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Symbol and Struggle in Silwad and Kalil

Last week a band of Israeli occupation soldiers, armed with explosives, and what appeared to be looks of sheer, utter hatred in their eyes, blew up the homes of two Palestinian families in the villages of Silwad and Kalil on the West Bank. The two buildings were reduced to rubble as their owners looked on. The reason given for this act was that the two homes belonged to the parents of two Palestinian guerrillas accused of acts of resistance against the occupation. One of the guerrillas was barely 16 years of age.

Over the past eleven years, since the second Israeli occupation in Palestine began in 1967, hundreds of structures, home to Palestinian families that had worked and saved for years to build them, were similarly demolished with the same justification given.

The Palestinians on the West Bank, unarmed — but by no means helpless - responded in their own way to this act of violence. Neighbors gathered around the two bereaved families directly after the destruction of the two homes; and before long people from the surrounding villages, as well as Ramallah, began to arrive on the scene following an impromptu strike by shopkeepers and students. Just as spontaneously, the women began to dance the traditional Palestinian dabki, ululate and shout political slogans about freedom and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The event, ostensibly one of tragedy, was transformed into one of joy. One woman explained it this way to a Western journalist: "The two families whose homes have been destroyed, and whose sons are now in jail, are not going to be homeless. In fact, if they had only two homes before, now they have 4000 to live in. The homes of all of us, the parents of prisoners, are open to them. Go on, go tell the Israelis, and the Americans who send them concussion bombs, that we are not afraid. We have been here for centuries. We are here now. And we shall be here long after they have all gone back to where they came from. Palestine is our homeland.

This is a syntax of feeling, a convention of statement, not unique to Palestine; it is rather indigenous to peoples, like those in Algeria, Vietnam, Zimbabwe, who had become defined and molded by their experiences of oppression, and the doses of pain meted out to them, by oppressors.

The symbolism inherent in the dabki dancing, the ululating and expressions of joy — incomprehensible to Western observers as to Israelis — constitutes a principal component of the national psyche of Palestinians. It is a genuine and transformist striving of a people to weld the genius of their legacy of struggle, the uniqueness of their social and historical condition, to a symbolism universal in its eloquence.

By indulging in yet another act of violence against Palestinians, the Israelis are showing to the world, yet again, how their impotent vision of terror used to subdue, subjugate and terrorize another people springs from an ideological and spacio-temporal reality alien to Palestine, a vision that is so desperately beside the point in an era, and a place, that will have no truck with colonial diktats.

Possessed of insensate, sadistic violence, and ultimately possessed by it, Israelis have already reduced their humanity to a fragment. Consumed by a pathological need to deny the Palestinians the most basic right in existence — the right to be free — they are inevitably denying themselves the same right. For so long as the Israelis' own existence is based on the occupation of a people by another, on the concept of statehood for one people at the cost of statelessness for another, they themselves shall never be free. And so long as their self-definitions are derived from the racist mythology of 19th century Europe, they are effecting a sharp severance from the political realities of 20th century Palestine, where they find themselves today. They become, in effect, like the man who has lost his sight and now continues to view his

surroundings in terms of remembered images.

The dogmatic intolerance of the Zionism of Theodore Herzl. that flourished in Europe around the turn of the century, has been transformed, in the second half of the century in Palestine, into a creed of paranoia, a politico-historical sensibility captive to the irrationalities and subconscious formulations of ancient, demonic fears. Zionism, as a movement that transplanted itself from Europe to Palestine and succeeded in establishing a settler state there thirty years ago, has gone beyond racism and settler colonialism in its practices. Certainly since 1967, Zionism as embodied in the policies and pronouncements of its leaders, has become, like fascism, too vile and scurrilous an ideology to produce those charities of the imagination which are essential to resolving the conflict in Palestine and end the brutalities it has been inflicting on Palestinians all these years. In other words, Israel's view of the world, as this view is translated into policies of interaction with the Palestinians, is no more and no less than the ultimate code of the bully and the hoodlum — the subjugation of another people through brute force. As such, Zionism is tyrannizing through contempt of humanity, exalting force above that sphere of human endeavor which we call compassion and freedom.

Even white South African apartheid, which is a venemous mythology by itself, has failed to, or shied away from, the extremist terror tactics of expulsion, and the violent denials of humanity, that Zionism has blatantly practiced against Palestinians — in contempt of the world consensus, the Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Charter, various Geneva Conventions and international law.

Today there exist two unassailable facts in Palestine.

No amount of partisan Israeli rhetoric can disguise the first. Israel in 1948 inflicted a monumental injustice on the Palestinians and another equally monumental one in 1967. It is fiercely and fanatically unwilling to address itself to either the first injustice which had found its expression in the takeover of 80 per cent of Palestine, the dispersion of close to one million Palestinians and the forcible seizure of their movable and immovable property; or the second injustice which it inflicted on the Palestinians in 1967 when it occupied the rest of Palestine, in the West Bank/Gaza, where it proceeded with its policies of land expropriation, deportations, torture of prisoners, punitive curfews, collective punishments on whole villages and towns and other acts of terror. Israel has refused to acknowledge that the Palestinians have any rights to freedom, statehood and self-determination, beyond their right for autonomy to run their post offices, hospitals and traffic iams — which is what "self-rule" is all about. Strident rhetoric about "biblical Israel" and "security" has always accompanied this dangerous and irrational position.

The other fact can not be urged far without touching a sensitive chord in the Western sensibility. And this is that the Western world has chosen to apply a double set of standards to judge Israel by. The Jewish people, the Western view has it, have suffered by the European experience in World War II, and hence are eligible for special privileges, including the privilege of having their practices in Palestine placed above criticism. The Western world, the argument goes, owes Israel a living and the Palestinians, through the surrender of their homes and homeland, will pay for it. To criticize Israel is anti-semitic.

Israeli terror, in the guilty Western mind, becomes Israeli "retaliatory raids." Israeli military occupation, the occupation of



Palestinian Children: "The Sun Has No Mercy."

As we enter the International Year of the Child. 1979, the plight of Palestinian children and the violation of their fundamental rights, including the "right to a name and nationality" should be of utmost concern. Palestine Perspectives #2 reported on the imprisonment and torture of sixteen young Palestinian teenagers from Kalandia refugee camp, on the occupied West Bank. As of today, the children are still in jail, still awaiting trial on charges of attacking an Israeli military vehicle with stones and a Molotov cocktail. The confessions of the children were obtained, according to the Red Cross and their attornies, through extended interrogation and beatings. Felicia Langer, the attorney for the Kalandia children, wrote the following account last summer in the Israeli newspaper Zu Ha'derech. The National Office of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign and local solidarity groups may be contacted for more information.

The sun has no mercy these days. Everything emits heat. The road, the concrete, the glass and even the wind which we hope will help us.

Unintentionally, I remember that June. The desert, the dried bodies, the short days of the long war.

Soon I'll meet the imprisoned Kalandia children. When the victorious Israeli soldiers reached the camp, the children were two

years old. Children of Refugees. The word enfolds all the meanings. The car drives through the green Carmel forests, and suddenly the walls and towers of the Damun prison appear in front of us.

The prison does not welcome me. There is open hostility, more than in the past; the obstacles in the entrance are more sophisticated, the waiting time longer.

At last they are brought in front of me. A parade of small children, poorly dressed. The Kalandia children are about 13 years old but look as if they are only ten years old. They did not grow up in a luxurious suburb. Large eyes of a child are staring at me. I am embarrassed. I don't know what to say to him. The blue and vellow marks on the hands and legs prove that for the interrogators he is not a child, and when I caressed his head he felt uncomfortable. He gives me his small hand and declares: "We are not afraid of the prison. Prison is for men." One of the children, pale, ill, speaks with difficulty, embarrassed: "I have read your books on the occupation." I look at him in surprise: "When did you manage to read them?" "What do you think that we are, kids? I'm thirteen!"-he declares and stretches himself, "We understand it all. The interrogators have warned us about you, so we immediately understand that you are the one who can help us "When I enquired about his poor health, he says: "Calm down our parents. Our spirit is high."

