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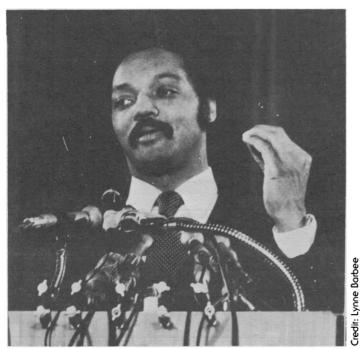
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For Justice, Freedom and Peace



Black Americans and the PLO



Reverend Jesse Jackson addresses Palestine Human Rights Conference

Anything in this country that vaguely resembles genuine interest in or sympathy for the long, painful struggle of the Palestinians for freedom is guaranteed to create enough noise (not to mention facile accusations of anti-semitism) by powerful Zionist groups here to cow anyone into silence.

Now, however, as more facts are emerging about Israel's brutal occupation practices in the eastern and southern parts of Palestine, and about its barbaric military operations in Lebanon, the task of silencing dissent is becoming increasingly more difficult.

There is no escaping the fact, these days, that Israel is motivated by what now appears to be the pathological notion that it must have total control of Palestine and prevent by force the realization of the most minimal of Palestinian rights — even if this force means the continued occupation of a people by another in the West Bank/Gaza (already the longest occupation in modern history) and the use of concussion bombs in Lebanon.

Yet the powerful Zionist groups in this country continue, through semantic infiltration, to deny this fact and, through a concerted campaign of mud-slinging, at assaulting anyone who does not.

The recent interest by leaders of the Black-American community in the Palestinian problem, an interest triggered by the forced resignation of Andrew Young under Israeli pressure, is one case in point.

It is impossible to imagine that the Jewish community in this country should or could have a monopoly on American policy in the Middle East. Yet, judging by recent events, that appears to be what it wants.

The visit last month to Lebanon and Palestine by officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and PUSH represents very simply an attempt by concerned Black American leaders to find out the facts of the situation. They wanted to judge for themselves — rather than remain forever captive to the distorted,

one-sided view propounded by Zionists — what the Palestinian struggle is about, who the leaders of the P.L.O. are, where the Palestinians stand today regarding a settlement, and how they, as community leaders whose government is massively involved in the issues of war and peace in the region, could participate in framing America's Palestine policy.

The Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Palestinian people themselves, received the leaders of the SCLC and PUSH, cordially, warmly and spontaneously. Consistent with the aim and nature of their visit, these leaders met with Palestinian officials, including the chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO (a body whose decision-making process is always subject, in the Palestinian democratic practice, to the Palestine National Council, the Palestinian parliament in exile); they talked to ordinary Palestinians in refugee camps and (in the case of PUSH) with Palestinians under occupation; they toured the devastated villages and towns of the south of Lebanon; they visited hospitals, schools, orphanages, workshops, institutions, training centers and the like, run by the PLO, and generally were afforded the chance to discover, for themselves, the true facts behind the struggle of the Palestinian people.

To discover the true facts for themselves. That, in toto, is the position of the PLO in its continuing interactive relationship with leaders of the Black-American community.

The Palestinians can only show Black-Americans the facts. Black-American leaders, in turn, will assimilate these facts, interpret them and act upon them in a genuine way consistent with their own subjective or cognitive view of the world.

The Palestinians did not want, and have never wanted to, tell Black-American leaders what to do with these facts and how to define them; nor, of course, did the Palestinians expect Black-Americans to tell them how to define themselves or the conduct of their struggle. Each people defines itself in its own unique way and adopts the necessary means to liberate itself through the outgrowth of the material conditions in its environment. Every people's struggle is different and its conduct is never, at any time, mutually exclusive from the environment that produced it or the historical traditions of that environment.

Black-Americans, however, as an oppressed people, as a people whose instinctive alliances are with other oppressed peoples, especially those of their brethern in South Africa, can not but side with the Palestinians, another oppressed people, against the Israeli oppressors whose *modus operandi* is identical to that of the European settlers in Zimbabwe and Azania, with whom Israel has long had intimate military, economic and political ties.

Since 1942, when the entire center of the international Zionist organizational apparatus moved from London to New York and Washington, Zionist propaganda has had a field day. It has painted, especially in recent years, a horrendously distorted and dehumanized image of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a five-headed monster; and more significantly, in a display of the awesome power of Zionism in the United States, Zionists were successful in forcing the American government to commit itself officially to not recognizing, or even talking to, the PLO.

The visit by leaders of the SCLC and PUSH to Lebanon and Palestine, to confer with the PLO and to meet with ordinary Palestinians, represents a courageous and eloquent statement about the desire of influential Americans to break out of the straight jacket that Zionism has put the American government in, and to reach out to a kindred people whose tradition of struggle against oppression is not much different from their own.



Camp David One Year Later: "Not One Iota" of Success

Addressing a special joint session of Congress on September 18, 1978, President Carter eulogized the completion of the Camp David agreements the night before, and declared: "The guns will now fall silent. The bombs will no longer fall." Administration officials, Congressional leaders, the media and even the Nobel Peace Prize committee joined uncritically in the chorus of euphoria and self-congratulation. Peace in the Middle East, under the benevolent auspices of the United States, was at hand.

A little over one year later, on October 23, 1979, President Carter's special Middle East negotiator, Robert Strauss, testified before the House Sub-Committee on the Middle East and announced that the Egyptian-Israeli talks on Palestinian "autonomy", which were supposed to implement the Camp David agreements, have not produced "one single iota of agreement" and that "there are vast, vast differences that we don't know how to bridge." He further noted that the target date for the completion of an agreement, May 26, 1980, one year after the Egyptian-Israeli treaty was put into effect, "may be impossible" to meet.

