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Lebanon, May 1979
New Round of Israeli Aggression

Zionism and Palestine: Thirty-one Years After

'We'll go on striking Palestinian guerrillas anywhere.
We shall give them no rest. No rest . . . no rest . . .'



Thirty-one years ago this May, the Zionist movement in Palestine took over seventy-five percent of the country through conquest and transformed it into a Jewish state. The Palestinian population in the area, expelled or terrorized into fleeing, became refugees in the surrounding countries. The Jewish state, known as Israel, was to become a *fait accompli*. The Palestinians were then dubbed the "Arab refugees" and were to be settled or resettled in underpopulated regions of the Arab world. Israel began to define itself as a "state" whose quarrel with the Arabs had to do exclusively with post-1948 issues.

The Palestinians, fragmented and leaderless, were seen by the Western world purely as a refugee problem, not a national problem. The West, afflicted with a whole body of racist mythology about the identity of the Palestinians, began to view the people of Palestine as a problem that, in time, would be resolved in the context of billion dollar loans for resettlement. Surely, a new generation of Palestinians, it was argued, that grew up solely in the Arab countries, will ultimately be assimilated. The Palestinian conflict will be transformed into an inter-state conflict between Israel and the Arab states, having to do with territorial disputes, diplomatic recognition and the rest of it.

In 1954, as if to underline this perception of Palestinians by the Western governments, John Foster Dulles, while on an official visit to Lebanon, said: "The Palestinian problem will be solved only in time — when a new generation of Palestinians grow up with no attachment to the land." And indeed, as recently as 1967, the Security Council, in its Resolution 242, dismissed the Palestinians as "the refugee problem."

This was the very same wording used in the Camp David accords.

The Palestinians, however, thirty-one years after the dismemberment of their country, or sixty-one years after the Balfour Declaration, have belied these attempts to deny their existence, to impose settlements over their heads and to reach decisions in the absence of their representatives.

The aims of the Palestinian struggle, now as then, are known. They are to achieve statehood and freedom in a secular, democratic Palestine. There will be no recognition of Israel, no coexistence with Zionist apartheid, and no attempt to legitimize Israeli occupation.

In other words, the struggle of the Palestinian people is identical to any other struggle that confronts settler-colonialism and apartheid movements in the Third World, notably in Azania (South Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). It is the native, indigenous people of the country, not European settlers, who decide the political, social and economic constructs and systems of the country.

The Zionist movement, like other settler-colonial movements before it has predictably clung to the values and aspirations of arrogant racism: the natives are an inferior people; their land and its resources are fair game for exploitation; and might is right.

Zionism, as we have seen it in action these last sixty years, and which Palestinians know better than any other people in the world (if for no other reason than that they have chafed under it all this time), has had one component to it that separates it from other racist movements. Zionism has never been fixed, and remains, publicly, always undefined in its territorial and political ambitions. The reason for this is that the Zionists have always taken care not to be committed to aims which are difficult to achieve, or to proclaim certain intentions which may provoke such opposition as to make them unrealizable. Accordingly, Zionist ideology developed and crystalized gradually as the Zionists grew in strength and numbers. Whenever any stage during which certain gains were realized came to an end, the ideology itself officially changed and became more clear in its quest for other, broader objectives.

In this regard, consider the territorial aspect of Zionism. By 1947 the Zionists, proclaiming that the borders were delineated by the United Nations partition plan of that year, represented their final goal of their claims on Palestine as these borders. A year later, after they had conquered another twenty-five per-cent of Palestine in the war of that year, their conquests became "non-negotiable." Between 1948 and 1967, there were no public statements made by Israeli leaders about the West Bank and Gaza as being "biblical Israel." When these territories were taken over that year, leftwing and rightwing Zionists immediately began to speak of "Greater Israel," or "Eretz Israel." Today, no one has bothered to ask Menachem Begin and his Likud coalition whether they have changed their political platform regarding the whole of Jordan as being part of Greater Israel.

Whenever certain Israeli leaders show "flexibility" (which is rare), as a result of the need to make some gestures to the international community, this does not conceal their continued adherence to the principles of conquest, expansion, terror and racism.

This adherence is neither accidental, tactical nor dictated by existing political conditions. It is rather rooted profoundly in the ethos of Zionism.

In the last thirty-one years, and especially in the last two years, it has been shown that Zionist ideology, as currently constituted,

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State of Siege: West Bank Universities, Towns Under Attack



photo credit: MERIP

West Bank school girls in recent demonstration against the occupation. (Faces blacked out to conceal identities)

"We are picking the bitter fruits of the peace treaty," declared Mohamad Milhelm, the mayor of the West Bank town of Halhoul, in a recent Washington, D.C. press conference. He was describing the sixteen-day curfew imposed on the town following the killing of two young Palestinians by the Israelis on March 15. During the curfew, which was in effect for 23 hours each day, 40% of Halhoul's crop of grapes rotted because Arab farmers could not reach their fields to spray the vines. Milhelm reported other acts by the Israeli soldiers of callous disregard for Palestinian lives and livelihoods: children were beaten; women were harassed and humiliated; families had the windows of their houses broken if a family member was caught outside.

Such acts have been repeated elsewhere in the West Bank this May. Tension on the West Bank mounted as Jewish settlers from the right-wing Gush Emunim bloc led a march of 60,000 Israelis through the West Bank on May 2, Israeli Independence Day, to affirm Jewish sovereignty over the land. At Bir Zeit University near Ramallah, classes were in session as usual. Palestinian students from local schools, however, began a peaceful march through the village of Bir Zeit.

