

فلسطين حرة free palestine

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PLO victory as Cambridge Union slams Israel

IN AN unprecedented vote critical of Israel, the Cambridge Union on 18th January backed a resolution which declared that Israel's policies towards the Palestinian Arabs are 'morally and politically unjustifiable'. In the first resolution ever adopted by the Cambridge Union against Israel, voting was 110 to 81 in favour of the resolution.

Guest speaker in support of the motion was the London Representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Mr Nabil Ramlawi, who asked the students 'not to be deceived by those who have taken our homes and denied us the freedom to live in our own land'.

Cambridge students were urged not to accept Zionist arguments that repression of Palestinian rights was the consequence of Arab refusal to make peace with Israel. 'Down through history the conqueror has repeatedly used this excuse,' Mr Ramlawi declared. He warned that the West should not believe that Premier Beigin was the cause of the Palestinian problem. It was Zionism which threatened the Palestinians, and the Israeli Labour Party's record was as bad as Beigin's.

He told the students that if 'refused to make peace' meant 'we refuse to accept the Zionist mission in Palestine, based on the seizure of our land, and the establishment of a settler regime which casts us, the Christians and Muslims of Palestine, as second class citizens in our own land, then yes, it is true, we cannot accept peace on these terms.'

Mr Ramlawi continued, 'The Middle East conflict is not one divided between Jew and Arab. We, as Palestinian Arabs, both Christians and Muslims, lived for centuries with Jewish communities in our midst. We were all the people of Palestine. And today, many Israeli Jews, as they see themselves, speak out against the policies carried out by the Israeli government. The conflict is between those who are Zionists and those who oppose Zionism. Our battle is not with the Jews. As victims of Zionism, our battle is with Zionism.'

By supporting the motion, said Mr Ramlawi, Cambridge would 'not only express its stand with the Palestinian struggle; just as important, it will express solidarity with moderate and progressive Israeli Jews who demand an end to the injustice done to the Arabs of Palestine.'

Turning to the Zionists' claim that they had come in peace, and that it was the Arabs who declared war, the PLO envoy declared, 'Of course, "peace" is always on the lips of the

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US VETO ON GOLAN gives Beigin a green light to seize West Bank

ISRAEL'S ZIONIST leaders have successfully annexed the Syrian territories on the Golan Heights, and avoided international sanctions. On 13th January, the US applied its veto to a Security Council resolution calling for sanctions to be imposed against Israel for its annexation of the Golan approved in the Israeli parliament on 14th December.

Along with the US veto, Britain, France and Japan abstained in the vote. The Israeli move on the Golan is expected to pave the way for similar measures to be imposed on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, where some two million Palestinians have lived under Israeli Military occupation since 1967.

The American veto signals to the Beigin regime that whatever harsh words might be voiced in public, when it comes to measures to enforce international laws in territories occupied by the Zionists in Palestine, Israel can depend on the United States for total immunity and protection, writes Louis Eaks.

Under international law, Israel has no jurisdiction over Arab territories seized. But despite the Zionists' constant flouting of international conventions, the United States continues to give Israel her full backing. Indeed, in a secret undertaking between Israel and the US, dating from the Ford administration, America agreed to prevent Israel being forced to return the Golan to

Syria, even in the process of peace negotiations between Syria and Israel.

In 1967 Israel annexed Arab Jerusalem and occupied the West Bank, Gaza, Sinai and the Golan by military force. In 1981, the Israeli parliament adopted a bill declaring Arab Jerusalem part of the Zionist state's 'eternal capital'. The on 15th December, the Israeli parliament annexed the Golan.

Human aspect

The annexation of the Golan affects the lives of the 12,500 Syrians who remained on the Heights despite wartime fighting in the area, and persistent Israeli efforts to get them to evacuate. During the last year, the occupation authorities have attempted to force the Syrians to carry Israeli identification cards. This was greeted with firm resistance by the Golan inhabitants.

The introduction of Israeli jurisdiction over the area, as envisaged by the annexation scheme, will deny the local Arab inhabitants of any protection from the International Red Cross. If Israel follows the precedent it set in occupied Arab Jerusalem, which was annexed in 1967, the Zionists will refuse to accept IRC supervision of the Geneva Conventions, under which Israel must automatically inform the Red Cross of any arrests of local inhabitants.

On 16th December the Golan residents staged a three day general

strike to protest Israel's annexation. Support for the strike was total. *The Guardian* reported.

On 18th December, the US joined the 14 other members of the UN Security Council in demanding that Israel rescind its law annexing the Golan, and declaring that if Israel did not comply the Council would meet again on 5th January to take 'appropriate measures'. Israel immediately declared it had no intention of complying with the Security Council's resolution.

To reinforce its defiance, on 21st December the Zionists announced that two magistrates courts would be established in the region, operating under the extended jurisdiction of the Nazareth district court, and that local elections (forbidden under the Geneva Conventions) would be held for new local councils in the Golan region.

However, despite Israel's declared intention to flout the Security Council's wishes, the second round of the Council's meetings to consider a new resolution turned into a total fiasco, ending with the American veto of the Jordanian resolution which directed all member states 'to consider applying concrete and effective measures in order to nullify the Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, and to refrain from providing any assistance or aid to and co-operation with Israel, in all fields, in order to deter Israel in the policies and practices of annexation.'

Inside this issue:

Annexation threat to West Bank

FOLLOWING THE US veto of the Security Council Resolution in January, Israel is set to annex the West Bank and Gaza regions of Palestine. Details appear on pages 4 and 5.

Israel's scheme in Africa

THE ZIONISTS are playing an increasing proxy role for the United States in the Third World. On page 8, Phil Kelly examines the implications.

Brutality under occupation

A SPECIAL two page report on human rights violations under Israeli occupation appears on pages 6 and 7.

The American connection

THREE BILLION dollars of US aid will flow into Israel this year. Louis Eaks reports on page 4.

Britain, France, Ireland, Japan and Panama abstained. Supporting the motion were Spain, the USSR, China, Poland, Uganda, Guyana, Jordan, Zaire, and Togo.

The American veto reinforces the view that the United States has no intention of breaking its alliance with the Zionist state, however illegal are Israel's actions. It further embarrasses America's Arab allies, but there are no signs that the US will take this embarrassment into account in formulating its policy towards Israel.

Arab response

Syria responded with understandable anger at the American veto. Damascus radio on 21st January described the veto as 'a hostile act against the United Nations' and said the action 'confirms US responsibility for Israel's behaviour and acts of aggression, which have disrupted the prospects for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East'. The veto demolished any possible US claim to neutrality in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the radio said.

Voice of Palestine, the PLO radio station, said the same day that the US veto was 'expected'. It was consistent with American policy in the region, and merely confirmed that Israel was carrying out US inspired schemes in the area.

Saudi Arabia, which is the Arab state most closely identified with the United States, was clearly angered by America's veto, and the abstention of the European powers. Despite the fact that Syria was seeking 'nothing but right, justice and peace' and to secure a consensus in the Security Council had 'gone as far as accepting the minimum degree of condemnation of Israel' the response had been that 'the United States continued to throw its full weight behind Israel, even if this meant contravention of the UN Charter, and encouraged Israel to persist in its aggressive policies,' said Riyadh radio. Moreover, said the commentary, 'the Arab world must reconsider its various relations with Britain, France, Japan, Panama and Ireland'.

Israelis harass trade union leaders

THREE PALESTINIAN Trade Union leaders have been banned from leaving Jerusalem for six months from 1st January by the Israeli occupation authorities. They have also been placed under house arrest from dusk to dawn, and must report to the police every day.

The three are Ibrahim Dakkak, Chairman of the East Jerusalem Engineers' Association; Gories Khoury, Chairman of the Lawyers' Federation; and Haj Abed Diab, a leader of the trade union at the East Jerusalem Electric Company, one of the West Bank's largest employers.

In November, Mr Dakkak and Mr Khoury were released after being held for several days by the occupation forces, who were unable to substantiate charges that the two men were members of the PLO. Mr Dakkak has been banned from travelling outside Jerusalem for the past eighteen months. The two men were members of the Palestine National Guidance Council, which co-ordinated opposition to the occupation until the Israelis banned it and restricted many of its members eighteen months ago.

The restriction was imposed by the Chief of the Central Command, General Ori Orr, under the 1945 Emergency Regulations introduced by the British and enthusiastically wielded by the Israelis against Palestinian nationalists. 'Central Command' refers to pre-1967 Israel; Arab Jerusalem falls under its control as a result of the Zionists' 'annexation' of the city in 1967.

Vatican and UN leaders back Palestinians

HIS HOLINESS the Pope, the new Secretary General of the United Nations, and US Senator Charles Percy all spoke out in favour of the Palestinian cause during January. Pope John Paul, at a meeting with Zionist Foreign Minister Yitzak Shamir on 7th January, warned him that success in any negotiations with the Arabs meant that 'it is necessary that the process should include all interested parties'.

'That remark was taken to refer to the Palestinians,' commented the veteran Zionist commentator Walter Schwartz in *The Guardian*.

In an interview with the *New York Times*, the UN's new Secretary General, Peruvian Javier Perez de Cuellar, said that the creation of a Palestinian state was essential to a lasting peace in the Middle East. 'The Palestinians have a legitimate right to a country of their own,' he declared.

On 9th January, during a visit to Khartoum Senator Percy, Chairman of the influential Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told the Sudanese news agency that 'peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved unless the legitimate right of the Palestinians to live in peace in an independent state is guaranteed.'

'Village Leagues' meet stiff resistance

PALESTINIANS in the occupied West Bank are refusing to have anything to do with the 'Village Leagues', small Quisling groups of local people chosen and armed by the Israelis

to disrupt widespread Arab opposition to the Zionist occupation.

But the Leagues' members are using the guns and the backing given them by the occupation forces to settle family feuds by force, and to intimidate all who refuse to back the Zionist occupation. The Leagues are an integral part of the Zionist campaign to break support for the PLO in the occupied territories, which the Zionists admit is almost total. But their actions have succeeded only in increasing the contempt in which they are held by Palestinians.

In the Ramallah area, members of the Village League are wandering about the streets armed with Israeli guns, terrorising the people. The Israeli-appointed head of the League, Yusuf Al-Khatib, was assassinated in November. In early December, League gunmen opened fire on the house of the Samara family in Ramallah, with whom the Al-Khatib family claim to have a land dispute. The League claim that the Samara family were involved in the murder, an allegation not even accepted by their Zionist patrons.

League members regularly set up checkpoints outside the village of Bilin, near Ramallah, and detain their political opponents for several hours each evening. A Bilin shopkeeper has been ordered to move, without compensation, from his premises in the centre of the village by Riyadh Al-Khatib, Yusuf's brother and the League's Vice-President.

Israel's 'civilian' administrator for the West Bank, Colonel Menachem Milson, praised the late Khatib at a ceremony in Bilin on 1st January to mark the opening of a road between the village and nearby Israeli factories. Palestinians see the opening of such links as part of the growing colonisation of the occupied territories by Israel, which depends on the exploitation of cheap Palestinian

labour. The heads of Israel's other two Village Leagues, Mustafa Duden of Hebron and Bishara Qumsieh of Bethlehem, also took part in the ceremony.

One of Duden's associates, Mahmoud Sweity, military-appointed head of the Beit Awwa village council, has revealed that the Israelis have promised them 350 revolvers and sub-machine guns, not just 50 as the Zionist press reported at the end of last year. 'They will be Uzis [Israeli machine guns],' he announced. Those who are to have the guns will first be checked by Israeli intelligence to make sure that they harbour no nationalist sentiments.

Village League members are given weapons training in Israeli military camps in the West Bank, such as that at Kiryat Gat. Village League members have also been supplied with jeeps for 'patrol work' in remote villages; the jeeps are to have machine guns mounted on them. According to a report in the Jerusalem weekly *Al Fajr* on 15th January, League supporters have told Colonel Milson that they are ready for another 'Black September-style' massacre of PLO supporters in the occupied territories. League head Duden has promised punishment for all those who refuse to back his schemes.

The Leagues' role in the economic subjugation of the West Bank was emphasised when Milson attended a ceremony in the village of Silat Al Zahr, near Jenin, linking the village to the Israeli national grid. Milson presided over the creation of a Jenin 'Village League'. The municipality of Jenin, and almost all Palestinian institutions in the town and the surrounding area, denounced the League, which they said was intended only to divide villagers from town dwellers in the interests of the occupation.

palestine briefing



New threat to Lebanon

THE UNITED Nations peacekeeping forces in south Lebanon have lodged a formal complaint with Israel over what they call 'large scale' manoeuvres conducted by the Zionist army in the border enclave controlled by the rightist militia of the renegade Lebanese army major Sa'ad Haddad.

