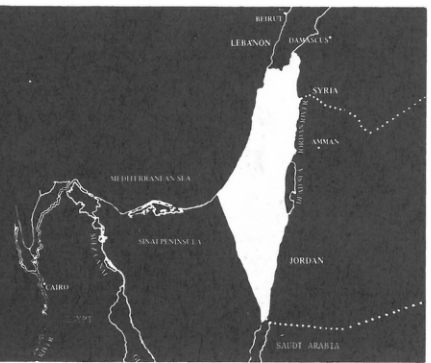


Palestine!



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Struggle in Palestine Advances

Unprecedented General Strike in Galilee

In an unprecedented militant protest to occupation, tens of thousands of Palestinians who came under Israeli occupation in 1948 joined in a general strike and demonstrations on March 30.

Organizers named March 30 the "Day of the Land" to dramatize their demand for an end to Israeli expropriation of Arab land; they also demanded an end to "national oppression and discrimination" of the Arabs in Israel. The general strike was called by the National Committee for the Defense of Arab Land, in which the Communist Party of Israel (Rakah) is a central element. The protests were clearly timed to coincide with the militant protests that have been sweeping the occupied West Bank since late January.

The strike was, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, "almost 100 percent effective in the Arab towns and villages." The militance of the strikers shocked Israeli officials; *Maariv*, an Israeli daily, called March 30 "the blackest day in the history of relations between Jews and Arabs in the state of Israel."

Palestinian demonstrations, scores of them each involving several hundred protesters, were of unprecedented ferocity. In the villages of Sakhnin and Deir Hanna, demonstrators shouting, "Fateh, Fateh," surrounded police stations and hurled stones and Molotov cocktails at Israeli military patrols. In Arraba, young people yelling, "This village belongs to Palestine, not to Israel," laid a trap for an Israeli army truck by barricading a road with burning tires, and then threw gasoline bombs at Israeli soldiers.

Six Arabs were killed by Israeli soldiers in the course of the protests, many more were wounded and nearly 300 arrested.

The immediate target of the "Day of the Land" protests was an Israeli government plan to "Judaize" the Galilee region in northern Israel, where there is now a 70 percent Arab population, by expropriating Arab land for new housing developments and industry.

March 30 was the first time in 28 years that the Palestinian Arabs in Israel have been able to hold a massive and militant demonstration of their rage. Until 1966 Arabs in Israel were under martial law; and even now political repression against the Arab population is heavy.

The Israeli government has in the past exercised political control over the Arab population by suppressing any Arab political organization and by utilizing pliable elected Arab officials who came into office through nominations by Zionist political parties. Now, however, Rakah is actively contending against the old officials for representation of the Arab citizens of Israel. Last December, Tewfik Zayad, a member of the Communist Party, was elected Mayor of Nazareth, the largest Arab town in Israel.

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PLO Supporters Sweep West Bank Elections

Supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organization won a sweeping victory in the municipal elections held in the occupied West Bank on April 12. The traditional leadership of the region, which had generally cooperated with the Israeli occupation, was virtually thrown out of office and replaced by nationalists.

The most dramatic change came about in Hebron, where the mayor for the last 40 years, Sheikh Mohammed Ali Jaabri, was replaced by a young nationalist, Fahd Kawasma, an agronomist. Jaabri epitomizes collaboration with the Israeli occupation and with the rule of the Jordanian monarchy for the 19 years which preceded it. Jaabri led the notables who provided a facade of legitimacy for the imposition of East Jordanian King Abdullah's rule on the West Bank in the wake of the conquest of most of Palestine by the Zionists in 1948. When the Israeli army entered Hebron in June 1967, Jaabri greeted the conquerors with feasts of freshly slaughtered sheep.

During the militant demonstrations against occupation which recently shook Hebron and the rest of the West Bank, the aging mayor apparently sensed that the political tides had turned against him. Rather than accept the humiliation of defeat, he refused to stand for re-election, a tactic also followed by the Haj Mazuz al Masri, then Mayor of Nablus. Although the Israeli occupation officials extended the deadline for registration of candidates to permit al Masri and Jaabri to reconsider, not even

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Demonstrate May 16

INT'L DAY OF SOLIDARITY
WITH PALESTINIAN
PEOPLE

for details, see p. 9

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Vorster meets in Jerusalem on April 9 with Rabin (right) and Defense Minister Peres (left).

NEW TRADE PACT CONCLUDED

Israel Greet's South Africa's Vorster

Israel and South Africa have concluded a major trade pact that includes substantial Israeli military arms for the white minority regime in South Africa.

The pact resulted from a four-day visit to Israel by South Africa's premier John Vorster in mid-April. Vorster, who was jailed in World War II for pro-Nazi activities, told Israeli radio that "relations with Israel have never been so good."

SUBSTANTIAL WEAPONS

According to the *Economist* (London), during the visit Vorster inspected the Israeli-made Kfir fighter-bomber, and was looking at tanks designed especially for desert conditions that Israel is developing. Vorster was escorted by the commander of Israel's navy to look at a guided missile boat being built in Haifa.

An arms deal with Israel is significant because it will allow South Africa to diversify its source of military supplies. This will make South Africa less vulnerable to international pressures to end its racist apartheid policies and its occupation of Namibia, which the United Nations has declared illegal. In return for the arms, South Africa has pledged to provide capital to allow Israel to expand its already large arms industry.

Military ties between the two countries have been growing steadily in recent years. The *London Daily Telegraph* reported that following the October, 1973 Middle East War, South Africa sent a number of its pilots to Israel for experience in war conditions. And the *Manchester Guardian* reported last summer that a former Israeli intelligence chief said that senior Israeli military officials were advising South Africa in counterinsurgency techniques.

South Africa has always maintained both a counterinsurgency and conventional style military capability. In Namibia it faces a growing national liberation movement engaged in guerrilla warfare. Following its recent defeat in Angola in a conventional style war, South Africa has also placed a new emphasis in preparing for that type of warfare. For the coming year, the apartheid country has doubled its already huge military budget.

NEW ECONOMIC PACT

The Israeli weapons are part of a larger pact the two countries agreed on during Vorster's visit to promote economic and scientific cooperation and trade. As part of the pact Israel is reportedly interested in buying one million tons of South African coal annually, beginning in 1979. In addition, the *New York Times* reported speculation that South Africa has agreed to provide Israel with supplies of uranium.

Israel hopes to gain from the pact a better trade balance and large quantities of South African raw materials. The raw

materials are especially lucrative because the exploited black South African labor used to procure them is extremely low-paid. In exchange, Israel offers South Africa skilled labor, sophisticated electronics, and science-based industries.

An example of this relationship is the diamond trade between the two countries. For years now, Israel has been the largest buyer of South African-mined diamonds, which, after polishing, constitute Israel's largest export industry. Steadily increasing economic ties between the two countries in the past fifteen years have increased trade between them by forty times, to \$120 million.

