

Free Palestine

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**INSIDE
THIS
ISSUE**

BRITAIN DISCUSSES MEETING WITH YASSER ARAFAT

London could be venue for talks

PRIVATE TALKS have been held in London between senior Foreign Office officials and envoys of the Palestine Liberation Organisation at which plans were discussed for a meeting between Lord Carrington, the British Foreign Secretary and Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Although it has been widely speculated that the meeting will be in the Middle East later in the year, after Lord Carrington assumes the chairmanship of the EEC's Council of Ministers, the meeting could take place in London.

A joint meeting of European and Arab foreign ministers will be held in July in a European capital, and London is the most likely venue with Britain in the chair. Already it is known that the PLO will lead the Arab League delegation, writes Louis Eaks.

The call for a meeting between Yasser Arafat and Lord Carrington came from Mr Nabil Ramlawi, the London Representative of the PLO during talks at the Foreign Office in late February with Mr John Mober-



Nabil Ramlawi

ley and Mr John Holmes. Arranged at the request of the Foreign Office, the meeting was held to allow an exchange of views on the European initiative with Mr Mahmoud Labadi, Head of the Foreign Information Department of the PLO, who flew to London specially for the talks.

Both sides agreed that a Carrington-Arafat meeting would be useful, and provide a valuable forum to explore the opportunities for proceeding with the European initiative. It is widely recognised that much of the current EEC commitment to a European initiative has resulted from Lord Carrington's determination to seek a settlement which respects the legiti-



Yasser Arafat

mate rights of the Palestinian people. Although Prime Minister Thatcher remains resolute in her opposition to recognition of the PLO, a move towards this is expected to come sometime after July, when Lord Carrington takes over as head of the EEC Council of Ministers.

An indication of Mr Arafat's willingness to come to Europe came on 25th February when the Director of the PLO Political Department, Abu Jaafar, announced the PLO leader's readiness to address the European Parliament.

The development reflects the PLO's concern at Egypt's recent moves in Europe to divert the EEC from its



Lord Carrington

Middle East initiative, and to undermine the status of the PLO. The PLO has not officially commented on Sadat's recent personal attack on Mr Arafat during a joint press conference in Cairo with visiting Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

President Sadat is evidently trying to persuade Europe, the Socialist International and the Israeli Labour Party, which is likely to win the coming elections, that the best way to a comprehensive Middle East peace lies with Egypt, to the exclusion of the PLO and Jordan. In this light, Palestinian officials recognise the need for urgent diplomatic counter-moves.

Palestinian journalists under 'internal exile', daily paper closed, in Zionist clamp-down

THE ISRAELI occupation authorities have imposed a five-day closure on Al Quds, one of the four main East Jerusalem Arabic language newspapers, for allegedly violating censorship regulations. However, the Palestinian editors of the other three papers, who remain under harsh restriction orders first imposed last summer, are taking action in the Israeli supreme court to have the orders relaxed, writes Alan George.

Al Quds was shut down on 1st March because of Zionist objections to its reporting of the discovery of a major resistance organisation amongst the Palestinians of the areas of Palestine occupied in 1948. Dozens of Palestinians have been rounded up charged with involvement with the group, and have been tried by a secret military court sitting in camera. Early reports said that some had been given prison terms of a year.

The Zionist authorities are acutely embarrassed by the scale of the resis-

tance group's membership and operations. Israel has always sought to convince the world that 'her' Arabs were content under Zionist rule.

Al Quds was closed down because the military censor claimed it had published details that had been deleted from the Hebrew press and foreign correspondents' despatches. These included the organisation's name, its division into three geographic units, each divided into four-man cells, and the composition of its armory — 180 hand grenades, 10 pistols, several machine guns, and ammunition.

The restriction orders on the three journalists, Mr Mamoun Sayed, editor of the daily *Al Fajr*, Mr Akram Haniyeh of the daily *Ash Sha'ab* and Mr Bashir Barghouti of the bi-weekly *Al Talia*, were originally imposed last summer for a six month period, but in January were extended for a further six months. All are banned

from leaving their home town of Ramallah, on the West Bank about 12 miles north of Jerusalem. The town arrests effectively prevent the three men from visiting their editorial offices.

The banning orders were imposed as part of the 'iron fist' policy introduced in the West Bank after the Palestinian commando operation last May that claimed the lives of six armed Zionist settlers in occupied Hebron and wounded 16 others. The intention was to muzzle the three papers, all of which are strongly nationalist, while at the same time to hinder the activities of the local Palestinian grouping known as the National Guidance Committee, of which the three editors were members. The committee, which supports the PLO, co-ordinates civilian resistance to the occupation.

On 9th February the Israeli anti-Zionist lawyer Felicia Langer, who

has defended many Palestinians accused of offences by the occupation authorities, said she had submitted a case to the Israeli High Court in an attempt to obtain a ruling allowing the three editors to leave their home town regularly, but for the sole purpose of travelling to their newspaper offices.

Commenting on the plight of the three Palestinian journalists, *Times* correspondent Christopher Walker drew attention to the harsh censorship policy imposed by the Zionists in the territories seized in 1967. 'The restriction orders have placed an extra burden on the Arabic language press in the West Bank, which is already subjected to heavy censorship by the Israeli authorities,' he said on 10th February. 'All stories and photographs have to be submitted to the military censor and the papers are prevented from leaving blank spaces to indicate where material has been deleted.'

The facts of Zionist colonialism

IN RECENT weeks over 15,000 acres of Arab land have been confiscated by the Israelis to make way for Zionist settlements. A similar acceleration of settlement plans for occupied Arab Jerusalem have also been set in motion. A special report looks at the implications behind these moves, and the effects which they have on the Palestinian communities living under military occupation.



A sadistic, brutal regime

DR ISRAEL Shahak, Chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, comments on the plight of Palestinian Arabs under Israeli occupation, and the role played by American students who indulge in brutal and sadistic attacks on Arab civilians.



The forgotten Palestinians

WHAT DOES Israel's 'democracy' mean to an Israeli who is not a Jew? 500,000 Palestinian Arabs remain inside the state of Israel. In a special report Free Palestine looks at their status in the Zionist state, and the increasing support which they are giving to the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The Zionists have responded with a policy of internal exile, arrests, and the banning of public meetings.



If Carter had won

A REVIEW of statements from former Carter administration officials suggests that the United States might have adopted a new stand towards the Palestinians if Jimmy Carter had been returned to the White House for a second term in office.

Top Palestinian Assembly to meet in April

THE PALESTINE National Council, the top Palestinian assembly which parallels the work of a national parliament, will convene during the first week in April. On the agenda before the 550 Council members will be a range of important policy and strategy matters. Amongst these will be an examination of the PLO's diplomatic campaign to secure a solution to the Palestine question through political means, and the progress of the European initiative.

The Palestine National Council comprises representatives of all the resistance organisations, along with members of vocational and trade union bodies, and a number of independents appointed for their specialist knowledge and abilities. Representatives embrace Palestinians in exile and from the occupied territories, although in the past the Israeli military authorities have refused travel permits for Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to attend.

The Council will decide whether to pursue its attempts to involve the EEC in the peace-making process. At the same time Council members will have before them a detailed report of the EEC position, and will have to decide their response.

The decision to hold the PNC meeting came from the sixty member Central Council of the PLO, an intermediary body between the PNC and the PLO Executive Committee. The Central Council is elected by the PNC, which in turn elects the Executive Committee.

At the end of the mid-February Central Council meeting, the PNC Chairman, Khalid al Fahum, told a press conference that any attempt to solve the Middle East problem should be based on a complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and unconditional recognition of the Palestinian people's right to return, self-determination and statehood.

Lack of independence from US hinders European initiative

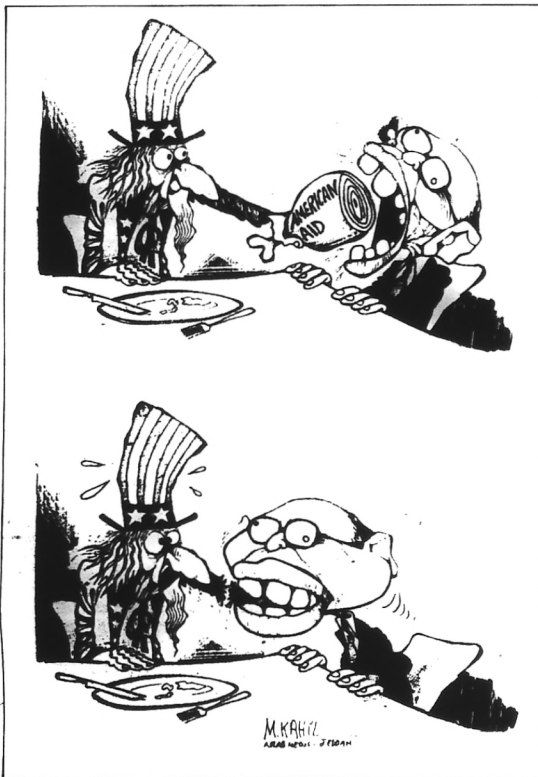
THE EUROPEAN Community's lack of freedom to adopt an independent policy from the United States is a major obstacle to the EEC's formulating a positive Middle East initiative to resolve the Palestine question. That is the view expressed by Mr Khalid al Hassan, the influential Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Palestine National Council. Mr al Hassan is one of the senior Palestinian envoys involved in maintaining close contacts with European leaders and parliamentarians. He has been invited to address the newly formed UK-Palestine Group in London, and has been a frequent speaker at meetings held at the House of Commons and in London over the past few years.

With the Middle East a former sphere of European influence, the EEC was well placed to realise 'the Camp David accords will not present a solution for the Middle East conflict in general and the Palestinian problem in particular,' he told the Kuwait News Agency on 31st January.

He added that the accords had hindered the scope for European political action in the region, and had



Palestine Briefing



Israel to step up arms sales to South Africa

WITH THE Reagan administration's approval of the sale of Israeli Kfir jets to Ecuador in February, the stage seems set for an escalation of Zionist weapons sales to rightist regimes, including the apartheid government in South Africa.

The Kfir fighter is powered by US engines and a 1977 contract between Israel and Ecuador for the supply of 24 of the planes was vetoed by President Carter. As part of Reagan's efforts to reassure the Zionist state of continued American backing, it is reported that Washington will be much more forthcoming in approving Israeli exports of weapons with US components than the Carter administration.

Halg condemns annexation of Arab Jerusalem

US SECRETARY of State Alexander Haig has condemned Israel's declaration of Jerusalem as its eternal undivided capital. At his first official press conference on 28th January he said it had been US policy for 30 years that the future of the city had international implications and that Jerusalem should not be divided by 'barbed wire or imposed unilateral restraints.'

He added: 'We don't welcome unilateral action that makes this kind of international consensus impossible.' He said he hoped that participation by all parties in deciding the city's future would still be possible.

Asked if there were plans to resume the Camp David talks, he said the new administration supported the accords between Israel and Egypt but that he would not 'inject any sense of urgency' about getting the talks restarted.

Verdict awaited on Palestinian detained in Chicago

A US appeals court is currently deciding whether 20 year old Ziad Abu Ein, a Palestinian from the occupied West Bank, should be extradited to Israel, where he faces certain imprisonment for alleged resistance activities. Mr Abu Ein has been held without bail in Chicago's Metropolitan Corrections Center since December 1979 following an initial court ruling that he be sent to Israel.

The Zionists claim that Mr Abu Ein signed two confessions implicating him in the Tiberias marketplace bombing that killed two and injured 36 others. The Palestinian detainee counters that the confessions were extracted under torture and have since been withdrawn. He says he is supported by 14 witnesses in his assertion that at the time of the bombing he was 120 miles away at a

Ramallah hospital attending the birth of a nephew.

The Arab world, and particularly Palestinians, are keeping a close watch on developments. 'To the Palestinian people this is a very sensitive test case,' says Dr Hatem Hussein, who runs the PLO information office in Washington.

'If the United States is going to literally kidnap people, hold them for a year and a half, and then give them to Israel, what's all the fuss about the 52 hostages?' he asks.

Attempt to gag Goldmann at WJC Congress

NEW YORKER Edgar Bronfman was elected president of the World Jewish Congress on 19th January as a controversy arose among delegates to the plenary assembly about the screening of a film of one of his predecessors, Nahum Goldmann. The American section of the WJC voted 30 to 10 to show the film in which Goldmann speaks to the delegates. A minority, led by Rabbi David Hollander of the Poalei Agudat Yisrael in the US, claimed that in the film Goldmann 'attacks the moral fibre of Israel.'

