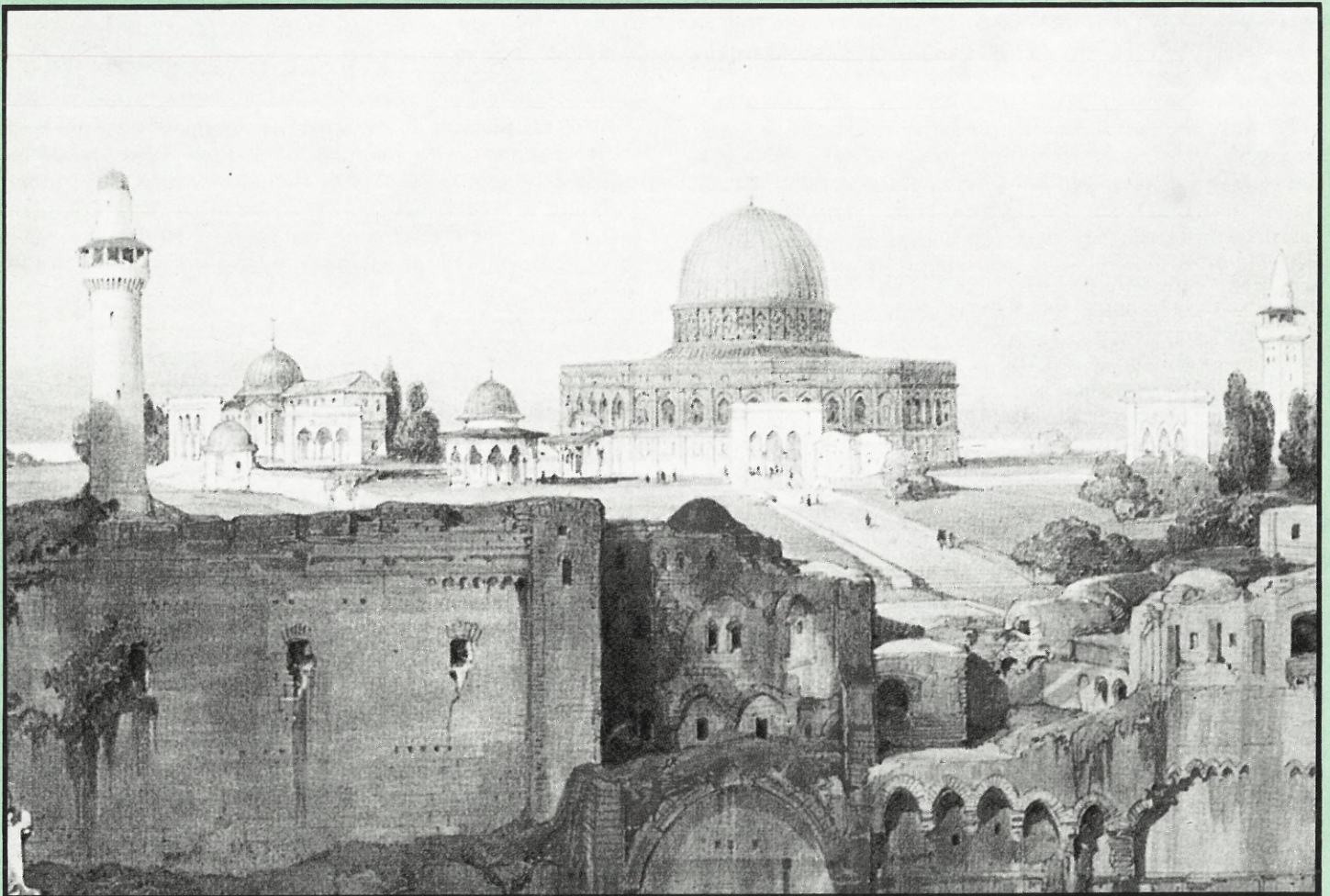


PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES

Palestine Research and Educational Center

May 1984



Editorial Editorial Editorial

TO CELEBRATE PALESTINE

May 15, more than any other date in the calendar, brings sad memories to the Palestinians. On that day in 1948, Palestine was formally destroyed and erased from the maps of the world.

There have been many dates since then which bring sad memories to the Palestinian people, but they all happened as a part of a chain reaction triggered by the events of May 15. After that day in 1948, nothing remained the same for the Palestinians. In this age of nation-states, a people whose nationhood is denied become dehumanized. They become the outlaws of a world in which they no longer fit. Their very existence becomes a problem. It becomes a problem to them. They become aliens everywhere; almost extra-terrestrial beings. Their rights to residence, to education, to health care, to employment, to travel, and to obtain birth certificates for their children become acts of charity on the part of other societies. Their whole life becomes a matter of suffering, not of right.

They also become a problem to the world. A nation is not *integrable* in a world where every inch of land surface is claimed as the exclusive domain of other nations. A displaced individual may find a new home, but a displaced nation cannot find a new homeland.

The Palestinians, contrary to widespread misconceptions, are not without a homeland. They do have a homeland from which they have been evicted. *This* is the heart of the problem which has plagued the Middle East for so long. All other issues are by-products and consequences. This does not mean that they are not important. It means that they should not be raised as independent conflicts which can be resolved inde-

pendently of the basic problem which spun them off in the first place.

The first step on the right path to peace in the Middle East is to be clear on what it is that plunged it into conflict. The way people go about resolving a conflict is governed, more than anything else, by their understanding of what the problem is. In our view, the most important reason why the Arab-Israeli conflict has so far defied all attempts to resolve it has been the fact that its managers (which essentially means successive U.S. administrations) addressed themselves to the consequences, rather than the causes of that conflict. There is no other rational explanation of why the thrust of U.S. efforts has been to extract assurances from the victims in the vain hope of placating the victimizer, instead of the other way around.

Palestine, which was destroyed, must be reconstituted. Honest people may differ on how and under what circumstances this reconstitution is to take place. What is unforgivable in principle and dangerous in practice is to pretend that there is no error to be corrected. Enough of the perverted justice which caters to paranoias and ignores grievances; which appeases ambitions and suppresses aspirations.

At a time like this, when the Palestinians are subjected to nearly unbearable pressures to induce them to forsake their cause, they must make May 15, not a day of sad remembrances, but a day of rededication to the fact that their aspirations are legitimate, and that their struggle is on behalf of a just cause.

As to people around the world who oppose injustice and long for peace (and the two are inseparable), they should be inspired by the conclusion of the 36th year of Palestinian suffering to renew their resolve to stand by the Palestinian people and their legitimate aspirations. Nothing can be more destructive of our civilization than the acquiescence to an injustice just because it already happened. □

M. Hallaj

Palestine Perspectives is published monthly by:

Palestine Research and Educational Center
818 18th Street, NW, Suite 645
Washington, DC 20006

Telephone: (202) 466-3205

Editor: Dr. Muhammad Hallaj
Assistant Editor: Khalil Jahshan
Production Manager: Foster K. Tucker

Signed articles express the views of their authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Palestine Research and Educational Center.

Subscription rates: In the U.S. and Canada, \$15/year (\$10 to students). Elsewhere, \$25/year. Single copies, \$1.50.

SUBSCRIPTION ORDER

Enclosed is my payment of \$ _____ for a one-year subscription to **Palestine Perspectives**.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/State/Zip: _____

Rates: \$15/yr for regular subscriptions; \$10 to students; \$25 outside the U.S. and Canada.

Cover Photo: Jerusalem scene from an old copper-plate. Reproduced from 1984 Palestine Calendar, published by The Committee of Solidarity with the Palestinian People of the German Democratic Republic and the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.



We are struggling so that Jews, Christians and Muslims may live in equality, enjoying the same rights and assuming the same duties, free from racial or religious discrimination.

FREEDOM IS MY CAUSE

Yasser Arafat

(After years of Palestinian suffering and struggle, the international community took notice of the plight of the Palestinian people. November 1974 was a turning point in the attitude of the world community. The United Nations recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and granted it observer status in the General Assembly; and it passed a resolution recognizing the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and statehood. Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, was invited to address the General Assembly.