The relationship between the two countries goes back to 1948 when South Africa recognized the new Israeli state. Although they had close economic ties, during the 1960's Israel maintained a diplomatic distance from South Africa in order to maintain relations with black African states. However, following the October, 1973 Middle East War, all but three black African states had broken relations with Israel. Soon after the 1973 war Israel deepened its ties with South Africa and the two countries exchanged full embassies.

Today, both Israel and South Africa are finding themselves in a similar environment: an oppressed local population that is becoming increasingly militant; neighbors supporting the indigenous struggles; and increasing international sanctions and isolation.

Last July in Kampala, Uganda, Arab and African heads of state adopted a resolution declaring that "the racist regime in occupied Palestine and racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin."

An anti-apartheid conference scheduled for Havana in May also appears likely to condemn the racist nature of Zionism and its ties to South Africa. The Havana meeting is being sponsored by an 18-nation U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid and the Organization of African States. •

Correction: In the April issue of *Palestine!*, the last paragraph of the article on "Anti-PLO Strategy" on page 10 should read: "... surveyed... on the issue of **self-administration** and found universal opposition."

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TARGETS PALESTINIANS

What U.S. Wants in Lebanon

When the current civil war in Lebanon began just a little over one year ago, the United States government hoped that the Palestinian liberation movement would be eliminated or at least neutralized. Covert U.S. arms support flowed to right-wing Lebanese groups in search of that goal.

But now the tide has turned. In late March the Lebanese left and its Palestinian allies launched a successful offensive that threatened the right-wing. In response, the U.S. sent Ambassador L. Dean Brown on a special mission to Beirut. A cease-fire was established, but as of this writing future developments are unpredictable.

The progressive forces in Lebanon scored a significant strategic victory in late March after they seized the Hilton Hotel in the once luxurious but now gutted hotel area of Beirut. The Hilton was the last stronghold of the right wing on the Beirut seafont; its capture opened the crucial port area to the leftists. By March 29 the progressive forces were fighting inside the key Christian town of Kahale; if they seized it they would be in a position to launch a pincer movement from Kahale and the hotel district toward the Christian right's stronghold, the Asharafya district.

On March 25 shelling had forced President Suleiman Franjeh from the presidential palace at Baabda, southeast of Beirut; a convoy of military trucks rushed him, his family and state papers to Jounieh, a port 13 miles north of Beirut. Jounieh is in the hands of the rightists, but even there occasional leftist shells hit. Villages loyal to the Christian right in the Druze area had already been disarmed, and the Maronite reactionaries were being forced back toward their mountain fortification, Jabal Lubnan.

Pierre Gemayel, head of the fascist Phalange party, pleaded over the radio for "all able-bodied Christian men and women" to rally to the right-wing militia "so that you may save our homeland before it is too late."

Responding to the desperation behind Gemayel's appeal, the U.S. government announced that it was sending the helicopter carrier, Guadacanal, six other ships and 1700 Marines from the Sixth Fleet to within 20 hours sailing time of civil war-torn Lebanon. The force, ostensibly dispatched to be available for possible evacuation of U.S. civilians from Beirut, were actually meant to serve as a symbolic warning to the left of possible U.S. intervention. For people in Beirut, who vividly remember the landing of U.S. Marines during the last civil war in 1958, the Sixth Fleet is a powerful symbol.

Ambassador L. Dean Brown, whom Kissinger sent as his special emissary on a "fact-finding" mission to Beirut, is also, in his own way, a powerful symbol. Brown, recalled to official government service from the Middle East Institute, a think-tank with links to the oil corporations and foreign policy establishment, embodies the U.S. government's campaign for the physical liquidation of the Palestinian resistance movement. He is remembered as the U.S. ambassador who arrived in Amman in the midst of Black September 1970 and rode to the palace in a Jordanian army tank to present his credentials. He strapped a pistol to his waist and took an active role in coordinating the resupply of Hussein's troops via an airlift of military equipment from the U.S.

Brown's mission quickly went beyond "fact-finding" to political intervention; it was denounced by the Voice of Palestine, the PLO's radio station, which called Brown "a senior initiator of massacres and plots against our revolution."

One of Brown's principal tasks in Beirut is to overcome the blind intransigence of the Lebanese right, whose stubbornness seems to cloud their vision of the road to political survival. In



February, the U.S. had sent its clients in Lebanon a blunt message: their "last and best chance" was cooperation with the Syrian initiative. It was the failure of the right to heed that message which caused the Syrian initiative to bog down and sent Brown to Lebanon.

SYRIA OPPOSES PARTITION

The Syrian government intervened in the Lebanese civil war last January, after the right launched a brutal military campaign with the aim of partitioning Lebanon to establish a "Maronite Zion." The Phalange and other rightist militias overran part of the "belt of misery"—a chain of shantytowns and Palestinian refugee camps that cut the Maronite area of Beirut from their mountain villages. They seized the Palestinian refugee camp of Dbaiye, one which, ironically, Lebanese Christians had built for Palestinian Christians. They attacked the Karantina and al Maslakh areas, massacring many residents, evicting the rest, and putting their miserable homes to the torch. In retaliation Palestinian and Lebanese leftist forces captured the Christian town of Damour.

At that point, Palestinian Liberation Army units, nominally a part of the Palestine Liberation Organization, but actually attached to the Syrian military command, were sent into Lebanon to police much of the country. Syrian Prime Minister Hafiz al Assad worked out a compromise which initially seemed to be acceptable to the various parties: there would be partial, but by no means complete, secularization of the state; the Christian minority would no longer have a parliamentary majority but parity with the Moslem majority; the Maronites would be assured continued occupation of the Presidency, but the president would lose the right to appoint the Sunni Moslem Speaker of the Parliament, who would henceforth be elected.

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Elections

[Continued from page 1]

the personal intercession of the Israeli Minister of Defense availed to persuade the two realists to enter the race.

Fahd Kawasma became the new mayor of Hebron at the head of a National Bloc slate, after the expulsion of Jaabri's front-running opponent, a leftist who headed the Hebron Hospital. The Israelis deported the Hebron candidate along with a dentist from al Bireh, who was a candidate for office there. The deportations were punishment for involvement in the national movement.

In Ramallah the incumbent mayor Karim Khalf, an outspoken advocate of the PLO, was re-elected despite the actions of Israeli soldiers who ripped down or painted over his campaign posters because they carried the red, white, green and black of the Palestinian flag. His counterpart in Tulkarm, the pro-PLO incumbent Hilmi Hannoun, was also re-elected as mayor. Nationalists won as well in Beit Jala, Beit 'Sahus, Jericho, al Bireh, Bir Zeit and other towns.

In Jenin, the conservative traditionalist Mayor Ahmad Kamal Sa'adi was returned to office, but half of the municipal council seats went to the nationalists. Only in the town of Bethlehem did the election clearly go against the nationalists; there the incumbent Mayor Elias Freij won and his conservative slate gained 6 of the 11 seats on the municipal council. But even there one council post was taken by a member of the Communist Party and two more by other nationalists.

