palestine perspectives

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editorial

Middle East Peace: A Palestinian Perspective

The following is a guest editorial written by Mohammed Milhelm, mayor of Halhul, a city in the West Bank, who is currently in the United States. Milhelm delivered this speech at a Washington conference of the American Friends Service Committee.

More than half a century ago, the international community — through the League of Nations — determined that the Palestinian people were entitled to self-government and national independence. Today we are offered "autonomy" for one-third of our people in one-fifth of our country.

We know of no convincing justification for this severe diminishment of our national rights, except that it is dictated by the presently prevailing configuration of power. Equally, we know of no convincing reason why we should undermine our rights and chances for durable, regional peace by accepting and therefore legitimizing this new injustice. We owe it to ourselves, to the peoples of our region, and to the cause of lasting peace to hold out and strive for an equitable peace which can be willingly embraced rather than for an oppressive settlement imposed on us under duress.

We, the Palestinian people, experienced greater pain and felt deeper deprivation, as a consequence of conflict and war, than did the other peoples of the Middle East. It should be readily believed, therefore, that our need for peace is not less than theirs, and that our yearning for peace is not less sincere. It is precisely for this reason that we are alarmed and angered by the present mutation of our hope for a comprehensive regional peace into a partial, bilateral settlement divorced from its relation to our aspirations for freedom and statehood.

During the past few years, the community of nations has gradually developed a consensus regarding the nature of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This conception was affirmed and reaffirmed in numerous bilateral and multi-lateral statements, declarations, and resolutions by states as well as regional and international forums, governmental as well as non-governmental.

This international consensus, from which only a handful of states have chosen to deviate, and which we, the Palestinians, find to be an acceptable basis for a just and lasting peace, includes the following two principal formulations:

1. Peace must be comprehensive if it is not to be continually in danger of collapse. This means that the settlement should resolve all the tributary issues to the conflict, and that it should satisfy all the parties involved.

2. The basic underlying cause of the Middle East conflict is the Palestine problem, that is to say, the homelessness and statelessness of the Palestinian people. A just and lasting peace, therefore, must include the realization of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination including their right to political independence in a national state on their native soil.

Any settlement which fails to satisfy these two principles will be, of necessity, partial and imposed, and will produce a truce rather than a state of peace.

The "Framework for peace in the Middle East" agreed at Camp David and the consequent negotiations and agreements, including the treaty between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the state of Israel professed a commitment to the proposition that a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East is an "urgent necessity," but they failed to demonstrate fidelity to this commitment by seeking formulas which blatantly ignore and circumvent both of the basic and essential pre-requisites of such a peace. They seek, instead, to impose on our region a settlement which leaves more unsatisfied parties than it appeases, and more unresolved issues than those to which it addresses itself.

We, the Palestinians, and all of the peoples of our region have a right to genuine peace. Equally, we share the obligation and the responsibility to reject and resist attempts to foist upon us a tranquilizing substitute. We believe that Israel sought and obtained at Camp David a formula which can only and of necessity lead to the closed road of unilateral settlement with Egypt. This is evident from the fact that while the accords conceded the mutual claims of Israel and Egypt (Israeli withdrawal from occupied Sinai and Egyptian recognition of Israel and the normalization of relations between them), they failed to maintain the symmetry by conceding *even in principle* the claims of any of the other parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict. As far as the Palestinian dimension of the conflict is concerned, the agreement was deliberately designed to provoke Palestinian rejection:

1. It addresses "the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip" rather than the Palestinian people. We find this evasion of the problem unacceptable for two reasons. First, the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are a third of the Palestinian people. A minority cannot legitimately act on behalf of the whole. Second, it is the majority of our people, ignored by the agreements, who suffered most. While the residents of the West Bank and Gaza live under occupation, they at least live in their homeland. The rest are the victims of forced exile.

2. The Camp David agreements and the consequent negotiations accept the premise that the peoples concerned are free to designate their spokesmen and representatives. The Palestinian people alone are denied this right. The Palestine Liberation Organization is accepted by the Palestinian people and by the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Camp David agreements require the Palestinians to seek a substitute leadership as a condition for any sort of participation.

3. The agreements envision "autonomy" for the inhabitants of one-fifth of Palestine. In political terminology, autonomy is less than independence, and an autonomous region is a part of a larger state. The agreements, therefore, rule out the possibility of independence. We see no reason why we should be interested in negotiating a settlement which rules out in advance the option of independence for the Palestinian people. We have no interest in legitimizing Israeli occupation by consenting to a thinly camouflaged version of it.

4. Jerusalem, the city built by the Arabs long before the Hebrews ever set foot on this land, is the heart of Palestinian history and heritage. It is also the geographic link between the northern and southern halves of the West Bank. We are neither willing nor able to envision a future without it.

5. Any agreement which does not require, without equivocation, an internationally supervised cessation to Israeli settlement in the West Bank and Gaza betrays lack of good faith and a cruel disregard for the future of our people. It is the *sine qua non* of the confidence-building process which is alleged to be the principal achievement and merit of the ongoing diplomacy.

6. The agreements represent a regression from earlier international commitments to the Palestinian refugees. They make no mention of their internationally recognized right to choose repatriation or compensation. They simply promise that their tragedy be discussed and that a solution be sought without principles, agreed upon in advance, upon which these negotiations

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analysis

Israel Tightens Grip on West Bank and Gaza

After Israeli soldiers fenced-off land confiscated in Hebron, these Arab women have trouble entering their own houses. (photo and caption from Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz)

In a speech at a Jordan Valley settlement on April 15, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, as reported in the *Jerusalem Post*, assured the gathering of Jewish settlers that their status would not be altered if the "autonomy" plan was effected on the West Bank. Dayan also urged that new settlements be established and new settlers added to existing West Bank and Gaza settlements.

Dayan's assurances belong to a rash of statements by top Israeli officials in the wake of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, statements directed at defining Israeli-style "autonomy." These declarations indicate that the treaty has resulted in a hardening, rather than a modification of the Israeli position. One immediate result in an escalation in plans to settle the West Bank and Gaza with Jewish settlers. As the Jerusalem Domestic Service put it on March 25, Israeli leaders now plan to "take settlement out of the underground, conducting actions openly."

In the months before the signing of the treaty, settlement activity on the West Bank and Gaza continued at a rapid pace, but was generally disgused as "thickening" or "fleshing out" existing settlements, in an effort not to arouse international, and especially American, public opinion. At present, however, this concern takes a back seat as Israeli leaders urgently need to reaffirm to the Israeli public their commitment to Zionism and to implant more settlements and more settlers on the soil of the West Bank and Gaza to ensure that "autonomy" does not mean loss of Israeli control.

