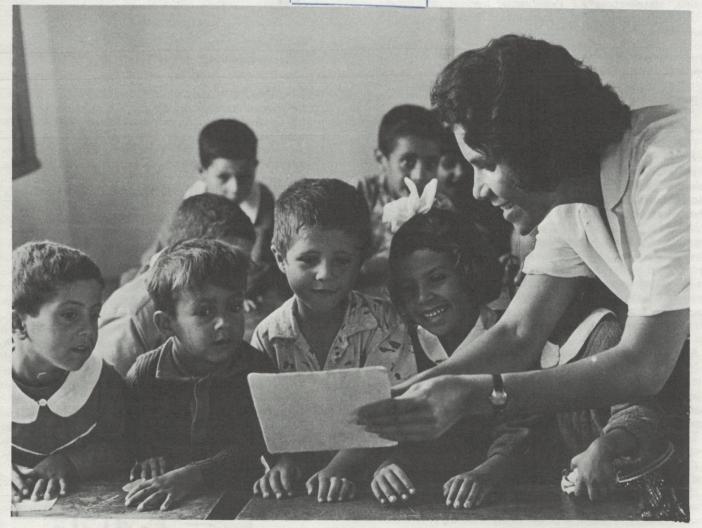


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Palestinian Children: The Generation of Exile will be the Generation of Peace.



Contradiction and Cynicism in United States Mideast Policy

The whole edifice of American foreign policy in the Middle East is not just showing signs of wear and tear, but of collapse under the weight of its own contradictions. Certainly, the dramatic events in Afghanistan, among other events in the region, are beginning to both highlight and sharpen these contradictions.

To begin with, of course, was the Camp David agreement on the future of the Palestinians—an agreement that sought to secure the statehood of Israelis in Palestine and deny it for the Palestinians. No wonder that the whole Arab world turned against it and the Palestinians dismissed it with contempt. The fact that the farce of autonomy talks between Egypt and Israel is still going on does not hide the fact that not a single Palestinian has yet been found or come forward to lend these talks the credence they desperately need.

The impact of the Camp David agreement on Palestine does not just lie in the fact that it has united radical and conservative regimes in opposition to U.S. foreign policy vis-a-vis the Palestinians; rather, it lies in showing up the extreme contradiction inherent in the United States Palestine policy: statehood for Israelis, statelessness for Palestinians; freedom for Israelis, occupation or exile for the Palestinians. And while the U.S. government calls on the Palestinians to recognize Israel, it proclaims, in the same breath, that it opposes the right of Palestine to exist, in any form, as a state.

No one in his right mind can look upon this as a decent, equitable, rational or just approach to the national conflict in Palestine.

Then the dramatic events in Afghanistan sharpen even further these glaring contradictions.

The United States has actually called upon, and with a straight face, the Arab states to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, while it does nothing about the Israeli invasion in Palestine—a land in the very heart of the Arab world and an integral part of the national and historical idiom of the Arab people. The United States government is on record as viewing Israeli colonization policies in the West Bank/Gaza as illegal and an impediment to peace. Yet Israel goes on, in a show of contempt for America's position, to build more colonies in the areas and, emboldened by the U.S.'s indifferent reaction, to encroach even on Palestinian cities and towns. The United States, which has since 1967, looked upon Israel's annexation of Jerusalem as illegal, does nothing about Israel's ongoing practices of Judaizing and altering the cultural, political, social and demographic character of the Arab city.

And in the U.S., which is still officially on record as supporting U.N. resolution 194, which has been repeatedly reaffirmed in the international body calling for the repatriation of the Palestinian refugees to their homes, comes up with the Camp David Accords, that totally disregard this right for Palestinians to live in their homeland.

The United States speaks of military alliances in the Gulf area to protect it from "Soviet domination," while it aids Israeli domination in the whole of Palestine through its massive economic, political and military support of the terrorist regime in Israel.

How could the United States conceivably expect the Arab regimes, any Arab regimes, to go along with it in condemning the Soviet presence in Kabul, while the Israeli presence in Jerusalem continues—a city religiously holy and culturally crucial to all Palestinians, all Arabs and all Moslems around the world?

How could, conceivably, the ties that exist between certain Arab states and the United States not break at the seams while the latter continues to support their enemy and deny their Palestinian brethern the right to be free, independent and the determining force in their political destiny?

The recent dramatic events in Afghanistan, Iran and other parts of the Middle East have, if anything, brought to the fore the centrality of the Palestine problem in the national and international dimensions of political life in the whole region, and the broad design of its destiny.

So long as the United States does nothing about Israel's brazen and outrageous practices in Palestine and so long as it continues to disregard the right of the Palestinian people to nationhood and so long as it directly or indirectly interacts with the Arab people as nameless, faceless entities to be there as a source of energy for a consumer society; then the Arab world will come to see the United States as a cynical Big Power pursuing cynical policies devoid of a politico-moral impulse.

The frivolous and untenable position of the United States government on Palestine, and the whole Arab world, can stand reexamination. Otherwise, there will soon be commentators once again indulging in their "who lost" arguments.

New Publications

You, Your Rights and the FBI. A clear and concise guide to the rights of foreign nationals and U.S. citizens vis a vis the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This 20 page pamphlet in English and Arabic contains special sections of advice for foreign students, especially useful now as the U.S. government targets Iranian and Arab students, and also answers a wide range of questions about the FBI that are important for all U.S. citizens and residents. Available in bulk or for 25¢ a copy from the Palestine Solidarity Committee, PO Box 57154, Washington, D.C. 20037.

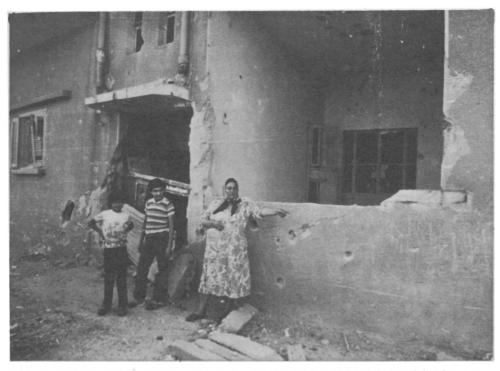
The Palestine Review. A new Palestinian monthly to be published in the United States will come out with its first issue June 1, 1980, from Washington, D.C. The editor of The Review, Fawaz Turki, the Palestinian writer and poet, has stated that a "definite need" exists today for a "sophisticated publication that will address iteself, in depth, to all the ideological currents and political sensibilities with which Palestinian society is imbued." Above all, he added, The Review, will be an independent, totally reader-supported monthly.