The guards take the children back to their cell, as if it was for them a natural daily thing, although an attorney who happens to be there remarks: "What happened, such children are also put in?" The fresh wounds on some of them have an explanation: some Israeli criminal prisoners have attacked them. What wasn't done by the interrogators, their fists and clubs, is finished off by the others. When I complain, the answer I receive is: "There is nothing to do about it, these are the prison conditions."

It won't be long before this parade will appear in front of the military court. The prosecutor on their case told me angrily: "These nice kids of yours attacked an army car with an explosive bottle and a soldier was badly hurt...." The prosecutor is armed just like those soldiers in that car, and like the settlers and the "civil guard" and the army has the most sophisticated weapons and most sophisticated American bombs. This is a very complicated legal system, which is aimed at suppressing any sign of resistance to the occupation. The courts impose years of imprisonment on hundreds and thousands, and the prisons are full and the cemeteries are full too of Palestinian graves, the graves of the brothers of these young who are accused... But what are they all worth, if after eleven years they could not deter the Kalendia children?....And anyone who wants to know what will happen with the occupation should read it in their eyes.



International Year of the Child 1979

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child declares that all children have "the right to a name and a nationality." Palestinian children, whether fined or jailed under the Israeli occupation or living as stateless persons in camps, have been denied this basic right.



Palestinian Women in Occupation Jails

On October 24 of this year, armed Israeli border guards entered the women's security prison at Ramle, where many Palestinian women prisoners are held, and began throwing tear gas cannisters into the cells. The attack, apparently spurred when women in one cell complained to the prison guard about inadequate light, spread throughout the prison. Israeli attorney Leah Tsemel, who has a number of clients in Ramle, reported that many women received gas burns on their face and hands. Terre Fleener, a young American in Israeli prison on charges of "aiding the enemy," was one such victim.

Palestinian women are in Ramle because they have been convicted of "security offenses." At a meeting of prison officials in February 1977, Israeli Prison Commissioner Levi noted that there were 3,227 Palestinian prisoners convicted of these "security offenses" in Israeli prisons. Roughly 300 of these are women. Security offenses, as defined by the repressive 1945 Defense Emergency Regulations (instituted by the British Mandate) and the "Security Provisions Order for the Territories' include possession of illegal literature, membership in an illegal organization, writing slogans on walls, and so forth. And, of course, there are those detained without charge or trial - "administrative detainees.

Women in Ramle and other Israeli prisons are incarcerated, then, for participating in a demonstration, or for contacting "the enemy," which often means a brother, a husband, a sister. Palestinian women have been active in resisting the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Women held the first demonstration against the occupation in Jerusalem in early 1968. Since that time, women's protests have taken many forms, from sit-ins at the International Red Cross to demand more humane treatment for Palestinian prisoners. to opening vocational classes for Palestinian women to train them to support their families while their husbands are in prison or in exile. Women pay a heavy price for resistance, as sentences are harsh and confinement is under what has been described as "subhuman" conditions.

Even Israeli prison authorities admit that prisons are hopelessly overcrowded. Ramle prison allows only 2.6 square meters per prisoner, as opposed to the average for other countries, which is 8 square meters. Inadequate hygiene, lack of medical care, poor diet, and provocative and brutal

behavior by prison guards add to the agony of being imprisoned.

Fatima Bernawi, a Palestinian who endured ten years in Israeli prison, most of them at Ramle, has described these conditions in detail. Fatima was released in October of 1977, due to international pressure and her extremely poor health. Typical prison diet, according to Fatima, consists of a breakfast of one-sixth of a

tomato, one-sixth of a green pepper, three olives, one egg three times a week (which is often spoiled) and one slice of coarse brown bread and tea. Complaints about the morning meal are often met with the comment: "You don't eat any better at home."

For lunch, prisoners were served small portions of soup, mashed potatos, mashed carrots and canned meat. Dinner was similar to breakfast but without the egg. A mixture of tomato and egg was often served. Fatima, who worked in the kitchen, noted that approximately 10 eggs served eighty people.

Bernawi attests that Palestinian prisoners work indoors all day. Unlike Jewish prisoners, who are released each day for a period in the gym, Palestinians are allowed exercise only on their day off. Fatima herself in 10 years of prison received exercise for a period of two months.

Education of Palestinians also received scant attention from the Israeli authorities. While Jewish prisoners may have a teacher for two people, Palestinians must have a class of ten. The books provided are so educationally useless that the prisoners often reject them. Any book of course, with a political theme that the Israelis find disturbing, is forbidden.

One arena of constant struggle between prisoners and authorities is over the type of work prisoners are forced to do. In Ramle, the authorities wanted women to clean and sew military uniforms. Palestinians refused to cooperate with the military in this way, and a long struggle ensued. Women were willing to work, but at jobs like farming, cooking, and cleaning the prison, that benefited other prisoners. Discipline was severe, and included beatings and forms of collective punishment, like taking away prisoners belongings and locking women up in the dorm for extended periods of time. Strike leaders often suffered solitary confinement—with the usual pattern being 21 days in a small dungeon with only bread and water. The first week the prisoner is totally confined: the second she is allowed out one hour a day and the third reverts to total confinement.

Yet the women in Ramle won their strike against this form of work. Resistance by Palestinians is as common as the inevitable repression. One Palestinian woman, whose husband is also a political prisoner, recently gave birth in prison. She named her baby "Palestine."

Fatima Bernawi: The Tragedy Of A People

Following is an account by Fatima Bernawi, a Palestinian who spent ten years in Israeli prisons, of her development as an activist and her subsequent arrest and imprisonment.

My tragedy began with the tragedy of the rest of my people in 1948, when most of my people were sent fleeing from Palestine to the surrounding Arab countries. My family's place of refuge was a tent in Jordan. As a child, I always wondered "Why was it us? Why did it happen?" I never had an answer. I used to look for Solomon's Ring thinking I could rub it and the genie would tell me "I'll do anything you want." Then I could solve my family's misery.

All sorts of things were in my head as I grew up, but I couldn't express them. I started working as a nurse in 1955 in Jerusalem. In 1957, I went to Saudi Arabia to work for a Lebanese hospital that dealt with companies like ARAMCO. Besides being Palestinian—and I was pushed around because of this—I am black, and many American families used to refuse my care. I suffered both from being Palestinian and being black. In 1959. I worked with UNRWA in Qualquilya, a city in the West Bank. Qualquilva had been reduced to rubble by the Israelis in 1956 after an Israeli invasion. I had found something I wanted to do: I wanted to rebuild the city for my people.

In 1965, my political life began. I was introduced to the Arab Nationalist Movement and attended lectures and political study groups. I was finding ways to express my anger and my defiance at the Israeli aggression. During that time, however, the Jordanians did not allow any form of political work, be it study or organizing.

In 1967, the war began, and the Israeli Army played a dirty trick. They carried Arab flags and announced on their bullhorns "We are the Arab Army" and told everyone in Qualquilya to go to the morgue and receive protection against the Israelis. This method was also used in 1948 by the Zionists.

In 1967 and immediately after the Israeli occupation began, we were introduced to the Palestinian National Liberation Movement. Abu Ammar

[Yasser Arafat] was on the West Bank, organizing for defiance of Israeli occupation of our homeland. I felt I must resist, and took part in a commando operation in Jerusalem.

But the Israeli soldiers had followed us. They went into my house and arrested all of my family—my father, mother and sister, who was ten years younger than I was. The reason for these military operations was, and still is, to tell the Israeli occupation that we defy it and are willing to resist and go anywhere to express our defiance. I myself was arrested two days after the operation.