On the eve of the treaty-signing in Washington, the Jerusalem Domestic Service noted that "The Agriculture Ministry, the World Zionist Federation, and settlement elements are now preparing for a large-scale settlement operation in Judea and Samaria. This operation is intended to create faits accomplis in the territory designated for autonomy." The Israeli newspaper *Al-Hamishmar* revealed the details of this "settlement operation" when it printed part of the "Master Plan for the Development of Settlement in Judea and Samaria 1979-1983," a study written by Mattityahu Drobles for the World Zionist Federation. Planning for 46 new settlements in the West Bank over the next five years (the period slated for "autonomy") and an additional 26,000 settler families, the study stated: "the deployment of the settlements must be carried out not only around the settlements of the minorities but also among them. . . therefore, the proposed bloc of settlement are deployed like a belt surrounding the mountain range."

Several important facts emerge from this statement. Most obvious is the treatment of Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank as "minorities." This is more than wishful thinking; Israeli strategy aims at reducing Westbankers to this status. In the same vein, Palestinian villages and fields that have been part of the landscape of the West Bank for centuries become the "settlements of the minorities."

The Master Plan situates new settlements, unlike the older outposts in the Jordan Valley, close to the major Palestinian towns. Clearly, the justification of Israeli settlements as needed for "security" in border areas has been transformed to control of the indigenous population. *Al Hamishmar* remarked that "Waking up in the morning to hear news about the establishment of a new town or "urban center" somewhere near a center of Arab population will continue to be part of life in Israel after the signing of the peace treaty."

It is instructive to look at one prototype of the "urban center," the settlement of Kiryat Arba near the Palestinian town of Hebron on the West Bank. Rabbi Moshe Levinger and his followers in the extreme right-wing "Greater Israel" movement established Kiryat Araba as an illegal squatter settlement in the wake of the 1967 war. Although the Israeli government repeatedly denied that it would give permission to create a "Jewish city at Hebron," the settlers had learned well from the Zionist strategy of "creation of facts" and remained to build Kiryat Araba, gaining 850 government-built apartments (at a cost of $50 million) and a small industrial park. With the rise to power of the Begin government, Kiryat Arba achieved the full backing of the power structure.

One influential figure at Kiryat Arba, Elyakim Haezini told the Israeli writer Amos Elon that Kiryat Arba was not established for reasons of Israel's security. In an article called "Mad Settlers on the West Bank" in the April 21, 1979 *New Republic*, Elon quoted Haezini as saying "Secure borders! Baloney! Kiryat Arba does not exist to defend Tel Aviv against Arab attack, but the other way around. Tel Aviv exists to protect Kiryat Arba. We haven't built Kiryat Arba for security reasons. Not for peace. But to realize Zionism."

Elon also records a significant interchange with Rabbi Levinger, the head of the settlement. Elon asked Levinger why he did not talk to Moslem priests at a nearby mosque which has been a scene of confrontation between the settlers and Palestinians, and then wrote: "Levinger said: 'You must not talk to the Ishmaelites.' Levinger never says Moslems or Arabs, only Ishmaelites. 'No, on no account, there must be no negotiations with them. We are in power here. We must decide, not talk. They threw us out of here once.' This was in the third century. "If necessary, we must throw them out now." Levinger's verbal militance is backed up by force. On several occasions, settlers from Kiryat Arba have taken Arab teenagers into the settlement and beaten them. Most recently, a group of Kiryat Arba residents were implicated in the killing of two young Palestinian demonstrators in Halhoul on March 15. Such actions are apparently not accidental: after the Halhoul shootings, Kiryat Arba announced it was recruiting settlers as armed vigilantes to "quell disturbances in Arab localities."

Levinger and Haezini's biblical fanaticism is, of course at the extreme right-wing of the Israeli political spectrum. It has, however, received legitimacy and respect from the Begin government, whose officials treat

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PLO Official Views Relations with Iran, Action Against U.S.

This interview by Claude Khory with Hani al-Hasan, the PLO representative in Iran, appeared in the Beirut newspaper Monday Morning.

Q. How would you evaluate the support that you have received so far from the Iranian provisional government? Has it been limited to political and moral support, or has it gone beyond that to financial and military assistance?

A. The greatest support we have received from the Iranian government, of course, lies in the fact that it has replaced the government of the Shah. Political and strategic support is more important than any other kind of support the Iranian revolution can give us.

We must not forget that this government is more than three months old. It is still engrossed in the country's internal situation and its own quite considerable problems. Anyone who inherits the works of a dictatorial system like the shah's has to deal with corruption in the economy, in agriculture, in trade, in foreign policy.

The Iranian revolution represents a root change in the nature of Iranian Government. And yet, despite the fact that the revolution has this enormous historic job to do, we find it taking a position on the Palestinian cause at every possible opportunity. The most recent opportunity came when Carter visited the Middle East. On that occasion, Khomeyni insisted on issuing a statement, in addition to the statement issued by Foreign Minister Sanjabi, who also sent a personal letter about the situation in the Middle East to our brother Abu 'Ammar.

The transformation of Iran from an Israeli camp to a Palestinian camp, from a pro-American fortress into a fortress of nonalignment, from a sword in the hands of the shah to a sword in the hands of the people, who are using it against Zionism and imperialism — that is the greatest backing that the Palestinian revolution can hope for.

Our major task in Iran is to see how we can support the Iranian revolution, whose victory represents more gains to us than any material or other kind of assistance.

Q. Does this mean that the Iranian revolution is not giving you military or financial aid?

A. The fact is that this question was discussed in Tehran, but our answer was that our mission now was to bolster the Iranian revolution, after which these matters can be discussed. That is when Sanjabi made his famous statement: "We are ready to give the Palestinians financial aid, but they have not asked for it."

The PLO in Iran aspires for much more than financial assistance or limited support of that nature. We have great hopes pinned on Iranian-Palestinian-Arab relations. They can become an impregnable wall in the face of the imperialist offensive against us, which, with the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, appears to be turning into a vicious assault. They have created a new front to help Israel. Our task now is to build an anti-Israeli front stronger than any that has ever been formed.

Thus, we don't discuss small matters with our Iranian brothers, despite the fact that they have wanted to discuss them. We have no desire to dwarf our relations by going into problems that we are perfectly capable of handling through other means.

