

PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES

Palestine Research and Educational Center

February 1984

ARAFAT IN EGYPT



Editorial Editorial Editorial

TO CAIRO...WITH CAUTION

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's visit to Cairo after the evacuation of Tripoli inspired the opposed sentiments of unfounded fear and glib expectation. As often happens when leaders make a move, some people read into them their own concerns, and are quick to condemn or praise what they themselves perceive.

Some Palestinians feared that, by visiting Egypt and meeting with its president, the Palestinian leader was signalling his readiness to accept the unacceptable. Similarly, some ill-wishers of the Palestinian people were quick to rejoice in the mistaken belief that the Palestinian leadership, despairing and free of the constraints of "radicalism" within their ranks, are now ready to sell their souls.

Palestinian opposition to the Camp David accords was never dictated by Palestinian radicalism. Their rejection was and remains today a requirement of Palestinian national survival. The Camp David accords diminish the Palestinian cause from that of a nation struggling to be free, to that of a lost tribe pleading for shelter in someone else's backyard. This, in our view, is the surest safeguard against acceptance of the Camp David formula by any Palestinian leader who truly reflects the sentiments of his people, as Mr. Arafat does.

Even from the perspective of less lofty considerations, the PLO and its leadership cannot afford to play the political game on the basis of Camp David or the Reagan Plan. In addition to ruling out Palestinian statehood (Reagan Plan) or making the Palestinians' future subject to Israel's veto (Camp David), both of these schemes do not recognize a role for the PLO in the peace process. By agreeing to either one of them as a basis for political settlement, Mr. Arafat would not only be abandoning a most fundamental national right, but also he would be surrendering his and

the PLO's leadership and even their very reason for being. Therefore, the assumption that, by visiting Egypt Mr. Arafat was indicating his willingness to be a Palestinian Sadat is a most doubtful assumption, to say the least.

Then why did Yasser Arafat go to Cairo? If he did not go to Cairo to endorse Camp David, then the briefest answer to this question is: Why shouldn't he go to Cairo? Does it serve the Palestinian cause better to concede to Israel its major political gain in more than thirty years by keeping Egypt permanently excluded from the Arab world? The Palestinian cause is so just, and the Palestinian tragedy is so severe that the Palestinians should not ignore a single state in this world in their effort to secure support for their legitimate rights. Egypt's position and status in the Arab family of states makes it even more important for the Palestinians to seek to influence its position. Otherwise, they would be granting immortality to Anwar Sadat by helping the survival of his policy.

The Egyptian people should not be abandoned by the Arabs to struggle alone with the aberration that Sadat's policies injected in their national life. As their disenchantment with the unilateral peace with Israel grows, and as their present government responds, though haltingly, to new Arab suffering brought about by mounting Israeli aggression, they are entitled to know that they have not been disowned by the Arab family, and that Egypt will always have a place reserved for it in the affections of the Arab nation.

It is necessary that this type of message should reach Egypt. But it is equally important that the message should be carefully designed to preclude the possibility that it be misread by anyone. It must be clear that the Arabs are inviting Egypt back into the Arab world, rather than joining the Sadat aberration.

Yasser Arafat's visit to Cairo, and the subsequent Fateh statements on the subject, by the Central Committee and the Revolutionary Council, make it clear that the Palestinians neither accept the defection of Egypt as a permanent Arab defeat, nor do they approve of Sadat's deviation as a lasting legacy. □

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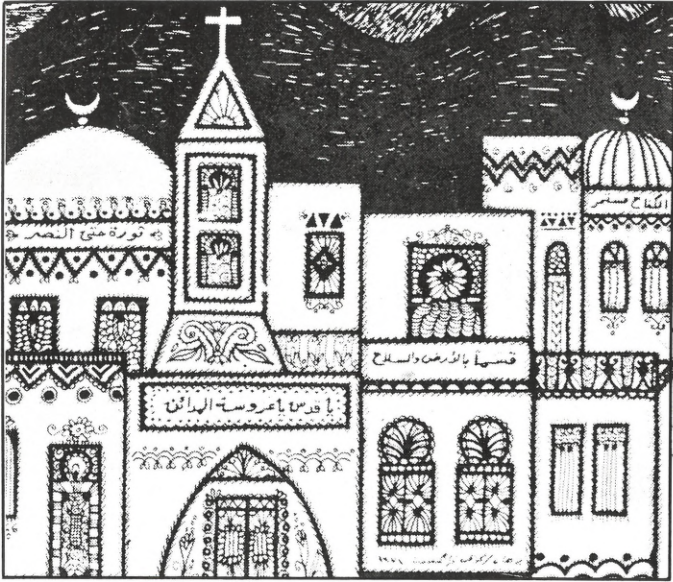
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THERE IS NO ARAB HANOI

Dr. Jamal Nassar

(Palestine Perspectives asked several Palestinian intellectuals to identify what they consider to be the priorities of the Palestinian national movement in the coming stage. The following is the response of Dr. Jamal Nassar, assistant professor of political science at the Illinois State University (Normal). We hope to bring you other responses in coming issues.)

One of the most attractive features of the Palestinian revolution has been the fact that it is the only independent Arab movement that represents the aspirations of its people. The events of Tripoli have not changed this fact. A recent poll conducted by Al Fajr in the Occupied Territories indicates a growing support for Mr. Arafat and his policies. But this very feature is also a cause of threat to the Palestinian revolution. Often, Palestinian independence contradicts state interests in the Arab world and has led to negative experiences in Palestinian-Arab relations.

Today, the Palestinians face this dilemma: if they want to develop themselves into a viable force capable of achieving its goals, they must have the ability to act independently from the Arab regimes; in order to have and strengthen their independence, they must deal with the Arab regimes and play a balancing act between them. If they refuse to deal with the Arab regimes under these conditions, they jeopardize their development and, in the end, their independence if not also their very existence as an organized force.

The events of Tripoli represent a facet of this dilemma. Few Palestinian dissidents afforded an Arab regime the opportunity to redress a diplomatic imbalance in the region. Syrian control of the PLO has always been one of Assad's objectives. It would enhance Syria's position in the current diplomatic process which in essence was shaped by Palestinian and Israeli activities with limited Syrian participation. Arafat's visit to Cairo was only the counter-side of the Palestinian balancing act—or, perhaps, gamble.



The question that remains is how could the Palestinian leadership extricate itself from this dilemma without jeopardizing its independence. The immediate issue is the cohesion of the leadership. While Syria has failed in its effort to control the PLO, the siege of Tripoli and Arafat's subsequent trip to Cairo have led to a divided leadership in the Organization. Progressive Palestinians and their friends need to make clear their opposition to Syria's role and openly criticize the Syrian-supported splinters. But the PLO itself must begin the process of preparations for a Palestine National Council meeting. Only from such a meeting can cohesion emerge in a valid manner.

While the months ahead seem difficult for the Palestinians, they also incorporate a potential for great hope. The PLO has so far survived tragedies and dangers and has on every occasion come out stronger than before. The lessons from bitter experiences have elevated the PLO to new eras instead of dragging it into bottomless pits. The Palestinians have survived their diaspora because they have remained firm in their strategy and in their conviction in the righteousness of their struggle. But when it comes to tactics, escaping dangers, surviving tragedies, they have been flexible and yielding, running away, hiding, using all kinds of stratagems to survive and grow.

In the months ahead, I believe, the Palestinians will enter their stage of evaluation and reassessment. The Arafat trip to Cairo should not signal a new policy but be seen as a tactical move for survival. At the time when the western leaders and observers were drafting the obituaries of Arafat and the PLO, the Palestinian leader emerged on center-stage of global events.

