

There were several terrible attacks on Jaffa in April 1948. In the first one, some Zionists rolled a barrel of TNT into the town centre which crashed through the crowded Al Hamra cinema. As the survivors rushed out, they were mown down with Bren guns by Zionists waiting in two cars.... I remember another bomb was put in a communal house for the poor near the clock tower. We resisted these attacks as best we could. Once three Zionists were killed as they were planning an attack. We had a small iron factory where we tried to make weapons, but they were much better equipped with modern weapons which they had got from abroad and from the British.

On 25 April, it all came to a head. They attacked from the north and east with heavy cannons and machine guns. Everyone left their homes and fled to the old city on the sea shore. Some desperately tried to put their families and possessions into the small fishing boats, but the sea was stormy and they were thrown back onto the shore.... In the end we found a truck and our family with three others all climbed on. We had one suitcase with us: everything else was left at home.... When we got to Sbeel Abu Nabout we were attacked by a group of Zionists. The girl who was sitting on my knee was shot in the legs. I was hit in the arm, but the bullet hit the button on my sleeve and I wasn't injured. It took us seven hours to get to Majdal where we slept the night. Early next morning we travelled on to Gaza. There we were: us and a suitcase.

— From *Stateless in Gaza*

Photo. 1938. Some of the first fighters against Zionist settlements.



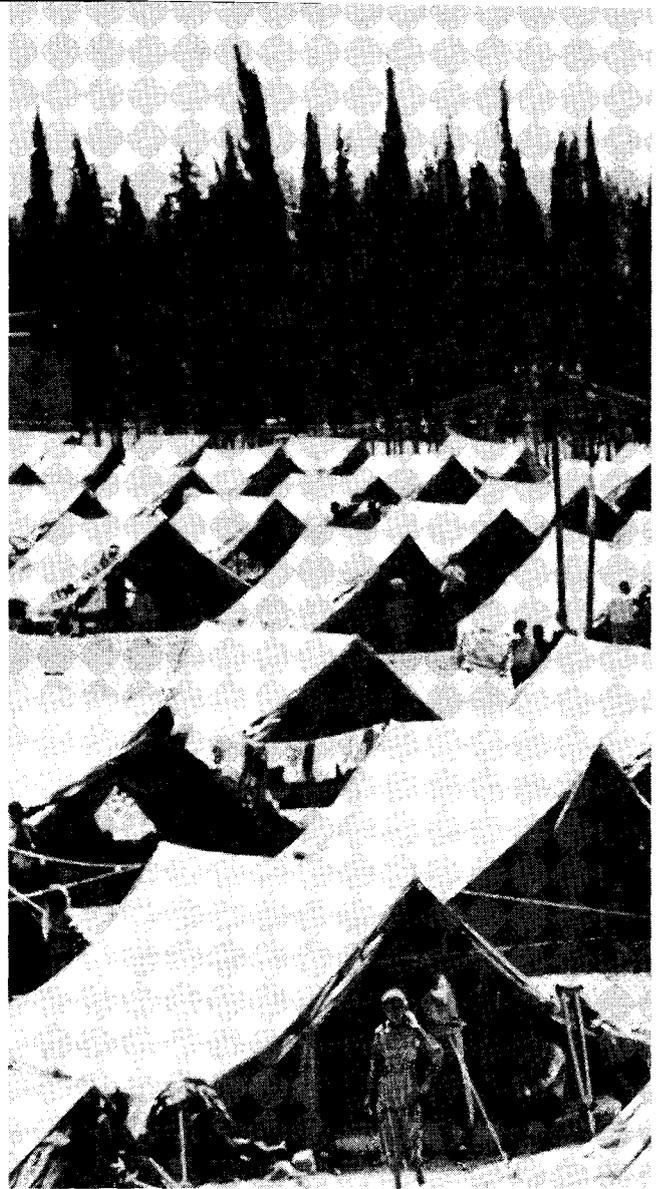


Palestinian people have been repeatedly driven from their homes.

I can't help but feel differently towards the town people. Sure we are all children of Palestine, but we in the camps are a dispersed, scattered people. You grow up with the feeling that you belong somewhere else — for me it's the village where my grandfather and father were brought up, among the olive trees and lands of Simsim. But my reality has been the Beach Camp. I grew up in the poverty and clutter of the camp, always in the shadow of occupation, a hand to mouth existence. It's painful to live in such a decaying environment. So I look at the town people as people apart from us. They've grown up with secure roots, relatively peacefully, while we've suffered curfews, arrests, assaults on our women and children. They do OK under occupation, they're the ones with the land, with something to protect, the big bourgeoisie. They splash their money around, go shopping in Israel and have dirty nights out in Ashkelon. They even throw parties in honour of the military rulers! We spend our nights locked in the factories in Israel, scratching a living, while the sons of the rich go strutting off to the universities of Europe in their new clothes.

