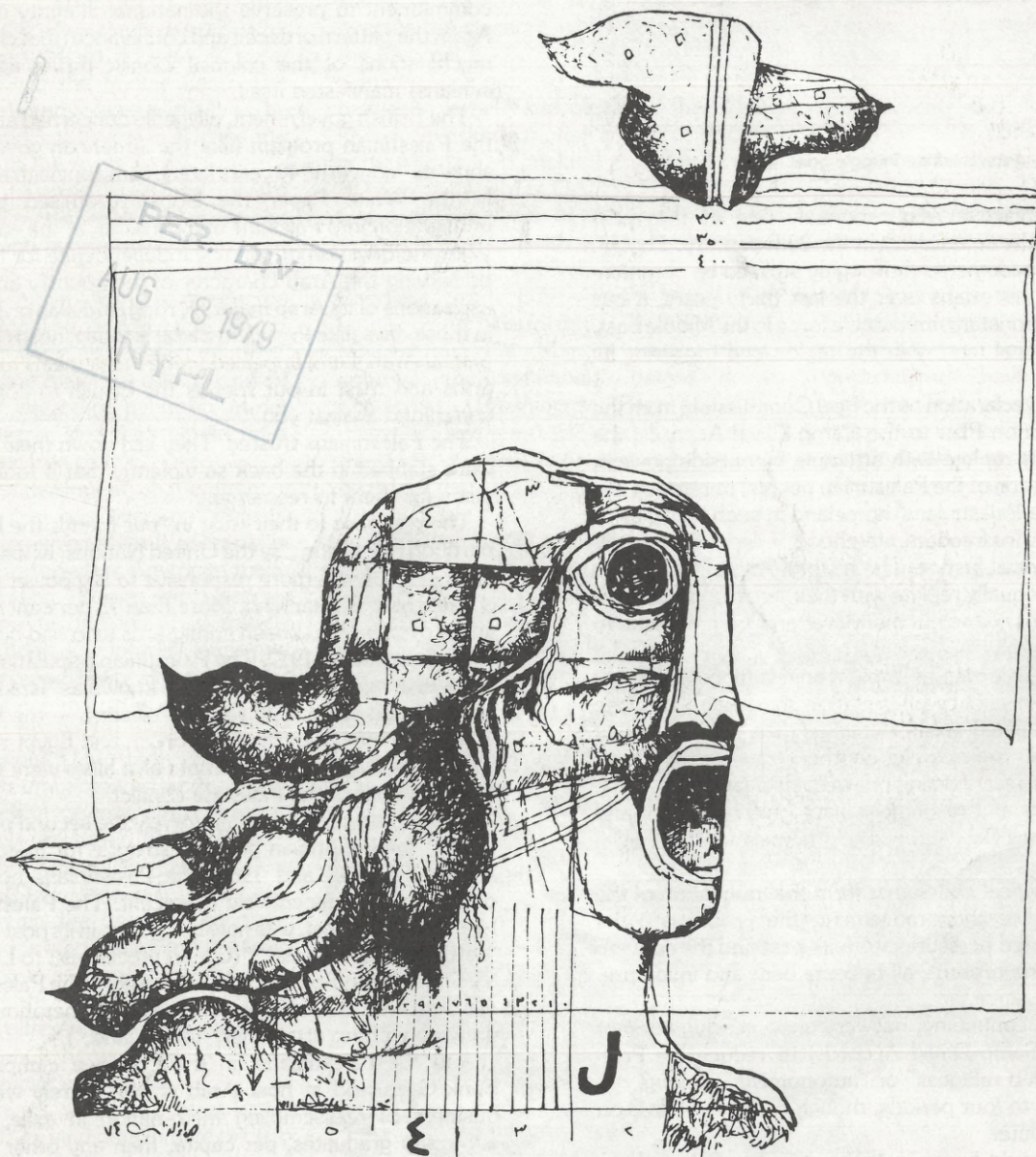


palestine perspectives

JULY 1979-

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The Scream by Dia Azzawi

Beyond The Egyptian-Israeli Treaty: Historical Imperatives In Palestine



Palestinian children: Struggle goes on.

The Palestine conflict is unquestionably one of the most enduring legacies of the colonial era in the 20th century. Though perception of it has become so thoroughly stylized by commentators and Western historians over the last thirty years, it has remained as the one constant, immutable force in the Middle East, determining the political temper in the region and triggering its historical change.

From the Balfour Declaration to the Peel Commission, from the United Nations Partition Plan to the Camp David Accords, the history of Palestine is replete with attempts by outside powers, operating over the heads of the Palestinian people, to regroup the political reality of the Palestinians' homeland in such a way as to deny them their rights for freedom, statehood, independence, self-determination and social justice. The history of the Palestinians themselves is just as equally replete with their tenacious response to these machinations: Continued survival and commitment to struggle.

The Camp David Accords, the latest manifestation of this now well known pattern of outside intervention that began with the Balfour Declaration aimed at shortchanging the Palestinians of their national rights, are merely another travesty. By their adoption of a mutilated set of definitions of Palestinian rights, these Accords, declarations and resolutions have given currency and even credence to terms like "autonomy", "homeland," "self-rule" and the rest of it.

The expressive political codes that form the foundation of the Palestinian national liberation movement, the problems of its origins, the accumulated pressures from its past and the conventions of its logic in the present, all become bent and incomprehensible as a consequence.

The history of this continuing, but very unsuccessful, attempt (culminating in the Camp David Accords) to reduce the Palestinians either to "Arab refugees" or "autonomists", is long.

It can be divided into four periods, though the lines of division are in no sense absolute.

The first period would begin in 1917 when the Palestinians, forming 92 per cent of the population of Palestine, were confronted by the colonial onslaught of the Balfour Declaration.

The British government, which had issued the Declaration without canvassing the wishes of the Palestinians, "viewed with favor" the establishment in Palestine, a country that had never had a Jewish majority in 2000 years, "a national home" for the Jews. The Palestinians were dismissed in the Declaration as "the non-Jewish inhabitants".

The Balfour Declaration set the tone for the other, future declarations and resolutions whose adoption and implementation were taken in the absence of Palestinian leaders and in total disregard for the Palestinians' aspirations for independence.

Predictably, the Palestinians revolted.

Their mass uprising in 1936-1939 was testimony to their commitment to preserve the national integrity of their country. Again the pattern of deceit and connivance (that characterized the machinations of the colonial Zionist thrust against the Palestinians) manifested itself.

The British government, allegedly concerned about "resolving" the Palestinian problem (like the American government was to show its "concern" 40 years later), came out with the White Paper. In the White Paper the British promised to limit Jewish immigration into Palestine and consider, at the end of the Second War, the question of genuine independence for the Palestinians, preserving the Arab character of the country and reflecting the aspirations of its Arab majority. King Abdullah of Jordan, who was in those days, like President Sadat is today, head of a geopolitically pivotal Arab state, appealed to the Palestinians to "lay down your arms and trust in our friends the British to correct the wrong committed against you."