The newly elected officials have two salient characteristics. First, they are nationalists, some of them militantly so: one of those elected is currently in an Israeli prison on political grounds, and five other new officials have served time in jail for their resistance to occupation. Second, they tend to be drawn from a different sector of the population than the old leadership, which came from the "notable" families of prominent feudalists, some of whom had commercial interests as well. These politicians had generally cooperated with the military government since 1967, and with the Jordanian monarchy for the preceding 19 years.

Many of the new mayors and council members are professionals—doctors, lawyers, teachers and others. While some of them are from feudal families, they in general are not from the families of "notables" who administered the municipalities in the past. Most of the new officials, 143 of the 191 just elected, had not held office before. Moreover, many of the candidates represent the "intelligentsia" not linked to feudalism. (A recent Israeli study found that only 15-20 percent of the professionals in the West Bank towns of Nablus, Jenin and Tulkarm are from the notable families.)

The repudiation of feudalists at the polls can be traced to two factors: one, the PLO, whose great success in agitation and organization on the West Bank has exposed the politics of collaboration, and second, the Israeli occupation itself. The explicit economic policy of the occupation has been to channel the labor force of the West Bank into the bottom sectors of the Israeli proletariat, and half of the labor force of the occupied areas now crosses the "green line" into Israel proper each day for work. Many of these new members of the proletariat are peasants forced off the land in the West Bank by the pressures of the colonial economy. The process of erosion of the feudal economy has clearly had its political effects.

Another indication of the new political atmosphere on the West Bank was the participation of women in the voting for the first time. Israeli officials liberalized the Jordanian election laws to allow women to vote. The heavy turnout of women—68 percent of eligible women voted, as compared with 72 percent for the entire electorate—may be a sign of the success of the PLO's women's organization. The women's unions have been among the most enduring and active nationalist formations under the occupation.



Women voters, at polls for first time, give strong support to nationalist candidates. Nablus, April 12.

The sweeping nationalist victory was a shock to the Israeli government. Shimon Peres, who as Minister of Defense is responsible for the occupied areas, was confident just before the elections. According to a dispatch in the *Jewish Chronicle* (London), Peres predicted that while the nationalists could make some gains, "the traditional family cliques, which tended to be more conservative, were still in the ascendancy on the West Bank." The election results shattered that illusion.

The success of the nationalist forces was a serious blow to the Israeli strategy of "self-administration" for the West Bank. This strategy was developed after the PLO's victory at the Rabat Arab Summit Conference, where the Arab heads of state confirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This resolution dashed King Hussein's claims to represent the Palestinians, and simultaneously set back the Israelis, who would have preferred to deal with the pliant Hussein if they were forced to negotiate the status of the West Bank. The post-Rabat strategy of the Israeli government was to nurture a class of collaborators on the West Bank, whom they could present as an "alternative" to the PLO. The intent of the Israeli government in calling the elections was to have this class of collaborators annointed by a victory at the polls.

Although the Israeli government did what it could to have the traditional politicians re-elected, the strategy backfired dramatically. Dr. Ghazaleh, a newly-elected municipal council member in Nablus, said that the new officials would foil any Israeli attempt at "legitimizing the occupation in the West Bank or at promoting any type of home rule in the territory." Mayor Khalaf of Ramallah told the *Jerusalem Post* that the new nationalist mayors have agreed to confine themselves to municipal matters and opposition to Israeli moves in the West Bank, especially settlement. They will avoid "political deliberations," he said, for the people of the West Bank are part of the Palestinian people "whose political representative is the PLO, not us."

One sign of the bitterness of the struggle in the Palestinian community between the small strata of collaborators and the nationalist masses occurred in Ramallah on the weekend following the elections. There, Abdul Nur Janho, the defeated conservative opponent of Mayor Karim Khalaf shot and killed Khalil Issa, a nationalist, in the midst of a political argument over the elections. The military authorities took Janho and three other men into custody, but protesters marched through the streets demanding "the head of Janho the traitor." Israeli troops rushed to Janho's house, which was surrounded by demonstrators, and in their efforts to disperse the militant gathering, fatally shot a 6 year old boy, Jamil Arafat Hamis el Jun.

DOCUMENT

Uprisings Strengthen PLO

On the evening of March 29, as uprisings began in those Arab areas of the Galilee occupied by Israel in 1948, and as the uprisings continued for their third month in the West Bank areas occupied in 1967, the PLO Executive Committee issued a statement to the Palestinian masses.

PLO Executive Committee member, 'Abd al Jawad Salih, read the statement over the clandestine PLO radio station, "The Voice of Palestine," which is listened to by most Palestinians and increasingly by those living under Israeli occupation. 'Abd al Jawad Salih has close ties to the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation; only recently he was expelled from the West Bank, where he had been the mayor of al Birah and a resister of occupation.

The following is excerpted from his statement:

Masses of the Palestinian people struggling in the homeland and outside it; masses of the glorious Arab nation: The overwhelming massive revolution being waged by the masses of our struggling people in the occupied West Bank, and which is entering its fourth month to become the longest massive upheaval in the history of the Arab nation, affirms the following basic and important facts in the life of our people:

1. The Palestinian masses reject the Zionist presence not by word only, but also by revolutionary practice, which is spreading and deepening day by day not only in the West Bank and the Gaza sector but in the various parts of the occupied homeland as well, including the lands occupied since 1948.

2. The details and dimensions of the glorious massive upheaval in Galilee [and the designation of] March 30 [as] the day of clinging to the land in the face of Zionist confiscation and uprooting measures shows a prominent relation between our people's upheaval in the West Bank and their upheaval in the lands occupied since 1948.

3. The massive upheaval in the occupied West Bank and the popular movement in the lands occupied since 1948 must be



'Abd al Jawad Salih.

understood within the context of the Palestinian revolution. The Palestinian revolution has been subjected to all sorts of plotting. However, it has overcome one stage after another, scoring military and political victories which transformed the Palestinian masses from the state of fragmentation, to that of unity and forgetting the past, despite the ferocity of the many plots against it.

This is not a peripheral matter but one of extreme importance. It explains why the revolutionary tide is spreading at this particular stage when the imperialist forces and their tools in the area are trying to liquidate the Palestinian revolution, and seeking to enable the Jordanian regime to harp again on the tune of being a substitute for the PLO. The Palestinian masses under the occupation and outside the occupied homeland know how to define their enemies and friends clearly and decisively. Thus, by their upheaval they are not only confronting the Zionist presence but the Jordanian regime and all their other enemies as well.

4. We must link [the attacks against the Revolution] in Lebanon for more than 10 months and [the attacks against the national rights] in the occupied lands for more than 4 months, particularly during the last period in which the Jordanian parliament was called to convene [by which King Hussein directly reasserted Jordan's claim to represent the Palestinians of the West Bank].

[Both attacks] show that there was a premeditated intention to ignore the resolutions of the seventh Arab summit conference held in Rabat in 1974 [in which all the Arab states pledged to support the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."]