This stage of reassessment will hopefully direct the Palestinian leadership toward a greater emphasis on armed struggle in the Occupied Territories and political flexibility at the Arab and international levels. The PLO must realize, once and for all, that there is no Arab Hanoi. The liberation of Palestine cannot go through Damascus, Beirut, or Amman. The regimes there will simply not allow the PLO to do so. Liberation is a long process that begins with the gun and ends on a negotiating table. The PLO cannot hope to achieve its objectives at the negotiating table without the gun. The gun must make the Occupation too costly for the enemy to maintain. Armed struggle in the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan, and South Lebanon should be the top priority for the Palestinians and the PLO in the next phase of the struggle.

That the PLO suffered a setback in Tripoli is beyond doubt, but that the departure from Tripoli will lead to the end of the Palestinian struggle is a mirage. The PLO lives on. The Palestinian people continue to rally behind it. The events of Lebanon have not ended the Palestinian struggle, they have only crystallized it. As it did in the past, the PLO will emerge with new experiences and new lessons to build on. I believe it will. □



WHERE IS THE KARP COMMISSION REPORT?

By Zvi Barel

In 1982, an official Israeli committee was commissioned to study growing acts of vigilantism by Israeli settlers in the occupied territories. The committee was chaired by Deputy Attorney-General, Yehudit Karp. The committee's report documented hundreds of crimes, from murder to vandalism, committed by Israeli settlers against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, and criticized the behavior of Israeli officials who routinely ignored systematic violations of the law by Jewish settlers.

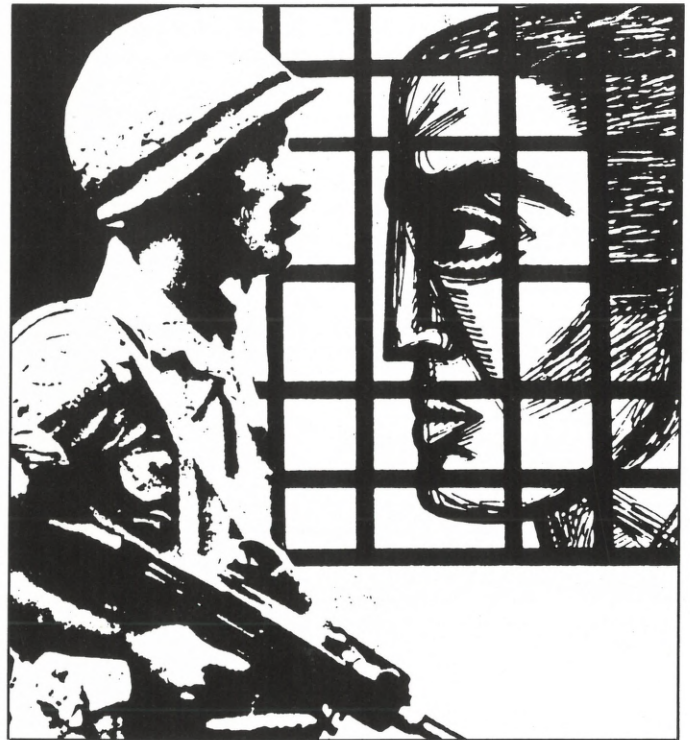
The report was submitted to the Minister of Justice in May 1982. However, the Israeli government suppressed the findings of the Karp committee and prevented the implementation of its conclusions. The Justice Ministry declined to release the full text of the report even to parliamentary committees. Meanwhile, the violations committed by these criminal elements continue to escalate.

Knesset member Shulamit Aloni of the Citizen's Rights political movement said that her staff had compiled a list of 70 incidents in which Jewish settlers smashed windows of Arab houses and cars, set fires, beat or shot Arabs and committed other misdemeanors and felonies since March 1982. The attacks resulted in five Arab deaths and several critical injuries.

Deputy Attorney-General Karp resigned as member of the committee bearing her name to protest the suppression of her committee's report. An editorial in Haaretz reported that Karp resigned because of "political interference in law enforcement on the West Bank." It quoted a police official as saying that "a very specific group of Jews think that they are the real rulers of the West Bank."

The following is an article written by Israeli journalist Zvi Barel on the fate of the Karp Report. The article was translated by our staff from Haaretz of November 20, 1983.

The city of Seattle, Washington, is not exactly the center of the world. Its residents are more preoccupied with seafood, fish, shellfish and abundant agricultural product than with developments around the world. A small fire or a banal murder case easily become the talk of the day, overshadowing foreign news which are considered here as toler-



able but not important or interesting. Middle East affairs are treated on the basis of the geographic size of the region rather than on the quantity of news it generates. Even Jewish residents of the city who still consider Israel the center of the world according to Biblical conception, are barely informed of day-to-day developments in the area. Therefore, I was greatly surprised during one of my meetings with activists from the city's Zionist Federation when I was asked: What happened to the Karp Commission Report? Of all places in the world, right here in Seattle—and particularly at this time after 239 Marines have been killed in Beirut, the tragedy in Tyre and amid the reports of continued fighting in Tripoli between PLO factions!

Well! What happened to the Karp Report? Over a year and a half have passed since the document was submitted to the Government's Legal Advisor and copies sent in to the Ministers of Defense, Interior and Justice. For a long time, the Report, which includes details of shortcomings in investigating the activities of Israeli settlers on the West Bank, was totally disregarded. Letters of inquiry and attempts to speed up the process were left unanswered. The perception was that public officials actually abdicated their responsibilities once the report was written. The absence of reaction and the scorn toward the findings of the report lead finally to the resignation of the author, Yehudit Karp, from her position as the coordinator of activities emanating from the report. This attitude toward the report was particularly prevalent during the tenure of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, who perceived the very writing of the report as a necessary evil.

When Moshe Arens succeeded Sharon as Defense Minister, there was renewed hope that the report's recommendations might be implemented. Once the issue was brought before Mr. Arens, he called a meeting with the Ministers of

Interior and Justice in which it was decided that each Ministry would submit its own recommendations. Furthermore, the Ministers decided to join efforts in formulating a basic document which will prescribe the mode of police and military operations in the occupied areas. Then the red-tape began. Every excuse became an essential reason to prevent the realization of the conclusions reached in the report. The obstruction campaign began with Arens' trip to the United States, then came Begin's protracted disappearance from the political arena and the subsequent "battle for succession." The Israeli withdrawal from the Shouf mountains, the appointment of a new cabinet, the continued war in Lebanon, worsening economic conditions... etc.—all served as excuses in answering the question of what happened to the Karp Report.

As the original Karp Report enters its third winter of hibernation it has little hope of revival because of Lebanon and the economy—there are simply no funds to implement its findings. It might be timely to write a new report to cover the events which took place in the territories during the last two years. It is perhaps worthwhile to go back and examine the circumstances under which the young girl from Nablus, Ilham Zaarour, was murdered in the same day a murderous attack was carried out against the Islamic College in Hebron. According to the evidence, Miss Zaarour was shot by a civilian driving a civilian car and not by military forces. It is proper to go back and ask about the outcome of the investigation of Uri Elitzor, resident of Ofra, who admitted before Amos Oz of habitually driving to Ramallah with his friends to smash windshields of Arab cars in retaliation for stonethrowing. Elitzor was in fact questioned by the police but claimed that Oz misquoted him. Oz documented Elitzor's admission in his book, *In the Land of Israel*. Yet, the police did not see fit to verify with Oz the accuracy of Elitzor's admission.

The rest of the updated report could, for example, deal with recent events at Hebron. It could begin with the brutal arrests at the refugee camp of Al-Aroub, the murder of two youths in Toul-Karim, then cover the illegal destruction of Arab homes in Hebron carried out by the Council of Kiryat Arbaa, and finally the attack on an Israeli soldier by Rabbi Moshe Levinger at the Tomb of Abraham in Hebron.