The Palestinians trusted. They laid down their arms. And they were stabbed in the back so violently that it took another thirty years for them to reemerge.

The response to their trust in "our friends the British" was the partition of Palestine by the United Nations, whose voting pattern in those days was more responsive to Big power pressure than a consensus of humankind. More than 75 per cent of Palestine was taken over by the Jewish immigrants who had been arriving into the country since 1917. The Palestinian population who had lived in the area which later came to be known as "Israel", was expelled from its homeland. The rest of Palestine — the West Bank and Gaza — were taken over by Jordan and Egypt respectively.

This, as Zionism and its imperialist allies were to see it, was to mark the end of the Palestine conflict.

In fact it brought to an end merely the second phase in the long saga of the Palestinian people's struggle for freedom.

Between 1948 and 1967, the Palestinians appeared, to the outside world, deceptively quiescent. The Palestine conflict, to Israel and the West, was now being seen in its post-1948 context of "settling Arab refugees." (On an official visit to Lebanon around that time, John Foster Dulles declared: "The Palestinian problem will be solved only in time, when a new generation of Palestinians grew up with no attachment to the land.")

And the Palestinians, in their refugee camps, in the West Bank/Gaza and in host Arab states, merely went about their business of reassembling their nation in exile, training more university graduates, per capita, than any other country in the Mideast (including Israel), and preserving the politico-cultural ethos of Palestine in the consciousness of a new generation.

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Zimbabwe and Palestine: Contradictions in U.S. Policy

"It means alot to our country to do what is right, what is decent, what is fair." This is what President Carter said on June 7, 1979 in defending his policy against the lifting of trade sanctions against the racist government of Ian Smith. This policy, naturally, should be applauded regardless of the motives behind it. It is also hoped that this pressure and others will bring down the government of Bishop Muzorewa in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and bring in the representatives of the Patriotic front, the true representatives of the Zimbabwe people. The question to be asked, however, is why doesn't Carter apply the same standards to the Palestinian issue? Why doesn't he also want to do what is right, decent and fair in the Middle East? The answer is to be found at least partially in the Arab capitals and in the palaces of kings and heads of state in the Arab world.

U.S. policy towards Israel and toward Zimbabwe-Rhodesia shows great inconsistency and hypocrisy.

The elections which brought the Abel Muzorewa government were not conducted under international supervision and did not deal with the guerrilla war against minority, and for a genuine majority, rule. President Carter himself, defending his policy of not lifting the embargo, said that the elections were not "either free or fair."

Since the establishment of the state of Israel, U.S. policy has been not only to support it but to strengthen it militarily in providing it with top class American made weapons including, some very serious proof, a nuclear technology, economically through tax credits, low interest loans and grants, and of course, politically at the U.N., all of its agencies, and other regional and international organizations. Towards Rhodesia, however, U.S. Policy has been to strangle it with embargos on arms, trade, and aid. American citizens who served in the Israeli army are hailed as heroes while those helping the Rhodesian whites are less than heroes and even criminals. Israel and the U.S. maintain the best of diplomatic relations while the Rhodesians are not even permitted to have a consulate in the U.S. The friends of both countries in the U.S. are also perceived differently: those of Israel are honored national heroes; and those of Rhodesia are racist and bigots.

The Palestinians, who are fighting Israeli occupation of their land, a legitimate thing to do, are called terrorists while members of the Patriotic Front who are rightly struggling against racism, apartheid, and minority rule are called either freedom fighters, which

they are, or guerrilla fighters. Furthermore, while the U.S. refuses to recognize, negotiate with, or even allow in the country members of the PLO, it calls for members of the Patriotic Front to take part in the settlement. It is true as well that the activists of the Patriotic Front and their leaders, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, are not wasting so much time and effort on how to deal with the U.S. officials or how to get an entry visa into the U.S. Finally, while the U.S. is willing to pay for and participate in a force to observe "peace" between Egypt and Israel, or Israel and any other Arab state, it refused to send observers to oversee the elections which brought about the Muzorewa.

In concluding the so called, peace treaty, between Israel and Egypt, the U.S. knowingly risked a friction with all of its allies in the Middle East, including the Saudis and all other members of OAPEC. The alternative would have been to pressure Israel and to risk a friction with it which the U.S. cannot afford, of course. Regarding Rhodesia, the U.S. insists that the neighboring countries, Zambia and Mozambique, a Marxist state, must approve the settlement before it is concluded. (*Washington Post* 4/15/79).

Strange as it may look, this is the policy of the U.S. toward two similar problems. Naturally there is a logical reason behind the

U.S. policy in each of the two cases. The U.S. government, like any other has interests which it should be guarding. These interests, it should be noted, do not necessarily reflect on the country as a whole, but sometimes benefit a certain class or faction within the country itself. In the case of Palestine and the Middle East, the U.S. interests are as secure and safe as they could be. No Arab government which has the ability to threaten these interests is willing to do so, or will even dare to risk a serious friction with the U.S. The reason as perceived by these Arab governments is that their survival depends much on the U.S. support for them.

The truth of the matter, however, is that the relations between the Arab governments and the U.S. is a two way street, as has been mentioned by many U.S. government officials and members of the legislative branch. The leverage which the Arab governments can use with the U.S. in their favor of their interests, is, at least, equivalent to that which the U.S. can use with them, if not greater. The U.S., however, knows very well the level of commitment some of these Arab governments have to the Palestinian problem. The Palestinian problem is not, as it appears to the U.S., among the issues to which these governments will risk even a

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Israeli bombing in South Lebanon.

Christian Conference Meets on Palestine

About 200 people met in La Grange, Illinois on May 18-20 to examine the responsibility of Christians toward Palestinian human rights and the Palestinian conflict. The first-of-a-kind conference, sponsored by the Middle East Task Force of the Chicago Presbytery and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, drew together clergy, laity and representatives from peace groups to hear a series of noted speakers, such as Reverend Ralph Abernathy, the respected civil rights leader, Alexandra U. Johnson, author of the State Department cables on Israeli torture of Palestinian detainees in the West Bank, and Sami Esmail, an American student who spoke movingly of his experience in Israeli jails.