According to a chronology issued by the University, observers noted several cars with yellow Israeli license plates driving through the sidestreets of the village. At

10:45 p.m., a volley of shots came from the direction of the cars. A Bir Zeit student, Ra'ad Nakleh Daoud, who had been sitting on a bench waiting for his class to begin, was running away from the shots when he was felled by a bullet in the chest. The Israeli military detained Dr. Ezra Zohar, a member of the Gush Emunim and a physician, who is believed to have fired the shot.

In a separate incident, other Israeli civilians jumped out of their car and fired bullets. The Christian Science Monitor reported that Dr. Wasif Abboushi, a U.S. citizen from Cincinnati, was beaten and suffered a damaged shoulder. Israeli soldiers arrived and began shooting tear gas canisters and bullets at students. As they encircled the campus, Bir Zeit University was, once again, under siege.

This time, the Military Governor ordered Bir Zeit closed for "an indefinite period." Israeli soldiers detained at least 150 students (seven are still imprisoned) and instituted a search for "inflammatory material," seizing books in the library, maps of Palestine and Arabic newspapers. On May 3, the Israeli soldiers also closed Bethlehem University for four days. Two secondary schools in Ramallah have also been ordered to close.

Even these drastic actions, which seriously threaten the only educational institutions that serve Palestinians in the West Bank, were not enough for the increasingly militant Jewish settlers of the Gush

Emunim. Settlers in Neve Izuf, near Bir Zeit, met and decided not to cooperate with the Israeli police in searching for civilians who shot at students until Bir Zeit University was closed for good and the dean and faculty indicted for "incitement." Settlers from the Gush have grown critical of the Israeli Defense Forces and begun to take matters into their own hands (see *Palestine Perspectives* #12). Recently, settlers from Kiryat Arba invade Arab vineyards on nearby Jaabari Hill and cut through 550 vines with a power saw. Kiryat Arba covets this land for expansion.

These actions receive no criticism from the Begin government, although members of the "Peace Now" group have pledged to work against the Gush Emunim and led a march to Jaabari Hill in protest. However, as Mayor Milhelm aptly noted: "There is no big difference between the military authorities and the Gush Emunim. What the Gush wants immediately, the military wants gradually." The target of both is the land and the people on it. In a May 2 interview, Begin declared: "We want there to be no border with Western Eretz Israel (the West Bank)." . It is obvious that we have the right to settle in Eretz Israel." A few days before, he had pledged, as quoted in *Ha'aretz*, to "fill Samaria with Jews."

In the wake of this increased pressure from right-wing settlers and from the Begin "autonomy" plan, Palestinians in the occupied territories have continued to organize against the Israeli occupation, and in fact, have increased their resistance. On May 2, for example, West Bank mayors met in Nablus in defiance of the Military Governor's ban on political meetings and protested the march of the Gush Emunim. A delegation of seventeen then marched to the village of Salfit, the site of recent land expropriation.

Palestinians under occupation also continue to ask for international support. Dr. Hanna Nasir, President of Bir Zeit University, who was deported by the Israelis in 1974, has appealed to the United Nations and the international community to intervene and save the University. On May 11, in a phonecall to the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, Dr. Gabi Baramki, the to act to defend the right of Bir Zeit to reopen, saying: "If this closing continues for Vice-President of Bir Zeit, urged Americans will not be able to complete their degrees. This will cause them great hardship. Closing our university is shutting off a voice of reason and learning in the area — this is not

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The U.S. and Israeli Settlements



photo credit: MENUP

Israeli soldiers on patrol in Ramallah, March, 1979.

During a recent press conference, Jimmy Carter was asked by a reporter to elaborate about the Israel-American friction in U.S. policy concerning the West Bank Jewish settlements. The question was why the U.S. should continue to provide Israel with all the military and financial aid while Israel is continuing to defy the U.S. declared policy against the establishment of more Israeli settlements on the West Bank. Carter's response, paraphrased, was that the Israelis know very well the U.S. policy in this regard and also know very well his own position. The U.S. position is that Israel's settlements policy is against international law, is illegitimate and is an obstruction to a peaceful settlement in the area. But, Mr. Carter went on to say, there is a limit as to how much "we can pressure a sovereign nation."

The on again-off again argument between the Carter Administration and Israel regarding the Israeli settlements on the West Bank seems to be getting the U.S.

Government and the President nowhere. While Begin's Government insists on having the right to settle Israelis anywhere in "Eretz Israel," the West Bank, or "Judea and Samaria," the Carter Administration insists that these settlements are illegal and an obstacle to peace. However, while Israel goes on to build more settlements on the West Bank, the Golan Heights and in Gaza, in defiance of almost all governments of the world, including the U.S., the American government finds itself powerless in the face of these flagrant Israeli violations.

Despite repeated American officials' statements in disagreement with the settlements policy of Israel, the U.S. has not in fact done anything substantial to back and support its own policy in this regard. On February 10th of 1978, in a news conference in Washington, D.C., Secretary of State Vance said "We believe that all of these settlements are contrary to international law and that therefore they should not exist. . ."

The Secretary is not only saying that no more settlements should be built in defiance of international law; his statement could also be understood to mean that those already in existence should be demolished. The problem with this and many other similar statements is that functionally they are not carried any further than the official that makes them.