Hollander was angered by a Goldmann statement that Israeli Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan was 'endangering democracy' by imprisoning a soldier, Gadi Elgazi, for one year for refusing to serve in the 1967 occupied territories. The former WJC president reiterated calls for Israel to negotiate with the PLO and to withdraw from the territories seized in the 1967 war.

'Jordanian option' rejected by Amman envoy

IN A letter to *The Times* on 5th March, HE Mr Ibrahim Izziddin, the Jordanian Ambassador to London, firmly reiterated his government's rejection of the so-called 'Jordanian option' proposed by the Israeli Labour Party as a 'solution' to the Palestine problem.

Jordan, he said, had not only 'rejected but exposed, the so-called "Jordanian option" for what it really is, ie a scheme by the Israeli Labour Party to perpetuate and consolidate the military occupation.'

Young Palestinians jailed

TWO PALESTINIANS from the areas seized by the Zionists in 1948 have been sentenced to long jail sentences for alleged membership of Fatah, the largest of the Palestinian resistance groups, and for allegedly planting several bombs in Israeli towns. Mahmud Dasuki, 20, received a 25 year sentence from a Zionist military court and Malik Shimawi, 22, a 15 year term. Both men are from the Galilee village of Meka.

Would Carter have pursued a new Middle East policy?

A SERIES of recent statements and reports from former Carter administration officials and envoys gives some insight into the possible development of American policy on the Palestine question had Carter succeeded in his 1979 election campaign for the presidency. Zionists in particular feared that a second-term Carter administration, freed from the restraints of a further election campaign for the White House, might have launched a new Middle East initiative. In particular it was speculated that Carter would abandon restraints on involving the PLO, and have brought the Palestinians' representative body into the process, writes Louis Eaks.

In fact, one Arab leader, Libya's Muammar Qadhafi, went so far as to state publicly that assurances of such a change in Carter's policy had been received. Qadhafi had close contacts with the brother of the President, Billy Carter, and probably received accurate information concerning the President's thinking on the subject.

Three recent events suggest that

this may have been Jimmy Carter's approach, had he been re-elected, and emphasise that influential sources within the Carter administration had come to recognise that the Camp David process between Israel and Egypt has failed to provide a vehicle towards a settlement of the Palestine question.

□ In January, the former Carter appointed US ambassador to Saudi Arabia, John West, warned the Reagan administration that continued American refusal to speak with the PLO would have severe adverse consequences for Washington's relations with the Arab nation. He advised the Reagan administration to start some form of 'dialogue' with the PLO to see what sort of recognition of Israel's existence the PLO would offer in return for American recognition of the PLO.

'Our failure to even want to talk or to listen to the PLO, or to engage in any dialogue, is very difficult to explain or justify to Saudi Arabia and other Arabs,' he told the *Washington Post*.

□ This reflects the thinking of a US presidential commission recommendation that the US should broaden the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations to include the Palestinians, and eventually the PLO. The report, to former President Carter, was officially submitted on 16th January. For several months Carter's Commission for a National Agenda for the Eighties had studied US foreign policy problems.

The combined opposition of the Arab states to Camp David, says the report, may prevent negotiation of a comprehensive Middle East peace agreement under the current negotiating format. If this becomes apparent, it continues, the US should consider other means of broadening negotiations to include the Palestinians. Initially, the panel suggests, the dealings should be restricted to non-members of the PLO. However, it adds, that 'once adequate progress towards a peaceful settlement has been made, the United States and Israel could accept the PLO as a negotiating partner.'

Reagan administration sources

have insisted that they are not bound by the recommendations.

□ However, the most significant point to the line which a second-term Carter administration could have been expected to adopt, has come from the outgoing Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, Mr Harold Saunders. It was Saunders who undertook supervision of the Camp David accords, and who is therefore well informed regarding the details of its progress and its shortcomings.

Speaking on 12th February to the Overseas Writers, a group of journalists covering international affairs, in Washington, he stressed that not only were Israel's settlements on the West Bank and Gaza illegal, but their continued creation had virtually negated the Camp David process. Within the limitations of diplomatic phraseology, he also recognised that the PLO was an essential party to any peace process.

His concern over the illegal Jewish settlements centred on their effect on the peace process. 'Just at the moment when we entered into nego-

tiations to deal with the future of the West Bank and Gaza, we have been repeatedly confronted with the unilateral emplacement of settlements in that area, which in the view of the other negotiating party tends to preempt the outcome,' he said.

'What has been damaged by the settlements policy is the credibility of the negotiations themselves, and the credibility of the United States for arguing over the last decade that negotiations are the way to approach the problem,' he added.

Turning to the PLO, Saunders said restrictions on official US contacts with the Palestinian resistance movement had been 'over-interpreted'. It was universally recognised that the PLO does 'play a significant role, and they will play a significant role in the politics of producing an Arab-Israeli settlement.'

Commenting on the Sinai agreement, which barred negotiation with, or recognition of, the PLO, Saunders argued the agreement 'did not say that nobody should ever talk with the PLO. That, of course, remains an open option.'

Troops break up Nablus students' march

ZIONIST TROOPS in the occupied West Bank town of Nablus on 2nd March brutally broke up a demonstration by Palestinian students and teachers. The latter have been on strike for 65 days, an action originally prompted by a wage claim but which the Zionist authorities admit has now developed into a protest over the continuing Israeli occupation and the continued denial of Palestinian rights.

Before the Nablus demonstration was broken up about 200 teachers marched through the main street carrying posters demanding a 100 per cent wage increase. West Bank teachers have rejected a 50 per cent offer from the Zionist authorities because of the rampant inflation in Israel, currently running at an annual rate of 138 per cent. The teachers were joined by scores of Palestinian students.

Information on PLO sought in the US

IN AN ominous move, the American Jewish Congress has asked the federal government to release all its unclassified documents on the PLO and its personnel and supporters in the US. A sweeping Freedom of Information Act request has been made to more than 100 agencies of five Cabinet departments and the CIA, in which the AIC states that the release of the information was in the public interest because the PLO is an 'avowed terrorist organisation, and the nature and extent of its infiltration into American institutions are relevant to important issues of domestic and foreign policy'.

The request seeks 'all writings of any kind', including directives, memoranda, letters, reports, studies, pamphlets, handwritten notes and other agency records dating from 1968 and dealing not only with the PLO itself but also with its affiliated organisations, such as Al Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The documents sought are those pertaining to PLO assets and activities, its contributions and supporters, its personnel and any contacts it has had with US officials.

The request has been made to the Departments of State, Defense, Treasury, Justice, Commerce and the FBI.

It is difficult to see how the information sought would be of great value to the American public at large, but its usefulness to the US Zionist lobby groups is self-evident.

Kreiskl clashes with Peres over PLO

AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR Bruno Kreisky says he has an 'insurmountable difference' with Israeli Labour Party leader Shimon Peres over the role of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in a Middle East peace settlement, the Socialist Party newspaper reported on 27th January.

The *Arbeiterzeitung* published Kreisky's comments after a meeting he had had earlier with Peres. The Austrian Chancellor, who supports PLO involvement in Middle East peace negotiations, said the Israeli Labour Party programme contained no solution to the Palestinian problem, and nothing which would lead to negotiations with the Palestinians.

On his return to Israel on 27th January after his European tour, Peres confirmed that he had 'fundamental differences of opinion' with Kreisky about the Palestinian problem.

Apartheid labour system causes Palestinian death

A BUILDING worker from the Gaza Strip who was employed in the Israeli town of Ness Ziona and used to sleep in an air raid shelter at night has died from suffocation after he and two other Palestinian workers had lit a fire in the poorly ventilated shelter, the Hebrew paper *Yediot Aharanot* reported on 13th January.

The workers were discovered by the building contractor who employed them. Finding all three unconscious, he called an ambulance but on arrival at hospital, one of the three was found to be dead. The two others were in very poor condition.

Under Zionist military regulations, Palestinians from the 1967 occupied territories are barred from staying

overnight in Israel although many do so to avoid having to travel often long distances to and from work. In a similar incident in 1976 four Palestinian workers died in Tel Aviv when the shed their employer had locked them in for the night caught fire.

US diplomat speaks out on Israeli torture

A FORMER American diplomat has disclosed that during her two years of diplomatic work in Jerusalem she sent at least 33 messages to the US government concerning the situation of Palestinian prisoners and the torture system employed by the Zionist government.

Alexandra Johnson told the United Arab Emirates daily *Al Khaleej* on 3rd February that similar messages were sent by other American officials. The result, she said, was dismissal from her post as deputy consul-general in Jerusalem. One of her colleagues lost his right to promotion.

Miss Johnson said the research she prepared was based on personal interviews with 47 Palestinian prisoners who were being held for political reasons, and for exercising what is known in the United States as 'freedom of expression'. She added that a large number of prisoners were youths who had publicly supported the Palestine Liberation Organisation, distributed pamphlets or written slogans on walls in the 1967 occupied territories.

Black baby exposes racist attitudes

THE ZIONIST media's handling of the case of a black baby born to a white Israeli couple has highlighted the racist attitudes that are central to Zionist thinking. The baby, described as 'coal-black', was reportedly born to a religious couple in Bnei Brak, near Tel Aviv, and following front-page coverage of the 'phenomenon' in the Israeli paper *Ma'ariv*, the case has, according to the *Jewish Chronicle* on 20th February, become a 'major talking point' in the Zionist state.

Following the baby's birth, the

husband began divorce proceedings against his wife, thinking she had been unfaithful. Blood tests, however, established his paternity. Further investigations revealed that the husband's mother had been raped by a black man in New York soon after her marriage 27 years ago. Shortly after, she found herself to be pregnant and vowed to kill herself and her child if the latter were black. In the event, the baby, who grew up to be the father of the Bnei Brak baby, was white. Clearly, however, he had black genes.

Despite the explanation of the Israeli child's colour, the couple are still seeking a divorce, although now it is the wife who is taking action. She says she fears that if she stays married to her present husband other children she may bear will also be black. And the existing black child? It has been given out for adoption.

It is a tragic story, particularly for the unfortunate child, but neither the *Jewish Chronicle* nor, it would appear, the rest of the Zionist media, consider the (allegedly religious) mother's callous rejection of her baby and her husband, on purely racial grounds, as abnormal. Instead the case is being treated solely as a source of amusement. The mother's attitude, and that of the Zionist press, are a sad reflection on how deeply racism is ingrained in Zionists and how their media reinforces and perpetuates the sickness.

Soviet Union rejects Israel's fundraising appeal

THE SOVIET Post Office has refused to accept about 1,000 items from Israel because their postmarks included an appeal for contributions to the Israel Security Fund. The first 250 rejected letters returned to Israel on 5th February and further packets followed in the subsequent fortnight.

No official explanation was given but the Soviet addresses on the rejected mail were crossed out and arrows pointed to the postmark containing the appeal, in Hebrew, and the insignia of the Zionist army, a sword and an olive branch. On 20th February *The Times* reported that the Israelis had removed the postmark from their electronic sorting machines.

Zionist settlers riot in Hebron

TWO ZIONIST settlers attending the Jewish religious seminar in occupied Hebron were arrested by Israeli police on 18th February, on suspicion of rioting in the town's market and breaking into an Arab shop.

The students attending these West Bank seminars enjoy a privilege denied to other Israelis: on grounds of 'conscience' they are exempted from regular army service. Instead they combine their religious studies with an eighteen month stint of weapons training. Conscript soldiers must serve three years. A high proportion of the students are Americans, and all are issued with machine guns. Like other Zionist settlers on the occupied West Bank, the 'religious' students have become notorious for their assaults on, and bullying of, local Palestinians.

Israel uses 'medieval torture methods'

TWO WEST German leftists released from ten-year jail terms in Israel for allegedly planning an attack on an El Al plane said after their release at the end of December that they were tortured by Israeli interrogators. Speaking in Frankfurt, Thomas Reuter and Brigitte Schulz denied Israeli reports that they confessed at a secret trial held in December 1979 that they had conspired to shoot down an Israeli airliner in Kenya in 1976.

Reuter told West German officials questioning him on arrival that Israeli secret agents had kidnapped them before bringing them to Israel. He said they were held for 14 months in various 'secret interrogation centres' before their trial. In the centres, said Reuter, he and Miss Schulz were subjected to 'medieval torture methods but also super modern interrogation using psychedelic drugs.'

The Bonn government welcomed their release, saying it came after repeated pleas by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. There are no charges against the couple in West Germany.