In this connection, I might mention an important development that occurred lately — something to do with oranges:

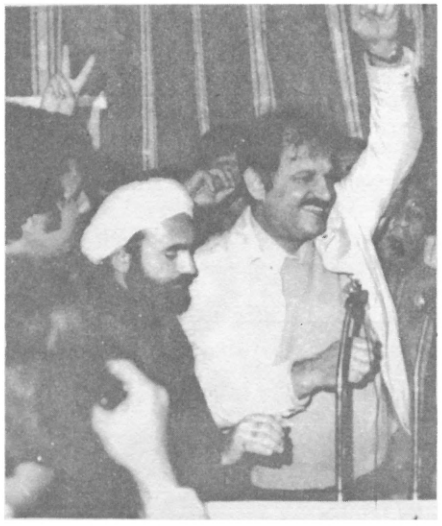
There was once no market for Gaza oranges. The Israelis used to wait till the end of the orange season and buy Gaza's orange crop at very low prices, paying 150 or 200 dollars for a ton, which is usually worth 600 dollars, and using it to make orange juice. This made the Palestinian farmer opt for only one orange season per year. Profits plummeted and many found themselves unemployed.

Recently, with the "autonomy" project approaching, the PLO decided to solve this problem. We were pleased when Iran, despite the fact that it does not need oranges, decided to buy one third of the Gaza crop, while Saudi Arabia decided to buy the other two thirds. Talks on this matter were held in Tehran with both the Iranians and the Saudis. Sa'ud al-Faysal cabled that his country was ready to buy the entire Gaza crop, but Imam Khomeyni insisted on participating in this operation.

This is an important matter at this stage. The Gaza farmer can now have more than one orange season, which will give the Palestinians more work opportunities and keep them away from Israeli jobs.

The development is also an indication of the type of relationship between the Iranian and Palestinian revolutions. Iran stepped in and bought the oranges despite the fact that its intervention was not necessary. It was a matter of participation.

This is one instance of Iranian assistance. All other fields are wide open, but the Palestinian revolution has gone beyond the stage of small ambitions.



Hani al-Hasan in Tehran

To set up high-level relations, the Palestinian resistance must provide evidence that it has gone beyond the adolescence stage, that it is no longer in a rush, and that its plans are long-range and strategic in nature.

Our position on Iran is one demostration of this. We alone stood against the Shah and played a significant role in supporting the Iranian revolution. The result of our four years of patience and unannounced relations: The Israelis left Iran and the Palestinians entered.

Q. Has the Iranian Government's preoccupation with internal affairs limited the possibilities of effective Iranian support for the PLO at this stage?

A. The Iranian Government is busy with many things, but there is one matter it has not forgotten — Palestine and Jerusalem.

In the last meeting I had with Ayatollah Khomeyni, I tried to explain to him the benefits of supporting the Palestinian cause, and how such support would bring Iran untold gains. I said that anyone who takes hold of the Palestinian cause would be holding the steering wheel of the entire region. Interrupting me, he said that although this was true, "we are with the Palestinian revolution, whether our support for it benefits us or not."

This is only one indication of Iran's decisiveness on the Palestinian issue. For this reason, the Palestinian revolution considers the victory of the Iranian revolution its own victory. Any setback for the Iranian revolution, God forbid, would be a setback for us, because each of us

considers himself totally involved in the other's cause.

If you know anything about geopolitics, you will realize that if Iran. Turkey and the Arabs were to unite in one camp, the noose would be pulled tight around Israel's neck. That is why Begin said about the Iranian revolution that "the Dark Ages" were returning. That is why Dayan said that an earthquake had occurred and that Israel was bound to feel it, because Iran is in an important position and, more significantly, the Iranian leadership considers the Palestinian cause one of its own internal issues.

Q. Do you have frequent meetings with Ayatollah Khomeyni?

A. We have a unique position in Iran. We sleep in the homes of Iranian officials, for instance. When something comes up, we go to the Imam's home and stay there several days. There are no such things as protocol or appointments between us. We are in the house, and we talk even in the hours usually set aside for rest.

We have played a role in improving relations between Iran and a number of countries. We have arranged for visits to Iran by a number of Arab regimes, nationalist forces and non-Arab officials. We have been able to do this because of our closeness to Imam Khomeyni and our constant contact with him.

We have opened an information office in Ahwaz, and we will open a huge Palestinian library in Qom. there are students in Qom, whose religious university has 12,000 students, who will be studying the Palestinian revolution. Our brother Abu 'Ammar, speaking on behalf of the PLO, has promised to open a huge library which would include all Palestinian books, books that have been written about Palestine and books that have been published by the PLO. The library will also have an auditorium for motion pictures and will serve as an information office.

Q. There have been many press reports about clashes between Premier Bazargan and Khomeyni. Is the PLO more in harmony with Khomeyni or with Bazargan?

A. A major campaign has been started to spread lies and malicious rumors about Iran all over the world. This is because the anti-Iran forces, led by Zionism, were taken by surprise by Khomeyni's swift takeover in the country. They are waging an information war against him outside Iran and instigating insurrection inside it.

One of the rumors that have been started is that the Islamic system in Iran is fanatic and will take a position against Christianity. But the new Iranian constitution, includes an article which clearly states that the major religions in Iran are Islam, Christianity, Judaism and another faith.

And when I told Imam Khomeyni that Archbishop (Hilarion) Capucci wanted to visit Iran, he welcomed the suggestion. He has really very happy about the archbishop coming to Iran. Also, Khomeyni did not object at all when I told him that the World Council of Churches wanted to visit Iran and present its congratulations. I am now in the process of arranging the visit.

Thus, it is plain to see that this campaign is aimed at distorting the image of Iran and isolating that country, to facilitate action against it. Our mission, through the Palestinian forces spread out around the world, is to block this drive.

Arafat at Tehran rally

Relations between Bazargan and Khomeyni are very good. Everyone considers himself the disciple of Khomeyni — this man who has staged the greatest revolution in modern history. But is it conceivable, after the fall of a dictatorial regime, for the men who take over to agree on all matters? It's impossible, especially since Khomeyni is not the bargaining type. He's flexible, but I don't think he has ever bargained over anything in his life.

Opinions differ, and the current Iranian system is democratic, especially since the Shi'ite method of work allows for interpretation of Islamic law, which naturally leads to a variety of views. Such is Khomeyni's confidence in himself that he has no objection to the publication of those views. In countries which are not accustomed to democracy, any divergence of views is considered disunity, but that is not the case.

I can say that Imam Khomeyni has, from the first days of the revolutuion, been playing the role of the engine. There was a need for someone to play the role of the brakes. That, in my opinion, sums up the relationship between Khomeyni and the government.