When Palestinian women are arrested, they are often taken to cells that have Israeli prostitutes, where they are often physically attacked. This is a calculated policy. The Israeli officials then say "there was no torture," but in fact, this is one form of torture, whether physical or psychological.

It is usually said a person is innocent until proven guilty but under the Zionist occupation, if someone is arrested for any reason, or no reason as is often the case, the house where the person lives is blown up, his family is arrested, torture follows, often of the family as well—all before there is a conviction. The day of my arrest, they

tortured my family in a nearby cell. I could hear their screams.

After two months, they released my father and mother on bond. However, they kept my young sister for a year. She was detained for only one reason. When the soldiers entered our house and asked "Is Fatima here?" she replied, "I am Fatima."

After a few months of torture, I was brought to military court in front of three military judges. The sentence was as follows: life term for possessing explosives, life term for the operation, and ten years for being a member of the underground.

We have a great number of sisters in prison. Rasmieh Odeh is one. To begin her torture, they brought her father in, stripped them naked, and tried to force her and her father to have sexual intercourse. Her house has been blown up. She has a life sentence, all for resisting occupation. Her charge was "member of a resistance organization." Her health is poor and she has ulcers.

When I was released from prison, I went from a small prison to a larger one. I was deported. Now I live in Lebanon, separated from my family and my homeland. But one day I will return.



Fatima Bernawi with Palestinian child



Voices from Prison: The Camp David Agreements

Since Camp David, the Israeli authorities have been vainly seeking Palestinian cooperation in implementing the "autonomy plan". Prisoners at Ramle prison were approached with an offer, according to Israeli attornev Leah Tsemel: if they would issue a statement in support of Camp David, they would be freed and re-located in the Sinai. The following statement by prisoners at Ramle responds to this.

The political prisoners at the Ramleh Central Prison responded to the Camp David Agreements and their aftermath concerning the conclusion of a separate agreement between the Sadat regime and Zionism with a general strike and a unanimous hunger-strike for the whole day (full 24 hours) as an act of protest against all possible results of these surrender agreements. After submitting these agreements to discussion we have arrived at the following conclusions:

- 1. The results of Camp David are a conspiracy woven by the three collaborative forces so well known to the Palestinian people as well as to the Arab people and the entire world: (a) the most intransigent of Arab reaction represented by Sadat and his regime; (b) colonialist, expansionist, racist and invading Zionism represented by MenachemBegin; (c) world imperialism which is sucking the blood of nations and headed by the United States, represented by Carter.
- 2. The results of Camp David represent the complicity of interests of these three forces, which are aiming at greater hostility and greater intransigence against our Arab Palestinian people in order to prevent it from the realization of its legitimate right to liberate its homeland and in order to deny it the possibility for self-determination. The results of Camp David are directed at undermining the Palestinian revolution and containing it. These three forces act separately and in concert in order to promote their interests.
- The results of Camp David act exclusively to promote the penetration and the influence of imperialism in our East, which has greatly suffered under its yoke. The results of Camp David are directed exclusively at opening the gates of Egypt fully before Imperialist

- and Zionist monopolies and before foreign capital.
- 4. The results of Camp David represent the continuing process of the Sadat surrender, which began with his speech before the Israeli Knesset, through the Aswan statement, through the Leeds and the Vienna statements and his statements on the eve of the Camp David conference right to the final surrender at Camp Carter (sic) and its endorsement by signature.
- 5. The results of Camp David caused the isolation of Egypt in the Arab world, and left Egypt well behind the march on the road of liberating the stolen land. Thus Egypt has become a central pillar in the ranks of the enemies the enemies of the people and of humanity.
- 6. The results of Camp David constitute a complete and degenerate denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian-Arab people. The Camp David Agreements consist of documents which give legitimacy not only to Zionist domination of Palestinian land and the Arab people for an interim period of five years, but rather for an indefinite period. Further, these documents give legitimacy to the unification of Jerusalem as the capital of the invading colonialist state, thereby conferring recognition of the Zionist entity as faits accomplis whatever deficiencies it might have.
- Camp David is therefore nothing but a cheap conspiracy directed against the forces of progress and revolution, against the liberation movements in the

East in general and against the Palestinian revolution in particular.

In light of the above we reject this cheap conspiracy and submit our strong protest against it. We are of the opinion that the betrayal of the peoples will create its own downfall, and the traitors of the Arab nation will be stopped, and the traitors of the Palestinian revolution will be punished and beheaded. Woe to those who betray and cheat the masses. Victory is forever the lot of the peoples. Egypt was the living heart of the Arab nation — but this heart is now dead

We take this opportunity to tell Sadat that we prefer to "suffer" for our land and our rights, in full awareness that liberation is impossible without suffering. We prefer to die in our homeland rather than become his slaves in the Sinai or the servants of his interests and the interests of those who eat from his plate. We wish further to tell him that what has brought us to jail is nothing other than our determination and our struggle for our right of self-determination in our homeland. It is for our homeland that we are in iail: it is for our homeland that we suffer: it is for our homeland that we shall die. We prefer to die in our homeland and we shall not leave it easily, clearly not for such a betraval.

In the name of the Palestinian prisoners in the Ramleh jail.

Ali Muhammad Samniyya Salih Muhammad Baransi Ali Said Zubeidat



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A Look at The 96th Congress

When the 96th Congress convenes in January, will there be any important changes in either attitudes or policy towards the Middle East? Although the re-staffing of the committees of both houses, due to resignations and defeat of some members in the last elections, is still in the working phase, it is helpful to review the losers and the winners and examine how that will affect United States policy in the Middle East.

Congress historically has not been the most understanding body concerning the Palestinian problem. Its understanding was and continues to be, to a very large extent, based on bias in favor of israel on every issue. There is a total and intentional disregard for Arab views and Arab demands. The reasons for this are complex and vary from the pro-Israel lobby on the Hill and in the country at large to American unfamiliarity with Arabs or a false knowledge of Arabs in general. However, since the legislative branch is very important in influencing United States foreign policy, and since the U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East is significant and has an impact on the behavior of governments, then it becomes paramount to know certain key legislators in key positions.. Not much, however, can be expected of the Congress of the U.S. in terms of bringing about just and meaningful peace to the Middle East. The U.S. Government as a whole, in contradiction to what President Sadat likes to say, doesn't hold 99 percent of the cards in solving the Middle East problem.

The four most important committees in both Houses concerning the Middle East are the two Appropriations Committees of the Senate and the House, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the House International Relations Committee.

The composition of the Senate Committee on Appropriations in the 95th Congress was as follows: 16 Democrats, Chairperson Magnuson (WA), Stennis (MS), Byrd (WV), Proxmire (WI), Inouye (HI), Hollings (SC), Bayh (IN), Eagleton (MO), Chiles (FL), Johnston (LA), Huddleston (KY), Burdick (ND), Leahy (VT), Sasser (TN), DeConcini (AZ), Bumpers (AK). The Republican members are 9, Young (ND), Case (NJ), Brooke (MA), Hatfield (OR), Stevens (AL), Mathias (MD), Scweiker (PA), Bellmon (OK), and Weicker (CT).

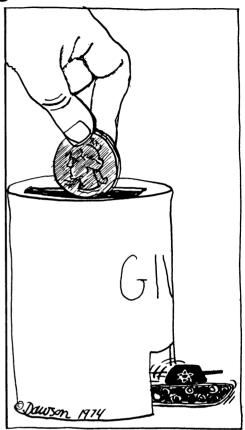
In the 96th Congress two changes will

occur in the Senate Committee on Appropriations due to the defeat in the November elections of two members of the Committee, Senator Clifford P. Case, (R-New Jersey), and Senator Edward W. Brooke, (R-Massachusetts).