The Palestinian revolution remained steadfast in the face of the military massacre in Lebanon through the cohesion of the Palestinian masses, and through the cohesion existing between it and the Lebanese masses under the leadership of the progressive and nationalist forces and parties.

It has stood fast, and is now standing fast, against the political massacre in the West Bank with the same sizeable and strong cohesion.

Revolution until victory.

Strike [Continued from page 1]

A large majority of the Arab municipal officials of the Galilee opposed the March 30 general strike, but the mass support for it showed how isolated these politicians are becoming. In Tamra, angry villagers were said to have attacked the mayor (who opposed the strike) and burned his car.

The roots of Arab outrage can be traced back to the origins of the state of Israel. In 1948 they saw 90 percent of the Arab population of Palestine expelled from their homes to live as refugees in the Arab countries. Within a short time, the state had seized not only the land belonging to those who had been expelled, but half of the lands belonging to the Arabs who remained as citizens of Israel. On the expropriated lands new Jewish settlements were built, and today many Arab villagers in the Galilee can look out their windows at farm land that had belonged to their families to generations. Now, by law, they, as "non-Jews" cannot rent, live on, and often not even be employed to work upon this land. These apartheid laws extend to all the lands owned by the state and by the Jewish National Fund, over 92 percent of all the land in Israel.

The plunder of their land produced a rapid proletarianization among Arabs in Israel. Usually they can find only the most difficult, menial and poorly paid work; on the average an Arab man earns only 62 percent of the wages of a Jewish male worker. ●



Mourners raise Palestinian flags in funeral for two slain in Ramallah.

MAY 15, 1948:

Who Created the Refugee Problem?

"On May, 1948, . . . a full-scale invasion of Israel [occurred] by the regular forces of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, with contingents from Saudi Arabia and Yemen. . . .

"Thus was set in motion the events that subsequently created the Arab Refugee problem." [emphasis in original]

—"How the Arab Leaders Created the Middle East Refugees," pamphlet distributed by the Israeli Information Office.

"If the Arab States had not waged open war on Israel on the morrow of its re-establishment in May 1948, the issue [of the refugees] would never have arisen. . . .

"Villagers and townsfolk were exhorted by their leaders to withdraw 'temporarily' to neighboring territories and clear the way for advancing columns."

—"The Arab Refugee Issue," published by the Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs

The Israeli government has consistently blamed the creation of the Palestinian refugees on the surrounding Arab states. The Zionists accuse the Arab nations of inducing the Palestinians to leave their land in the months after May 15, 1948. It was on that date* that the Zionists proclaimed the state of Israel and when the Arab armies intervened in the struggle over Palestine.

But the Israeli government's version is a blatant fabrication designed to serve long-range political and diplomatic goals. The Zionists had, in fact, used military actions to force 750,000 Palestinians from their homes, nearly half of them *before* May 15, 1948.

BEFORE MAY 15, 1948, and before the Arab armies intervened, the Zionist military forces emptied 100 Arab villages and five large Arab cities, causing 300,000 Palestinians to flee. This was a calculated policy to "clean" the area of Arabs and realize the long held Zionist goal of creating "A Jewish State as Jewish as England is English."

- Plan D: On April 1, 1948, the official Zionist army, the Haganah, launched an elaborately prepared offensive, code named Plan D. The existence and details of Plan D were only admitted to years later by Netanel Lorch, first director of the Historical Section of the Israeli Defense Forces. He wrote that the plan "for the first time in Haganah history dealt with the capture of Arab villages and cities." (*Israel's War of Independence*, p. 91) It was aimed at the "occupation of Arab villages, . . . creating continuity between Jewish cities and neighboring Jewish settlements." (p. 91) By "continuity," Lorch meant, solely Jewish zones created by forcing out the Palestinians.

"Plan D" included a number of separate military actions aimed at the removal of Arabs from villages and towns interspersed with Jewish towns and settlements. Among these actions were Operation Hachshon (April 1, 1948)—clearing the Arab villages from alongside the Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem road; Operation Misparayim (April 21, 1948)—attacking Arab Haifa, forcing its population to flee in terror by boats; and Operation Chameitz (April 27, 1948)—eliminating the Arab villages surrounding Tel-Aviv and Jaffa, thereby isolating Arab Jaffa and forcing its 70,000 inhabitants to flee.

- Deir Yassin Massacre: On April 9, 1948, the Stern and Irgun Zionist paramilitary organizations massacred 256 residents

of the village of Deir Yassin. Although the Haganah publicly denounced the massacre, the village was razed and the Haganah quickly built an airbase on the land. In later weeks Haganah sound trucks toured the nearby Arab sections of Jerusalem announcing, "Unless you leave your homes, the fate of Deir Yassin will be your fate."

Jacques De Reynier, the head of the International Red Cross delegation in Palestine, described the massacre's "immense repercussions. . . . The press and radio spread the news everywhere among the Arabs. . . . In this way a general terror was built up among the Arabs, a terror astutely fostered by the Jews. . . . Driven by fear, the Arabs left their homes. . . . first isolated farms, then villages, and in the end whole towns were evacuated. . . . their one hope being to avoid the fate of the people of Deir Yassin." (*O Jerusalem*, p. 46. Emphasis added.)

Menahem Begin, the Irgun leader, said of Deir Yassin, "There would not have been a state of Israel without the victory of Deir Yassin." (*The Revolt*, pp. 164-5) Indeed, the terror of Deir Yassin greatly facilitated creation of continuous Jewish zones, the primary goal of Plan D. The result of the massacre is clear whether it was sanctioned by the Haganah or not.

AFTER MAY 15, 1948, four hundred fifty thousand more Palestinian refugees were created, not by the illusion of quick victory by the Arab armies, but by Israeli military terror.

- By May 15, the surrounding Arab countries were being flooded with destitute Palestinians who called upon the Arab armies to rescue their homeland. At the last moment, the Arab states half-heartedly committed forces insufficient to stop the Israeli advances into the areas that the UN had "allocated" to the Palestinians a year earlier. Transjordan, in particular, had already made a tacit agreement with Israel not to attack beyond certain lines in return for Israeli commitment that at least part of the Palestinian West Bank would fall under Transjordanian control and could be illegally annexed to form part of the state of Jordan.

The Palestinians quickly learned that the Arab armies were not going to liberate their land; in some instances refugees demonstrated against the Arab armies, spitting on their soldiers and cursing their lack of resolve. Any initial illusion of an Arab victory was quickly dispelled.