In the last two instances, the perpetrators have not been brought to justice more than two months after charges have been filed. The above are only a few examples.

The chance presented by the quiet summer months for reassessment, reform and reaching conclusions, was wasted as if divine promise has been given that the above events will never occur again. Meanwhile, police forces operating in the territories continue to lack adequate manpower capable of carrying out the burden of such investigations. The Army and the Civilian Administration continue to function on the basis of outdated operation standards written years ago yet lacking the capacity to change the situation. The Ministers of Interior and Justice are banking on the fact that the busy schedule of the Defense Minister will postpone the hour of decision again and again. They

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further avoid the issue by claiming that the "Defense Minister has not yet invited them to discuss the matter." Meanwhile, the Coordinator of Activities in the occupied territories considers it "unpopular" to trouble the Defense Minister with such marginal issues. He is happy to report that everything is quiet and under control.

In fact, no one has any interest in opening a Pandora's box including events which occurred two years ago or longer when even current events could be somehow "transferred." There is no reason to make an affair out of this, after all, it is a matter of "seasonal breaches of order," according to the Defense Minister. And whenever there are seasonal violations of orders, there are also seasonal omissions, seasonal obliviousness and seasonal application of law and order. One must apparently learn to live with this!

The Karp Report belongs to a different age. Today, it has already turned into a symbol—a kind of hidden law not to be followed. A law applicable to "held" territories but not to "occupied" territories. All this at the same time the Defense Minister is calling for Israel to annex the territories, if only to care for the human rights of the Arab population.

As for you, the Jews of Seattle, it is better if you stop asking your clever questions. The Karp Report is none of your business. It has already been explained to you that Israel knows much better where its interests lie. And if you find it difficult to identify with a state that places little value on the Karp Report, then it is better for you to go scrutinize your own problems! □

ARAFAT ADDRESSES THE PALESTINIANS

In his traditional annual message to the Palestinian people on the anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution (January 1), PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat renewed the pledge that Palestinian struggle "shall continue with brighter flame and greater strength on the long road to Palestine."

Nineteen years have passed in the age of our revolution, Mr. Arafat said, and added that the past year brought with it crucial challenges and conspiracies which threatened our struggle. The American-Israeli alliance sought to Balkanize our region in order to subjugate it, and sought to annihilate our revolution in order to liquidate our cause. Certain Arab parties, he said, served this conspiracy and tried to use us as a "trump card on the table of cheap bargains."

Mr. Arafat said the Palestinian Revolution is proud that it was able to confront this conspiracy, and it is especially proud that "while it was besieged in Tripoli, it liberated its heroic combatants from the enemy's detention camps and prisons." Its strength, he said, comes from the strength and determination of our people. "The steadfastness of the Palestinian people is a fundamental principle of our struggle and will continue to be so in the future."

Chairman Arafat reiterated his commitment to the resolutions of the Palestine National Council, and reaffirmed Palestinian rejection of the Reagan Plan "which denies the national rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people," including the right of self-determination and the establishment of an independent state in Palestine.

Mr. Arafat thanked the United Nations and the various states which stood by the PLO in its hour of need. He thanked France for providing naval escort during the evacuation of Tripoli, and Italy for helping in the transfer of wounded PLO fighters. □

ABU IYAD ON PLO STRATEGY

On December 22, 1983, the French newspaper *Le Quotidien* (Paris) published an interview with Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), a prominent Fateh leader. In the interview, Abu Iyad spoke on PLO strategy regarding the use of diplomacy and armed struggle, and PLO relations with Jordan and Egypt. Below are excerpts from the interview, which was conducted in Tunis by Dominique Lagarde:

LE QUOTIDIEN: *Is there not some inconsistency between, on the one hand, the continuation of the armed struggle through commando groups and, on the other, your political strategy, which aims in particular at securing the Western countries' diplomatic support?*

Abu Iyad: I do not think there is any inconsistency. The Western countries have experienced Nazi and fascist occupation, and they too resorted to armed struggle to regain their independence. Nobody criticized them for that. Our past experience showed us that without the armed struggle, we could not make our voice heard. During the first 18 years which followed the creation of the Israeli state, we refrained from fighting militarily and nobody helped us then. It was only after 1965, when we began the armed struggle, that people began to realize that there was a problem and cause. We are not fighting for the pleasure of fighting but to win our rights.

LE QUOTIDIEN: *When you speak of pursuing the armed struggle do you mean pursuing it inside Palestine alone or do you also envisage actions in other countries?*

Abu Iyad: In Palestine alone. We are not in favor of taking action in foreign countries. At the end of the sixties some Palestinian groups thought it was possible to draw the public's attention to our cause by hijacking aircraft, for instance. But our cause has grown and it is now out of the question for us to resort to that kind of action.

LE QUOTIDIEN: *You say that there is no inconsistency between continuing the armed struggle and diplomatic action, but are you not likely to lose your credibility with the Israeli "peace camp" with which you have started a dialogue? Prominent Palestinians from the West Bank who nonetheless support Yasser Arafat recently dissociated themselves from the attack on a bus in Jerusalem.*

Abu Iyad: Our orders in that affair were not to attack civilians. This must be made quite clear: We are opposed to attacks on civilians. We are opposed to the killing of children or civilians anywhere in the world. Mistakes are sometimes made, but our aim is to attack the Israeli army, which constantly attacks us. It is also clear that if serious negotiations were to be opened with a view to a peaceful settlement we would immediately end our military actions. But so far there has been no serious peace proposal even within the Israeli peace camp. When there is one we will use only diplomacy.

As regards the prominent Palestinians who criticized the Jerusalem attack, they are entitled to their viewpoint, and since it was civilians who were killed, we understand their position.

LE QUOTIDIEN: *You have decided to resume negotiations with Jordan. What is the objective of this dialogue? Does it mean that you intend to base your future action on an alliance and joint action with Jordan?*

Abu Iyad: The Palestinians and Jordanians are one people. We place only one condition on the resumption of our dialogue with Jordan: that the negotiations do not relate to

the Reagan plan. The Reagan plan does not mention the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. It cannot give us a state or a nation. We can obtain that not by the Reagan plan but by the Fez plan, which makes provision for the creation of a Palestinian state which we will negotiate with the Jordanians. I think that the Jordanians are beginning to realize that the only useful negotiations between them and us must be based on the Fez plan. But, to be frank, I do not think there will be a political solution at present because the balance of forces is in Israel's favor. In my view there will not be a political solution in the near future. Not because we do not want one but because the Israelis do not want one. In view of the existing balance of forces in the region, I do not think that the United States wants to exert pressure on Israel.

LE QUOTIDIEN: *If you think about what has happened over the past 2 or 3 years, do you not think that it was a mistake to exclude Egypt from the Arab world?*

Abu Iyad: Nobody excluded Egypt. It was Egypt which chose to place itself outside the Arab world with the Camp David agreements. But we draw a distinction between Sadat and Mubarak. We are trying to draw closer to Egypt to the extent that it is able to draw closer to us. We know how much value and importance Egypt has for the Arab world, and for us Palestinians more than anybody else. The countdown has begun with Egypt. □

FATEH STATEMENT

Fateh's Central Committee met in Tunis, under the chairmanship of Yasser Arafat, from December 31, 1983 to January 4, 1984, and issued a policy statement on the evacuation of Tripoli and Arafat's controversial visit to Egypt.

The Central Committee's statement described the fighting in Tripoli, which broke out in November 1983 and resulted in the evacuation of PLO forces, as a Syrian-Libyan attempt to undermine independent Palestinian decision-making. The PLO made every effort to avoid conflict and to create, instead, a broad alliance between Syria, the Lebanese Nationalist Forces, and the Palestinian Revolution. These efforts failed, Fateh statement said, "because the conspirators did not want an effective PLO by rejecting the principle of independent Palestinian decision-making."