In his address, Mr. Arafat focused on the essence of the Palestinian tragedy and the essential aim of Palestinian struggle. That is why his statement continues to be just as relevant and valid today as it was when he made it ten years ago. Below are excerpts from Mr. Arafat's address to the General Assembly, delivered on November 13, 1974):

The roots of the Palestinian question reach back into the closing years of the 19th century, in other words, to that period which we call the era of colonialism and settlement as we know it today. This is precisely the period during which Zionism as a scheme was born; its aim was the conquest of Palestine by European immigrants, just as settlers colonized, and indeed raided, most of Africa. This is the period during



which, pouring forth out of the west, colonialism spread into the farthest reaches of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, building colonies, everywhere cruelly exploiting, oppressing, plundering the peoples of those three continents. This period persists into the present. Marked evidence of its totally reprehensible presence can be readily perceived in the racism practiced both in South Africa and in Palestine.

Just as colonialism and its demagogues dignified their conquests, their plunder and limitless attacks upon the natives of Africa with appeals to a "civilizing and modernizing" mission, so too did waves of Zionist immigrants disguise their purposes as they conquered Palestine. Just as colonialism as a system and colonialists as its instrument used religion, color, race and language to justify the African's exploitation and his cruel subjugation by terror and discrimination, so too were these methods employed as Palestine was usurped and its people hounded from their national homeland.

Just as colonialism heedlessly used the wretched, the poor, the exploited as mere inert matter with which to build and to carry out settler colonialism, so too were destitute, oppressed European Jews employed on behalf of world imperialism and of the Zionist leadership. European Jews were transformed into the instruments of aggression; they became the elements of settler colonialism intimately allied to racial discrimination.

So the Zionist movement allied itself directly with world colonialism in a common raid on our land. Allow me now to present a selection of historical truths about this alliance.

The Jewish invasion of Palestine began in 1881. Before the first large wave of immigrants started arriving, Palestine had a population of half a million; most of the population was either Moslem or Christian, and only 20,000 were Jewish. Every segment of the population enjoyed the religious tolerance characteristic of our civilization.

Palestine was then a verdant land, inhabited mainly by an Arab people in the course of building its life and dynamically enriching its indigenous culture.

Between 1882 and 1917 the Zionist Movement settled approximately 50,000 European Jews in our homeland. To do that it resorted to trickery and deceit in order to implant them in our midst. Its success in getting Britain to issue the Balfour Declaration once again demonstrated the alliance between Zionism and imperialism. Furthermore, by promising to the Zionist movement what was not hers to give, Britain showed how oppressive was the rule of imperialism. As it was constituted, the League of Nations abandoned our Arab people, and Wilson's pledges and promises came to naught. In the guise of a mandate, British imperialism was cruelly and directly imposed upon us. The mandate document issued by the League of Nations was to enable the Zionist invaders to consolidate their gains in our homeland.

In the wake of the Balfour Declaration and over a period of 30 years, the Zionist movement succeeded, in collaboration with its imperialist ally, in settling more European Jews on

(continued on page 3)



FREEDOM *(continued from page 2)*

the land, thus usurping the properties of Palestinian Arabs.

By 1947 the number of Jews had reached 600,000; they owned about 6 per cent of Palestinian arable land. The figure should be compared with the population of Palestine, which at that time was 1,250,000.

As a result of the collusion between the mandatory Power and the Zionist movement and with the support of some countries, this General Assembly early in its history approved a recommendation to partition our Palestinian homeland. This took place in an atmosphere poisoned with questionable actions and strong pressure. The General Assembly partitioned what it had no right to divide—an indivisible homeland. When we rejected that decision, our position corresponded to that of the natural mother who refused to permit King Solomon to cut her son in two when the unnatural mother claimed the child for herself and agreed to his dismemberment. Furthermore, even though the partition resolution granted the colonialist settlers 54 per cent of the land of Palestine, their dissatisfaction with the decision prompted them to wage a war of terror against the civilian Arab population. They occupied 81 per cent of the total area of Palestine, uprooting a million Arabs. Thus, they occupied 524 Arab towns and villages, of which they destroyed 385, completely obliterating them in the process. Having done so, they built their own settlements and colonies on the ruins of our farms and our groves. The roots of the Palestine question lie here. Its causes do not stem from any conflict between two religions or two nationalisms. Neither is it a border conflict between neighbouring states. It is the cause of a people deprived of its homeland, dispersed and uprooted, and living mostly in exile and in refugee camps.

The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in the reason for which each fights.

It pains our people greatly to witness the propagation of the myth that its homeland was a desert until it was made to bloom by the toil of foreign settlers, that it was a land without a people, and that the colonialist entity caused no harm to any human being. No: such lies must be exposed from this rostrum, for the world must know that Palestine was the cradle of the most ancient cultures and civilizations. Its Arab people were engaged in farming and building, spreading culture throughout the land for thousands of years setting an example in the practice of freedom of worship, acting as faithful guardians of the holy places of all religions. As a son of Jerusalem, I treasure for myself and my people beautiful memories and vivid images of the religious brotherhood that was the hallmark of our Holy City before it succumbed to catastrophe. Our people continued to pursue this enlightened policy until the establishment of the State of

Israel and their dispersion. This did not deter our people from pursuing their humanitarian role on Palestinian soil. Nor will they permit their land to become a launching pad for aggression or a racist camp predicated on the destruction of civilization, cultures, progress and peace. Our people cannot but maintain the heritage of their ancestors in resisting the invaders, in assuming the privileged task of defending their native land, their Arab nationhood, their culture and civilization, and in safeguarding the cradle of monotheistic religion.

If the immigration of Jews to Palestine had had as its objective the goal of enabling them to live side by side with us, enjoying the same rights and assuming the same duties, we would have opened our doors to them, as far as our homeland's capacity for absorption permitted. Such was the case with the thousands of Armenians and Circassians who still live among us in equality as brethren and citizens. But that the goal of this immigration should be to usurp our homeland, disperse our people, and turn us into second-class citizens—this is what no one can conceivably demand that we acquiesce in or submit to. Therefore, since its inception, our revolution has not been motivated by racial or religious factors. Its target has never been the Jew, as a person, but racist Zionism and undisguised aggression. In this sense, ours is also a revolution for the Jew, as a human being, as well. We are struggling so that Jews, Christians and Muslims may live in equality, enjoying the same rights and assuming the same duties, free from racial or religious discrimination.

Those who call us terrorists wish to prevent world public opinion from discovering the truth about us and from seeing the justice on our faces. They seek to hide the terrorism and tyranny of their acts, and our own posture of self-defence.

The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in the reason for which each fights. For whoever stands by a just cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, the settlers and the colonialists, cannot possibly be called terrorist, otherwise the American people in their struggle for liberation from the British colonialists would have been terrorists; the European resistance against the Nazis would be terrorism, the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples would also be terrorism, and many of you who are in this Assembly hall were terrorists. This is actually a just and proper struggle consecrated by the United Nations Charter and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As to those who fight against the just causes, those who wage war to occupy, colonize and oppress other people, those are the terrorists. Those are the people whose actions should be condemned, who should be called war criminals: for the justice of the cause determines the right to struggle.

I am a rebel and freedom is my cause. I know well that many of you present here today once stood in exactly the same resistance position as I now occupy and from which I must fight. You once had to convert dreams into reality by your struggle. Therefore you must now share my dream. I think this is exactly why I can ask you now to help, as together we bring out our dream into a bright reality, our common dream for a peaceful future in Palestine's sacred land.

Is this not a noble dream worthy of my struggle alongside all lovers of freedom everywhere? For the most admirable dimension of this dream is that it is Palestinian, a dream from out of the land of peace, the land of martyrdom and heroism, and the land of history, too.

Let us remember that the Jews of Europe and the United States have been known to lead the struggles for secularism and the separation of church and state. They have also been known to fight against discrimination on religious grounds. How can they then refuse this humane paradigm for the Holy Land? How then can they continue to support the most fanatic, discriminatory and closed of nations in its policy?

Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom-fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

In my formal capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and leader of the Palestinian revolution I proclaim before you that when we speak of our common hopes for the Palestine of tomorrow we include in our perspective all Jews now living in Palestine who choose to live with us there in peace and without discrimination.

In my formal capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and leader of the Palestinian revolution I call upon Jews to turn away one by one from the illusory promises made to them by Zionist ideology and Israeli leadership. They are offering Jews perpetual bloodshed, endless war and continuous thralldom.

We invite them to emerge from their moral isolation into a more open realm of free choice, far from their present leadership's efforts to implant in them a Masada complex.

We offer them the most generous solution, that we might live together in a framework of just peace in our democratic Palestine.

In my formal capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I announce here that we do not wish one drop of either Arab or Jewish [blood] to be shed; neither do we delight in the continuation of killing, which would end once a just peace, based on our people's rights, hopes and aspirations had been finally established.