Q. Some political observers are saying that the American administration's answer to the Iranian revolution is the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. From a Palestinian veiwpoint, does the gaining of Iran balance the losing of Egypt?

A. To get the right answer, you must ask the right question, and the right question is this: Does gaining Iran represent a strong response to losing Egypt, which was lost before the victory of the Iranian revolution?

We lost the Egyptian regime and its role in the battle when As-Sadat went to Jerusalem. Everything that has been happening since then has been nothing but the result of that visit.

I was one of those who said that Carter's trip to the Middle East was an election tour. Making the matter look complicated was for the benefit of American public opinion. We knew where Egypt stood when As-Sadat visited Jerusalem. The response to Carter was Iran's great historic revolution, which established that, in the present age, it is the Israelis who leave and the Palestinians who enter. In 1948, the Israelis were coming in and we were going out. Now, things have changed.

When the Iranian revolution is consolidated, and if the Arab meeting held in Baghdad succeeds in forming a military front against Israel, the outstanding role that Iran can play will begin to emerge, and it will become clear that the defeat which started with the Jerusalem visit was the beginning of our counter-offensive.

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SPECIAL REPORT

Recently Released Palestinian Prisoners Discuss Conditions in Israel's Jails

by James Zogby, Palestine Human Rights Campaign

A few days before the signature of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, Israel released sixty-six Palestinian prisoners in a prisoner exchange with a Palestinian organization based in Lebanon.

While in Beirut, March 25-27, I was able to attend meetings or have personal interviews with fifteen of them.

The accounts they gave of the treatment they received at the hands of their Israeli captors (both during interrogation and later while serving their sentences) are disturbing.

Many of those whom I met were well-known to supporters of Palestinian human rights, since they had been early prisoners of the military occupation authorities, and the severe mistreatment they received both under interrogation and in prison was reported by a number of international organizations, including the U.N. Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International, and the Sunday Times Insight team. Hearing them speak in person had a deep effect. There was in each case the joy of freedom — always muted by the sadness of loss, of a decade in prison and of their right to live as a free people in their homeland.

I was, of course, especially interested in meeting with Aisha Audi, since our PHRC had been working on her case since December 1978.

AISHA AUDI

On March 1, 1969, the Israeli military arrested Aisha Audi in her Jerusalem home and took her to the Moscobiyya interrogation center. There, Israeli interrogators beat and tortured her until she signed a confession — forty-five days later. Based on that confession, an Israeli military court convicted her and sentenced her to two life terms plus ten years.

Today Aisha is free.

Her ten years of imprisonment were a nightmare, she said. "The torture you suffer in prison is not only the physical beating. . . it is the psychological torture that has the greatest effect."

"They began to beat me even before they took me from my home," Aisha began. Virtually all prisoners are beaten during transport, and Aisha was no exception to the standard procedure. By the time this twenty-four-year old woman arrived at the Moscobiyya interrogation center, she was feeling the effects of her captors' blows. There, the personnel changed, but the beating continued. Her interrogators beat her before asking any questions, she said, striking at her head, especially her ears. They continued the beating even while asking questions — without waiting for her replies.

Then they stripped her of her clothes — a practice reported by other women prisonrs. "They kept throwing me down and dragging me on the floor of the room," she said. They stepped on her nude body, and they also brought in others to stare at her nakedness. She was terrified and embarassed and vulnerable. There were obscene passes — and threats of rape.

Her interrogation continued for forty-five days, with prolonged periods of enforced sleeplessness and starvation. Her fellow Palestinians were beaten in front of her. . . She was sexually abused, she recalled it vividly, with a stick. . .

All of it rolls from her mouth in horrifying details, but with a certain calm — because it was so long ago, and there were ten long years to dwell on it, and now, at last, her ordeal is over.

After forty-five days, Aisha broke down and signed a Hebrew-language confession. She signed to free herself from the intolerable pain and degradation of her interrogation. She recalls that after a rest, she wanted to repudiate the confession. They replied, "It is finished."

Two weeks after signing the confession, she had her first visitors — her parents. Her family's home had been blown up during the first week of her arrest. With the arrest of her cousin Rasmiyyah and others of Rasmiyyah's family, all the Audis lived in fear.

Aisha was convicted and removed to Neve-Terze women's prison at Ramle. "Everything was done to break our wills, to take away our personality and make us submit. The treatment in prison is a systematic effort to suppress our humanity and to break us — by a constant attention to the little things."

For example, she said, "We were allowed one visit per month — but this permission could be denied for the smallest infraction. Even laughing too much could result in a cancellation of visiting permission. Imagine, we were forbidden to laugh. Sometimes if we were laughing and they said, 'Stop,' just trying to stop would keep us laughing and we could be punished."

Rasmiyyah Audi

Aisha said, "The most horrible thing is prison itself. Prison — where they attempt to rule you totally as a person for ten years is so long. It is many lifetimes wasted. It is so inhumane. It is not life — it is not death — it is worse. It is like killing you daily, dying daily. So while I say that it is terrible to be tortured and beaten, it is even worse to do what they did to us in prison — to watch our every move, every move. . . to forbid us to laugh. . . to sing. . . to express any emotion is forbidden. . . even for us to be angry with each other. Such treatment is good for no one. It should never happen."

Aisha hopes to work to help prisoners everywhere, and she called on others to share this concern. "I hope that all of humanity will work to end all long imprisonments everywhere. It should be a fundamental concern for all concerned with human rights."

Aisha concluded, "I would like to thank all who worked for me and the other persons.

To Felicia Langer, Lea Tsmel, you and all of those who helped. I hope that you will continue to work for all those others who are now living in prisons. I would like to say to all those persons who remain behind the walls — keep struggling. . . keep up your spirits. . . keep hoping and believe you will be free. It is so good to be free."

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RASMIYYAH AUDI

Rasmiyyah Audi is Aisha's cousin, arrested the day before her. The treatment

Aysha Audi

she received is an ugly story which has been reported by Amnesty International in 1979 and again in the Sunday Times Insight report, "Israel and Torture," in 1977.

Immediately after her arrest, Rasmiyyah was also taken to the Moscobiyya interrogation center, which she termed "the torture factory". She was beaten, often on the head: sometimes sharply. . . then softly, rapidly. . . and then slowly. At some points, she became unconscious from the beating, and her interrogators awakened her by dousing her with cold water.

Her anguish at her family's arrest was worse, she said, than the pain of her own beatings. All her family — three sisters and her father — was arrested. For a time, they were kept together and forced to watch as the Israeli interrogators beat them one after the other. During one nightmarish episode, Rasmiyyah said, "They were all standing around us laughing, laughing." Ten interrogators surrounded the family, laughing — for no apparent reason at all. Ramiyyah commented, "At times it seemed they wanted to drive us insane."