The statement condemned the Arab states for their inability to stop the fighting in Tripoli, and for their lack of response to French requests for assistance to escort the PLO troops. Only Egypt provided naval units during the journey through the Mediterranean. The statement saluted the Palestinian people, inside and outside Palestine, who rallied around this revolution, its leadership, and its independence.

Regarding Arafat's visit to Cairo, the statement said the Central Committee was surprised by this visit, but "it should be judged on the grounds of whether it is right or wrong rather than used for the purpose of accusation."

The statement said that Mr. Arafat explained his visit and its circumstances and results, and affirmed in his report the following points:

1. He perceived his visit as an encirclement of the Camp David accords and not as acquiescence with them.
2. Egypt's return to the Arab world must be encouraged.
3. No political agreements were reached which would conflict with the resolutions of the Palestine National Council or the political programs of Fateh.
4. Mr. Arafat explained that he accepts the responsibility for his decision to visit Cairo, and his accountability to the legitimate institutions of Fateh and the PLO.

The Central Committee debated Mr. Arafat's report and found Mr. Arafat's decision to visit Cairo to be an "organizational violation of decision-making within Fateh and the PLO, because it was a personal decision". But this position is not directed against constructive efforts which seek to restore Egypt to the Arab camp and the resumption of its traditional leadership, because Egypt—freed of the policies of Camp David—is an effective force in the quest for Arab solidarity and steadfastness. The Central Committee decided to form a committee to study relations with Egypt in preparation for the coming session of the Palestine National Council.

The Central Committee also took the following decisions:

1. Any dialogue with Jordan must be based on the policies agreed to by previous PNC sessions and the Arab summit at Fez.
2. All political settlements which do not recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and independence are rejected. This means the rejection of Camp David and the Reagan Plan.
3. Rejection of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement (of May 1983), because it signifies the forceful imposition of an Israeli-American peace in the region.
4. Reaffirmation of the political program approved by the PNC, and the commitment to the Fez resolution. □

FATEH REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL ISSUES POLICY STATEMENT

The Revolutionary Council of Fateh met in Tunis, under the chairmanship of Yasser Arafat, from January 9-11. At the conclusion of its meetings, the Council issued a political statement which condemned Syria and Libya for attempting to contain the PLO and to impose tutelage on the Palestinian Revolution.

The Council approved the recent position of Fateh's Central Committee regarding future political moves by the PLO, saying that such moves should be governed by the resolutions of the Palestine National Council and the Arab peace plan agreed at the Fez Arab summit conference.

Regarding Mr. Arafat's visit to Egypt, the Council concurred with the Central Committee's position (see Fateh Statement, this issue). The Council expressed the hope that the Jordanian government's decision to reconvene parliament was not intended to conflict with the 1974 Arab summit, which recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and said that it has no reason to doubt the Jordanian government's assurances that the step was taken in response to domestic demands for the restoration of parliamentary life to Jordan. □



Life Under Occupation

JERUSALEM RELIGIOUS SITES TARGET OF TERRORISTS

The Christmas season witnessed a wave of Israeli terrorist attacks against Moslem and Christian religious places in Jerusalem. A Moslem clergyman and a Christian nun were injured on December 20 in separate but simultaneous explosions in a monastery and an adjacent mosque. An extremist Jewish group which calls itself "Terror Against Terror" claimed responsibility for the attacks.

The Moslem clergyman was injured as he entered the mosque for the morning prayers. At the nearby Greek Orthodox monastery, a nun was injured when she tried to remove a booby-trapped pile of rubble. Both explosions were caused by concealed hand grenades.

The same Israeli terrorist group claimed responsibility, earlier in December, for similar booby traps at three Christian churches and a mosque in Jerusalem. Hand grenades were rigged to explode with trip wires, but they were discovered and defused.

On December 30, *Imam* Mohamad Ghazi Zeir, 34, was injured when a bomb hidden in a trash bag exploded. The bag was placed at the entrance of a mosque in Hebron and exploded when the Imam tried to move it. He was entering the mosque to call for the morning prayer. On the same day, a second bomb exploded outside another mosque in Hebron, but there were no injuries. The mosque's gate was damaged. On January 2, 1984, a bomb was discovered by a guard at

(continued on page 9)

ISRAEL DECREES DEATH SENTENCES

Two Palestinians, citizens of Israel, were sentenced to die by hanging by an Israeli military court in Lydda on December 27. The two

ANALYSIS...TERRORISM IN THE WEST BANK

Religious sectarian conflict has never been a serious problem in Palestine. There are reasons for this fact. One, is that until Israel was established recently, Palestinian society was predominantly Moslem, and Islam teaches that Christians and Jews—as well as Moslems—are true believers, and calls them "The Peoples of the Book." Islam teaches respect for Christianity and Judaism, whose followers are not considered to be heathens or "infidels" as Western mythology claims, but fellow believers.

The second reason, is that Christianity is a native Palestinian belief. Unlike in most other countries of Asia and Africa, Christianity did not come to Palestine with European colonialism. Palestinian Christians, and Arab Christians in general, are indigenous communities subscribing to native beliefs. They produced true Arab patriots who played a leading role in the Arab nationalist movement and its struggle for liberation, and never suffered from the stigma of being collaborators with foreign oppressors. Many of the outstanding leaders of the PLO, the contemporary Palestinian national liberation movement, are Christians. So, religious bigotry never struck roots in Palestine.

Then Zionism came to Palestine, early in this century, masquerading behind a religious banner. It portrayed itself as Jewish nationalism, and Palestinian resistance to the Zionist usurpation of Palestine as an anti-Jewish crusade. And once it was established it labored to inject religious sectarianism throughout the Middle East. Lebanon is to a certain extent the victim of these Zionist efforts.

Now, Zionist zealots are working hard to stir up religious strife in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, which had not known sectarian conflict in the past. Increasingly, Israeli settlers in the occupied territories are targeting Moslem and Christian places of worship in their ongoing and escalating violence against the people of the West Bank and Gaza. During the Christmas season, mosques and churches were attacked with alarming frequency, and they became primary targets of Zionist settler terrorism.

It is difficult to explain this phenomenon except as an Israeli attempt to ignite religious fanaticism and to downgrade the conflict over Israel's occupation of Palestinian land from a struggle for national liberation to a bloody religious feud. Israel has been preparing world public opinion to side with it in the type of conflict it hopes to unleash in the occupied territories. It has been propagating the view, which has been widely disseminated in the American media, that the Middle East in general is an ancient hotbed of religious bigotry and conflict which seems to be immune to the civilizing secular influences of contemporary civilization.

The truth is that no state in the Middle East, or indeed in the world of today, used and abused religion as the state of Israel does. Israeli terrorism against Moslem and Christian religious symbols in the occupied West Bank is the latest manifestation of this fact.

Raymond Edde, the Christian leader of the Lebanese National Bloc who preferred self-imposed exile to playing Israel's contemptible game of sectarian warfare in Lebanon, said that Israel, which makes sectarianism its *raison d'être*, is an aberration and an anachronism in the twentieth century. It seeks to acquire the appearance of normality and legitimacy for its medieval concepts of religiously-based nationality and statehood by replicating its model in the region around it.

Those who parrot the myth that whatever Israel does is part of its struggle for survival, encourage Israel to persist in its medieval mission. They sanction as justifiable self-defense what in reality is organized and popularized repression. □

Palestinians, Maher and Karim Yunis, are cousins from the village of 'Ara in The Triangle area. They were convicted of killing an Israeli soldier in 1980.