I'm not saying that the rich don't suffer at all under occupation. The Israelis don't make distinctions between the Palestinians. But if you're rich you've got more flexibility, you're in a position to bribe the military. If you want your son to travel to Europe to study, for example, you lay on a big dinner, you collaborate. Those people have less sense of national duty, they're out for themselves. If it weren't for the occupation — I mean, if we had our own state — there'd be a social revolution against this injustice and exploitation. These people are robbing us of our wealth, our national wealth. But it's impossible to fight them now. And they are supposed to be the traditional leadership. How can I have any faith in their ability to represent me? Most of them have probably never even set foot in any of the camps."

— *Stateless in Gaza*



When I came here as a refugee in 1948, a family that I had never met before took my family in and gave us hospitality until UNRWA was established and we moved into the camp. There was some friction at first between the refugees and the people of Deir El Balah. We thought they were very old fashioned, especially in their dress and social traditions, and they thought we were taking their land and flooding their already very poor services. I think this friction has gone now, though. The Israelis don't ask if you are a refugee before they arrest you. There are plenty of people in Gaza town who have suffered more through occupation than I have. There are many people in Shujaiya for example who lost all their land in 1948 like we did, although they didn't lose their homes as well. We all have the same leadership and the same national aspirations. We are one people whether we are in Lebanon, the Galilee or Rafah."

— *Stateless in Gaza*





A Palestinian guerrilla unit fighting in a mountainous region in the north of Palestine. Photo from China Pictorial, No. 1, 1970.

**M**ao finally revealed that in 1949, after the CCP's victory, Israel had offered to recognise the new nation, but China refused this recognition, because 'we knew that all the Arab world was against Israel ... and we, on our part, cannot recognise Israel because it is a base for American, British, French and West German imperialisms'.

— From *China's Foreign Policy in the Arab World*, Hashim S. H. Behbehani.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: 'if they (the enemy) fight we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out; they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction.' This is the way for the Arab people to deal with imperialism and its lackey.

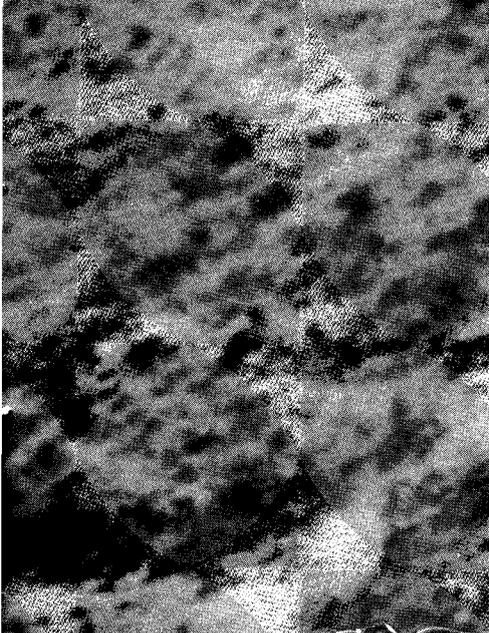
— From *Peking Review* as quoted in *China's Foreign Policy in the Arab World*

**T**he Palestinian guerrillas whom U.S. imperialism has underrated have neither airplanes nor tanks, but by mobilising the people, relying on the people, daring to take up arms and fight the Israeli aggressors armed to the teeth, they have scored brilliant and magnificent military successes and have thus become 'the valiant shock fighters now striking at US imperialism in the Middle East'.... What is tragic for US imperialism and its followers is that they only see the role of 'Phantom' planes and the 'strength' of so-called modern weapons, but they can never see the great strength of the people. It is precisely the great strength of the Arab people that is deciding the destiny of the Middle East and will sooner or later drive the U.S.-Israeli aggressors into their graves.

— From *China's Foreign Policy in the Arab World*

China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung resolutely supported the Palestinian liberation movement. The above are excerpts from Chinese leadership when it was still revolutionary.