What then has happened to the "peace" proclaimed by Egypt, Israel and the United States? The resignation of Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan on October 21 points to one part of the answer. The intransigence of the Begin government and its right-wing allies in the National Religious Party, has created a stalemate in the talks that more "flexible" Zionists like Dayan, whose own personal power has been eroded by the extreme right-wing, realizes is dangerous for Israel. Following the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, Begin appointed National Religious Party leader Yosef Burg to head his negotiating team for the autonomy talks and drew up an official Israeli plan for "autonomy" that declared: "Israel will neither tolerate nor permit a Palestinian state ever being established in the territories of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza." In addition, under the influence of Agricultural Minister Ariel Sharon and the right-wing Gush Emunim, Begin's settlement policy has escalated recklessly in the occupied territories. As the New York Times editorial of October 23 admitted: "The resignation of Moshe Dayan is the plainest signal yet that the present Government of Israel will not relinquish control over the Arab populations of the West Bank and Gaza Strip."



Palestinians: United Against "Autonomy"

The second, and more significant, part of the answer to why Camp David is a failure lies in the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in resisting the "autonomy" plan. According to the Washington correspondent for Al Fair newspaper, Ambassador Strauss was asked repeatedly in the October 23 hearings about the changes for success of the autonomy talks without Palestinian participation. Strauss answered that he had talked to Palestinians who were "not PLO" and "we begged them to come to the table," but with no success. Congressman Pease (D-Ohio) added that in his own meetings with mayors from the occupied West Bank, he was left with the impression that they would be "members of the PLO" if they could. Strauss commented that there was no doubt about the truth of this statement and added that PLO Chairman Arafat is considered a "leader" in that part of the world. Strauss also wrote off the possibility that Palestinians might participate in elections following the autonomy talks. Clearly, the Palestinian people, despite limited resources and despite conditions of military occupation or exile, have managed to wage a successful, united struggle against the policies of the most powerful nation on earth, the United States, and two of its allies in the Middle

Nonetheless, the U.S. appears determined to pursue the path of Camp David to its doomed end. The day after his

pessimistic session with Congress, Ambassador Strauss addressed a Jewish National Fund dinner in Washington, and declared that the "cornerstone of our whole foreign policy is a secure, strong and vital Israel" and that any discussion of changes in this policy were a "lot of baloney." Strauss also warned Congress that any "pressure" on Israel would be counter-productive. No pressure, therefore, can be expected from the Carter Administration on the Begin government to stop illegal settlements in the occupied territories or to end provocative actions in Lebanon. Instead, the current "fact-finding" mission of U.S. envoy Phillip Habib to the Middle East seems focused on asking the Arab states to pressure the PLO to withdraw from Southern Lebanon. The U.S. "initiative" to solve the Lebanese crisis. however, which has already foundered, was responded to aptly by Lebanese Prime Minister Dr. Selim al-Huss on October 13. Asked whether he had fresh information about the reported U.S. plan for peace in Lebanon, Dr. al-Huss replied, as reported by Beirut Domestic Service, "What initiative can the United States possibly undertake at a time when President Carter has announced that his country is not prepared to put any pressure on Israel regarding southern Lebanon and the U.S. Senate has turned down a proposal to reduce U.S. military aid to Israel as a way of denouncing the Israeli attacks on southern Lebanon and Israel's violation of U.S. laws prohibiting the use of U.S. weapons in offensive operations?"



Destruction All Around: With the SCLC Delegation in Lebanon

The following account was written by Al Fajr correspondent Ghassan Bishara, who travelled with the SCLC delegation in Lebanon.

The SCLC delegation visit to Lebanon was a fact finding mission about the situation of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, particularly in the South. In his airport statement, Dr. Lowery said: "We expect to visit villages in Lebanon which have been subject to destructive bombing." And destruction they saw. They visited various refugee camps which have long been a target for Israeli bombing and shelling. They visited Shatila and Sabra refugee camps on the outskirts of Beirut, and they saw first-hand the tragedy of the Palestinian people — overcrowded living quarters, narrow streets, open sewer systems and a very dusty environment. In one two-bedroom apartment they saw sixteen people living, half of which came to the Sabra camp from another refugee camp in the South which the Israelis were repeatedly bombing. Children were everywhere in the camp playing in the narrow alleys — one cannot help but feel resentful and angry at those who are responsible for such conditions. The U.S. Government, the Western governments in general, the whole world community and, of course, the Israelis are all to blame.

The feeling of anger that many of those raised in such camps hold is palpable. The youth of these camps are now determined to fight their way out of these camps into what they confidently call "our country, our towns and our villages in Palestine." But even those who have made it out of these camps are as determined to regain their right to go back to Palestine and thus recapture their sense of identity and integrity and of respect.

Members of the SCLC delegation were clearly moved by what they saw in these Palestinian and Lebanese communities. At some point, a member of the "Black brothers", as they were called by Palestinians and Lebanese who met them, stepped aside and started crying. According to him he "simply couldn't take it anymore." What brought him to tears was that three inhabitants of the Shatila Camp asked him the same question, in almost the same manner: "Are you here to take pictures and then give them to the Israelis so that they come and bomb us again?" When a woman



Reverend Joseph Lowery with Palestinian children's folktroupe.

asked him the same question again he cried and could only say he was a "friend."

Following the path of Israeli bombing and destruction, the delegation went to the south. They stopped at the town of Damour which is now occupied by poor Palestinians and Lebanese, and which is the site of countless devasted houses and huge scattered craters left by the bombs. In Damour, the delegation collected souvenirs of U.S.-made bombs dropped by Israeliowned, U.S. made fighters and bombers. Both the President of the SCLC and Congressman Fauntroy of Washington, D.C., expressed their shock at the destruction they saw.

From Damour the delegation continued southward to Sidon where they met the Commander of the Unified Forces in the south. They held a meeting with him before taking off to Nabatiya, a town which was almost empty of its population because of the bombing. One sees many once beautifully located, magnificent homes now barely standing, having lost a wall or two, a roof and more. A school in Nabatiya was likewise not spared by Israeli weapons — it stands empty and deserted.

"You Can See Palestine"

Leaving Nabatiya, the delegation and their Lebanese and Palestinian escorts with the many members of the press headed to Beaufort Castle. On the way, one could still see the effects of the bombing: destroyed houses, empty fields and some unattended tobacco fields. Palestinians who escorted the delegation and the press kept telling everyone, "once up in the castle you can see Palestine." And after making the steep climb up the castle, Palestine was clearly visible to all, a distance of only four to six kilometers from Beaufort.