- The Israeli claim that the Arab leaders ordered the refugees to clear out of the way of the advancing armies is a fabrication, developed several years after the fact. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) monitored records of all Middle Eastern broadcasts throughout 1948 contain: "not a single order, or appeal, or suggestion about evacuation from Palestine from any Arab radio station, inside or outside Palestine, in 1948. There is repeated, monitored record of Arab appeals, even flat orders, to the civilians to stay put. . . . Even Jewish broadcasts (in Hebrew) mentioned such Arab appeals to stay put. Zionist newspapers in Palestine reported the same: none so much as hinted at any Arab evacuation orders." (Childers, "The Other Exodus," p. 6)

- After May 15, 1948, Israel unabashedly drove out the Arab people from the territories it conquered. The noted British military historian, Edgar O'Ballance, wrote of this period: "The Arab inhabitants were ejected and forced to flee. . . . Wherever the Israeli troops advanced into Arab country, the Arab population was bulldozed out in front of them." (*Arab-Israeli War*, pp. 191-192)

The Israeli conquest of Ramleh and Lydda, Arab cities which the UN had "allocated" to the Palestinians, perhaps best typified this brazen policy. On July 11, 1948, Moshe Dayan led a jeep commando column into Lydda, "with rifles, Stens and submachine guns blazing. It coursed through the main streets, blasting at everything that moved... The corpses of Arab men, women and even children were strewn about the streets in the wake of this ruthless brilliant charge." (*Herald Tribune* correspondent, Kenneth Bilby, covering the war in *New Star in the Near East*, p. 43)

The next day, the adjoining town of Ramleh was seized. Israeli loudspeaker vans toured the two towns ordering the Arabs to leave for the Transjordanian lines. (Larry Collins, Dominique Lapierre, *O Jerusalem*, p. 578)

Close to 100,000 Palestinians made the three day trek over the rugged Judean mountains, in over 100 degree heat, hundreds dying on the way. (O'Ballance, p. 147)

Zionists propagated the myth that all the refugees were created AFTER MAY 15, 1948, as a response to the intervention of the Arab armies. The Zionist purpose was to absolve Israel of responsibility for the plight of the refugees and to eliminate the Palestinian national entity as a party in the Middle East dispute.

- Besides the obvious political need to cover up the crimes committed against the Palestinians, the official Israeli myth about the refugees is a cornerstone of the Israeli government's diplomatic approach to attempts to reach a settlement of the Middle East dispute. The Israelis argue that the Palestinians left their homeland of their own free will to facilitate the "illegal aggression" against Israel beginning May 15, 1948. They say the Palestinians willingly aided this aggression and became junior partners in it. Thus they conclude that the Palestinians tied their fate to those Arab states and forfeited any claim to Palestine.

Abba Eban spelled out this argument when he stated that "What is called 'the Palestine problem' bears no resemblance now to the nature of that problem when it first came before the

United Nations." Eban explains that in 1947, the UN faced the question of the dispute between the Palestinians and Jewish settlers for sovereignty over Palestine. The intervention of the Arab armies on May 15, 1948, Eban implies, changed the entire nature of the dispute: "The problem now is of a different character. It is the normal problem of relations between sovereign states [Israel and the Arab states]..." (*Voices of Israel*, p. 96)

When Golda Meir further stated that the Palestinian people "did not exist," in essence she was voicing the Israeli government's definition of the dispute, as one in which the Palestinians have no role to play. Since Israel claims the Arab states created the refugees, the refugees are the sole responsibility of the Arab states and in themselves have no separate political reality.

That the Israeli government, until recently, had great success in propagating this myth and its diplomatic applications is attested to by the UN Security Council resolution 242, passed after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Resolution 242 defines peace as a matter of secure borders between the existing sovereign states in the Middle East and relegates the Palestinians to a humanitarian question of "a just solution to the refugee problem." In the last several years, however, the Palestinians, through their armed, political and diplomatic initiatives, have begun to unveil the Israeli myth concerning responsibility for the creation of the refugees and undermine its diplomatic application by Israel.

*The state of Israel was declared on May 15, 1948, as British colonial troops completed their withdrawal from the area. Britain had allowed and encouraged Zionist settlements on Palestine since 1917. After World War II when the Zionists demanded an independent state, the British colonizers turned the issue over to the United Nations. The UN proposed a "Partition Plan" in 1947, in which it allocated part of Palestine to the Zionists and part to the Palestinians. Neither group ever accepted the plan. From their base of settlements, the Zionists launched the onslaught against the Palestinians, which culminated in the declaration of the Israeli state.



Palestinians expelled in 1948 took refuge in camps such as this, Nahr el-Bared, near Tripoli, Lebanon.

UN Body Condemns Israel

Israel's policies in the occupied territories have been condemned by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. In a February 13 resolution, the commission used strong language to accuse Israel of "war crimes" and "continued grave violations of international law." It condemned a number of specific Israeli policies and practices in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and Sinai.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 23 to one with eight abstentions. The United States, which does not have veto powers in this commission, cast the lone negative vote.

ANNEXATION AND SETTLEMENT

Israel's military occupation of the Arab territories and its attempt to dig ever deeper, more permanent roots in the areas are condemned by the commission. Its resolution "declares that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, the demographic structure and the status of occupied Arab territories are null and void."

The resolution "condemns in particular:"

- "Measures aiming at annexation of part of the occupied territories."
- "The intensification of action aiming at the establishment of Israeli settlements therein and the transfer of an alien population thereto."
- "The confiscation and expropriation of Arab property in the occupied territories..."

The commission further calls upon Israel:

- "To take immediate steps for the return of the Palestinians and the other displaced inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories to their homes, and,
- "To desist forthwith from establishing new settlements in the occupied Arab territories and to commence immediately with the removal of the existing settlements."

The Israelis have established 61 new settlements, ranging from paramilitary hamlets to incipient cities, with an estimated population of 8,000, in the eight years since it has occupied the West Bank, Gaza, Golan Heights, and Sinai. Israel has invested hundreds of millions of dollars in the settlements.

The Human Rights Commission stresses that Israeli acquisitions are not haphazard, but rather the execution of planned, governmental policy. A report made by the commission last fall quotes Israeli Prime Minister Rabin as stating, during a visit to the Golan Heights last year, "Israel did not build settlements in the Golan Heights in order to evacuate them or create a situation in which these settlements would not be part of the Jewish state." The settlements are referred to as the "non-military infrastructure" of the areas by the Settlement Department of the Zionist Federation.



New Israeli project in annexed Eastern Jerusalem.

The UN body also "censures in the strongest terms all measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem." The Israeli government annexed East Jerusalem, whereas the other Arab lands it took in the 1967 war are under military occupation.

REPRISALS

The Human Rights Commission resolution deplores repressive measures taken by the Israeli military against civilian inhabitants of the occupied territories. It condemns in particular:

- "The destruction and demolition of Arab houses."
- "The evacuation, deportation, expulsion, displacement and transfer of Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories and the denial of their right to return."
- "Mass arrests, administrative detention and ill-treatment of the Arab population." (Twenty-seven thousand Palestinians of the occupied territories have been arrested and detained for suspected anti-Israel activities between 1967 and 1975, according to the World Peace Council.

ARAB CULTURE

The methods that Israel uses to rob the Arab population of "their rights to national education and cultural life" are condemned in the resolution. The document censures:

- "The pillaging of archeological and cultural property."
- "The interference with religious freedoms and practices, as well as family rights and customs."