— AWTW



In the wake of the incident last September, U.S. imperialism and its collaborator have stepped up their plot to set up a so-called 'Palestinian state' in a tiny area along the Jordan River. Their sinister purpose is to use political deceptions to inveigle the guerrillas into laying down their arms and extinguish the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle of the Palestinian people, thus liquidating the Palestinian revolution. The Palestinian people, however, have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the political skulduggery of U.S. imperialism and its collaborator. The Palestinian guerrilla organisations have issued numerous statements pointing out that armed struggle is the only way to solve the Palestinian question...

Although the criminal 'Palestinian state' plan has come to grief because of firm opposition from the Palestinian people, U.S. imperialism and its collaborator are not reconciled to defeat. They are still openly peddling their 'political solution' fraud and working behind the scenes to sow discord among the Arab nations and among the various Palestinian forces. In the face of the Palestinian people who are determined to persevere in armed struggle, however, U.S. imperialism's schemes are bound to fail, no matter how it goes from trick to trick...

In his solemn statement of May 20, 1970, the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out: 'The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country.' The course of armed struggle of the Palestinian people against aggression and suppression and against a 'political solution' shows that the Palestinian people are invincible and that their just struggle for national rights will certainly triumph.

Recently social-imperialism changed its tactics and hypocritically pretended to 'support' the Palestinian people's armed struggle. It is clear to everyone that the purpose of this is to get control of the Palestinian armed forces and use them as chips in its dirty deals with U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, so as to realise its criminal plot of stamping out the Palestinian armed struggle and divide up the Middle East with U.S. imperialism.

— *Peking Review*, 14 May 1971

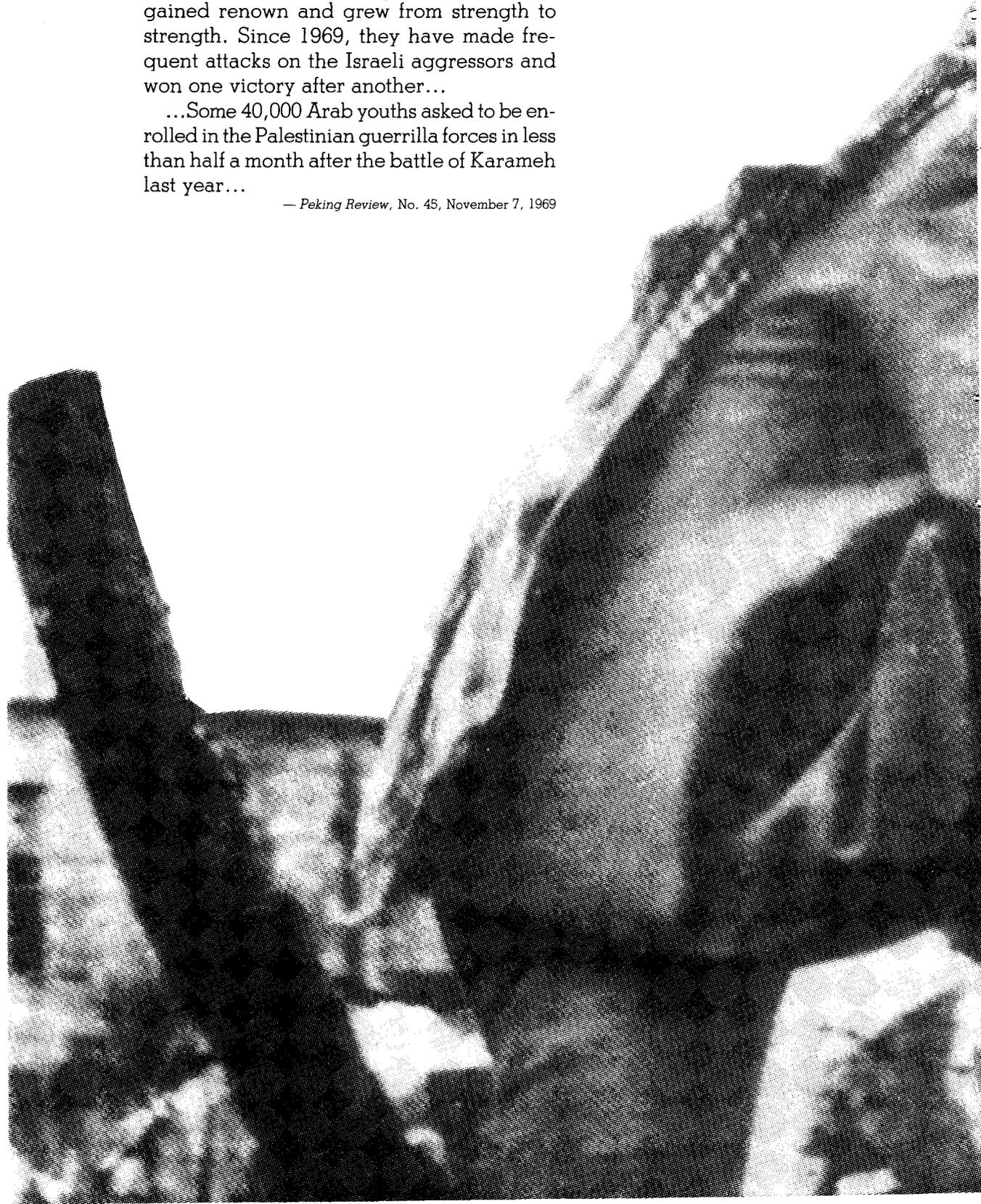
Citations were taken from the following books:  
*China's Foreign Policy in the Arab World, 1955-75*, Hashim S.H. Behbehani, KPI, London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley.