The interrogators also took her to see fellow-Palestinians being tortured. One of them, Qassan Abu Aqa, died under torture.

Rasmiyyah described a practice noted by many other Palestinian prisoners — a kind of play in which two interrogators assume different roles. One is frankly brutal, beating and threatening, while the other expresses concern and kindness, tells his partner that beating this prisoner is unnecessary and "asks you nicely to confess." The two alternate frequently in interrogating the prisoner — and often resolve their apparent differences by administering a beating together. This has been reported by dozens of Palestinian prisoners over the eleven years of the occupation, and is apparently a standard interrogation technique.

In Rasmiyyah's case, however, there was cruel twist. One interrogator pled that he loved her and promised to take care of her if only she would confess. This amorous treatment contrasts starkly with the sexual brutality which Rasmiyyah suffered.

At one point, Rasmiyyah's hands had been tied behind her neck. They ordered her to strip off her clothes. She couldn't, because her hands were tied. As punishment for this disobedience, they hit her, and then they ripped her clothes from her. "They took a stick," she said, "and kept trying to poke my vagina with it." They were taunting her painfully, and she was horrified.

They brought her father, ordering him to take his clothes off and have sexual intercourse with her. He refused. Father faced naked beaten daughter and, in Rasmiyyah's words, "just collapsed".

But the experience didn't end. She recalled that they chained her naked on the floor with her arms and legs spread. She felt totally helpless and vulnerable. When her interrogators brought in her fellow prisoners — naked males — and told them to have sex with her, she fainted from terror.

As she told this, Rasmiyyah did not show any embarassment. Her reason was that the story is well-known — from the Amnesty International report and the Sunday Times.

There was also a perhaps merciful blurring of her recollection. For twenty-five days, her interrogation was non-stop, with one beating after another, one shock after another. She had no chance to rest, no chance to recover from one horror before another overwhelmed her. The episodes blended into a nightmarish blur. Other prisoners who were under continuous, sever interrogation for long periods of time have described the same psychic exhaustion, the same disorientation.

They took Rasmiyyah to a hospital for a short stay, and then it was back to interrogation. Rasmiyyah's interrogation lasted forty-five days.

After finally confessing and being sentenced to three life terms and ten years, Rasmiyyah was also taken to Ramle prison for women.

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I heard while in Beirut that Miriam Shaksir, another of the women who had been arrested in 1969, remained in the occupied territories. When she returned to Nablus, her home, she insisted on walking through the town with bare feet. It was a cold day in the mountains, but "it felt so good to be home free."

★ ★ ★

Most of those whom I met had been arrested at least ten years ago. Ghassan Kamal, Aida Saad, Abder-Rahman Jabbar, Kamal Nimry, Nawaf Zarouf, Ahmad Mahmoud Mukhaymen, Said Ibrahim Attallah, Walid Hassan, Khalid Abder-Rahim Salah-ad-Din Shaheen, and Mahmoud M'haas were arrested in 1967-68, while Rasmiyyah and Aisha Audi have been in prison since 1969. Khalid Abder-Rahim, in fact, was arrested in December 1967, six months after the military occupation of his country.

One realizes, listening to them speak, what the West has forgotten or obscured. These are victims of an occupation which they resisted as underground fighters against the foreign rule of their country. They were in their late teens or early twenties in 1967, and all were residents of the occupied lands.

In that early period, there was hope that the occupation would end soon, and that widespread armed resistance directed against military targets could support international pressures to force the Israelis to leave. But no people can resist in this way indefinitely.

By mid-1971, the Israelis crushed widespread armed resistance in the West Bank and Gaza with a combination of massive political repression, house demolitions, and collective punishment — and the 1970-71 Black September massacre in Jordan.

Total opposition to the occupation continues to this day, but it now follows different patterns, other forms.

The repression of the occupation also continues — with its terror and violence unabated.

★ ★ ★

KAMAL NIMRY

Another of the recently released prisoners was Kamal Nimry. There was a real irony to the story he told.

Eleven years ago almost to the day that Sadat and Begin signed their treaty, Kamal Nimry was in the Moscobiyya under severe interrogation by his Israeli captors.

Kamal Nimry was a resident of Hebron. His mother is Jewish and his uncle is Avraham Kidron — Israel's Ambassador to Great Britain.

"After ten days of torture, they came and made a deal with me. They said if I would

(Continued on page 10)

news briefs

Israeli shelling brings more destruction to South Lebanon: April 1979.

Israel Wages Undeclared War in Lebanon; Uses Anti-Personnel Weapons Against Civilians

Israel escalated its military campaign in Lebanon sharply in late April as Israeli planes and naval craft struck repeatedly at Palestinian and Lebanese targets for four straight days. Heavy shelling pounded Palestinian civilian refugee camps, including Rashidiya, Burj al-Chemali and Al-Bass, Lebanese villages and towns, including the major city of Sour, and caused a steady stream of refugees. Over fifty Palestinians and Lebanese, almost all civilians, were killed, and observers suspect others are buried under the rubble of their homes.

Israel's attacks on April 23-26, which amounted to what Palestinian sources called an "undeclared war of attrition" were presaged on April 18, as a batallion of 500 Lebanese soldiers under the auspices of the United Nations forces (UNIFIL) moved into South Lebanon to take up permanent positions. This move, which was widely regarded as reinforcing the shaky authority of the Lebanese central government and bringing some measure of stability to war-torn Lebanon, was met with shelling by Israel and its ally, the rightist forces of Major Haddad.

Haddad, whose forces are trained, equipped and advised by Israel, and who was recently touted as a "true Lebanese patriot" by Israeli Defense Minister Weizman, further destabilized the situation by proclaiming the birth of a "Free Lebanon" in the border area his troops now occupy. This region, a swath of land six-miles deep near the Israeli border, is more aptly termed "Israeli-occupied Lebanon," as Israel exercises its control in this region as systematically as it does in the occupied West Bank, Gaza and Golan.

On March 7, the United Nations forces, citing two incidents in the first week of March in which an Israeli major joined with Haddad in attempting to penetrate the UNIFIL zone, declared that they view "the behavior of the Israeli major. . . as a serious provocation and finds the presence of the Israeli officer in UNIFIL's area of operation as a new violation of Israel's confirmation of withdrawal from the area."

On April 23, Israel launched a wave of attacks on Lebanon in the wake of a Palestinian guerilla action in the Israeli coastal city of Nahariya. Israeli warships shelled the Nahur al'Bared camp near Tripoli in North Lebanon, killing three civilians and wounding another 10. At dawn the next day, Israeli ships attacked the Lebanese coast between Tyre and Sidon.