BY NO MEANS FIRST CONDEMNATION

The recent UN resolution begins by stating that the Human Rights Commission "deplores once again Israel's continued grave violations, in the occupied Arab territories, of the basic norms of international law and of the relevant international conventions... which are considered by the Commission on Human Rights as war crimes and an affront to humanity..."

This is by no means the first condemnation of Israeli policies in the territories it has occupied since 1967. The Human Rights Commission has carried out extensive investigation into the Israeli practices in the occupied territories and passed resolutions deploring them in late 1970, '71, '72, '73 and '74.

Other international bodies have also documented and condemned Israel's violation of human rights; they include the World Health Organization, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, the World Council of Churches, World Council of Peace, the International Conference of Parliamentarians on the Middle East Crisis, and the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights.

One resolution adopted by an international body which attacked not only Israeli "policies" and "practices," but Zionism itself, was passed by the UN General Assembly on November 10, 1975, and equated Zionism with racism.

The U.S. representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights, Leonard Garment, called the most recent resolution "inflammatory" and "one-sided" as he cast the sole dissenting vote.

The resolution was sponsored by Cuba, Cyprus, India, Pakistan, Senegal, Upper Volta and Yugoslavia. The other countries that voted in favor of the resolution were: Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Ecuador, Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Panama, Peru, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Turkey and the U.S.S.R.

Those that abstained, stating that they agreed with some of the provisions and disagreed with others, were the Western European nations of Austria, Britain, France, Italy and West Germany, joined by Canada, Costa Rica and Uruguay. ●

New York Actions on May 16



A demonstration, rally and street festival in the Arab community in Brooklyn on Sunday, May 16, will mark the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The Palestine Day Mobilizing Committee, an ad hoc group of Palestinian activists in the city, has invited all progressive people in the area to be with them to observe their national day.

Demonstrators will gather in front of the Boro Hall subway station at 11:00 a.m., and will then march in contingents to Atlantic Avenue in the center of the Arab community. Contingents will include a group of Arab school children and various Arab community institutions, as well as groupings from outside the Arab community, including an anti-imperialist contingent and an anti-Zionist Jewish contingent.

At 2:00 p.m. the marchers will participate in a rally on a cordoned-off block of Atlantic Avenue between Court and Clinton Streets. A representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization will make a statement, and there will be presentations of Palestinian culture, including singing and dancing.

The demands of the demonstration are:

1. Stop all U.S. aid to Israel;
2. Stop the U.S. government campaign against the Palestinian people, against their right to return to their homeland, against their right to self-determination; and against the Palestinian Liberation Organization, their sole legitimate representative.
3. No U.S. intervention in the Middle East.
4. Israel out of Arab lands.

The Palestine Liberation Organization's Information Office in New York issued a statement calling upon people to observe the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, May 15. May 15 is the anniversary of the seizure of Palestinian territory for the creation of the state of Israel in 1948; it resulted in the expulsion of three-quarters of a million Palestinians from their homes and the deprivation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The PLO's statement declared, "The concerted struggle of our people and the recognition accorded to it have changed the significance of May 15. It is now a day of asserting Palestinian national determination to fight for our inalienable rights.

The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries has also designated May 15 as an International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

The activities on May 16 are being co-sponsored by the Palestine Action Coalition, a grouping of progressive American organizations. This Coalition is organizing a counter-demonstration to the "Salute to Israel Day Parade" on Sunday, June 13, in New York City.

Among the organizations and individuals endorsing the May 16 activity are: Rosa Borenstein (Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee*), El Comite, International Indian Treaty Council (AIM), Irish Republican Clubs, USA and Canada, Charles Issacs (People Against Racism in Education*), Liberation Support Movement, Palestine Solidarity Committee, Partido Comunista Dominicana, Prairie Fire, Marty Rothenberg (Mass Party Organizing Committee*), Socialist Workers Party, War Tax Resistance, Venceremos Brigade, Young Socialist Alliance, (*Organizations for identification

purposes only.)

For further information, contact the Palestine Solidarity Committee, Box 1757, Manhattanville Station, New York City 10027.

Lebanon [Con't. from page 3]

Gemayel and other reactionaries, however, refused to form a "national unity" government representing all parties which could implement the Syrian compromise. And as the quarrel about a new government dragged on, a new issue reached the point of explosion: the newly organized Lebanese Arab Army, led by Lt. Ahmed al Khatib.

The Lebanese Arab Army was built from progressive officers and soldiers who had deserted the regular army during the January fighting after they saw reactionary elements in the army channel arms and even soldiers to the rightist militia.

As a result, by March 11, the official Lebanese Army had become among the less significant of the various rival armed bands. A group of senior army officers, mostly Christian, staged a coup with the hope of salvaging the army from complete disintegration. Gen. Al Adhab, a Moslem, was selected by coup leaders to attempt to rule until Parliament could meet to replace Franjieh.

It was at this point that the new leftist offensive began,

culminating with the successes which alarmed the U.S. government into sending Brown and part of the Sixth Fleet to back him up. With Syria and the U.S. working in a kind of coordination, the parties came to yet another of the innumerable cease fires in the Lebanese civil war.

Parliament met and passed the necessary constitutional amendment to end Suleiman Franjieh's presidency. Franjieh, however, refused to resign, and Gemayal and other reactionaries rallied around him; Parliament has yet to elect another president. The outcome of the conflict is still in doubt. All that can be said with certitude now is that the deep contradictions in Lebanon which led to the gruesome war will be very difficult to resolve, even temporarily.

THE ROLE OF SYRIA

Syria's initial direct involvement in the war had been dictated by what al Assad saw as a state necessity. By mid-January the right-wing was clearly on the course of partitioning the country. If partition occurred, Israel would have easy entrance into the

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Lebanon

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Lebanese Bekaa valley through which an Israeli tank column could be within easy shelling range of Damascus within hours.

Syria's conflict with Israel is intense, both because of the Zionist occupation of the Golan and because of the Palestinian issue, which arouses deep and genuine nationalist sentiment in Syria.

Kissinger's diplomacy had isolated Syria by taking Egypt out of the confrontation with Israel via the Sinai Agreement. After allowing himself to follow Sadat's lead in endorsing Kissinger's step-by-step approach, al Assad found himself powerless to push Kissinger onward to the step of an Israeli withdrawal on the Golan. Very much on the defensive, both internationally and very possibly internally in Syria, al Assad began to build a counter-initiative: a Syrian alliance with the PLO and its bitter enemy, the Jordanian regime. In January 1976 al Assad moved into Lebanon. He may have been hoping not only to prevent a degeneration of the situation, but also to bring about a more nationalist government which could join the Syria-centered alliance.