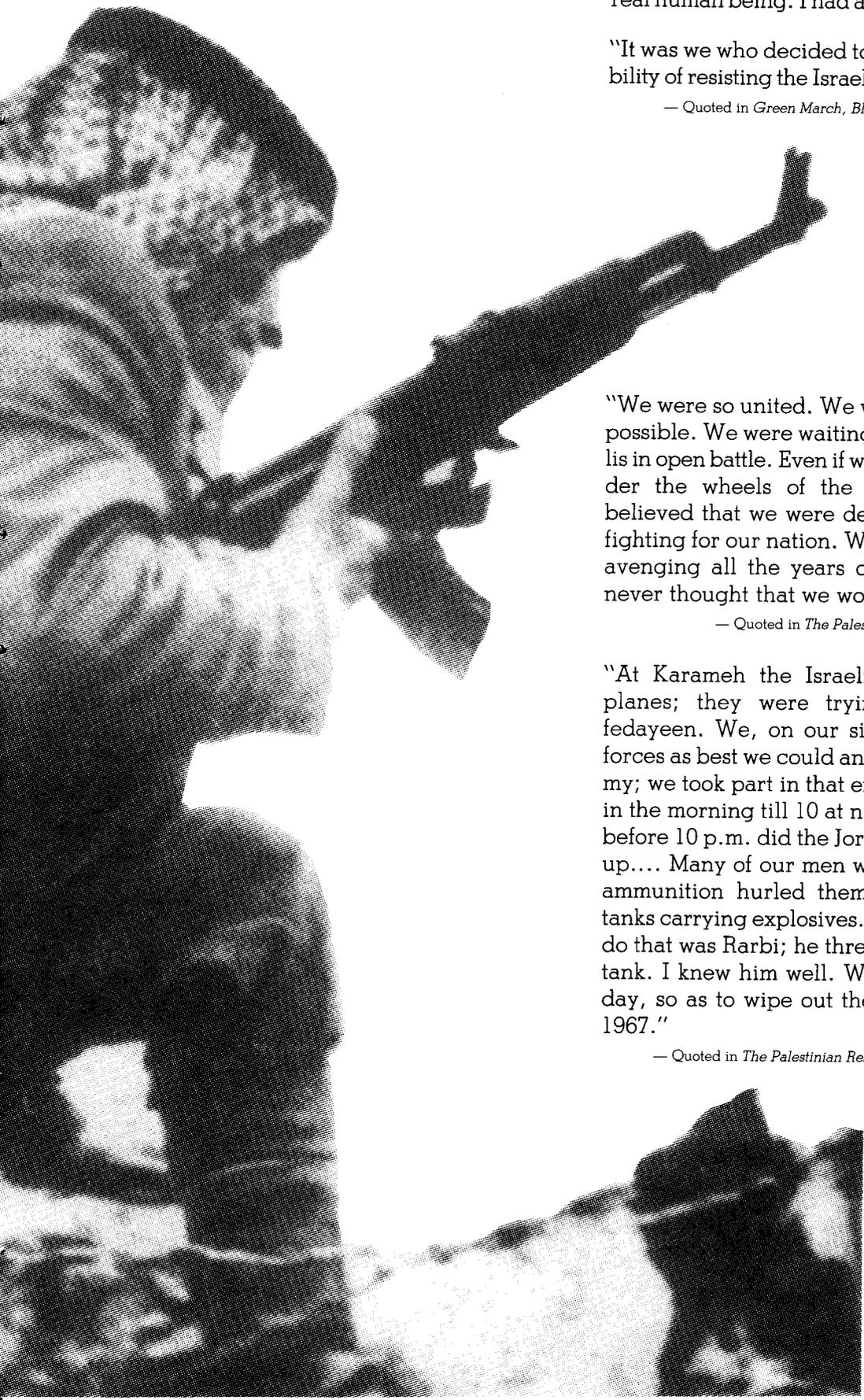
*Stateless in Gaza*, Paul Cossali & Clive Robson, Zed Books Ltd., London and New Jersey.  
*The Palestinian Catastrophe*, Michael Palumbo, Faber and Faber, London and Boston.