However what struck everybody up in the castle was not the fact alone that Palestine could be seen from there but the high spirit of the people who are stationed there. They were very friendly, very tough, and certainly very confident. Also noticeable in the castle was the physical condition of the ancient Crusader structure. If it looked 700 years old, that was thanks to the almost daily beating by American made bombs and shells. It doesn't look like there is one inch of this old castle that has not been touched by the Israeli long range artillery and daily air strikes.

From the Beaufort Castle, the delegation went to Tyre. There they saw a collection of U.S. bombs, including the 175 mm and 203 mm, long-range artillery shells, cluster bombs, an F-15 fuelage tank and a variety of other American and Israeli manufactured weapons. A tour of the city itself showed clearly where these weapons, freshly viewed had landed. The city appeared desolate and almost vacant, much as the other once beautiful cities of Damour and Nabatiya had. Everywhere, houses are destroyed and the streets are full of pot holes from the continuous bombing.

In particular, the destruction was most apparent in the Christian quarter of the city shelled August 24-27 of this year. In one location, where a house had been wiped out, an isolated wall stood and on the inside still hung the Cross and a picture of Jesus.

The delegation was also taken to a church which appears to have been a target of American-made weapons. Members of the delegation, most of whom are clergy were obviously moved. The damage is so severe and so random that there seems to have been no real explanation for it.

A scene which brought tears into the eyes of some members of the delegation was that of an elderly woman crying over the death of her daughter. The woman sat in what remained of a bombed out house, with some furniture still left standing, and cried so

loudly that her sobs couldn't have been ignored. When Dr. Lowery arrived by her side with some other members of the group, she was sitting on the floor of a dark room with her daughter's clothes in front of her. Dr. Lowery tried to comfort her but to no avail. Later, as the delegation left the city of Tyre, the burnt out fishing boats half sunk off the coast in the port provided yet another sign of the damage caused by the Israelis.

At the Rashidiya camp, the next stop in the delegation's tour of the South, the destruction of its congested and modest one floor houses was total. All of the 16,000 residents of the camp, save a few hundred, fled north to safety from Israeli shelling, by land and sea.

As if to remind the Black Americans of their presence, the Israelis flow over the town of Tyre and everybody looked up in the sky to see the source of the destruction down below. No one, however, showed any fear. Having visited the South, Dr. Lowery commented, "It is a shame. I just hope the world will exercise every part it can to bring peace to this land with justice." Then answering a question, he said that the nations of the world can bring about a solution to this region "if we bring to the table all parties that have a stake, including the Palestinians. It is futile," he went on, "to try to work it out without the people who



Rev. Joseph Lowery and D.C. Delegate Waiter Fauntroy examine fragments of U.S. weapons used by Israel against South Lebanon.

have such a high stake, because they are not going to relent in their pursuit of a homeland."

Congressman Fauntroy then commented: "I hope the representatives of the Palestinian people, mainly the PLO, will be communicated with by our government (Continued on page 11)

The Palestine Liberation Organization: For Equality and Freedom

The following is a press release issued by the Palestine Information Office at a press conference on October 17.

The Palestinians, as an oppressed and persecuted people, have always welcomed expressions of support for their struggle for human dignity and freedom. In the occupied West Bank, in the cities of Nablus and Jerusalem, Palestinians welcomed Jesse Jackson because he spoke about their suffering in refugee camps and their agony under the brutal Israeli military occupation. In the refugee camps in South Lebanon and Beirut, Palestinians also warmly welcomed Congressman Walter Fauntroy and Reverend Joseph Lowery because they expressed human sympathy with the exile and suffering of the Palestinian people. The PLO welcomes these expressions of concern for human rights, equality and freedom, peace and brotherhood from these Black leaders. These are universal principles to which all people of good will adhere, whether it is in the American Deep South in the 1960s, or in Zimbabwe, South Africa and the Middle East at present.

It is most unfortunate that Bayard Rustin, in his current trip to Israel, has repeated

racist Israeli slogans about the PLO and the Palestinian people that only poison the atmosphere and lead to more tension and mistrust. In its principles and ideals, the PLO and the Palestinian people are committed to equal rights among Jews, Christians and Moslems and to secularism and full political rights for people regardless of their race or ethnic origin. It abhors discrimination against Jews and it condemns racism, anti-semitism and all other ideas of segregation and superiority. The PLO reflects the feelings and aspirations of an oppressed and dispossessed people enslaved under Israeli military rule, struggling for freedom, and therefore, stands in solidarity with all Americans, Black and white, Chicano and Native American, who struggle for these same principles in the United States.

In response to the intiative of these Black leaders and because of its own commitment to peace and justice in the Middle East, the PLO issued an official six-point communique on October 9 affirming its commitment to a ceasefire in South Lebanon based on the PLO's concern for

the safety and security of Lebanon. The communique also reaffirmed the Palestinian people and the PLO's deep respect for Judaism and reaffirmed the PLO commitment to a Palestinian independent state.

It is ironic that Zionist and Jewish organizations in the United States that support Israel have sent hundreds of delegations to visit there, and yet they protested the effort of Black leaders to see the situation of the Palestinian people for themselves. This is a double standard and it shows Zionist intolerance and fear of open and humane communication between the Palestinian and American peoples.

At the same time, the Israeli Army continues to use the most sophisticated American weapons, including the illegal cluster bomb, to hit civilian targets in South Lebanon. Yesterday, October 18, Israeli forces shelled the city of Tyre and Bourjchemali refugee camp in violation of the United Nations ceasefire. We call on all American peace-loving organizations to protest the masive bombing of civilian targets in South Lebanon and to call for an end to U.S. military supplies to Israel.