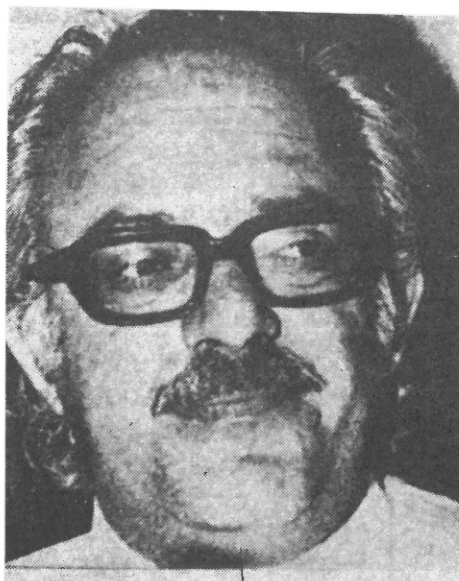
Particularly pertinent was the appearance of Dr. Hanna Nassir, the exiled President of Bir Zeit University on the West Bank. Dr. Nassir described the closure of Bir Zeit by the Israeli authorities and accused Israel of "systematically obstructing and interfering with Bir Zeit University and of harassing and intimidating its administration, faculty and students." Dr. Nassir noted that the Israeli authorities were intent on undermining Bir Zeit precisely "because the spirit of intellectual freedom the University fosters presents Israel with its strongest foe: the truth."

The conference issued the "La Grange Declaration" endorsed by Reverend Abernathy, Dr. Dewey Beegle of the Wesley Theological Seminary and Reverend Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, among others. The Declaration affirmed that "in the process of establishing the State of Israel, a deep injustice was done to the Palestinian people, confiscating their land and driving many into exile and even death. We are further grieved by the ongoing deprivation of basic civil rights to those Arabs who live today in the State of Israel."

The Declaration noted that the suffering of those under "foreign military occupation" in the "West Bank of the Jordan River, Gaza and East Jerusalem," stating: "Land is seized from its inhabitants. Water for farming is rationed and restricted. Schools and universities are closed by the Israeli military authorities. And 100,000 people have been arrested in large part for speaking their convictions. Of these, some have been subject to brutal torture, described by the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem as 'systematic' and documented beyond any question."

Anti-Arab prejudice and prejudice towards Jewish people were also condemned, as the Declaration affirmed our "common humanity with all."

Hebron Mayor Forbidden To Visit U.S.



Fahd Kawasmeh

On June 13, the Israeli Military Government denied an exit visa to Fahd Kawasmeh, mayor of the West Bank town of Hebron (al-Khalil). Kawasmeh had been invited to be the keynote speaker at a convention of U.S.-O.M.E.N. (Organizing for Middle East Needs), a charitable organization that aids orphanages, clinics and other institutions in the Middle East.

Kawasmeh, who was elected mayor in 1976, has been an articulate spokesman for Palestinians in the West Bank, and has been interviewed by the Western press frequently on the Palestinian response to the Camp David process. Recently, Hebron has been the focus of international attention, when settlers from the nearby Israeli settlement of Kiryat Arba have invaded Arab homes in Hebron and terrorized Hebron residents. It can be speculated that the Israeli Military Government was not anxious for Kawasmeh to have access to the American public and press at a time when such vigilante actions, and the policy of Jewish settlement in the West Bank, have come under criticism.

The State Department and the Israeli Embassy in Washington have received a number of complaints about this violation of Kawasmeh's rights and strictures on his freedom of movement, which is guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign (1322 18th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036) is organizing a campaign on Kawasmeh's behalf.

"AN OPEN LETTER"

I wish to thank all the numerous persons in the professions and the media who have

mobilized and aided in my defense, and in particular the Ad Hoc Defense Committee at the School of Peace Studies and Interdisciplinary Human Studies at the University of Bradford as well as the Ad Hoc Defense Committee that actively aided and mobilized for my defense in the United States.

I would like to emphasize that I was one of the most privileged political prisoners in Israel today. Being of Jewish origin and a citizen of the state of Israel, I was protected by the official racism of the Jewish State and its hegemonic ideology: Zionism. Being a British citizen and a subject of the British queen, in addition to being an Israeli citizen, I was also protected by the concern of the British lobbying of public opinion and legal system.

Being a full-time member of the staff of the University of Bradford where I am a senior research fellow at the School of Peace Studies, I was further protected by the concern of my university and the British academia. My case has been made public as few cases of political prisoners in Israel have been, and yet despite the extensive publicity and its embarrassment factor for the Israeli authorities, it was possible to detain me in complete isolation in a cell of two meters by two meters with a fairly strong light of 100 to 120 watts inside my cell for 24 hours daily without interruption throughout the fortnight of my detention without any access to reading material of any kind and with the denial of my customary right as a detainee for one-half hour or one hour daily walk in the prison courtyard.

I would like to take the occasion of my detention to draw public concern and attention to all those hundreds and thousands of political prisoners in Israeli jails today — over three thousand (3,000) in all — who have been less privileged and do not enjoy even a fraction of the concern and the protection which had been mine; who are detained under appalling conditions by far worse than mine; abused, beaten and tortured verbally and physically as illustrated and documented by, for instance, the *London Sunday Times* Insight Team Report, "Israel and Torture" of June 1977.

Israel is the political and legal creation of the United Nations organization through its partition plan for Palestine resolution of November 1947. I wish to take the occasion of my imprisonment and its relative publicity and call for the formation of a U.N. commission of inquiry into Israeli jails. I call for its nomination by the U.N. General Assembly as soon as possible. U.N. intervention into Israeli jails is now more urgent than many other current U.N. concerns, and the U.N. has the facilities to force its intervention when it deems that necessary.

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Palestinians, Supporters demonstrate in New York

For fifteen years, New York City has been the site of an annual "Salute to Israel" parade. Marching bands, civic leaders, elaborate floats and representatives and supporters of Zionist organizations throughout the country gather in a massive public show of support for Israel and its policies. For the past four years, this festive display has been countered by demonstrations that affirm that the reality beneath the Zionist celebration is grim: the continued denial of Palestinian rights and continued occupation of Palestinian land.

This year, on June 3, a very rainy Sunday, about 400 demonstrators gathered to protest the Parade. Their concerns centered on the dangers of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Already, in the two months after the treaty, new aggressive Israeli policies had placed West Bank towns and universities under siege and sent Israeli planes time after time to bomb South Lebanon. Protestors united on three themes: "No to the Carter's Mideast Treaty! No to his false words of peace and dangerous steps towards war! and Yes to Palestinian national rights!"

Members of the New York Palestine Solidarity Committee had leafletted New York neighborhoods with these slogans in the weeks preceding the demonstration, linking demands for no U.S. aid to Israel and no U.S. weapons in the Middle East, to demands for jobs, hospitals, schools and housing for American communities, demands that are clearly pressing in decaying New York neighborhoods. Participants in the campaign reported that reception was surprisingly good, with many people reading the material carefully.

With the staging areas for the Salute to Israel parade only blocks away, the spirit of the protestors rose as a young Palestinian climbed 25 feet up a nearby lamppost with a Palestinian flag clutched in his hand. As police gathered below, threatening arrest if he attached the flag, the 15 year old protestor firmly tied the flag to the top of the pole and descended to face charges of defacing city property and disorderly conduct.