The subscription rate for 12 monthly issues of *The Review* is \$15.00. Those readers wishing to subscribe are advised to write to: *The Palestine Review*, 1884 Columbia Road, N.W., #511, Washington, D.C. 20009.





Lebanon: The Coming Round



Lebanese family in Nabitiyeh points to where an Israeli rocket killed a child and destroyed their house on August 24, 1979.

The Syrian government's February 4 announcement that it would pull out its troops, called the Arab Deterrent Forces, from Beirut underscored the continuing crisis in Lebanon. Since October, 1976, when an Arab summit conference in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia established an uneasy ceasefire in Lebanon, the Arab Deterrent Force has manned checkpoints between Beirut's two sectors and kept roads and communications open in the divided city.

The Syrian move also underlined new dangers facing Lebanon. In the past month, Israeli escalation has resulted in heavy shelling of Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages in South Lebanon, and Israel troops have amassed on their northern border. On January 27, for example, the Joint Forces in South Lebanon reported 100 Israeli tanks moving across the Lebanese border into the Israeli-controlled town of Marjayoun.

This Israeli troop concentration seems to have prompted the initial Syrian redeployment of troops from the southern coastal road into the Lebanese mountains. Observors say this move was to protect the Syrian capital of Damascus, in the event of an Israeli strike in Lebanon. The Western press has generally ignored these Israeli moves, instead interpreting Syrian policy as responding to Soviet directives. It is more likely, however, that the Syrians are

reacting to the immediate threat from Israel and to the new U.S. offensive in the region, which has lately seen 18,000 Marines dispatched to the Arabian Sea.

With these moves, the Carter Administration is attempting to spearhead an anti-Soviet mobilization in the region. Israeli reports that the Soviet Union had given advanced tanks to the PLO are clearly part of the fuel fed to the Western media. (The PLO has denied this report.) Syria facing this U.S. offensive and isolated in the wake of the Islamabad conference, hopes to draw attention back to the dangers of the Egyptian-Israeli-U.S. alliance and its continuing denial of Palestinian rights.

The Lebanese central government has announced that the Lebanese army will take up any positions abandoned by the ADF. The issue of the composition of the army, which has a large percentage of officers with rightist sympathies, was a key one during the civil war and continues to be an explosive issue in Lebanese politics. The Lebanese National Movement has noted that the commander of the army, General Victor Khoury, fought with the fascist Phalangist party during the civil war.

The Phalangists have made clear in this present controversy that they do not seek national reconciliation in Lebanon. On

February 3, Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel, speaking on Voice of Lebanon radio, described his vision of the army's role, saying "We the Phalangist and the liberals (the party of Camille Chamoun) want the army to enter as a strike force, and not as a peace force." In other words, Gemayel is clinging to the fascist goal of liquidating the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

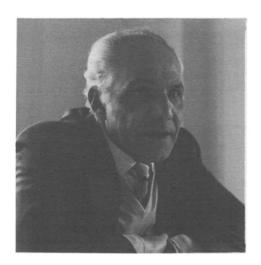
PLO Affirms Lebanese Sovereignty

The PLO, in general, has supported the deployment of the Lebanese army in South Lebanon as part of its policy of supporting Lebanese sovereignty and territorial independence. On Feburary 11, a Palestinian communique supported a "political solution to the Lebanese problem based on an all-party accord," and without the use of force, PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser Arafat stressed, however, on January 23 that this deployment should be "balanced in all parts of the South." Arafat said he welcomed the deployment of the Lebanese Army in Tyre, but said the army command should also send troops to Marjayoun, Bint Jbeil and Maroun al-Ras, all towns under the control of renegade Major Saad Haddad and the Israelis, to "liberate the border strip from Israeli occupation."

The Israeli occupation of these Lebanese border towns took place under the pretext of "protecting" the Christian inhabitants, even though the goal of the progressive Lebanese parties that make up the Lebanese National Movement has long been the secularization of Lebanese institutions and equality for all citizens. Possibly, Israel will use this excuse to strike again at Lebanon, in the manner of the "Litani" invasion of March, 1978. At a February 7 press luncheon, Begin announced that "if the Christian minority in either the north or south is attacked. Israel will not be passive." Defense Minister Weizman has also warned that Israel is prepared to escalate in Lebanon. These warnings have been accompanied by months of anti-Syrian propaganda in the Israeli press, propaganda reminiscent of the anti-Surian prnouncements that flooded the Israeli press in the months before the June. 1967 War. Many factors of course, will determine if Israel will move to another invasion in Lebanon; but with six months of savage Israeli bombing of Lebanon in the immediate past (April-September, 1979), it would be foolish to dismiss the possibility.



Saleh Baransi: "There is Discrimination Everywhere"



Saleh Baransi, a Palestinian from the Galillee area, spent ten years in Israeli prison for his political activity on behalf of Palestinians living under Israeli rule since 1948. He was a founder of the Al Ard (The Land) movement in the 1960s. Palestine Perspectives interviewed him during a recent visit to the United States.

Q: In February, the U.S. State Department published its 1979 Human Rights Report. This Report is a country-by-country examination of human rights violations and is supposed to determine which countries are eligible for U.S. aid. In its section on Israel, the Report differentiates between the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza, where it admits some violation of the rights of Palestinians, and what they call "Israel proper." Israel proper, they say is a "parliamentary democracy with full human rights." Can you comment?

A: What is stated here is false. It is misleading—I think intentionally. There is discrimination in Israel; it exists against the Arabs. To give some practical examples, I would like to say that the Emergency Regulations passed by the British in 1945, which are stated here to only apply in the occupied territories, are still working in "Israel proper," as they call it. There are hundreds of Palestinians, who are citizens of Israel, who are victims of orders that originate from these Emergency Regulations. I have an order which prevents me from visiting the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights. This order was issued according to these regulations.