...In March 1968, the Palestinian guerrillas shattered the 15,000-strong Israeli aggressors' 'mopping-up' operations in Karamah, east of the Jordan River. Thereafter the guerrillas gained renown and grew from strength to strength. Since 1969, they have made frequent attacks on the Israeli aggressors and won one victory after another...

...Some 40,000 Arab youths asked to be enrolled in the Palestinian guerrilla forces in less than half a month after the battle of Karamah last year...

— *Peking Review*, No. 45, November 7, 1969





"For the first time in my life I felt that I was a real human being. I had a gun in my hand..."

"It was we who decided to take the responsibility of resisting the Israelis at Karameh."

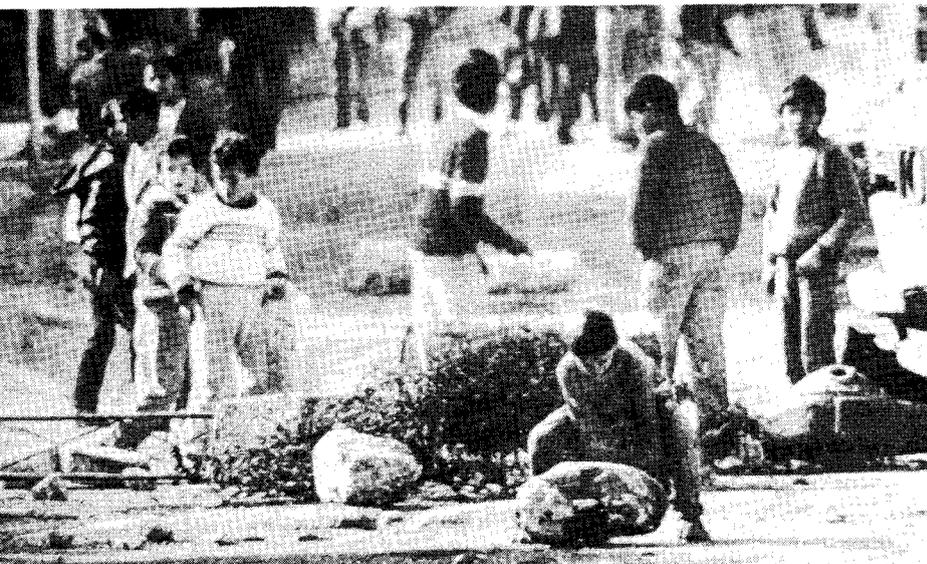
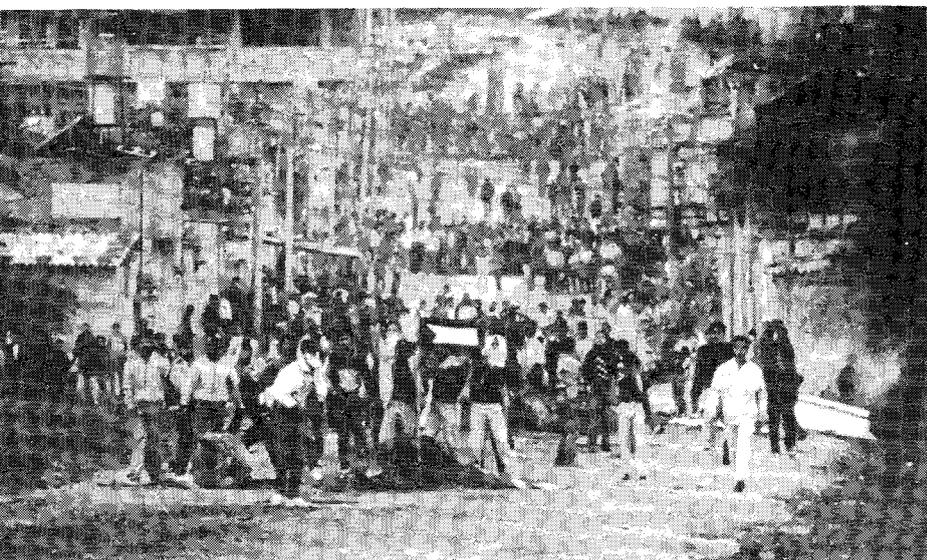
— Quoted in *Green March, Black September*, John Cooley.