In my formal capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and leader of the Palestinian revolution I appeal to you to accompany our people in its struggle to attain its right to self-determination. This right is consecrated in the United Nations Charter and has been repeatedly confirmed in resolutions adopted by this august body since the drafting of the Charter. I appeal to you, further, to aid our people's return to its homeland from an involuntary exile imposed upon it by force of arms, by tyranny, by oppression, so that we may regain our property, our land, and thereafter live in our national homeland, free and sovereign, enjoying all the privileges of nationhood. Only then can we pour all our resources into the mainstream of human civilization. Only then can Palestinian creativity be concentrated on the service of humanity. Only then will our Jerusalem resume its historic role as a peaceful shrine for all religions.

I appeal to you to enable our people to establish national independent sovereignty over its own land.

Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom-fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. I repeat: do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

War flares up in Palestine, and yet it is in Palestine that peace will be born. □

I REMEMBER SUPPORTING ISRAEL

Ruth McPeck

(Many Americans, during the past 35 years, went through the experience described in the following statement. Support for Israel in the United States has several causes, and there is no question that unfamiliarity with the facts of the Arab-Israeli conflict is prominent among them. The writer is a political science graduate from Illinois State University and lives in Arlington, Texas):

As an American in solidarity with the Palestinians in their search for justice and their national rights, I have been feeling increasing anger and a sense of betrayal towards the liberal establishment and the media in the United States. Having studied the Palestinian-Israeli conflict for over two years and having been to occupied Palestine for a first-hand observation of Israeli injustice, I am deeply angered by my own past support of Israel, angered at being duped by the deliberate misrepresentation of the facts surrounding this conflict by the media.

I remember supporting Israel in its attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981, blindly following the mass media's line that the Arab countries were still in a state of war with Israel, supposedly justifying the attack. I blame the media for my blind support of Israel because of their deliberate failure to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex causes of the greater Arab-Israeli conflict and because of their intense desire to confuse the issues involved by always blaming "those Arabs." Today, I can laugh at my past ignorance, yet I grieve when I think of the majority of Americans still blindly following the media's biased, pro-Zionist reports and commentaries.

I was appalled at my total lack of knowledge of this issue when it was exposed by my first encounter with a Palestinian spokesman. It was very fortunate that I attended a lecture by the distinguished Ibrahim Abu-Lughod at my university, Illinois State. The introduction to Palestinian rights that he provided so clearly crystallized in my mind the thought that I had been lied to for so long about the reality of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The anger I continue to feel began as I realized there was a deliberate suppression of facts concerning Palestine; one in which the media whole-heartedly participated.

This, then, led me to a quest to know the truth about the situation in Palestine. As I learned more and more about the Zionist invasion of Palestine, the conditions of the occupation, including torture and collective punishment, I began to actively work to make this information known to others. This is when I discovered that when it comes to justice for Palestinians, the liberal left in the United States forgets all of its concerns over justice, peace, and the legitimate rights of people everywhere.

Imagine my sense of betrayal when I discovered that many people can condemn the death squads in El Salvador, yet praise the "retaliatory" bombings of civilians in Palestinian refugee camps by Israel. To me, this makes so little sense that I confess to becoming irrational at times when confronted by this type of insidious inconsistency. And it bothers these

(continued on page 5)

ISRAEL (continued from page 4)

"liberals" not at all to discover Israel trains and arms the dictatorships in Central America. Such duplicity is intolerable. The failure of those concerned with justice to apply the same standard of justice to the Palestinian issue betrays all of us working to end oppression wherever it occurs.

But I suppose the greatest sense of betrayal I feel comes from being labeled anti-Semitic because I support the Palestinians and the PLO. The deliberate confusion equating anti-Zionism, which is against a racist political ideology, with racist anti-Semitism is ludicrous. Yet this equation is fostered by the Zionists, many of whom call themselves liberals, and it effectively limits many well-intentioned liberals and progressives from supporting the Palestinians in their struggle for self-determination. We cannot let them get away with this labeling, designed to stifle all opposition to Israel. We must fight this type of intimidation and work to make known in the United States what Zionism really is and how it has continuously oppressed the Palestinians throughout its history.

I know my anger and sense of betrayal are shared by many others. These feelings alone cannot help the Palestinians. Yet they can compel us to work and to intensify our efforts to present the full reality of the Palestinian tragedy to all Americans. From the Palestinians' own efforts, Palestine will be free, but we all have an obligation to support them in their struggle. Inasmuch as Israel could not exist except for United States' aid, we do have an active role to play here by increasing our efforts in the United States to end this aid and to work for justice for the Palestinians, alongside of everyone else. □

NEW PUBLICATIONS

from
Palestine Research and Educational Center

■ Muhammad Hallaj, *The Palestinians and the PLO*. Information Papers Series, No. 1, September 1983. \$1.00

■ Alfred T. Moleah, *Israel and South Africa: Partners in Repression*. Information Papers Series, No. 2, January 1984. \$1.00

■ Yehoshua Sobol, *You Can Only Weep*. Life Under Occupation Series, No. 1, September 1983. Free

■ Avigdor Feldman, *The West Bank: Oppression by Law*. Life Under Occupation Series, No. 2, January 1984. Free

In order to receive these publications call or write:

Palestine Research and Educational Center
818 18th Street, NW, Suite 645
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 466-3205

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

This war waged by the USA and Israel in Lebanon was the wrong war in the wrong place for the wrong objectives.

Yitzhak Rabin
Former Israeli Prime Minister
(quoting a Pentagon official)

Ha'aretz

17 February 1984

With his tutelage under Hubert Humphrey, his tenure in the Senate and his years in the Carter White House, Mondale was a proven friend of Israel. But Hart is a virtual nonentity on the Middle East.

Baltimore Jewish Times

9 March 1984

For the candidate of "new ideas," Hart seems to be a traditionalist on the Middle East.

Baltimore Jewish Times

9 March 1984

America permitted Israel to preclude any trade-off of territory for peace, which is the essence of our country's Middle East policy.

George W. Ball
Christian Science Monitor

9 April 1984

If we were to hear that some people in Holland were eager to incorporate four million Germans into their country against their will, we would conclude not that the proposers of that idea were patriots, but that they were demented. Yet the idea that Israel can permanently impose its authority over a foreign population which constitutes 30 percent of its own size is solemnly put forward as if it were a rational alternative. . . .

Abba Eban

The time for silence is over. . .
Washington Areas Jews for an
Israeli-Palestinian Peace

PALESTINIAN WRITERS

The General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists meeting in Yemen denounced U.S. policies in the Middle East particularly its adamant refusal to recognize Palestinian national rights through the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on Palestinian soil. This criticism came in a statement issued by the Union on April 7, 1984, at the conclusion of its fourth conference which lasted four days.

The Union expressed its admiration and support for the Lebanese national resistance forces in their heroic struggle against Israeli occupation of Lebanon. The conference participants hailed fellow writers and journalists in the occupied territories for their sustained patriotic and professional performance under extremely difficult conditions and restrictions. The conference also adopted a number of decisions dealing with strengthening the literary and cultural programs of the Union. □

Following a series of crucial meetings between different Palestinian groups aiming at exploring avenues to achieve unity within the PLO, Fatah Central Committee has submitted a working paper to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) to serve as the basis for continued negotiations. The main points of the Fatah working paper include:

1. Commitment to the 16th PNC resolutions.
2. Confirmation of the Fez summit resolutions and rejection of Reagan's plan and the autonomy plan.
3. Considering the joint Jordanian-Palestinian statement as the basis for relations between Jordan and the PLO.
4. Seeking to resume relations with Syria on the basis of the independence of the Palestinian national decision and noninterference in internal Palestinian affairs.
5. Seeking to organize the Palestinian situation in Lebanon in coordination with the Lebanese nationalist movement.
6. Affirming that building closer ties with Egypt is to be in relation to Egypt's distancing itself from the Camp David policy.
7. Consolidating ties with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and moving toward Europe by involving all the influential countries and powers capable of playing an effective role in achieving a just solution for the Middle East problem.
8. Emphasizing collective leadership in PLO decision-making, and holding periodic meetings between the leadership of the main groups.
9. No change in the attitude toward the dissidents with regard to their dismissal from the movement's membership; their future as an independent organization depends on the decision of the PNC.
10. Reviewing the structure of the Central Council while preserving its effective and influential role.