Another factor which further complicates the position of Syria is its relationship with the Palestinians. The first outward manifestation of trouble between them came when forces of As Saiqa, a Palestinian organization backed by the Syrian Baath Party, attacked the offices of two Beirut publications which support the Rejection Front, a Palestinian formation which Syria bitterly opposes. The PLO denounced the step, making it clear that they would not passively accept domination by Syria. Then, in March, when the Syrian-backed As Saiqa forces were blocking the path of the Lebanese Arab Army on the road to the airport in an effort to halt the leftist onslaught and restore order, Palestinian forces were actively supplying and assisting the Lebanese Arab Army in order to further the advance to the left. This incident points to the nature of the underlying strain between Syria and the PLO in Lebanon. Syria wants a strong and stable state for its western neighbor, whereas for the Palestinians the most important criteria is a progressive government which allows them freedom of movement.

WHAT U.S. WANTED

By now, U.S. strategists must be regretting the steps they took to set the Phalange and other right-wing forces in motion against the Palestinians.

The Phalange launched a political campaign against the Palestinians in January 1975 to "save Lebanon for the Lebanese." Gemayal demanded a national referendum on the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, demagogically attributing all of Lebanon's problems to the Palestinians who "took advantage of our hospitality and our democracy" to form a "state within a state" and deprive Lebanon of sovereignty over parts of its own territory.

Then, in April 1975, the Phalange carried out a bloodthirsty

massacre of 27 Palestinians traveling in a bus that passed through a Phalangist neighborhood. The massacre marked the beginning of the current civil war. Immediately after the massacre, the PLO charged that the Phalange initiated the war against them as part of a plan for the "return of American diplomacy in the area" for which the U.S. wanted "a weak or liquidated resistance." It is certainly clear that both the U.S. and Phalange shared in early 1975 a desire to eliminate the Palestinian resistance.

The U.S. government had increasingly come to see the Palestinian resistance movement as the chief obstacle in its path in the Middle East. While King Hussein succeeded in suppressing the Palestinian movement in Jordan in 1970—and while the U.S. government had a contingency plan for the use of U.S. troops in a joint attack with Israel if Hussein required their assistance—Black September did not finish Palestinian activity. The resistance groups continued to move freely in Lebanon; they launched raids across Lebanon's southern border into their occupied homeland, they published their newspapers in Beirut, and they organized politically in the refugee camps, protecting their political work there with militias of camp inhabitants. In May 1973 the U.S. backed an attack by the Phalange and the Lebanese army on the refugee camps in Lebanon, hoping that this last Palestinian rear base would be eliminated, but the attack failed.

The need Washington felt to suppress the Palestinian movement had grown sharper by early 1975. The PLO had achieved international recognition by the UN General Assembly that fall, which created serious difficulties for U.S. diplomacy. Kissinger had banked on keeping the Palestinian issue aside as he gained separate interim agreements between the Arab confrontation states and Israel: if the Palestinian issue was to have been dealt with at all, it would have been in the form of "Palestinian interests" represented by Jordan in discussion about the future of the West Bank. On the eve of the Rabat Conference, where the PLO was to receive the blessing of the Arab heads of state as "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," Kissinger flew to his new found friend in Cairo, pleading with Sadat to prevent pro-PLO resolutions in Rabat. When the resolution was passed, it was, according to an account by Edward Sheehan in the Spring issue of *Foreign Policy*, "The first major defeat for Kissinger since the October war—and a major brake on interim diplomacy."

Yet, by Sheehan's account, when Kissinger's advisers drew up a secret position paper outlining the options for approaching the post-Rabat impasse, the one obvious alternative left unmentioned was dealing with the PLO. Clearly Washington had plans for the Palestinians that were more direct and drastic than diplomacy.

U.S. ARMS RIGHT WING

In relying on the Lebanese right to implement their plans, the U.S. government was using a force which it had been building up for several years. The flow of U.S. arms to the Lebanese reactionaries had been an openly discussed reality in Beirut for quite some time. This author recalls a casual conversation with a young Beirut businessman immediately after making his acquaintance six years ago. The young man mentioned in an offhand way that the U.S. ambassador, who had just bestowed a submachine gun on his father-in-law, a former minister, had promised him one as well, and he was wondering which brand would be best to ask for. He spoke with as little ado as any consumer might discuss the relative merits of different brands of washing machines.

When George McMurtrie Godley was named ambassador to Lebanon, the buildup of reactionary militias accelerated. Perhaps Godley was applying insights he gained as ambassador to Laos, where, after his appointment in 1969, he developed a reputation as an expert in CIA-related private armies. At any rate, there is evidence of ample U.S. assistance in arming the rightist militias. In January 1975, according to an article in the

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U.S. tank crews guard Lebanese airstrip in 1958. Direct U.S. intervention saved the right-wing.



PLO representative in Cambodia (foreground).

UP TO DATE

THE PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN CAMBODIA visited the site of a recent bombing attack by U.S. planes on Cambodia. The February 25 bombing killed 15 people, wounded over 30 others, and destroyed much of the town of Siem Reap.

Foreign officials stationed in Cambodia surveyed the area with Cambodian leaders. Picking up a shovel, the PLO representative helped to fill in a bomb crater.

KISSINGER REITERATED U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL in a speech to the American Jewish Congress on April 4. Kissinger said that "moral and practical interest" come together in U.S. support for Israel. "We will never abandon Israel, either by failing to provide crucial assistance or by misconceived or separate negotiations, or by irresolution when challenged to meet our responsibility to maintain the global balance of power," he said.

OIL IMPORTED FROM ARAB COUNTRIES into the United States has increased since the 1973 Arab oil embargo. In 1973 Arab oil was 6 percent of the total U.S. oil consumption; in 1975 the figure rose to 11 percent of the U.S. oil consumption.

New York *Village Voice* (April 12, 1976), the State Department told a reporter that a closely-guarded, unmarked DC-7C aircraft he observed at the Bradley field was on route to Lebanon with a cargo of arms for "responsible Christian elements." *Le Nouvel Observateur* (April 5, 1975) and other Western publications assert CIA and other clandestine U.S. support for the Lebanese right. The specific channels of this support are not known, though there is a strong belief that the CIA Middle East Control Center in Athens, Greece, under the direction of Richard Welch until his assassination, assigned a majority of its 170 employees over the last year to support for the Phalange and its allies.

Another U.S. source of funds, and probably arms, has been the "Save Lebanon Fund" organized by the Maronite Bishop of Detroit, and involving numerous local fundraising committees based among Maronite Lebanese-Americans. Millions of dollars have been raised at public and private events, and, according to a Maronite source quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor* (April 20, 1976), the CIA has assisted in transferring these funds for the

THE UNITED STATES CAST ANOTHER VETO IN THE UNITED NATIONS Security Council on March 26, blocking a resolution that "deplored" Israeli policy in the occupied areas.

The resolution, introduced as a result of the recent West Bank demonstrations, deplored "Israel's failure to put a stop to actions and policies tending to change the status of the City of Jerusalem" and called on Israel to refrain from taking steps against Arab inhabitants of the occupied areas, to respect the "inviolability of the Holy Places," and to desist from expropriating Arab land and establishing Israeli settlements.

The United States cast the lone negative vote. Voting for the resolution were Benin, Britain, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libya, Pakistan, Panama, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Sweden and Tanzania.