"We were so united. We were doing the impossible. We were waiting to fight the Israelis in open battle. Even if we were crushed under the wheels of the Israeli tanks, we believed that we were defending justice in fighting for our nation. We felt that we were avenging all the years of oppression. We never thought that we would survive."

— Quoted in *The Palestinians*, Jonathan Dimbleby.

"At Karameh the Israelis had tanks and planes; they were trying to crush the fedayeen. We, on our side, deployed our forces as best we could and fired on the enemy; we took part in that engagement from 5 in the morning till 10 at night. Not until just before 10 p.m. did the Jordanian army show up.... Many of our men who had run out of ammunition hurled themselves under the tanks carrying explosives. The first martyr to do that was Rarbi; he threw himself under a tank. I knew him well. We stuck it out that day, so as to wipe out the memory of June 1967."

— Quoted in *The Palestinian Resistance*, Gérard Chaliland.





**Of all things in the world people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people every kind of miracle can be performed.**

**— Mao Tsetung**

## INVESTIGATION

**Write Down,  
I am an Arab,  
My card number is 50,000,  
I have eight children,  
The ninth will come next summer.  
Are you angry?**

**Write Down,  
I am an Arab,  
I cut stone with comrade labourers,  
I squeeze the rock,  
To get a loaf,  
To get a book,  
For my eight children.  
But I do not plead charity,  
And I do not cringe  
Under your sway.  
Are you angry?**

**Write Down,  
I am an Arab,  
I am a name without a title,  
Steadfast in a frenzied world.  
My roots sink deep  
Beyond the ages,  
Beyond time.**

**I am the son of the plough.  
Of humble peasant stock.  
I live in a hut  
Of reed and stalk.  
The hair: Jet black.  
The eyes: Brown.  
My Arab headdress  
Scratches intruding hands,  
And I prefer a dip of oil and thyme.**

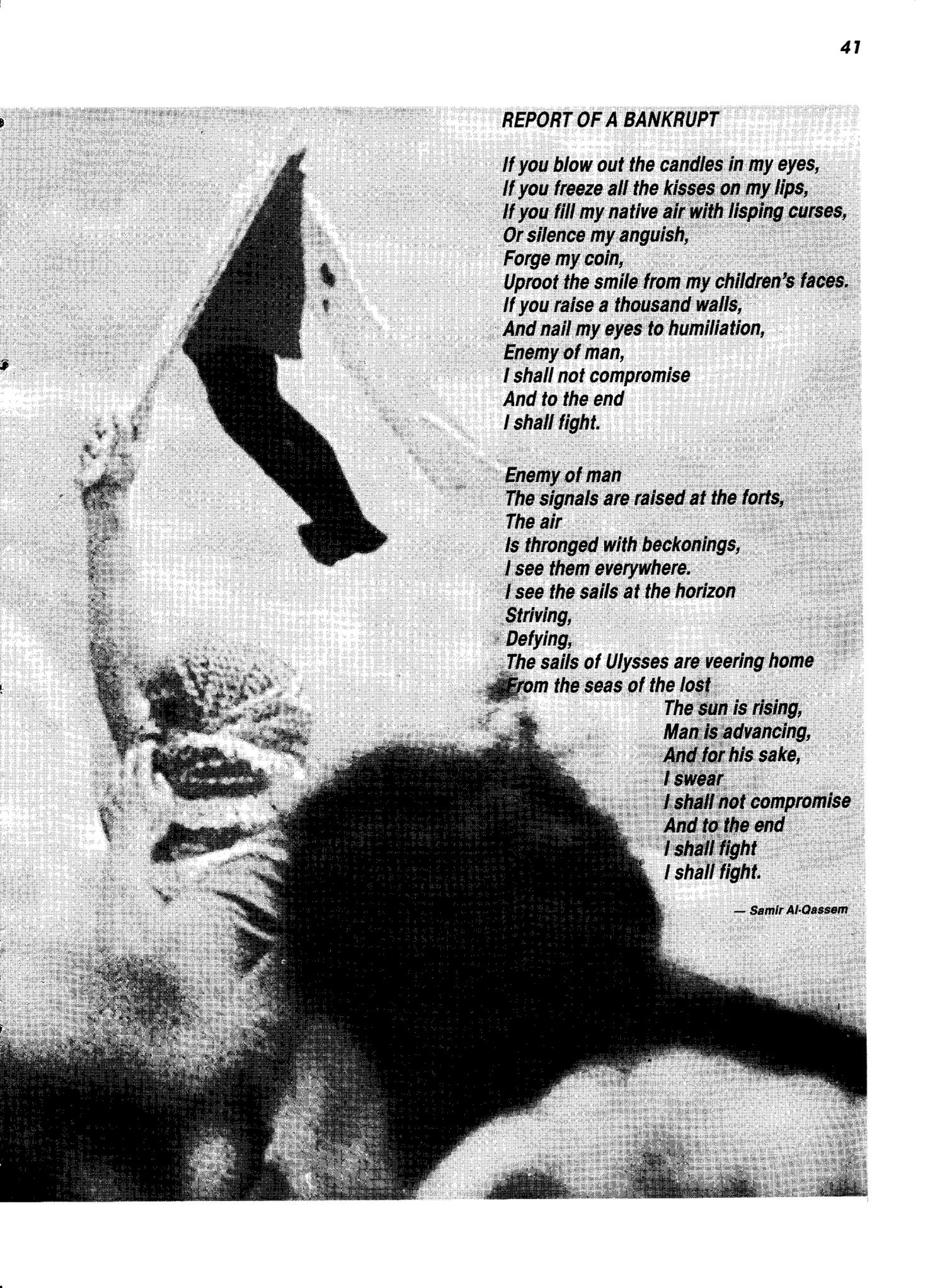
**And please write down  
On top of all,  
I hate nobody,  
But when I starve  
I eat the flesh of my marauders.  
Beware,  
Beware my hunger,  
Beware my wrath.**