Palestinian Rights: U.S. Is Arena Of Struggle

The release of Sami Esmail in December 1978 and Terre Fleener in July 1979 from Israeli jails can be counted as victories for the growing movement in support of Palestinian national and human rights in the U.S. Both cases also indict an important accomplice in the rights violations of these two U.S. citizens — U.S. governmental cooperation with Israeli intelligence agencies. This cooperation, in fact, has taken on new forms in the two current cases of Elias Avoub and Ziad Abu Ein.

Both Esmail and Fleener were arrested in Israel and tried under Israeli laws that, in the case of Esmail, sentenced him to fifteen months in prison for actions (distributing leaflets on his Michigan campus) that are not, by any stretch of the imagination, illegal in the U.S. Under the Extraterritorial Act passed in Israel in 1973, however, Israel claims "universal jurisdiction" — the right to prosecute any person on this globe for acts committed in any part of the world that violate Israeli law.

One disturbing feature of the Esmail case, and perhaps of the Fleener trial as well, was the cooperation of the FBI and other U.S. agencies. Head of the FBI William Webster boasted at a meeting of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai Brith on November 20, 1978 (as reported by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency) that the FBI had "provided the Israeli government with specific details concerning Sami Esmail." This selfconfessed rights violation by the FBI received no attention in the U.S. media. However, the revelation by Newsweek magazine that Israeli intelligence had bugged the conversation between then U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young and PLO representative Zudhi Terazi, provided a first glimpse for most of the American public of the widespread activities of Israeli intelligence in the U.S. Because Israel is defined as a "friendly" government, their spy activities in the U.S. are not even monitored by U.S. intelligence.

In fact, as the cases of Elias Ayoub, a 23 year-old Palestinian from Nazareth and Ziad Abu Ein, a 19 year-old Palestinian from Ramallah on the occupied West Bank, clearly shows the United States government and its agencies as only too eager to cooperate with the Israeli government in its attempts to silence the Palestinian voice in the occupied territories and in the U.S. itself. With these two cases, the arena of struggle for Palestinian rights has moved to the U.S. If Elias Ayoub is deported from the U.S. and sent back to Nazareth with an unconfirmed charge of membership in a



Chicago demonstration demands release of Ziad Abu Ein.

Palestinian organization illegal in Israel hanging over his head, or if Ziad Abu Ein is extradited from the U.S. to face torture and stand trial in the harsh military courts in the occupied West Bank, not only will the rights of these two young men have been violated, but the rights of all U.S. citizens and residents, particularly but not exclusively those of Palestinian background, will have suffered a serious blow.

Ziad Abu Ein

Ziad Abu Ein, a 19 year-old Palestinian from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, sits today in the Metropolitan Corrections Center in Chicago awaiting the outcome of hearings on his extradition to Israel. If extradited, Mr. Abu Ein faces a life sentence in Israel if convicted on the charges brought against him.

According to the documents submitted in Federal District Court, Ziad Abu Ein is being charged by the Israeli authorities with having placed an explosive device in the town of Tiberius on May 14, 1979, which led to the death of two persons and the injury of 36 others. The "evidence" produced by the Israeli authorities consists only of a confession written in Hebrew and signed in Arabic by a Palestinian in an Israeli jail. The one confession alleges that Mr. Abu Ein travelled to Tiberius from Ramallah to plant the explosives. Mr. Abu Ein and relatives still residing in Ramallah contend that he never left Ramallah on the day of the explosion.

Under the provisions of a little-known treaty of extradition, the U.S. Government has moved in earnest to press for the extradition of Ziad Abu Ein. On the basis of a cable from the Israeli authorities, the U.S. Justice Department issued a warrant for Mr. Abu Ein's arrest in August 1979. Ziad voluntarily surrendered himself to Federal authorities in Chicago on August 21, 1979. Denied bail, and unable to speak English, he has remained under detention pending the outcome of the extradition hearings; this being the case even though he was *not* a fugitive.

Before coming to this country, Ziad Abu Ein applied for and received permission from the Israeli authorities to leave his native town of Ramallah. In the process of obtaining an exit permit he received a "Certificate of Good Conduct" from the Israeli military governor in the West Bank. On June 5, 1979, Ziad legally and voluntarily left the West Bank to Amman, Jordan, where he stayed briefly before leaving for the United States. In Chicago, he joined his sister who as a U.S. citizen petitioned the Immigration and Naturalization Service to have her brother reclassified to an immigrant status. The petition was subsequently approved by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In light of the serious nature of the allegations brought against Ziad Abu Ein, and the circumstances leading to his arrest and detention, the following points must be emphasized:

1. There is strong evidence and findings by a number of credible and internationally recognized agencies and organizations indicating that torture is employed by Israel on a wide and systematic basis to extract confessions from Palestinian prisoners. This practice has been documented to varying degrees by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, the London Sunday Times, the National Lawyers Guild, the Swiss League for Human Rights, U.S. State Department reports on Human Rights, reports from the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem, and by numerous former Israeli prisoners and lawyers familiar with the situation in Israeli iails, and articles in the Hebrew-language press in Israel.

The evidence cited by the above agencies and organizations casts sufficient doubt over the validity of the implicating confession, thereby questioning its admissibility in U.S. courts. Given that the Israeli case against Ziad Abu Ein rests in its entirety on this confession, without any independent corroboration or identification that the "Ziad Tarfi" mentioned in the confession is Ziad Abu Ein.

Moreover, an affidavit has been made that the confession upon which the extradition proceedings are taking place falsely charged Ziad with responsibility for the incident in Tiberius.

- 2. In veiw of Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights in the West Bank and Gaza, its treatment of Palestinian prisoners, and its practice of using coerced confessions in trials (as documented by the agencies and organizations cited above), Ziad Abu Ein cannot receive due process, as we know it, under the present system of military tribunals in the occupied territories where Israel has refused to recognize the applicability of the laws governing an occupying power.
- 3. There is reason to believe that the Israeli authorities are using the provisions of the U.S.-Israeli Treaty on Extradition as a means to harass, intimidate, and suppress Palestinian political activists, in much the same way that placed Sami Ismail and Terre Fleener on trial. The 1963 treaty was intended for the prosecution of criminal cases, and specifically rules out extradition in political cases (Article VI, 4). Yet, Israel, invoking a similar treaty with France, did, in fact, order the arrest and extradition of a noted Palestinian political leader who was visiting France. He was released four days later after a world-wide protest.