Again, and on yet another occasion, the White House Press Secretary Jody Powell made the following statement as quoted in the *New York Times* of February 14, 1978: our "position is and has been that we believe these settlements to be an obstacle to peace and contrary to international law. . ." This view, as well, is the view of the top policy maker of the United States, President Carter himself. The above statements of U.S. officials in opposition to Israeli settlements on Arab land are not the only ones made on behalf of the U.S. Government. Many others were made and continue to be made by officials of the U.S. Government. Why is it then that the U.S. doesn't take some steps to make functional its policy in this regard? The reason is, of course, not a simple one and certainly is not what Carter said in his reply to the reporter, that the U.S. can't pressure a sovereign nation. There are many cases still in recent memory of all citizens where the United States has toppled foreign and sovereign governments at will. The excuse for doing so, of course, was that in the name of which everything is justified, the American national interest.

The cases referred to above are many but the two most familiar today are the CIA engineered counter coup in 1953 against the Mossadegh government in Iran which restored the Shah to his throne, and the CIA manufactured coup against the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende of Chile. The excuse, then, that Jimmy Carter is providing for not pressuring Israel on the settlements issue is obviously not the answer. The answer is not an easy and simple one but could be summed up as follows: while it was in the interest of the U.S. to topple these two governments, Mossadegh's and Allende's, it is not in the interest of the U.S. to pressure Israel to alter its settlements policy at this time, despite the fact that the U.S. has tremendous leverage over Israel. Naturally, there are always the domestic political issues which for well-known reasons have always worked against the Arab causes.

There are other reasons why the U.S. doesn't pressure Israel on this very simple issue. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss all of these other reasons, it is important for the Arab governments to realize what is a known fact to the leaders of the Palestinian Revolution concerning these various constraints. The U.S. Government will not pressure Israel because of common interest and domestic political reality, both of which will not be changing soon. In the next year the American people will be voting for the top position in the United States Government, the Presidency, and for most of the members of Congress. It is therefore a political suicide to challenge the all-mighty Israeli lobby — Jimmy Carter is not about to do that.

The Arab governments, for a very long time now, were told by many American presidents that after the succession of a U.S. president to his second term in the White House, he will use the powers he possesses to modify Israel's position. Once a president is elected to his second term, and since he can't run for a third term, Arab governments were promised, the President could challenge the pro-Israel lobby and voters in the U.S. This has been proven to be a fallacy and, in fact, a misreading of American political life. Besides the fact that the president cannot alter a U.S. policy without the approval of the Congress, an unrealistic possibility when approval would require a stand against Israel, the party to which the President belongs will not permit that to happen. Even in a second term, therefore, the President will not take on the pro-Israel forces, and the fact that it is in the national interest not to anger Israel.

Since the 1967 war, Israel has established 125 settlements on the West Bank, Gaza, the Sinai, and the Golan Heights. This is

according to a U.N. published map of the occupied territories dated November, 1978. Since then, of course, more settlements have been established and the ones in the Sinai, it was released lately, will be transplanted to the Gaza area. Also, as a friendly gesture from Menachem Begin to his friends Anwar El Sadat and Jimmy Carter, for the signing of the "peace treaty", Begin announced not long after his return from the signing in Washington that more settlements will be established. Begin also announced that the autonomy referred to in the treaty and the Camp David agreements applies only to the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza and not to the land they live on or the water resources they depend on. Israel, through its Prime Minister, showed again to the United States and Sadat how courteous it intends to be by including in the autonomy plan the air the Palestinians breathe on the West Bank and Gaza.

Since the election of Menachem Begin and his coalition to head the government of Israel, 28 more settlements were established on the "territories". This is what Begin announced in the Knesset on May 6th of this year. The territories, as defined by Begin, do not include East Jerusalem around which many settlements were established as well. The position of the U.S. Government, as mentioned before, has been only a lip service condemnation of the Israeli settlements policy. The U.S. Government and the Congress in particular are known to be supportive of, or the initiator of, policies such as the one installed against Turkey to punish it for what was perceived as a violation of U.S. arms sales regulations. The U.S. initiated an arms embargo against Turkey, a country which is a very important member of the southern tier of the NATO alliance in response to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. The embargo is another example

of pressure which the U.S. applies against a sovereign nation, further negating Carter's assessment of impotency on the part of the U.S. in pressuring Israel.

In a more relevant example, the U.S. is applying pressure against its closest allies in the Middle East in order to secure their support for the Sadat-Israel treaty. In many interviews with King Hussein of Jordan, one of the friendliest heads of states in the Middle East to the United States, he revealed that very serious pressure and even arm twisting was used to make him support a policy which goes against his interest and that of the whole Arab nation. Similarly, the U.S. is twisting many arms of its allies in the Middle East in support of its treaty. This is being done at the risk of alienating all of its friends, the most important of whom is the Saudi Royal Family. The fact that the U.S. is willing to risk friction with all of the Arab countries and not with Israel says that there must be stronger ties with Israel than with the rest of the countries and people of the Arab Middle East. This assumption is valid, unless the U.S. knows very well the strength of Arab commitment to the cause of the Palestinians. Here again, then the U.S. is applying pressure against sovereign nations and what Carter said to the reporter is at best questionable.

Also because of the treaty and because of Syria's opposition to it, the U.S. is weighing the \$100 million in aid that the U.S. planned on offering to Syria. This is again pressure which the U.S. Government is using against a sovereign nation which finds itself in conflict with the United States policy in the Middle East region. A few days ago the Senate passed the administration bill granting Israel \$3 billion and Egypt \$1.8 billion. No attempt was made by the Carter

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Autonomy — Formula for "Israeli Sovereignty"

On May 8, the Israeli daily newspaper *Ha'aretz* published the official Israeli plan for "autonomy" on the West Bank and Gaza. This plan will be presented when negotiations with the Egyptians and Americans commence. The plan, written in English and containing 30 clauses, is titled as "Proposal for Full Autonomy for the Arab Inhabitants of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza and the Maintaining of the Jewish Settlements in Those Territories." In the preface, the Israelis declare that "Israel will neither tolerate nor permit a Palestinian state ever being established in the territories of Judea, Samaria and Gaza."