Senator Case is one of the staunchest supporters of Israel and obviously, then, one of the least sympathetic or understanding of the Arab viewpoint. His disappearance from the Senate will no doubt be missed by Israel. Senator Case was also the Senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a very important committee of the Senate. Brooke, the only Black member of the Senate, was a liberal in the Senate. His voting record concerning the Middle East. however, does not differ from the rest of the members of that body, i.e., pro-Israel. The defeat of these two members then will not change much of the Committee's pro-Israel stature. It will be interesting, however, to find out who will replace these two members on this important committee.

The importance of this committee and its counterpart on the House side is that they are expected to supply funds for programs authorized by Congress. As such, the Committees could also deny the funding of some programs. Considering the amounts of money Israel receives from the United States, the significance of these Committees becomes even more decisive. The 95th Congress' House Appropriations Committee was composed of 37 Democrats and 18 Republicans. Of these, 2 Republicans and 8 Democrats lost in November.

The two more important committees on the Hill are the Senate Foreign Relations and the House International Relations Committees. The influence of these two Committees and their subcommittees is great over the United States foreign policy. Still very much in memory are the debates these two committees held during the Administration's proposed package deal of jets to Israel, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is losing six out of 16 of its members, three Democrats and three Republicans. The outgoing Democrats are Sparkman, the Chairman from Alabama who is retiring because of age, Humphrey from Minnesota, who chose not to run for the Senatorial seat vacated by the death of her husband, Senator Hubert Humphrey, and Senator Clark of Iowa, who simply lost the election in his state.



The remaining Democrats on the Committee are Church (ID), Pell (RI), McGovern (SD), Biden (DE), Glenn (OH), Stone (FL) who is also the chairman of the Subcommittee on Near East and South Asian Affairs, and Sarbanes (MD). A very noticeable change will occur when the 96th Congress meets. Frank Church of Idaho will be the new Chairman of the Committee. Senator Church is known also for his support of Israel and the pro-Israel Lobby's influence over him.

The Republican members who will not be returning to the Committee are Senator Case of New Jersey, Pearson of Kansas, and Griffin of Michigan. Mr. Case's departure will definitely be missed by the pro-Israel forces in the country. His unconditional support for Israel didn't seem to help him in retaining his seat from New Jersey. The other members of the Republican Party on the Committee are Javits of New York, another unconditional supporter for Israel, Percy of Illinois and Baker of Tennessee: With Senator Case's

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November 29: Community of Nations Observes Day of Solidarity with Palestine

On November 29, the United Nations observed the first Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people. Exactly thirty-one years before, the United Nations had adopted the resolution that partitioned Palestine. The transformation of November 29 into a day of solidarity marks a dramatic shift in the balance of power in the United Nations — away from the Western powers that had pushed through the partition of Palestine and towards the Third World, socialist and non-aligned states. It also demonstrates the great effect of the perserverance of the Palestinian people in their struggle for liberation.

In a historic special session attended by representatives of more than 100 states at the U.N., and boycotted by the U.S. and Western powers, messages of solidarity with the P.L.O. and the Palestinian people from heads of state and prime ministers were delivered, including U.S.S.R. Chairman Brezhnev, Yugoslav President Tito, Rumanian President Ceaucescu as well as heads of states from African, Asian and Arab states. They all reaffirmed their commitment to supporting the P.L.O. and the Palestinian people in achieving their national rights, including the right of return and of self-determination.

P.L.O. delegate Muhsein Abu Mazer read a message from P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat addressed to the United Nations, in which he thanked the states and peoples of the world for supporting the Palestinian struggle and asserted the Palestinian people's determination to continue the struggle until achieving a just peace based on liberation and freedom for the Palestinian people. P.L.O. head of the Political Department, Abu Lutuf (Farouk Kaddoumi) also made a statement at the special session in which he stressed that the international community has affirmed its commitment to achieving a just peace in the Middle East based upon the right of the Palestinian people to national self-determination and to a Palestinian independent state under the leadership of the P.L.O.

A number of U.N. officials including Secretary Kurt Waldheim and the President of the General Assembly and the Security Council all affirmed their commitment to achieving a solution based on the rights of



Mahmoud Darweesh

Yasser Arafat and Whalid Jumblatt

the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence. Outside the United Nations, more than 300 Americans and Palestinians demonstrated in support of the P.L.O., waving Palestinian flags and raising banners expressing full support for the liberation movement. Majed Abu Sharar, a member of the PLO delegation to the U.N., addressed the cheering supporters and stressed that Palestinian national unity and international solidarity with the Palestinian struggle are of utmost importance for achieving victory. He emphasized that the Palestinian people have given thousands of martyrs in the struggle for liberation and that they will continue to do so with strong determination until they can defeat Zionism, racism and Arab reaction. A group of American demonstrators occupied the U.S. Mission for several hours in protest of the U.S. boycott of the Day of Solidarity. They chanted: "Andrew Young, you must know we support the PLO!" Inside the United Nations, a large exhibition of Palestinian photos, paintings and artwork put together by Palestinian artist Ismael Shamout was opened by both Secretary-General Waldheim and P.L.O. delegate Abu Lutuf.

In Beirut, Lebanon, the PLO held a huge rally attended by leaders of the Lebanese National Movement, representatives of friendly states and Chairman Yasser Arafat, as well as representatives of the different PLO organizations. In a moving speech to the cheering crowd, Arafat stressed that the Palestinian people will continue their

struggle until they can achieve a just peace based on their right to live in freedom in their homeland. He said that the Palestinian people are strong and determined, and will be able to defeat the Camp David agreements and the mechanizations of U.S. imperialism, which is attempting to impose surrender in the area. He stressed that the unity between the Palestinian and Lebanese people and the international solidarity of the socialist and progressive states give the PLO the strength to continue its struggle. He stressed that the struggle is, among other things, a cultural one, and that Zionism, a foreign culture dependent on international imperialism, will be defeated and in its place, the Arab people will rebuild real peace in the area.

Whalid Jumblatt read a message from the Lebanese National Movement in which he stressed Lebanese support for the Palestinian struggle and pledged to continue the unity of the one people, Palestinian and Lebanese, until Zionism and its agents are defeated in the area. The Palestinian Folktroupe, composed of children from the Saadat el Toufula School, presented Palestinian revolutionary songs during this festive celebration. Palestinian poets Mahmoud Darweesh and Mouen Besseiso also read poetry to celebrate this historic occasion.

Celebrations were also held in European, Asian and African states where Palestinian supporters held rallies, cultural events, and mass demonstrations.

Our Voices Shall Be Heard: Palestinian Groups Meet in New York



Panalists discuss the future of Palestine

In May of 1942, Zionist leader David BenGurion arrived in New York to chair a crucial meeting at the Biltmore Hotel. The "Biltmore Program" that resulted from the conference signalled a new stage of Zionist strategy. For the first time since the days of Theodore Herzl, Zionism's founding father, Zionists openly declared that their goal was a Jewish State in Palestine. They also recognized the urgency of winning American support for this goal, and began an intensive organizing campaign that reached all levels of American society—from farm granges and trade unions to legislators and the Presidency.

That this campaign was successful—primarily because it coincided with the American goal of becoming a major power in the resource-rich Middle East and because it spoke to American guilt and outrage at the unfolding Holocaust in Europe—is obvious. Since that time, the perceptions of the American public about the Middle East have been seen through a Zionist filter, a filter that very effectively blacks out not only the suffering and struggle of the Palestinians, but even the basic fact of their humanity and existence.

On December 2 and 3, the Biltmore Hotel was again the scene of a conference on the struggle for Palestine. Over 200 Palestinians from the United States and Canada, representing over twenty organizations, met to prepare for the first Palestinian-American Congress. Entitled "Our Voices Shall Be Heard," the two day program was an important step in unifying Palestinian organizations to present the Palestinian view to the American public and to represent the Palestinian population of this continent at a crucial juncture for the Palestinian nation. Featuring many notable

speakers—including a keynote address by P.L.O. Political Department Head, Farouk Kaddoumi — the conference clearly demonstrated that the Palestinian voice is both strong and effective.