Although PFLP and DFLP rejected the working paper submitted to them by Fatah for restoring Palestinian unity, Bassam Abu Sharif, PFLP Political Bureau member and official spokesman said that "the joint command will begin a campaign of contacts and intensive dialogues with the various Palestinian factions, including our brothers in the Fatah Central Committee, to reunify the Palestinian position." Abu Sharif said that the four factions—PFLP, DFLP, the Palestinian Communist Party and the Arab Liberation Front—have prepared their own working paper to serve as a basis for further discussions with Fatah.

Mr. Yasser Abed Rabbo, deputy secretary general of the DFLP and PLO Executive Committee member, described the recent Aden meeting of different Palestinian factions as "the most important Palestinian step since the start of the crisis within the PLO."

Mr. Abed Rabbo stated on Yemeni television that positive results were achieved during the Palestinian meeting in Aden and that a comprehensive national political initiative was jointly formulated and addressed to all Palestinian organizations. He pointed out that this initiative is primarily

aimed at protecting the integrity of the PLO on the basis of PNC resolutions and preserving Palestinian institutions. It also calls for continuing dialogue among the various Palestinian parties to facilitate the convening of the Palestine National Council and restore PLO unity. □

ABU JIHAD ON PLO AFFAIRS

In a recent interview with the *Jordan Times*, Deputy Commander of PLO forces Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) stated that the Central Committee of Fatah has decided to call for a general Palestinian conference if other PLO factions fail to reach an agreement with Fatah on the convening of the Palestine National Council (PNC) in the coming few weeks.

"If direct talks between Fatah and the other Palestinian factions do not take place in two weeks time or if these talks fail to reach a common platform, Fatah will call for a broad popular Palestinian conference to elect PNC members to replace those who will not attend the coming PNC session," Mr. al-Wazir told the *Jordan Times*.

The PLO leader's statement comes after a series of Arab mediation efforts and an exchange of memoranda have failed to reconcile Fatah with the other four main Palestinian organizations—the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) and the Palestinian Communist Party.

Mr. al-Wazir said that "it is not in the interest of the Palestinian revolution to hesitate any longer in holding the PNC to outline the future policies of the PLO." He criticized delaying tactics by other factions calling them "efforts to hamper the functions of the legitimate Palestinian institutions."

Abu Jihad also said that Fatah has rejected memoranda submitted by the other four organizations because of irreconcilable differences over Jordanian-PLO dialogue, Egyptian-PLO relations, Mr. Arafat's leadership and the makeup of the PLO Executive Committee. □

CHINA INVITES ARAFAT

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat held two hours of talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xuegian, who paid an official visit to Tunis.

The Chinese Foreign Minister emphasized his country's unwavering support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their rights including the right to return to their homeland and the right to national self-determination. Mr. Wu Xuegian also renewed the invitation of the Chinese government to Mr. Arafat to visit the People's Republic of China. □



ISRAEL: NO MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS ON WEST BANK

Democracy Favors PLO

In an affidavit submitted by Brigadier General Binyamin Ben-Eli'ezer to the Israeli High Court of Justice, the Israeli occupation authorities insisted that municipal elections in the occupied territories should not be held for fear of being "exploited by terrorist organizations and their lackeys in the region." A senior assistant to the State Attorney's office concurred, stating that democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza are "in the interest of the PLO and its supporters... and this is sufficient cause for Israel to prevent that."

This official Israeli position against elections was submitted to the High Court of Justice in response to an appeal for holding elections in the occupied territories made by members of the Dura Municipal Council. Dura is a Palestinian village in the Hebron District whose mayor and municipal council were dismissed from office by Israeli military authorities for protesting the establishment of the "Civilian Administration" in 1981 and refusing to cooperate with its officials.

The Palestinian appellants and their attorneys charged that the Israeli authorities illegally dismissed the municipal council for arbitrary political reasons.

They argued that the Israeli military authorities in the occupied territories are refusing to hold democratic elections because they "fear that the results of the elections will not be to their liking." The majority of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories consider the PLO as their sole legitimate representative and would therefore vote for

ANALYSIS...

TWEEDLEDEE AND TWEEDLEDUM IN ISRAEL

Now that new parliamentary elections have been scheduled in Israel, we expect to be hearing from a lot of "experts" on the probable impact of these elections on the future of war and peace in the Middle East. Some people will undoubtedly see a great promise in a possible Labor Party victory and an Israeli government under Shimon Peres.

This view, that it makes a meaningful difference whether Israel is governed by Tweedledum (Yitzhak Shamir) or Tweedledee (Shimon Peres), is derived from the myth that Likud represents policies detrimental to an Arab-Israeli conciliation (occupation, settlements, Jerusalem, etc.) and that Labor represents an alternative.

The fact of the matter is that Likud is a newcomer to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Its contributions to that conflict are only extensions to Labor's own contributions. After all, it was the Labor Party (and its Mapai predecessor) which presided over the liquidation of Palestine and orchestrated the Palestinian tragedy. And since the creation of Israel until a few years ago, when Likud came to power in 1977, it was Labor which waged wars, occupied territory, built settlements, deported mayors, blew up homes, closed universities, and said NO to Palestinian national rights.

As Tawfiq Zayyad, the mayor of Nazareth and member of the Israeli Knesset, put it recently in a press conference in Rome, both Labor and Likud agree on essentials: they both reject withdrawal from the territory Israel occupied in 1967, they both refuse to recognize the PLO, and they both oppose Palestinian statehood. In view of this fact, anyone who believes that the coming Israeli elections are likely to bring about a breakthrough in the Arab-Israeli conflict does not understand what the conflict is about.

This is not to deny that there is a difference between the two major political coalitions in Israel. Likud, under Begin's and Shamir's leadership, has certainly been more crude in the pursuit of Israel's objectives, which it shares with Labor. But to see fundamental differences between the two parties is to subscribe to the simplistic view that Israel's blindness to Palestinian rights is a personal ailment which afflicts certain Israeli leaders.

One of Likud's worst contributions to the search for peace in the Middle East is that, by elevating to Israel's leadership positions individuals such as Begin, Sharon, and Shamir, it created the illusion that Labor is a peace camp in Israel. But "hawks" are not "doves," even when they are placed next to "vultures." □

candidates identified with the PLO rather than vote for candidates chosen and supported by the Israeli government. Thus, the Israeli authorities are preventing free election in the areas for political reasons and not for security or military considerations.

The justices decided to issue an order nisi that would instruct the Defense Minister and the head of the "Civilian Administration" to show cause why elections to the Dura Municipal Council should not be held in accordance with Jordanian law on municipal councils. The "coordinator of activities in the territories," Brigadier General Ben-Eli'ezer reiterated the official Israeli position that the lesson of 1976

should not be repeated and that free democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza would be "exploited" by the PLO and its local supporters. Therefore, the Palestinians residing under Israeli occupation should continue to be deprived of their right to elect their own local government and political representatives.

The last municipal elections in the West Bank were held in 1976. The next elections were legally required to be held in 1980, but the Israeli occupation authorities refused to permit the elections. Instead, they dismissed most elected mayors and municipal councils and appointed Israeli officers as "acting mayors" for Palestinian towns. □

PALESTINIAN POWs: FROM ANSAR TO ATLIT

Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer reports that 140 Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners formerly held at Ansar in Southern Lebanon are currently being held at the Israeli military prison of Atlit, south of Haifa. The prisoners were transferred to Israeli jails in violation of the prisoners exchange agreement with the PLO to release all the prisoners at Ansar in November 1983.

Attorney Langer recently represented two such prisoners before the Israeli Military Objections Committee. The Committee met *in camera* at the Atlit facility but prevented Ms. Langer and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross from attending the session. The appeal submitted by Ms. Langer on behalf of Ghassan Zaidan and Muhammad Younis was rejected by the committee which based its decisions on classified material presented by the military prosecution. The evidence was not made available to the defense attorney. Ms. Langer protested these procedures charging that they interfere with due process and make it impossible for her to defend her clients. □

ISRAELI DIVERSION OF LEBANESE RIVERS

Lebanese Parliament Deputy Speaker Munir Abu Fadil called on the Gemayel government to raise the issue of Israeli diversion of Lebanese waters at the UN Security Council. Abu Fadil expressed his fears that the waters of the Litani River could be diverted by Israel which has already done so at the Wazzani River. The Lebanese official called for intensive efforts to stop ongoing Israeli construction of a tunnel to syphon off the waters of the Litani to Israeli settlements in occupied Palestine.