Heavy shelling of many regions in South Lebanon accompanied the naval and air bombardments. Palestinian sources and Western press reports indicate that Israel used a new and particularly lethal artillery shell in these bombings. The shell, known as a "fragmentation" or "firecracker" shell is a U.S.-made anti-personnel weapon that explodes twice — once in mid-air to get rid of its casing and once to ensure the largest possible spread of shell fragments. These fragments are thus designed to injure human beings in the open and not damage fortifications or military positions. The shells are akin to the "cluster bomb" used by Israel in the March 1978 invasion of South Lebanon and prohibited under the terms of sale from the United States for use except for "defensive purposes."

The Israelis also employed other advanced weapons, including the Gabriel television guided surface-to-surface missile, and the maverick and walleye television-guided missiles.

These attacks on Lebanon — on its people and its sovereignty — occurred as the Egyptian and Israeli envoys met in the Sinai desert to exchange the instruments of ratification for the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. But as Palestinian and Lebanese families mourned their dead, and as many once again became refugees through Israeli bombings, the myth that this treaty might bring peace to the region lies shattered. It seems more likely to encourage Israel to commit more acts of aggression.

Sadat Moves to Crush Egyptian Opposition

On April 16, according to Agence France Presse, Egyptian police carried out their fourth raid in three months on offices of the Progressive Unionist Party. The police seized equipment which had been used to print a pamphlet calling on Egyptians to vote "no" in Sadat's referendum on the peace treaty with Israel.

While the Western press has extolled the overwhelming support given Sadat in hs April referendum, Sadat has been ruthlessly suppressing any dissent to his policies. He has combined this with extravagent promises to his people — that peace will bring unparalled prosperity to Egypt — and distortions of fact — presenting the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty as a victory for Palestinian rights and a mandate for a Palestinian state.

Despite this three-pronged strategy, Egypt has not been totally quiescent. During Carter's visit to Egypt, the Sadat government took "preventive measures" in anticipation of demonstrations by Egyptian and Palestinian students and the Egyptian opposition. The authorities greatly fear the spread of militant Islamic ideas among the universities, and could not block meetings and special sessions, similar to those of the Iranian movement, from occuring in Cairo mosques and expressing opposition to the treaty.

Many prominent opposition leaders, especially on the left have been jailed. Recently, Mohammad Ismail Amir, an Egyptian leftist, was arrested for "expressing opposition" to Begin's visit to Egypt. On April 12, the Iraqi News Agency reported that the trial of Abu al-Izz al Hariri, a progressive deputy to the Egyptian General Assembly, and nine of his associates had begun in Tanta Governorate in Egypt. They are charged with forming a secret organization designed to change the Egyptian regime by force. The Egyptian national movement has called for international support to release political dissidents in Egyptian jails.

In the General Assembly itself, a few deputies have expressed Islamic, pan-Arab or nationalist sentiments in the course of the debates surrounding the treaty. Two independent parliamentarians, Dr. Hilmi Murad and Muhnuil al-Qadi challenged Israeli intentions in signing the treaty, pointing to Begin's declarations against a Palestinian state and the return of East Jerusalem. Prior to the treaty discussions, of course, opposition had been expressed in a series of high-level resignations including three foreign ministers, Ismail Fahmi, Mahmoud Riad and Mohamad Kamel.

The true test for Sadat lies in the months ahead, as Egyptian expectations about their long-awaited prosperity are almost certainly shattered, as "autonomy" negotiations with the hard-line Israeli negotiating team commence, and as Egyptian isolation for the Arab world has its impact.

Visa Restrictions on PLO Representative Protested

Shafik al-Hout, director of the PLO's Beirut office, arrived in the United States on a visit on March 31. Such a visit, one might have assumed, was a valuable opportunity for Americans concerned about the crisis in the Middle East to hear the Palestinian view and to discuss their questions directly with a representative of the Palestinian people.

This was not to be. Under the restrictions of the 21-day visa issued by the State Department, al-Hout was forbidden to speak in public and denied access to the American media. Those few journalists who managed to meet with al-Hout as individuals were forbidden to quote him.

The placing of a "gag order" on a respected Palestinian official met with protest. The Ramallah Federation, the Association of Arab American University Graduates, the Palestine American Congress and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign began an intensive campaign to demand that the State Department remove the restrictions which, they noted, "constitute a contradiction of the First Amendment rights of the American people to hear Mr. Al-Hout's opinion." They asked concerned Americans to protest to Secretary of State Vance and met with Undersecretary of State Saunders to articulate their views in person.

On April 12, the *Washington Post* editorialized against the restrictions affirming that "the right of foreigners to meet openly with private citizens and to offer their views to the American public" was a "matter of fundamental American values and rights." The Post also pinpointed the State Department's reasons for placing such extreme restrictions on al-Hout when it wrote that the "PLO is a political hot potato." The American Jewish Congress, other Zionist organizations, and pro-Israeli legislators had pressured the United States to deny entry to al-Hout, claiming that his visit would "burden" the peace process.

In fact, it is clear that giving the Palestinian people the right other peoples enjoy of expressing their view, can only burden those who adamantly deny Palestinian human and national rights.

These forces include the American Congress. Following al-Hout's visit, the House of Representatives, by a voice vote, passed an amendment to the State Department Authorization Act that would bar "any alien who is a member, officer, official representative or spokesman" of the PLO from entering the United States unless the Secretary of State deems the visit in the "U.S. national interest." At the same time, an amendment by Representative Lester Wolff that cut the U.S. contribution to the United Nations by an amount equal to the costs of the United Nations Special Unit on Palestinian Rights and the Committee on Exercise of the Palestinian People passed without debate.

It would be appropriate to ask U.S. officials, given this blatant disregard of Palestinian rights, what precisely the United States means when it proclaims that it will safeguard the "legitimate rights of the Palestinians?"

Student Groups, Communities Affirm No Peace Without the Palestinians

Protests against the Egyptian-Israeli treaty have taken many forms across the country — hunger strikes, marches, forums and press conference — but they all had a common thread. The President of the Organization of Arab Students at the University of North Colorado expressed this in an interview when he noted that "A just and lasting peace will never be achieved unless the Palestinians, as represented by the PLO, are involved and considered the main issue."

"We Hear the Palestinians' Cry": Native Americans Protest Treaty

The Oglala Sioux Tribal Lawyers Association and the Women of All Red Nations, two organizations of Native Americans in South Dakota, declared their support for the Palestinian people and their opposition to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty by joining in the international day of mourning on March 26.