In addition, the preface is explicit about Israel's goal for the occupied territories, stating that "at the end of five years of autonomy, Israel will demand the realization of its unquestionable right of sovereignty over the territories of Judea, Samaria and Gaza."

Some of the relevant clauses of the plan are:

- "Security and the public order will come under the authority of Israel. The combating of terrorism, subversion and violence in any form will be in the hands of Israel's security elements."
- "The inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza will be able to choose between Israeli and Jordanian citizenship."
- "Every Israeli citizen will be entitled to purchase land in the autonomous regions; autonomy inhabitants adopting Israeli citizenship will be able to purchase land in Israel."
- "The land needed for the army and for Jewish settlements will be under Israeli control. Noncultivated state lands will be in Israeli hands."
- "Since water resources affect the entire area and require regional planning, the State of Israel will be responsible for water planning."

The Camp David Process: A Peace Treaty Without Peace

by Nasser H. Aruri, Southeastern Massachusetts University

To the overwhelming majority of the Arab people, the second Camp David agreement signed in Washington on March 26, 1979, is nothing more than a fig-leaf covering a bilateral Egyptian-Israeli settlement at the expense of Arab and Palestinian rights. What was achieved, at best, first at Camp David and next at Washington was a separate peace between Israel and the largest Arab country — a fulfillment of a long cherished Zionist dream. The agreement after WWI between Prince Feisal and Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann signalled the beginning of a process by which Zionists endeavored to liquidate the Palestinian cause through an important Arab leader or a combination of leaders. Sadat delivered to Zionism what Feisal failed to do — a license to establish a permanent occupation of all of historical Palestine. After showing Sadat that the Sinai desert can be held indefinitely under occupation pending a decision by Egypt to extricate itself from pan-Arab solidarity and to stop worrying about Palestine and Syria, Israel's leaders permitted the restoration of Egyptian sovereignty over most of the Sinai.

Thus, the Egyptian-Israeli "Treaty of Peace" is simple and clear cut: Sadat was granted a peace treaty and got Sinai back.

The so-called "Framework For Peace in the Middle East," however, which purports to serve as an instrument for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is not as simple. But amidst vagueness and ambiguity, a general outline of the envisaged settlement can be discerned. Perhaps the most important feature of this so-called Framework is that it stands at variance and in utter disagreement with the regional consensus and the global consensus with regard to the requisites of a durable peace. Two elements are of particular importance: first, the necessity of Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories including the West Bank, Gaza, Golan, as well as Sinai. This condition has not only characterized general Arab policy, but Egyptian policy under Sadat as well. In fact, Anwar Sadat has coined the phrase of "withdrawal from every single inch of Arab territory." Withdrawal is also the principal provision of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, which came to be regarded by various sectors of the World community as a cornerstone of any Middle East settlement. The second element of the Arab and global consensi is the recognition of Palestinian rights including self-determination, statehood, and return, as well as the right to

be represented on an equal footing in any forum for the search for peace. These rights are enshrined in countless international declarations, charters and United Nations resolutions. Moreover they were recognized by the Committee of Nonaligned Nations, the Organization of African Unity, Council of Islamic States, the Socialist States.

Time and again, Anwar Sadat reaffirmed his commitment to a peace based on these two principles. But, the Camp David accords as well as the Treaty of peace flaunt these principles, and by sponsoring this "peace", President Carter may have exerted his efforts in the direction of a wider conflict with grave implications for the region, and for the American people.

Contrary to Resolution 242, and to a long standing U.S. policy, which was reaffirmed by the Carter Administration on June 27, 1977, the United States acquiesced in territorial aggrandizement by Israel when it accepted the deletion of the clause denoting "inadmissibility of territory acquired by force" from its Camp David working paper on the eighth day of the negotiations. Israel agreed, in return, to "decide" not merely to "discuss" the question of West Bank sovereignty at the end of the five year transitional period. So adamant was Begin in his opposition to the inclusion of the principle of inadmissibility of conquest by force in the text of the agreement that he said: "Let my right hand forget its cunning before I sign such a document."

It was not strange, therefore, for Menachem Begin to lecture Prime Minister Mustafa Khalil six months later on the true meaning of the "Peace Treaty". He announced on March 20, 1979, that Israel will never return to the 1967 borders. Moreover, assured of Carter's acquiescence in his deletion from negotiable items of Palestinian national rights, Begin delivered, on the same occasion and from the same rostrum at the Knesset, two additional "nevers" — that Arab Jerusalem will never revert back to Arab jurisdiction and that an Arab Palestinian state will never emerge on the West Bank and in Gaza.

What, we may ask, did Carter's "peace" offer the Palestinians and other Arabs? Autonomy or self-rule is a concept which emerged out of a 26 point plan which Begin enunciated on 27 December 1977 as Israel's "contribution" in response to Sadat's "peace" initiative. *The New York Times*



United Palestinian Workers in 1979 May Day parade in Melbourne, Australia declare "Palestinians are Fighting for Lasting Peace!"