The Deputy Speaker pointed out that he had raised the issue with the Lebanese government previously but no action was taken. He referred to films shown on American television networks confirming Israeli construction activities in the vicinity of the

(continued on page 10)

FAR'A PRISON: TORTURE FACTORY

The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights (ILHCR) held a press conference on March 25, 1984, to expose Israeli practices of torture and brutality against Palestinian prisoners in Far'a prison. Far'a is an Israeli punitive detention center located near Jenin to house Palestinian political prisoners. In May 1982, the Israeli military police and the Israeli General Security Service (Shin Bet) assumed responsibility for the direct operation and supervision of this facility.

ILHCR Secretary Yosef Algazi revealed a pattern of systematic torture and mistreatment practiced by the Israeli prison authorities at Far'a. He called the facility "a factory for extracting confessions." He said that Israeli interrogators use prolonged interrogations and humiliating techniques to break adamant prisoners and to extract confessions from those who refuse to admit committing charges leveled against them.

Algazi pointed out that neither the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross nor lawyers hired by the prisoners are allowed into the interrogation center where about 150 Palestinians are detained.

Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer recently managed to interview several of her clients at Far'a who testified to beatings, humiliation and violations of basic civil and human rights. Ms. Langer stated that some prisoners were forced to eat and sleep in toilets. Others were beaten on their genitals requiring medical treatment at a nearby Nablus hospital. Langer complained that her clients were kept in flooded cells with damp beds for prolonged periods of detention.

ILHCR representatives explained that Far'a has two sections: one operated by the military police (Mish-tarah Tzva'it) and another closed section run by the Security Police (Shin Bet). The latter is the scene of frequent acts of torture and abuse.

Meanwhile, the trial of a Far'a guard charged with torturing Palestinian prisoners was recently postponed due to illness! □

CHRISTIANITY DISAPPEARING

"Christianity is going to become a museum piece in Jerusalem." This is the conclusion reached by Bishop C. Charles Vache, the bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia, who has recently returned from an extended stay in Jerusalem. The bishop said that Jerusalem's Christian population "has dwindled drastically" since the Israeli occupation of the city in 1967, and warned that "Christianity is in danger of disappearing from its birthplace."

Bishop Vache told *The Virginian-Pilot* that he blamed the Israeli government for partial responsibility for the dwindling number of Christians, because its policies make it difficult for Christian Arabs to remain in Jerusalem and thrive. "I am not saying they were persecuted," he said, "but harassment is a subtle form of the same thing."

The Virginia bishop said his stay in the Middle East persuaded him that "the press has done a poor job reporting the Arab-Israeli conflict to the American people." They give people the impression that the Israelis are moderate and the Palestinians are radicals. He said: "If you are there and begin talking with people on both sides, what comes out, strangely enough, is that the [Israeli] government is a coalition of the more radical elements in Israel. It is really a radical form of Zionism." On the other hand, he said, Yasser Arafat is not as radical as he is pictured in the American media.

Bishop Vache criticized Israel's settlement policy. He said Jewish settlements are being built on confiscated Arab land, mostly with American money. "Jerusalem is now virtually ringed with Jewish settlements," he said. "If these [settlements] were being built in South Africa, it would be called apartheid because Gentiles cannot live in these settlements." □

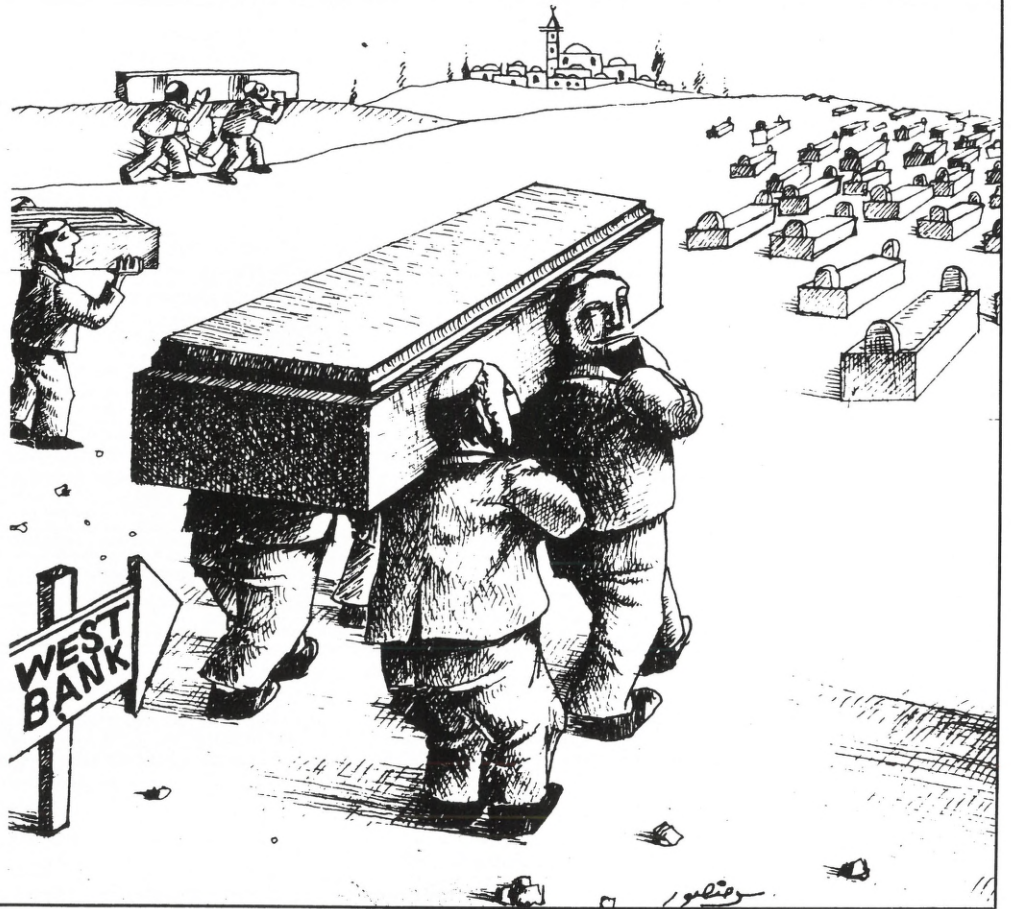
(Based on a report by April Witt in *The Virginian-Pilot*, 18 February 1984)

DEAD SETTLERS

Israel is scouting for a West Bank location to be a final resting place for dead Israelis. The most favored site seems to be a location east of Jerusalem.

Apparently, the establishment of a Jewish cemetery in the occupied West Bank is not without political motives. The *Jerusalem Post* (April 5, 1984) said that the various agencies involved in the project are aware of the political meaning of their decision to locate the cemetery in the occupied territories, and that one of the participants believes that a major cemetery "would increase our hold" on the West Bank. So much for the myth that Israel is planting settlements for security reasons. This story should lay it to rest, in a manner of speaking.

Cartoon from *al-Fajr* (Jerusalem), 13 April 1984.



ISRAELIS DESTROY PALESTINIAN HOMES

The Israeli Army demolished four houses in the occupied Gaza Strip belonging to the families of the four Palestinians who hijacked an Israeli bus in mid-April.

The Israeli command announced that the Army demolished the houses in the Arab villages of Bani Suheila and Abasan shortly after Israeli troops stormed the bus where the hijackers kept 35 people hostage for more than nine hours. The hijackers and one Israeli soldier were killed, seven other passengers were injured.

The Palestine Press Service in Jerusalem said the houses were bulldozed after the occupants were ordered to leave their homes. It said there were four to seven occupants in each building.

It has long been an Israeli standard practice to blow up or bulldoze houses belonging to Palestinian families whose members get caught or confess to guerrilla activities. Sometimes, as a lesser measure, houses or apartments are sealed with brick and mortar and the families forced to move elsewhere. □

aged" to leave Israel, 64 percent support more "supervision" of the Arabs, and 65 percent said it was impossible to trust most of Israel's Arab population.

The data, derived from a study given at a seminar held at Haifa University, indicated that Jewish residents of the Galilee—where most of Israel's Arabs live—display an even greater anti-Arab feeling. For example, 72 percent of them favor the imposition of more restrictions, 57 percent want the Arabs encouraged to leave, and 78 percent of them want "better supervision" over the Arab population.

ISRAELI ANTI-SEMITISM

A few years ago, the Israeli governor of the galilee, Israel Koenig, submitted to the Israeli government a confidential report on the Arabs in Israel which contained recommendations on how to harass and impoverish them. Many people said at the time that the report represented a deviant anti-Arab attitude in Israel, forgetting the fact that it reflected a long-standing Israeli policy toward

the remnants of Palestinian society in Israel.