THE ARMS EMBARGO TO EGYPT HAS BEEN LIFTED with the sale by the United States of six C-130 transport aircraft to Egypt and the training of Egyptian pilots in U.S. military training schools. Congressional opposition by Israel's supporters to the \$65 million sale was initially strong, but they acquiesced after Kissinger told them there would be no more arms for Egypt this year.

Kissinger said the arms sale would help Egypt to "break with the past and follow us in the difficult steps that could lead to a negotiated peace."

purchase of arms.

Jordan, as the December issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique* and many other sources attest, is known to have offered training facilities to the Lebanese right. Furthermore, progressive Lebanese forces have displayed Israeli weapons captured from the right, and Israel's arms aid to the right has been documented by *Time* magazine and NBC news.

As the Phalange offensive expanded during the summer of 1975, large shiploads of half-track armored cars, howitzers, heavy machine guns and thousands of automatic weapons were unloaded at Jounieh. In the last months, artillery and U.S. arms, such as M-16's have been flowing in.

Along with the heavy equipment came experienced Western mercenaries to train the rightist militiamen in their use. *Le Monde* quotes one of these mercenaries, hardened in battle in Indochina, Algeria and the Congo, as leading his men into battle, shouting by force of habit the war cry, "Let's go men, the niggers are over there."

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THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD JOINED in demonstrations on March 30 in support of the "Day of the Land" demonstrations and general strike held by Palestinians in their occupied country. Seventy-five Americans and Arabs picketed the Israeli Mission to the UN in New York City.

The Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa issued a statement that said, "The OAU condemns all attempts by Israel to establish new settlements on the West Bank and other occupied Arab territories and its desire to change the status of Jerusalem."

Demonstrations took place in Arab countries, as well as many African and other Third World countries. More than 5000 people marched in the capital of Pakistan, where they presented the UN office there with a statement supporting the Palestinian people. In a Palestinian camp in Syria 5000 attended a rally to support the struggle in the occupied land. Workers in factories in Syria stopped work for 15 minutes and students there held a mass rally.

The Palestine Liberation Organization issued a statement on the "Day of the Land" that said: "The PLO will continue the struggle inside and outside the occupied land to realize the goal of our people's struggle and expose the racist Zionist schemes and intrigues."

ISRAEL ASSEMBLED ATOMIC BOMBS IN THE 1973 WAR, according to a *Time* magazine story that cites confidential sources. Parts for the A-bombs had been available for several years, the story says, when Israel's Premier Golda Meir ordered the bombs assembled as Israeli troops on the Golan Heights were retreating from a massive Syrian tank advance in the October 1973 war.

The Soviet Union, learning of the assembled A-bomb, possibly through surveillance satellite, dispatched its own nuclear warheads to be fitted on Russian Scud missiles already based in Egypt, and the U.S. military alert followed as a result, according to *Time*.

Also in 1973, a Libyan airliner overflew Israeli territory and was shot down by an Israeli fighter plane, causing the deaths of 108 of the 113 people aboard. *Time* says the plane was shot down after it flew over a high-security area where the A-bomb materials were stored.

Although Israel did not use its thirteen 20-kiloton bombs in the war, *Time* says that Israel is keeping the bombs assembled and ready to be dropped by specially equipped Kfir and Phantom fighter-bombers.

Lebanon

[Continued from page 11]

CLASS STRUGGLE IN LEBANON

The entire anti-Palestinian dimension of the civil war has been superimposed on a bitter class struggle in Lebanon. From the perspective of this class struggle, the onset of the current civil war dates not from the massacre of the 27 Palestinians in April 1975, but from the brutal suppression of a demonstration in support of fishermen in Sidon, a southern Lebanese city, a few months earlier. The army was sent in against the demonstrators, who were protesting the practices of a fishing monopoly owned by the prominent Maronite Camille Chamoun: eleven demonstrators were killed, including the parliamentary deputy from Sidon. When progressive groups staged a general strike in protest to this massacre, Pierre Gemayal led Phalangists in a march through the Christian sectors of Beirut in tribute to the heroism of the army. Soon the sentiments of the masses were handwritten on the walls of Beirut: "Gemayel equals Yitzhak Rabin equals CIA."

The bitter class struggle in Lebanon has been brought about by the profound transformation of the Lebanese economy over the last years, caused basically by the entry of world capitalism.

Palestine was seized by the Zionists in 1948. Because of the Arab boycott, Israel was shut off from commerce with the Arab countries and world capitalism concentrated on Lebanon as a transit point for growing economic relations with the Arab East. Especially in the last five years with the tremendous growth of oil wealth in the Gulf, Lebanon has experienced a phenomenal growth in banking, commerce and services. Arab oil money flooded Beirut in search of consumer goods, investment opportunities and services for the construction of a modern infrastructure in the Gulf. While some of this money was funneled to the old feudal families, who control the state, Beirut also witnessed the growth of a modern, technically-trained bourgeoisie. While these bourgeois elements were often from the Maronite sect, their links to feudalism were not strong, and their ties to the existing state power were not tight. Represented by leaders such as Raymond Edde, this new bourgeoisie was open to the concept of creating a modern secular state, and thus poses a potential threat to the old feudal order.

An even more explosive contradiction is a newly enlarged class of militant workers and unemployed. Many of them are concentrated in the "belt of misery" around Beirut, a zone of destitution into which 600,000 people are crowded. Some of the components of this belt are Palestinian refugee camps, but more are new shanty towns. Many of those who live there are Shiite Moslem peasants newly uprooted from the south. Within the past years, capitalists have been buying land for tobacco culture from the feudal lords, and dispossessing the peasantry. The former peasants either remain in the rural areas as part of the agricultural proletariat, or, in great numbers, emigrate to Beirut.

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Steeply rising inflation, a product of global conditions of capital, has created a loss of real income for workers over the last three years. In a country where over half the national income is controlled by fewer than five percent of the population, the contrasts between great wealth and terrible poverty are intense. Increasingly aware of the ostentatious display of wealth by the new millionaires of Beirut, the working class had held militant strikes both in the city and countryside over the last three years.

From these severe class contradictions, a number of Lebanese leftist and progressive groups have emerged. The Phalange has tried to deny the existence of genuine Lebanese radical organizations, attributing all strife to the presence of the Palestinians. Nevertheless, the fighting has shown that the Lebanese left has real strength, and deep roots among the poor and working classes. Among the more important progressive and nationalist organizations are the Progressive Socialist Party, led by Kamal Jumblatt; the Movement of the Disinherited, with a base among the Shiite and headed by the Shiite leader, Imam Musa Sadr; al Muabitun, the Independent Nassserist Organization; the Communist Party of Lebanon; the Organization of Communist Action; a few Baath groupings; the Syrian National Social Party and the October 24th Movement in Tripoli.

Whatever the immediate outcome of the current phase of the civil war in Lebanon, these profound socio-economic contradictions must ultimately lead to revolution in Lebanon.●

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