— Mahmoud Darwish

Palestinian poetry reflects some of the furious determination of the masses and has been a sharp-bladed weapon in their struggle. The poems printed here are from the especially militant period of the 1960s. In the period since then the works of some poets, such as Darwish, have been influenced by the revisionist lines in the Palestinian movement.

— AWTW



**REPORT OF A BANKRUPT**

*If you blow out the candles in my eyes,  
If you freeze all the kisses on my lips,  
If you fill my native air with lispng curses,  
Or silence my anguish,  
Forge my coin,  
Uproot the smile from my children's faces.  
If you raise a thousand walls,  
And nail my eyes to humiliation,  
Enemy of man,  
I shall not compromise  
And to the end  
I shall fight.*

*Enemy of man  
The signals are raised at the forts,  
The air  
Is thronged with beckonings,  
I see them everywhere.  
I see the sails at the horizon  
Striving,  
Defying,  
The sails of Ulysses are veering home  
From the seas of the lost*

*The sun is rising,  
Man is advancing,  
And for his sake,  
I swear  
I shall not compromise  
And to the end  
I shall fight  
I shall fight.*

— Samir Al-Qassem



**Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!**



The experience of  
liberation movements has  
shown that the success  
of a revolution depends  
on how much women  
take part in it.

— Lenin

**A**s a women's activist, I see my role as fighting for social change without which the Palestinian revolution can never achieve victory.

Women's role in the revolution is as important as men's, and we must have freedom to move and express ourselves on an equal basis with men. This struggle needs the support, co-operation and understanding of men. This is difficult in Gaza because our society is more religious and conservative and so we rely heavily on direction and a lead from the outside. We take strength from the successes of Palestinian women in Lebanon where the revolution has brought about dramatic change. My aim is to strengthen women's confidence in their own ability to shape their lives and future.... It is our men who impose these restrictions and refuse to allow us to go out. Many families won't allow their daughters to go out unless accompanied by their mother or brother. People must have confidence in women.

But it's very difficult to oppose your own society. I can defy and challenge the restrictions imposed by the occupation and authorities — the enemy who stole my land. I don't care if they become angry and punish me. But it's harder to defy the people of your own society who have the same aims of liberating our homeland. If I impose a siege on myself and stay at home, I won't be able to take part in the struggle.

— From *Stateless in Gaza*

**I**t is worse for women: the effects of occupation come on top of all the social factors.... I honestly think, and I feel this very strongly, that if our women had been more liberated, they could have played a very significant role in resisting the occupation, they could have been a very powerful force. As it is, half the population is cut out from participating. Some women are very active and you hear about them, but most are shut at home mopping their men's brows. But still, most people can't accept that the social restrictions on women have to go. Even those who realise this, will not actually do anything about it....