According to data on Jewish attitudes toward Israel's Arab population (about 16%), published in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* (30 March 1984), 55 percent of Israeli Jews favor the imposition of restrictions on Arabs "so that they do not become a majority in the country," 49 percent want the Arabs "encour-

This data gives credence to the view that, with the increase in the percentage of "non-Jews" resulting from the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Israel may have to resort to the mass expulsion of Palestinians or to become more explicitly an apartheid state on the South African model. Zionism, Israel's ideology, which uses religion as the basis for one's rights and obligations, lends itself to these possibilities. □

RIVERS (continued from page 8)

Litani River. Furthermore, Abu Fadil urged Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salim to raise the issue at the UN Security Council and to launch a worldwide diplomatic initiative to prevent further plundering by Israel of Lebanon's natural resources.

In reaction to these reports from Lebanon, Mordechai Ya'akobowitz, the Israeli Water Company (Meqorot) spokesman, denied that Israel intends to divert the Litani River to its own territory. He emphasized that work done by Meqorot in Lebanon "has no connection with diverting the Litani." No further explanation was given as to the nature of Israeli construction activity around the Litani River. □

ISRAELI HARASSMENT OF REFUGEES

The Israeli occupation forces continue to apply pressure and intimidation tactics against the Palestinian residents of the Dheisheh refugee camp in the West Bank. The camp has been targeted for demolition as part of Israel's attempt to "resettle" the refugees through depopulation and transfer of residents to "controllable" ghettos away from population centers in the occupied territories.

In early April, Israeli soldiers raided the child care center operated by the Committee of Working Palestinian Women under the pretense that pro-PLO slogans have been painted on the outside walls of the building. The soldiers invaded the center during daytime hours while 26 kindergarteners were on the premises. The center was thoroughly checked for "subversive material." The Israeli raid caused great concern throughout the camp as mothers and relatives left their jobs and homes and rushed to check on the safety of their children. The same type of military intimidation was conducted against several private residences in the camp.

Camp residents have also reported frequent visits by high ranking military officers with their staff brandishing construction maps and taking pictures of shops near the main road. The residents interpret these visits as threats by the Israeli authori-

ties to carry out their plan to demolish the camp and transfer its Palestinian population.

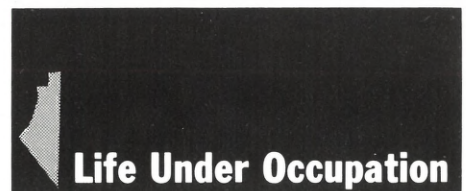
According to Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer, similar pressure tactics have been applied against the residents of Jabalia refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. Her clients there reported continued Israeli military threats and harassment despite a Supreme Court decision declaring illegal the forced evacuation of the camps and the transfer of their population. □

GROUNDNED Arab Students in Israel

In all aspects of life, Arabs in Israel collide daily with the cruel realities of living in an *apartheid* society. Recently, two Palestinian students of aeronautical engineering at the Israel Technion Institute in Haifa faced a broken dream, even as they were honored for their academic achievements. As the *Jerusalem Post* (April 15-21, 1984) put it, the award they received "laid bare the anomalous situation of Arab students studying subjects they have little chance to work in."

The Sparta of the Middle East absorbs all graduates of certain scientific and technical fields, such as aeronautical engineering, in military industries from which "non-Jews" are barred. Arab students are usually not accepted for study, especially on the graduate level where research is important, and when they are admitted they are not employed when they graduate.

An Israeli educator, the Technion's Dean of Faculty, Professor Avraham Kogan, suggested that in effect it is the Arab students' fault to get themselves into such situations. He told the *Post* that the university "is not blind to the fact that as Arabs, they will have virtually no chance—for security reasons—to get work in the Israeli aircraft or military industries, where aeronautical engineers are used." The Dean, apparently to placate his conscience, said that for this reason he makes a point of it to have "a serious talk" with Arab students, to make them understand that "they may be embarking on a course of frustration." Perhaps the Galilee should be renamed "The Pale of Settlement."



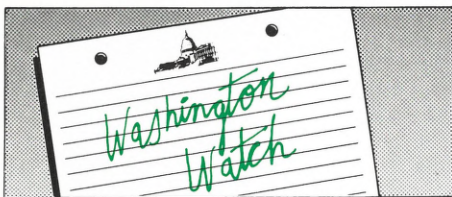
JUDAIZATION FOR PROFIT

According to *Ha'olam Hazeh* (March 14, 1984), Israeli efforts to acquire Palestinian land has recently assumed a new form beside official confiscation and expropriation of privately held property. A new Israeli company called *Hevrat Yad Yerushalaim* (The Jerusalem Hand Company), has been operating in Israel and the occupied territories to acquire Arab-owned land in order to "Judaize Greater Eretz Yisrael."

According to the Israeli magazine, the company is closely related to Prime Minister Shamir, Deputy Housing Minister Michael Dekel, former chief of staff Rafael Eitan, and several Knesset members and politicians associated with the right wing Tehiya Party. The target of this company is Arab land that is not subject to confiscation by the government.

The company is based in Haifa and has extensive support from American and South African Jewish financiers who identify with its racist objectives. Certification given to contributors describe the company's objective bluntly as "the holy purpose of acquisition of the lands of Eretz-Israel by Jews, and their redemption from gentiles." □





REVIEW

THE FATE OF THE JEWS: A People Torn between Israeli Power and Jewish Ethics.

By Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht. New York: New York Times Books, 1983. Reviewed by Mark A. Bruzonsky.

This review was originally published in The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs (April 2, 1984), and is reprinted here by permission.

OK, what's going on here? A book by an accomplished writer published by a major publishing house on an explosive timely subject—yet few have even heard of it half a year after publication, even among those who specialize in Middle East matters.

There's a conspiracy to kill this book—it's dangerous, subversive, revolutionary.

Now it would be difficult to prove this newest addition to the conspiratorial vision of Zionist power in a court of law, or maybe even to the satisfaction of a newspaper editor. And yet the circumstantial evidence is considerable. The author herself—much praised for her last volume, *Justice Crucified: The Story of Sacco and Vanzetti*, including a front-page review in *The Washington Post's Book World*—is outraged and embittered by her experience and herself convinced about “the conspiracy.”

The “evidence”:

The publisher—*New York Times Books*—has not run a single advertisement or arranged any important media appearances for Ms. Feuerlicht.

The author has received private information that the new editor of *Times Book*—Jonathan Siegel—has ordered everyone to do nothing to promote the book... to just forget it. She says *Times Books* is quietly planning to take the book silently out of print after the initial run of just 7,000.

No major newspaper other than

COMMENTARY...

PEACE: FROM EFFORT TO MIRACLE

When Anwar Sadat initiated the process which led to the Camp David accords and subsequently to a peace treaty with Israel, he justified his policy, and tried to sell it to the Arabs on the grounds that an American-brokered peace process was bound to produce a fair settlement because the United States abandoned its traditional pro-Israeli tilt in favor of an even-handed policy in the Middle East. He frequently made the assertion that “the United States no longer stands with one of the parties to the conflict, but stands between them.”

There was nothing to support this statement when Sadat made it, and that was an important reason why the Arabs were apprehensive from the beginning about Sadat's acceptance of U.S. credentials as an impartial peacemaker. Subsequent events proved beyond any doubt that Mr. Sadat was hallucinating when he thought U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict was becoming more impartial.

Let us look at the record. First, ever since Sadat made his much vaunted trip to Jerusalem, the United States sponsored a series of political propositions intended to secure for Israel as much as possible of the territorial gains it had made in previous wars. In the Camp David accords, the Reagan plan, and the Israeli-Lebanese agreement, a pattern emerges which replaces the principle of the inadmissibility of the forceful acquisition of territory with a much more permissive political morality which permits the redeployment of occupation forces instead of their withdrawal. Instead of requiring Israel to pay indemnities for the lives and property it destroyed, and compensation for the resources it exploited in the occupied territories, Israel is rewarded with concessions.

Second, the U.S. relationship with Israel was elevated from bias to partnership. The U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement means that the U.S. no longer supports Israel but works with it. It has merged its policy with Israel's ambitions to a degree that they are hardly distinguishable.