The provisions of the U.S.-Israel extradition treaty are so powerful that the Israeli authorities are able through the mere issuance of a cable to turn the entire U.S. law enforcement agencies and institutions into a blind instrument in their hands to



Elias Ayoub

harass political opponents. This is true for Palestinian political activists as well as American and Israeli activists.

The preceding information on the case of Ziad Abu Ein is taken from a joint statement by the Ziad Abu Ein Defense Committee, the Association of Arab American University Graduates, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, the Arab-American Congress for Palestine and the Palestine Congress of North America. For more information: write Ziad Abu Ein Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5421, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

Elias Ayoub

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is moving to deport Elias Ayoub, a Palestinian with Israeli citizenship, who is studying economics in the United States. They charge that he has "failed to establish an educational goal." But in fact, Elias completed his undergraduate work in only three years, graduated from Ohio State with a 3.6 average; now he is a graduate student at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

The real reason that the INS wants to expel Elias from the U.S. appears to be that he has expressed his point of view on the Palestinian issue, and the U.S. government doesn't like what he said.

Elias Ayoub came to the United States from Nazereth on a student visa in 1976. Elias' family is part of the minority of Palestinian Arabs who were able to remain in their homes when the State of Israel was established in 1948; since then Nazareth has been a part of the Israeli state and Elias has Israeli citizenship.

Elias first studied at Lansing Community College in Michigan, a two-year college and later, in the fall of 1977, transferred to Ohio State to complete work on a B.A. in economics. He maintained an outstanding academic record at Ohio State and has excellent references from his professors there.

Elias was always careful to file the necessary forms with the INS for continuation of his student visa. He informed the INS of his intention to continue his studies at Ohio State, but the INS failed to respond to his application.

Meanwhile, the INS was launching an investigation of Elias — not an investigation to determine the legitimacy of Elias' student status, but an investigation of his political activity. On October 11, 1978, A.D. Moyer, the Officer in Charge of the INS in Cincinnati, asked the FBI for permission to investigate Elias as a "subversive." About one month later, Elias was called into the INS office, asked about his political views, and told he was "out of status" as a student, and therefore "deportable." He was promised that as soon as he submitted more copies of forms previously filed his visa would be restored.

But in December 1978, the Cincinnati office of the INS sent a notice to the U.S. Consulate in Tel Aviv, informing them that Elias' student visa was being cancelled because he "has been identified as a strong activist in the 'Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.'"

Elias Ayoub's political activities which attracted so much attention from the INS were perfectly legal. He was an active member of the Sami Esmail Defense Committee — which worked for the release from prison in Israel of a U.S. citizen of Palestinian descent who had been arrested by the Israeli authorities for his political activities while a student at Michigan State. Elias worked with the Palestine Human Rights Committee of Columbus, which campaigned to bring to public attention violations of the human rights of the Palestinian people.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Central Ohio, which is supporting Elias' legal efforts to retain his student status in the U.S., has declared "It appears that the real reason for the INS decision [to deport Elias] is that Mr. Ayoub has been labelled a 'subversive' because he has engaged in expressive conduct protected by the First Amendment. The ACLU of Central Ohio strenuously opposes the denial of due process to Mr. Ayoub that using a pretense involves. If the INS seeks to deport Mr. Ayoub as a subversive it should so charge and try him."

Elias says the claim by INS that he is a PFLP activist is "a big lie." But the INS is using this unsubstantiated charge as a basis for deporting him then covering up their real reason so that he has no opportunity to respond. While membership in any

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West Bank Leaders Comment on Relations with Israel, PLO

The following interview with two West Bank mayors and Dr. Ahmad an-Natash was taken from the *Jordan Times* of September 27. Both Bassem Shak'a, mayor of Nablus, and Mohammed Milhelm, mayor of Halhoul, were refused permission by the U.S. State Department to visit the U.S. in September and attend the Palestine Human Rights Campaign national conference. *Palestine Perspectives* prints this interview as part of the campaign to have Palestinian voices heard in the United States.

* * *

Dr. Ahmad Hamzah an-Natshah, a leading Palestinian figure from Hebron and a member of the Palestine National Council, told the *Jordan Times* that Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan in holding a meeting with him was interested in using the meeting as a public opinion ploy rather than as a serious dialogue with a Palestinian leader.

He said that it was interesting to note that he responded to a call for him to go to the Hebron military governor's office without prior knowledge of the meeting, only to be surprised by the arrival of Dayan 20 minutes later. Dr. Hamzah continued: "The fact that our meeting ended at quarter to seven and was broadcast on Israeli radio at seven, proves that it was a publicity affair orchestrated by the Israelis."

Dr. Hamzah, who was expelled and then allowed to return in June '78, went on to say, "I think the meeting was held for many reasons: First, to deflect the growing European and world press interest in encouraging recognition of any negotiations with the PLO by pretending that serious discussions were already under way with known Palestinian leaders. Second, publicizing these meetings to cover up other meetings held with Palestinians supporting the socalled autonomy plan. Third, holding these meetings was an attempt to break the unified Palestinian stand against the socalled autonomy plan by sowing seeds of distrust among the Palestinian people. I would like to point out," he said, "that in spite of all these manoeuvres, the Israelis failed to deceive our people."

Mr. Bassam ash-Shak'a, the mayor of Nabulus, commented on the meetings by saying that they were held for the purpose of convincing the world that a dialogue exists between Israel and the Palestinians regarding the so-called autonomy plan. When asked about Mr. Young's resignation and the shift in American public opinion,

particularly among the blacks, Mr. Muhammad Milhim, mayor of Halhul, said, "No doubt Mr. Young's resignation played a role in affecting the American black opinion favourably towards the Palestinians by establishing a bond between the underprivilged blacks and oppressed Palestinians. This shift in public opinion, if it continues to escalate, will affect America's policy towards our cause. The U.S. policy towards Vietnam changed due to the role played by public opinion especially within the U.S., but we must not forget that Vietnam's persistent and continuous armed struggle was responsible for this change. Therefore, our struggle must be carried on at all levels and by all means."