Speaking shortly after the incident, Sheila Ryan, chairperson of the New York Palestine Solidarity Committee said: "The police raised an interesting question in the arrest. How many people here feel the flag is defacing our city?" As the crowd responded "no" she pointed to the Exxon sign on a



"No U.S. Weapons in Begin's Bloody Hands"



"Autonomy Is Slavery, Statehood Is Freedom"

nearby building and inquired: "How many people feel this sign defaces the appearance of our city?"

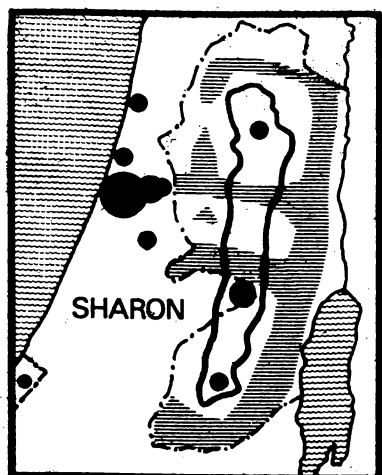
Ryan's remarks, and the route of the march, emphasized the links between the policies of large U.S. multinationals like Exxon, U.S. intervention in the Middle East and the oppression suffered by Palestinians and other Third World peoples. After a brief address by Hassan Abdul Rahman, Deputy Observer for the PLO to the United Nations, the marchers proceeded to the

Nicaraguan Mission to the U.N., where they protested Israeli arms shipments to the Somoza dictatorship and to South African Airways, where they chanted: "Palestine, Southern Africa, one struggle, many fronts!"

Rallying at the headquarters of the World Zionist Organization on Park Avenue, the marchers responded enthusiastically as a Jewish member of the Palestine Solidarity Committee detailed how Zionism had

(Continued on page 9)

Protest Mounts Over Israeli Settlements; Begin Pledges "Many More Eilon Morehs"



The "Sharon Plan," which envisages three north-south axes of Jewish settlements and military preserves in the West Bank, criss-crossed by east-west roads linking the settlements directly to Israel.

At the opening of the Herut convention (the major political party in the Likud coalition that propelled Menahem Begin into power), Prime Minister Begin declared: "Ever since the term 'law' was introduced into human culture there has never been a more legitimate act than Jewish settlement in all parts of Eretz Israel." Four days later, in what was described as a "lightening fast operation," the right-wing Gush Emunim and the World Zionist Organization, using military support, army helicopters, earth-movers and bulldozers, established Elon Moreh, the first new civilian settlement on the West Bank since the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, on a hill overlooking Nablus, — and on 800 dunams of privately-owned Arab land.

After a suit filed by seventeen Arab landowners, the Israeli High Court ruled on June 20 that construction on the settlement must be halted for one month while the Israeli government presents its case why the settlement should not be dismantled. The government, the Court ruled, had failed to notify some of the landowners that the property was to be "requisitioned." The establishment of the settlement has caused splits in Israeli public opinion, with General Matty Peled and former chief of staff Chaim Bar-Lev, a famous war hero, testifying that Elon Moreh does not fulfill an essential security role.

Nonetheless, 22 dwellings and 27 families from the Gush Emunim remain in the

settlement, and Elon Moreh joins a long list of *faits accomplis* by advocates of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. On its heels came the establishment of Karnei Shormon, ten miles west of Nablus, on June 17. The "legitimate act" of Jewish settlement, in Begin's words, proceeds, in fact, by flaunting international law, and by circumventing the few legal restraints in Israeli law.

The first Israeli official to be airlifted in Elon Moreh, was Agricultural Minister Ariel Sharon, nicknamed the "Godfather of settlement," who led a stormy Cabinet fight to approve the new settlement. He told the assembled settlers, members of the extreme Gush Emunim group, that the timing of the construction (on the eve of the autonomy negotiations, as well as coinciding with the Herut convention), was important because it "goes in the face of opposition raised by critics of Israeli settlement policy."

Sharon has become a law unto himself in the two years of the Likud Government, which, he boasted at the Herut convention, has established "52 settlements beyond the 1948 Israeli border greenline in two years." Sharon was the mastermind behind the strategy of "thickening and moving" existing settlements to circumvent the freeze of settlements during the Camp David negotiations. He has consistently used his office and governmental sources to aid the Gush and has just as consistently ridiculed and attacked critics of his settlement policies. During the recent Knesset debate on Elon Moreh, Sharon declared to the Knesset members: "While you're heckling me here, we lay another metre of pipeline, another kilometre of road and build another house." Sharon had previously infuriated the Knesset by racist slurs against a Knesset member and a journalist of Druze origin.

Sharon's arrogance was quickly matched by Begin who lashed out at opponents of the new settlements in a lengthy hand-written statement issued June 11. Begin scored Zbigniew Brezezinski, the *New York Times* and other U.S. critics who call the settlements "illegal" and an "obstacle to peace." He reserved a special venom for the Israeli "Peace Now" movement, saying "shame on those Jews" who think that Jews settling near Arabs on the West Bank is "provocation." By doing so, Begin declared in his favorite Biblical rhetoric, they "adopt the evil path of the enemies of our people."

Begin has rallied American Jewish leader Theodore Mann to his settlement policy, but has also received in mid-June a sharp protest from 59 prominent American Jews, including Saul Bellow and Leonard Bernstein, who found a policy "which presumes to occupy permanently a region populated by over 750,000 Palestinian Arabs . . . morally unacceptable."

On June 16, Peace Now, as reported in the *Jerusalem Post*, rallied 40,000 protestors to demand the resignation of "that arrogant hallucinating" Menahem Begin and his ministers and the dismantling of Elon Moreh. One frequent sign reiterated a common theme among Israeli dissidents: "Occupation corrupts." Political commentator Danny Rubenstein, writing in the influential Hebrew daily *Davar* of June 8, pointed out: "Palestinian solidarity has become stronger and national unity for an independent West Bank and a Palestinian state has conquered all. The Arab public in the territories is taking its revenge on us because it has become stronger through its moral demand for self-determination while we are becoming the tired victors who are weakening as a result of our demand to continue to rule over a million people from another nation."

Palestinian resistance to the occupation has become increasingly visible in recent months. One June 17, thousands of Palestinians, including the mayors of Nablus, Anabta, Qualqiliyah and Salfit, and also the heads of rural councils, religious institutions, and trade, student and women's unions, rallied at Nablus City Hall and marched to the headquarters of the Israeli military government. Calling for the dismantling of Elon Moreh, the marchers also demanded the cessation of all settlements and the establishment of a Palestinian independent state. Bassem Shaq'a, the mayor of Nablus, applauded the "supporters of peace," and the opponents of settlements from Israel. Israeli soldiers charged the rally, firing tear gas and shots and detaining several Palestinians.