In a press release the groups affirmed that: "Indian people have been experiencing this kind of maneuvering for two hundred years and are well aware of the consequences. It is an infamous tactic of all colonial powers to throw aside human rights in favor of land expansion and exploitation, then let people's memories and the history books cover their crimes. We remain in solidarity with the people of Palestine. Amidst the media fanfare and political backslapping, we hear the Palestinians' cry for liberation and recognize their voice of determination."

Editorial *(Continued from page 2)*

be based. Before Camp David there were agreed-upon solutions needing implementation. Now, there is simply a problem which will someday be considered.

★ ★ ★

The Palestinian people are not unaware of the complexity of the issues. Therefore, they do understand and expect the need for lengthy and difficult negoations. They certainly do not expect that the accumulated injustices would vanish overnight, and they do not day dream of easy and sudden freedom. But they are equally aware of the sterility of negotiating a settlement which in advance rules out the essence of their national identity, right, and aspirations.

The Palestinian people would be prepared to discuss how and when they are to achieve independence in their homeland. But they are not prepared, and no one has the right to expect them to be prepared, to discuss the modalities of denying them their national freedom.

More than 100 demonstrators march in Richmond, Virginia

Students at the University of North Colorado

Poem by Kamal Nasser

The following is a new translation of Kamal Naser's last poem. It will appear in a new anthology of Palestinian poetry, *The Palestinian Wedding,* translated by Dr. Abdelwahab Elmesseri and illustrated by Kamal Boullatta.

Beloved, if perchance word of my death reaches you
As, alone, you fondle my only child,
Eagerly awaiting my return,
Shed no tears in sorrow for me
For in my homeland
Life is degradation and wounds
And in my ears the call of danger rings.
Beloved, if word of my death reaches you
And the mourners cry out:
The loyal one has departed, his visage gone forever,
And fragrance has died within the bosom of the flower
Shed no tears. . . smile on life
And tell my only one, my loved one,
The dark recesses of your father's being
Have been touched by visions of his people.
Splintered thoughts bestowed his path
As he witnessed the wounds of oppression.
In revolt, he set himself a goal
He became a martyr, sublimated his being, even changed his prayers
Deepened their features and improvised,
And in the long struggle, his blood flowed
His lofty vision unfolded, shaking even destiny.
If news reaches you, and friends come to you,
Their eyes filled with cautious concern,
Smile at them in kindness for my death will bring life to all;
My spring has spilled into autumn. . . but spring remains.
My people's dreams are my shrine
At which I pray, for which I live.
The ecstasy of creation warms my being, shouting of joy,
Filling me with love, as day follows day,
Enveloping my struggling soul and body.
Immortalized am I in the hearts of friends
Eternal in the sight of my flowers and dreams
I live only in others' thoughts and memories.
Beloved, if word reaches you and you fear for me
Should you shudder and your cheeks grow pale
As pale as the face of the moon,
Allow it not to look upon you, nor feast on the beauty of your gaze
For I am jealous of the light of the moon.
Tell my only one, for I love him,
That I have tasted the joy of giving and my heart relishes the wounds of sacrifice.
There is nothing left for him
Save the sighs from my song. . . Save the remnants of my lute
Lying piled and scattered in our house.
Tell my only one, if he ever visits my grave and yearns for the memory,
Tell him that one day I shall return — to pick the fruits.

Analysis *(Continued from page 3)*

these rightist settlers as "pioneers" and the new heros of Zionism. Shortly before the signing of the treaty, Begin sent a secret letter to the political officials of the extreme right-wing religious parties (MAFDAL). The influential Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* reported that the letter contained a "written, signed commitment that he (Begin) accepted MAFDAL principles on autonomy" and would undertake an "extensive settlement campaign" in the West Bank "immediately after the peace treaty has been signed."

Begin has kept this promise. The Israelis announced 10 new "military outposts" (which commonly become civilian outposts) immediately after the treaty. On April 23, the government announced its official approval of two new settlements in the West Bank. Most significantly, Begin appointed Yosef Burg, head of the extreme right-wing National Religious Party which fervently adheres to Israeli sovereignty over all of the West Bank, to head the Israeli negotiating committee for the autonomy talks. Clearly, the committee's central purpose will be to underscore Begin's March 19 statement when he declared: "There will never be a Palestinian state in Judea and Samaria. We will never agree, we will never make it possible."

Fanatic settlers and government officials, then, are united in common goals. The settlers, in fact, serve the government as they can perform functions unofficially — like policing the West Bank and establishing new settlements in controversial locations — that might embarrass the government. One striking example of Israeli intentions in the West Bank and Gaza was announced in the *Jerusalem Post* of April 15-23. The settlements at Yamit in the Sinai, the Post revealed, which are being dismantled under the terms of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, are being moved — to the Pit-hat Shalom area in the occupied Gaza Strip. For good measure, another five new settlements are planned in this area. Interestingly, when a reporter for the *Guardian* newspaper made repeated calls to the Israeli embassy in early April trying to discover the location of the Pit-hat Shalom region, he was ensured it was "in Israel," and most Israeli reports have used the vaguer phrase "in the Negev." It may be that the 20 settlements will be placed on the border, but they seem designed to increase Israeli presence in Gaza.

One thing is clear. The Americans and Egyptians, who continue to insist to the world that "autonomy" will fulfill the "legitimate rights of the Palestinians" (in Carter's favorite phrase), are in for some hard times when the autonomy negotiations commence.

Special Report *(Continued from p. 7)*

appear with them at a press conference and urge the Arab states to negotiate with Israel — then they would let me go free. They told me I could even criticize Israel at the conference, as long as I just made a statement calling for negotiation."

But he said, "I refused. How could I accept to call for negotiations while they occupied my country."

And then, he added, noting the irony of the day, "Nothing has changed. The occupation continues. But what hurts us is that while after ten days of torture I refused to make even a small statement. Sadat betrayed us all with no torture."

You may contact the Palestine Human Rights Campaign at 1322 18th Street, N.W. 20036.

PLO Official. . . *(Continued from page 5)*

No matter how hard Carter and Begin try to prove that Israel is part of this region, their attempts will fail. There is a basic contradiction between us and Israel. Whoever recognizes Israel will fall, and our cause will survive, because our cause is nothing short of a law of physics. Whoever says he doesn't believe in Newton's Law will fall, and Newton's law will remain. Whoever sys Israel can live in this region will fall, and the Arab-Israeli conflict will continue.