Timur Goksel, spokesman for the UN forces at their headquarters at Naqoura, said on 20th January that thousands of rounds of live ammunition had been fired during exercises that had lasted two days and involved tanks and infantry. He added that the previous night four Israeli tanks had fired 50 cannon rounds, and UN observers had reported 40,000 rounds of machine-gun fire. The manoeuvres were staged in Haddad's border strip, only two miles from Naqoura.

The provocative military exercises came amid growing fears of a new wave of Israeli assaults on the Palestinians in Lebanon. On 19th January Israeli warplanes stepped up their overflights of Lebanon, and Syrian forces in the north fired two missiles at the intruders. The same day, Zionist jets buzzing the southern port town of Sidon drew heavy ground fire from Palestinian batteries. There was also a sharp increase in Zionist naval activity along the coast.

Palestinian leaders have been warning of an imminent renewal of Zionist attacks on Lebanon. In an interview published in the Beirut weekly *Al Hawadess* in early January, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat disclosed that Palestinian forces in south Lebanon had made preparations to repulse an expected attempt by Israel to oust them from their

major stronghold, the Crusader castle of Beaufort, near Nabatieh. The Palestinians have already resisted successive Israeli attempts to take the castle.

UN condemns Med-Dead Sea canal

THE UNITED Nations General Assembly has approved a resolution requiring Israel to drop its plans to build a canal linking the Mediterranean and Dead Seas through the occupied Gaza Strip. Anticipating an Israeli refusal to comply, the resolution, adopted on 16th December, calls on the Security Council 'to consider initiating measures to halt the execution of this project'. Voting was 139-2 (Israel and the United States), with four abstentions.

The resolution also provides for the UN to prepare a study on the environmental and economic impact of the canal on Jordan and on the 'occupied Palestinian territories'.

The 100 km canal will use the 400 metres drop in altitude between the two seas to generate electricity, with a 600 MW hydro-power plant near the Dead Sea providing some 15 per cent of Israel's energy needs in the 1990s. Total cost is put at \$700M.

France 'befriends all countries' in Middle East

TOTAL CONFUSION reigns over French Middle East policy following a series of contradictory statements by Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson in which he variously:

- Repudiated the EEC's Venice Declaration;

AUSTRIA'S CHANCELLOR Bruno Kreisky has insisted that Soviet Jewish refugees should choose their final country of destination themselves rather than be directed to Israel by the Jewish Agency, effectively an arm of the Israeli government.

On 1st January, Mr Kreisky ordered the posting of notices in the Vienna refugee transit centre listing those organisations prepared to guide refugees to countries other than Israel. This provoked a fierce attack by Jewish Agency officials, who shut their hostel in the Austrian capital.

The Agency is concerned at the increasing numbers of Soviet Jews choosing to travel on to the USA on

Soviet Jews reject Israel

arrival in Vienna. The so-called 'drop-out' rate of Jews who opt to go to countries other than Israel once they leave the Soviet Union has risen dramatically in the past seven years, during which Moscow has permitted Jewish emigration. Of the 9,447 Soviet Jews who emigrated in 1981, only 1,762 went to Israel — a 'drop-out' rate of 80 per cent. In 1971, when large-scale emigration began, only 1 per cent refused to go to the Zionist state.

Partly in consequence, total Israeli immigration figures have fallen. In contrast the number of emigrants from

Israel has risen, giving a net emigration figure for 1980 of over 10,000. The Israeli-Soviet agreement specifies that Jewish emigrés should go only to Israel. The Israeli government claims that refugees going elsewhere endanger the chances of Moscow permitting continued emigration, and it wants the Austrians to help stop Jews going to the US and Europe.

In August 1981, the Jewish Agency ceased offering even temporary aid to emigrés who chose not to go to Israel. They also stopped referring them to organisations that could help

them to their chosen destinations. One of those organisations, the New York-based Hebrew Immigration Aid Society (HIAS), declared that it would continue to provide help to Jewish refugees who chose not to go to Israel.

Zionist premier Begin suggested the Jewish Agency should refer to HIAS only those emigrés with close relatives in the USA. HIAS accepted a three-month trial of this scheme beginning on 1st January, but rejected a year-long trial.

Mr Kreisky, a firm supporter of the Palestinian cause, expressed his

unwillingness to co-operate with the two Zionist agencies' dealings. 'It is not the responsibility of Austria,' Mr Kreisky said, 'to promote immigration to Israel.'

A compromise was reached a fortnight later, on 14th January. Austria's posters have been removed, but Jewish emigrés will now sign a document in the presence of Austrian officials indicating their awareness of emigration possibilities, other than Israel. This has not changed matters. Forty-eight Jewish emigrés arrived in Vienna recently, on one typical international train from Moscow. *Newsweek* magazine reported on 25th January. Only eight later went on to Israel.

• Endorsed the Camp David accords and;

• Pronounced Camp David 'dead'.

Arab states were first puzzled by M Cheysson's remarks at an official banquet on 7th December, during a two-day visit to Israel. 'So long as the present French Government remains in office, there will be no Middle East peace initiative by the French, or the European community,' he declared to the manifest delight of his Zionist audience. Interviewed on Israeli radio the following day, he said that the Venice Declaration's 'anti-Camp David stance' had been 'wrong and absurd'. It had been 'wrong because Camp David is progress, and 'absurd because who can think that the Americans have no role to play'.

He added that although the 1980 Venice Declaration, which called for self-determination for the Palestinians and PLO involvement in peace negotiations, contained 'some excellent things', Europe had now gone further, in particular by offering troops for the multinational peace-keeping force to be stationed in Sinai after Israel's final withdrawal in April.

Cheysson clearly intended to convey to his Israeli listeners French regret that Europe had pursued a policy independent from Washington, and his intention to set this right by drafting French troops into a force specifically called for by the Camp David accords.

For Arab listeners, the French Foreign Ministry offered another explanation. On 10th December the *Financial Times* reported: 'The Ministry's interpretation of M Cheysson's phrase that the "Venice Declaration is now behind us" was that France had gone further in public references to the Palestinians' right to self-determination and to a "state structure".'

Later in the Israeli radio interview M Cheysson contradicted himself. 'It is up to the countries in the region to decide about their own future,' he declared, adding: 'We in Europe would not accept that there should be an American initiative or a Russian initiative or a Brazilian initiative to tell us what we should do among us Europeans.' Yet Camp David is nothing if not an 'American initiative', and the Minister had already stressed the necessity of US involvement in any peace process.

In an interview with the *Observer* on 10th January, M Cheysson offered a third version of the French position, summarised by the paper as follows: 'Camp David has been buried, with due ceremony of course, but it is well and truly dead as an approach to Middle East peacekeeping. Its place has been taken by the Fahd plan.'

The Arab world and France's fellow members of the EEC are anxiously awaiting a satisfactory explanation of M Cheysson's *voltes faces*, but none may be forthcoming. French Middle East policy pronounce-

ments appear to depend more than anything on the audience to which they are addressed. M Cheysson offered a vital clue on 3rd December after a meeting with Egyptian President Mubarak. 'France is a friend to all the countries in the region,' he declared.

Evidently Paris wants to please all its friends, but, inevitably, it has ended up by pleasing no-one.

Milson holds court

LIKE A medieval monarch visiting his fiefdoms, the Israelis' 'civilian administrator' for the occupied West Bank, Colonel Menachem Milson,

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conqueror, 'peace' has always been the slogan of the aggressor. The Zionists arrived in Palestine declaring 'Shalom'. But their mission was quite clear. It was 'Shalom and goodbye'.

Arab exodus

It was 'no accident of fate, no consequence of an Arab invasion, no result of Arab leaders telling us to leave' that the Palestinians had been forced into exile from their homeland. The Zionist mission to create a Jewish state in Palestine 'was not an easy task when the overwhelming majority of the people of Palestine were not Jewish', the students were told.

The Zionist scheme was clear. The Zionist leader Theodore Herzl in 1895 had written of plans to transfer the Arab population from Palestine, and this scheme had been reasserted through the history of the Zionist movement, said Mr Ramlawi, citing examples.

He continued, 'It was no accident, therefore, that the Palestinians were driven into exile as refugees. It was the long term plan of the Zionist movement, declared and repeated over a period of more than five decades. We responded to defend our country and protect our families. The bloodshed which resulted was the result of a planned Zionist aggression.'

It was accepted that Israel's actions were 'politically' justified because Israel is at war with the Palestinians, 'then the Geneva Conventions must surely have been cast into the rubbish bin and morality has no meaning,' Mr Ramlawi declared.

On the morality of Israel's actions, Mr Ramlawi dismissed the possibility that they could be defended with logic. But he added, 'In the long years since my people have been confronted with Zionism, we have come to learn that logic can be turned on its head, and that there is a world of difference between the morality of the text book and the morality of the colonialist and military occupier.'

visited several Palestinian leaders and institutions in the two weeks at the turn of the year. To those who agreed to meet him, he gave little gifts and concessions. For those who refused, there was only the continuing harshness of military rule.

The Chairman of a Nablus cigarette firm met Milson on 28th December and was allowed to transfer 250,000 Jordanian dinars (£400,000) from a bank account in Amman. The Mayor of the village of Tobas met with Milson, and was permitted to establish an Athletic Club and a marketing organisation. Four applications for family members to return from abroad were granted; the municipality was offered 100,000 Israeli

shekels (£3,200) and the possibility of allowing it to transfer £400,000 from Amman was held out.

On 1st January, Dr Gabi Baramki was told that Bir Zeit University was to be allowed to reopen after he met with Milson (see page 6). On 6th January, doctors at the Arab Association for Medical Care in Jerusalem were promised 'a new medical centre' after they met Milson. On 6th January, the elderly Islamic judge Sheikh Hilmi Mutasab received a surprise visit from Milson as he lay in his hospital bed in Jerusalem's Maqassed Hospital. Israeli TV claimed that hospital workers had 'warmly welcomed' Milson, but a staff representative later denied this,

tinian Arab villages which had been 'razed to the ground to remove the Arab character of Palestine'.

'Out of 475, only 90 remain today,' Mr Ramlawi said.

He continued, 'Today, the new settlers on the West Bank drill wells and deprive long established Arab villages of important and essential water supplies. Our crops are withering, fertile Arab land is being turned to desert, and eventually famine and hunger will confront these Arab villages.'

Deception

Earlier, in urging the students not to be misled into believing that the Palestine question was due only to Begin's intransigence, Mr Ramlawi stressed, 'Begin is no greater problem for us than any of his predecessors from the ranks of the Israeli Labour Party. Our exile and our oppression under occupation has known many Zionist leaders — Eshkol, Ben Gurion, Golda Meir, Peres, Rabin, Abba Eban and Moshe Dayan — each an expert in deceiving public opinion in the West.'

Mr Begin was a problem only for the Zionist image in the West, and those who had difficulty 'to reconcile this honest face of Zionism with what they would like you in the West to believe'.

Mr Ramlawi added, 'Begin is our ally. What we have always said about Zionism, which the West did not believe, or did not want to believe, is suddenly shown to be true. Mr Begin shows it to be true, but his policies are no different to those of Ben Gurion or Golda Meir. They are two sides of a single Zionist coin. Begin has merely dropped the mask of deception from the face of Zionism.'

'Only if the age of colonialism still commands respect in the Cambridge Union,' said Mr Ramlawi, could the students vote against the resolution. It was a vote, he added, 'between justice and injustice', and the Cambridge Union had to decide whether 'to condemn or support military occupation and the persecution of the Palestinian people'.



Nabil Ramlawi speaking at the Cambridge Union.

'Colonialism,' he added, 'has never concealed its contempt for the people under colonial rule; it merely justifies its actions under the guise of a great civilising mission.'

Homes destroyed

To oppose the motion would involve condoning the destruction of Palestinian homes. Mr Ramlawi pointed to Premier Begin's statement last November that while his government had ordered the destruction of 41 Palestinian homes as reprisals, Labour governments were responsible for destroying 1,224 homes.