Both Elon Moreh and Karnei Shormon are "urban settlements," which means they are planned to accommodate 10,000 settlers and exemplify the emerging trend in Israeli settlement policy: to encircle the major towns on the West Bank. In fact, leaders of the Gush, interviewed in the *Jerusalem Post* of June 17-23, emphasized that Elon Moreh



Peace Now Demonstrators

was "not enough" and that "Jews must be allowed to settle inside Nablus, Gaza and Hebron." On May 26, settlers from Kiryat Arba, to demonstrate this principle of a Gush stronghold and one of the headquarters of Meir Kahane's Jewish Defense League, invaded two Arab homes in Hebron and terrorized the occupants; kicking one child and tearing up the book of another. Some of the invading settlers were recent immigrants from the United States.

Sharon, in his address to the Herut conference, called the Gush "an example and banner for personal realization" and said they were "entitled to receive support and backing from the conference." This "support" also comes from the Israeli military in the West Bank. In a June 5 interview on NBC Nightly News, Mordechai Nesson, a Kiryat Arba settler, was asked about the clashes of armed settlers with villagers from Bir Zeit. He replied that he had been involved in these encounters and it was with army approval. He noted: "The senior military official showed up, as well, and he said explicitly that everything we have done, after he heard what we did, was according to the instructions we have from the Israeli authorities. He even went further and said the settlers are soldiers in the territories. That means that besides settling here as civilians, whether we like it or not, the Israeli authorities see us as part of the security apparatus of Israeli control."

"The settlers are soldiers in the territories" is perhaps one of the most accurate characterizations of these armed Israeli outposts, which have increasingly been a base of vigilante action against Palestinians and Palestinian land. Inevitably, this

violence will escalate as long as the Israeli government backs up the settlers and the settlement campaign continues. On June 15, Begin pledged that "We will yet have many Elon Morehs and there will be Jewish settlement in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, in the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights." Begin added that the "old settlements" of Tel Aviv, Petah Tiqva and Rosh Pinna (all inside the 1948 border) were also established "in the heart of Arab settlements," so that critics of Elon Moreh were attacking the basic foundation of Zionism. Begin's point is, in fact, apt: Israel was created by the seizure of Palestinian homes, shops and lands and by the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians. It remains to be seen whether the international community will stand by a second time as Israel attempts to re-enact 1948 on the West Bank.

In Lebanon the Children Still Die

Ahmed Taha's hands played with the coffee cup that sat on the table in front of him as he talked about the phone call he got earlier in the week. And as the words began coming from him, you realized that all of the large hopes for peace in the Middle East were just that: hopes.

Taha drives a cab in Boston and goes to Northeastern University. He is a 30-year-old Palestinian; a group of people who are treated by world politicians as if they were construction barrels in a roadway: if they are in the way of anything, then just move them over.

"My brother's roommate in Lebanon called me on the telephone and he said, 'How are you?' and I said, 'Who is this?' and he said 'I am your brother's roommate' and I felt there was something wrong.

"I said, 'What has happened to my brother?' He told me there was nothing happened to my brother, that he was home. He didn't know how to tell me these things so he was taking his time.

"He tells me on the phone, 'There has been an accident at your home. A rocket attack. A rocket falls outside your sister's home. The kids, they were playing; your two nephews and five cousins.

"They die, he says. I'm sorry to tell you this: they die.' He tells me my sister went crazy and my family is in terrible condition. He tells me he can not say anything about my wife and my daughter."

"Where was this?" Taha was asked.

"In Rashidya. In Lebanon," he answered. "It is near Tyre in the south. It is where the Israelis always attack."

"Have you heard from your brother yet?"

"Yes," Ahmed Taha said. "He called me on the telephone a few nights ago. He said the rocket landed in the middle of them. He said he had to go into the garden and look for the hands and legs. He had to go around and look for the heads and the rest of the parts of the bodies."

"How long has your sister lived in the house?"

"Well, it is not really a house, you know. It is a camp. A refugee camp. It is where I lived."

"Thirty years we live there," he answered. "All our lives we live in the refugee camp."

"Is your brother looking for your wife and daughter?"

"You see there is no phone in the camp. There is very little mail. I send a letter there and it might get there in a year. It takes a long time to find them.

"Since the telephone call I am thinking about the children. I am trying to remember how beautiful they were and how I would love to play with them when I was there before I left five years ago.

"My wife and child returned to Lebanon on May 5th for a visit to see my family, and I have not heard from them since. I am praying they are well. The children you know, they are not part of politics.

"My father died three years ago during the civil war in Lebanon. My mother wrote to tell me this.

"My sister one day wrote me a letter and made me so sad. She wrote me telling me, during a bombing in the camp, she was running to hide and she had a miscarriage. She wrote to me in detail how she was waiting for a boy, telling me she was knitting little baby boy stockings and now he was killed before he was born.

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"Tell Zaatar Was The Hill Of Thyme"

The following poems are taken from *Tell Zaatar Was The Hill of Thyme*, the new collection by Palestinian writer and poet Fawaz Turki.

In the Village Where the Living and the Dead Join Hands in the Promised Land

In the beginning there was the Word
trekking the desert
blown by sand storms
and dreams innocent of guilt,
like the eyes of winter
puncturing the crust of earth.
In a gulf of emptiness,
the child addresses himself endlessly.
What is a full year
in the life of the Word?

2.

Being and becoming
in a domain
that not even the Palestinian peasant,
with all his wisdom,
sitting under the ruins of the stars
in a Jerusalem narrow street, can
understand.

In the beginning it is a night journey
looking for dumb rocks in the ocean floor,
uttering cries.

In the solitude of a promised land
only a sleeping whale
can carry me home
to contemplate
the wounds of our sea,
its waves travelling backwards
from eternity.

3.

All my children wake up
far from the walled city of their dreams
and acquire a past
in the waters under the earth,
teeth-gnashing with the fish,
My mother is naked at last,
but only the rain is my lust,
looking for designs in the sky,
a deep meaning where the spider sleeps,
touching the thigh
of a passing meteor.
Black bells ring in the village square
and we join hands
with the smiles of many dreamers
to listen
to a thousand centuries
of blue roses.

4.

When they wilt,
with forlorn bleeding eyes
squinting at the sun,
their whispers hurtle through
the lonely Palestinian night.
The energy of the universe
is within us —
and we go there.
The Word was only at the beginning.
A joyful chorus will come at the end.

Nablus Under Occupation

At two in the morning
the city bleeds
already grey
with the drugged thoughts
of those who want to defend Nablus
those who want to terrify Nablus,
those who want to occupy
and those who want to resist
in Nablus.
I lie in my bed
tangled in the hair
of her deserted streets
under curfew,
hugging her silence.
In my darkness
the trees of the world pause
before they go up in flames.
The poem waters leak
into the city
picked up by a telex system.
But the world is afraid
of Palestinian metaphor
and the sound of our
buried prickly pears.

Today and Tomorrow

The Arab world
lived in slavery, at Camp David
then it found its freedom
and lived in it, in Palestine.