Q. At the Baghdad meeting, Abu 'Ammar called, for a boycott of the United States, which he referred to as "the head of the snake." Earlier, he said he would "chop off the hands" that signed the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Does the Palestinian revolution really mean to attack American interests in this region? How can this be done as long as the Arab countries, including the members of the steadfastness front, continue to deal with the U.S. on the economic, political, and cultural levels?

A. When our brother Abu 'Ammar says something, you can be sure that he means what he says. Anyone who studies the history of the Palestinian revolution and the PLO will find out that our leaders mean exactly what they say.

In his speech, Abu 'Ammar underscored the gravity of the situation, placed his finger on the wound and diagnosed the illness accurately.

It is America that has launched a battle against the Palestinians. There's no such thing as an "As-Sadat position." As-Sadat becomes intransigent when Carter tells him to be intransigent, and he turns flexible when Carter tells him to be flexible.

The Americans must realize that if they maintain their rejection of the existence of the Palestinian people and the need for a Palestinian state, and if they continue to cling to their adoption of Zionism and Israel, the struggle against them is inevitable.

Q. Several Arab countries are worried about the Iranian developments and the new regime in that country. Has the Palestinian revolution been trying to allay those fears?

A. Fear of the Iranian revolution is, of course, unjustified. I cannot understand any rational man being unafraid of the shah and afraid of the Iranian revolution. The shah of Iran was the enemy of the Arabs. He was the man to be worried about.

Egypt is afraid of the Iranian revolution because As-Sadat has betrayed Arabism and religious values, and he is therefore a traitor in the eyes of all Arabs and anyone who has religious values.

But other countries, like Syria and Algeria, are not afraid of the Iranian regime. At any rate, we have started a wide-ranging campaign of contacts with the Arab countries and Iran. Abu Dhabi has already sent an ambassador, and there are now very good relations between the two countries. Qatar will follow soon, and so will Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Our mission is to leave no room for Arab-Iranian conflict, because the days of Arab-Iranian conflict went with the shah, who believed in Persian domination of the Arabs. The Iranian revolution does not believe in Iranian domination of the Arabs, but in Iranian obligations to the Arab. Arab-Iranian conflict is what Zionism and the enemies of Iran and the Arabs want, and the Palestinian revolution will do a great deal to see to it that such a conflict does not develop.

I believe we have succeeded in a number of instances already. For example, an Algerian delegation is now visiting Iran, a Libyan delegation will follow, and so will delegations from Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Bahrain. . .

Q. Many are saying that Saudi Arabia is particularly worried about the Iranian regime. Do you agree with those who have said that Crown Prince Fahd went to Spain because he feels he is becoming weak in the government?

A. I don't think that has anything to do with the Iranian situation.

However, there is no doubt that the change in Iran means that a new political map is beginning to be drawn in the region.

At one time, American imperialism had three mainstays, other than Israel, in the Middle East. These were Turkey, Iran and Ethiopia. Now, Ethiopia has changed, Iran has changed and Turkey is on its way.

A new map is being drawn, and every regime has to reconsider its calculations on the basis of the approaching change: Will its country remain unchanged within the new map? Will it expand? Will it be partitioned? That is what geopolitics is all about.

However, I believe the fear that Iran has inspired (in the Arab world) is beginning to disappear. With the wisdom of the Iranian leaders and through the PLO, we must work to draw a new unified political map which would stand against Israel, and not lead to internal conflict.

Q. Now that the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty has been signed, can you tell us something about your impressions of the American administration, and about Carter's offer to start a dialogue with the PLO if it recognizes Security Council Resolution 242?

In the U.S., unfortunately, in every presidential election year, many peoples have to pay the price of the aspiring president's votes.

In 1948, several American officials warned President Truman that the rise of Israel in that manner would threaten American interests in the Middle East. Truman's answer was: "Where are the Arab votes?" That year was an election year.

Look at 1956 and 1967. You will find that Israel always takes what it wants from the Arabs during an American election year.

The same thing happened this time, Begin kept delaying until the election year came and he was able to snatch the frightening concessions he got from As-Sadat through the American administration.

But one learns in politics that there is a lot of difference between having a right to something and deserving it. Having a right doesn't mean anything. One must prove that he deserves it. I believe the Palestinian people have proved this.

After a long struggle, they managed to teach the American administration to delete the word "refugees" and replace it with "the Palestinian people."

After the signing of the Egyptian-Israel treaty, Carter knew that no more progress could be made without the approval of the Palestinians. So he immediately offered a new concession to the PLO. He did so by taking note of the PLO, which he once equated with the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. The struggle of the PLO and the Palestinian people and the upheavals in the West Bank and Gaza made Carter realize he must speak with respect about the PLO.

For the first time, the administration tried to bargain with the PLO. Carter said he was ready to recognize the PLO if the PLO recognized Resolution 242, even if it did so with reservations. That, of course, was not a gift from Carter; it is something that the Palestinians forced him to give.

Carter must now realize that he must recognize the PLO unconditionally, because we will never recognize Resolution 242, which we have nothing to do with. When Resolution 242 was drafted, the people who drafted it did not recognize the Palestinian people as a major element. Today, no one can overlook the Palestinian people. Carter would do well to realize tht if he does not recognize the PLO now, he will recognize it later.

I might add that Carter is trying to persuade the PLO to start a dialogue with the U.S. without Soviet presence. That is something the Americans will never be able to do. We know the balance of power in the world. No discussion of the Palestinian cause will take place outside the context of the international balance of power, for only that would provide the required guarantees. The Americans are trying to lure the Palestinians away from their allies, to facilitate anti-Palestinian action at a later stage. They will never be able to do that. We will not be like a turtle that has lost its shell and is vulnerable to blows from any direction.

(Continued on page 12)

PLO Official... *(Continued from page 11)*

At any rate, Carter and Begin learned a year ago to talk about "the Palestinian people." Now they say they won't recognize the PLO unless the approaching struggle will teach them to drop the "unless." The Palestinian state has become an existing fact. It will become a reality. The countdown for the disappearance of Zionism from Israel has started. That too is a fact. Another fact; America will never again be able to dominate this region as it has done in the past.

The cover illustration is a new four-color poster. It is available from:
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Literature and Resources

Palestine Information Office, *The PLO: A Brief Survey* $1.00
Documents and Statements, 1979 . $1.00
National Lawyers Guild 1977 Middle East Delegation, *Treatment of Palestinians in Israeli-Occupied West Bank and Gaza* $4.50
Peoples Press Book Project, Our Roots Are Still Alive $4.50
Abdul Wahab Al-Messeri (editor) *A Lover from Palestine and Other Poems* $3.00
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