However, 'these figures conceal a greater crime,' Mr Ramlawi declared. 'For political reasons, by 1969 *The Times* reported that 7,140 Arab homes had been destroyed in the territories occupied in '67. By 1971, the Israeli League for Human Rights put the number of Arab homes destroyed on the West Bank and Gaza at 16,000.'

However, this destruction of Arab homes was insignificant when compared to that in the territories seized by the Zionists in 1948. Mr Ramlawi cited the figures released by the Israeli League for Human Rights some years ago which documented the total destruction of 385 out of 475 Pales-

and revealed that they would boycott a doctor who shook the Colonel's hand.

The Jerusalem weekly *Al Fajr* set out the following analysis of Milson's perambulations and unannounced visits: 'According to nationalists who have been following reported meetings between Menachem Milson and Palestinians, the civil administration branch of the military government is "befriending" as many local organisations as possible. They predict that in the process, the authorities will try to isolate individuals who refuse to talk to Milson' — as Qalqilia, Mayor Amin Nasser did on 30th December — 'and thus force them to "toe the line".' For those who accept Israeli domination, there will be cash and political support: for those who do not, there will be nothing.

Resistance operations average one a day

PALESTINIAN GUERRILLAS last year mounted 315 operations throughout occupied Palestine, killing 17 Israelis and wounding 157, Zionist radio admitted on 31st December. Israeli habitually understates the impact of Palestinian operations, but even the figures admitted show resistance operations in 1981 averaging about one per day.

Israel reported a particularly sharp increase in military operations along the Lebanese border, reflecting the fierce fighting of last July's Palestinian-Israeli war. The Zionists admitted an 800 per cent increase of resistance operations in the border zone.

The Gaza Strip has been another focus of Palestinian military activity. On 14th January Israeli radio quoted the annual report of the occupied region's military governor as saying: 'Last year terrorist activity (sic) in the Gaza Strip reached dimensions we have not witnessed for many years.' The report added that operations had risen particularly sharply in the last six months of the year, suggesting a further increase in 1982.

800 books banned

ISRAEL'S MILITARY censors have published the titles of another eleven books proscribed from circulation in the 1967 occupied territories, bringing the total to 800, Israeli radio announced on 1st December. The new titles on the list include a novel by the Palestinian writer Ghassan Kana-fani, who was murdered by Israeli agents in Beirut in 1972. Other titles banned include what the radio called 'political books about the Palestinian problem, against self-determination and autonomy and anti-Zionist articles'.



Washington looks beyond Camp David, but Palestinian rights ignored

NEW PRESSURES from Washington will be exerted on Arab governments and leaders in the coming weeks as the Reagan administration attempts to formulate a new Middle East peace initiative. The new moves have to establish a viable US policy by April, when Israel is scheduled to withdraw from Sinai under the terms of the Camp David accords, writes Louis Eaks.

Even in Washington there are fears that Israel might renege on its Sinai agreement when the deadline arrives, but the prime concern of the US is the total failure of Israel to move on the second part of the Camp David accords, which call for a form of Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Camp David plan was rejected

by the Palestinians because it fails to respect the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination in an independent sovereign state, and their right to return to the homeland. Instead the accords provide for limited autonomy for the Palestinians to deal with minor local administration, with continued Israeli control and military presence in the area.

If the Americans can secure support for their new scheme, the Palestinians will come under renewed pressure to compromise their rights and to endorse a scheme which will:

- Leave Arab Jerusalem under continued Israeli control.
- Give Israel legitimacy through recognition by the settler state's Arab neighbours.

□ Permit Israel to retain a military presence on the Golan and West Bank, although the West Bank will be designated for Arab self-government. Severe limitations would be placed on any West Bank government's right to arm for self-defence.

As such the new American scheme is modelled closely on earlier US proposals, such as the Roger's Plan, in the early 1970s, and the Allon Plan formulated by Yigal Allon.

There is increasing acceptance in Washington that for any US scheme to work, it must have the support of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Hence a major danger in the coming months will be the pressures which the United States is planning to put on the PLO leadership to endorse the

new US plan. Clearly there is the prospect of crude intimidation. The PLO may be told that unless it backs the plan, Washington will permit the Israelis to launch a new and prolonged assault on the Palestinian communities in the Lebanon in a renewed bid to crush the PLO's military capability, whatever the cost in human lives.

Washington may also put pressure on conservative governments to use their influence on the PLO leadership. The form of pressure can only be speculated, but the US journal *Business Week* on 30th November recalled 'an Israeli-US-Jordanian alliance against the PLO' in 1970, a reference to the Black September conflict, in which thousands of Palestinians were killed or injured.

Business Week does not elaborate on its claims that the Reagan administration is carrying on 'intensive back-door negotiations' with the PLO, through intermediaries. There has, however been evidence of an administration campaign to prepare public opinion for closer relations between the US and the PLO. The statements by former Presidents Ford and Carter on their return from Sadat's funeral clearly reflected White House thinking, packaged as something less.

The latest move came on 2nd December, in Washington. A private study group, including a former senior State Department official, made public a report which called on the Reagan administration to hold exploratory talks with the PLO. Amongst those on the study group were Harold Saunders, Assistant Secretary of State in the Carter Administration, and Philip Klutznick, Carter's Secretary of Commerce and former President of the World Jewish Congress.

In 1975, the United States pledged to Israel that it would not recognise or negotiate with the PLO until the Palestinians recognised Israel's legitimacy. But Mr Saunders, speaking at a Washington press conference on 2nd December, said the pledge had been interpreted by Israel as foreclosing even an exchange of views between the US and the PLO.

The report said that the US 'would be violating no formal agreement if it explored the PLO's readiness to negotiate peace'.

'The objective is to negotiate peace among the parties to the conflict, and the PLO will have an important influence on that process,' the report said.

The most important implication of Washington's efforts to formulate new plans for the West Bank and Gaza, is the clear recognition by the Americans that the Camp David process is dead. But since Washington shows no signs of any intention to get tough with the Zionists, the probability is that new American schemes to force the Palestinians to submit are now being finalised.

ONLY DAYS after the United States expressed anger over Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan, it was disclosed that the Pentagon plans increased arms credits to Israel of \$1.7 billion for the next fiscal year. And with last year's Israeli bombing raids on Baghdad and civilian areas of Beirut fading fast from public consciousness, the latest item on the Zionists shopping list for the Washington arms market are aircraft to give Israel's air force 'longer range', writes Louis Eaks.

It is evident that Israel's capacity to launch attacks on the Arabs is due solely to the vital role which the United States plays in the supply of arms technology and funds.

According to *The Washington Post* on 31st December, 'the proposed \$1.7 billion in arms credits for fiscal 1983 represents a \$300 million boost over what Israel has received for the past two fiscal years'. The paper points out that although the Pentagon proposal was drawn up before the Golan annexation, 'it was framed after Israeli planes destroyed an Iraqi nuclear reactor on 7th June and bombed a civilian area of Beirut on 17th July.'

With the Americans successfully blocking any sanctions against Israel for its bombing of two Arab capitals, *The Washington Post* cites official sources for its information that Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon last November met with Pentagon officials 'to discuss the purchase of four KC-135 tanker aircraft, for refuelling the

F-15s and F-16s 'to give them longer range'.

The role which the United States could play in restraining Israel becomes evident when the full extent of economic support given to the Zionist state in Palestine is considered. In an article published in the *Christian Science Monitor* on 29th December, Thomas Stauffer declares, 'Israel today is, indeed, all but totally dependent on US economic support, both overt and indirect.'

Dr Stauffer, a research associate at the Harvard Centre of Middle East Studies, adds, 'A fragile and quite indispensable economic lifeline connects Tel Aviv and Washington, providing at no cash cost the weapons Israel could not buy elsewhere in the world even if it were able to pay. It all adds up to an economic package exceeding \$3 billion per year.'

Aid from the United States to Israel, the report says, 'approximates almost one-half of Israel's national income'.

It further notes, 'US public aid over the last three years averaged \$3 billion annually, and the 1982 expenditure may once again rise — a rare counter example to the slashed budgets of the administration's domestic programmes.' Moreover, Dr Stauffer points out, 'Almost half of US official aid consists of grants or instantaneously forgiven loans.'

□ **Military sales:** These constitute two-thirds of the total official aid: Congress in the Arms Export Control Act of 1976 created 'a special financing device in order to reduce the visibility of this aid and forestall possible public criticism,' says the report.

Dr Stauffer explains, 'Thus, for example, in fiscal 1980 \$1 billion worth of foreign military sales were authorised for Israel's account. Immediately following the "sale", however, \$500 million of the loan was cancelled and the residual \$500 million was added to the \$7-billion the State Department estimates that Israel now owes the US government.'

While many Third World countries face economic problems of crisis and survival proportions when it comes to debt-servicing, the Zionist state faces no such problems, because 'it can service this debt only in the formal sense that installments are paid when due but are in fact funded through new US aid each year.'

□ **Private aid:** The second level of aid supplied to Israel from the United States comes from the nationwide network of Zionist fundraising groups. The IMF reports such aid flowing out of the US at almost \$1 billion per year. With the exception of Israeli Development Bonds, these funds are raised as 'charitable contributions' and are fully tax deductible. Dr Stauffer points out that United Jewish Appeal or Hadassah contributions 'have funded access roads in the occupied territories on the West Bank'.

The Jewish Chronicle reported on 22nd January that more than \$227.5 million worth of Israel bonds were

sold in the US in 1981, the largest amount on the 30 years of the Bonds Organisation, excepting 1973, the year of the October War.

□ **Discount aid:** Described by Dr Stauffer as 'a third and murkier tier' of economic assistance, he says 'military sources indicate that some of the weapons transferred to Israel were under invoiced at special discount prices'.

□ **Other aid:** 'Another form of implicit aid is a net of specially drafted contracts between the US Department of Defence, or defence suppliers within the US to support Israeli arms industries,' says Dr Stauffer, 'providing critically needed cash infusions for those firms'. In particular, he cites Israel Aircraft Industries as being 'particularly insistent on such support', and which has received subcontracts for manufacturing components for the F-14 and F-15 fighters.

In addition, there is 'extensive and sustained support for Israeli universities and research institutions funded by the Department of Education, National Institute of Health and other US agencies, which reportedly total almost \$100 million per year.'

□ **Export concessions:** Israel is specially designated as a 'developing country', despite its high per capita income of over \$3,500 per year, which accords it reduced or zero tariffs on exports to the US, 96 per cent of the \$1 billion exports to the US enter free of any tariffs, says Dr Stauffer's report.

Despite Golan, United States boosts military aid to Israel



Beigin grabs Syrian territory on the Golan: A test run for the West Bank?



West Bank settlements built to last.

Veto opens way for annexation of West Bank and Gaza

ISRAEL IS expected to follow its annexation of the Syrian Golan with similar moves to bring the occupied West Bank and Gaza firmly under permanent Zionist control. In fact, the decision to annex the Golan was merely a dress rehearsal for the West Bank. The American veto of the Security Council resolution calling for voluntary sanctions against Israel indicates to the Zionists that Washington will not adopt any tough measures if Premier Beigin proceeds with his plans for the West Bank.

If Israel is to obstruct new Middle East plans being formulated in Washington, which will put focus on the future of the West Bank and its withdrawal from parts of the area, Beigin is likely to act on the West Bank annexation before the April deadline for Israel's final withdrawal from Sinai, writes Louis Eaks.

Beigin will feel even more confident to proceed with his plans for the West Bank as a result of the European abstentions, which included Britain, France and Ireland, in the Security Council vote.

American complicity in the annexation scheme for the West Bank and Gaza dates back to the earliest days of Beigin's administration in 1977. According to several US reports, such as that in the *Los Angeles Times* on 28th December, 'Beigin made it clear that he considered the Gaza Strip and West Bank to be integral parts of Israel', during talks with Carter in the summer of 1977.

At the stage of the Camp David accords, says the *Los Angeles Times*, 'The West Bank-Gaza issue was circumvented through the "framework agreement" in which political autonomy of the Palestinian inhabitants was to be defined through negotiations, with the final disposition of the territories - themselves to be decided later'.

As the American columnist Jack Anderson pointed out in his 4th December article in the *Washington Post*, 'The US interpretation was never accepted as valid by Israeli Premier Menachim Beigin. He insists that Israel intends to annex the West Bank territory.'

The *Christian Science Monitor* on 28th December carried an analysis by Geoffrey Godsell, which opened with the following statement: 'The battle lines are being drawn for the great fight next year [ie 1982] over whether Israel will succeed in Beigin's long-term aim to annex the West Bank of the Jordan.'