Q: Did they give you any reason for issuing the order?

A: No, there is no reason, except to say we consider your visit there a "security

risk." How and why that is so, they never say. Even the Israeli Supreme court cannot force the Military Governor to give reasons why he issues such orders. According to these Regulations, the Military Governor has absolute discretion.

Q: Who is the Military Governor? I understand how the military government works in the West Bank and Gaza, but who gives these orders inside the 1948 borders?

A: Until 1966, for Palestinians living in

Israel, there was military rule. And the Military Governor had this authority. Now. this authority is transferred to the police inspector of the area, or to the military leaders of the area. So, in spite of the fact that military rule was abolished in 1966. Emergency Regulations were not. To give another practical example, confiscation of land owned by the Arabs did not stop. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that they are now confiscating thousands of dunums of land owned by the Bedouins in the Negev, and that these lands were confiscated in an illegal way, to the extent that the Supreme Court of Justice criticized the government and attacked it on this basis. We are threatened by more confiscations in the future in the Galillee. according to what is scheduled by Israel, or what is called "Judaizing" the Galillee. Judaizing means more confiscation of Arabowned lands, lands owned by citizens of Israel: very simply, the confiscation of Palestinian Arab land to give away to Israeli Jews. If this is considered by the State Department not discriminatory, then I don't know what their definition of discrimination is. What does this word mean to them? More than that, I would like to say that up until now, the authorities in Israel did not allow the establishment of any independent Arab organization. We tried to establish an organization in 1958-Al Ard. We went to the High Court of Justice and we were ruled against because "we do not recognize the state of Israel." But this pretext was not legal. Imagine the Supreme Court deciding on a very important problem on the basis of political views or assessments. In 1965, we wanted to run in the elections. We submitted a list and it was refused. The High Court of Justice, the Supreme Court, also ruled against us, on the pretext that the state of Israel is a "Jewish state." This is clear proof that laws are passed under the assumption that the whole population is Jewish. The law serves the Jewish population and so it has a "democratic" appearance. But when the laws are applied, the discrimination is clear.

For instance, land is only confiscated for the "public" interest. This should mean in the interest of all the population. But because the population is considered to be Jewish, all the laws speak of confiscation in the public interest, while the confiscation, in application, is at the expense of Arabs for the interests of the Jews. In 1977, a correspondent for Ma'ariv newspaper. interviewed Minister of Agriculture Arik Sharon, When Sharon wanted to talk about the Arab citizens of Israel, he said, and I quote exactly, "Why are we talking about Judaizing the Galillee? Foreigners, govim. still capture our land." So we, the Arabs who remained in Israel since 1948, who have been recognized as Israeli citizens for thirty years, practically we are considered to be foreigners. Lands that we inherited from our fathers and our grandfathers, and so on, for thousands of years, are considered to be "captured." He then, who wants to confiscate the land, calls himself a liberator.

Here is another example: if you try to find the number of students accepted to the Faculty of Medicine of a Jewish university, you will find only five Arabs. Not just for one year, for ten years, maybe the same number. Legally, if you study the law, the law doesn't differentiate between one citizen and another, but practically they discriminate. How do they do it? There are entrance examinations for the university. On the examination, the name of the student is not listed on the paper. A number is put on it. Now this number is the number of the Israeli identity card plus two numbers, one before and one after. Everyone who corrects these papers, however, can tell if this paper was written by an Arab or a Jew because the identity cards of all Arabs begin with a 2 or a 3. If the second number is 2 or 3. he knows immediately that the examination is by an Arab. Then he decides what to do. So there is a legal, "democratic" cover, but underneath there is discrimination.

To speak for a moment about education, any blind person who visits any Jewish establishment of education and any Arab village or town and sees the school, can directly judge that there is discrimination—and harsh discrimination; in facilities, books, curriculum, in everything you find discrimination. Our schools have classes spread all over the village because there is not a central building. You find there are no facilities in the schools, no libraries, no playing yards, no laboratories, no central heating, no ventilation. In every Jewish

(Continued on page 5)

Saleh Baransi...

(Continued from p. 4)

school, there are all these things. And the school is always one building. In the curriculum, for instance, let me tell you how they teach history. In a Jewish school, they teach 55% of the material is Jewish history. 45% teaches about general history. 1.4% of this 45% teaches about Arab history—and not in Palestine. When they are forced to say something about the Arabs in Palestine, they portray them as invaders. This is what is taught in a Jewish school.

Now let's see what is taught in an Arab school. In an Arab school, 60% is general history, 21% is Jewish history, especially in Palestine. 19% is Arab history, but with nothing about the Arabs in Palestine. So even in Arab schools, Jewish history is taught more than Arab history, and this Arab history is distorted.

Every Arab student is forced to study the Old Testament, especially those parts that relate the history of the Jews to Palestine, under the cover of teaching the Hebrew language, which is obligatory for Arab students, while the Arab language is not obligatory for Jewish students. If this is not discrimination, then what does discrimination mean to the State Department?

In labor, for instance, let me tell you that 57% of Arab labor is in construction—what is called "black work" in Israel. 15% is in agriculture—and a great proportion of this is hired labor on Jewish land which was orginally confiscated from the Arabs and sometimes, many Arabs work as hired labor



Zionists do not distinguish between a Palestinian who is a citizen of Israel and a Palestinian on the West Bank.

on lands originally confiscated from them. 7% of the Arab labor work in factories—but not in technical work—cleaning and work like this. A very small proportion are trained in professional schools. Very, very few. This shows that Arabs are treated as servants to the Jewish population. No Arabs has a factory; no Arab can import or export. There is no economic basis for the Arab community in Israel.

Q: Why can't an Arab import or export?

A: For two reasons. First, because he is economically broke. And second, because to have a license is very complicated for an Arab.

According to the law, Arab language is an official language. You are supposed to be able to write to any government official in Arabic and receive the answer in Arabic. Applications are supposed to be printed in two languages—but you never find such a thing.

Q: And what if you wrote to a government official in Arabic?