Commenting on this point, Dr. Hamzah said, "no doubt Young's resignation and the black attitude in America have benefited our cause, but unfortunately this move is still tied to the official American policy. Young's position on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not well defined, as was illustrated in his various comments during his African tour and after his meetings with Moshe Dayan. Nevertheless we must work to strengthen our relations with the blacks and with the other segments of the American people. This is where the Arab media have a great role to play." When asked about the PLO's achievements on the international level and their effect on the Palestinians living in the occupied Arab territories and on the Israelis, Mr. Milhim said, "The PLO's achievements strengthen our people's position and steadfastness in the occupied Arab territories, and at the same time increase Israeli pressure on us.

In a recent public opinion poll carried out in Israel, it was shown that the number of Israelis favouring negotiations with the PLO has sharply increased. Commenting on this development, Mr. Milhim said, "This reflects both the success of the PLO at the international level and the steadfastness of our people under occupation, and also demonstrates the plight of the Israelis due to the severe economic, social and psychological pressures building up in Israel. However this is basically the reaction of the underprivileged and the left, while the right is still adamant in its refusal to negotiate."

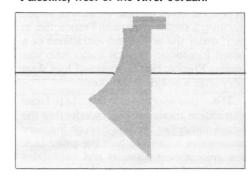
Dr. Hamzah confirmed that the shift in Israeli public opinion is limited to the left. "The right, on the other hand, was dead against it, to the extent that a settler from Kiryat Arba raised a case in court against



Bassem Shak'a, mayor of Nablus.

Dayan for his talks with me." He added that the increase in the number of those advocating a dialogue is still hampered by the condition that the PLO must first recognize Israel. This is a ridiculous demand by an occupying power that refuses to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland.

On the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue, Dr. Hamzah called on the U.S. to recognize the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinians, provided that the recognition is not conditional on the acceptance of the Camp David accords. "We strongly feel that Camp David aims at liquidating our cause, legalizing the Israeli occupation and preventing the Palestinians from establishing their own state in Palestine under the leadership of the PLO. Mr. Dayan," Dr. Hamzah continued, "welcomed the establishment of a Palestinian Jordan and considered King Hussein as the stumbling block in the way of the realization of such a state. We Palestinians refuse categorically to consider this offer, and insist on having our state in Palestine, west of the River Jordan."





Elon Moreh: The Law and the Reality

The Israeli Supreme Court, in its October 22 decision that Elon Moreh, a Gush Emunim settlement near Nablus, must be dismantled, generated considerable controversy in Israeli circles. The controversy, however, is not over the content of the Court decision, but rather over whether the Begin government will really obey it.

Few argue with the Court's conclusions that the Israeli government had seized private Palestinian land for the Jewish settlement or that the security arguments advanced by the settlement's proponents were specious. Indeed, the Gush Emunim discounts the argument that Elon Moreh serves a security function. Abe Berman, an American Jewish immigrant at the Gush settlement of Ofra, south of Elon Moreh, told the Christian Science Monitor that "The security argument is not the real reason, everybody knows that. We think it's time for the government to tell the world we have a right to this land and that there's no need to be ashamed of it."

Agricultural Minister Ariel Sharon and the National Religious Party, a key element of Begin's shaky ruling coalition, are pushing Begin to do just that. Sharon, urging that the army replace civilian settlers at Elon Moreh, and that a law be quickly enacted to prevent future cases from reaching the Supreme Court, said: "I want the Supreme Court decision to be not a cornerstone for taking down settlements but a springboard for building on a larger scale than has been the case until now." In his "5740 Program," Sharon has proposed the immediate creation of sixteen new settlements. Presumably, the plan is modelled on the "Master Plan for the Development of Settlement in Judea and Samaria 1979-1983, written by Mattiyahu Drobles for the World Zionist Federation and revealed in the Israeli newspaper Al Hammishar last May. Under this plan, 46 new settlements, and 26,000 additional settler families, are slated for the West Bank over the next five years.

The governmental pressure by Sharon is matched by intense pressure from the Gush Emunim and other right-wing settlers, who, responding to an October 14 Cabinet decision not to expropriate private Arab land to expand seven Jewish settlements on the West Bank, set up at least 40 wildcat "footholds" on the West Bank and clashed with Israeli troops. This extremism by some of Begin's main supporters may prove more



israeli soldier quards Elon Moreh.

powerful than Supreme Court legalities. Already, Begin has pledged an "alternative site" for Elon Moreh in the West Bank. Earlier this month the Israeli government opened West Bank land to private Israeli land purchase, in a move that generated international criticism.

Seemingly, the Supreme Court decision does not affect Israeli confiscation of public and state land. Maamoun Said, editor of *Al Fajr* newspaper in Jerusalem, has pointed out that many Palestinians in the region do not have documents proving the ownership of land their families had tilled for centuries, and thus their property would remain vulnerable to confiscation even under more strict regulations.

The Supreme Court did invoke the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Hague Convention that forbid the transfer of a civilian population from a conquering country into an occupied territory. Israeli officials had argued previously that international law was not applicable as the West Bank and Gaza were "not occupied." If international law was truly applied to the occupied territories, clearly the Israelis would be forced to dismantle the over 100 Jewish settlements now established. Menahem Begin, however, is an unlikely candidate to enforce international law. Upon his resignation as Foreign Minister, Moshe Dayan said: "Begin wants to annex the West Bank. He kept pushing for it every chance he got."

10% Aid Cut to Israel Tabled in Senate

It was no surprise when Senator Mark Hatfield's (D-Oregon) amendment to the 1980 foreign aid bill to cut \$100 million from U.S. military aid to Israel was tabled on October 11 amid a chorus of resounding praise for Israel from many Senators, including Presidential candidate Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.). The offering of the amendment, which was designed to show disapproval of Israel's use of U.S.-supplied weapons in its attacks on Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in Lebanon, did, however, permit some discussion of the U.S.-supported Israeli aggression to be heard on the Senate floor.