On 14th December, the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* pointed out the Golan annexation had followed calls for such a bill by Guela Cohen a few months ago. It was Cohen who mobilised support for the earlier passage through the Israeli parliament of the bill declaring Arab Jerusalem to be Israel's 'eternal capital'. Mrs Cohen has now stated that she will prepare a motion for the immediate annexation of the occupied West Bank.

30 year plan

Israel's intention to maintain a permanent presence on the West Bank was further illustrated last October, when the World Zionist Organisation announced plans to settle more than 100,000 Zionist settlers in the West Bank by 1985. According to the *Jerusalem Post* on 5th October 1981, 'The plan is part of a wider drive to increase the Jewish population of Judea and Samaria [the Zionist term for the West Bank] from the present 20,000 to 1,000,000 within 30 years'. At the end of that period, the WZO expects the Arab population on the West Bank to be between 1.2 and 1.9 million.

The report was based on a statement by Matiyahu Drobles, co-chairman of the WZO settlement department. According to the *Jerusalem Post*, 'Drobles said that the needs of the Arab residents of the area were not taken into account. "The plan is a plan for Jews," he said. "I don't care if the Arabs accept it or not".'

There is no doubt that the Zionist presence on the occupied West Bank is intended to be permanent. In the *Sunday Times* on 17th January, the paper's Jerusalem correspondent Ruth Cale suggested that if there was any doubt in the minds of the Americans, then Secretary of State Haig should have taken time during his visit that week to fly over the West Bank.

She described what Haig would have seen: 'In the populated areas, along the mountain ridges and slopes, he would have seen the clusters of Jewish communities which have sprouted up at enormous speed. He would also have been told that the clusters dividing up the entire area like a quilt are grouped into regional councils, with each cluster forming an enclave under full Israeli authority, which would never be permitted to become part of any autonomy.'

She continued, 'Similarly, the vast infrastructure which has emerged — roads, water and power networks —

also remains under Israeli control. Local Palestinian inhabitants owning land along the major roads linking the various enclaves with one another and with Israel may not build on it, and can cultivate it only with

special permits. Land owners must also apply for building permits close to Jewish settlements.'

Stressing that Beigin has changed the concept of 'autonomy for the people' to 'autonomy for the people', authorities.

ALTHOUGH THEIR fine words failed to be matched by support for the Security Council resolution calling for sanctions against Israel for its annexation of the Syrian Golan, the Zionist move met with universal condemnation in the western world. Even the US Secretary of Defence, Casper Weinberger was moved to say on 15th December of the annexation measure: 'It is a very provocative move and what I would characterise as destabilising in that very volatile area.'

He added, 'We are very unhappy with it. What they have done now is clearly a violation of the United Nations resolutions, and therefore (sic) of the Camp David agreement.'

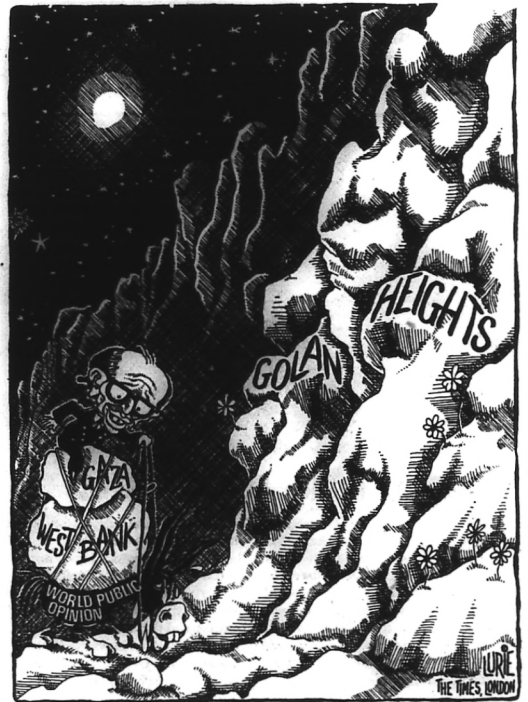
In London Premier Margaret Thatcher found herself addressing the 220th anniversary dinner of the Board of Deputies of British Jews on 15th December. She told them that the Israeli move was 'contrary to international law and therefore invalid in our eyes'.

Similar sentiments were echoed by the EEC Foreign Ministers at the end of a two-day meeting in London. Their statement deplored the Israeli decision. 'Such an extension, which is tantamount to annexation, is contrary to international law, and therefore invalid in our eyes,' it said.

The EEC statement added that the annexation move 'is bound to complicate further the search for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East to which we remain committed.'

Meanwhile, the Organisation of African Unity also condemned the Golan annexation, which appears to have set back Israeli efforts to restore ties with African countries as part of a new American strategy to penetrate the independent African states by proxy. It fell to the President of Kenya, one of Washington's allies in Africa, to voice the views of the OAU of which he is current Chairman. President Moi said the decision frustrated the search for a peaceful settlement and declared that the OAU would support the non-aligned movement's resolutions in the UN.

International condemnation of Israel's moves



PALESTINE UNDER ZIONIST OCCUPATION



Cartoon: Emirate News, Abu Dhabi

Bir Zeit students beaten and gassed

BIR ZEIT University, the principal Palestinian institute of higher education in the occupied territories, re-opened on 4th January after a two months' closure order. The shut-down by the Israeli authorities followed student demonstrations against Israeli attempts to impose a civilian 'front' to the military administration in the West Bank. In November 1981, Colonel Menachem Milson was appointed to head the new 'civilian' administration, writes Neil Catford.

As staff and students resumed classes, eight members of the Student Council remained under house arrest. Shortly after the University's closure, the eight were arrested and charged with inciting students to demonstrate. The authorities also arrested Bir Zeit's two Vice-Presidents, Dr Gabi Baramki and Dr Izzat Ghourani, together with two other members of the University's Board of Governors. All were later released, but the eight Student Council members were placed under house arrest for six months,

under the Emergency Defence Regulations (1945) introduced by the British in the mandate period.

The military authorities have not brought the eight to trial or produced evidence to support their charges. The students are subject to a dusk to dawn curfew and must report to their local police station twice daily. The work of the student union is severely hindered by their continued detention.

On 29th November Israeli academics and Palestinians demonstrated in Ramallah against the closure. They were beaten and gassed and fifty were arrested for interrogation. Earlier Palestinian and Israeli students had demonstrated outside Zionist Premier Beigun's Jerusalem office. They heard Professor Dany Amit of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem condemn the dynamiting of houses in Beit Sahr as 'fascist' and 'racist' and call for an end to the occupation.

On 9th December, Dr Rhinehart of Tel-Aviv University called on behalf of the Bir Zeit Solidarity Committee, set up jointly by Israeli and Palestinian academics, for the cancelling of a proposed lecture by Defence Minister Sharon at Tel-Aviv University. 'A man who closes one University should not be allowed to lecture in another,' Dr Rhinehart said. The lecture went ahead, though Sharon was faced with a large demonstration at the University. Later, some seventy Israeli academics also signed a petition condemning 'the exploitation of academic institutions for incitement and fomenting hatred between peoples.'

The closure order also prompted letters to the British press. David Astor, a former editor of the *Observer*, was among the signatories of a letter in *The Times* on 3rd December. This was not the first time the Israelis had disrupted academic life at Bir Zeit, the letter pointed out. Two obvious outcomes of the closure, it continued, were the departure of able and better-off students for universities abroad, and the denial of higher education to those who remained.

A letter detailing the harsh measures the Israelis used to effect Bir Zeit's closure appeared in *The Guardian* on 4th December. Sir Robert Birley and Lord Fenner Brockway together with prominent academics and churchmen noted 'the help of tear gas, bullets and physical force' in closing the university'. Bir Zeit University is Palestinian and proud of it,' the letter continued, 'but we know of no evidence to suggest that it is a threat to Israeli security.'

The Friends of Bir Zeit University (FOBZU) has launched an information campaign to draw attention to Israel's infringement of academic freedom at the University.

Prior to the reopening of Bir Zeit, on expiry of the closure order Israeli troops stripped the student cafeteria walls of Palestinian nationalist posters. The 'civilian' administrator, Colonel Milson, has banned Acting Principal, Dr Gabi Baramki, from contacting the University's President, Dr Hana Nasser, who was exiled from the West Bank in 1974.

IKRIT: Kibbutz bars Arabs from returning

THE ISRAELI Supreme Court has once again rejected a petition from the 161 Arab residents of the Galilee border village of Ikrit. They want to return to the homes from which they were evicted by the Zionists in 1948. The villagers, Christian Palestinians, never offered any resistance to the Zionist forces in the 1948 war; they did not become refugees, but remained inside the territory claimed as Israel in 1948; they left their village as a 'territory evacuation' but have never been allowed to return. Their land was taken for Jewish settlers.

In the years since 1948, the Arabs of Ikrit have repeatedly attempted to assert their right to return, but the Zionists never kept their promise that the evacuation would be for only 15 days.

The Supreme Court ruling on 23rd December recalls the international outcry which greeted a similar ruling in 1972, and focuses attention on the continuing discrimination against Christians and Muslims within the Zionist state.

A former Ikrit resident, Oni Sbait, explained to *Newsweek* (21st August 1972): 'We were asked to evacuate our homes for fifteen days and were promised that we would be allowed back.' When they returned in August 1972, the Zionist government responded by arresting 14 of them, and rejecting their appeals for the Zionists to honour their promise.

The 1972 *Newsweek* report pointed out, 'Most of the land once owned by the Christian Arabs had been handed over to Jewish farmers, and it seems unlikely that if the villagers

are ever allowed back to their houses, they — and other displaced Arabs — might be able to make a case for the return of their fields.'

At the time of the 1972 incident, the Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz* reported that there were some twenty similar Arab villages in the Galilee district alone which suffered a similar fate in 1948, involving some 7,000 Palestinian Christians and Muslims.

An editorial in *The Guardian* on 16th August 1972 stressed the real motives behind the Zionist decision, which the then Premier Golda Meir publicly supported. The paper said: 'Mrs Meir on 10th August said there were 22 similar villages on the northern border alone. She realises that the Arabs not only in the northern part of Israel but elsewhere might ask to return. Within the occupied territories Arabs have been expelled from Rafah, in the Gaza Strip, from Quneitra on the Golan Heights and from areas where Jewish settlements have been established. In addition there are the Palestinians dispersed in the Arab world. What if they asked to come back?'

The Jerusalem Post on 24th December 1981, reporting the latest Supreme Court decision recalled Mrs Meir's frank admission of the reasons for refusing the villagers' return. The Zionist paper added, 'In addition, objections by Galilee kibbutzim and moshavim have become a main reason for government unwillingness to accede to the villagers' demands. Kibbutzim Sasa and Baram now till most of Birim's arable, and most of Ikrit's — some 7,000 dunams in total — is cultivated by local moshavim, including Shomera.'



The mother of Ussama Mohammed Nasser, 10, waits at his hospital bed after he was shot by Israeli troops in occupied Rafah, south of Gaza Town.

schools shut down. Zionist troops reacted fiercely as crowds of protestors gathered on the streets and in the refugee camps. The most serious incident of violence occurred in Rafah on 7th December: one teenager was killed and three young people injured when an Israeli patrol fired into a crowd of students. Immediate military reports said the soldiers had 'fired into the air', and they were absolved of all responsibility.

The funeral of the 17 year old youth sparked a new wave of demonstrations. On 9th December, the Zionists sealed off the Gaza Strip to outsiders. General Lunz imposed a 21 hours-a-day curfew on Rafah and set up road blocks at all the town's entrances. As Israeli soldiers moved into the Strip with welding equipment, journalists were prevented from entering to record the collective punishment imposed on Rafah.

Israeli troops welded shut the doors of some 170 shops. Scores of storekeepers were detained, joining an estimated 130 doctors already held. Reports of the Israeli suppression did

leak out, provoking demonstrations in the West Bank in support of Gaza's general strike.

The protests in Gaza were quelled only after three weeks. On 16th December the Israeli military backed down and agreed to defer the tax levy and to re-open shops welded during the strike. The following day, the Gaza Municipality called an end to the general strike.

But following two days of student demonstrations, Brig-Gen Lunz imposed a total day and night curfew on Rafah on 3rd January. Palestinians had stoned Israeli vehicles and erected barricades of burning tyres after the Israeli announcement of the town's partition in April, when the Sinai half of Rafah is due to be handed back to Egypt.