EDITORIAL

What can Europe do?

IN ITS efforts to appear even-handed over its long-awaited initiative of the Palestine question, the European Community is in danger of failing before it has even managed to formulate an initiative it is willing to make public. There is now every indication that the appearance of Ronald Reagan across the Atlantic has put fear into the capitals of Europe. However, hesitation, even less to compromise on its already limited declaration of principles, can only seriously undermine the initiative. In turn, this will have a follow-on effect in respect of relations between the EEC and the Arab states.

Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher has already mis-judged the mood of the Arab world by her Washington statement committing Britain as a party to a joint US task force in the Gulf region. It is a position not shared by Britain's European NATO partners, and even less by the Arab Gulf states. There is a serious failing in the West, particularly amongst conservatives, but also amongst the radical left, in assuming that conservative Arab regimes are easy prey, and that they are ready and willing to come under modern western tutelage.

The converse is often claimed of the Palestinians, namely that they can hardly wait to establish a Soviet style regime in Palestine.

Neither is true. Such superficial projections of the Arab position are based on a serious misunderstanding of the Arabs' determination to be positively non-aligned. All Arabs, whether radical or conservative, see themselves exploited by the East-West struggle, and wish to protect their independence, and see the region as a neutral area.

At this stage, Mr Reagan's bellicose foreign policy, backed by Mrs Thatcher, contrasts sharply with the more reasoned remarks coming from Moscow, and the Soviet's call for the Gulf region to be a kind of no-go military area for both superpowers. Most important, the Arabs can hardly maintain a genuinely neutral position so long as American and Western powers are seen to be behind the Zionists' aggressions in Palestine.

Given the Arabs' genuine desire to step aside from the East-West rivalry, the European stand towards the Middle East and the Palestine question in particular, is most important. Europe could assist in strengthening the non-aligned position of the Arab world. A positive European initiative, incorporating concrete proposals for supporting the legitimate rights of the Palestinians would be a major step in the right direction.

There is a danger for the European initiative that European leaders will be diverted from the real issues of the Palestine question by the tactics of Egypt's President Sadat. In recent weeks, at the European Parliament, and in statements made in Egypt, Sadat

has deliberately attempted to undermine the status of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. On some occasions, when discussing the Palestine question, he has ignored the PLO. On other occasions, he has launched a bitter attack on the PLO and on Yasser Arafat in person. We have to ask why the British press and the Euro-MPs should believe that Sadat has anything to contribute to a resolution of the Palestine question? Much of his address to the European Parliament was remarkably similar to his speech before the Israeli Parliament in Jerusalem which led to the Camp David accords. It is these accords which failed to take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, led to their predictable failure, and the need for a European initiative.

The PLO is central to the Palestine question, and any attempt to weaken it, or ignore it, can only be viewed as a move to impose some form of settlement which is based on less than the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. If there is any respect for the views of the Palestinian people, then these must be presented by a representative Palestinian body. It is contemptuous of the Palestinians to argue that they should be represented by another Arab regime, and certainly Sadat has no right to speak on their behalf.

If the Palestinian view is to be heard, then it must be a consensus view, representing all sections of the Palestinian community. Half

of the Palestinian community lives under Israeli military occupation, the other half are refugees in exile. Both sections have made clear their support for the PLO as their sole representative, and the PLO is the only organisation which can claim to represent all Palestinians. It places the PLO in a powerful position, and one which the US and the Zionists would very much like to undermine, better still destroy.

Any failure to recognise the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians clearly is designed to ensure that Palestinian views will not be taken into account. It gives great encouragement to the Israelis to remain intransigent. It gives the Zionists strength to ignore and violate Palestinian rights.

The arguments being presented in London to justify non-recognition of the PLO border on the absurd. Apart from its stand on the political programme of the PLO, and despite its *de facto* recognition and official talks with PLO leaders, the British Government argues that recognition is only afforded to governments, and authorities which control territory.

This is patently an excuse not to upset the Zionists, and the Americans. One of our readers, Norman Hawkins, has pointed out: 'During the Second World War the British government granted recognition to a large number of governments which,

far from being in control of their countries, were in exile in London, while the Free French were given recognition while in exile without even being a government.'

There is no doubt that the Palestine question is the direct result of actions by Israel and the Zionists.

Israel remains delinquent because the West has consistently refused to take a firm stand. The EEC should make it clear to Israel that unless she respects the resolutions of the United Nations, and international laws, then action will be taken.

There are a number of steps which would show Europe's determination to tackle the Palestine question.

First, Britain should reduce the level of diplomatic representation between the two countries. To maintain ties at ambassadorial level makes a mockery of any criticism of Israel's violation of international laws.

Secondly, Israel's settlement programme is financed in no small part by donations originating from Britain and other Western countries. Much of these funds are channelled through charitable organisations, and exempted tax. The colonisation of Palestinian territory can hardly be termed charitable work; a block on all funds for Israel should be imposed.

Only when Britain and the West take some positive action to back up their political statements will Israel begin to listen.

LONDON NOTES

Uri Davis sacking brings student sit-in

THE TECHNIQUES of passive resistance, taught by the militant pacifist Israeli campaigner, Dr Uri Davis, are being used by students at Bradford University's School of Peace Studies to protest his recent sacking. The students charge that Uri Davis, a veteran anti-Zionist campaigner and contributor to *Free Palestine* has been sacked because of his strong anti-Zionist views.

Although this is firmly rejected by the University, students report that since Professor James O'Connell was appointed to the Chair of Peace Studies, Dr Davis has been under criticism for 'the political implications of his work'.

Uri Davis has the distinction of being the only Israeli Jew to be imprisoned in the Zionist state for his anti-Zionist political views (a punishment normally reserved exclusively for non-Jews).

He says that he does not deny teaching anti-Zionism. However, this is as relevant to Palestinian studies as apartheid is to the teaching about South Africa.

Colleagues and students have



Uri Davis: Anti-Zionist campaigner

charged that there was internal 'and possibly external pressures' to relieve him of his post as lecturer in Palestinian studies.

Democrats feel just like the Palestinians

AT WESTMINSTER, the newly formed Council for Social Democracy bloc of MPs who have resigned from the Labour Party, have found themselves in securing office accommodation at the Palace of Westminster. On his resignation, Shadow Cabinet member William Rodgers found his belongings unceremoniously dumped in the corridor. Zionists were not amused by his remark: 'I'm an orphan camping out like a Palestinian refugee.'

Meanwhile, observers of the Westminster scene note that almost all of the break-away Labour MPs hold views sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. With opinion polls pointing to the possibility of a victory at the next general election for a Liberal-Social Democrat alliance (although time will prove whether the polls have got it right for once), there can be little comfort for the Zionists in the new alignment in British politics.

Liberal Party leaders have already come into the open with their support for the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and with a report which backs the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Camp David, Jordanian options and other peace plans have been rejected by Liberal Leader David Steel and most of his parliamentary colleagues.

Is the Murdoch empire Zionist?

BRITISH ZIONISTS are keen to determine what line the newly acquired Rupert Murdoch papers in Britain will take on the Middle East. With his existing stable of the *Sun* and the *News of the World* not

known for their coverage of political affairs, *The Jewish Chronicle* looked to his New York paper, the *New York Post*, which it found has maintained a 'staunchly pro-Israel attitude'.

It points out that Murdoch's lawyer in New York, Howard Squadron, is the current chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organisations, and president of the American Jewish Congress.

So what is the future of *The Times* and the *Sunday Times*, which Murdoch has recently acquired? Editor Harold Evans has moved from the *Sunday Times* to *The Times*, and although he has established a reputation for reporting social issues in his paper, little is known of his foreign affairs views. However, the Zionists point out that under his editorship the *Sunday Times* published a damning series of articles in 1977 on Israeli torture of Palestinians.

Replacing Evans as editor of the *Sunday Times* is Frank Giles, a known Arabist.

Just like a colonial mission

AN INSIGHT into the Israeli government's lobbying activities in the United States is given in the *Jerusalem Post* on 26th January. Under attack is the new Israeli information

minister in Washington, Harry Hurwitz, whose credentials include the former editorship of a South African newspaper.

What has most annoyed some Israeli diplomats is that Hurwitz conducts his weekly telephone conference with Israeli information officers in the US — in English.

'It gives me a feeling that I am operating a post-colonial African diplomatic mission,' says one diplomat.

Hurwitz also seems unconcerned about his political line, and how this might not find accord with public opinion in the US. The diplomat recalls a recent 'conference call' in which a report of Israeli aid to the disintegrating regime in El Salvador was raised. 'Hurwitz didn't consider this as a significant problem and thought we shouldn't be "bothered" by it,' says the diplomat.

The report continues: 'Only after pressure from other information officers, who explained that such news might harm Israel's image, did Hurwitz agree that, perhaps, the issue should be played down by the Israelis.'

Two years ago, Hurwitz attracted attention in the US when he told a group of Israeli information activists that 'the Americans cannot give us a lesson on the Palestinian issue after what they have done to the Indians'.

FREE PALESTINE

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Europe avoiding Palestinian rights: PLO makes frank declaration of views

'WE CANNOT accept that a solution can be based on part of our rights; even less can we accept part of our rights for part of our people,' Members of Parliament were told on 3rd March by the London Representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Addressing a private meeting of the recently formed UK-Palestine Parliamentary Group, Mr Ramlawi examined the details of the private document which has been prepared by the EEC as the basis for its Middle East Initiative, writes Louis Eaks.

The initiative is being developed by the European Community to provide an alternative to the stalled Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt, to which the United States is a party. The initiative follows private moves by the PLO to involve the EEC in the peace process. The PLO is looking for a fresh approach to the problem, and in particular one which will be based on the respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, as defined by the UN General Assembly.

Mr Ramlawi's comments at Westminster signal the first critical assessment in public of PLO thinking on the initiative, although in general the PLO envoy praised Britain's role, and in particular that of Lord Carrington, who is seen as the architect of the EEC initiative. He described his comments as a 'frank declaration of our views towards the EEC initiative'.

However, Mr Ramlawi was more critical of Prime Minister Thatcher, and her statements regarding the PLO made the previous week in Washington. Referring to Mrs Thatcher's remark that Britain would not recognise the PLO, Mr Ramlawi told MPs: 'Not only must I say that we do not find this remark helpful, because Mrs Thatcher is placing limitations on the EEC initiative. To adopt the position expressed by Mrs Thatcher makes us question whether the European initiative is to be genuinely independent of the Americans.'

The general trend of the European initiative also brought some reservations from the PLO envoy. He continued, 'We were disappointed that the EEC failed to match the general principles which have been put forward by the UN General Assembly. The continuing failure of the EEC to make a firm commitment to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and to recognise the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, can only serve to give heart to the Israelis and appease their intransigent position.'

Referendum

Turning to reports of the referendum of Palestinians proposed by the EEC, Mr Ramlawi said that 'in principle, the PLO has no objections to a referendum'. However, he added that the PLO was 'bound to express certain reservations, as it is proposed by the EEC document.'

The EEC is proposing a referendum to be held amongst those Pales-



Foreign Minister Lenihan

tinians living under occupation in the territories seized by Israel in 1967. Mr Ramlawi questioned why the EEC should seek a referendum to consider West Bank and Gaza being federated with Israel or Jordan, as options to an independent state, and pointed out that the document appears to 'remove the PLO from the equation'.

In particular, the PLO envoy challenged the proposed supervision of the referendum by the Israelis and Egyptians. 'Far from removing the prospect of intimidation, who is more likely to intimidate the Palestinians than the Israelis and the Egyptians?' asked Mr Ramlawi.

However, the major danger arising from a referendum as proposed by the EEC is that it will disenfranchise those Palestinians in exile, taking into account only those on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

'We see this as a move designed to divide the Palestinians,' declared Mr Ramlawi. 'The Palestinians are one people, and we have common rights and common problems which unite us. The future of our homeland is common to all Palestinians.' He accused the EEC of a plan 'to set Palestinian against Palestinian'.

'Is this a plan to divide the Palestinians and to weaken the strength which the Palestinians have created through the PLO?' he asked.

'The principles of self-determination, and the concept of a sovereign, independent state are beyond discussion,' he added. 'There can be no compromise on this point.'

'I would be deceiving you if I did not say that unless the rights of the Palestinian people are the basis for a European initiative, then there is no initiative,' he told MPs. 'Any EEC proposal which does not embrace our legitimate rights, and recognise the PLO, will fail, as other plans and proposals have failed before.'

