2: Treatment of Non-Jews in Israel and in the Occupied Territories

We join with our Jewish, Christian and Moslem brothers in and outside of Israel who have protested the violations of human rights and international law by Israel in the occupied territories.
We cannot be silent in the face of several unbiased and authoritative reports that Christians and Moslems in Israel and in the occupied territories continue to suffer from discrimination, inequality and injustice: (1) the United Nations' 25th General Sessions Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, (2) the report by the International Red Cross, (3) the report by the British Branch of Amnesty, Inc., (4) the National Council of Churches 1968 and 1971 reports of visits by church leaders to the Near East, (5) statements by Near Eastern Christian Leaders including those made in Israel by the Melkite Archbishop of Galilee, (6) statements by the Israeli League of Human Rights, etc.

We note the most recent of 23 United Nations' resolutions critical of Israeli occupation policy and practices, namely the March 15, 1971, Resolution of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, which «condemns Israel's continued violations of Human Rights in the occupied territories, including policies aimed at changing the status of those territories.»

We call upon men of goodwill and conscience everywhere, and especially on the governments of the United States and Canada, to help effect democratic, legal and humane treatment of non-Jews in Israel and in the occupied territories.
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Damascus ( Syria ).

Mother and Children

Original Painting by Palestinian artist
Ismaei Shamout

The exiled people of Palestine have been inaccurately
but widely referred to as the «Arab refugees». But «Arab
refugees» they are not; they are Palestinians denied self-
determination in, and exiled from, their homeland, or living
under enemy occupation in their own land... Zionism means
solving the problem of Jewish homelessness at the expense
of the Palestinian people...