Residents of Rafah had to wait three days before the military governor allowed them to leave their homes even to buy food. A military court sentenced parents of youths accused of disturbing the peace to prison terms of up to four months. The curfew was later lifted.

A prominent Palestinian in the Gaza Strip, Dr Hatem Abu Ghazaleh, declared: 'Whether the [occupation] is civilian or military in appearance, it still has the same injustices.'

Gaza: one dead and 1,000 arrested

PALESTINIANS IN the Gaza Strip have mounted a massive show of civilian resistance to the Israeli occupation. In early December the region was gripped by a three week general strike and angry demonstrations. Clashes with Zionist forces left one youth dead, three injured and over 1,000 Palestinians detained, writes Neil Catford.

The widespread protests were prompted by the Israeli decision to

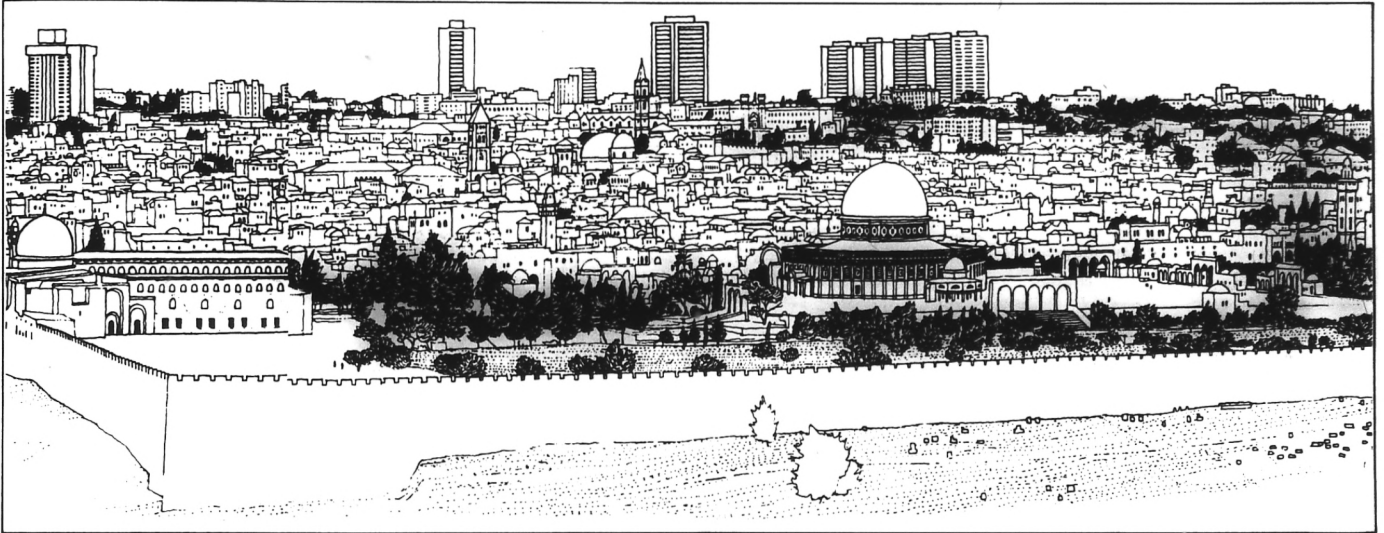
impose a 'civilian' regime on the occupied territories. In order to satisfy the Camp David agreements on 'autonomy', Israel 'abolished' the military government on 1st December and set up 'civilian' administrations in Gaza and the West Bank. Until 30th November, the new 'civilian' commander of Gaza, Brig-Gen Josef Lunz, was Military Governor of the region.

The first signs of unrest came in

late November and centred on a proposed tax levy on Palestinian businesses by the Israelis. On 26th November doctors and pharmacists went on strike. They were joined on 3rd December by all Palestinians in the Gaza Strip in response to a call by the Gaza Municipality for a general strike against the tax levy and the new 'civilian' regime.

Demonstrations occurred throughout the Strip, as shops, offices and

PALESTINE UNDER ZIONIST OCCUPATION



Rape of Jerusalem: 'Weep at the loss of yesteryear'

WHILE ATTENTION is focused on Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan, and the future of the West Bank and Gaza territories, Arab Jerusalem occupied and annexed by Israel in 1967 faces continued destruction from Zionist 'developers'.

The Zionist scheme since 1967 has comprised the eviction of Arab families from the city, and its environs, and the rapid creation of housing developments reserved exclusively for Jewish families. With a ring of settlements surrounding the Holy City almost complete, the Israeli plan was conceived to make impossible any international demand that Israel should respect international laws and UN resolutions which declare the Zionist occupation of Arab Jerusalem illegal and call for its return to Arab rule, writes Louis Eaks.

During November it was revealed that a further housing project of 6,000 units is planned for Anatot, less than one kilometre from French Hill in northeast Jerusalem. Several thousand more dwellings are said to be planned close to El-Bireh, just north of Jerusalem.

Meanwhile, concern at the destruction of Jerusalem's environment has been voiced in the *Jerusalem Post* on 18th December. Richard Ablin accuses the authorities of wholesale destruction of the ancient city, and the mayor, Teddy Kollek, of being 'apparently blind to the destruction of Jerusalem's hills and valleys under the impact of primitive methods of "land preparation" for every new building.'

Meanwhile, concern at the destruction of Jerusalem's environment has been voiced in the *Jerusalem Post* on 18th December. Richard Ablin accuses the authorities of wholesale destruction of the ancient city, and the mayor, Teddy Kollek, of being 'apparently blind to the destruction of Jerusalem's hills and valleys under the impact of primitive methods of "land preparation" for every new building.'

Ablin writes: 'Look at the narrow valleys which were always one of Jerusalem's special glories, separating built-up areas with a vista of serene hillsides and valley floors. Each of them has been pitilessly

scarred. Their once lovely, low shapes have become ridges of diagonally slanting debris, on which perch buildings that are unsuited in size or shape to their sites.'

The Israeli journalist continues, 'Pass down Gaza Road and, if you remember it, weep at the loss of the exhilarating natural grace of yesteryear. Everywhere scars, debris, buildings of inappropriate size, deep gougings for supposedly step-form houses. Worse of all, the desert scars and debris created by the Holyland Hotel around the edges of a lovely garden — once a particularly ex-

quisite area, perfectly integrated with the natural form of the hill and the ancient terrace steps below.'

Israel's rape of the Holy City has caused much anger and criticism abroad, not only from groups sympathetic to the rights of the Palestinians, but equally from environmental groups and leading international architects.

On the quality and style of the new Zionist development schemes, Ablin adds, 'The new neighbourhoods such as Gilo and Ramot, which could and should have been planned as

suburbs with the moderate or low density appropriate to the periphery of an urban area, have been conceived in the style of the Bronx. They are concrete jungles of dense 5-storey housing, and more dense than the traditional inner neighbourhoods of the city. In an area where each resident should have been able to see trees and hills and the lovely terraces from his window, many can see only fortress-like walls marching up and down the slopes (or even worse, straight through them).'

Of course, this destructive approach to Jerusalem's development is the

natural product of the political spirit in which it was conceived, as Ablin reluctantly concedes in the only political comment contained in an article of some 2,000 words: 'Obviously, the planners of these areas were thinking of packing in the maximum number of Jewish bodies to "create facts". The emphasis is on apartments. Everything else is neglected. It's as though 40,000 people packed into tenements, rather than 15,000 or 20,000 living gracefully with gardens and trees and two-storey housing, provide better proof of Israel's right to be there.'

Baby dies as mother and children evicted

A TWO month old baby boy died as his mother and ten other children were taken forcibly from their Bedouin settlement by Zionist troops, while the father was away at work. The incident on 14th September is only one part of a wider campaign of harassment and intimidation now being waged by the Israeli authorities against this community of Palestinians who have lived within the state of Israel since 1948, writes Louis Eaks.

Under the Camp David accords, the Negev desert area has assumed new importance with the relocation of Israel's army and air force bases from Sinai in this desert area, traditionally inhabited by travelling Bedouin.

The dead baby was the son of Muhammed Saleiman al-Qasher. When the Israeli patrol arrived on a cold dawn morning on 14th December at al-Qasher's encampment, two women and 10 children were in their tent. Al-Qasher was away searching for two lost camels, and had stayed the night with a distant neighbour, unaware of the plight of his family. When he returned they had gone.

In the *New York Times* on 26th December, David Shipler told of the events that morning two weeks before:

'The Israelis drove them into the open, pulled down the tent and loaded them into three jeeps, allowing them to take only three blankets. His wife, Fathma, pleaded with them to allow her to leave her 2-month-old infant with another family because of the cold. They refused.'

Shipler continues: 'As they rode in the open jeeps, the baby's nose began to bleed. Once inside the designated area, they were put into the desert. The next night she found that the baby was not nursing. She took him to a clinic in Beersheba, where an Israeli doctor pronounced him dead.'

Responsible for the campaign against the Bedouin is Israel's 'green patrol' operated by the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture. Shipler writes, 'The green patrol has launched a silent war of attrition against the Bedouin, swooping down on their encampments in jeeps, firing guns in the air to frighten children, shooting their herding dogs, ripping down their tents, trucking their flocks of goats away to slaughter and forcing the tribes off their ancestral lands into closed zones akin to Indian reservations.'

He adds, 'The concept of due process is alien to this affair. The green patrol comes swiftly, often with a contingent of heavily armed Israeli

troops or border policemen. They herd the goats into trucks and take them to be slaughtered the same day, paying the Bedouins one-third their market price, minus the costs of confiscation and trucking. It means disaster for the tribesmen, who often have nothing of value besides their goats.'

The Zionists justify their actions on the basis of conservation and security. However, such grounds for action against the Bedouin are rejected by Clinton Bailey, an Israeli scholar who is trying to help the persecuted community. He says there is no overgrazing of land: rather the Zionists use this 'as a pretext for acting out the anti-Arab impulses of officialdom', reported the *New York Times*. Moreover, he points out, many of the Bedouin have served in the Israeli army.

Of the Negev's some 40,000 Bedouin, about 15,000 have been resettled in two large tracts of land near Beersheba. Another 6,000 are to be removed from an area where a new Israeli airbase is planned, and an additional 19,000 throughout the rest of the desert area are to be resettled under the Israeli government's plans.

The Bedouin Palestinians complain

about the manner in which their resettlement is being handled by the Zionists, and even some Israeli officials are angered by the disruptive steps taken by Zionists to thwart their relocation.

On one occasion the Bedouin from Tel Mahata were directed to new land belonging to the Israeli Land Authority. The Israeli newspaper *Davar* on 13th March 1981 reported, 'More than once, however, when the committee representative arrived with the Bedouin to inspect the land located for them, they found that it had just been put under the plough and was therefore no longer available.' Other incidents were cited by *Davar* of land being quickly taken for Jewish settlers, to block the settlement of Palestinian Bedouin on suitable agricultural land.

A Bedouin reaction, quoted in the *New York Times*, comes from Swaylin Abu Bilya. He says in all his years, even under the British mandate, he had never encountered anything like the green patrol. He declares, 'First of all, they're children. They are young, not from the point of view of age, but from the point of view of behaviour. People who go around bothering other people aren't men. Second, they're stealing from the people. They're taking their flocks away. Third, they're damaging our relations between the Bedouins and the Jews. They know this is our land, but they want to push us out into these settlements. We can't live in the settlements. We'll die in the settlements. They scare our children and shoot our dogs. You call that a government? That can't be a government.'

ISRAEL'S MISSION IN THE THIRD WORLD:

The meaning of 'strategic co-operation'

ISRAEL'S USEFULNESS to the United States goes far beyond the Middle East. The new strategic co-operation agreement between the two countries has been welcomed by the Zionists because it will enable Israel to strengthen its influence in Washington by strengthening American and Israeli links with some Third World countries.

The Zionist daily Al Hamishmar spelt it out on 29th December last: 'Israeli officials claim that one of the advantages Israel will gain from the new strategic accord with the United States will be a greater role in the Third World. The leaders of pro-western regimes in the Third World, especially those of countries that have unpopular, authoritarian regimes and a negative image in Washington, would like to make use of Israel's "American connection" according to the same source. They seem to hope that Israel will be able to help them, through her influence and efforts in Washington, to obtain direct US political, military and economic aid, and perhaps also an increase in direct military assistance.'