When I Shake Hands with a Stranger Every Other Season

At the break of day
I still use double negatives

around my house,
unconcerned
about my walls lined with books.
I still use terms like
nation
and homeland
and inalienable rights.
By noon
I have travelled through
many nations,
folding my own
in helpless young
memories.
In alien cities
I am clothed
in thick raincoats of otherness
long before it rains.
I am not unfaithful
to my midnight stands —
I just feel alone
when everybody
(including a slavemaster or two)
sits by the fountain
in the park,
dipping their feet
in the water of their
sure ownhood.

Ruminations at a Press Agency

I killed the man
I blew up the house
I shot the child.
Oh. The land is vast
and I have become
a voiceless caricature,
placeless
in the jugglers' gallery.
I have watched men
standing around street corners
on Connecticut Avenue
and the Boulevard St Michelle.
I say to them that legends
had made a pact with my dreams.
Somewhere
in the lush fields,
sweaty lips betrayed them.
My sun is unforgiving
fanning my shadows,
like remembered questions,
across the night.
And I am crazed by sorrow.
You don't understand
that I too
came out naked
from my mother's womb.

Washington Watch

(Continued from page 3)

disagreement with the U.S. Once it becomes clear to the U.S. that the Arabs are serious enough about solving the Palestinian problem, in a way that is acceptable to the Palestinian people, all signs show, the U.S. will then be willing, for the sake of its interests, to do something about it. Among the options which the Arabs should keep open is the war option.

There remains a serious question to be answered by the Arab governments. Do they really mean it when they declare their support for the Palestinian people and proclaim their historic duty for the liberation of Palestine and Jerusalem? If the answer is yes then there are logical steps that states take under similar circumstances. Unless, and it must be said, they see more danger to their survival from a Palestinian state than from the policy of the state of Israel, the answer to this question must be left to these Arab governments. A very recent example regarding U.S. policy towards Zimbabwe-Rhodesia would be helpful.

Rhodesia, it should be remembered, was a self governing crown colony until Ian Smith declared its unilateral independence on November 11, 1965. The government of Britain then declared that the independence of Rhodesia was illegal and voided the constitution which had been adopted by the Smith government. Britain also revoked all powers of Smith's legislative assembly, which meant the British Parliament would legislate for it. The International community, through the U.N. Security Council, responded with similar actions by adopting mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia with a U.N. resolution 232 on December 16, 1966. This was later expanded to a total trade embargo on May 28, 1968 by U.N. resolution 253. The U.S. implemented this U.N. resolution by executive order 11419 of former President L. B. Johnson. The government of Rhodesia was not recognized by any nation and was considered illegal under international law. It is a fact, however, that many states dealt and continued to deal directly with Rhodesia, or indirectly through giant international corporations.

In contrast to the Arab governments' halfhearted rejection of U.S. policy in the Middle East, the African states in no uncertain terms made it clear to the U.S. that they do not accept the "settlement" of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. They also made it, no less clear, that U.S. support of this settlement could seriously and negatively effect U.S. relations with Africa. In a Washington Post article, June 21, David Ottaway wrote that "there seems to be a broad consensus bridging the usual moderate radical split in African politics that no settlement in Rhodesia can be legitimate

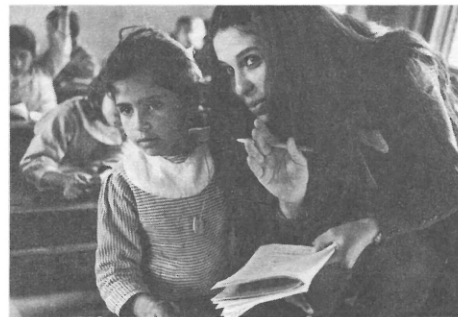
until the rebel Patriotic Front leaders are brought into it." Some traditional pro-western African governments are warning both the U.S. and British governments "to beware of what they do least they find themselves at odds with the entire continent over the Rhodesian issue."

The President of Liberia, who is not a radical by any standards, warned Representative Stephen Saloriz, of New York, chairman of the House African Affairs Subcommittee, that "the lifting of sanctions and recognition of the present Salisbury government would adversely affect whatever support the U.S. hopes to get regarding its initiative in the Middle East. The only two countries in Africa showing some support for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia are Zaire and Gabon. The Carter Administration decision not to lift the embargo thus was influenced by this unified African position. In contrast to this cross continent determination to influence U.S. policy, we have the Arab governments' fragmented, half-hearted and ambiguous position towards U.S. policy concerning the Palestinian question.

A second reason for the decision taken by the U.S. government to maintain the embargo was the U.S. partial reliance on foreign oil. The U.S. receives approximately one million barrels of crude oil from Nigeria. The Nigerian government, it was reported, sent a message to the U.S. government warning of a possible oil embargo if the U.S. decides to remove the sanctions, and to recognize the Muzorewa government. At the State Department the spokesperson admitted receiving a message from the Nigerian government, the contents of which were not released.

On June 7 in a press briefing given by Cyrus Vance at the White House, he was asked if the U.S. is afraid it "would lose Nigeria's oil if we made some other decision, and that was a major factor in doing what the President described?" The Secretary's answer was "No, it was not a major factor in the decision that was taken." It was "for reasons of deep principle as far as we are concerned. And the fact that Nigeria indicated that the decision we took might have an affect upon their decision to sell oil to us was not a major factor." The fact still remains that Nigeria did communicate such a message to the U.S. and if it were the major factor or not in U.S. decision is left to the individual reader to interpret.

The dependence on Iranian and Arab oil of the U.S. and its allies is far beyond that dependence on Nigerian oil. Europe's dependence on Arab and Iranian oil is not less than 50% and it is estimated to be half of the U.S. imports in 1985. The direct oil import from the Arab members of OAPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries) to the U.S. is greater than that



From schoolgirl to teacher

from Nigeria. That imported to U.S. allies from OAPEC is significantly greater than the Nigerian imports to the U.S. allies. The Arab governments, however, never used the "oil weapon" to further the Palestinian cause. The 1973-1974 oil embargo fell far shorter than achieving any goal, whatsoever.

Another reason which the Carter Administration took into consideration in making the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia decision was the domestic political one. It is a fact by now that without the black vote Carter (Continued on page 11)

In Solidarity (Continued from page 5)

betrayed the humane and progressive heritage of Judaism by Zionism's brutal and racist policies towards Palestinians. Several demonstrators carried signs affirming Jewish solidarity with Palestine.

Because of a past history of harassment by pro-Zionist marchers and because of current threats by the Jewish Defense League, police in riot gear surrounded the demonstration and the atmosphere was threatening. The Salute to Israel parade, by contrast, had mounted police in dress uniforms marching as part of the procession.

Numerous officials and dignitaries, in fact, participated in the Salute to Israel display, including Governor Hugh Carey of New York, Mayor Edward Koch of New York City and Representative Elizabeth Holtzman of Brooklyn. Their appearance served as a reminder that support for Zionist policies is seen as a legitimate, or even necessary, part of American political life. This legitimization of Zionism is so pervasive that Bloomingdale's, a highly fashionable New York department store, recently held an "Israel Week" with full-page ads of sleek models sporting in Haifa and Tel Aviv. Presumably, the same store would have hesitated to declare a South Africa week.