U.S. Aid to Israel

If American taxpayers were monitoring Capitol Hill last month, they would have noted a generous portion of their tax dollars allotted for military and economic aid to Israel. On May 7, what is known as the "peace package," — the \$4.8 billion supplemental aid for Egypt and Israel — passed the Senate, after being approved by the House in late April. A successful amendment by Senators Javits and Stone indicated that this "peace package" might become considerably plumper. Noting Israel and Egypt's "enormous debt burden," the amendment stated that "it may become necessary to modify the terms of the loan."

Senator Lugar objected that this amendment was an "open invitation to

renegotiate the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) loans." In other words, the practice of "forgiving" FMS loans ("forgiving" means cancelling the debt) is already on the agenda in terms of loans made under the supplemental aid package. The *Mideast Observer* has reported that "there are moves afoot in Washington to have upwards of 50% of the supplemental loans to Israel and Egypt forgiven," although this would presumably happen after the opposition to further expenditures has died down.

"Forgiving" loans to Israel is such a common practice for the U.S. Government that it is part of normal legislation. Under the

1979 Security Assistance Act, passed by a voice vote in the House on March 20, Israel received 1 billion dollars of Foreign Military Sales credits for Fiscal Year 1980. Payment was waived on one-half of this amount. Israel, indeed, has the lion's share of military aid, a fact noted in the preface to the report by the Foreign Affairs Committee to the House which stated: "by far the largest portion of the Security Assistance program authorized by this bill will facilitate supply of defense articles and services to countries of the Middle East." In fact, of the \$2.3 billion apportioned under this act, \$1.2 billion goes to the Middle East and over 80% of that goes to Israel. And this in the year that the U.S. has proclaimed "peace" in the region.

U.S. AID TO ISRAEL (in millions of dollars)

	1948-1977	Repayments and interest 1948-1977	Total less repay- ments & interest 1948-1977	1979	Authorized for 1980 ^b
Economic Assistance—					
TOTAL	3217.6	552.9	2664.7	830.4 ^a	810.0 ^c
a. Loans	1286.2	552.9	733.3	260.0	(not calculated)
b. Grants	1931.4	---	1931.4	570.4	(not calculated)
Military Assistance—					
TOTAL	6904.2	802.2	6102.0	1000.0	1000.0
a. Loans	3954.2	802.2	3152.0	500.0	500.0
b. Grants	2950.0	---	2950.0	500.0	500.0
Economic & Military					
TOTAL	10121.8	1355.1	8766.7	1830.4	1810.0

a. Includes 40 million for U.S. half of the endowment for the Binational Agricultural Research and Development and 5.4 million under Public Law 480 (Food for Peace). These will probably be repeated in 1980 but are not included for that year.

b. Does not include 4.8 billion supplemental aid package to Israel and Egypt.

c. Includes 25 million for "resettling in Israel refugees from the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe."
Figures compiled from Agency for International Development and House Foreign Affairs reports.

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reacted then (Jan. 2, 1978) editorially to the plan thus: "It doesn't take an Arab eye to see little self and much rule in it." We are told that the Carter Administration tries to assure Palestinians and other Arabs opposed to the Israeli-Egyptian "peace" that

the process of creating autonomy will eventually lead to independent statehood. On the other hand, Menachem Begin enunciated the doctrine that autonomy applies to the *people* but not to the *land*. The latter is considered by the Begin government as belonging to the Jewish

people, while the indigenous Palestinians are merely "users" of the land living on sufferance. This is the kind of double-think which was granted a measure of legitimacy in the Camp David "peace". An even more concrete definition of autonomy was
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photo credit: Ghassan Duhara, Al Fair

Washington, May 19, 1979

Demonstration Affirms Palestinian and African Solidarity

In an impressive show of solidarity and support, four thousand Blacks marched with Palestinians in Washington, D.C., on Saturday May 19th, celebrating "Africa and Palestine Liberation Day." Thousands of demonstrators chanting "Free Africa, Free Palestine," and "Down with Zionism, Down with Apartheid," passed by the Israeli, South African and Egyptian Embassies. Palestinian and African flags blended together, while Black, Puerto Rican and Palestinian marchers held hands and chanted for liberation and freedom.

At a massive rally in Malcolm X Park, Stokely Carmichael and the daughter of Patrice Lumumba spoke about the unity of the Third World peoples and the need for organizing to help Africa achieve liberation and freedom. They condemned Racism, Zionism, and Imperialism and urged the Black people to unite and show support for the oppressed people of Palestine and South Africa. Other speakers included the PLO, the American Indian Movement and ZANU.

In major cities of the U.S., including Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and San Francisco demonstrations and rallies were held celebrating "Palestine Day" on May 15, 1979. Americans were urged to support the Palestinian people who are suffering under a brutal Israeli military

occupation on the West Bank and Gaza, and to protest the use of American made cluster bombs and anti-personnel weapons used by Israeli air raids against civilians in South Lebanon.

Lebanon: The "First Post-Camp David War"

On May 6, the Israelis deliberately broke the truce in Lebanon that had been in force for only ten uneasy days. The previous Israeli assault on Lebanon, from April 23-26, termed by the *Christian Science Monitor* the "first post-Camp David war", had resulted in over sixty Palestinian and Lebanese deaths and thousands of new refugees. Significantly, the current phase of this war was not in response to any Arab attack. On May 8, the Israelis announced a new policy in Lebanon: "pre-emptive strikes" against Palestinian and Lebanese targets.

Christian Science Monitor columnist Joseph Harsch noted on May 11 that the Israeli Cabinet, in fact, had "instructed the Israeli armed forces to keep the Palestinian Arabs under sustained attack rather than to retaliate for each Arab raid into Israel." According to a recent statement by Israeli Chief of Staff Raphael Eytan, this "sustained attack" is subject to no restraints whatsoever: he declared that "Israel is waging a war against the Palestinians which knows no frontiers and no rules." It is not

rhetorical to note that such a war — without rules and against an entire population — is by definition genocidal.