The military court decided to keep

the trial a secret, but it was overruled by the Ministry of Defense. There was no explanation of why Israel deviated in this case from a long-standing policy against the death sentence. □

ISRAELI REPORT CONDEMNS OCCUPATION POLICY

The Israeli Center for Peace in the Middle East published a detailed report condemning Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories. The 200-page report covers several aspects of Palestinian life under Israeli occupation during the tenure of Prime Minister Begin, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, and Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan.

The report concludes that the Israeli authorities "have ignored the principles of international pacts concerning the rights of a civilian population in occupied territory, undermined people's freedom and their basic rights, used collective punishment...and transformed humiliation into a system of rule."

According to David Shaham, Executive Director of the Center, "Israel allows itself to legislate and to establish an administrative system allowing discrimination between one resident and another..." Mr. Shaham further stated that: "The Israeli rule of the territories has no checks and balances to restrain these tendencies. Responsibility for their absence falls not only on the government, but also on the Knesset, public opinion and different parts of the political system for whom this situation is comfortable."

Israeli researchers preparing the report found overwhelming evidence that Palestinian human rights are being violated under Israeli military occupation. The report cites examples of brutality by Israeli forces; arrest and prolonged imprisonment of Arab suspects without filing formal charges; forced confessions; collective punishment, and various forms of harassment ranging from curfews, travel restrictions, the withholding of work or trade and building permits, and press censorship.

The report, according to the *Baltimore Sun* (December 14, 1983), also explores the double standard applied in the treatment of legal violations committed by Arabs and those committed by Jewish settlers. This fact is significantly related to the growth of a Jewish terrorist movement in the territories specializing in vigilantism against the indigenous Arab population. Official Israeli sources confirm

that this Jewish terrorist organization "may" have been responsible for the rash of bombs placed in Christian and Muslim sites in Jerusalem during the last few weeks.

The International Center's report also accuses the Israeli government of deliberately manipulating the confusion of laws applied in the occupied territories "in order to establish political facts that would thwart the objectives of the Camp David process for eventual Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and in Gaza."

It is worth noting that members of the Center include many prominent Israelis critical of Israeli policies in the occupied territories. Among its members are former Foreign Minister Abba Eban and former Chief Justice Haim Cohen. □

ISRAELI CENSORSHIP



A newly-released study of Israeli censorship of Arab publications concluded that the primary purpose of such censorship "is to eradicate expression that could foster Palestinian nationalist feelings, or that suggests that Palestinians are a nation with a national heritage." The study, which was directed by Meron Benvenisti, the former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, and published by the Fund for Free Expression in New York, was based on a survey of censored newspaper and magazine material as well as prohibited books.

PRESS CENSORSHIP

The 167-page report notes that Israeli censorship of the Arab press is "pervasive", and that Arab editors are required to submit in advance for the approval of the Israeli censors "all material meant for publication (including photos, advertisements and crossword puzzles)." Furthermore, editors are not permitted to leave empty spaces to indicate that material has been censored. This means, Benvenisti says, that Israel is "censoring the fact of censorship."

The heavy handedness of Israeli censorship of the press is shown by the statistics provided by the report.

In the case of one newspaper, only 38.7 percent of all items submitted (417 out of 1077) between May 1982 and April 1983 (the period of the survey) were permitted by the censor, while 34 percent (367 items) were totally forbidden, and 20 percent (214 items) were partially censored. The censored material included editorials, news on demonstrations, settlements, taxation, universities, trade unions, holy places, the "Arab lobby" in the U.S., advertisements, death announcements, letters to the editor, poetry, and others. Some of the censored material was taken from world news agencies and even from Israeli publications.

The report includes 50 pages of actual examples of censored items, including photocopies bearing the markings and stamps of Israeli censors.

FORBIDDEN BOOKS

Israel prohibits importing, printing, circulating, possessing, and reading a large number of books. The list of forbidden books at one time reached about 3,000. They included books on all conceivable subjects, fiction and non-fiction. The Israelis were embarrassed when foreign journalists became interested in this form of Israeli censorship, as when Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times* reported that even George Orwell's *1984* was forbidden reading!

Benvenisti's report says that as a result, the Israeli censor issued a modified master list in September 1982 which contains 1,002 forbidden titles. As a result of periodic additions, the list reached more than 1,600 books by March 1983.

Although many of the prohibited books deal with Israel, Zionism, and the Arab-Israeli conflict, many others are on education, sociology, religion, and literary criticism. In fact a substantial percentage is classified as fiction including poetry.

Benvenisti reports that some books are censored because of a single sentence which the Israeli censor finds objectionable. As an example, he says that: "A sentence, 'from the Golan Heights I look at the green valley and see my father's home,' included in a three volume work is sufficient to ban the whole work." □

SITES (continued from page 7)

the public preparatory school in Aizariyya (Jerusalem). The Israeli terrorist group "Terror Against Terror" took credit for all of these incidents.

Al-Fajr (Jerusalem) weekly said in its January 4 issue that eleven bombs were placed in various Palestinian residential areas in Jerusalem during the past few weeks, and that five of them were placed in mosques, churches and schools.

The grenades used in all of these incidents were of the type issued by the Israeli army. Police spokesmen believe that this indicates that the terrorists were "army trained."

The Israeli authorities have been remarkably inept at solving crimes involving Israeli terrorism in the occupied territories. This fact prompted Yehudit Karp, Israel's deputy attorney-general, to resign when the

government ignored a report on Israeli violence against the people of the occupied territories, prepared by a commission of inquiry which she headed. In an article which appeared in the Israeli daily *Al-Hamishmar* (16 May 1983), it was suggested that one explanation why the Israeli government persists in closing eyes to Israeli terrorism is that it is in accord with government policy in the occupied territories.

The well-known Israeli journalist, Danny Rubenstein, said in an article in *Davar* that an underground "sabotage" Israeli group functions in the occupied territories, and it has political connections and support in the Israeli government. That is why the police are prevented from undertaking more than routine and superficial investigations to uncover it. □

NAJAH UNIVERSITY HARRASSED

The Board of Trustees of Najah National University in Nablus appealed to all people concerned about academic freedom to help stop Israeli harassment of the university. The Board's statement, issued on December 24, said that harassment by Israeli occupation troops caused the university to lose 16 out of 31 school days since the beginning of the semester.

The Israeli authorities have been frequently disrupting studies at the university by placing army checkpoints at roads leading to the university and preventing students from entering it. The statement of the

Board of Trustees said that this is intended to produce the same result as the closure of the university.

During the previous academic year, Najah University was closed by the occupation authorities for three months. As a result, the academic year was extended to the end of October.

The Israeli authorities also prevented Yahya Ibrahim Khader, physical education instructor, from leaving the West Bank to continue his studies in the United States, where he has been accepted at the University of Ohio. Two other Najah instructors, Sami Kailani and Sami Sa'idi, have been placed under "town arrest." □



ISRAELI MYTH DESTROYED

(Summary of a letter to the editor of the Israeli daily, *Al Hamishmar* of December 9, 1983.)

As usual—Raful (ex-chief of staff Raphael Eitan) is right: the [returned Israeli] POW's should be put on trial. Not because they didn't shoot and not because they didn't fight. They must be brought to trial because they destroyed one of our myths. They destroyed the myth of the savage and barbaric PLO, the descendants of the Nazis. They destroyed the legend that a Jew who falls into the hands of the PLO has one fate: to be murdered.

How shall we continue to exist without the firm conviction that beyond the barricade there is a bestial enemy, a two-legged cockroach, thirsty for blood? How will we be able to continue to live here and do what we are doing if we have to get used to the thought that standing against us is an enemy who knows how to respect the Geneva Conventions, an enemy that has shown a humane attitude to our soldiers who fall into their hands? On what can we base the reasons of our existence if we'll have to confess that it is possible to negotiate with this enemy and to reach agreements with it that it will respect?