By mounting a counter-demonstration to the Zionist parade, the twenty groups that sponsored the protest are thus challenging the prevailing belief that Zionism is exempt from the questions, criticism and condemnations that other oppressive regimes must face.

Analysis (Continued from page 7)

"My sister doesn't talk politics. She was a pregnant woman sitting peacefully in the camp. We are very poor. That's why we are in the camps. That's why we suffer daily. That's why life there is like waiting for death. You see everyday, children and neighbors, wounded and killed.

"Aren't we human?" Taha wondered. "Does no one care about us just because we are Palestinians?"

"Sometimes, when I think of my childhood I feel like I am in the camps again. I still feel the cold of winter when we had no clothes like a human being and no shelter and no money for food like a human being.

"I see the people here in America; they wash their pets in warm water and soap. There is not one shower in all of the camp where I am from. Not one. We are barely surviving.

"And I see the people here in Boston and how they live and I wonder: Is it the same people? Are we the same? Do we belong to each other or are we living in a complete different world?"

"What will you do about your wife?" he was asked.

"I pray she and my daughter are alive. I feel she just can not get the courage to call me on the telephone and tell me about my family's tragedy. I feel this must be the reason I do not know where she is. I have to feel this."

"Your mother survived?"

"I am told yes," Taha said. "My mother still carries the key to our old home. She still has the deed signed by the British government saying, this is your property. My mother is very old and this is what she lives for, to return."

"How long has she kept this key?"

"Thirty years," said Ahmed Taha.

Carter, Begin and Sadat are still going about the business of trying to stop the bloodshed of centuries. But a big part of the puzzle, the Palestinians, are almost never discussed in public statements and they will not go away.

"I am for human rights of all people," Ahmed Taha said. "In Lebanon I worked in a hospital and I only look at human beings not at Jewish or Palestinian. You know, this is the International Year of the Child. Do you know that when I was a child the gift we had was to die by the bombs and the weapons made in America."

By Mike Barnicle, *Boston Globe*, May 28, 1979.

Editorial (Continued from page 2)

They were not about to forget that, by being transformed into a stateless nation robbed of its patrimony, they had been punished not only beyond the call of their guilt, but with no implication of guilt.

Then as today, the Palestinians quietly experienced the exasperation, almost bodily discomfort, at the display of ignorance by the West of the reality of their national sensibility, at the disparity between the uniqueness, the complexity and emotional logic of their commitment to Palestine, and the worn coinage of words issuing forth about the "refuge problem".

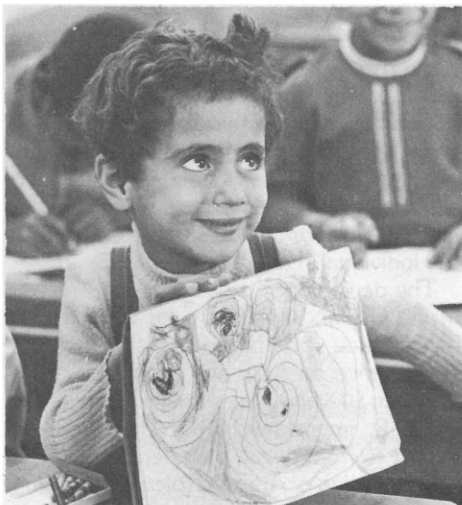
This worn coinage persisted till 1967 and insinuated itself into Security Council Resolution 242 which dismissed the Palestinians as "refugees."

As they had done in the 1930's inside Palestine, the Palestinians reemerged in the 1960's in their revolt against these machinations. And as in the White Paper, backed by one geopolitically pivotal Arab state, so it is today in the Camp David Accords, backed by another geopolitically pivotal Arab state. The Palestinians are asked to lay down their arms and trust in their friends — this time the Americans — in order that they may be stabbed in the back and surrender their rights to Zionism, a scurrilous and a fanatically racist ideology whose ultimate code is that of the bully and the hoodlum, a movement imbued with the pathology of institutionalized sadism.

After six decades of struggle, the Palestinians are not new to these imperialist machinations, nor to the terrors of settler colonialism in Palestine.

So long as the United States adopts an adversary position vis-a-vis Palestinian aspirations for statehood, American interests will remain threatened in the Middle East. And so long as Israelis continue to seek "security" through the denial of the humanity of the Palestinian people, they shall have the security of a perpetual nightmare.

Camp David Accords or no Camp David Accords, the Palestinians will continue their struggle for independence just as other oppressed peoples before them had done — till victory.



Creative expression

URGENT APPEAL FROM WEST BANK ORGANIZATIONS

The following petition, which was delivered to the Military Governor in early June, reflects the deep concern of Palestinians on the West Bank at the recent Israeli attacks on Palestinian educational institutions. Bir Zeit University, the Teacher's Training School and secondary schools in Ramallah and Bethlehem remain closed. Students and teachers at Bir Zeit have been forced to meet secretly to continue their education and not to lose a year's schoolwork. Telephone wires are still not operative in the town of Bir Zeit, and its inhabitants remain under curfew.

TO: The Military Governor of the
West Bank
c/o Military Governor,
Ramallah District

The charitable associations of the Ramallah district are deeply concerned about the recent suppression of academic and intellectual freedom at our universities, academic institutions and schools. We call attention to the numerous international declarations on human rights which affirm these rights.

We request that you reopen Bir Zeit University, the Teacher's Training School and the Ramallah Secondary School, in order that our students can continue their education and attain the high standard of learning that is vital to their future.

ARAB WOMEN'S WORKING
CENTER, Ramallah, Jerusalem
AN NAHDA WOMEN'S ASSOCIA-
TION, Ramallah
SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION
OF FAMILIES, Ramallah
ST. ANDREW'S EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, Ramallah
EVANGELICAL HOME FOR BOYS
Ramallah
INFANT WELFARE SOCIETY
Ramallah
JORDAN RED CRESCENT
SOCIETY, Bireh
BIR ZEIT WOMEN'S ASSOCIA-
TION, Bir Zeit
JORDAN RED CRESCENT
SOCIETY, Ramallah
KALENDIA CAMP WOMEN'S
ASSOCIATION, Kalendia Camp
ARAB WOMEN'S UNION, Bireh
KALENDIA CRAFT SOCIETY
Kalendia Camp

In Memoriam: Adel Wasfi

The Palestinian Revolution lost one more dedicated Arab writer. Adel Abdul Magid Wasfi, 36 years old, was assassinated on June 21, 1979 right in front of his house. Born in Bagdad, Iraq, he joined the Palestinian revolution in 1969 as an editor and writer in *Falastin Al-Thawra* newspaper. He defended the Palestinian people with his pen and also joined the fighters in Jordan and Lebanon in defense of the Palestinian revolution. In 1978 he married a Palestinian woman, Itaf, and they had two children, Lama, now one year old

and Sana, two months old. He was studying for his Ph.D. at the Sorbonne University when he was assassinated. Thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese marched in his funeral, denouncing the reactionaries who killed him and pledging to continue the struggle for Palestine. His colleagues at the newspaper joined the funeral and carried his coffin with tears in their eyes. Adel Wasfi from Baghdad, Iraq, died for Palestine. He had told his wife: "If they kill me do not mourn and do not wear black."