A: The letter would be returned with the order—write in Hebrew. In things that are clear to foreigners, they will use two languages, like the identity card or street signs.

Let me tell you something. When these identity cards were issued for the first time in Hebrew and Arabic, Ben-Gurion refused his identity card because there was Arabic on it. Many articles were written about this in the Israeli newspapers. The editor of *Haolam Hazeh* in Israel pointed to this and said: Ben Gurion didn't refused to have his salary because there is Arabic on the Israeli lire. He refused his card but not the money.

Q: I guess even Zionism stops somewhere.

A: In all things there is discrimination. In roads, water, sewage, in every Jewish settlement, there are playing fields, public buildings, and so forth. In most Arab villages and towns, there are no public buildings and playing fields, no gardens, sewage not at all. Just to look at the village, you can see the discrimination.

Q: There's certainly enough U.S. personnel inside Israel to notice these things. Do you think the State Department is being deliberately blind?

A: I think that not only does America—the officials—know what is going on in Israel proper, as they call it, but every government all over the world knows the facts. They deliberately neglect these facts, because of the special relations between Israel and these governments.

Q: Let's go through some specific statements from this State Department Report and get your response. For example, I know you yourself have been in prison. One statement reads "Torture is prohibited by law in Israel and is virtually unknown." Is this true in your experience?

A: I can't imagine how the State Department can allow itself to say that. Zionists do not distinguish between a Palestinian who is a citizen in Israel and a Palestinian on the West Bank. They are now using the same policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip that they followed towards the Arabs in Israel: confiscation of land, settlements on Arab land, water, all sorts of things. I can say, and I am sure of this as a result of my own experience, that there is no Arab who has ever arrested under a security accusation for twenty-four hours who was not tortured, without taking into account whether he is from the West Bank or Israel. I don't really want to speak about the torture of Arabs, but there are now many publications in the Israeli press about the torture of Jews. It's crazy to say there is not torture. I have two discs in my neck as a result of the torture; today, I went to the doctor for an examination. Arabs inside Israel proper are tortured in exactly the same harsh way because they are Palestinians.

A: Another statement is "In Israel proper, arbitrary arrest or imprisonment is not practiced."

Q: Sure, because, for instance, I didn't exist. It may be they attack the problem just like the Israelis do: they don't consider that there are Arabs. But we exist as a fact.

I was arrested arbitrarily according to Article 111 many times. Many times, not once. Hundreds of Palestinians who remained in their country after 1948 have been the victims of administrative detention, because the Military Governor doesn't give any reason for they detention of any one. In the West Bank, many are arrested according to this law. Let us ask the Israelis is the Emergency Regulations of 1945 still work in Israel. In the protocol of the Knesset, you will see that these still work. Under these regulations, hundreds of Palestinians are prohibited from visiting the West Bank and I am one of them.

Q: That's another statement—"All Israeli citizens enjoy freedom of movement within the country and are free to travel abroad."

A: Again, we must go back to the Emergency Regulations which restrict basic rights. I would like to draw your attention to something. In 1945, when these regulations were passed, they were used by the British against the Jews. The Jewish lawyers held a protest meeting against these regulations. Prominent figures, who became later Ministers of Justice. One of them, Dov Yusef, said that anyone who respects himself cannot accept, and cannot allow others to accept, these regulations. I think this gives a good portrait about these regulations by the Jews themselves. But Dov Joseph became Minister of Justice himself and was directly responsible for

(Continued on p. 10)

hiels



Hunger striker Farid Addan Attar is taken to hospital.

Twenty-seven Students Arrested in Texas; Right of Protest at Issue

On January 31, the University of Texas in Austin sponsored a symposium on the Middle East. The keynote speakers, Fereydan Hoveyda, the ex-Ambassador of Iran to the United Nations and a representative from the Israeli consulate, met with protest by many students. Hoveyda was presented as a representative of the Iranian people, and when an Iranian student stood up to clarify that this individual represented only the deposed Shah, he was immediately arrested.

Twenty-six similar arrests by plain clothes and uniformed police scattered through the hall followed, as students spontaneously responded to comments by Hoveyda, representative of a regime that in 1975 alone tortured and murdered 1500 people, according to Amnesty International. Only Arab and Iranian students were arrested. The North Americans who also protested Hoveyda's speech were told they would not be arrested. Following the arrests, no charges were pressed and the students were released.

However, on February 12, the students—5 Arabs and 22 Iranians—were picked up and thrown into jail. They refused personal recognizance bonds and have gone on a hunger strike until they are released. A hunger strike in their support is being conducted on campus, as well as daily rallies by the students.

A defense committee has been formed which is soliciting national support. For more information, write: Defense Committee of Arrested Students, P.O. Box 1044, Austin, Texas 78767.

Pressure on Fauntroy Stirs D.C. Protest

D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy's trip to Lebanon in September, 1979 and his meeting with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat have resulted in a great deal of pressure from pro-Israeli groups on Fauntroy to modify his support for Palestinian rights. Currently, some Maryland legislators have attempted to extend this pressure to the entire population of the District of Columbia.

Residents of the District of Columbia have had their own problems with political rights: the 700,000 people living in the nation's capital are disenfranchised, and have no voting representation in the U.S. Congress. Some observors feel this situation would have been remedied long ago if it were not for one fact: three-fourth's of the District's population are Black Americans and conservatives are not eager to increase the Black voice in Congress. D.C. residents have fought back through two strategies: demanding statehood, as does the D.C. Statehood Party, a popular grassroots political party, and support for the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment, a constitutional amendment that would give D.C. two Senators and two seats in the House of Representatives.

Fauntroy has been a staunch advocate of the Amendment, as have most D.C. politicians. With the amendment up for ratification in the Maryland Assembly in early February, a group of Jewish legislators pressed Fauntroy to issue a statement criticizing the Palestine Liberation Organization and told Fauntroy, according to the January 30 Washington Post, that "they would vote for the amendment if the PLO criticism is worded to their liking."