Palestine National Council member Dr. Favez Savegh noted that at this period, new variables have emerged that affect the future of Palestine. He cited "a new activist American foreign policy," and contrasted it to the "malignant neglect" of former Administrations. This new policy seeks to "dispose" of the Palestinian problem once and for all. Two more factors are that, for the first time in Palestine's history, "it does not face its future with a solid Arab backing," and that Israeli policy has become more fluid and is shrewdly appearing to make compromises, and will, in fact, make certain compromises, like pulling back from the Sinai.

Palestinians throughout the world are responding to these new variables in ways that fit their situation. Obviously, the continued rejection by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza of the "autonomy plan" and any participation in "elections" under this plan, is a lynchpin of Palestinian strategy. The efforts of Palestinian leadership in the PLO to unite internally and to unite Arab countries in the Steadfastness Front and the Baghdad Summit constitute another prong of this strategy. Farouk Kaddoumi also noted that "Egypt's departure from the Arab ranks is only temporary," and PLO Information head Majed Abu Sharar emphasized that "the Egyptian people have continued and will continue to contribute great sacrifices for the whole Arab nation.'

For Palestinians on this continent, it emerged in the speeches and resolutions at

the conference, there is a special responsibility to confront the new U.S. policy, and to mobilize against it. Dr. Edward Said noted that: "There can be no struggle without knowing in detail who we are, and what it is exactly we are fighting and what we want." He urged an aggressive study of the workings of U.S. imperialism, its institutions and its policies. Palestinians in the U.S., like other Third World peoples, have been "ghettoized," isolated from the inner workings of American society and culture. Said affirmed that "We must take advantage of our position here," and use the knowledge acquired to "benefit the dispersed people of Palestine."

P.L.O. official Shafik al-Hout underlined these themes in a strong appeal to Palestinians in the U.S. to actively organize and unite. Noting that "you are here in the center of the imperialism of the world," he went on to analyze Israel's position in the Middle East: "Israel can't survive except as a base for U.S. imperialism, a base for the most backward kind of ideas and the most sophisticated kinds of arms. Israel is nothing but the giant arm of the United States in the Middle East." Citing various tasks facing Palestinians here-from letter-writing and demonstrations to full participation in the political process of the Palestinian revolution-he affirmed: "We are one people, but in different battlefields."

One immediate realization of this call to activism was a candlelight march by 200 conference participants to the Israeli and U.S. Mission to the United Nations to protest the recent arrest of Bir Zeit students and Ramallah residents. Protesters affirmed that these arrests, part of a crackdown on political dissent in the West Bank to Camp David, were a fundamental violation of human rights.

Farouk Kaddoumi, reiterating the PLO's total opposition to the Camp David agreements, stated the goals of the current stage of the Palestinian revolution as liberating Arab land occupied since 1967, liberating Jerusalem and the creation of an independent Palestinian state. In turn, Abdeen Jabara presented Kaddoumi with a "Declaration of Solidarity" signed by national and regional Palestinian organizations, including the Ramallah Federation, the National Association of Arab Americans and the AAUG, that affirmed the indivisibility of the Palestinian people and their support for the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of Palestinians everywhere.

(Continued on page 11)



Sami Esmail Back in U.S.; FBI Admits Cooperation with Israel

Sami Esmail is back home after ten months in prison and he brings a triple message with him. Speaking before large audiences in New York and Washington early in December, Esmail emphasized both the harsh treatment of Palestinians in Israeli jails and their determined spirit and high morale. His third message was particularly important: he felt that Israel had suffered a defeat in his case, as shown in his early release, and that this was due to the effectiveness of the international campaign to defend him.

Sami noted in an interview that "They wanted to set me up as an example or as a deterrent to other Arab-Americans in the United States or to Americans in general who sympathize with Palestinians, to terrify them about returning to the West Bank and Gaza." Esmail pointed out the judge's statement when sentencing him as proof. The judge noted that although Esmail had many character witnesses, it was important to give him a "sentence with some meaning" in order to deter others like him from "aiding the enemy." It is important to note that "aiding the enemy" includes any act of solidarity with Palestinians, like passing out information or attending demonstrations.

One of the most significant facts revealed about Esmail's case is the FBI cooperation with the Shin Bet, the Israeli intelligence. On November 20, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported that FBI director William Webster, in an appearance before the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai Brith in New York City, disclosed "that the FBI had provided the Israeli government with specific details concerning Sami Esmail." Webster also affirmed that "he had acted correctly and would do it again."

Sami noted that the Shin Bet used American cooperation as a weapon to break him down during their days of interrogation: "The minute they arrested me they tried to make me feel isolated from the whole world. They did not notify my family of my arrest. When I asked for the Red Cross or the U.S. consul, they said to me: "What do you think the Consul will do, the FBI has told us to put you behind bars." They said over and over again: "The U.S. is in on this." They also read extensively to Sami from a file they said was from the FBI, and Sami glimpsed a stamped date in English and the words FBI.

U.S. cooperation that led to Sami's arrest and interrogation, which included physical abuse and extreme psychological pressure, was followed by American indifference at Sami's maltreatment in prison. Once, after Sami had heard of the American outcry to free Soviet dissident Scharensky, he asked the U.S. consul why similar pressure could not be put on Israel. When the U.S. Consul replied that Esmail was a "different case," Sami pointedly remarked that there was a difference — he was an American, not a Soviet citizen.

In the end, however, Esmail affirms that the Israeli repression has backfired in his case, as well as with other Palestinian political prisoners: "My prison experience was tough, but in the end, I feel my experience has made me stronger. My morale is much higher and my energy will go for the benefit of the struggling prisoners still surviving in Israeli iails."



Sami Esmail speaks at dinner organized by Palestine Human Rights Campaign

Two Israeli Jews Speak Out on Treatment of Immigrants, Nature of Zionism

Leonid and Arkady Weinman, Jews from the Soviet Union, were part of the wave ot new immigrants to Israel that is greatly encouraged by Israeli leaders and in fact, is a cornerstone of Zionist policy. But the Weinman brothers, who immigrated in August of 1976, found life in the Zionist state far different than what they had been led to expect when they heard and read Israeli propaganda while still in the Soviet Union. On October 26, 1978, in Beirut, Lebanon, the Weinmans held a press conference to speak of their experiences.

Arriving in Israel, the Weinmans had been greeted as "Heroes of Zion" by representatives of the government and the press. But once away from the spotlight, and assigned to Rokhlama Kibbutz near Beir Saba, the brothers found life very harsh. They noted: "Life in the Soviet kolkhoz is one hundred times better, for it is usually supplied with everything you want. What makes matters worse in the kibbutz

are the practices of the officials. They take most of the money and assistance to the kibbutz for their own. They are very fanatical. Any word of criticism against Zionism or Israel is dangerous. We are simply Jews. We did not know the meaning of Zionism or its principles."

The brothers went on to say: "When a new immigrant arrives in Israel, as we learnt and experienced, he is struck by the scale of nationalist and racial fanaticism. Jews are described as the best, most pure and intelligent race. Further, you find distinctions among Jews themselves: Western and Oriental Jews, 'black' and 'white' Jews, and last of all you find the Arab Jews who are treated as dogs."

The Weinmans found their feelings reflected in other Soviet Jews they met, and found that many wished to emigrate from Israel. The Weinmans themselves applied for a visa at the U.S. consul, after which they were detained and beaten by Israeli intelligence. When they left Israel for Turkey, their passports were stolen, possibly again by Israel intelligence, and the Turkish political police put them in prison. There they met a Palestinian and they said: "He talked to us and we know that he is very different from the image of Palestinians we were shown by the Zionists. The discussion with him made us change our minds concerning the Palestinian people and cause."