Therefore, the POW's should be brought to court and they should be accused of the following:

1. Not receiving blows from the guards;
2. Not losing teeth and/or nails during the interrogations that didn't take place.

Yehoshua Sobol

ISRAEL KKK

In a move reminiscent of the cross burning activities of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States, the "Youth for Israel" movement began to harass Israeli army reservists who refuse to serve in occupied Lebanon by burning candles outside their homes. □

ISRAELI POWs SPEAK OUT

(Israeli soldiers captured by Palestinian fighters in Lebanon and recently exchanged for Palestinian and Lebanese POWs, were interviewed a few days before their release. The following are excerpts from the interview, translated from Balsam (December 1983), the journal of the Palestine Red Crescent Society):

Danny Gilboa: After four Palestinian commandos captured us, we were led on foot to the Palestinian positions. On the way, one of the Palestinian commandos slipped and fell. His rifle accidentally discharged, and one of us—Elie Abutbul—was wounded in the shoulder.

We, the Israeli prisoners, tried to carry him ourselves, but the commandos insisted on sharing the burden, and two Israelis and two Palestinians took turns carrying him.

Eli Abutbul: After I was wounded, I expected to be left behind to bleed to death. Israeli propaganda taught me that the Palestinians were merciless beasts, and I became a burden to them. I did not think they would jeopardize their successful operation to save me.

I was not left behind to die. When we got to the Palestinian positions, an ambulance belonging to the Palestine Red Crescent Society came with a doctor and two nurses. I was taken immediately to a hospital and given proper treatment.

Reuven Cohen: We were allowed to be in constant contact with our families in Israel. The Palestine Red Crescent cooperated with the International Red Cross for this purpose. In fact, one day, and it was a Jewish holiday, one of our Palestinian guards asked if we wanted anything special. I said, jokingly, that we would like to speak to our families in Israel by telephone. To our surprise the guard consulted his commanders and our request was approved. We later found out that Abu Jihad himself gave the approval. We talked to our relatives. But we could hear them and they could not hear us. Maybe it was a bad connection, or maybe it was Israeli censorship.

We had a radio, a television, and

we knew what was happening. We knew what was happening to the Palestinian people, we knew that Begin resigned, and that Shamir took over, we knew about the economic crisis in Israel, about the fighting in the Shouf mountains, and that the Israeli forces withdrew to the Awali River.

We received Hebrew books, and we received Hebrew, Arabic, and English newspapers regularly.

Rafi Hazan: We are supporters of the Labor Party. It is not extremist like Likud. Begin's policy is dragging Israel to its destruction. It has led to economic collapse and to this quagmire in Lebanon.

Avi Kronenfeld: Although some of us know the Arabs well, because originally we are from Iraq, Morocco... etc., we were carrying in our mind distorted stereotypes, especially about the Palestinians. This experience, in Palestinian captivity, we learned that they are just like us, regular people who want peace and hate war, and when they fight they do so to defend their land.

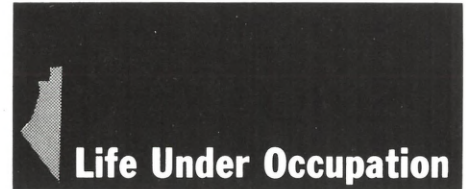
(These Israeli soldiers may now be courtmartialled for allowing themselves to be captured by Palestinian fighters.)

ISRAEL IN LEBANON: Withdrawal or Redeployment?

A secret Israeli military report conceded Israel's failure to achieve primary objectives of the invasion of Lebanon, and recommended early withdrawal. The report was revealed by Shulamit Aloni, a member of the Israeli Knesset (Parliament), on January 10. Responding to criticism of her action, she said that she felt it was her obligation to take advantage of her parliamentary immunity to stop unnecessary bloodshed caused by continued Israeli occupation of Lebanon.

According to the Israeli army report, Israel can neither expel the Syrians from Lebanon nor impose "normal" relations on the Lebanese government.

Recently, there have been reports about an impending partial Israeli withdrawal from the Awali River to the Zahrani River just north of Saida. The previous partial withdra-



wal to the present lines, made to minimize Israeli casualties inflicted by Lebanese resistance forces, failed to achieve its objectives. Israeli casualties continue to mount. Many Israelis also blame their country's worsening economic situation on the war. Recently, Adi Amorai, a member of the ministerial economic committee, called on the government to withdraw from Lebanon to save money.

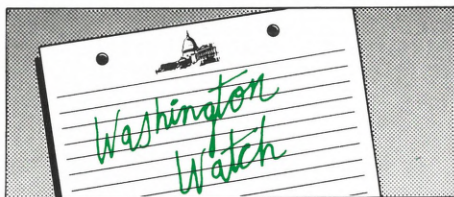
Many Lebanese fear that such incremental withdrawals by the Israelis are designed to consolidate Israeli control of the south of Lebanon to make permanent occupation possible, since they are not part of a plan for complete withdrawal.

THE JUDAIZATION OF THE WEST BANK

For two weeks in December 1983, a Congressional Staff delegation toured the Middle East in a fact-finding visit. The visit included the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

Mr. Peter Sattris, Research Analyst at the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations, and Ms. Jane Power, from the International Affairs Department of Operation PUSH, accompanied the delegation. Upon their return, the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations in Washington, issued a press release on December 23, 1983, which included the following statement regarding conditions in the West Bank:

In the West Bank we found the "Judaization" program proceeding at a record pace. Even by Israeli figures, the amount of the land in the West Bank the military authorities have expropriated from Palestinians for exclusive Jewish settlements now approaches 60 percent. We found evidence of extensive destabilization of the Palestinian economy in both agriculture and manufacturing. Among Palestinians and many Israelis we found consistent and universal allegations of serious human rights violations and widespread use of torture. □



THE DUBE AFFAIR

A former victim of *apartheid* is now living through the nightmare of a Zionist witch-hunt in America. He is professor Ernest Dube of the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Professor Dube, a black South African who spent four years in a South African prison for his opposition to racism, is being harassed by Jewish groups in New York for teaching a course on "The Politics of Race." In his course, he teaches about three expressions of racism: Nazism in Germany, *apartheid* in South Africa, and Zionism in Israel.

The Zionist outcry was triggered by an Israeli visiting professor, Selwyn Troen, who complained about Dube's course in a letter to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. A concerted campaign of pressure on the university by Jewish groups was unleashed, which culminated in thinly-disguised threats on the life of the South African professor. Mordechai Levi, a member of the Jewish Defense League, went to the SUNY campus and threatened to "get Dube" and to "teach him a lesson in Jewish justice." He distributed leaflets with the symbol of the JDL (a machine gun inside a star of David), carrying the slogan "Fire Dube or else." Two professors, one of whom was Jewish, said that Levi informed them that "I have spent the last three years killing Arabs, and I can take care of you too."

Many black students and faculty members expressed the belief that the attack on professor Dube has the larger objective of terminating the Africana Studies Program. The *Village Voice* of December 20, 1983, reported that "on the side of the black students and faculty, there has long been a fear that leading administrators and faculty members—many of them Jewish—are unsympathetic to the continued existence of black studies at Stony Brook, and would like to see the program

COMMENTARY... THE U.S. IN LEBANON AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The American public has been increasingly questioning the wisdom of U.S. policy in Lebanon. Its objectives are increasingly perceived to be unclear, its methods unsuitable, and its results most unsatisfying. Even the most faithful supporters of the Reagan administration are beginning to realize that its policy has become counterproductive. Instead of being a peacekeeper, the U.S. is increasingly seen as another faction bogged down in the Lebanese quagmire.