In an earlier hearing in the Appropriations Committee, Hatfield pinpointed the reason for the stiff opposition to his amendment. Smiling when \$5 million was stricken from the Foreign Assistance Act in aid to Pakistan, over that country's possible misuse of nuclear material, Hatfield said: "We're going to apply all U.S. laws today, aren't we? Depending on the country. . . . Under the U.S. Arms Export Control Act, for example, many weapons are sold to countries only for "defensive" purposes. Hatfield later added: "Israel's priorities are wrong and we know it. We know why we're enforcing our export law on Pakistan and not Israel. We don't have a Pakistani lobby."

Two senators did risk incurring the wrath of the pro-Israeli forces on the Hill by adding their voice to Hatfield's during the debate. Senator James McClure (R-Idaho) said Israel's use of American weapons in Lebanon is illegal. "Indiscriminate bombing of civilian targets in Lebanon is wrong. It is wrong for U.S. weapons supplied for defensive purposes to be used in the maiming and killing of women and children who are not combatants in that fray," Senator Adlai Stevenson (D-Illinois) affirmed: "This amendment signifies our concern over evident misuses of U.S.supplied military equipment in Lebanon and our dissatisfaction with Mr. Begin's policy of expanding settlements in the West Bank. . . It is a mild means with which to suggest that the United States should support its own interests in the Middle East even if they do conflict with the policies of Mr. Begin.'





Interview With A Former Prisoner

bv Marv Haddad Macron

Cold rain beat upon the roof of the small car, and the windshield wiper was losing its battle to sweep away the icy droplets as my friend Fatmeh deftly twisted her wheel along the edges of unrailed precipices. She maneuvered through a torrent of mud and water washing down the mountain onto the road as we made our way from Jerusalem to Birzeit University in the occupied Palestinian West Bank.

Fatmeh, a Palestinian social worker and activist, had promised me an interesting interview with a young woman only recently released from prison.

With us was Nana, a Yugoslav journalist, armed as I was, with tape recorder and camera.

The university, when we arrived, was churning and buzzing with movement and sound. The room into which we had been ushered soon became a traffic artery of transient visitors, students and faculty.

The girl slipped into the room quietly, her gaze hard, intent and suspicious, as she curtly acknowledged the introductions.

She was a skinny wraith of about ninety pounds, her height probably five foot three. Her name was Sonya Nemer.

As we sipped through the customary ritual of hot sweetened coffee, she puffed nervously at a cigarette, her body twisting restlessly in the chair.

"Tell me, Sonya," I questioned, "how old are you. How long have you been in prison. When were you released?"

"I'm twenty three. I was in prison for three years. I just got out a couple of weeks ago."

"Why were you imprisoned?"

"For being a member of a forbidden organization." $\label{eq:constraint}$

"What was that?"

"The PLO."

Here there was a quick interruption from Fatmeh who whispered a correction.

"You mean the PFLP, don't you."

To this Sonya shrugged.

"PFLP, PLO, we are all one."

"How were you arrested?" asked Nana, "When, under what circumstances?"

"They sent me a letter, a notice. I was to come to Taggarth." She turned to Fatmeh who explained that Taggarth was the old British Military Headquarters at Ramallah, now being used by the Israeli Military Government.

Sonya continued, "They wanted me to come only for some questions, I was there in interrogation for eighteen days. Then I went to prison."

"Interrogation? What were you asked?"

"They asked me, 'Do you belong to the PLO?" and I said, 'I am a Palestinian, an Arab. Yes, of course, I belong to the PLO."

"How were you treated?"

"Me, personally, they did not torture me physically. They used psychological ways to torture."

"What," asked Nana. "What did they do?"

"For example, they make you sit in a small place with seven or eight interrogators, and then everyone starts shouting and screaming at you, all at one time, from everywhere in the room. 'You said that, you didn't say that, answer now. . no be quiet. . you did that, you didn't do that, stand up, sit down. . tell the truth. . you lie,' and after so much of this you become crazy, and you cry and scream, 'stop it, stop it, you are making me crazy. Stop it, I can't think, let me alone.'"

"Then they all go out, and they leave you alone, for many hours. It gets very quiet. There are no lights, and you get scared and say to yourself, they are coming back to torture you. You think, 'Now they will come with electric shock, now they will come with the chair on my head. Maybe they will have dogs. Now they will beat me. You think many frightening things. . . for eighteen days this went on with me. When they are through, you will tell them anything, only for some peace. But all I could tell them was 'Yes, I am a member.'"

"They use these methods often?"

"Yes, they do. They do."

"Is there anything else they do in interrogation?"

"Yes, physical torture, with many. Also they use other ways. There is brainwashing. They start to discuss with you, in a friendly way, that it is their right to do this. They must do this. It is their land, it is not my land. They have this right to put Palestinians in prison. . . all these things they say. That is something they used with me. . . their right to be here, and that I have no right. They kept up with me, many times, until I cried. Then they would laugh and leave."

"Let's go back to your arrest. What was the reason for your arrest?"

"I wasn't even arrested. I just reported like they said to me. Then I had to stay in interrogation, and they charged me."

"Had you participated in a demonstration, a riot?"

"No, nothing."

Sonya had been sentenced to three years at Ramle Prison for Women. There, where some prisoners were as young as sixteen, she had been confined in a six by nine foot

cell, along with five other women.

"What were the arrangements in the prison? how many were you?"

"In our prison there are two buildings — one building for the Jewish girls and one for. . ."

Nana interrupted. "Jewish girls are political prisoners?"

"No, not political prisoners, but for other things."

"They are criminal prisoners?"

"Yes."

Sonya continued. "I don't know how many Jewish girls they have. We were always separated. . . we didn't see them. In our prison, for the Arabs and other political prisoners, we had about forty, forty five women. We had twelve rooms, say twelve cells, and in every cell we had six beds."

Fatmeh shook her head. "Six beds they have in such a room?"

"Yeah," said Sonya. "We had two-floor beds."