It might be thought that in the era of Ronald Reagan, no regime could be unpopular or authoritarian enough to have a 'negative image' in Washington. The past three years, under Reagan and Carter, have seen a rapid dismantling of the 'human rights' criteria under which the former Democratic President, at the start of his term of office, cut or reduced military and other support for right-wing dictatorships.

But some areas of concern remain. Congress still embargoes military aid for Guatemala, and the Administration was forced in late January to present a highly misleading report to Congress on the human rights situation in El Salvador to serve large-scale military aid to the ruling junta. Where the United States wishes to aid one country without alarming its neighbours, Israel can also be of use. Since 1973, many Third World countries have broken diplomatic links with the Zionist state. However, many commercial and trade ties not only remain, but have been strengthened over recent years. In the absence of diplomatic links, such ties take a political dimension.

Hypocrisy

'Governments and official bodies are not the only way to develop relations

with other countries,' Imelda Marcos, wife of Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos recently told Israeli journalists. She indicated that many governments which vote against Israel at the UN do so in the knowledge that such votes placate the Arab states, but do little real harm to Israel.

The Philippines provides a text book example of trilateral co-operation between Israel, a Third World dictatorship, and the United States. Jack Nezer, an American Israeli businessman who owns factories in the Philippines, arranged for Mrs Marcos to visit Israel's New York trade centre in December last year. Its director was cordially invited to create a similar centre for the Philippines, with the intention of bolstering trade links as a counterweight to the opposition which the Marcos regime engenders from some progressive members of Congress.

The 'trade connection' is important in Latin America too. 'Israeli sales to Latin America reached \$138 million last year (1980) marking a 94.4 per cent increase over 1979. Such a jump suggests that the weakening of Israel's diplomatic links in Latin America has paradoxically been accomplished by stronger trade ties,' wrote Ignacio Klich in 8 Days on 31st October.

The pattern has remained much the same since the 1960s, when Israel established its 'bridgehead' in Third World countries by concentrating on agricultural and light industrial technology in which it possessed expertise. The market was largely ignored by other western countries. The added incentive today for both sides is that Israel can now also provide capital, and thus profit from Third World labour. Foremost among Israel's overseas capitalist investors is the Histadrut, Israel's 'Trade Union' federation. 8 Days reported as a typical deal with Mexico a vegetable drying plant to be set up jointly with a Mexican company, in which the expertise will be provided by the kibbutz-owned Deco, along with Atikim, construction firm Solel Boneh and investment syndicate Clal — all Histadrut subsidiaries. Finance will come from a joint fund set up between Nacional Financiera SA, Mexico's development bank, and the Histadrut-owned Bank Hapoalim.

The Histadrut is a useful institution for Israel in the Third World, where it employs the unique advan-



Guatemala's repressive army in action: one of the many Latin American dictatorships protected by arms supplies from Israel.

tage of both supplying the capital and training the labour. Between 1958 and 1973, 43 per cent of the 17,000 trade unionists who took courses in Israel were from the Third World. Some countries, for example Kenya, continued to use Histadrut facilities after 1973, and it is one of the African countries which maintains close links with Israel, though there are no diplomatic ties. Solel Boneh also does well in other pro-western African states, such as the Ivory Coast and Nigeria, where it recently landed a \$280 million construction contract.

Arms for outcasts

In Latin America, Israel has been able to capitalise on its existing links to build its trade in arms. Much Israeli weaponry is developed from American and French prototypes, and the ease with which it can be exported to Third World countries indicates the closeness of the relationship between Israel and its original suppliers. Israel can ship the Shafir missile — a copy of one designed by the US firm Raytheon — to Chile without a murmur from the State Department.

But the Irish airline Aer Lingus has been refused permission to sell a second-hand civilian Boeing 707 to Libya because of US paranoia about Colonel Qadhafi.

In 1979, the Histadrut daily Davar estimated that Israel's arms and defence sales to the Third World were running at one billion US dollars annually.

The Israelis have fuelled regional tensions in Latin America, selling second-hand French jets to El Salvador in 1973, and to neighbouring Honduras in 1976. Mirages also went from Israel to Argentina in late 1978; in January 1979, the Israeli deputy Defence Minister, Mordechai Zippori, promised help to Chile — which has a dispute with Argentina

about territorial waters around Cape Horn — to refurbish its armed forces. Chile was then incurring the Carter administration's displeasure over its repressive internal policies, and was in need of alternative arms supplies. Leading Israeli human rights campaigner Dr Israel Shahak told Free Palestine in October 1978 of a kibbutz affiliated to the Israeli Labour Alignment which supplied helmets for the Chilean Army. Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza re-equipped his National Guard with Israeli Galil rifles only months before his overthrow.

As well as weapons, the Israelis supply military expertise. They train the secret police and counter-insurgency forces of Malawi and Kenya. Dr Shahak disclosed, and John Rennie reported in The Guardian on 21st December last that Israel supplied a computer to the Guatemalan regime of General Lucas Garcia to enable them to tabulate intelligence data on guerrillas. Former Israeli Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur is a frequent visitor to Chile, and Israeli Army Generals meet with their counterparts in Argentina and elsewhere.

American cash

The strategic co-operation agreement, according to State Department spokesman Dean Fisher, would pave the way to 'the possible use by third countries of FMS (Foreign Military Sales credits) to purchase Israeli defence items and services.' Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon toured Africa at the end of last year, accompanied by former Israeli secret agent and current Foreign Ministry Director David Kimche, with a view to obtaining such sales, as well as launching the better-publicised drive to renew diplomatic relations. Sahran went to Zaire, Gabon and the Central African Republic. The new French govern-

ment of François Mitterand has sponsored Israeli links with Franco-phone African countries. 'The French contribution, in line with President Mitterand's traditional friendship with Israel, was to sound out the African heads of state at the eighth Franco-African summit in Paris early in November on restoring ties with Israel,' 8 Days reported on 23rd January.

Zaire, now firmly in the Franco-African community, was the only country to consider re-opening diplomatic ties after the Sharon-Kimche visit. Zionist hopes were dashed in the wake of the annexation of the Golan, when a previously enthusiastic General Mobutu cooled perceptibly.

Diplomatic links remain the Israeli aim. In the meantime, a growing US-financed arms trade is in prospect. At the end of December Sharon told the Israeli Knesset: 'All the projects for which I travelled to the African continent are progressing as arranged, or even quicker than that.' He added that despite the disagreement between Israel and the US over the Golan annexation (which has since passed quietly into history), America has made it clear that sanctions would not affect joint Israeli-American projects in Africa, which involve hundreds of millions of dollars of Israeli 'products' (i.e., weapons) being purchased. Some of the deals have already been carried out, said Sharon.

The Reagan administration is more eager to arm right wing countries than its predecessor. In his State of the Union message on 27th January, President Reagan said that one of the achievements of his first year in office was the assistance rendered to America's friends. Israel, directly and indirectly, has been the outstanding beneficiary.

Phil Kelly

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PALESTINIANS REFER to the Arab defeat in the 1948 war as 'The Catastrophe'. The expression is no exaggeration. By the end of the fighting the Zionists had systematically expelled more than 750,000 Arabs from their homes. Most took refuge in the West Bank and Gaza Strip — the only parts of Palestine that the Arabs had managed to save from the Zionist onslaught. Thousands of others fled to Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Only about 150,000 Arabs remained in that part of Palestine on which the Zionists set up their state.

It was Britain's withdrawal from Palestine that paved the way for the Catastrophe. Under the terms of the mandate, Britain had undertaken two irreconcilable tasks. On the one hand, London was committed to encourage Zionist immigration to Palestine. On the other it had undertaken to safeguard the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. But as the Zionists were determined to oust the Arabs to make way for an exclusively Jewish state, Zionist and Arab rights were incompatible.

Matters came to a head after the Second World War, when right wing Zionist groups such as Menachem Beigin's Irgun Zvei Leumi launched a vicious terrorist campaign against both the British and the Palestinian Arabs. Britain, war-weary and bankrupt, decided to wash its hands of the problem it had itself created, and put the Palestine question to the newly-formed United Nations Organisation.

Partition

In November 1947 the UN General Assembly passed the notorious Partition Resolution, for which a majority was secured only by intense lobbying by the United States on regimes subservient to Washington, such as Haiti. The resolution provided for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. Israel puts great store by this resolution, which it claims as the basis of its international legitimacy. Zionists also point to the rejection of the resolution by the Palestinians and the Arab countries as proof of their 'irrational' hostility to Israel. The Zionists never tire of asserting that the Palestinians brought their problems on their own heads by rejecting the Partition Resolution.

Yet the most cursory examination of the resolution reveals its grotesque injustice. The plan allotted nearly 60 per cent of Palestine to the Zionists, who amounted to less than one third of the population and owned less than six per cent of the land. Further, the territory designated for the Zionist state contained most of the country's fertile lands, including all the highly productive coastal plain. The absurdity of the UN scheme was highlighted by the fact that the Palestinian Arabs would outnumber the Jews in the 'Jewish' state. Given all this, it is no wonder that the Palestinians rejected the resolution — and equally unsurprising that the Zionists should have welcomed it.

In the months between the UN Partition resolution and May 1948 — the date the British had set for their withdrawal — the Zionists stepped up their terror war, with a new emphasis on Palestinian targets. Their aim was to drive out as many Palestinian Arabs as possible. The Zionists had always wanted a specifically Jewish state, certainly not one with an Arab majority.

Zionists always claim that the Arabs started the 1947/8 fighting. The standard propaganda line is that it was the 'invasion of Israel by five Arab armies' that prompted the war. The truth is very different. The Zionists went on to the offensive well before the British withdrew or a



The Palestinian 'Catastrophe'

IN 1948 the Zionists expelled 750,000 Palestinian Arabs from their homeland. In this second report on the history of Palestinian nationalism, Alan George traces developments leading to what Palestinians term 'The Catastrophe'.

single soldier from neighbouring Arab states set foot in Palestine. The Palestinians fought only defensive actions aimed at beating off Zionist attacks. David Ben Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister, has confirmed that 'Until the British left, no Jewish settlement, however remote, was entered or seized by the Arabs, while the Haganah [the Zionist regular troops] captured many Arab positions and liberated [sic] Tiberias and Haifa, Jaffa and Safad.' By May 1948 — before the state of Israel had even been proclaimed — more than 300,000 Palestinians had already been driven from their homes by the Zionists.

No single atrocity — and there were many — did more for the Zionist usurpation of Palestine than the massacre of Deir Yassin. On 9th April 1948 this Arab village near Jerusalem was attacked by Beigin's Irgun terrorists. 254 villagers — men, women and children — were sys-

tematically murdered by Beigin's forces, and their bodies mutilated. The Deir Yassin massacre was designed to spread panic amongst the Palestinian population as a whole — and it succeeded. The British had disarmed the Palestinians after the 1936-39 rebellion. So they had no adequate defence against the Zionists, who backed their military superiority with a skilful campaign of psychological warfare which stressed that what happened at Deir Yassin could be repeated.

Even when token units from Arab armies at last came to the aid of the Palestinians after 15th May 1948, they were no match for the numerically superior, better-equipped and trained Zionists. The Arab forces that entered Palestine totalled only about 20,000 men. The Zionists fielded almost 100,000 troops. Further, each Arab army operated independently from the others, and the most efficient army, the British-officered Jordanian Arab Legion, was under orders not to enter any part of Palestine not allocated to the Arabs by the United Nations. Zionist propagandists always peddle the 'David and Goliath' myth of tiny Israel pitted against mighty invading armies from five Arab states (the number sometimes goes as high as seven). In fact the Zionist victory was never in doubt.

Shattering blow

The Catastrophe was a shattering blow from which the Palestinians took almost twenty years to recover. Prior to the British withdrawal, the Palestinian Arabs had at least lived under the jurisdiction of a single government, albeit one imposed by London and committed to the advancement of Zionist goals. Now they were dismembered, and came under the control of half a dozen different, and

often mutually antagonistic, regimes. The West Bank was incorporated in the Kingdom of Jordan, pending a permanent solution of the Palestine problem. The Gaza Strip was administered by, but not incorporated into, Egypt.

Further, the traditional Palestinian leadership had been totally discredited. During the Mandate it had proved impotent — and most disastrously during the 1936-39 Arab rebellion. The leadership had been weakened further by British action against it during the uprising. When the Zionists launched their offensive immediately after the Second World War, the Palestinian leadership had simply collapsed.