What is still not sufficiently understood in this country is that all the criticisms that are being made of the U.S. involvement in Lebanon can also be made of its broader involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict as a whole. In both cases, *the United States has allowed itself to be used as a sub-contractor for the state of Israel*, thus undermining its ability to pursue with any degree of effectiveness the role of a peacemaker. In fact, it can be said that the problem in Lebanon, in terms of Israel's behavior and the U.S. role, is simply a more focused example of the situation in the Middle East in general.

In the Middle East as in Lebanon, Israel is constantly hounding the Palestinian people and trying to push them off the cliff to ensure that its usurpation of their homeland and its denial of their national rights become complete and perpetual. In the Middle East as in Lebanon, Israel is acting like a mini Roman empire, using its army as the Caesars used the Roman legions to subdue the provinces and to create vassal states. And in the Middle East as in Lebanon, the United States accepts the degrading role of handmaiden to Israeli policy.

It is the only known case, past or present, of a global power constrained by the whims and ambitions of a client state. That is why, in Lebanon and in the Middle East, the United States appears to be both ineffective and uncertain, and that is why its declared role and actual behavior keep getting in each other's way.

The United States needs to make up its own mind about what it wants in Lebanon and the Middle East. Does it want to help Lebanon restore its independence, or does it want to secure for Israel what it failed to accomplish? Does it want a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, or its phased subjugation to Israel? Does it want the Arabs as partners in the peace-making process, or does it want them errand boys to do its bidding? Does it want the responsibilities and obligations of a superpower, or is it satisfied to be an appendage to a local state? Does it want to be a peacemaker, or is it determined to become an antagonist? These are the questions which the United States must face and answer as it assesses its role in Lebanon and the Middle East. □

quietly interred."

In their attack on professor Dube, the Jewish groups involved a number of New York politicians in their campaign of pressure on the university, including Governor Cuomo, as well as a number of state legislators. Assemblyman Daniel Yevoli threatened to have funding for the African Studies Program stopped if Dube's course is continued. Jewish alumni also wrote the president of the university threatening to stop financial contributions to the university. The SUNY student newspaper accused New York politicians of "convenient political sloganeering."

Dr. Dube, a graduate of Cornell University who has been teaching at

Stony Brook's Africana Studies Program since 1977, uses among his sources for the course the study "Is Israel on the Road to Nazism" by professor Israel Shahak of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He says that he teaches about racism from the perspective of a cognitive psychologist to explain why people behave as they do. He distinguishes between three types of racism: overt, covert, and reactive, and says: "I believe that Zionism falls in the area of reactive racism, which is the kind of racism suffered by those who have themselves been victims of racism." Dube argues that having been victimized by Nazis, many Israelis are treating the Palestinian Arabs in the same way.

An investigation by university authorities absolved Dr. Dube of the charge that he violated his academic responsibility. The University Senate's executive committee agreed unanimously that "the bounds of academic freedom have not been crossed in this case."

Most students who took Dube's course testified to his objectivity. One of them said: "It makes me angry that so many people who never sat in his class, and who don't really know what he taught, should be labeling this man as dangerous. To me, this is a renewal of McCarthyism." Lennox Hines, former president of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, said that considering that the great majority of the nations of the world approved a U.N. resolution in 1975 describing Zionism as a form of racism (see box), "for Dube to raise this topic in a course about race, and indeed to take a position in favor of the proposition that Zionism is racism, is certainly not illegitimate."

Dr. Ernest Dube, who was imprisoned for his beliefs in South Africa, continues to be besieged—for the same reason—by Zionists in America. □

REAGAN SEEKS JEWISH VOTES

Edward J. Rollins, the director of the Reagan-Bush reelection campaign, said that "having a strong Jewish support is a key part of our coalition planning for the [1984] election." Juan Williams, *Washington Post* staff writer, quoted him saying that "we'll be doing a series of things even the next ten months to bring them [Jewish voters] in..."

To underline the importance Reagan attaches to the Jewish vote, he appointed Marshall Jordan Berger, a lawyer who had been visiting professor of law at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, as presidential assistant for Jewish Affairs. The Reagan-Bush reelection committee also appointed a New York political consultant, Levi Rabinowitz, as a full-time director for Jewish voters.

The Reagan administration also stepped up its contacts with Jewish organizations. The president joined the Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington in Rockville, Maryland, in a Hanukkah celebration where he made a strong pledge in support of Israel. Vice President

Bush, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Secretary of State Shultz and other high-ranking administration officials have been making the rounds speaking to Jewish groups and assuring them of the Reagan administration's fidelity to Israel's causes.

There is nothing unusual about candidates for public office seeking the support of groups of voters. What makes the scramble for the "Jewish vote" unique, however, is that whereas other groups are enticed with favorable positions on domestic issues of concern to American citizens, the "Jewish vote" is wooed with promises on behalf of a foreign power. □

JESSE JACKSON ON THE PALESTINIANS

The Rev. Jesse Jackson said any plan for peace in the Middle East must take into account the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. In an interview published in the *Los Angeles Times* (January 8, 1984), he criticized the Reagan (continued on page 13)

UN: ZIONISM IS RACISM

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and in particular its affirmation that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous" and its expression of alarm at "the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative or other measures",

Recalling also that, in its resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned, inter alia, the unholy alliance between South African racism and zionism,

Taking note of the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975, proclaimed by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975, which promulgated the principle that "international co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, zionism, apartheid and racial discrimination in all its forms, as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination",

Taking note also of resolution 77 (XII) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twelfth ordinary session, held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975, which considered "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine

and the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being",

Taking note also of the Political Declaration and Strategy to Strengthen International Peace and Security and to Intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries, adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, which most severely condemned zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology,

Determines that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

*2400th plenary meeting
10 November 1975*



JACKSON (continued from page 12) Plan, the strategic cooperation agreement with Israel, and unconditional U.S. aid to Israel. The interview was made by Lally Weymouth. The following are excerpts from the interview:

Q. *Do you endorse the Reagan plan?*

A. I don't endorse that plan. Jordan and the Palestinians don't endorse it. Any plan to be relevant must take into account the right of self-determination of the Palestinians. We cannot impose upon them a plan. The Palestinians' right is to a homeland. They want self-government and they don't consider Jordan or Israel home. They concede recognizing Israel by not demanding Israel as their homeland but the West Bank and Gaza instead, which is a compromise from the original territory they once lived in.

Q. *What do you think of a new strategic cooperation agreement reached between President Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir?*

A. The new strategic plan does not include the Arab perspective at all or any Arab states. A plan that excites 3 to 4 million people with jubilation but doesn't include the other 21 nations [in the region] is inherently inadequate. A plan that limited can neither protect America's interest nor provide for Israel's security. One way to protect Israel is to give Israel adequate armaments. The other way is to reduce the hostility...

Q. *Do you think aid to Israel should be cut?*

A. Aid must be correlated with need and obedience to the law. I think when Reagan negotiated this last round [of aid], and there wasn't

any linkage between the aid and the annexation, it exposed America as being a co-conspirator in the invasion and occupation of Lebanon and helped undercut any perception of America as just being a neutral peacekeeping force. I don't think we should speak of cutting back on aid as a mean gesture, but there is so much focus on defense in Israel that the vision of Israel on the offensive is really overlooked...

The vision of another way out has been lost and with our political forces in this country, if you support aid unequivocally you are a friend, and if you challenge the present strategy, you are anti-Semitic. That is a most unfortunate position... □

US-ISRAEL RELATIONS From Tilt to Bias

The Arab League's Permanent Observer to the United Nations, Ambassador Clovis Maksoud, described the U.S.-Israeli Strategic Cooperation Agreement as signifying a change from "the U.S. traditional tilt towards Israel" to "a structural and formal bias in its favor." This change, he said, "is intolerable" to the Arab peoples.