In the short-term, the Israeli aim is to consolidate and extend the Israeli occupation in the South of Lebanon, inflict as many casualties on the Palestinians as possible, destabilize the Lebanese government and perhaps draw Syria into a confrontation. One telling example of the Israeli drive to control South Lebanon occurred on May 21. According to Agence France Presse, about 20 Israeli military vehicles crossed into Lebanon at dawn and encircled the Lebanese village of Shab'a. Israel's Lebanese ally, rightist military commander Said Haddad, had previously given the villagers in Shab'a an ultimatum — to join Haddad's Israeli-controlled "Free Lebanon" or be subject to military conquest. Shab'a is under United Nations jurisdiction and the inhabitants appealed to the United Nations troops. Norwegian units managed to intercept the Israeli patrol, but the town, and several other villages nearby, continued to be under Israeli bombardment.

Israel's newest policy in Lebanon, then, also includes open defiance of, and clashes with, the United Nations. The war in Lebanon is widening, and the fruits of the Camp David process and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty are becoming increasingly bitter.

Congressional Leaders Hint at Egyptian-Israeli-U.S. Military Alliance

While the Carter Administration strives to convince the American public that the Egyptian-Israeli treaty will usher in an era of peace in the Middle East, statements of legislators on Capitol Hill indicate a different prospectus for the region. Senator Church, a strong supporter of the treaty, querying

Secretary of State Vance during his testimony in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about the U.S.-envisioned role for Egypt remarked: "There's some smoke around town. And when there's smoke there's usually fire — about using Egypt as a kind of gendarme in the region in place of Iran."

While Church himself adamantly opposes such an Egyptian role, other members of Congress see it as necessary. Speaker of

the House Tip O'Neill, as reported in the Congressional Record of May 10, has stated: "We know what happened in Iran, what it has cost, the problems it has caused here in America. I wonder about Saudi Arabia. I probably should not even be making these remarks, but I can view, and I hope wrongly, a time when Israel and Egypt and the United States, some day not too far distant, may be fighting together to save Saudi Arabia for the free world, for Western Europe and for the needs of energy."

May 15 Message from Yasser Arafat

At this time every year, we commemorate what has been termed the "disaster" in our contemporary history. Thirty-one years ago, world imperialism and racist Zionism were able to sever a dear part of our homeland, Palestine, to declare the establishment of the racist state of Israel, and to expel by means of terror, murder and conspiracy, large numbers of our people from their homes.

Imperialism and Zionism succeeded in creating the state of Israel at a time when our Arab nation was under foreign occupation, suffering from political partition and from the domination of reactionary forces collaborating with colonialism. However, our people did not surrender, in spite of the severity and circumstances of the tragedy. They did not cease for one moment their attempts to return and to struggle for the liberation of their homeland.

The objective of imperialism and Zionism was to destroy the Palestinian national identity and to erase the name of Palestine. But the revolution and sacrifices of our people, and the support that their struggle has gained the world over, have foiled this plot, and Palestine and its people remain today the axis of every political activity in the world. No one — not even our enemies — can ignore now the existence or the cause of this people. For our people will continue their just struggle to regain their inalienable historic rights to return to their homeland, to exercise self-determination and to establish their independent state under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their legitimate representative.

However, U.S. imperialism continues its offensive against our people, our fighters and revolution and against the whole Arab nation, while Carter, Begin and Sadat sign the so-called peace treaty: a peace which is in fact a false one, based on the continuation of the occupation of Arab lands, of the violation of Palestinian rights and even the seizure of water resources. Our people have unanimously rejected this treaty. The population of the occupied territories has announced its rejection of the "self-rule"

plan which consolidates the occupation and increased the number of settlements, and they have declared — despite the savage terrorism of the occupiers — their attachment to the PLO as their sole, legitimate representative.

Meanwhile, the struggle of our masses against the settlement projects has intensified in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, the Naqab, and all over Palestinian land. Similarly, the Palestinians outside the occupied territories have been unanimous in their rejection of the U.S. plans and in their condemnation of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. The Arab nation was also unanimous in rejecting the treaty. The nature of this false peace concocted by imperialism was unmasked by the Israeli raids launched with U.S.-made planes against our Palestinian camps and our Arab villages, and by the use of lethal and internationally banned

weapons such as cluster bombs, fragmentation shells and napalm.

The imperialist aggressors and the Zionist racist terrorists are trying to stop the wheel of history. We are fully confident, however, that neither the savage attacks on our camps, nor the death sentences against our militants, nor the seizure and settlement of our land, nor the bilateral treaties which seek to encircle us, nor the air naval and artillery bombardments will succeed in weakening our determination or in decreasing our struggle. We are moreover well aware that, as the struggle develops, our enemies will intensify their aggression and further drop the mask that conceals their racist fascist entity, while the justice of our cause becomes confirmed and gains further support from the peace, freedom and equality-loving people of the world.



Peace Treaty. (Continued from page 7)

supplied by a semi-official committee headed by Ben Elissar, a top aid of Menachem Begin, which envisions Israeli control of water resources, settlements, land, and "security."