To demand that the PLO recognise Israel as a precondition for British recognition 'requires placing the problem upside down,' he said. 'It requires that we, the Palestinians, who have been the victims of an aggression should recognise the aggressor. How does PLO recognition of Israel advance the cause of peace, when conflict is the result of the Zionists' refusal to recognise our rights in Palestine.'



Four and a half million Palestinians denied their rights

PALESTINIAN POPULATION RISES TO 4.4 MILLION

THE PALESTINIAN population around the world has reached 4,390,000 according to figures just released by the Census Office of the Palestine National Fund.

42 per cent of Palestinians (1,825,600) still live inside the borders of pre-1948 Palestine: 818,300 in the West Bank, 530,600

inside the pre-1967 state of Israel, and 476,000 in the Gaza Strip. The next most numerous centres of Palestinian population are Jordan, with almost 1.2 million, Lebanon (348,000) and Kuwait (278,800).

In 1947, the Palestinian population totalled just over 1.3

million. By 1951, there were 876,000 registered Palestinian refugees. According to UN figures published in March 1980, this latter figure had grown to 1.8 million, divided up between Jordan (39 per cent), Gaza Strip (20 per cent), West Bank (18 per cent), Lebanon (12 per cent) and Syria (11 per cent).

Reagan starts new wave of Israeli assaults on Lebanon

AS ISRAELI artillery barrages and bombing raids on the Palestinians in south Lebanon intensify, the Palestine Liberation Organisation has accused Washington of complicity in the escalating aggressions. At the same time, observers fear that the attacks might be designed to depopulate south Lebanon as a prelude to further Israeli expansion and colonisation. A key question now is whether Beigun is preparing to mount a full scale invasion in a desperate bid to retain his premiership at the forthcoming Israeli general election.

The latest major attack, the sixth this year, came on 2nd March when Israeli warplanes strafed with rockets the village of Abu al Aswad, to the north east of Tyre. At the same time the Palestinian refugee camp of Ain al Hilweh, which overlooks Sidon, came under heavy artillery barrage from the Israeli-backed rightist militia of the renegade Lebanese army major Sa'ad Haddad, which controls an enclave along the south Lebanese border.

Despite the Zionist assertion that the bombing raid was a 'preventive attack' on Palestinian guerrillas, most of the 15 persons killed and 40 wounded were Lebanese civilians. Four of the dead were children, and two others women. Two people were killed and seven wounded in the bombardment of Ain al Hilweh. In retaliation for the attack, Palestinian forces fired several salvos of rockets at Israeli settlements in northern Israel, causing injury to three settlers.

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat has placed the burden of ultimate responsibility for the escalating Zionist aggressions squarely on the shoulders of the new administration in Washington, telling a rally in Beirut on 22nd February that the US and Israel were in collusion over their plans 'to crush the Palestinians in southern Lebanon.'

He added that Alexander Haig, the US Secretary of State, had 'given the green light' to his Israeli counterpart, Yitzhak Shamir, during their recent meeting in Washington 'to activate plans for striking at the Palestinians and their Lebanese allies.'

The Zionists have themselves provided hard evidence to support the PLO leader's contentions. Following heavy Israeli bombing of Palestinian refugee camps in south Lebanon on 29th January, the deputy defence minister Mordechai Zipori, affirming that more such attacks would follow, referred to a widely-publicised statement made shortly before by President Reagan that 'terrorist' action must be met with a 'swift and unequivocal' reply.

Not all the Israeli attacks on the Palestinians have been carried out with the same relative impunity as the 2nd March raid. On the night of 22nd February Israeli troops mounted a major incursion into south Lebanon, attacking Palestinian positions in the villages of Kfour and Zifta, eight miles north of the Israeli border. Helicopters ferried in about 200 Zionist troops, who were at once engaged in fierce fighting by defending Palestinian and Lebanese leftist defenders. It was not until the early hours of 23rd February that the Zionists were able to evacuate their beleaguered force by helicopter. To cover the withdrawal, artillery in Israel pounded the Nabatiyeh region while Israeli warships shelled Tafahta, west of Zifta. In response, Palestinian and Lebanese leftist gunners bombarded northern Israel, where the roads were clogged with military vehicles.

The Palestinian news agency Wafa described the Israeli action as 'the biggest engagement in south Lebanon since last December, in terms of enemy losses and the size of the operation.' It said the defending forces had lost three men killed,

while four civilians had been wounded. Israeli losses were put at between 15 and 20 killed or wounded.

Prior to the Abu al Aswad attack, the most devastating of this year's Israeli raids had been that on 29th January, when waves of jets bombarded Palestinian refugee camps over a wide area of south Lebanon while Israeli artillery poured shells into the region and a Zionist ground force attacked the town of Saida. 14 people were killed, 38 injured and heavy damage caused to 63 houses in 29 villages.

British MP's view

Many observers suspect that one of the major purposes of the Israeli assaults on south Lebanon is to clear the region of its population, leaving it open for eventual annexation by Israel. This point was made by Conservative MP Nicholas Winterton following his participation in a fact finding tour of the Middle East by a delegation of British parliamentarians in January and February. Referring to the 'constant Israeli incursions into south Lebanon in which many innocent Palestinian people have been either killed or maimed,' he said: 'The motivation behind these moves is not, as the Israelis claim, to strike at PLO military camps, but to evacuate the area of Palestinians, perhaps later leaving the ground clear for more annexation of land on which to build Israeli settlements.'

With the Beigun government's standing amongst Israelis at an all-time low, a key question is whether the Zionist attacks will shortly be escalated into a full-scale invasion in a desperate bid to rally Israeli opinion behind the premier and his Likud coalition in a last-ditch attempt to avert an almost certain Labour Party victory in the 30th June Israeli general election.

THE RECENTLY adopted foreign policy programme of the Israeli Labour Party commits a future Labour government to the retention of 40 per cent of the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, as well as the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The programme affirms the party's refusal to negotiate with, or recognise, the PLO or to take account of the internationally acknowledged rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination in a state of their own in Palestine.

A Labour government would seek to 'solve' the Palestinian problem by the creation of a Jordanian-Palestinian state in the territory of the Kingdom of Jordan plus those parts of the 1967 occupied Palestinian territories it would be prepared to relinquish.

In short, the Labour Party programme is a recipe for continued conflict in Palestine. In essence, there is no substantive difference between the policies of Begin and those advocated by Labour leader Shimon Peres. The latter, however, has actively been presenting himself in the West as more 'moderate' and 'flexible' than Begin, in an attempt to avert possible western pressure on a Labour government to come to terms with the Palestinians. But in Israel he is pushing himself as a hard-liner, while Begin is arguing that he is the 'moderate'.

As the Israeli election campaign begins to hot up, the true colours of the Israeli Labour Party are coming to light. Shimon Peres is keen to stress the hard line he would take on Palestinian rights, with his Israeli Labour Party, accusing Begin of being 'soft on Arabs'. By contrast, Begin's men are offering evidence to show that Labour's record in office before 1977 was marked by policies even more repressive than theirs. They are presenting themselves to the Israeli electorate as the 'moderates'.

Addressing a group of Israeli Labour Party members on 9th February, Peres declared that the so-called 'Jordanian option' constituted the best barrier against the creation of a Palestinian state, and went on bitterly to attack Begin as 'the first Israeli leader to admit that there was a Palestinian people'.

Begin had also been the first to make extensive concessions in Sinai, he said.

Just how protracted would be a Labour government's implementation of its Jordanian option, which in any case would not solve the Palestine conflict, was underlined by Peres' assertion that it should be the third

ISRAELI LABOUR PARTY'S TERRORIST RECORD

THE DISCLOSURE in February that the Italian authorities are seeking the extradition from Norway of a former member of an Israeli murder squad has served as a timely reminder of the Israeli Labour Party's history of international terrorism. It underscores the significance of the party's commitment, clearly stated in its current political programme, to

a policy of 'active defence' against the PLO.

The Italians are seeking the extradition of Sylvia Rafael, who was arrested in Norway in 1973 along with five other members of an Israeli hit team who had gunned down Ahmad Bouchiki, a Moroccan waiter they had mistaken for a Palestinian resistance fighter. Rafael was given a 23

month prison term for her part in the killing. Soon after her release she married her Norwegian defence lawyer in a ceremony in South Africa. Two years later she returned to Norway. The Italians want Rafael for her part in the October 1972 murder of Wail Zweiter, Rome representative of the Fatah Palestinian resistance group.

Zweiter's murder was one in a series of a dozen committed in a campaign of international terrorism against PLO personnel conducted in 1972 and 1973 by Israeli murder squads, acting on the orders of the Labour government of Golda Meir. Amongst the other victims were Mahmoud Hamchari, PLO Representative in Paris, and Bashir Abu Khair, Fatah Representative in Nicosia.



Shimon Peres (left) presents moderate image to Europe, but Begin (right) claims he is the moderate. Both are committed to permanent occupation of Arab lands seized in 1967, and refuse to recognise the rights of the Palestinians



Likud and Labour: Where are the moderates? Commentary by Dr Alan George

stage in the 'solution' of the problem. First, he said, Israel would have to reach agreement with Egypt on the nature and aims of the autonomy for the residents of the 1967 occupied territories called for by the Camp David agreements. This, of course, is precisely what has already caused the Camp David talks to lie in limbo for over a year. Second, said Peres, Palestinian autonomy would first have to be implemented in the Gaza Strip. Only in the third stage should Israel enter negotiations with Jordan over the fate of the West Bank. On the one hand, Peres is committed to a programme leading nowhere. At the same time, he has set an effectively indefinite time period for the implementation of the 'policy'. Meanwhile, a Peres government would no doubt be busy 'creating facts' on the ground as

assiduously as did previous Labour governments.

Not only, according to Peres, has Begin committed the grave sin of recognising the existence of a Palestinian people. On his return from his tour of Europe in January, Peres declared that, by neglecting overseas propaganda, the Likud government had left Europe wide open to the PLO. And in a further affirmation of his refusal to admit the existence of a Palestinian nation, Peres, asked about the Jordanian option, replied: 'Do we have any other neighbour apart from Jordan?' Dr Issam Sartawi, the Palestine National Council member who shadowed Peres on his European tour exposing the true face of the Israeli Labour Party, has repeatedly warned, along with other PLO leaders, that Peres would be worse for the Palestinians than Begin. What

better confirmation than Peres' comment on his return? 'Sartawi says that Peres is worse than Begin, and perhaps he is right,' declared Peres.

The reality of the Israeli Labour Party was highlighted in a survey of its members in Tel Aviv, the results of which were published in the Hebrew daily *Ma'ariv* on 28th January. 84 per cent of those questioned declared themselves firmly against negotiations with the PLO while 73 per cent were against any Israeli withdrawal from the Jordan Valley or the Etzion bloc of settlements, south west of Bethlehem, even if a peace treaty with Jordan had been signed. Both positions are central to the Israeli Labour Party's programme. Evidently it represents accurately the views of the party faithful.

In early February Israelis witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of a Likud minister asserting that Labour had

pursued much tougher policies in the West Bank than Begin.

Speaking to the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, Deputy Defence Minister Mordechai Zipori cited certain statistics to prove his point. In the decade of Labour rule since 1967, he said, 1,224 houses in the West Bank were blown up or sealed. Under the Likud, since 1977 the figure was 34, he claimed. Under Labour, 884 West Bank Palestinians had been deported. Under Begin, the figure was only four.

While Peres peddles his 'moderation' and 'flexibility' overseas, at home he is stressing how hard his line would be compared to that of Begin. Meanwhile, Likud ministers are trying to assert their own 'flexibility' and 'moderation' compared with Peres and Labour.

For the Palestinians it would be a laughable spectacle if it were not so ominous. It is to be hoped that the West will draw the appropriate conclusions from the competing claims of Begin and Peres: that neither is prepared to recognise any of the rights of the Palestinians; that, on the contrary, both are bent on the consolidation and perpetuation of Israeli rule over the territories seized in 1967.

AS THE MOST recent Israel immigration statistics highlight the long-term trend of dwindling Jewish immigration to the Zionist settler state in Palestine, the director-general of the Jewish Agency has resigned in protest at what he calls the 'Begin government's inaction over massive emigration of Israelis. In a secret report he has revealed that about one in eight Israelis now live outside Israel, with about half a million living in the United States alone.

However, plans have been drawn up by the Zionists which provide for another solution to the demographic problem created by the drop in new Jewish settlers to Palestine, and the sharp rise in emigration. The plan, to preserve the Jewish majority, is to force hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs out of Israel and the 1967 occupied territories into exile.