Such open blackmail drew protest from even those D.C. institutions, like the Post. who themselves are critical of Fauntrov. One D.C. resident wondered in a letterto the editor whether the District would be better off applying directly to the Israeli Knesset to grant its rights. In a letter signed by over twenty D.C. organizations and individuals, including Randall Robinson of Transafrica, Inc, Jo Butler of the D.C. Statehood Party, local chapters of the Association of Arab American University Graduates and the Palestine Solidarity Committee among others, these groups affirmed: "We strongly protest these legislators linking Delegate Fauntroy's position on the Middle East to an issue of concern to the 700,000 residents of the District of Columbia. Delegate Fauntroy's support for the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people should be heeded, but it does not bear upon our right to equal representation as citizens of the United States. These forms of pressure must be vigorously opposed by all Americans who cherish these basic guarantees."

Palestine News Agency Replys to Carter

Following is an editorial written by WAFA, the Palestine News Agency, on President Jimmy Carter's statement to the United Jewish Appeal Young Leadership Conference on February 25, 1980. In his statement, Carter said he did not favor the establishment of a Palestinian state, which he called a "destabilizing factor" and pledged not to recognize the PLO.

"The American President's address to the United Jewish Appeal in Washington yesterday, was more than just 'important.' Carter's statement revealed fully what was never really hidden about the intention of the U.S. administration, as regards the Palestinian people in particular.

"Carter, in his address, dotted the I's for all his allies, reaffirming that 'Israel is an important power in the region, and plays a vital role in its stability' and that the U.S. will go on supporting it on the grounds that such support comes within the context of 'American principles and strategic interests.'

"This is the second time that Carter expresses his stand against the establishment of a Palestinian state. He moreover affirmed that Arab leaders are also against an independent Palestinian state because such a state 'would be a factor of instability in the Middle East.'

"It is not our concern here to question the validity of Carter's statements about the Arab leaders' rejection of a Palestinian state, although we know that some of them do agree with Carter. Our concern here is only to quickly clarify the following points:

"First: the U.S. has adopted and is still adopting a policy which is antagonistic to the Palestinian people and the Arab nation.

"Second: Those who are still dreaming about a 'positive' American policy towards the Palestinians and the Arabs, should leave their illusions behind, and learn a lesson from the concessions made by Sadat. The American President was not even bothered by the possibility of embarrassing Sadat in the 'self-rule' negotiations which Sadat has repeated would lead to an independent Palestinian state.

"Third: Carter's statements clearly indicate that the U.S. and Israel are planning for a large-scale attack on the Palestinian revolution and people in South Lebanon. For in his talk, Carter said: 'It is time to stop terrorism against Israel and its people and the U.S. and Israel can depend on each other in times of strife.'

In response to Carter's statement, the Palestinian revolution reaffirms its insistence on intensifying armed and political struggle against U.S. imperialism the enemy of all struggling peoples."

Protests at Arab League Score Sadat

The Palestinian community and Arab and Palestinian students occupied the Arab League office in Chicago on February 25 in protest of the exchange of ambassadors between Egypt and Israel. More than 300 demonstrators called for the overthrow of the Sadat regime and demanded that the Arab states take a firm stand against the Sadat government and the United States.

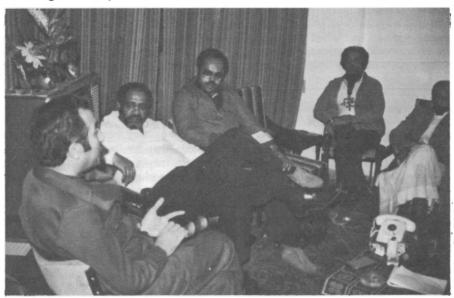
In Washington, D.C., a delegation of women visited the Arab League offices on January 27 to protest the exchange of ambassadors. In a telex to the Arab League in Tunis, the delegation said: "In the name of all our brave women under occupation and in Israeli jails, we urge the Arab League to take a firm stand against the Sadat regime and its policies. Furthermore, we urge the Arab League to devote its resources and energies to fighting U.S. policies for the U.S. is the real author of the Egyptian-Israel alliance and thus responsible for the

suffering it brings upon our Palestinian and Arab people."

The ambassadorial exchange also prompted a general strike in the West Bank and Gaza on February 26. Earlier, on February 18, 300 Ramallah students demonstrated in the town square against the opening of the Israeli Embassy in Cairo and were dispersed by the Israeli military police. Students from Halhoul also demosntrated on the Jerusalem-Hebron road, and shops throughout the West Bank closed down in protest.

National Black Pastor Conference: U.S. Must End Aid to Israel

Noting that Black Americans and Palestinians are "bound together by blood and bondage," Dr. William Jones, who recently headed a delegation of the National Black Pastors' Conference to Lebanon, released a joint "statement of principles" by the Conference and the PLO at a February 25, 1980 press conference in Washington, D.C. Following are excerpts from the statement:



Abu Jihad meets with delegation.

WHEREAS the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and

WHEREAS the National Black Pastors' Conference (N.B.P.C.) is a national Christian organization whose membership includes representatives of every major Christian denomination in the United States of America and

WHEREAS N.B.P.C., at its annual meeting in Detroit in November 1979 affirmed:

- 1. The right of the Palestinian people to establish a national independent state in their homeland and
- 2. that the government of the United States of America should recognize the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate

representative of the Palestinian people; and

WHEREAS a delegation of N.P.B.C. has completed a tour of P.L.O. facilities in Lebanon and has observed striking similarities between the Palestinian refugee camps and the urban ghettos of the United States; and

WHEREAS the current economic and social conditions of Black Americans are more severe than at any time in the past century; and

WHEREAS both parties recognize the Black masses in the United States as an oppressed people, and

WHEREAS the P.L.O. has manifested its support for liberation struggles in southern Africa; and

WHEREAS peace in the Middle East is impossible in the absence of a just resolution of the national question of the Palestinian people; and

WHEREAS both parties condemn Israel's repeated violations of international law, the United Nations Charter on Human Rights, and the many U.N. resolutions affirming the national rights of the Palestinian people; and

WHEREAS both parties further deplore Israel's torture of political prisoners, its expropriations of Palestinian-owned land, its collective punishment of entire towns under military occupation, its sustained deportation of Palestinians from their homeland, its invasions of Lebanon and other Arab territories, its interference in Lebanese internal affairs, its military and economic support for the racist and oppressive regimes in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, and its indiscriminate bombings of civilian populations in Lebanon,

NOW, THEREFORE, the parties endorse the following principles:

The P.L.O. and the N.B.P.C .:

- 1. Affirm their commitment to and solidarity in their common struggle against racism and oppression;
- 2. Condemn the Camp David Accords and the recent treaty between the Egyptian and Israeli regimes as destructive to the realization of peace in the Middle East:
- 3. Condemn Israel as an international outlaw because of its repeated violations of United Nations resolutions and its support of the racist regimes of southern Africa;
- 4. Demand that the United States government terminate all economic aid and military assistance to Israel because of its permanent violation of UN resolutions and its continuous support to the southern Africa regimes.