Dismembered and leaderless, the Palestinian refugees were also destitute, and ill-equipped to create new lives for themselves in their diaspora, even if they had wanted to. Like Palestine, the host countries were, as they still are, mainly agricultural societies. There was no surplus of cultivable land, and population pressure in the countryside was already forcing thousands of the host countries' own citizens to migrate to the cities in search of work. Most of the Palestinian refugees were qualified only for unskilled jobs in the towns, where they had to compete in an already tight labour market.

The camps

The Palestinians expected their exile to be short-lived. Israel had been admitted to membership of the United

Nations on condition that it allow the refugees to return. In December 1948 the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 194 (II), which affirmed the refugees' right to return or compensation by Israel. The Zionists refused to act. As David Ben-Gurion confided in his diary on 18th July 1948: 'We must do everything to ensure that they never do return.'

The refugee camps, which became potent symbols of the Palestine problem, were set up in response to short term, emergency needs. They were never conceived as offering any sort of lasting 'solution' to the Palestine problem. But as the years passed and Israel persisted in its refusal to abide by the annually reaffirmed Resolution 194, the tents gave way to makeshift huts, and the camps took on an air of permanence. Conditions nevertheless remained appalling. In December 1948 the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) was set up to care for the exiles, but the agency was always short of funds. Poor sanitation, over-crowding and an insufficient diet led to widespread malnutrition and disease in the camps. Mortality rates were high, particularly amongst the old and very young.

During the 1950s and early 1960s the Zionists had little difficulty convincing the western world that the Palestine problem was merely one of refugee resettlement. The Israeli arguments fell on receptive ears. In the West, the notion that Third World peoples had national rights was in its infancy. Successive schemes were put forward for major irrigation schemes in Iraq and Syria on which Palestinians might settle as farmers. The Palestinians rejected such suggestions outright, pointing out that they were not just destitute persons, but a dispossessed nation.

Enlightened westerners had seen the nub of the problem from the start. Count Folke Bernadotte, the Swedish mediator appointed by the UN to help end the Palestine war had said in a 1948 report to the Secretary-General: 'It would be an offence against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine and, indeed, offer at least the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries.'

Leaderless and scattered, and condemned to the squalor of the camps, the Palestinians clung stubbornly to their hope of return. The theme of The Return permeated the lives of all the exiles. How, and when, they would return were secondary. In the words of David Gilmour in his *Dispossessed: the ordeal of the Palestinian Arabs*, 'To a Palestinian it is inconceivable that he should go anywhere but home and the idea of the Return has been the principal thing he has dreamt, thought and talked about for three decades. He admits that he personally may not see the Return and that is why he has told his children and grandchildren to re-bury his body in Palestine whenever they do go home. That is why a Palestinian child, who has never seen Palestine, will know all about his village or town. They have never been to Lydda or Ramle but they have been told from birth about that July day when Moshe Dayan herded their parents and grandparents along the hill road to Ramallah.'

□ In the next issue of Free Palestine Alan George will examine the rise of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and its role in forging the Palestinian people into a formidable political and military force.



A Palestinian woman takes only her memories into exile.



Stern Gang terrorists warn Folke Bernadotte before his assassination.

Whispering to my brother in prison



THESE POEMS have been passed to us from Zeinab Ali, a young 18 years old Palestinian girl, who lives with her family under Israeli military occupation in the Gaza Strip. A recent survey shows that approximately 85 per cent of the Palestinian men of Gaza have at some time served sentences in Zionist prisons for expressing opposition to the military occupation. This trilogy, written in English by Zeinab, is addressed to her brother who is imprisoned by the Israelis.

I still remember

One hundred and twenty eight days
You dear have been away.

One hundred and twenty eight days
I haven't seen you or even have said 'Hello'

Moner, your face in my heart's walls is still engraved.
And ornamented with carnation and jasmine.

Your last words my tongue is still repeating
'I'll come back soon'.

I haven't forgotten your last looks
Kissing Dad, Mum, Iman and I
And saying:
'I'll come back soon'.

'May God keep you'

I am holding your beautiful photo,
I am enfolding it to my chest
I am kissing it and saying:
May God keep you.

My hot tears are crowded in my eyes
Each tear is in a hurry
Each tear is trying to be the first
The first to greet you and say:
May God keep you.

At a rainy night

Once at dark, rainy and cold night
I was staring at the sky
It was weeping sadly and unhappily
I wondered then what happened
I asked it Where are your sons.
The stars, my nice and intimate friends?!
Why are you hiding them? Why?!
Alas! I didn't receive a reply.

The eyes of the sky were full of tears
Indeed I affected by it
I asked again What is the matter?
How can I help you beautiful mother?
I couldn't hear any reply
But thunder, flashing, and more cry

Then I tried to ask the wind
I tried to ask the trees
And again no answer
But the wind's hiss
And the trees' rustling

Then I thought I had asked in vain
I was about to sleep while waiting
Waiting for an answer

Finally, I noticed something like people
Knocking on the glass of my window
I looked and could see something
The sky wrote a letter to me
Explaining what was happening

It was really a wonderful nice letter
The sky used the streets as papers
And the beautiful white hail as letters

And the falling rain as ink
The wheels of the passing cars and trucks
Made the lines of the letter on the streets

I tried to read as much as I could
Not only the letter was long
But the signature of the sky as well
It was the running water beside the streets

At last and while reading the letter
I was completely asleep
Then I was compelled to leave the window
After sending my greetings to the stars
And seeing the sky off.

THE LABOUR PARTY is trying to involve more party members in policy discussions. A series of pamphlets on various topics has been produced and last November the foreign policy discussion pamphlet was one of the items debated at a consultative conference on foreign policy. The pamphlet, *A Socialist Foreign Policy*, covers the whole world, and is therefore necessarily sketchy in parts.

Supporters of the Palestinian cause will be only too aware of the sympathy for Zionism which lingers in the Labour Party, and might therefore expect to find such a bias in the pamphlet's six-page section on the Palestine problem. It is, of course, there to see. But the main defect is that the section is written principally to avoid giving offence to either side.

One might be forgiven, after reading the pamphlet, for thinking that the main danger posed by the dispossession of the Palestinian people and the ensuing conflict is the danger of splitting the Labour Party. Which indeed it is — for Labour's professionals of all political hues.

The Palestinians must be expected to view the situation rather differently. The approach is 'even-handed': 'We should... recognise that rightly or wrongly two people are laying claim to the same territory,' says the pamphlet. Rightly or wrongly? The difference between the two should

be of some importance for a party laying claim to the inheritance of British reformism with its strong moral and humanitarian traditions.

In fact, the suggestion that one side or the other might possibly be wrong is thrown out in the following sentence: 'Both have legitimate rights to achieve nationhood within this territory...' So that's all right. It's fine by the Labour Party, apparently, for people to come from Europe and the United States to establish a state on other people's land, by driving them out by brute force, and with the help of western countries establish and maintain a colonial settler regime which economically exploits and politically oppresses those whose land it is.

What has gone on in the production of this document is all too clear. Over the past decade, opinion in the Labour Party, and in the trades unions which give it vital support, has shifted towards the Palestinians. The current state of affairs is that pro-Palestinian forces in the Labour movement have forced Labour to abandon its previous uncritical backing for Zionism, without managing to win the Party, as yet, to the Palestinian cause. The policy suggested in the discussion document is the creation of a Palestinian 'mini-state' in the West Bank and Gaza, a state which would not necessarily have Jerusalem as its capital or even within its boundaries, and which might have to yield land to the Israelis for

'security reasons'. This compromise represents nothing but the current state of the strengths of the supporters of the two factions within the Party; a perfectly predictable state of affairs, and one which, for a political party seeking power, is not dishonourable.

For those in the Labour Party who back the Palestinian cause, along with that of other liberation movements, it is not the accidental point at which the struggle between us and the Zionists has come to rest which is important — it is the direction in which that struggle is going. This is not the place to launch into an extended description of what is happening inside the Labour Party, but there is little doubt that opinion is still swinging behind the Palestinians.

The discussion pamphlet, having suggested a policy line which it hopes will give least offence, then seeks to justify this in moral terms. Hence the phrase quoted earlier. But it is abundantly clear that the 'on the one hand... on the other hand' operation intended to produce this justification is based solely on expediency, and not on the application of any principles about foreign policy, socialist or otherwise. At best, it is pragmatic; at worst, a cynical exercise.

Phil Kelly

□ *A Socialist Foreign Policy*, published by the Labour Party, 81pp. £1.25 Pbk.

A SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY?



The Palestinian exile which the British Labour Party prefers to ignore.

FREE PALESTINE

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THE AMERICAN veto of the Security Council Resolution which called for sanctions against Israel in the wake of the annexation of the Golan Heights once again focuses attention on the long-running farce of America, Palestine and the United Nations. Nor can the complicity of Britain, France and Japan in abstaining be overlooked.

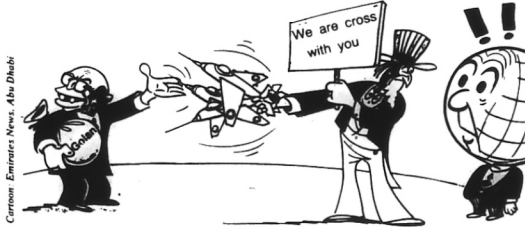
The most serious point is not that the US used its veto, nor that Japan and the EEC countries in the Security Council abstained. What is serious are the implications of these moves. It has proven to Israel that she is free to run rough-shod over international laws and conventions, and receive nothing more serious than a few statements of rebuke from Washington. No practical measures to enforce international law in respect of the territories seized by the Zionists in the Middle East are on Washington's agenda, now or in the future.

The message from this fiasco at the United Nations to Israel's expansionist Premier Begin is clear. Annex the West Bank and Gaza, and we — the West — will do nothing to punish you.

If the Arab nation is to stand with its fellow Arabs in the Israeli occupied territories, it has a major responsibility to close ranks and to adopt firm measures against the United States and other countries which appease the Zionist actions, and are therefore just as guilty of flouting international law.

There has been much speculation as to the motives and the timing of the Golan's annexation. It is suggested that it was a signal to Washington that Israel is not prepared to counter any calls for withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza in exchange for peace with the Arabs, as was the case

editorial



Beigin must be laughing all the way to the West Bank

with Sinai and Egypt. It is argued elsewhere that the annexation was intended to discourage Arab leaders from pursuing peaceful methods of resolving the Palestine dispute, a move which Israel fears more than war with the Arabs. It has been said that the annexation was designed specifically to undermine any possible shift in Palestinian ranks towards a negotiated settlement, and to force the PLO

to adopt a stand which would rule out any rapprochement, or even dialogue, between the US and the PLO, another development which creates paranoia in the Zionist mind.

In part each may be true. But with time running out for evidence to appear of some concrete steps towards resolving the future of the West Bank and Gaza, Israel knows that it will soon be faced with calls

from Washington for a new programme for settling the future of these two areas of Palestine. The American scheme reported in this issue falls far short of incorporating the rights of the Palestinians; at the same time the scheme is a direct challenge to Israel's declared determination to remain forever on the West Bank.

One no longer expects Israel to take rational steps. And however irrational are its moves, the Zionists do not care a damn about international opinion any more than they respect international laws. All the signs point to a permanent Israeli presence on the West Bank and Gaza Strip; that is Israel's declared policy on the territories. If America could not bring itself to back sanctions when Israel annexes territory over which the Zionists have never made any long-term claim, why should Begin worry himself about any change in US policy if, or when, he moves to annex the West Bank and Gaza, which Ronald Reagan once said he considered to be part of Israel.

Washington's public criticism of the annexation measure was due not because of the action, but because the US had not been told in advance. As with the Israeli bombing raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor in Baghdad, and the blitzkrieg on Beirut in which hundreds of civilians died last summer, Zionist relations with Washington suffered nothing more than a temporary hiccup.

Four weeks after the annexation of the Golan, Alexander Haig visited Israel. According to the Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, David Kimche, 'I was in all the meetings with Mr Haig except the one when he was alone with the Prime Minister, and the Golan issued did not come up. The feeling is that we are more or

less back to business as normal. I think Mr Haig has convinced everybody that whatever happens, the foundations are so strong in our relationship that we can overcome such difficulties as existed.'