Speaking at a seminar last year held by the Hebrew University's Institute of International Relations in Jerusalem, retired General Aharon

Plan to expel 800,000 Arabs as Israel faces Jewish emigration crisis

Yariv, warned that there was widespread talk among certain circles in Israel of the need to expel some 800,000 Palestinian Arabs from the country. He went on to say that plans for an operation of this type already exist.

In December the Jewish Agency, the body responsible for immigration of Jews to Israel, reported a 40 per cent drop in immigrants in 1980 over the previous year. This was mainly a reflection of a sharp decrease in the number of Russian Jews arriving in Palestine, from over 17,500 in 1979 to about 7,000 in 1980. Figures for January this year confirm that the trend is continuing. 85 per cent of Jews who left the Soviet Union went to countries other than Israel. The number who arrived in the Zionist

state was the lowest for any single month for ten years — 200 out of 1,280.

The problem of falling immigration is compounded by a dramatic rise in the number of Israelis leaving Palestine as the result of chaotic economic conditions (including 150 per cent inflation), the requirement to undergo long periods of military training, and the general insecurity of a state at permanent war with its neighbours and subject to Palestinian commando operations.

Another factor prompting emigration by Sephardic Jews of eastern origin is the discrimination practised against them by the elite east European, or Ashkenazi, Jews. The number of emigrants shot up last

year. About 20,000 Israelis who left during the year were still absent by 1st January 1981, a figure 80 per cent higher than the equivalent for 1979.

In January details appeared of a secret report prepared by Jewish Agency director-general Shmuel Lahis, underlining the severity of the problem. He found that one in eight Israelis now lives outside the Zionist state. About 500,000 are living in the United States — 60 per cent more than official Israeli statistics show. Lahis urged prompt action to halt the emigration and attract back those who have already left. 'The government must embark immediately on a scheme to stop the outgoing flow and to try to attract those already out to come back,' he said. 'We must regard emigration as a

national emergency. This stream of emigration is like blood oozing from a wounded body.' Now Lahis has resigned his post, accusing the Begin government of ignoring a problem so serious that 'it should threaten the existence of the state.'

The dwindling immigration and soaring emigration strike at the heart of the philosophy of Zionism on which Israel is based. Zionists have always stated, in the most openly racist terms, that their mission is to 'gather' all the world's Jews in a state where there is a clear Jewish majority. What is now happening is that the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel, with their high natural growth rate, is growing proportionately larger, whittling down the Jewish majority. According to statistics published last September, there are now about 635,000 Palestinians in Israel, constituting 16 per cent of the total population of 3,885,000. In 1960 there were only 239,100 'Israeli Arabs', amounting to a mere 11 per cent of the total Israeli population.

THE FACTS OF ZIONIST COLONIALISM



Jerusalem threatened

Jerusalem: Racial motives speed settlement

RECENT STATISTICS have shown a sharp acceleration of Israeli settlement in occupied East Jerusalem aimed at encircling the city with new Jewish suburbs. The intention is to block any future international attempts to force Israeli withdrawal as part of a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement.

It was disclosed early in March that in the two years since the signing of the Camp David accords there has been a nearly threefold increase in the annual number of new homes built for Jewish families in areas of the Arab city seized in 1967. According to Davy Levy, Israel's housing minister, 8,000 housing units have been constructed in the mushrooming new suburbs since 1979, nearly three times the previous highest rate achieved since the land was annexed after the June War. The new flats are sufficient to house more than 28,000 Jewish settlers, many of whom will be encouraged to move by heavily subsidised house prices. An estimated 90,000 Jews are already living in the new suburbs, many of which were established under the previous Labour administration.

In an openly racist statement, housing ministry spokesman Uri Oren told reporters: 'This government is concerned with creating facts on the ground: 10,000 extra Jews must come to live in Jerusalem every year to keep up the present balance between Jews and Arabs of 73 to 27 per cent.' He claimed that until 1979 the ratio of Jews to Arabs in the city had been dropping year by year, largely because of the higher birthrate amongst Palestinians.

The 'suburb' of Gilo, less than two miles from the centre of the occupied Palestinian city of Bethlehem, offers an insight into the scale of the existing and planned Zionist settlements around Jerusalem. According to *The Times* on 5th March, Gilo already has more than 10,000 Jewish residents. 'Under the government's plan,' said the paper, 'the town — which is situated just inside the West Bank some five miles from Jerusalem — is destined to become a dormitory city with 35,000 residents and a new access road to Tel Aviv.'

MAP SHOWING ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS ESTABLISHED, PLANNED OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN JUNE 1967

● Israeli settlement
○ Planned settlement for which no name has been given
○ Town selected for reference purposes

Information concerning the settlements has been furnished by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.

The descriptions employed and the information of material in this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.



AS OTHERS SEE IT

'We have always made our position clear . . . that the Israeli settlements are illegal and an obstacle to peace . . . The Israeli government knows our views about the speeding up of settlement. When I was in Jordan, Prince Hassan said that the Israelis had taken legal title to about 38 per cent of the West Bank. That is a frightening figure.'

Sir Ian Gilmour, Lord Privy Seal, in reply to questions in the House of Commons on 18th February, 1981

'Commenting on the increased pace of the Israeli settlement programme, one unnamed American official was quoted by the Washington correspondent of the Jerusalem Post as saying: "We are angry and they know it. They are acting stupidly".'

The Times, 16th February, 1981

'By changing the very nature of land ownership through the transfer of territory from Palestinian to Israeli hands, Israel makes plain its intention to retain a permanent presence — if not sovereignty — in the West Bank.'

8 Days, 7th February, 1981

Settlers threaten future of Palestinian land

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS in Israel and the 1967 occupied territories indicate that the Likud government has launched an all-out settlement drive in the West Bank designed to make the Zionist colonialist presence throughout the region irreversible by the end of June this year, when the Likud is expected to hand over power to a Labour government. The Labour Party is no less in favour of the principle of colonisation in the West Bank than the Likud, but opposes the establishment of settlements in certain — but not all — densely populated regions.

The rate of land expropriation in the West Bank over the last four months has been unprecedented in the near fourteen years of the occupation. A senior Zionist official was quoted on 26th February in the English language *Jerusalem Post* as saying that since November last year, 24,000 dunams of land (about 6,000 acres) had been seized for new settlements or the expansion of existing ones.

A Palestinian lawyer, most of whose work has been with West Bank villagers whose lands have been seized, told another Israeli daily, *Ha'aretz*, on 25th February that he estimated that 60,000 dunams (15,000 acres) of West Bank land had been seized for colonisation in the four month period.

According to a United Nations report published in November last year, Israel had by that date set up a total of 148 illegal settlements in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights: 107 on the West Bank, including those in East Jerusalem, 11 in the Gaza Strip and 30 on the Golan Heights. The number of settlers in the

West Bank, excluding East Jerusalem, increased from 3,200 in May 1977, when the Beigin government came to power, to 17,400, said the report. There are today 18,500 settlers in the 1967 occupied territories, according to World Zionist Organisation settlement department chairman Mattityahu Drobless. In the occupied eastern part of Jerusalem there were an estimated 80,000 settlers at the time of the UN report's publication, a figure that has reportedly grown to 90,000 today. By September last year, says the report, the Zionists had seized 33.3 per cent of the total area of the West Bank — much of this prime agricultural land — and almost all of the Golan Heights. The proportion of the West Bank seized had increased from 27 per cent in May 1979.

The UN report refers to the World Zionist Organisation's *Master Plan for the Development of Settlements in Judea and Samaria 1979-1983*, drawn up by Drobless. In its original form, the plan called for 46 new West Bank settlements by 1983, with a view to housing 27,000 families. The plan, says the UN report, 'has already been amended to add 22 more settlements to be established there by the same date'.

80,000 settlers

At the end of February the Israeli authorities announced that a further 11,000 dunams (2,750 acres) had been seized between Jerusalem and Jericho for the expansion of a large residential and industrial complex called Ma'ale Adumin. Meanwhile, the agriculture minister and chairman of the ministerial settlement

committee, Ariel Sharon, has declared that the number of settlements in the West Bank would reach 85 by the end of June — the date of the Israeli election. The new settlements will include the ten decided on by the Beigin government last year in a 'final' programme of colonisation which also called for the expansion of existing settlements around the major West Bank towns of Nablus and Tulikarm by the settling of 80,000 colonists.

The UN report also disclosed that the Drobless plan calls for the creation of a network of roads in the West Bank that 'would effectively implement the division of the West Bank into 22 districts,' in each of which settlements would be established. The report says this 'gives credence to information previously reported that the location of the settlements in the West Bank was planned with the aim of "compartmenting" the Arab population.'

The Zionists have been pressing ahead with this road plan. On 23rd February premier Beigin attended an elaborate ceremony marking the official opening of the longest and most expensive road built in the West Bank since the occupation began. Costing an estimated £4.5 million, the 30 mile road runs along the crest of the hills of the West Bank from the Jerusalem-Jericho highway north to the Zionist settlement of Ma'ale Ephraim, sited south east of occupied Nablus. The road's completion brings the length of West Bank roads built by the Zionists since the 1967 war to 125 miles.

The current economic crisis in

Israel has not blunted the government's resolve to press ahead with colonisation. 45 per cent of the agriculture ministry's proposed budget for the coming fiscal year, which begins on 1st April, has been earmarked for settlement in the occupied territories. This sum of 739 million Shekels (about \$120 million) will be augmented by further contributions to the overall settlement budget from the housing ministry, the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organisation. The Knesset finance committee on 26th February approved the allocation of 50 million Shekels (\$8 million) for the creation of six new settlements in the West Bank and the construction of 400 housing units in existing settlements.

The latest wave of colonial settlement is directed principally towards parts of the West Bank which the Labour Party, according to its political programme, envisages handing over to Jordan under the terms of a peace treaty. To resist this visible encroachment on their land and livelihood — and other less visible economic and cultural encroachments — the Palestinians of the West Bank have had recourse to the Israeli Supreme Court when other forms of resistance have been countered by Israeli troops. However, over the last year — a period which has seen the assassination attempts on three West Bank mayors, the deportation of two other mayors, and a series of restriction orders against the remaining prominent political figures in the region — the belief that the struggle between occupied and occupier can be mediated in the latter's courts has largely been abandoned.

THE FORGOTTEN PALESTINIANS

A report on the 'Israeli Arabs'

FOR MORE than three decades the Palestinian Arabs who remained in their homeland within the newly created Zionist state of Israel were presented by the Zionists as 'Israeli Arabs'. Their situation, as tragic as that of their fellow countrymen forced into exile as refugees, was rarely heard in the West. The political system of the Zionist state, presented as a 'democracy' did not extend to the Israeli Arabs. Political organisations which questioned the Zionist premise of an exclusively Jewish state, and which sought, even through parliamentary channels, to advocate a secular, democratic state, were banned. Leaders of such political movements were pressured to leave Palestine, and if they refused harassment and restrictions of movement became frequent experiences.

By definition, Christian and Muslim Palestinian Arabs within the state of Israel could not have equal rights with Jews. Tens of thousands were denied citizenship, including many born within the state of Israel after 1948; the education system systematically avoided including Arab history in the syllabus; in housing and employment the incidents of discrimination provide Israel with all the hallmarks of an apartheid state.

Indeed, the kibbutzim — the settlements which the Zionists have exploited in the west as models of pioneering socialist democracy — do not have a single Arab member. Arabs are banned from membership, although many are employed as labourers, because Arab labour is cheaper than that of Jews. Until recently, Arabs were banned from membership of the Israeli Labour Party.

In 1967, when Israel seized the West Bank and Gaza, the 'Israeli Arabs' were again united under occupation with a further 1.5 million of their fellow countrymen. As Palestinian nationalism became more public and bolder in presenting its opposition to the Zionist occupation, it was natural that those Palestinians who had lived within the pre-1967 borders of Israel should identify with the Palestinian cause.

The future of these 500,000 Palestinians now poses a crucial issue in any future settlement between the Palestinian Arabs and the Israeli Jews. Because of the treatment of the Israeli Arabs, the United Nations has defined Zionism as a form of racism. Any would-be peacemaker has to resolve the situation of the Israeli Arabs in the Zionist state with a just solution.