Palestine Red Crescent: Portrait of a Palestinian Institution



To many Americans or Europeans, the PLO is a "terrorist" organization. This is what Americans and Europeans are being told by their "free" press and mass media. The powers of such private agencies in the West are very hard to overestimate. Millions of people from all walks of life have their source of information coming to them from the "mass media." The positive reporting or the negative reporting of a particular event, since objective reporting is almost impossible, depends on those who have the last say on what is finally to be published. The Palestinian issue is not one of those subjects which is very easy to be neutral about, especially in the West (including the United States), because of their past entanglement in the lives of the two peoples involved. That is why any reference to PLO, or Palestinian; automatically brings to the minds of many in the U.S. the image of a terrorist with all kinds of weapons. This, of course, is not a true reflection of the PLO or the Palestinian people, as the following will explain.

First of all, by definition an organization such as the PLO, which is an umbrella organization for many smaller organizations, each of which has among its members many people involved in various activities of daily life, among which only one is military, cannot be a terrorist organization. This is simply because the PLO, as an umbrella organization has the total support of all the Palestinian people, and a whole people cannot be terrorists. Also. almost all of the Arab people, Third World peoples and the representatives of 117 countries in the United Nations, grant their support to the PLO. As a matter of fact, many Americans have long questioned their government's policy towards the PLO and many others are calling for recognition of the PLO, implying that they also do not agree with the terrorist image of the Palestinians and the PLO.

Red Crescent: Serving the People

The PLO conducts a variety of activities

other than military armed struggle. One such institution, which handles the health affairs of the Palestinian society, is called the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS). The P.R.C.S. medical institutions and facilities comprise thirty hospitals, more than 100 clinics and labs, pharmacies, blood banks, mother and child care centers. preventive medicine and outpatient centers. In some parts of these hospitals, there are small workshops manned by ex-fighters who have been wounded and cannot perform their military duties anymore. These workers make beds, chairs, night tables, artificial limbs and many other necessities. In talking to some of the individuals in these shops, one notices a double attitude, on: the one hand, there is real enthusiasm about their work, while on the other, there is a sense of sadness that they are away, perhaps forever, from what they would most prefer to be actively engaged in: the defense of their people.

There is also among the workers in general a sense of commitment, genuine dedication, and joy about their work. For a very long time Palestinian workers were employed by non-Palestinian firms. Here, they say, "we are working for ourselvesfor the cause." Looking at the final products which each of the workers is producing, be it a desk, a bed, an artifical limb for the wounded, one is sure that these workers are professionals. Had they been willing to offer their services outside the Palestinian institutions they would be making a lot more money than within the Revolution. Their salaries are very low, by U.S. standards, ranging from between 690 Lebanese pounds to 1000 Lebanese pounds a month. (600 pounds is about 200 dollars)

During the civil war some of these hospitals in Lebanon were robbed of their contents and then destroyed. Tal Al-Zaatar and Jerusalem Hospitals, for example, were two with about 200 bed capacity which were destroyed by the fascist forces. The names

of some other hospitals are Gaza Hospital, Acre Hospital, Haifa Hospital, Upper Galilee Hospital, Tyre, Ramallah, Nazareth, Karameh, Ramleh and Sydon Emergency Hospitals, and many others. These hospitals include all the departments found in a modern Western medical facility, from intensive care units to operating rooms to plastic surgery sections, etc.

The Palestine Red Crescent Society institutions also include many pharmacies. labs, blood banks, centers for prenatal care. preventive care, dental care, ophtholmalogu centers and many other clinics in various Lebanese cities and towns. The services provided by any of the above institutions and centers are free of charge for families of marturs, wounded persons and their families, fighters, and all those Palestinians and Lebanese who cannot afford to pay. When payment is required, it is a symbolic one and it was stressed that the symbolic amount is for psychological reasons rather than for profit. The hospitals and clinics of the P.R.C.S. service more than 3,000 cases

Employees work long hours but with an exceptionally high spirit. The physicians are graduates of good schools in the United States, Europe, the socialist countries, and the Arab world. "There is something about working under these conditions," someone said, "that simply cannot be compensated for by money." There is in evidence among these workers, a sense of brotherhood, warmth, and togetherness that seems wholely unique.

Vocational Training

In expanding the PRCS, which was established in the early part of 1969, the need for professionals became acute. In Lebanon, instead of continuing to look for nurses, lab and X-Ray technicians, and other necessary personnel outside of Lebanon, the PRSC decided to establish their own schools to train Palestinians and Lebanese in the needed professions. In early 1977, the vocational section of the PRSC was established. This section performs three duties: it teaches nursing, pharmacology, physical therapy, laboratory and X-ray studies; it continues education and improves already trained nurses in addition to a nurses aides program; and it coordinates plans under which newlygraduated physicians will practice medicine in the PRSC hospitals.