When asked about their plans, the Weinmans said: "We want to return to Europe and struggle against racist Zionism, because it is even more of a threat to the Jewish people than to the Arabs."



Weinmau brothers at Beirut press conference

Deir Hanna Villagers Fight House Demolition

While the demolition by Israeli soldiers of two houses on the occupied West Bank made world headlines, another case of house demolition, this time inside the 1948 borders of Israel, received little attention, but is equally illustrative of Israeli policy towards Palestinians, whether under occupation or as supposedly equal citizens of the Zionist state.

(Continued on p. 11)

On November 13, as reported in the Jerusalem Post of November 16, a demolition team from the Interior Ministry, flanked by 100 policemen, entered the village of Deir Hanna in the Galilee and demolished an Arab house. Like many other Arabs living in Israel, the owner of the House, Asaf Abed Assad, had constructed his family home without obtaining a building permit from the Israeli authorities. 150 of the 550 houses in Deir Hanna were built in this manner. Permits are very difficult for Arabs to get in the Galilee. The Israeli strategy is to "Judaize the Galilee" and methods include denying building permits, freezing Arab industry, confiscating land and restricting municipal funds to Arab villages. Such policies resulted in the large "Land Day" strike of 1976.

Deir Hanna inhabitants attempted to stop the team and its guards from entering the village. Ten policemen were injured in the ensuing melee before they reached the house and destroyed it. Tear gas and clubs were used upon the protestors. The next day, Deir Hanna observed a general strike. 500 workers stayed home from their jobs and the villagers collected 146,250 Israeli pounds to finance a new house. Slogans on the walls addressed Israeli Jews saying: "Do not oppress the 'foreigners' because you were once foreigners in Egypt." The use of the term "foreigner" to denote Palestinian Arabs has been popularized lately, Israeli attorney Lea Tsemel noted on a recent American tour, in a racist media campaign in the Israeli press that warns in dire tones that "foreigners are taking over the land." Such a campaign makes a mockery of the Israeli claim that Palestinians are not discriminated against in Israel, and such propagandists would do well to recall the over 200 Arab villages destroyed and the 750,000 Palestinian inhabitants expelled by Israel in its drive to rid the land of its native inhabitants.

Arafat Stresses Will of Arab Nation

In a speech before the Arab People's Congress in Damascus November 25, Yasser Arafat reiterated the determination of the Palestinian revolution to resist all attempts to strike at it, and at the Syrian-Iragi alliance. He warned that the Arab nation will pursue its confrontation with the Carter-Begin-Sadat alliance, stressing that the people of Egypt will bring about the downfall of those who sold Egypt to imperialism and Zionism. He added: "If Sadat was able to drag certain persons to Camp David and to Blair House, this does not mean that the Arab nation will surrender to the will of the U.S. and its agents."

Arafat declared that there is a strategic imbalance in the region which must be righted by the use of all the potentials of the

Arab nation, and by further cooperation with the socialist states, especially the USSR. He added that the Syrian-Iragi reconciliation has now laid the cornerstone for the restoration of this balance. Arafat then said that the Baghdad conference was one of the most successful Arab summits even though 'it did not answer all the questions.

Arafat went on to say: 'We may presently lose Egypt temporarily, but the people of Egypt are like the Nile, calm on the surface, and violent at the time of the flood. They will not let treason pass.'

PLO Delegation Joins Jerusalem Pilgrimage

On November 9, 1978, Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian delegation arrived in Jeddah. Saudi Arabia to participate in the "Jerusalem Pilgrimage," the name of this year's pilgrimage to Mecca. Dressed in simple white cloth, Chairman Arafat joined millions of Muslim pilgrims in prayers that stressed the need for unity and struggle to liberate occupied Jerusalem.

In a impassioned speech to thousands of pilgrims, Arafat said: "Jerusalem does not only belong to Palestinians, but to all Muslims and freedom-loving peoples, whatever their religion, whose duty is to struggle for its liberation. We cannot stand by in silence while our holy land is occupied. We must resist Zionist occupation and oppression. This is why we call upon all Muslims to struggle for justice and the liberation of Jerusalem."

Arafat met with leaders of different pilgrimages, including the President of Pakistan, the Prime Minister of Turkey and the Saudi monarch. He also held a press conference in Jeddah in which he stressed the PLO's rejection of the Camp David agreements and the Sadat initiative. He accused the United States of totally ignoring Palestinian rights and called on all Muslims. as well as progressive and Third World states, to support the PLO in its just struggle for liberation.

Arafat's pilgrimage to Mecca was an historic appeal to all peace-loving people to rally around the Palestinians and support their just struggle. For the Islamic pilgrimage is meaningless unless their is a genuine commitment to the liberation of Jerusalem and occupied Palestine.

Our Voices

Continued from page 5)

"Our Voices Shall Be Heard" is not intended to be a single conference, but a call to mobilize communities in the U.S. and Canada to build representative bodies and campaigns that will truly allow the Palestinian voice to be heard. Another conference is scheduled for six months hence where concrete programs and strategy will be discussed.

U.S. Solidarity

(Continued from page 8)

From New York to Moscow, and from Havana to Angola, from Hanoi and Senegal to Lisbon and Prague, millions of people celebrated this historic day in solidarity with the Palestinian people, thus indicating that Zionism and the U.S. surrender solution have no place in the Middle East, and that the future belongs to the Palestinian people.



Arafat points to model of Jerusalem



Crackdown on the West Bank



Immediately after Camp David, Israel, apparently acting with pressure from the Carter Administration, lifted the ban on political meetings in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Large meetings in every major town, involving all sectors of Palestinian society, unanimously condemned Camp David and the "autonomy plan," and re-affirmed the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate representative of Palestinians everywhere.

These conclusions brought an abrupt halt to the new Israeli "liberality." The Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* reported on November 14 that West Bank and Gaza mayors will have to obtain written permits for meetings and "there will have to be details concerning place, time, agenda and main speakers."

This decision, which, according to the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz, was taken at a "high-level meeting in which the Chiet of Staff participated," resulted a few days later in the denial of a permit to Mayor Fahed Kawasmeh of Hebron. Ha'aretz also noted that "it was decided to permit meetings of moderate personalities who are not outright opponents of the autonomy plan."

intimidate critics of the "autonomy" plan has not stopped at forbidding meetings. Two waves of arrests in November were directing at silencing opposition to Camp David. In this month, eighteen Bir Zeit students were seized or summoned for interrogation, and at this date, six remain in detention, without any charges. Israeli attorney Felicia Langer described her meeting with one of the detained students. Semann Khoury: "He still had pains in his left ribs as a result of beatings he said he received. He complained that the investigator opened his mouth by force and spit into it and when he spat on the floor they compelled him to lick it up and swallow it. He said they pulled his hair, shook his head violently, causing him headaches and dizziness. They also kicked him all over his body."

In the last few weeks, Bir Zeit University has also reported that hundreds of students have been stopped at military checkpoints on their way to class and their books and class notes checked and sometimes destroyed. The University noted a significant new pattern in the interrogation of students, saying: "They are being asked to provide specific information concerning the position of individual Bir Zeit University students and faculty members who oppose the Israeli-sponsored autonomy plan."

Israeli soldiers also arrested seven men in the Ramallah area, who are also being held without charges. All but one are members of the Orthodox Club, a religious and social club in Ramallah, which has had critical discussions of Camp David at its gatherings. In an interview with the New York Times, Mary Kahwoush, the wife of one of the arrested men, noted that her husband "spoke frankly of his opinions," although he was not a militant activist. "He declared his rejection of Camp David," she said.