Like South Africa, the Israeli government channels more money for housing and welfare into Jewish communities than is provided for Arab communities. The consequences are obvious. Jewish communities enjoy a wide range of facilities which are denied to the Israeli Arabs. As a result, Arab infant mortality in Israel, thirty-two years after the creation of the state, remains double that for Jews. A study of deaths in 1978 shows infant mortality for Jews was 14.2 per 1,000, compared with 31 per 1,000 for Arabs. Reporting the statistics on 27th August 1980, *The Jerusalem Post* also noted: 'Life expectancy for Jewish males was 71.9 years, and 75.6 years for females. Among non-Jews, life expectancy was 69.1 for men and 72 for women.'



OF TODAY'S four million Palestinian Arabs, some 500,000 have remained in their homeland territories occupied by the Zionists in 1948 on which the state of Israel was proclaimed. Until 1967, when Israel attacked and occupied the West Bank and Gaza territories of Palestine, these 500,000 Palestinians were presented to the world as 'Israeli Arabs'. Today, there are increasing signs that the 'Arabs of Israel' identify publicly with the Palestinian cause and the P.L.O. Louis Eaks reports on the 'forgotten Palestinians'.

Discrimination

It is perhaps natural therefore that one focus of the Israeli Arab protest movement should be inequality experienced in the field of welfare.

In 1979 Israel's housing discrimination was challenged in the Israeli Supreme Court by a young Arab couple, Nasser and Ida Sakut, who lived in the town of Ramleh, near Tel Aviv. The couple were demanding housing aid similar to that given to Jewish couples. The Hebrew daily *Yediot Aharanot* reported on 4th June 1979, 'According to the criteria determined by the Ministry of Housing, the Sakut couple is entitled to a smaller loan than the one available to "army leavers"'. In fact, Arabs are allowed IL62,000 while Jewish couples received IL800,000. The report added, 'In order to be classified as "army leavers", it is not necessary for any one partner to have served in the IDF (Israel Defence Force). It is sufficient for a single member of his or her family, a parent, brother, sister, grandparent or even uncle, to have served in the IDF or the Haganah.' Israeli Arabs are not entitled to serve in the Israeli forces, even if they so

wished. By using service as a criteria for a whole range of welfare subsidies, the Israeli government is able to discount allegations of official legislated discrimination.

In fact, in 1976 the Koenig Report, prepared for the then Labour government, which was leaked and published in *al Hamishmar* newspaper on 7th September 1976, sought to tighten the provision of welfare benefits to the Israeli Arabs. The central theme of the report was the demographic problems created by the higher birth rate amongst Israeli Arabs than the Jews, and the long term threat which this poses to a state based on the concept of being exclusively Jewish.

Koenig declared: 'The government has to find a way to stop giving grants to large Arab families, by either relating the grants to the social condition of the family or by confiscating the money from the national security to give it to the Jewish Agency or the Zionist organisation, where it would only include the Jews (as recipients of benefits — FP)'.

Last year, on 26th May 1980, *Ha'aretz* reported a move by Jaffa

Palestinians to demand equal housing rights. The issue was the basis for the formation of another civil rights group: 'The Association of Jaffa's Arabs is holding a census among the Arabs of Jaffa which will constitute the basis of their demands from the municipality and government for "the same housing" as the inhabitants of north Tel Aviv.'

The following day *Ma'ariv* reported a move to obtain more government spending on Arab education: 'The heads of the Arab councils have announced a one day strike of Arab schools in protest against the severe shortage of classrooms and poor conditions in schools. The Arab leaders are complaining about a shortage of 1,500 classrooms, and about discrimination when it comes to developing Arab education.'

The council leaders accused the Ministry of Education of under-financing the Arab education sector. Classroom shortages are so severe for Arab students that the 9th year of schooling as been made compulsory in the Jewish, but not in the Arab sector.

Opposition banned

1980 saw the increasing organisation of Israeli Arabs into civil rights organisations. Such groups are not a new phenomenon. Since the early days of the Zionist occupation groups have emerged, but even those which attempted to achieve their goals through legal channels, and through the Israeli parliamentary system, were soon confronted by the Zionist state; the organisations were banned, and their leaders imprisoned, restricted, or forced to emigrate and join their fellow Palestinians in exile.

However, the difference for today's movements and organisations is that support is more widespread, the groups are better co-ordinated, their morale has been strengthened by the strength of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and the Palestinian cause in general, on the international scene, and the publicity which repression from the Zionists has received in the international press. All this, however, does not mean that the Israeli Arab campaigners are being tolerated by the Israeli authorities. Firm restrictions have been imposed.

The Arab student movement has provided one centre of Palestinian protest within Israel. On 7th July 1980, *The International Herald Tribune* reported: 'The Israeli army has ordered eight Israeli Arabs restricted to their home towns for a six-month period during which they may not leave their houses after night-fall. The action against the eight men, four of whom are students, came against the background of increasing Arab-Jewish strife on Israeli campuses. One man is the chairman of the national committee of Arab students and another is the head of the organisation's branch at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.'

As *The Times* reported the following day: 'The restrictions came less than two weeks after Mr Menachem Beigin, the Prime Minister, announced that he intended to propose a law to bar all Arab supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organisation from Israel's universities.'

Arab students are increasingly faced with intimidation and violence from militant Zionists. A recent case was reported in *Yediot Aharanot* on 11th February this year: 'Unknown persons attacked a number of Arab students at the Technion University in Haifa. They broke into the Arabs' rooms in the student hostel on campus in the middle of the night and beat up the Arabs with blunt instruments. One Arab student and an Arab girl, who had been visiting them, were wounded and are in hospital, one of them with head injuries.'

As to who was responsible, the report added, 'Later a Jewish student arrived at a Haifa hospital suffering from a stab wound. The student was a member of the Israel Shelanu (Israel is Ours) movement, a right-wing students' organisation.'

However, the Arab movement in Israel extends beyond the confines of the student campus, and can count on widespread support amongst the Palestinian Arab community within pre-1967 Israel.

Arab opinions

A survey of Israeli Arab opinions conducted in 1979 showed that 50 per cent of all Arabs living within the pre-1967 borders of Israel do not



Arab Palestine erased: Hebrew signs placed over shops of Arab refugees.

THE FORGOTTEN PALESTINIANS

A report on the 'Israeli Arabs'

recognise the right of Israel as a Zionist state to exist, and 64 per cent consider the Zionist movement to be racist. The survey, said to be the first of its kind, was conducted by the Institute for the Study and Promotion of Arab Education, and financed by the Ford Foundation.

Reported in *Ha'aretz* on 8th June 1979, the survey showed that 87 per cent of all Israeli Arabs were in favour of a withdrawal to the 1967 borders, and 59 per cent wanted to see a withdrawal to the borders proposed by the 1947 UN Partition Plan (which are more limited than those claimed by Israel in 1948). 75 per cent supported the establishment of a Palestinian state, and 64 per cent wanted the abolition of the iniquitous Law of Return (applicable only to Jews). 48 per cent identified themselves as Palestinians rather than Israeli Arabs.

According to Dr Sami Samooah of Haifa University, who headed the survey, 'a further and deepening rift between the Jews and the Arabs was caused by the Jewish Zionist character of the Israeli state.' He told a seminar that 'Israeli Arabs would less and less be prepared to tolerate the existence of a Zionist Jewish state of the present type. Sooner or later Israel's Arabs would demand changes in the character of the state.'

Since the survey, all the signs are that opinions amongst the Israeli Arab Palestinians have hardened towards open support for the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

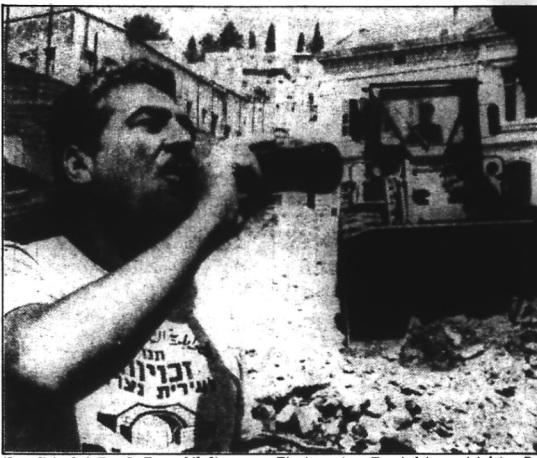
Charter

In Haifa on 6th June 1980 a Palestine National Charter was proclaimed signed by a wide spectrum of Israeli Arab Palestinians. As *8 Days* magazine noted on 19th July: 'For the first time ever, Israel's Arab inhabitants have proclaimed themselves as a coherent national grouping, expressing their "serious unease over the deteriorating situation in the occupied territories and the repercussions of this on the situation inside Israel itself".'

The Charter said, 'We have never denied and cannot deny, even if faced by death itself, our origins: we are a living, conscious and active part of the Palestinian Arab people . . . [We] have never given up and can never give up the right of this people to self-determination, freedom and independence on its own soil.'

Two days later, a meeting was held in Nazareth on 8th June to protest the deportation of the mayors of occupied Hebron and Halhoul, and the Muslim qadi of Hebron, and the assassination attempts of West Bank mayors the previous week in which the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah were seriously injured. At the meeting Israel was blamed for the incidents, and chanting of 'We are all Fatah' and 'We are all waiting for Arafat' erupted amongst the Israeli Arab audience.

The main speaker at the meeting was the mayor of Nazareth, Tawfiq Zayyed, a member of the Israeli parliament, which affords him immunity. So incensed was the opposition Israeli Labour Party by Zayyed's public stand against the assassination attempts that, according to a *Jerusalem Post* report on 9th June 1980, Shimon Peres came 'under pressure to propose to the House of Commons that the parliamentary immunity be lifted so that he



'Israeli Arabs': Tawfiq Zayyed (left) protests Zionist racism; Fouzi el Asmar (right), a Palestinian poet driven into exile

(Zayyed) may stand trial on incitement and sedition charges.'

It is an indication of things to come if the Israeli Labour Party wins the forthcoming general election that the *Jerusalem Post* continued its report: 'Ra'anan Cohen, who heads Labour's Arab Department (British readers may wonder how a Labour Party can justify such a 'department' — FP) wrote to Peres saying that Zayyed's words constitute not merely "a call for civil disobedience, incitement and escalation of the Jewish-Arab conflict, not merely an attack on government policy, but, very clearly,

subversion of the very existence of the state".'

The Jerusalem correspondent of *The Times* reported on 10th June 1980: 'For some time Israeli Arab political leaders have claimed bitterly that Arabs are discriminated against in such fields as employment, educational opportunities and the amount of money channelled to their municipalities. The increasing discontent among the Israeli Arabs has led to growing support for more radical political groupings than Rakah. The most militant is Abna Al-Balad (Sons of the Country) which



declares that the Arabs of Israel are an integral part of the Palestinian people, and must be taken into account in any solution of the Palestinian problem.'

Home arrests

By July the Beigin government had moved to place thirteen of Israel's Palestinian citizens under house arrest, and expelled others from universities.

Elfi Pallis, the Israeli born Executive Officer of the International Committee for Palestinian Human Rights, commented: 'Like in South Africa, house arrest in Israel in-

volves a person's banishment to his or her village of origin, where they can neither work nor study. Several of the new internal exiles have complained that they are also barely allowed to sleep, since soldiers come to their homes every two hours during the night to check that they are present.'

She points out in reference to the mid-1980 orders, 'The arrestation order, issued by the northern regional commander General Avigdor Ben Gal, who in 1979 described Israel's Arab population as a "cancer", was based on the emergency regulations introduced prior to 1948 by the British Mandate. Although these regulations were much condemned by Zionists at the time, they have since been used frequently against the Palestinians.'

Ms Pallis pointed out, 'None of the arrested has been charged with or convicted of any offence. It is clear that they are being punished merely for doing what Israeli democracy allegedly allows every citizen, namely to hold and express political opinions. All they have done is to join in public condemnations of Israel's occupation policy and voice support for the Palestinians' right to self-determination.'

By September 1980 the Charter movement was moving from strength to strength. On 6th September Israeli Arab leaders met over the weekend to agree a draft charter declaring the PLO as the only legal representative of the Palestinian people. Arab mayors, members of the Knesset (Israeli parliament), writers, prominent personalities from Israel's Arab towns and villages, including representatives of the Negev bedouin, agreed on the text of the charter to be presented to the first international Israeli Arab conference to be held in November last year in Nazareth.

It was a courageous move. Earlier in July the Beigin regime approved a bill banning any public demonstration of support with any Palestinian resistance group, including the PLO. The maximum sentence agreed was three years' jail and a fine of about £2,000 sterling. The ban, subsequently passed into law by the Knesset, prohibits the display of slogans and flags identified with Palestinian nationalist groups.