"Tell them about Imal," suggested Fatmeh, eager for us to hear everything.

"Well, all right, I will tell about her, but first I started to speak about conditions." Anger had crept into her voice. "The health conditions are very bad, very bad. We have women who have life sentences, plus ten years; some of them are very sick. We have girls who have ten years, fifteen, seventeen years."

"Do you have medical facilities? Doctors? Is there an infirmary?"

"We have a doctor who comes once a week. We have the right to go to see him... but that is not the problem. The problem is they must decide if you need to see the doctor. Then, we have the nurse who is supposed to be there, in the office all the time.. but if you have a pain you can go and she will tell you, 'No, not now, I cannot see you now. Come back at ten thirty... only at ten thirty you can have medicine.' "

"You can't see her at other times?"

"No, she puts fixed times, and you should have the pain in those fixed times or else she won't help you."

Her distress mounted as she insisted on talking about an episode that occurred during her own imprisonment.

"I want to tell you what happened to one of my friends. The soldiers came and took her to another room. They tied her on the floor — you know, spreadeagle, and they raped her with a stick. With a stick! Then they dragged her father into the room. They had stripped his clothes, and they tried to make him have sex with her. . . with his own

(Continued on page 11)

Destruction all...

(Continued from page 5)

as a first step toward peace." He then said that he hopes both the Israelis and the Palestinians would impose a moratorium on violence and that the U.S. Government should urge both the Israeli government and the PLO to recognize each other's "right of self-determination and a homeland."

Immediately after the meeting in New York City between the leaders of the SCLC and Zuhdi Terzi of the PLO, many pro-Israeli reporters, including those at the State Department, tried very hard to extract a statement from the spokesperson of that Department which in fact prohibits Blacks from taking such a mission of peace to the Middle East. For American journalists to think that American citizens cannot legally and openly travel and meet whoever they want is absurd. State Department Spokesman Hodding Carter was asked on August 27th, "Do you know of any legal restrictions on American citizens to meet with PLO representatives?" "No," he replied, "there are no such restrictions." In a recent meeting with reporters, the New York Times on October 4th reported President Carter answering seemingly similar questions concerning Black initiatives in the

Middle East. Carter said the "Blacks, as citizens, had every right to make their case known. In so doing they were following the tradition established by other groups, including Jews." Carter was also reported to have said that Americans have the right to express their views concerning foreign relations as well as the right to travel freely. What the leaders of the Black community in the United States have been calling for is "peace based on justice, PLO participation in any Middle East talks, a homeland for the Palestinians, and a U.S.-PLO dialogue." If peace is what everybody wants in the Middle East, the Black leaders seem to be taking the right path to it.

Israel Forbids Rabin from Relating Truth about 1948



Forced out of Palestine in 1948

An Israeli censorship board composed of five Cabinet members forbade former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin from including in his memoirs a first-person account of the expulsion of 50,000 Palestinian civilians from their homes in Lydda and Ramle during the 1948 war.

Rabin was then commander of the Harel Brigade, based along the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road. Rabin's account, published in the *New York Times* of October 23 directly contradicts Zionist propaganda about 1948 which has maintained that the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians from Palestine was "voluntary," instead of a systematic Zionist strategy to expel the native population.

The censored portion of Rabin's memoirs describes a meeting between Rabin, Yigal Allon and David Ben-Gurion. The text is as follows:

"While the fighting was still in progress, we had to grapple with a troublesome problem, for whose solution we could not draw upon any previous experience; the fate of the civilian population of Lod and Ramle, numbering some 50,000.

"We walked outside, Ben-Gurion accompanying us. Allon repeated his question: 'What is to be done with the population?' B.G. waved his hand in a gesture which said, 'Drive them out!'

"Allon and I held a consultation. I agreed that it was essential to drive the inhabitants out. We took them on foot towards the Bet Horon Road, assuming

that the legion would be obliged to look after them, thereby shouldering logistic difficulties which would burden its fighting capacity, making things easier for us.

"'Driving out' is a term with a harsh ring," the manuscript continues. "Psychologically, this was one of the most difficult actions we undertook. The population of Lod did not leave willingly. There was no way of avoiding the use of force and warning shots in order to make the inhabitants march the 10 to 15 miles to the point where they met up with the legion.

"The inhabitants of Ramle watched and learned the lesson. Their leaders agreed to be evacuated voluntarily, on condition that the evacuation was carried out by vehicles. Buses took them to Latrun, and from there, they were evacuated by the legion.

"There were some fellows who refused to take part in the expulsion action. Prolonged propaganda activities were required after the action, to remove the bitterness of the youth-movement groups, and explain why we were obliged to undertake such a harsh and cruel action."

Interview...

(Continued from page 10)

daughter. He is an old man. He fainted and they pulled him out of the room.

"My friend became mentally unbalanced from this. When her father and mother came to visit she couldn't look in her father's face. He couldn't look at hers. She cried all the time, all the time in prison."

Deeply affected by this story, being aware

of the social traditions of the people, I sat silent and embarrassed for a moment. I glanced toward Nana and saw that she was weeping. Fatmeh's expression was angry and bitter.

"Sonya," I asked, "can you tell me your friend's name?"

Sonya shook her head vehemently. "No, I could not do that. It is bad enough that people know what happened to her. Bad enough that she will probably never marry

now. Bad enough, even, that I have told what happened. That is enough. I will not tell her name."

Our tape and our time had run out. We each kissed Sonya farewell and made our way to the car through the relentless October rain.

Fatmeh said, "There was no time for Sonya to tell you about Imal."

It was just as well. Both Nana and I had heard enough.

Palestine rights. . .

(Continued from page 7)

organization is not against the law in the U.S., membership in "hostile organizations" is a crime in Israel. The INS is trying to expel Elias to Israel on an unsubstantiated allegation which could put him in serious trouble at home.

> For more information, please write: Elias Ayoub Defense Committee — New York Box 1757 Manhattanville Station New York, New York 10027 or Elias Ayoub Defense Committee P.O. Box 3169 Columbus, Ohio 43210

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