Popular West Bank mayors are likely targets of special attention as the West Bank and Gaza crackdown continues. Already, Karim Khalaf, mayor of Ramallah, has been attacked systematically in Israeli television and press and apparently, was summoned to the Military Governor recently and ordered not to join meetings or popular conferences. On November 23, Khalaf and the mayor of El-Bireh, accompanied by other Palestinians, arrived to attend a crucial hearing at the Israeli Supreme Court, where Arab landowners in Beit El, near el Bireh, are petitioning to end Israeli civilian settlement on their confiscated lands. (See Palestine Perspectives #5 for background). The mayors were prevented from entering the court and the police attacked them and the crowd with tear gas and clubs.

Mayor Khalaf, in an earlier interview, noted the futility of Israeli tactics, saying: "Anyone who demands of persons in the West Bank to keep quiet or speak halftruths, does not know what he is talking about. It is difficult to demand quiet from us. There has been a shift in the area following the political initiative of Sadat, and we must react to it in our own words, according to our truth."

Israeli "Autonomy" Plan Revealed

The rationale behind the frantic Israeli attempt to stifle opposition to the "autonomy" plan became more clear when the content of the Israeli-sponsored plan was revealed in the influential Israeli daily Ha'aretz on November 24. Drawn by the "Committee of the Directors of the Ministries," headed by Dr. E. Ben-Eliazar, the committee's recommendations clearly expose Israeli intentions to maintain control of the occupied territories, including land, water resources, and continued Israeli settlement. Provisions to establish "municipal councils" for Israeli settlers, it is interesting to note, include not only the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan, but the Yamit area in the Sinai. Following are the Council's recommendations as reported in Ha'aretz:

- 1. A million dunams of State land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip will remain under Israeli trusteeship.
- 2. On the subject of the water resources, the members of the Committee have reached the conclusion that the state of Israel has to continue to hold all the water resources because of the danger to water resources within the green line and because of the fact that it will be impossible to establish new Israeli settlements without control and rule over the water resources.
- 3. It also recommended the establishment of a connection between the Israeli settlers in the territories and the state of Israel by means of the establishment of Israeli municipal councils inside of the territories. Within these (Continued on p. 13)

iterature

The following poem by Fadwa Toquan is taken from a valuable new anthology, Women of the Fertile Crescent: Modern Poetry by Arab Women, edited by Kamal Boulatta. Copies may be obtained from Three Continents Press, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Hamza

Like others in my hometown the salt of the earth who toil with their hands for their bread Hamza was a simple man.

When we met that day this land had been a harvest of flames in a windless hush it had sunk in a cloak of barren grief. I had been swept by the daze of defeat. Hamza said,

"This land, my sister, has a fertile heart it throbs, doesn't wither, endures for the secret of hills and wombs is one

this earth that sprouts with spikes and palms

is the same that gives birth to a warrior. This land, my sister, is a woman," he said.

Days passed I did not see Hamza however, I could feel that the belly of the land was heaving in travail.

Hamza
was sixty-five
a burden deaf like a rock
saddled on his back.
"Demolish his house"
a command was ordained
"and tie his son in a cell"
the military ruler of our town later explained



the need for law and order in the name of love and peace.

Armed soldiers rounded the courtyard of his home a serpent coiled in full circle the banging at the door reverberated the order "evacuate" and generous they were with time "in an hour or so."

Hamza opened the window looking the sun in the eye he howled.

"this house, my children and I shall live and die for Palestine."

The echo of Hamza propelled a tremor in the nerve of town
A solemn silence fell.

In an hour the house burst apart its rooms blew up to pieces in the sky collapsed in a pile of stones burying past dreams and a warmth that is no more memories of a lifetime of labor, of tears, of some happy day.

Yesterday I saw Hamza he was walking down a street in town as ever simple he was and assured as ever dignified.

"Autonomy" (Continued from p. 12)

councils, Israeli law will prevail. The Israeli Ministry for Internal Affairs has already begun to act to establish regional councils for israeli settlements in the territories, and the following councils of this type have already been established: Judea and Benjamin Administration, which is responsible

for the settlements in Gush-Etzion and the Hebron mountains, and the Golan Administration. In a short time, the Yamit area Administration and the Samaria Settlements Administration will be established. The Ministry of Internal Affairs will grant these councils some ten million Israeli pounds a year.



U.S. Lawyers Cite Systematic Violation of Palestinian Rights

Treatment of Palestinians in Israeli-Occupied West Bank and Gaza
Report of the National Lawyers Guild 1977 Middle East Delegation, National Lawyers Guild, New York, 1978

The December 4 Israeli demolition of two Palestinian homes near Ramallah in the occupied West Bank, apparently as a form of "punishment" of the families of two men suspected of resistance activity, has brought once again to the world spotlight the question of Israeli violation of Palestinian rights in the occupied territories.

Unfortunately, in the United States, such violations are covered only sporadically in the media and are treated as isolated, albeit dramatic, incidents, as in the gassing of schoolchildren in Beit Jalla in March 1978, or the killing of a Palestinian teenager in Nablus in May, 1976. More detailed data about Israeli policy and practices does exist in official reports of international agencies like the Swiss League for Human Rights, United Nations committees, and even U.S. State Department reports, but for the layperson beginning to be concerned about this issue, this information is fairly inaccessible. When an investigation is made more public, like the London Sunday Times Insight Report on Israel and torture, it receives scant mention in the American press.

Thus the publication of "Treatment of Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza" by the National Lawyers Guild, an organization of progressive American lawyers, law students and legal workers, is both a welcome and necessary event. The product of a Guild fact-finding delegation to the Middle East in 1977, and a year of painstaking research that draws on the sources mentioned above, among many others including Israeli publications, the Guild report offers a clearly written, welldocumented and scholarly appraisal of Israeli policy towards Palestinians. The four sections of the book, "Territorial Deprivation", Suppression of Efforts at Self-Determination"," Suppression of Resistance" and "Mistreatment of Detainees," give both a general framework for understanding Israeli policy and the Israeli occupation, and the specifics of how that policy is implemented, in terms of collective punishment, curfews, administrative detention, restrictions on municipal government, and other rights abuses.

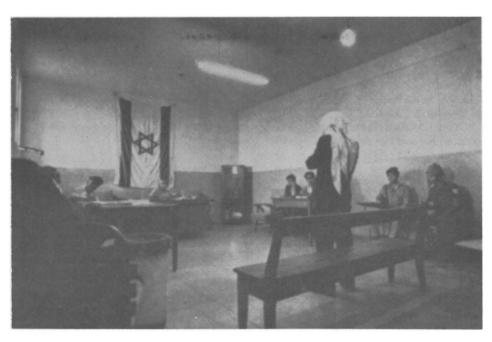
A main strength of the book is that the authors do not proceed from isolated data, but from a considered legal evaluation of Israeli policy and actions, especially in regard to the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention that governs the behavior of an occupying power. In a future issue of Palestine Perspectives, attorney Jawad George will give a more detailed examination of the legal implications and conclusions of the Report. Even for a reader not acquainted with international law or legal terminology, however, the Israeli claim that the Fourth Geneva Convention does not apply to their occupation because they are not an "occupying power" (according to Moshe Dayan) seems either cynical nonsense or a dangerous belief after reading the Report's evidence of wide-spread and systematic attacks on Palestinian land (through confiscation of land and settlement), Palestinian leaders (through deportation and administrative detention) and Palestinian society (through destruction of the West Bank and Gaza's economic, political, social and cultural institutions).

The 143 page Report concludes its portrait of life under the occupation by noting that: "No authority exists to which Palestinians can appeal, no protection they can invoke. Their every movement and

action is subject to the arbitrary authority of the Occupying Power. This report is intended to be part of the considerable international pressure which must be exerted on Israel to curtail those violations of human rights which can be remedied short of Israel's total withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza."