Third, U.S. economic and military aid to Israel has been increased and changed from loans to grants. The United States no longer supports Israel, but underwrites it. As the Vice-President of the United States recently informed the Israeli lobby (AIPAC), the U.S. is committed to give Israel enough military aid to guarantee its superiority in the battlefield over any combination of forces, and enough economic aid to ensure that armaments do not become an economic burden on Israel. In other words, the U.S. guarantees continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands and intimidation of the Arab peoples with American capabilities. The ongoing presidential campaign clearly indicates that the Arabs have no reason to expect differently from the United States in the foreseeable future.

The United States has chosen to be used as an instrument for the advancement of Israel's ambitions in the Middle East. It cannot do so and, at the same time, work for a just peace in the Middle East. The attempt to combine both roles is the surest way to ensure continued conflict, with all the consequences it entails to the future well-being of the Arabs, the Israelis, and the American people.

History teaches that the surest way to lose a privilege is to abuse it. The access the U.S. now has to the parties of the Arab-Israeli conflict gives it the opportunity to save the people of the Middle East from future wars, and to have the satisfaction of using its influence to achieve noble ends. The U.S. needs to reassess its role in the Middle East while peacemaking still requires an effort, and before it requires a miracle. □

the *Los Angeles Times* has reviewed this insightful book—not even the one with the motto “All the News That's Fit to Print,” which is affiliated with the publisher and which

has such a large Jewish readership. In the case of *The Washington Post*, the controversy, and the pressure, apparently made it to editor Ben Bradlee's desk—for that's where a

copy of *Fate of the Jews* was last seen some months ago.

Jewish publications and groups are attempting to kill *Fate* through a combination of slander and neglect—Leonard Fein in *Moment*, an example of the first case; Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg of the World Jewish Congress, the second.

Now what's this great fuss all about? Most important, it's the old Zionist/anti-Zionist debate reborn in contemporary guise.

Only after World War II, the Holocaust, and the transformation of Jewish organizational efforts away from progressive, secular causes to Jewish nationalism, has a minimal Zionist outlook become predominant in American Jewry. Before that, various shades of opinion about Judaism and Zionism were all considered kosher.

The Fate of the Jews is about the "true" meaning of Judaism and the predicament of Jews true to their ethical heritage who face the contradictions of contemporary Zionism.

Feuerlicht's book is nothing less than an attempt to resurrect the old controversies at a time when there is tremendous apprehension and alienation within American Jewry, especially among the new generation under 30. Hence the obvious dangers in a major publication which lays out many forgotten truths while stripping naked many Zionist myths. And hence the perceived need to quash the effort and discredit the source.

The Fate of the Jews is meant to be an angry, biting corrective to the various forms of Israeli and Zionist brainwashing that have gone on for so long largely unchallenged—especially since 1967 when Israeli macho began swallowing Jewish heritage and ethics.

Neutering A Community: By 1977 the American Jewish community had been sufficiently neutered so that those formerly rebuffed in Israel as terrorists and neo-fascists not only could take power there, but Revisionist Zionist ideology could gradually seep inside the institutions of American Jewry as well. By 1982, Israel's brutal sacking of the PLO in Beirut had few opponents within the organized American Jewish community.

Roberta Feuerlicht's aim with *Fate of the Jews* is to turn things

around—to confront American Jews with some painful truths of both their past and their present and in this way to attempt to have a remedial effect on the future.

Fate has its flaws. Though a lower-East Side New Yorker brought up in the Jewish, socialist, radical traditions inherited from eastern Europe, Feuerlicht is understandably an outsider to American Jewish organization life. Her anecdotes and comments about the community are sketchy, often overly simplified, and at times incomplete.

But most important for those who can manage to find this volume in a book store (and hurry!), it must always be remembered when reading this savage indictment of the contemporary state of Jewish affairs that this is a corrective polemic. Non-Jews especially need be cautioned that this literary effort is not designed to be balanced or even fair; rather it is an anguished attempt to confront Jews with the worst aspects of their history and make them face—rather than hide from—their current moral and political predicaments. □

ADC ISSUES ACTION ALERT

The Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) announced that a U.S. citizen, Hazem (Mike) Monsour of Albuquerque, New Mexico, was arrested April 2 by Israeli military police in the village of Deir Dibwan near Ramallah.

Hazem is being held in the Ramallah military prison without formal charges being filed. Officials have verbally accused Hazem of subversive activities in affiliation with a "terrorist" organization. After having a bag placed over his head, Hazem Monsour was coerced into signing a statement in Hebrew, the contents of which remain unknown.

Monsour is a prominent businessman and also a Deputy Sheriff in New Mexico. His family is extremely concerned about his health because he suffers from a heart condition. Israeli officials have not responded to requests for information about formal charges. □

NAAA DEPLORES HART AND MONDALE COMPETING FOR JEWISH VOTE

The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) deplored the "spectacle" of the two leading Democratic Party presidential candidates competing for the Jewish vote in New York City by putting the interests of Israel ahead of those of the United States.

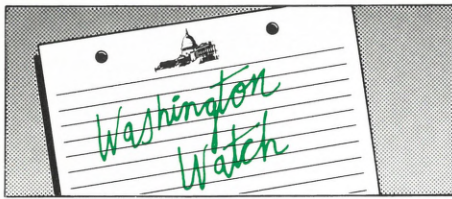
NAAA President Robert D. Joseph, noting the bitter exchange of charges between former Vice-President Walter Mondale and Colorado Senator Gary Hart during their appearances before Jewish groups in New York, said:

"It is deplorable that men who aspire to the highest office in this country should think so little of its national interest that they engage, as Mr. Mondale and Senator Hart have, in the spectacle of bidding for Jewish support by trying to prove their enmity for the Arab people and their loyalty to Israel, regardless of the consequences.

America's interests should not be auctioned off to the highest bidder and the foreign policy of the United States cannot be based on blind obedience to the dictates of the Jewish vote in primary elections."

Joseph also criticized Mondale and Hart for supporting efforts in Congress to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, thus forcing the Administration to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

"The proposed legislation on moving the embassy is unconstitutional, because it undercuts the President's ability to conduct foreign policy," Joseph said. "It contravenes three decades of U.S. policy and threatens to severely damage U.S. relations with the Arab and Islamic countries, which, along with the rest of the world, view Jerusalem as occupied territory whose status must be decided in negotiations. Presidential candidates who support the proposed embassy move are clearly signalling the Arab and Islamic worlds that protecting the interests of Israel will be the sum total of their policy in the Middle East." □



ISRAEL LOBBIES FOR DICTATORS

Israel has emerged as one of the main supporters of colonial and authoritarian regimes throughout the Third World. In Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Israel is using its resources and influence to sustain governments at war with freedom. From the Algerian revolt against the French occupation in 1954, until Namibia's present struggle against South African domination, Israel consistently stood on the side of states which seek to keep the world firmly rooted in the nineteenth century. From Honduras to Viet Nam, and from Lebanon to Nicaragua, it gave aid and comfort to dictators.

Recently, the government of Israel recruited the American Jewish community on behalf of such unworthy causes. During a recent visit to Israel by more than 70 leaders of the American Jewish community, including the Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, Israel's president Chaim Herzog asked the American Jewish community to support Israel's policy in Africa and Latin America. More specifically, he asked the Jewish community to demonstrate its gratitude to Zaire and Liberia for the hospitality they had shown Mr. Herzog during his recent visit to the two African countries. According to the *Baltimore Jewish Times* (March 9, 1984), Mr. Herzog told the Jewish leaders that the American Jewish community should "find ways of expressing its appreciation of the way the President of Israel was received" in these two countries.

Although Mr. Herzog did not specify the form of appreciation he wanted, the *Jewish Times* said that "it is an open secret in Washington that Israel has urged U.S. aid for Zaire and Liberia." Aid to these two countries faces strong opposition in the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, because they are governed by regimes considered corrupt and authoritarian. □

CAN AMERICA AFFORD ISRAEL?

Vice-President George Bush paid the expected homage to the state of Israel, through its primary agent in the United States, American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). In a speech he made before AIPAC's annual conference in Washington, D.C., on April 9, Mr. Bush assured the Israeli lobby that the United States will continue, through military assistance, to "ensure that Israel maintains its qualitative edge on the battlefield." He also promised that the United States will bear the economic burden of Israeli armaments by providing Israel with generous economic assistance.

Other pledges Bush made to Israel include the following:

1. To convert all U.S. military aid to Israel (\$1.4 billion in 1985) to grants which need not be repaid.
2. To seek agreement with

Israel on joint military planning, exercises, prepositioning of equipment, and weapons research and development.