A few days before the Israeli Arab congress was due to convene in Nazareth in December, Beigin moved to have it banned. The Defence ministry cited the old British Mandate regulations to the ban, and the fact that the Israeli Arabs would have challenged the new anti-PLO law designed to gag support for the PLO.

The effect of the Zionists' authoritarian measures will be, in part, to force the Israeli Arabs to organise underground. Evidence that this is now happening came only a few weeks ago. In late February Israeli Jews were reported shocked by the revelations that dozens of Israeli Arabs had been arrested and put on trial before a secret military court (another symbol of Israel's flourishing democracy). Although the Zionists have attempted to present those arrested as being pro-Khomeini Islamic fundamentalist militants, and only the Israeli government has any information about the group, the incident can only underline the fact that Israeli Arabs now consider themselves Palestinian Arabs. The implications for the Zionists are explosive.

To be an Arab in Israel

1: Palestinians are 'present absentees'

'THREE INHABITANTS of the (Arab) village of Qalansuwa (in northern Israel) have been classified as 'Absentees' by the Custodian of Absentee Property, after they had brought charges against several inhabitants of the moshav of Tenuvot. The latter are cultivating 17.5 dunam (4 dunam = 1 acre) of agricultural land owned by the (Arab) villagers.

The case had been brought by Salim Abu Tayeh, Shafiq Abu Tayeh and Kamal a'Suleiman Halil a'Tawil through advocate Mr S Arieli in the district court of Tel Aviv against the Custodian of Absentee Property. From the charges it emerges that the plaintiffs have jointly owned a plot of land, for the last 37 years, and have written proof of this fact. In 1978, they learned that the plot had been cultivated without their consent by two inhabitants of the moshav

of Tenuvot for the last twelve years.

Following a previous case brought by inhabitants of Qalansuwa against the moshavniks under the 'criminal trespass law', the villagers accused the Israeli Land Authority of being responsible for this, but the Authority got on to the Custodian of Absentee Property who then issued a document in which the owners of the plot were defined as 'Absentees'. Their rights consequently reverted to the Custodian.

The document was issued on the strength of the 'Absentee Property Law', in that the Custodian argued that the plaintiffs were 'at the time of the (1949) Rhodes ceasefire agreement living in territory which was occupied by forces trying to prevent the establishment of the state of Israel and fighting it after it was estab-

lished'. (The village came under Israeli rule shortly afterwards, and its inhabitants are Israeli citizens. This is the first time that the 'Absentee' law has been invoked in such a context — FP.)

The plaintiffs dispute these facts and claim that they have never been 'Absentees'. They are arguing that the confiscation of their property is therefore entirely unjustified. They are petitioning the court to confirm their continued right to the plot of land and declare the document issued against them null and void. The defence has not yet submitted its statement (According to the law in question, the Custodian of Absentee Property can issue a confiscation order without even informing the 'present Absentees' themselves — FP.)

□ Report taken from *Ha'aretz* newspaper, 13th April 1980.

2: Differential treatment for teachers

'ARABS SEEKING a place in the country's teacher training colleges now must fill in a special registration form completely different from that filled in by Jewish applicants. The form, introduced in recent weeks, is a standard IDF and security services questionnaire with a 'Ministry of Education, Department of Arab Education and Culture' stamp superimposed.

'The questionnaire asks for extensive details about the applicant's family background and spouse, and for the names of 'friends and acquaintances with whom you meet frequently'.

'Completed forms are returned by the college to the Education Ministry, which apparently passes it on to the General Security Service.

'An Education Ministry spokes-

man questioned about the form said "it has been in use for some time", but could not say exactly when it was introduced. He said that Arab applicants are given a different form "for a variety of reasons", but declined to elaborate. The spokesman declined to say to whom the form was passed on by the Education Ministry.

□ Report taken from the *Jerusalem Post*, 9th July 1980.

OPPRESSION OF the Palestinian Arabs in the 1967 occupied territories has never been worse, according to Dr Israel Shahak, Chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights. He accuses the Israeli government of actively pursuing a campaign designed to destroy the morale of the Palestinians living under occupation.

'Humiliation is intended, and ordered from above,' he declares. 'The Belgian government is using principles from the behavioural school of psychology to 'break the spirit of the Palestinians'. Amongst the major ways in which Palestinian human rights are being violated, he cites administrative detention, the control of reading material, interference in the sale of agricultural produce and a severe clamp-down on all expressions of Palestinian nationalist opinion against the illegal military occupation.

'The Palestinians are unbroken,' he says, despite these harsh measures.

Thousands of Palestinians have been restricted to their villages by administrative orders, says Shahak. 'I tried to get permission for a man in Ramallah to go to the funeral of his brother-in-law, which was in Bethlehem. Permission was denied. Nobody can say this was a matter of security. It is simply persecution,' declares the civil rights campaigner.

The occupation authorities exercise control over the reading material available in the West Bank. According to Dr Shahak, 23,000 books (aside from newspapers, magazines and pamphlets) are on the military governor's list of prohibited reading material. 'The list is updated every three months. You can be arrested in Bethlehem or Ramallah for having the wrong books,' he says.

The Israeli Human Rights activist points to the tenacity with which the Zionists attempt to stamp out all expressions of Palestinian nationalism: 'Any symbol which can represent Palestine or any national idea of Palestine is forbidden. It is strictly forbidden to display in public the word "Palestine" even in English. People were sentenced to months in prison, in one case a year, for the criminal offence of wearing T-shirts with the word "Palestine".'

The lengths to which the Zionists go are astonishing. Painters, says Dr Shahak, are forbidden from depicting flowers next to each other in the four colours of the Palestinian flag — white, black, green and red: 'This would mean Palestine, which means PLO, which means you are a terrorist. The picture is confiscated and forbidden, the artist is sentenced and the gallery is actually closed.' He recalls the case of the owner of a textile shop in occupied East Jerusalem, who was 'arrested for the crime of putting in the window of his shop bolts of white, black, green and red cloth.'

Interviews banned

Another way in which the military governor interferes with the daily lives of the Palestinians is through the banning of meetings. 'Of course, all political or open meetings are forbidden,' he says. 'Interviews with journalists are also forbidden. And this occurs, of course, in the "only democracy in the Middle East".'

The ban on Palestinian gatherings extends further than this, Dr Shahak explains. Given the prohibition on political meetings, people discuss politics over lunch meetings or such social occasions as wedding receptions.

If the military governor hears about it, he is able to invite several of the people to his office,' says Dr Shahak. 'If he is polite, he does this



Occupation: intimidation of military searches

A SADISTIC, BRUTAL REGIME

Dr Israel Shahak, Chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, talks about Palestine under Zionist occupation

DR ISRAEL Shahak has been touring the United States to speak about the plight of the Palestinian Arabs under Israeli occupation. He condemns American Jewish students who spend their summer vacation on the West Bank, where they indulged in brutal and sadistic armed attacks on Palestinian civilians.

during the day. If he's not polite, or if he's angry, he does it in the middle of the night. Of course, he doesn't tell them what the invitation is for, so the family thinks they are being expelled. So he invites them at 1 am, and he tells them: "It has come to my attention that you are going to a wedding reception tomorrow. I hereby declare this wedding reception a public meeting and you are forbidden to attend." His words carry the force of law and it is then a grave crime to attend. People have been convicted and sentenced to three or six months in prison for attending a wedding reception.'

He is also concerned by the way in which the Zionists harass Palestinian farmers in the occupied territories through a regulation that has received little publicity in the western media. Any sale of a farmer's produce, says Dr Shahak, needs a special permit from the military governor. 'Let's say that a farmer has a vineyard and he harvests grapes. He wants to sell them in the nearest town. First he goes to his (Israeli-appointed) mukhtar (village headman) and from him he obtains a blank piece of paper with the mukhtar's stamp. He takes this to the nearest town, to the military governor's office, and immediately gives up the stamped paper, without which he wouldn't be received for any purpose. The first thing the clerk does is to take the paper, tear it up and throw it in the basket. This is so that next time, the farmer has to go through the process all over again.'

Dr Shahak adds that one of the forms of collective punishment inflicted on a family is for the Israeli-controlled mukhtar to refuse to give such permits.

Imagine Mississippi

Turning to the discrimination practised against the Palestinians of the territories occupied in 1948, Dr Shahak points out that 94 per cent of the total area of Israel was owned or administered by state or Zionist institutions whose rules prohibit non-Jews — ie Palestinians — from living on these lands. These regulations, says Dr Shahak, were now being rigorously enforced.

He describes the stark contrast between the economic opportunities and social facilities to be found in the Palestinian city of Nazareth and the adjacent Jewish town of Upper Nazareth: 'All the industry is in Upper Nazareth. It has all facilities such as swimming pools, cultural centres, nice roads, etc, while old Nazareth has nothing. If you go there at 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, you see all the workers, mostly Palestinians, going home down to Nazareth. And in order to understand the situation for Palestinians who have Israeli citizenship, you must try to imagine the situation of a black in Mississippi 50 years ago.'

He adds: 'The Palestinian lives in a village or a completely undeveloped town, and in many cases without electricity because, although electricity is provided free to Jews by the state, Palestinians have to pay for it, so they are still without it. In most cases they are still lacking sewage facilities, so it runs in the streets.'

Such discrimination against the Palestinians pervades all aspects of life in Israel, says Dr Shahak. As an example, he cites the existence in the Health Ministry of a special department called the 'Department of the Health of Minorities'.

Dr Shahak is scathing and contemptuous of the Zionist settlers in the occupied territories. There has, he says, been a dramatic change in their role. Before the spring of 1980, they lived the lives of ordinary city



Shahak condemns the neo-Nazis

zens. However, over the past year, the Israeli army and especially the Chief of Staff, Rafael Eitan, have been supporting the settlers more than the government itself. 'This has resulted in the creation of military organisations of settlers and their use in the direct oppression of Palestinians in their own neighbourhoods.' The settlers have been taken out of their ordinary Israeli army units and organised into military units in their settlements, armed with light tanks, armoured personnel carriers, and machine guns. 'They now go armed all the time,' says Dr Shahak.

Just like Nazis

A former prisoner of the Nazis in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, Shahak describes how the settlers bully and intimidate the Palestinians: 'The settlers go on to the streets of Hebron or any other Arab town, and any Palestinian who they think has influence, they beat on the spot, in front of other Palestinians. If he escapes, they pursue him to his house, break into the house and beat him in the presence of his family or another family. This takes place every day.'

Dr Shahak stresses that many of the settlers are American Jews, who stay for only a year or two. 'They are being brutalised and Nazified,' he declares. 'They are being given weapons by the army without military training.'

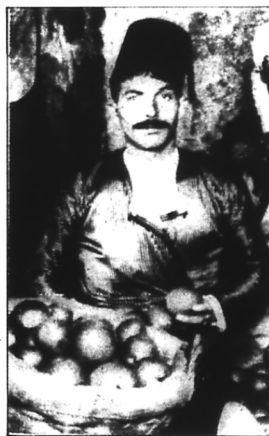
The average Israeli, he says, might not enjoy the army, 'but it's different for a kid from New York who is given weapons immediately and within a few hours is able to threaten Arabs with them and to beat them. This is exactly what the education for a pogrom is, exactly how anti-

semitic and Nazi elements were trained in brutality.'

Dr Shahak explains that students are being given credit in American universities for coming to Israel during the summer to learn 'how to beat up Palestinians'. Columbia University is one institution which accepts credit from students supposedly going abroad for study, he says. In the settlements students alternate between religious studies one day and patrolling Palestinian villages the next. As many as 50,000 American students come to Israel during the summer 'to receive lessons in sadism.' Dr Shahak urges wide publicity for 'this horrible situation of American Jews who are going there for Nazi summer camp in order to brutalise Palestinians and to be brutalised themselves.'

In his conversations with some of these students, some revealed an unmistakable pleasure in taking part in right wing religious fanaticism. Recently Shahak met some American students at an airport in New York who said they were members of the 'Society for the Two Banks of the Jordan' (suggesting that they were Zionists with designs on the east, as well as the west, bank of the Jordan river). One of them, speaking in broken Hebrew, told Dr Shahak that while it would be an 'act of God' to kill him, it would be more religious to kill Arabs instead.

This report has been compiled from interviews Dr Shahak gave to the New York Guardian on 7th January and the Intercontinental Press on 26th January, and from a report in the New York Daily World on 27th December of an address by the human rights activist to the National Press Club in Washington on 3rd December.