— From *Stateless in Gaza*





A seven-year-old boy was sent home under armed guard by Israeli judges at his trial to bring his brother Nafez, who was also to be accused of stoning Israeli troops. An hour later, the boy returned with Nafez, who turned out to be only four years old. The Zionist judge, adopting a smiling mask, chortled and wondered aloud whether this 'mere baby' could be the culprit. Other officials in the court chuckled too. Then Nafez spat back, "Yes I did it you bastards and I'm going to get you all."

*From the Revolutionary Worker*



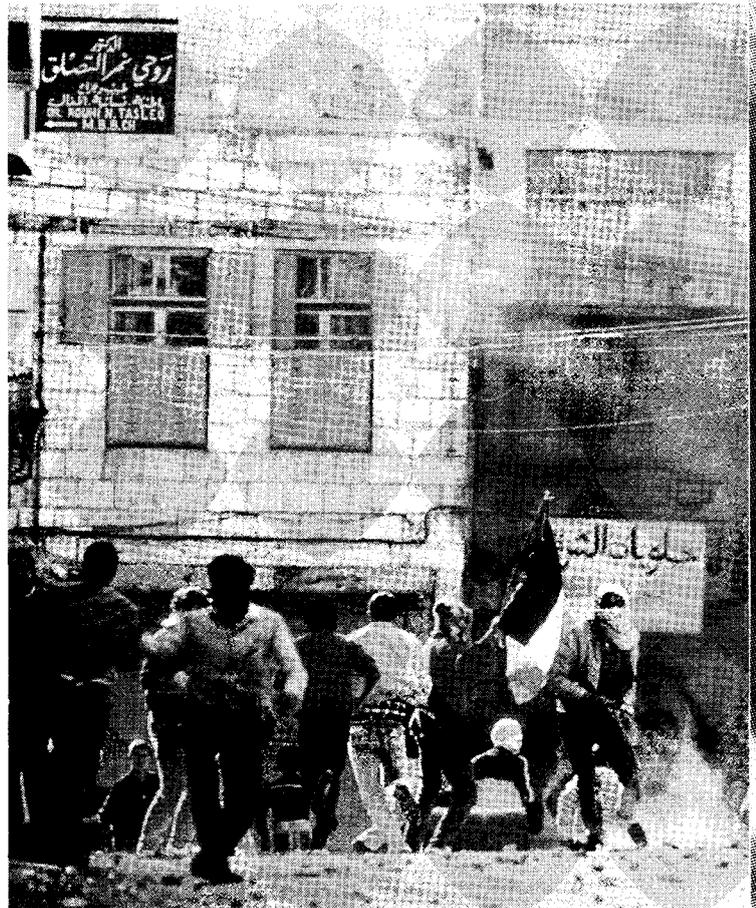
“The jails are our universities. If someone goes in blind they come out with 100 eyes.”

“You can see with your own eyes why we do this. You see our houses, the way we live here. We can't live here like human beings. We can't express our feelings. No one can hear us. This is our statement.”

“Everyday I become stronger. The beatings don't bother me anymore. You cannot beat all of the people because tomorrow they will beat you.”

“I could not help but watch the scenes by our house of young boys burning tires in the road without thinking of a Phoenix rising from the ashes.”

*From the Revolutionary Worker*





"The feeling is growing that if something isn't done quickly to settle the Palestinian problem, we will find ourselves in such a psychological situation that everything will appear lost. The whole region will then sink into a deep abyss with the risks of upheavals difficult to contain."

— King Hussein of Jordan.

"Suspects" at a court in occupied Nablus.



“It was a very uplifting experience. I have been there before. This time I saw that people are not afraid. They are not afraid to hoist the Palestinian flag on top of their house or a building, or to carry it with them.... One day I was in Ramallah, and people tied 2,000 Palestinian flags to helium balloons, the whole sky was filled with Palestinian flags.... You could see Palestinian flags everywhere, on houses, telephone wires, mosques and in the Old City of Jerusalem. People are not afraid to do this anymore. I mean, in the past, it was illegal, so you didn't do it, even though people resisted. Now there is no fear. Areas become liberated for a day or two, or for a week.... People are not afraid to throw stones. They are not afraid to confront the soldiers, to hit soldiers. They are just not intimidated anymore. It's so obvious that the Palestinians are now in control of their lives as much as possible, and the soldiers try and try and try to break this, but they just can't do it. There are new strategies every week by the Palestinians, to force the schools open, to stop buying Israeli products, to force the collaborators to give in.”

From *Democratic Palestine*