3. To vote in the U.N. against any resolution which condemns Israel for anything.

4. To withdraw from the U.N. if it expels Israel.

5. Not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as it does not recognize Israel.

6. Never to impose a Middle East settlement.

7. To make the U.S. market a free trade zone for Israeli goods.

The campaign of course is just beginning, and Mr. Bush has competition. This means that the above promissory note is only a down payment. The question which this bidding for the favors of Israel raises is this: can America afford Israel? Future generations will know. □

NETUREI KARTA OPPOSE EMBASSY BILL

Rabbi Yosef Becher of Neturei Karta-USA wrote Senator Charles Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to express his group's opposition to the proposed transfer of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Rabbi

Becher described such a move as "a grave step away from peace and towards further violence." The Jewish spokesman called on the U.S. government to adhere to previous United Nations resolutions concerning Jerusalem. □

Journal of PALESTINE STUDIES



A Quarterly on Palestinian Affairs
and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Winter Issue Includes:

Jordan: The Quest for a Centrist Position
HRH Hassan Ibn Talal

Eric Rouleau:
A Middle East Prognosis (Interview)

One Village
Naomi Shihab Nye

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Subscription: \$24 (1 year); \$46 (2 years); \$67 (3 years)
\$17 (1 year) students

Make check or money order payable to:
The Institute of Palestine Studies
P.O. Box 19449
Washington, D.C. 20036

ISRAEL HEADS THE MOST WANTED LIST

If the international community had a most wanted list, Israel without doubt would have the dubious honor of being on the top of it. Since its establishment shortly after World War II, Israel has been found guilty by the International community of more violations of more types of human rights than any other country in the world. Judged on the basis of the number of people it killed, the number of bombs it dropped, the number of buildings it destroyed, the number of books it banned, the number of political prisoners it detained, the number of people it banished, the number of religious shrines burned, desecrated and bombed, and the number of times it closed down schools and universities, Israel would certainly get first prize. This fact is shown by the frequency and scope of Israeli violations of accepted international conduct, as evidenced by condemnation by the United Nations. Following are excerpts from a U.N. General Assembly resolution condemning Israel for the systematic repression of academic institutions in the occupied territories:

The General Assembly,

Deeply shocked by the most recent atrocities committed by Israel, the occupying Power, against educational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories,

Condemns Israeli policies and practices against Palestinian students and faculty in schools, universities and other educational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories, especially the policy of opening fire on defenceless students, causing many casualties;

Condemns the systematic Israeli campaign of repression against universities in the occupied Palestinian territories, restricting and impeding academic activities of Palestinian universities by subjecting selection of courses, textbooks and educational programmes, admission of students and appointment of faculty members to the control and supervision of the military occupation authorities, in clear contravention of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. □

92nd Plenary Meeting
11 December 1980

GREEK-ISRAELI RELATIONS

The Director General of the Greek Foreign Ministry, Nikolaos Katapodis, held official talks in April with Israeli officials on bilateral relations and the Middle East situation in general. Mr. Katapodis told Israeli Radio that "there is no immediate prospect of Greece establishing full diplomatic relations with Israel."

At the close of his visit, the Greek official stated: "We have not recognized Israel de jure, and we don't believe that the actual situation is such that an upgrading of relations would be justified from our point of view...When relations between Israel and the Arab countries improve...then the matter will arise and then it will be given due consideration."

Greece has been one of the most consistent and unwavering countries in its support for the Palestinian people and their right to national self-determination. In 1947, it was the only European country to vote against the partition of Palestine in the UN General Assembly. □



WORLD PARLIAMENTARIANS: Israel is Racist and Land-Grabbing

An international congress of parliamentarians from 102 countries, meeting in Geneva, condemned Israel as a racist and land-grabbing country. The resolution was approved by 677 delegates attending the conference of the International Parliamentary Union; 137 delegates voted against the resolution and 241 abstained from voting.

The resolution also lumped Israel with South Africa, and described Zionism as a form of colonialism and *apartheid*. The international community has frequently judged Israel to be a racist state, and Zionism a form of racism and racial discrimination, because it bases the status and rights of individuals on religious affiliation.

In an attempt to discredit the moral weight of this international opinion, an Israeli delegate who attended the conference later told the *Jerusalem Post* (April 15-21, 1984): "Israel cannot expect political legitimization at such gatherings." This is the typical Israeli response to international criticisms. It is not clear what sort of "gatherings" Israel considers to be legitimate expressions of world public opinion. □

EL SALVADOR MOVES EMBASSY TO JERUSALEM

El Salvador, the recipient of Israeli military and economic assistance, moved its embassy back to Jerusalem, thus joining Costa Rica, the only nation with an embassy there.

El Salvador was among 13 countries to move their embassies from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv in 1980 after the Israeli Knesset adopted the Jerusalem Law formally and unilaterally extending Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem.

Napoleon Armando Guerra, the Salvadorian Ambassador to Israel told Israeli radio: "I can promise with candor and honesty that the reasons were not mainly founded in material values; their basis is in the human and spiritual values which characterize Israel, which is considered, like the countries of Latin America, a country that esteems democracy, freedom, peace and prosperity."

In a related development, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the Honduras-based Nicaraguan Democratic Force, a Nicaraguan rebel group, has asked Israel for financial and military support because Congress has failed to authorize additional CIA expenditures to undermine the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Israel has already supplied arms to another CIA-sponsored Nicaraguan group, the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance, led by former Sandinista leader Eden Pastora. □

HAVE YOU WONDERED?

Have you wondered why less noise is being made about "the plight of the Jews in Russia?" Have you wondered why the cry of "let my people go" is hardly heard these days? Because the Zionists today, as they were in the 1930's, are more interested in the usurpation of Palestine than in "saving" Jews. Furthermore, Russian Jews have not been going to the promised land.

According to an article in the *Jerusalem Post* (April 15-21, 1984), most Russian Jews preferred not to live in Israel, and when they left the Soviet Union they went to the U.S., Canada and other countries. The percentage of Jews who went to Israel dwindled until it became a mere trickle, and the Zionists lost interest in "saving" them. Below is a table showing the increasing percentage of Soviet Jewish emigrants who chose not to live in Israel.

Year	Emigrants	% Not Going to Israel
1975	13,221	36.5
1976	14,261	49.2
1977	16,261	50.5
1978	28,865	58.1
1979	51,335	66.0
1980	21,472	65.3
1981	9,447	81.2
1982	2,688	72.8
1983	1,320	70.3

SHARON: DID HE PREPARE FOR AN ISRAELI CIVIL WAR?

It is possible that former Israeli defense minister, Ariel Sharon, helped sow the seeds of a future civil war in Israel. During Begin's first term in office (1977-1981), when Sharon served as Israel's agriculture minister and chairman of the ministerial committee on settlements, he used his position and his popularity with extremist Jewish settlers in the occupied territories to prepare them for a possible confrontation with future Israeli governments.

In a speech to Herut Party members in Tel Aviv on April 5, 1984, Sharon disclosed that in January 1981 he implemented a contingency plan called "Preparing the Settlements for a Siege." The plan was intended to give the settlers the capability to resist any future Israeli government which may contemplate a "territorial compromise" as part of a peace agreement with the Arabs.

In addition to their function as instruments for the seizure of Palestinian land and resources, Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza are designed by their sponsors and supporters, like Sharon, to be pressure groups with a vested interest in the occupation. They are intended to limit the freedom of any future Israeli government which might consider "trading territory for peace." In that sense, they institutionalize the conflict within Israeli society between groups which seek a

peaceful settlement and the Israeli rejectionists.

Extremist settlers have said frequently in the past that they would be willing to resist by force any Israeli government which agrees to withdrawal from the occupied territories. They have in fact created armed militias in preparation for that possibility. Arms depots have been found in Israeli settlements, and it is possible that Sharon's plan to prepare the settlements for a siege refers to his role in arming the settlers.

Although the settlers have so far used their weapons to terrorize the Palestinian community in the occupied territories, they did clash with supporters of the peace movement in Israel and killed one of their members when they tossed a hand grenade at a Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem. As Sharon's remark to his party supporters indicates, however, the main purpose of arming the settlers seems to be to ready them for a future Israeli civil war.

Sharon's fanaticism is well-known. When Menachem Begin came to power in 1977, he refused to assign the defense ministry to Sharon. Begin said he would be afraid that Sharon might stage a *coup d'etat* against him. □

**Palestine
Research
and
Educational
Center**

818 18th Street, NW
Suite 645
Washington, DC 20006

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
PAID
Washington, DC
Permit No. 4983