The vocational training section also sponsors a program under which the best performing students are sent abroad to continue and improve their specialties. The PRCS, has such missions now in England, Bulgaria, Czecho-lovakia, and other (Continued on page 9)

PRC. . . (Continued from p. 8) 3)

countries. When these students are graduated from their foreign training, they come back to become full experts who will be training others in their particular fields. There are at this time two nursing schools in Beirut and Tyre, with a third one being completed in Sidon. The schools admit men and women who meet the academic requirements of high school degrees and an entrance test, and do not exclude non-Palestinians. The Beirut nursing school, which was established in 1977, provides training in nursing, nursing aides, pharmacist aides, and X-ray and lab technicians. At this school there are 71 students who study forty hours a week for three years to be nurses, one year to be nurses aides, two years to be pharmacy and lab technicians, and six months to be physio-therapy and X-ray technicians. Last year, thirty-two students graduated from this center. The Tyre school was established a year ago only and its presence there was very much appreciated during the Israeli attacks on the South and especially on Tyre.

The PRCS is but one institution established which is functioning well to help the Palestinian people reaffirm their identity and their confidence and ability in managing their own lives, in addition to providing necessary services. The difficulties which each of the Palestinian institutions face, and which have to be overcome, are many, but each in their turn are confronted. The PLO has also created the SAMED institute which manufactures all kinds of household goods such as furniture and clothing. This side of the PLO is not much talked about in the United States. In talking to some American journalists and reporters in Beirut who seemed to have shown a lot of interest in these various social and cultural activities of the PLO, they said that such topics will never make a headline in the United States.

One wonders if the public interest in a topic can be ascertained so glibly. It is not difficult to agree with a PLO sympathizer, however, who said: "We would like the world to know that we, as a people, are involved in and spend a lot of money on providing better lives to our people. Our war against Zionism and imperialism is precisely to do just that, not at the expense of any other people." The P.R.C.S. provides health care and social service which couldn't come from anyplace else in terms of availability and quality as well. Similar international organizations which provides assistance to the P.R.C.S. are such as the World Health Organization, UNICEF, and the Red Crescent, Red Cross, Sun and Lion, all of which recognize the importance of the P.R.C.S. to the Palestinians and Lebanese, or simply to the needy and have-nots of Lebanon.

International Women's Day, March 8, 1980

We wanted to tell you our brothers that we did not cheat you, but the society has cheated us The oppressors have sown seeds of oppression within us, so that you oppress us and we oppress you

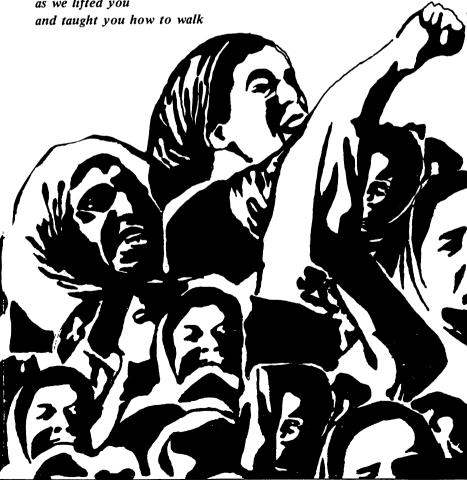
We wanted to show you our brothers when we took the child on one shoulder, the gun on the other, that we have broken with them and that you must do the same

We wanted to cry to you our brothers that you must lift us up on our feet as we lifted you We wanted to ask you our brothers to take your part of our burden as we have taken our part of yours

But now we demand of you our comrades not to take part any more in the game of the oppressors, not to allow yourselves to strike us when they strike you

Leila

We demand of you that we go together on the same road and in the same step



Reprinted from November 1979 Bulletin of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.



From the Israeli press

The Writing on the Wall

(Commentary by Yehuda Litani in **Ha'aretz**, an influential Israeli daily newspaper, January 30, 1980)

"Suddenly, a man wakes up in the morning and feels that he belongs to a nation"-this is what an onlooker feels about what has recently been happening in the territories. Israel continues to treat the inhabitants of the territories as if the situations prevailing there in 1967 and 1971 continues to prevail in this day and time too. The Israelis will say "military government" and precede it paternalistically with the word "enlightened." The Palestinians in the territories are congregating under the PLO umbrella, and they proclaim loudly that they strongly object to the autonomy and to the Camp David accords, but they are exploiting the period of Egyptian-Israeli negotiations to tighten ranks and crystallize a leadership. A group of people that calls itself the "National Guidance Committee" is administering, controlling and leading the public.

It has been contended, for years on end, that "there is nobody to talk with," as the Palestinian inhabitants lacked a leadership, or that the existing leadership couldn't be felt. Today, there are definitely people to talk with, the question is whether there is anything to talk about. The "National Guidance Committee" has at this stage no Jordan sympathizers among its members, only persons clearly affiliated with the PLO. There is, however, a tendency to coopt in the near future several supporters of Jordan to the committee and thus demonstrate further unity.

The Basam ash-Shak'ah affair constituted a turning point for the Palestinians in the territories. Even the last of the skeptics in the West Bank was persuaded that the Government of Israel has no clear policy in regard to the territories. . . . Since the release of Basam ash-Shak'ah from Ramallah prison and his reinstatement in Nablus, inhabitants of the territories—and particularly of the West Bank—obey instructions of the National Guidance Committee. In the past, the strikes in East Jerusalem were seldom complete and they used to cease, as a rule, after an hour or two. The shopkeepers were wary of the open eyes of the Israeli police and, particularly, of Israel's security services.

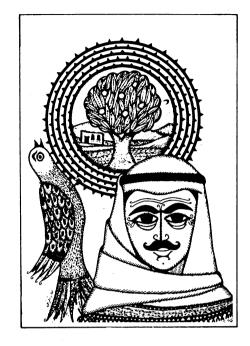
In recent East Jerusalem business strikes, a unity has been demonstrated that was unheard of since 1967. All shops in the eastern city were shut and shuttered throughout the day, and no traffic could be seen in the city. Laborers informed their

Jewish employers this side of the Green Line that "due to the strike" they wouldn't be coming in the morning. The same was true in Ramallah, Hebron, Al-Birah and in Nabulus.

And what is the Israeli answer to the national awakening in the territories and to the rallying of the inhabitants around one representative leadership? A return to past concepts. Attempts at divide and rule. A ban on West Bank leaders going to rallies in Gaza and vice versa. A reliance on quasimoderate would-be leaders, heads of clans and conservative mukhtars, who are urged to march against the nationalistic trend. The present Israeli policy, however, is rallying and consolidating the inhabitants of the territories and is diminishing every possibility of differences of opinion among them. The Likud government's autonomy proposals appear, to even the more moderate leaders in the territories, as a bad joke. The military government which, in the past, appeared to be a transient situation, has become a permanent solution."