Haifa (c 1933), a modern Palestinian city (left); Jaffa oranges, an important part of Arab Palestine's economy (right)

The Palestinians the way they really were

AN IMPORTANT book has just been published which, through the medium of photographs, portrays Palestinian society and culture in the period from 1880, when large scale Zionist immigration began, to 1946, when the British effectively gave up control over the country, paving the way for the Zionists to expel the vast majority of the Palestinian Arabs. The book sets out to present the Palestinians as real people, with an elaborate society and culture of their own. It succeeds admirably, writes Dr Alan George.

There is a galling tendency in the West to portray the Palestinians in stereotypical terms, for example as 'refugees' or 'terrorists', which has gone on since the first large scale encounters between Palestinians and westerners in the nineteenth century. The stereotypes then were different. Europeans saw the Palestinians not for what they really were, but through a veil of western preconceptions about Third World peoples as a whole. They were seen as ignorant, backward, irrational, and so on. The Palestinians, however, occupied a special place amongst non-westerners: they inhabited the Holy Land. Europeans were thus apt to portray them as something out of the Bible. That, for many westerners, was by far the most important role of the Palestinians. But if the nature of the stereotyping was different, the principles at work were the same. The Palestinians were not perceived as real individuals, a people in their own right with their own culture, and values. Instead, they were made to fit ethnocentric western preconceptions.

There is now a growing number of books examining the way in which western writing on Palestine reflected the cultural prejudices, and political leanings, of the authors at least as much, and often more, than the realities that were their subjects.

Most important is Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine*, published last year. Sarah Graham-Brown's book is the first to examine how photographs have also been potent vehicles for bolstering western preconceptions about the Palestinians.

In her Introduction, Sarah Graham-Brown, discussing how 'various sorts of stereotypes — visual or otherwise — come to be accepted as "truths" about a people or culture', goes straight to the heart of the problem. 'In Palestine', she says, 'as in most colonised or semi-colonised societies of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, external forces played a crucial part in shaping events. Such societies were particularly vulnerable to the invention of types to fit supposed characteristics as perceived by their rulers.'

The reader's attention is repeatedly drawn to the contrasts between what the photographers actually portrayed, on the one hand, and what the photographers thought they showed, or wanted them to portray, on the other. Her methodology is clearly stated in the Introduction. 'Perhaps the most interesting and fruitful aspect of seeking an interpretive framework for these pictures is the interrelation between what material and social evidence can, with reasonable certainty, be gleaned from them and what the photographer thought was captured through his or her lens. While personal and aesthetic tastes and idiosyncracies can never be discounted in this process of selection, nationality, social class and political views also exercised a powerful influence over what was "seen" and recorded and what was ignored.'

On first sight, the book appears to contain little more than a substantial collection of interesting historical photographs (there are about 250 of them). This is the result of a very skilful and attractive layout. In fact Miss Graham-Brown supplies a com-

prehensive and penetrating written analysis of Palestinian society of the period covered. Separate chapters deal with rural life, the influence of outside forces on the villages, the bedouin, communications, the economies of urban centres and changes in lifestyles in the period under review. The book concludes with a summary of the political forces at work during the period. In addition to the narrative, each photograph is accompanied by often lengthy captions demonstrating the way in which the photographer intended to influence his audience.

In her conclusion, Miss Graham-Brown touches on the political significance of her book. 'Claims to a state for the Palestinians rest on the fact that before 1948 they had land, a society and a culture of which they were forcibly dispossessed,' she says. 'In these circumstances, there is certainly a tendency to romanticise a past which has significant bearing on the present, but scarcely justifies the opposing view that the existence of such a society is a myth created for political convenience. In fact the counter myth, very much a matter of political and cultural convenience, is that the Palestinians 'do not exist'; that Palestine was an 'empty land'; or simply — in a common colonialist view of lands they wished to acquire — that the people there were just a few thousand ragged natives without culture or organisation who did not 'count'. This perspective has long been propagated — in words and photographs and at varying levels of sophistication — by Zionists, British and other westerners and has been used as ammunition in denying Palestinians their past and, by implication, their future.'

Palestinians and their Society 1880-1946. A Photographic Essay by Sarah Graham-Brown. Quartet Books, London 1980. Price: £4.95 (paperback) £12.50 (hardback).



Thriving Arab commerce (left) in 1940; Palestinian women (right)

POETRY OF RESISTANCE

Defiance

You may fasten my chains
Deprive me of my books and tobacco
You may fill my mouth with earth
Poetry will feed my heart, like blood
It is salt to the bread
And liquid to the eye
I will write it with nails, eye sockets and daggers
I will recite it in my prison cell —
In the bathroom —
In the stable —
Under the whip —
Under the chains —
In spite of my handcuffs
I have a million nightingales
On the branches of my heart
Singing the song of liberation.
—Mahmoud Darwish

Enemy of the Sun

I may — if you wish — lose my livelihood
I may sell my shirt and bed.
I may work as a stone cutter,
A street sweeper, a porter.
I may clean your stores
Or rummage your garbage for food.
I may lie down hungry,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

You may take the last strip of my land,
Feed my youth to prison cells.
You may plunder my heritage.
You may burn my books, my poems
Or feed my flesh to the dogs.
You may spread a web of terror
On the roofs of my village,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

You may put out the light in my eyes.
You may deprive me of my mother's kisses.
You may curse my father, my people.
You may distort my history,
You may deprive my children of a smile
And of life's necessities.
You may fool my friends with a borrowed face.
You may build walls of hatred around me.
You may glue my eyes to humiliations,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

O enemy of the sun
The decorations are raised at the port.
The ejaculations fill the air,
A glow in the hearts,
And in the horizon
A sail is seen
Challenging the wind
And the depths.
It is Ulysses
Returning home
From the sea of loss

It is the return of the sun,
Of my exiled ones
And for her sake, and his
I swear
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.
Resist — and resist.
—Samih Al Qassem

فلسطين حرة free palestine

Israel: The growing nuclear menace

ISRAEL NOW has an arsenal of 200 nuclear weapons and, using US technology, is developing long-range cruise missiles, the Hebrew daily Ma'ariv reported on 11th February. The report, which first appeared in Foreign Report, a newsletter published by the London Economist magazine, also revealed that President Eisenhower signed a secret agreement with Israel assuring the Zionist state that Washington would do nothing to impede any Israeli plans to acquire or develop nuclear weapons.

Foreign Report says: 'The latest American intelligence reports suggest that Israel now has as many as 200 nuclear weapons, fully assembled and with the same number of delivery vehicles.'

While Israel has '40 Jericho missiles' — short range rockets —

the report says most of the other delivery vehicles 'are based on adapted versions of American weapons systems.' It adds: 'The Israelis are also developing cruise missiles, powered by American made engines, and will have a range of 1,500 nautical miles.'

Eisenhower reportedly signed the agreement with Israel to induce the Zionists to withdraw from Sinai after their 1956 attack on Egypt. 'The agreement — two bald paragraphs — has been renewed by every American President since,' says the newsletter.

The newsletter also endorsed a report by American columnist Jack Anderson who said last December that Israel was co-operating with South Africa and Taiwan in developing cruise missiles. It says: 'Foreign Report believes President Carter

withheld intelligence reports about this co-operation' from experts assigned to investigate whether a flash of light detected by a US satellite off the South African coast in September 1979 was a nuclear explosion.

On 15th December last year another mysterious flash of light was announced by a US satellite in the same area, deepening suspicions that Israel is actively engaged with the apartheid regime in testing nuclear weapons.

The latest pointer to such collaboration came on 28th February when the London journal 8 Days said it had firm evidence that, 'shielded by the tightest security measures ever taken in South Africa, Israeli and South African scientists and engineers are secretly building a nuclear submarine at Simonstown, the sprawling Indian Ocean naval base near Capetown.'

The project, says 8 Days, 'is the direct result of the secret visit made by General Weizman, the then Israeli defence minister, to South Africa in the middle of March last year.'



The parents of Gadi Algazy join protesters in Tel Aviv seeking freedom for their son

ISRAELI JAILED FOR REFUSING TO OPPRESS PALESTINIANS

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT is growing for Private Gadi Algazy, an Israeli soldier who in January was sentenced to one year's imprisonment by a Zionist military court for refusing to serve in the territories occupied in 1967. Even in Israel there is widespread condemnation of the harsh sentence imposed on the soldier, who took his stand on the grounds of conscience, saying he would not be part of an army that terrorised civilians. In February the soldier's father came to Britain to put his son's case before MPs and the media, and said he was received very sympathetically. He has also been active in publicising his son's plight in France and Belgium.

Two months before finishing school in the summer of 1979, Gadi Algazy, together with 27

schoolmates, wrote to the minister of defence saying that when they received their call-up papers they would refuse to serve in the territories. 'We are convinced that by our refusal we contribute to the cause of peace between the Jewish people in Israel and the Palestinian Arab people,' they write. 'We shall not accept the occupation, which turns us into oppressors and the Palestinians into an oppressed people.'

On 3rd February last year, Gadi was called up and several times in the next four months at the recruiting unit told his superiors that he would not serve in the 1967 occupied territories. He was nevertheless sent to a military camp in the West Bank. He refused to obey any orders, and was jailed immediately. Disciplinary military

courts sentenced him five times to a total of 120 days in jail. Last November, after serving the fifth sentence, Gadi still refused to serve in the occupied territories. He was re-imprisoned, and then, in January, was sentenced to a year in military prison.

The soldier told the military court how important his parents' influence had been in his stand against the occupation. They had educated him 'to treat other human beings as equal to me. I was educated to love the whole of this land and the two peoples living in it,' he said. 'My mother is a Holocaust survivor. Perhaps here is a source of my attitude to refugees, to racism, to the question of how another nation was brought to do things which should not be done.'

PLO office will open in Dublin, but Israel denied embassy

THE IRISH Government has approved the Palestine Liberation Organisation opening a representative office in Dublin. The statement came from the Foreign Minister, Mr Brian Lenihan during a visit to the Irish Republic by Mr Nabil Ramlawi, the PLO's London Representative, during early March.

Mr Ramlawi was making a four-day visit to Ireland for talks with the Foreign Minister, Members of the Irish Parliament, and trade union leaders. In addition, the PLO representative attended the inaugural meeting of a new support group, 'Ireland Friends of Palestine', which will involve leading politicians and trade unionists in presenting the Palestinian cause to the Irish people.

The visit brought strong criticism from Zionists in Dublin. The news that Mr Lenihan had given his approval to the PLO office has particularly angered Israel, which has so far been denied permission to establish an embassy in Ireland. Israel's contacts with Dublin are covered from the embassy in London.

Mr Ramlawi's visit to Ireland was the first official visit by a PLO official, and provide the establishment of official links with the last of the member states of the EEC. However, Ireland has been a vanguard in the EEC's stand on the Palestine question. In 1979, Ireland's Foreign Minister Mr Michael O'Kennedy told the UN General Assembly that the legitimate rights of the Palestinians were an essential part of any resolution of the Palestine question. Speaking on behalf of the EEC, he also referred to the PLO, and its role in future discussions on the Middle East conflict. Later these points were reinforced by the current Foreign Minister, Mr Brian Lenihan, in a statement during a visit to the Gulf

states, which become known as the Bahrain Declaration.

Addressing the inaugural meeting of Ireland Friends of Palestine, on 12th March, Mr Ramlawi referred to the 'common struggle for national independence and self-determination', which he said, 'provides us with a common heritage and common experiences.'

'It is against the background of Ireland's struggle that the people of Ireland are well qualified to understand and appreciate the struggle of the Palestinian people,' he added.

Mr Ramlawi paid tribute to the Irish troops serving the United Nations peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, and the deaths of Irish soldiers killed by the Israeli backed Lebanese rebel army.

He described the establishment of Irish Friends of Palestine as 'an important development in the movement towards greater understanding and support for our cause in Ireland.'

Turning to the political situation, Mr Ramlawi told his Irish audience: 'The tragedy experienced by our people must not be prolonged. A solution is both urgent and long overdue. We believe that the initiative must come from the EEC, and that Ireland and her European partners can play an important role as peace-maker in the Middle East.'

He added, 'Europe and the Arab peoples, of which we as Irish and Palestinians are part, have mutual interests. A new war in the Middle East, which can be the only result of our continued oppression and Israel's disregard for the United Nations, will hurt us all. We share a common interest to ensure that such a war does not occur. Your support for our cause can only help to advance the day of peace in Palestine.'

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