Adel Wasfi and his wife Itaf

News Briefs (Continued from page 4)

I am confident that this call is consistent with the position of my colleagues in "Key Miftah Publishers" and in the two human rights organizations of which I am a member: The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and The Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners in Israeli Jails.

In struggle for dignity and justice, until victory.

Professor Uri Davis

Ramallah Federation Holds Annual Convention

Expressing full support for the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian revolution, the Ramallah Palestine Federation held its 21st annual convention in San Jose, California on July 5-8, 1979. President George Khoury called on the Ramallah community in the U.S. to increase its work for the Palestinian cause, and incoming President Ziadeh Shamieh urged the community to unify their efforts and express firm support for the Palestinian revolution.

The convention was attended by a number of dignitaries, including Um Jihad, head of the Palestinian Martyr's Welfare institution who delivered the greetings of Yasser Arafat to the convention. Also attending were Congressman Paul Findley, Ambassador Ahmad Madfai of Libya, and others. Findley called on the U.S. government to recognize the P.L.O. and to support Palestinian rights for self determination and independence.

The convention was one of the most successful of Palestinian events, attended by more than two thousand Palestinians. The flag of Palestine was officially flown in the city of San Jose, and the media gave full coverage to the convention describing it as a successful Palestinian gathering.

The Ramallah Federation had earlier sent a delegation, including its President, George Khoury, to meet with P.L.O. leaders, including Chairman Arafat. They visited refugee camps and P.L.O. bases in south Lebanon and expressed full support for the P.L.O. and its just struggle. Khoury said that the visit will "strengthen ties between the P.L.O. and the Palestinian people in the U.S." and pledged to continue work in the U.S. to inform the American public about the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

A.A.U.G. Delegation, Seminar in Beirut

A fact-finding American delegation of civil, religious and media leaders completed a tour of P.L.O. institutions in Beirut, Lebanon and July, 1979. Headed by black activist and writer Jack O'dell, the delegation visited P.L.O. hospitals, schools, refugee camps and factories, meeting with P.L.O. leaders, including Chairman Yasser Arafat. The delegation expressed opposition to Israeli bombing of refugee camps and villages in South Lebanon with American-made weapons, and stressed their support for the Palestinian people and their just struggle for freedom. At the same time, a number of A.A.U.G. scholars participated in a seminar on U.S. foreign policy in Beirut. They presented studies on how policies are influenced and decided on in the U.S. Chairman Arafat attended the final session of the seminar and stressed that the P.L.O. will continue its struggle against U.S. Imperialism and Zionism until the Palestinian people regain their full rights. At a press conference in Beirut, Dr. Samieh Farsoun, President of the A.A.U.G., stressed that the Association supports the P.L.O. and will continue its work in the U.S. to inform the American people about the

nature of the struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom and statehood.



A.A.U.G. Seminar

Washington Watch (Continued from page 9)

would not have been elected to the Presidency. The blacks in the U.S. were estimated to have supported Carter overwhelmingly, up to 90%. Aware of his shaky position now, Carter would not do anything to alienate the black vote. A U.S. decision to lift trade sanctions of the Muzorewa regime would have caused just that because of the black American dislike for Smith and Muzorewa as well.

The statement then that the President's decision was made based on "deep principles is only pure cosmetics. So is the support granted to Israel by this and previous American Administrations. Interests are the factor upon which states make their decisions and formulate policy. In the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia case the African continent, Nigeria and domestic considerations made a decision favoring the removal of sanctions very unwise, for that would have caused a response in opposition with U.S. interests. In the Palestinian case, the role the American government played since the partition of Palestine in 1947 could not have been more antagonistic, intimidating, and out-rightly in disregard of (Continued on page 12)

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Washington Watch

(Continued from page 11)

Palestinian and Arab rights and interests. This is taking place at the same time American interests in the Arab countries are continually on the rise.

During a recent visit to the U.S. by Menachem Begin, he addressed a group of Jewish leaders in New York City and he was quoted to have said that, while on a visit to the White House, he recognized how powerful and influential they are. Begin went on to say to the Jewish leaders "Don't ever hesitate to use this power and influence in favor of Israel." Is it not logical that the

Arabs should as well use their power and influence over the government of the U.S. in pursuit of the Arab peoples' interest? Not too long ago it was very much in the interest of the U.S. government to support such regimes like South Vietnam, Taiwan, Iran in the days of the Shah, and very recently, Nicaragua. When the peoples of these countries spoke up and when it was not any more in the interest of the U.S. to back these regimes, their government lost favor with the U.S., their leaders were left hanging in the air. Some Arab governments ought to keep that in mind while they still can.

Selective Literature and Resources

- Palestine Information Office, *The PLO: A Brief Survey* \$1.00
Documents and Statements, 1979 . \$1.00
 National Lawyers Guild 1977 Middle East Delegation, *Treatment of Palestinians in Israeli-Occupied West Bank and Gaza* \$4.50
 Peoples Press Book Project, *Our Roots Are Still Alive* \$4.50
 Abdul Wahab Al-Messeri (editor) *A Lover from Palestine and Other Poems* \$3.00
 Fawaz Turki, *Tell Zaatar Was the Hill of Thyme* (poems) \$4.00
 Fawaz Turki, *The Disinherited: Journal of a Palestinian Exile* \$4.00
 Richard Stevens and A. El-Messeri, *Israel and South Africa* (new edition) . \$4.00
 In Solidarity with the Palestinian People (folder of pamphlets and posters) \$1.00
 Hatem Hussaini (ed) *Towards Peace in Palestine* \$1.00
 Hatem Hussaini and Fathalla El-Boghdady (ed) *The Palestinians* \$1.00
 A. El-Messeri, *The Land of Promise: A Critique of Political Zionism* .. \$4.00
 O. Kelly Ingram (ed) *Jerusalem: Key to Peace in the Middle East* \$4.00
 P.L.O. Political Department, *The Palestinian Resistance: A National Liberation Movement* \$1.00
 P.L.O. Political Department, *The Struggle for the Land of Palestine* \$1.00
 P.L.O. Political Department, *From Ghetto to Yishuv* \$1.00
 P.L.O. Political Department, *Stars in the Sky of Palestine* \$1.00
 Free Palestine, *Tal al Zaatar — The Fight Against Fascism* \$4.00

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