Baransi... (Continued from page 5) implementing these regulations against the Arabs. Yacov Shapiro, who also became a Minister of Justice, was even more clear; he said that even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws. So if I make a logical conclusion from this, it means that Israel is worse than Nazi Germany.

These regulations were never applied against a Jew. This is a challenge to the Israeli authorities to show that even once, they were used against a Jew.





Palestine Prisoners

Mayors Denied Permission to Leave West Bank

On March 14, the Israeli military government denied permission to Mayors Bassam Shaka of Nablus and Mohammed Milhelm of Halhoul to leave the occupied West Bank for a series of public forums in the United States, which were to have begun on March 17.

The Palestine Congress of North America, in an action memorandum, urged concerned individuals to protest to Secretary of State Vance. The Congress noted in a March 14 letter to Vance that: "This action constitutes a most flagrant violation of international human rights and clearly exemplifies the systematic intimidation and persecution of the Israeli military government against the elected leadership of the West Bank and Gaza. As Americans concerned with universal human rights, we condemn all attempts by Israel to restrict travel of Palestinian leaders from the occupied territories.

Islam and Moslems: The Dynamic Interaction

by Fawaz Turki

Many charges can and have been made against Western scholars and commentators. Sensitivity to the preoccupations of Third World people is decidedly not one of them.

Western thinkers today are said to be grappling with "the problem" of Islam. The problem, of course, is not in or with Islam. The problem lies in the "rational" logic of the Western world whose theory of knowledge, from Plato's Republic to the American republic, has denied the existence of multiplex forces in the social system—forces in constant motion and in constant interactive relationship with one another—and denied that in the conjugation of the verb to be there is a state of being and becoming.

Islam as a social ideology can never be mutually exclusive from the culture that gave it birth or from the historical traditions of that culture. Built into and around Islam, at the time of its birth 1400 years ago, was the flow of energy from the dynamic interaction of all the forces upon which the social system in the Arabian Peninsula had been founded—all the political, economic, artistic, cultural, social, linguistic and psychological umpulses, along with an infinite number of other impulses, that emanated from Arab society at the time. Hence it was because Islam was an organic outgrowth of the interaction of these impulses that it spoke so cogently to the Arab masses in the Peninsula, becoming a coherent embodiment of their temporal aspirations and national psyche—and was readily embraced by them.

No social ideology, however, is static. It is in a constant process of self-transformation concurrent with the process of self-transformation of the society in which it is an integral part. As Islam spread beyond the confines of the region that had given it birth, and was embraced by peoples with diverse historical experiences, it inevitably found a diverse set of expressions, in the time-space-domain, coherent with and responsive to these experiences. And as these peoples' social systems changed so did their ritualized perceptions of Islamic laws and practices.

Since no subsystem in any social system can remain aloof from the flow of energy and transformational processes of the other subsystems around it, Islam, like language and culture and the aesthetic sensibility and moral values, underwent changes in its ethos, mirroring the changes in the ethos of the national group practicing it.

One could not seriously claim that Moslems in Indonesian society and Palestinian society are identical in their sensibility and view of the world, anymore than one can claim that Christians in Haiti practice Christianity as their counterparts do in Hicksville, Ohio. And no one could claim that the Islamic view of the world has not undergone transformations and fragmentations since the Ommayads, the Ottoman Empire and the Balfour Declaration, anymore than one can claim that the Christianity of the Medieval ages, the Inquisition and Nazism is the order of the Christian world today.

Simply because of the diverse historical experience of its 800 million adherents, Islam today, predictably and inevitably, is imbued with a great many ideological currents, sects and sensibilities.

It is not surprising to find that Islam today is in a leading positional value in one "Islamic" society (governing its manners of ceremonial exchange, its social rituals, its cultural values and political experience) and is not as ascendant in another. Or that Islam, in one society where it hitherto had been subordinated by its adherents to the pursuit of political or economic goals, is suddenly resurrected as a vehicle for change and the achievement of national goals. Or that a people (as in the case of the Palestinians) would single out, among the infinite number of historical impulses that motivate their system, including religion, a secular concern as their major inward preoccupation and their mythology of hope for the now as for the hereafter.

Islam has never, of course, been totally autonomous in any absolute sense, in any Islamic society. As a religion, its practice is influenced by subjective-objective elements uniquely linked to all the complex forces that motivate Moslems. The web of relationships in an Islamic society—which is an economic society, an artistic society, a cultural society, a historical society, a political society, an ideological society—create Islamic traditions, dynamically responsive to the multiplex needs of that society.

In the Middle East today, Islam in some societies is culture, a view of the world and a vision of the hereafter. In other societies, in the same region, Islam has little impact on a people's self-definitions and perceptions of the world.

All of which means simply that Islam is a religion, like any other religion in the world. With one difference: rarely have Moslems, like their Western counterparts, used religion as an instrument for institutionalized sadism.

Yet when Christians had used Christianity as a tool for slavery, racism and

colonialism and all manner of oppression against their fellow Christians or against Third World peoples, it was not because of a will-to-oppress inherent in Christianity, but because of the objective conditions, in the time-space domain, of their social system itself. Similarly, when Jews, at a certain juncture in their history, were propelled by the messianic vision of Zionism to take over a whole country and expell or occupy its population in the name of Judaism, the justifications for such an act were not inherently Judaic.

The spate of nonsense about Islam issuing forth from the mouths or pens of commentators, including the intellectually vacuous volumes by Western scholars who seem to have ready access to university presses, is not really about Islam. It is a projection of the fear that the West has traditionally had about peoples and regions in the Third World that it has traditionally afflicted with a sense of otherness.

The problem is not in or with Islam.

It is in the minds of Western linear thinkers and commentators who can not resign themselves to the idea that other peoples seek to be free, that they will struggle to be free in their own unique way, and that in their struggle they may draw on any of the infinite number of resources in their historical experience—including Islam.



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