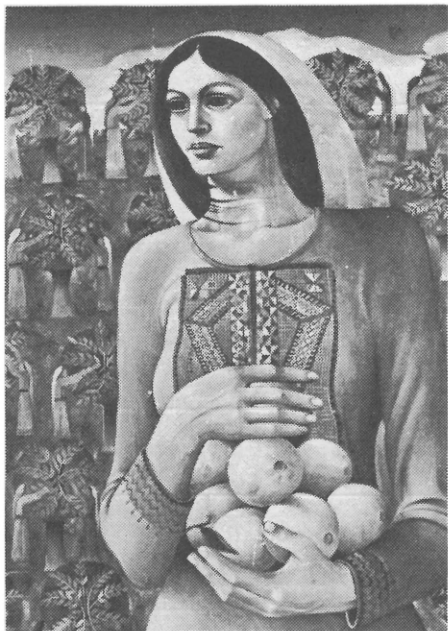
What this means is that Menachem Begin has in fact *enlarged* Israel's claims and demands and obtained the stamp of

approval from Carter and Sadat. Begin's elaborations leave very little room, if any, for negotiation. Hebron Mayor Fahd Qawasmeh told the *Christian Science Monitor* (Mar. 29, 1979) in this regard: "Until now, Begin says that this is the land of Israel. But to us this is our homeland, and we refuse to discuss this point. Maybe when

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A Song and the Sultan

by Mahmoud Darwish



Painting by Suleiman Mansour

When she told them the forest was abounding
with secrets
and the moon was stabbed with a carving
knife
and the blood of the nightingale was on that
stone, abandoned,
why did they resist her?
Why did they torture her?

When she said, my country is a mountain of
sweat
and on the small bridge a man is dying
and darkness burning
the Sultan was angry
and the Sultan is an imaginative creature.

He said, "The fault is in the mirror
so let your singer be silent
and let my kingdom from the Nile to the
Euphrates be."
and he shouted, "Put that poem in prison!"
The torture room, for security,
is a thousand times better than an anthem
or a newspaper.

Go and tell the Sultan
that the wind cannot be wounded by the
shake of a sword
that millions of trees can become green
in the cupped hand of a single letter.

But the Sultan was angry, and the Sultan is
everywhere
on stamps, in psalms,
and on his forehead is the tattoo of hunting.

He shouted, "It is ordered!
Execute this poem!"

Execution Square is the best anthology for
obstinate sons.

Go and tell the Sultan
that lightning cannot be imprisoned in a
corncob
that songs are the logic of the sun
and the history of sheaves
and the nature of earthquakes.

That songs like tree trunks may die in one
land

but sprout in every country.
The blue sun was an idea
the Sultan tried to submerge
but it became the birthday of an ember

and the red sun has become an ember
which the Sultan in vain imprisoned
and suddenly the fire
is a revolution!

The voices of blood
have taken the tone of a tempest
and the pebbles of the Square are becoming
like open wounds
and I laugh, awed by the birth of the wind.

When the Sultan resisted me
I grasped the key of the morning
and groped my way with the lamps of
wounds.

Oh how wise I was when I gave my heart
to the call of the tempest!

Let the tempest roar,
O let the tempest roar. . .!

Translated from the Arabic by Rose Styron

It was no more than the description of a
burst of rain
and handkerchiefs of lightning which
burned the secret of trees—
then why did they resist her?

When she said that something different
from this water
runs in the river
and the people of the shore are statues and
other things,
why did they torture her?

Peace Treaty (Continued from page 9)

Begin admits that this is occupied territory and the Israelis must withdraw then there would be something to discuss." Emphasizing that the peace arrangements fail to delineate principles governing the negotiations, the Mayor continued: "If Israel says this is the land of Palestinians then we can discuss security, future relations between us, how to arrive at peace, a hundred items. But the aim of the negotiations must be clear from the start."

The Palestinians are, therefore, confronted with an attempted *diktat*, an arrangement lacking in substance and loaded with procedures, which perpetuate the status-quo, and, at best, defers the Palestinian question for five years. It claims to tackle the Palestinian question "in all its aspects," yet it makes no provisions for two million Palestinians living in exile, fails to come to grips with the status of Jerusalem, and leaves Israeli forces in control of the

West Bank and Gaza. Is it any wonder, then that these arrangements have been universally denounced by every municipal council and popular organization in the area stated for "autonomy?" Why should a people held in captivity against their will give their consent to a *de jure* occupation? By what moral or political standard did Jimmy Carter and his Nobel Peace Prize colleagues decide that the Palestinians are not a people entitled to equal rights? And by what principle did they determine that a highly literate, urban, cohesive community, which has managed to assert its identity despite its legal and physical fragmentation is entitled to autonomy, the right to decide matters of sanitation, public works and perhaps religious affairs — but not to independence? Or, to quote an Israeli Professor of comparative literature, "Why should Palestinians on the West Bank accept Israeli assurances of 'full rights' when 'Israeli Arabs' have been living in Israel for thirty

years without full rights?"

The other dimension of the "peace treaty" is its price tag, not only in terms of the expense which U.S. tax-payers will bear, but also in terms of the commitments which Jimmy Carter has undertaken on behalf of the American people. The American dowry includes a pledge to supply the two reluctant partners with aid amounting to at least \$14 billion over the next three years, most of which will be used for the purchase of sophisticated weaponry. This new expense means for each family of four in the U.S. an additional tax of \$83.00 each year for the next three years. It means a daily expenditure of \$13 million (8.5 for Israel and \$4.5 for Egypt). It also contains an unusual assurance of a 15 year supply of oil to Israel at a time that Americans are urged to conserve energy. Why, many people ask, should peace cost so much, and why must two countries, who pledged to end all wars,

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Settlements (Continued from page 5)

Administration or by any group of senators to alter Israel's settlements policy, its arrogance, and defiance of international law and the officially declared policy of the United States.

