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The Intifadah: Palestinian State or "Population Transfer?"

By Riyad Khoury

The Palestinian uprising against the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza continues with no end in sight. The uprising is now being institutionalized in order to continue the struggle until the achievement of its goals. Those goals would mean freedom from colonial occupation and independence in the form of establishing a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. This unprecedented revolt encompasses practically all of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, regardless of their social and economic status. Such widespread support and participation clearly indicates the breadth of Palestinian opposition to the occupation. It also indicates a qualitative shift in the Palestinian struggle: Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza now have a more significant role in the quest for a Palestinian state. It has also come as a reminder to many undemocratic Arab governments, who would like to see the struggle of the Palestinians fade away, that there is no escaping the Palestinian issue.

The intifadah, after more than half a

year, has proven to be very successful in advancing the rights of the Palestinian people to a higher level of support both in the Arab region and throughout the world. Israel's military, which was accustomed to easily defeating Arab armies, has been humiliated and defeated in the face of young Palestinians in the streets, alleys, and country roads of the West Bank and Gaza.

The extent of Palestinian opposition can be seen in the current stage of wide-scale organizing and the setting up of Palestinian national institutions and economic self-help projects in place of those which belong to the occupation. There are now Palestinian schools, Palestinian factories, and even Palestinian police who are

completely independent of Israeli control. All strata of the population are organized into popular committees to

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Children lead national march in New York to protest Israeli occupation, June 4, 1988.

Photo: Pantelis

Interview With Jack O'Dell

Palestinian Rights, Jesse Jackson and the Progressive Agenda

Jack O'Dell is Director of International Relations for the Rainbow Coalition. A longtime civil rights and peace activist, O'Dell was interviewed for Palestine Focus by Hilton Obenzinger at the end of May at the Beyond Containment Conference held in Washington, D.C.

PF: What is the significance of Jesse Jackson's campaign, in particular around the issue of the Palestinians?

O'Dell: It's one of the things that's made this election season significant. The uprising of the Palestinian people has forced the issue of the Middle East and the peaceful solution and a fundamental change in U.S. policy in the region. The uprising has forced it into the limelight, probably never to recede again.

I think people have been educated by this great example of noble sacrifice, and it has appealed to the human spirit in its struggle for freedom. The Palestinian people have become a people in the eyes of millions who otherwise regard them as labels, like terrorism.

The humanity of the Palestinian people has been affirmed, when one sees their youth throwing rocks at tanks. Knowl-

edge of the military occupation has spread, its inhumanity and barbarism is increasingly clear, and the bottom line is that we American taxpayers find that we have some soul-searching to do.

The Palestinian people have contributed substantially to making 1988 a year of great political significance for the people of the United States.

I think what we're witnessing, as far as people in the United States are concerned, is a maturing of the United States' electorate, in the fact that Jesse Jackson has close to 7 million votes, more than 1,000 delegates, for a peace and justice agenda. This election, therefore, has been a referendum on a new direction for our country, and this referendum takes place upon a background of the last four years of work, and so the results we're looking at are not just the result of what was put together in this campaign, but the continuity from '84, the building of the Rainbow, the consolidation of the infrastructure for a permanent organization. Jesse Jackson never stopped campaigning. He went to plant gates, saw workers locked out. He went to the farm auctions and tried to be helpful to the farmers that were losing their land. People do not forget. They always felt, and always

gave him credit for being sincere and concerned, and this time, that got translated, in some measure, to voter confidence in his leadership. So, 1988 is not over, and it is already a banner year in the history of the progressive movement.

PF: What was the significance of the attacks that were levelled against Jackson in the New York primary?

O'Dell: I think it represented the character of the Koch administration: demagoguery. It was an attempt to rescue the failed candidacy of Gore, to keep it alive for another period. Gore emerged in this campaign as the representative of the conservative forces. Not to

digress, but if you look at the outcome of the Super Tuesday elections in the south and elsewhere, Jesse Jackson carried six states, and Dukakis carried two. So it means most of the southern states rejected a "southern candidate for conservatism." Gore carried fewer states than the combination of Jesse and Dukakis, and that meant that even in the south, therefore, a liberal progressive orientation, at least among democrats, is becoming increasingly evident. So I think, a part of the New York thing was an attempt to keep the Gore candidacy alive, and it failed.

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Government Attacks Palestinians and Puerto Ricans

By Leonard Weinglass

Leonard Weinglass is one of the best-known civil rights attorneys in the United States. When Weinglass represented Palestinians facing deportations in Los Angeles his reputation for the defense so impressed INS counsel William Joyce that he told the press, "Clearly when we brought these charges against them, we didn't know we would have the Weinglasses of the world on the other side." He made this speech at the second national convention of the Palestine Solidarity Committee in New York in November 1987.

While the United States is busily exporting war and repression to the Middle East, our guests and visitors from the Middle East are reminding us of our own constitutional history and the need for the American people to stand by it and to stand up against its own government in insisting that constitutional rights here at home be implemented and that issues that are vital to a national debate not be closed.