In a press conference held in Washington on December 23, Dr. Maksoud said that 1983 was marked with "a preponderance of negative" developments in U.S.-Arab relations, and attributed it to the idea that "U.S.-Arab relations cannot improve during a presidential campaign."

In a surprising twist, Ambassador Maksoud spoke of "many signs that not all is bleak on the Middle East horizon." Signs of better future U.S.-Arab relations, according to Dr. Maksoud, are that "the U.S. is beginning to realize that treating the Arab-Israeli conflict in cold war terms of reference is an exercise in futility," and that "the U.S. is becoming aware that underwriting Israel's behavior without question puts U.S. policy in many unnecessary and costly predicaments." It is not clear where Dr. Maksoud found these signs, since they are totally contradicted by the policy of the current administration.

As he himself explained in an answer to a question on the impact

of the recently concluded strategic cooperation agreement between the U.S. and Israel, the current Middle East policy of the Reagan administration has a "devastating effect on the chances of peace" because, in addition to changing the "traditional tilt" into an "institutionalized bias" in favor of Israel, it "upsets the balance of power in a manner that precludes a just peace", and it distorts the Arab-Israeli conflict by making it a part of the U.S.-Soviet confrontation rather than a question of Palestinian rights, Lebanese sovereignty, and regional peace. □

ISRAELI GENEROSITY... RECONSIDERED

After the car bomb attack on the U.S. Marines at Beirut Airport last October, Israel and its mouthpieces in the United States flooded the media with stories about Israel's hurt feelings for U.S. refusal of its offer of medical treatment for the wounded. Such stories were intended to deliver two messages to the American public to prepare them for the soon-to-come agreement of strategic cooperation. The first message was that Israel is uniquely situated to help America in time of need. The fact that it was Israel's invasion and continued occupation of Lebanon which brought the marines to Beirut in the first place was conveniently forgotten. Second, the American people were supposed to believe that poor Israel is suffering from an unreciprocated love affair with the United States which ignores its extended hand, when in fact Israel's guns and butter are American.

At any rate, the Pentagon's report finally came out and showed that Israel's offer of medical help in fact came too late to be of value. The report of the DOD Commission states that while the U.S. accepted the British offer, which came within thirty minutes of the explosion, to use their base in nearby Cyprus, the Israeli offer came after "sufficient U.S. and Royal Air Force medical evacuation aircraft were enroute." For that reason, the report says, Israel's offer was "unnecessary". For Israel, however, it was obviously necessary for public relations. □



PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat addressing AAPSO in 1981

AFRO-ASIAN SUPPORT FOR PLO

At the conclusion of its 12th meeting in Nicosia, Cyprus (December 13-15, 1983), the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) issued a statement of solidarity with the Palestinian people. In a letter addressed to PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser Arafat, the AAPSO Presidium wrote: "We would like to express to you, in the name of the millions of the African and Asian peoples, our firm solidarity with the Palestinian people's just struggle for national rights including the right to return, to self-determination, and to establish their own independent state."

The letter continued to assure the PLO that it can "always depend on the support of AAPSO." It concluded with the statement that "we are confident that the Palestinian people, under the wise and courageous leadership of the PLO, is capable of defending the Palestinian Revolution and its independent decision-making, and of achieving the inevitable victory." □

ISLAMIC SUMMIT HONORS PLO LEADERS

In Casablanca, Morocco, the Islamic Summit Conference in its opening session, January 16, unanimously elected PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat as permanent vice-president of the Islamic Summit Organization. It also chose Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the political department of the PLO, as the permanent vice-president of the organization of Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Summit.

PLO sources consider this decision to signify the reaffirmation of the Islamic states recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The political editor of WAFA, the Palestinian news agency, commented that, since Arab heads of state are included in the Islamic summit, such a unanimous gesture of support for the PLO and its constitutional leadership becomes particularly significant. □



HUSSEIN APPOINTS NEW CABINET

King Hussein of Jordan accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Mudar Badran and appointed a new Cabinet headed by former intelligence chief, Ahmad Obeidat. In his letter of appointment, the King expressed Jordan's intention "to resume talks with the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinians." The proposed talks are aimed at developing "a joint stand...to end the Israeli occupation and regain the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians," the Jordanian monarch wrote.

It is worth noting that nine of the new 20-member Cabinet are Palestinians, an increase of four over the resigning government. Political analysts speculate that the increase represents Hussein's intent to renew talks with the PLO and assume a visible role in Palestinian affairs. The new Prime Minister said that Jordanians and Palestinians "share a common destiny." Obeidat promised that his government would work closely with the PLO to seek means of achieving Arab aspirations for a just peace in the Middle East based on Palestinian national rights.

The appointment of the new Cabinet follows the January 9 reconvening of the Jordanian parliament for the first time in eight years. During its meeting, the parliament passed a constitutional amendment empowering the King to call elections in the East Bank only. Deputies from the occupied West Bank, where elections cannot be held, would be elected by East Bank representatives.

Political observers speculate that King Hussein is maneuvering to enter negotiations with Israel and the United States over the fate of the West Bank. By reactivating the House of Deputies, Hussein is mobilizing his supporters among the Palestinians and positioning himself for a major role in Middle East peace negotiations. Some Middle East experts see Jordan's actions as a form of pressure on PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat to join forces with Hussein and grant him a mandate to represent the Palestinians in the peace process.

However, Jordanian officials continue to deny that their moves were meant to pressure the PLO, insisting that their sole objective is to satisfy internal calls in the East Bank for a more democratic government. Outgoing Prime Minister Mudar Badran described the recall of parliament as "a purely internal issue which has no bearing at all on any other matter."

Israel rejects any peace initiative which envisions its withdrawal from the occupied territories. For that reason, it rejected the Reagan proposals of September 1982, even though they ruled out Palestinian statehood. Israel apparently seeks an Arab negotiating partner who is willing to condone and legitimize its continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Thus, it will refuse to negotiate regardless of the arrangement which may emerge from a Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

Nearly three quarters of the Jewish people still live in Diaspora minority communities. How can we demand equality and non-discrimination for them and deny those rights to minority groups in Israel, in the name of our Zionist mission?

Michael Comay
former Israeli UN Ambassador
The Jerusalem Post
27 June 1983

"This land was given to us by God... The Government has made an error to think that democracy is the way to live in Eretz Israel. It isn't. We have to live by the Torah."

Dvorah Klein, Jewish settler
Los Angeles Herald-Examiner
1 June 1983

First we entered Lebanon in order to justify our incursion into Lebanon. Later we remained in Lebanon in order to justify our continued presence there. Now we are staying in Lebanon in order to justify our withdrawal.

Ziv Yariv
Yediot Ahronot
3 June 1983

BETWEEN THE GUN AND THE OLIVE BRANCH

Palestine, throughout its long history, experienced less civil conflict than most other societies. Violence usually came to Palestine as the result of foreign invasions and conquest, rather than domestic strife.

Palestinians, therefore, have two basic grievances against Zionism. The first is that it denied them their homeland. And the second is that its injustice compelled them to fight. In the following poem, the Palestinian poet Rashid Hussein (1936-1977) laments this fact.



OPPOSITION

I am against my country's revolutionaries
Wounding a sheath of wheat
Against the child
any child
Carrying a hand-grenade

I am against my sister
Feeling the muscle of a gun
Against it all
And yet
What can a prophet do, a prophetess,
When their eyes
Are made to drink
The sight of the raiders' hordes?

I am against boys becoming
heroes at ten
Against the tree flowering
explosives
Against branches becoming scaffolds.
Against the rose-beds turning to
trenches
Against it all
And yet
When fire cremates my friends
my youth
and country
How can I
Stop a poem from becoming a gun?

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