The European abstentions show that Europe remains firmly under US influence on foreign affairs issues. There is no such thing as an independent European foreign policy. Even Lord Carrington has admitted in private that he didn't want Britain to participate in the Sinai force, but, he told a group of MPs, Britain had been pressured by Washington to participate in the force.

Sanctions against Israel are long overdue. It is time that the United Nations viewed Israel in the same light as the Zionist state's staunchest ally, after the US, namely apartheid South Africa. Indeed, Israel has no right to be in the United Nations; its membership was granted conditionally. The condition was that the Palestinian refugees should be permitted to return. Surely three decades is sufficient time for Israel to comply with that condition?

Now Israel has tested Washington's loyalty and commitment to the Zionist mission in Palestine. The US veto is a bold expression of America's total and blind allegiance to Israel. Coupled with the abstentions in the Security Council vote, Israel's way is now clear to proceed with the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. If the emergence of new American plans to replace the Camp David accords is to be blocked, annexation must be on Begin's agenda for some time before the April deadline for Israel's withdrawal from Sinai. When that happens a heavy responsibility will lie with Britain, France, Japan and the United States.

LONDON NOTES

Not quite Jews?

ZIONIST DEFENCE Minister Ariel Sharon admitted in an interview with Israeli Television in December that Israeli settlers refusing to leave the occupied Sinai before it is handed back to Egypt in April would be treated with kid gloves by his troops.

'My father told me that Jews should never fight Jews,' he claimed. Asked by the interviewer how he squared this sentiment with the tear-gas attack by his troops on Israeli Jewish academics who demonstrated in Ramallah against the closure of Bir Zeit University, Sharon had no audible response, other than to fulminate about 'unrest in the territories' being met 'with an iron hand'.

Killings please Eitan

ISRAELI CHIEF of Staff General Rafael Eitan told the Zionist paper *Yediot Ahronot* on 8th January that the killing taking place as a result of the war between Iran and Iraq gave him intense personal pleasure. 'It is a sheer pleasure to watch them killing each other — let them go on,' he said.

What the Duke thinks

TIMES THERE are when one almost feels sorry for Zionists. Conservative Friends of Israel have got themselves saddled as President with a real live Duke, the one of Devonshire (who actually lives in Derbyshire and central London). When Mrs Thatcher recently told a CFI dinner that Israel should not have annexed the Golan, the Duke was immediately on his feet defending Mr Begin. Such enthusiasm is rare these days among British Zionists, and the *Jewish Chronicle* accorded His Grace the honour of a full-page interview.

The unfortunate nobleman disgraced himself. The depth of his thought on Middle East problems was revealed in his comment on Jerusalem. 'You know,' he told the *Jewish Chronicle*, 'one of the really, really unlucky things in this world is that Jerusalem, the City of Peace, of great importance to the Jewish and Christian communities — but dear me, out of the whole of the Muslim world, couldn't Mohammed have taken off from somewhere else? I say that half frivolously, but half seriously. . . . Why couldn't he have gone off from Jeddah or somewhere? It would have made things much easier.'

Perhaps His Grace might have persuaded the followers of Moses to deposit the Ark of the Covenant somewhere else; possibly Jesus might have arranged to be crucified in Rome instead. 'There are, after all, some things only a Duke would have the nerve to say,' commented an evidently-rattled *Jewish Chronicle*. Or some things that only the upper classes would be daft enough to think?

The seal of occupation

WATCHED BY seals and penguins. Israeli humourist Didi Menusy planted a Zionist flag on Antarctica about 500 miles from the South Pole during a visit in December. In a jibe at the Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, Mr Menusy said: 'Now the Prime Minister can extend Israeli law to Antarctica instead of the Golan Heights.' The only human habitation on the coast of Graham Land, where the flag was erected, is a Soviet meteorological station. One of the scientists there admitted that the area was no country's national territory, and so there existed no authority which could prevent Menusy from 'staking a claim'.

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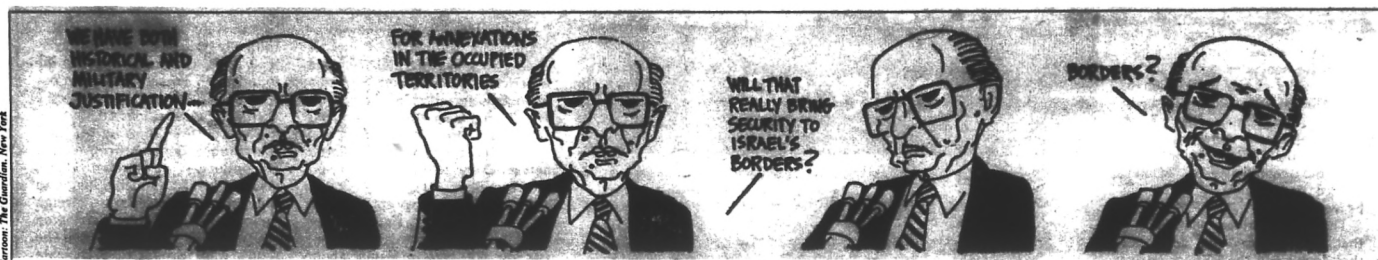
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فلسطين حرة free palestine

Former Free Palestine editor victim of Zionist assassination

DR ABDUL Wahab al Kayyali, a founder and the first editor of *Free Palestine*, and a former member of the PLO Executive Committee, was murdered by two gunmen in his Beirut office on 7th December. It was the latest in a long series of assassinations of prominent Palestinians that the PLO has blamed on Israeli terror squads.

As editor of *Free Palestine*, Dr Kayyali wrote under the name Aziz Yafi, which became the pseudonym of subsequent editors of the paper. His assassination is the latest in a series during recent months in which the targets have been Palestinian writers and intellectuals, who had succeeded in forging a dialogue with Europe and the western world.

At the time of his death, Dr Kayyali was a member of the Central Council of the Palestine National Congress. The Council liaises between the Congress (the Palestinian 'parliament') and the PLO Executive Committee. When on the PLO Executive, Dr Kayyali had headed the Education and Cultural Affairs Department.

Dr Kayyali, whose wife is British, lived in London where he managed the publishing company he founded, the Third World Centre for Research and Publishing. The firm specialises in books on the developing countries and the Palestinian conflict. He owned another publishing firm in Beirut, and made occasional business trips to the Lebanese capital.

Arafat's message

In a statement broadcast by Voice of Palestine radio on 7th December, the PLO Executive Committee described Dr Kayyali's death as 'a great loss for the Palestinian people and the Arab nation', and blamed his killing on Israeli agents.

In a message to *Free Palestine* on 23rd December, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat said Dr Kayyali had 'sacrificed his life while defending the cause of his people and nation, challenging imperialism and Zionism by his mind and pen'. The PLO leader stressed that such murders would never deter the Palestinians from their struggle to attain their national rights.

PLO is Palestine, declare MPs

ISRAEL FLAUNTS its occupation of the West Bank in the face of the Palestinian people; the principal terrorist in the Middle East is Menachem Begin; and the Palestinians themselves are unshakably behind the PLO. These were the conclusions drawn by a group of Conservative and Labour MPs who visited the occupied Palestine and neighbouring countries at the end of last year, writes Phil Kelly.

The MPs were three Tories — Tony Marlow, Peter Lloyd and Jim Pawsey, and three Labour members — Dennis Canavan, Hugh McCartney and Bob Parr. Mr Marlow said that the group had been very impressed with the position of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, with whom they had enjoyed a long discussion in Beirut. He had expressed his disappointment to them that Lord Carrington had not met PLO leaders while President of the European Council of Ministers, unlike his two predecessors in the Common Market post. Mr Arafat had asked the MPs to press the British government to influence the US, and to help America realise the centrality of the PLO, as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to the creation of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

Mr Canavan said that he understood why the PLO refused to recog-

nise the state of Israel, as many people in the West demanded: 'Mr Arafat has only one card — recognition of Israel, or rather, pre-recognition, moving first. It would clearly be asking too much to ask him to play it at this stage.' Mr Canavan added that such a move by the PLO would make matters easier for Europeans who were anxious for movement on the Middle East problem, but that he understood Palestinian feelings against it, and felt that the hopes which had been aroused by Lord Carrington's undoubted diplomatic ability were virtually bound to be dashed. 'The situation, I think, has proved too complicated even for him,' the Labour MP said.

Mr Marlow said that the face of terror in the Middle East was only too obvious in the Beirut district of Fakhani, which the Israelis bombed into destruction in July. 'It was a busy inner city area, with offices, shops and homes. There was no way in which such an area could be attacked without causing the deaths — as it did — of hundreds of innocent people, including women and children. I also saw the damage done to the Palestinian refugee camp at Rasidiyeh by the Israeli raids,' Mr Marlow declared. 'If we are looking for terrorists in the Middle East,'

said Mr Canavan, 'we need look no further than the Israeli military.'

When they tried to enter the occupied West Bank, the group were told — wrongly — that they had been banned by the Zionist occupation authorities. They were held up by Israeli soldiers for a total of seven hours. At one stage, when Mr Marlow and Mr Canavan refused to re-cross to the Jordanian side of the Allenby Bridge, and insisted on waiting on the Palestine side until the Israelis let them through, an Israeli colonel told them: 'You are elected representatives; you should respect the rule of law.' When Mr Canavan told the officer that the Israelis had no legal right to occupy others' land, the Israeli replied that his ancestors had 'been there thousands of years ago,' and pointing to the Jordanian side of the river, added: 'and over there, too'.

Occupied Hebron provided the MPs, with a sight of the provocatively high profile adopted by the Israelis in the centre of a Palestinian Arab town. 'They have occupied what amounts to a small enclave in the centre of the town, and the place is full of mercenaries and plastered with Israeli flags,' Mr Marlow said.

The Tory backbencher, who is one of the leading parliamentary supporters of the Palestinian cause, said that the group 'was absolutely convinced by all those we met, in the West Bank or outside, moderate or radical, that the PLO is the Palestinian people.' He added: 'No other group represents the aspirations of the Palestinians.'



Greek Premier Papandreu clasps the hand of PLO leader Yasser Arafat and hails the Palestinian struggle for freedom.

Arafat gets freedom fighters' welcome in Athens

GREECE HAS become the first member of both the EEC and NATO formally to recognise the Palestinian Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The announcement came on 16th December at the end of a three-day official visit to Athens by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Mr Farouk Qaddoumi, Head of the PLO's Political Department. The visit, during which the PLO Office was also granted full embassy status, was in response to an invitation by Greek Premier Andreas Papandreu, issued after the victory of his socialist PASOK party in last November's general election, writes Alan George.

A joint communiqué issued at the end of the visit declared: 'The Greek Government, believing in the basic role of the PLO plays in the process for the settlement of the Middle East issue, and recognising the organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, announced to Mr Arafat its decision to grant diplomatic status to the Office of the Organisation actually operating in Athens.'

The communiqué added, 'The Palestinian side expressed its appreciation for the support of the Greek Government to the struggle of the Palestinian people for the recognition of their inalienable rights, including the right to their homeland, self-determination and the establishment of their independent state on their own soil.'

The PLO and the Greek Government both expressed support for the Cypriot people, and called for withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island as the only basis for a just solution of the Cyprus problem.

At a press conference in Athens on 16th December Yasser Arafat hailed the decision to upgrade ties with the PLO as 'a brave, courageous and important step'. It marked a watershed in Greek-Palestinian relations, which had 'entered a new course, as of now,' he said. 117 states now formally recognised the PLO, he continued, more than double the number that recognise Israel.

Chairman Arafat stressed that there could be no 'peace, security or stability in the region by side-stepping the national rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and return to their homeland'. He added: 'We are not asking for the impossible, but for international legality and the implementation of UN resolutions.'

The new ties between the Palestinian and Greek peoples were symbolised by the acceptance by Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis of an invitation from the PLO leader to compose a national anthem for the Palestinians. Mr Theodorakis, who composed the music for the widely acclaimed films 'Zorba the Greek', 'Z' and 'Serpico', is a Greek Communist Party MP.

Welcoming Chairman Arafat to Athens, Prime Minister Papandreu declared that the Palestinian struggle for freedom and self-determination was 'the noblest struggle in this region, even in the whole world'. He added: 'Mr Arafat's visit lays the foundation of a relationship between us that will bear important fruit for the future of our peoples. You, Brother Arafat, are the epitome of popular struggles for freedom and independence. And we will play the role of a bridge between you and Europe.'