Guild President Henry di Suvero has called the Guild's decision to publish the report "a significant breakthrough in the curtain of silence which has been draped on the American legal community by the powerful Zionist forces within it." Already, the Guild as an organization and the Report itself have come under attack by these forces, notably Professor Alan Dershowitz and Monroe Freedman, notorious for their attack last spring on Sami Esmail and his defenders. The Guild deserves to be congratulated for their principled stand behind the Report. It remains for readers of the Report to act on its conclusions and ensure that the curtain of silence does not fall once again on the question of Palestinian rights.

The NLG Report may be obtained from the Palestine Information Office for \$4.50.



Palestinian before an Israeli military court

Symbol (Continued from p. 2)

one people by another, is Israel's "need for security." When incontestable proof is available that Israel practices torture, Western human rights advocates look the other way. Peace in Zimbabwe is not possible without the Patriotic Front (which of course is true) but peace in Palestine is possible only without the P.L.O. The right to be free and sovereign is sacrosanct for oppressed and colonized peoples everywhere, but in Palestine it is to be defined as "self-rule" for "the inhabitants of the West Bank/Gaza," over the heads of the Palestinians and their representatives, in a distant Maryland retreat by a former army officer from Egypt, a former Polish immigrant to Palestine and a former peanut farmer from Georgia.

Capitalizing on this Western sentiment of guilt, and stretching it to its decimal point, Israel has created a world of hellish oppression for the Palestinians to inhabit. And the Palestinians, like other oppressed people before them, have responded to the challenge of oppression by transforming this hellish world into a vision of liberation and of struggle against occupation, exile and bondage.

This, in the final analysis, is the difference between Zionism and Palestinian nationalism.

The former is a creed whose survival is derived from the negation of humanity, of the right of others to be free. The Palestinian struggle, by contrast, is a movement by a people imbued from the very moment of its historical origin with a sense of the values of freedom, justice, self-determination and the right of the self to explore its authentic individuality and its link to nationhood. Begin and Dayan, like Hitler and Goebels before them, may be cunning manipulators of language, but they have scant respect or understanding for the life of the mind of freedom.

The more the Palestinians struggle, dancing with the joy of it that Palestinian women manifested near their demolished houses last week at Silwad and Kalil, the stronger, the closer together and the more cohesive they will become. The converse is true for Israelis who continue to insist that the best that Palestinians are good for in Palestine is "self-rule" or "autonomy" — the rule of the gun and the autonomy of the occupying bully.

This will always remain too percarious a position for Israelis, either to hold or to impose.

The oppressed does the oppressor honor by asking him to recognize how heavy is the burden of his oppression.

96th Congress (Cont'd. from p. 7)

defeat, the ranking Republican will now be Senator Jacob Javits. The last showdown the Carter Administration had with the Committee was in May of this year over the Middle East Package deal. The Committee then split half for President Carter's proposal to supply all three countries, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, with jet fighters and the other half voted against him. The full Senate then approved the sale. The vote of eight members of the Committee for the sale was not a pro-Arab vote, it should be made clear, but a vote for President Carter and "moderation" in the Middle East.

Considering the past voting behavior of the members of this Committee and the retained majority of them, it would be easy to assume that the 96th Congress' Committee on Foreign Relations will not change its policy in the future. But because of this Committee's ability to influence foreign policy, it should not be ignored and every effort should be made to bring to the attention of its members the Arab viewpoint. That will enable them to see both sides and make decisions from that point of view.

The House International Relations Committee is another very important committee in the area of foreign affairs. The 37 members of the Committee are divided into 12 Republicans and 25 Democrats. The Committee is chaired by Clement J. Zablocki from Wisconsin. Mr. Zablocki is a very able and fairly objective congressman about a subject, the Arab-Israeli conflict, that has defied objectivity in United States political circles.

Five Democratic members will not return to the 96th Congress: Nix of Pennsylvania, Fraser of Minnesota, Harrington of Massachusetts, Meyner of New Jersey, and Ryan of California. In addition, two Republicans will also not be members of the next Congress, Burke of Florida and Whalen of Ohio. The departure of some of representatives on the Committee will be missed but the Committee as a whole and the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East chaired by Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana will not change their direction. These members whose departure will be missed, according to Middle East Observer of November 15, are Fraser, Meyner, Ryan and Whalen.

Leo Ryan, who was assassinated in Guyana, and Helen Meyner were among a small group of representatives who actually met with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat to have his own views as such on the problems of the Middle East. Fraser, writes Allen Kellum in Middle East Observer "has contributed to the understanding of human rights conditions particularly in Iran and the Israeli occupied Arab territories." Representative Whalen, who is retiring from the House, opposes the arming of both sides of the Middle East conflict, something which not many on Capitol Hill can support, especially Israel's backers. Charles Whalen was quoted by the Middle East Observer as saying"....I am troubled by the fact that scores of innocent civilians are killed, and thousands more homeless, by arms which were made available as a result of my votes...." He was referring to Israel's invasion of Lebanon in March of 1978.

In writing about the 95th Congress and those who will not be returning to the 96th, a special tribute should be paid to Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota. Senator Abourezk and all of his staff have contributed to the understanding of the issues in the Middle East and especially that Palestinian People and their just struggle.

His departure from the Senate is a loss not only to the Middle East and those who strive for better understanding of it, but for the Native Americans and for all of the underprivileged people of the United states. A Native American remarked about Abourezk's departure that "Jim sponsored the two most unpopular issues in the United States, the Palestinian and the Native American."

The 96th Congress will include three members of Congress whose background is Arab: Tobby Moffet, a Democrat representing the 6th District of Connecticut, Congresswoman Mary Rose Oakar, a Democrat from the 20th district of Ohio, and Nick J. Rahall, a Democrat from the 4th district of West Virginia. Another person of Arab extraction who was elected last month is Governor-elect Victor Atiyeh, a Republican from the state of Oregon. He previously was the Republican state senate leader, and he defeated Governor Straub, who won the election against Atiyeh in 1974.

At the risk of overdramatizing the ability of a United States citizen to influence their lawmakers, it is proper to quote what Shafik El Hout said in a speech in New York City on December 2nd. Talking to the conferees at Biltmore Hotel in "A Day with the People of Palestine," and encouraging political action, he said, "This is America, this is where discipline and organization is something that has been discovered 300 years ago... We want you to become a pressure group, to do something to deal with the American politicians, to write to the Congress, to the Senate, to the New York Times, to all the magazines and to the media. There is a lot that is legitimate that you can really do "It is a good note to end on. The Arabs in the United States and their supporters should use what is constitutionally granted to them. The rewards are not always guaranteed but at least some minimal achievements are assured. Page 15

LITERATURE LIST

The following books, pamphlets and posters are available from the Palestine Information Office. Bulk rates are available upon request.

Richard Stevens and A. El-Messiri, Israel and South Africa\$4.00
A. El-Messiri, The Land of Promise: A Critique of Political Zionism \$4.00
Peoples Press, Our Roots Are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People \$3.50
Felicia Langer, These Are My Brothers (in Arabic)
Fawaz Turki, The Disinherited \$4.00
Permanent Committee for Palestinian Deportees, Enforced Exile \$1.00
Free Palestine, Tal Al-Zaatar,: The Fight Against Fascism\$4.00
Paintings by Ismail Shamout\$1.00 each
Hani Jouhariaya's Photos \$15.00 for packet of 18 photos
Poster: Palestinians Have Human Rights Too
Palestine Flag on Key Chain \$4.00
In Solidarity with the Palestinian People
National Lawyers Guild Report \$4.50

Dar al-Fata al-Arabi, the only publishing house devoted to children's books in the Arab world, is compiling a book of Palestinian children's drawings of Palestine, entitled "We Dream of Jerusalem." We urge you to ask your children to draw their vision of Palestine and Jerusalem and mail it to us. We will use these drawings to show that Palestine lives in exile, and will send them to Dar al-Fata al-Arabi in Beirut.

In December, the Palestine Perspectives post office box was temporarily closed, and some mail was returned. We regret the inconvenience. It is now open, so readers who have had letters returned may resend them.



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