The PLO and the United States

It is a recognized fact, even by the U.S. Government, that the core of the problem in the Middle East is the condition of the stateless, but very determined, Palestinians. The cohesion shown by the various segments of the Palestinian people is unmatched by other peoples in the region, the best witness to this being the unequivocal support the PLO receives from the mayors and people of the West Bank and Gaza. It is natural then that any attempt at solving the problems in the Middle East must consider the most important element of it, the Palestinian, and must as well include negotiations with the representative of the Palestinian People, the PLO. Although the U.S. is fully aware of this fact, it has chosen to neglect it.

In a memorandum of understanding between the U.S. and Israel, it was agreed in 1975 that the U.S. will not negotiate with or recognize the PLO in return for Israel signing the Sinai II disengagement agreement. This has been the basis of the U.S. refusal to deal with the PLO. In a recent visit to the United States by a member of the PLO, such restrictions were placed on him which forbade him to engage in any political activities. The visitor, Mr. Shafiq Al-Hout, the head of the PLO office in Beirut, came to the U.S. upon an invitation extended to him by several universities in the eastern section of the country. This visit to the U.S. created such a negative response from Israel's many friends, including of course the Administration that when a group of Arab presidents of local Washington chapters of Arab organizations met with Harold Saunders to ask him to extend the length of stay accorded in Mr. Al-Hout's visa and to open up its terms so as to allow him the freedom to speak with the American press, their request was flatly turned down.

The Congress, as well, showed intense opposition to Al-Hout's visit. Congressman Solarz, a Democrat from New York, presented an amendment co-sponsored by Congressman Derwinski, a Republican from Illinois, which closes a loophole in the immigration law allowing the Secretary of State to grant a waiver of restrictions of entry into the United States for a PLO member. The PLO was declared a proscribed organization by the U.S. Attorney General, therefore prohibiting U.S. visas to its members. The Solarz-Derwinski Amendment was agreed to by the House of Representatives without a

recorded vote. The Senate also passed the amendment but with a slightly different wording.

Begin's Government's response to the Al-Hout visit in the United States was a witness to Israel's arrogance. Begin, in a news conference reported by FBIS on May 2nd, revealed the content of a letter he sent to Cyrus Vance. I wrote to Vance, he said, saying "you are giving a visa and you are permitting one of the leaders of that murderous organization to appear before U.S. students? What has happened to you?" Begin went on: "But I asked the Secretary of State to be kind enough to note that this matter shocked public opinion in Israel and all our people. And I asked him in the future to be kind enough to consult with us on these matters. This is the duty of the United States. . ." to consult with us. If this is not arrogance at its best, for the United States Government to consult with the State of Israel as to the visit of a member of an organization in a state of war with Israel to the United States, nothing is. One wonders if Mr. Begin shares the belief with Jimmy Carter that the U.S. is indeed a sovereign country, just as Carter acknowledges the sovereignty of Israel. American students, Begin contends, should consult with him rather than with their own government before they are exposed to views other than those promoted by Israel. The American Government, in other words, dares not disagree with Israel.

Peace Treaty (Continued from page 10)

be armed to the teeth? Will they be the firemen entrusted with American hoses and water which is needed to obstruct social change in accordance with the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine?

If so, it must be kept in mind that the treaty does not rule out United States intervention. Despite its projected new brand of Vietnamization, the "memorandum of understanding" between the United States and Israel, a corollary to the treaty carries the seed of intervention. According to that document, the United States "will be prepared to consider, on an urgent basis, such measures as the strengthening of the United States presence in the area. . ." This is a thinly-veiled warning to any state or organization that active opposition to the treaty can be staged at the risk of military intervention by the United States.

There can be no peace in the Middle East until Palestinian society which was destroyed by successive Zionist invasions be permitted to reconstruct itself on Palestinian soil. Peace in the Middle East, in the final analysis, will revolve around the question of whether the Palestinian people will be able to enjoy those elementary rights which other people have enjoyed — the right to self-determination, statehood, and

return to their homes and property. The so-called treaty of peace of March 1979 does not assure that. In fact it has already created the basis for a wider conflict, which in the end will signal the defeat of imperialism and its new surrogates in an area whose people are determined to live in dignity and genuine peace.

Dr. Aruri is head of the Political Science Department of Southeastern Massachusetts University.

State of Siege (Continued from page 3)

to the advantage of anyone who is interested in peace in the region."

The United States, although it periodically issues statements regretting the establishment of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories as an "obstacle to peace" appears unwilling to pressure Israel. In fact, the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights has reported that, when foreign faculty and students called their embassies during the recent assault on Bir Zeit, British and French consular officials immediately arrived at the university. The U.S. Embassy, however, did not respond for two days, even though two U.S. citizens teaching at Bir Zeit were beaten by the soldiers. At this point, the Carter Administration is more intent on solidifying the political gains it made by engineering the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty than on condemning its bitter fruits for the Palestinian people.

For more information about the campaign to defend Bir Zeit University, contact the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1322 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. The Campaign is coordinating a national day of protest for Bir Zeit on June 5.

Editorial (Continued from page 2)

represents a total denial of the existence of the Palestinians and of their right to freedom and statehood. Consequently, the Palestinians now and have had in the past, no option but to fight against this ideology. Until such time as Israel recognizes the Palestinian people's right to be free, independent and sovereign in their own country, the Palestinians and Israelis have nothing to say to each other except on the battlefield.



TO OUR READERS:

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