In 1985—some time after the arrest of the 16 Puerto Rican nationalists in Hartford, Connecticut who were arrested in Puerto Rico—I was asked to join the team in defense of the case in Hartford. The pretrial proceedings began in that case on January 13, 1987, and there were sixteen defendants and sixteen lawyers. We were in the midst of the beginning of those proceedings—which are still ongoing, by the way, in their tenth month now, being one of the longest in the history of the federal system—when word reached us in Hartford of the arrest of

the seven Palestinians and one Kenyan in Los Angeles.

I was asked to participate in the defense of that case. The Puerto Rican defendants met in Hartford and, to a person, they asked me to temporarily leave their case, where my client faces 165 years, and to join the team in Los Angeles. That linkage of the two cases is undeniable. I became privileged to become part of both.

In both situations you had the United States government using all the legal weaponry available to it, some of which had never been used before, in an effort to repress the Puerto Rican claim to self-determination and independence on the East Coast and the Palestinian claim to self-determination and independence on the West Coast.

It is remarkable in each instance that in 1987 the United States government is using techniques and tactics which have never before been used in this, the 200th anniversary of the Constitution. In Hartford, Connecticut, I'm defending Juan Segarra, who as of tonight is the longest-held pretrial detainee in the history of the United States. He has been in uninterrupted custody now for approximately 28 months. He is a rather remarkable candidate for a pretrial detention of that duration. He is not charged with a crime of violence. He is charged essentially with receipt and transportation of monies the government claims were stolen in Hartford. He has never before been arrested. He is a family man and has two children with no record. And still he qualifies, of all the people who go through the federal criminal justice system, as being the longest one to be held in detention.

The Puerto Rican defendants in Hartford are the largest number of defendants tried further from home for a longer period of time than any previous defendants in the history

of the federal system. Under the federal rules, every defendant has the right to be tried in his or her home district. The government must start the case where the alleged crime occurred, but then the rules give to every defendant the right to remove the case to his or her home. So when the government proceeded in Hartford, Connecticut, against 15 Puerto Ricans who all of their lives had resided in Puerto Rico and were about to be tried 1,500 miles from home, they invoked the rule. And for the first time in history, the rule has been disregarded and they remain on trial 1,500 miles from their home in what is becoming the longest-running federal trial in history.

So with that behind me, as I went out to Los Angeles in the defense of the Palestinians, I found again the government utilizing tactics and techniques that had never before been used in deportation proceedings. They started out by charging a section of the McCarran Act, which had never before been used, making it a deportable offense for someone to belong to an organization that distributes literature that advocates political and economic doctrines of world communism. Every U.S. citizen, of course, has the right to belong to an organization that advocates world communism. But if you are an immigrant, so the McCarran Act states, you don't have that right. And if you choose to belong to such an organization, you are a deportable person. That had never before been used or tested. No administration in the 39 years since the McCarran Act was enacted had even thought of using that section. It was used in 1987 when they arrested the seven Palestinians and Kenyan in mid-January.

What was the reaction? The government held a press

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FOCUS ON ACTION

By Steve Goldfield

An increasing openness toward Palestinian rights characterizes the first six months of 1988 in the United States. Many developments demonstrate a significant shift in public opinion and in the willingness of a very broad range of activists and organizations to address the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Major activities marked the 21st anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. On June 4, 1,500 rallied in Union Square in New York City, 500 marched in Chicago and San Francisco, and smaller activities took place in Seattle, Houston, and Tucson in demonstrations called by the Palestine Solidarity Committee and endorsed by over 150 organizations and individuals. In New York, where marchers followed a banner reading "Stop U.S. Funding of Israeli Occupation" and chanted "U.S. funding, we say no! Israeli occupation has got to go!" a very impressive list of speakers was headed up by Israeli attorney and peace and human-rights activist Felicia Langer; Nazareth Mayor Tawfik Zayyad; Neo Mnumzana, chief UN representative of the African National Congress; Zehdi Terzi, chief UN representative of the PLO; National SSD III Coalition Coordinator Leslie Cagan; Rabbi Susan Einbinder; Jitu Weusi of the National Black United Front; Dominique Ghossein, representing progressive Lebanese; Jeanne Butterfield of the Palestine Solidarity Committee and many more. Roy Brown and Lactamasi performed. A major theme of the rally was cutting U.S. aid to Israel. Langer told the crowd, "We have a special responsibility to the American public who have been cheated and do not question this easy money which is channeled to corrupt Israeli leaders.... If we do not speak, then we are accomplices."

The major speaker in San Francisco was Palestine National Council member and Professor Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, who also spoke at a teach-in attended by more than 400 people the previous evening. Nancy Walker, president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, sent a message of support to the rally which endorsed the United Nations international peace conference. Two of the many other speakers were Gail Wiley of AFSCME local 3218, who called for labor support for Palestinian rights and criticized the role of the Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation, in maintaining the occupation and Catherine Kusic of the Nicaragua Information Center, who declared that the time had come for the peace movement to stop avoiding the Palestinian issue. The Chicago rally was addressed by former Palestinian political prisoner Sami Esmail, Sister Teresa Burke, Jean Hughes of the Pledge of Resistance, Dr. Robert

Starks of the Free South Africa Movement, and others. In Israel itself, 20,000 peace activists marched against the occupation in Tel Aviv.

The Palestine Solidarity Committee has also launched a "No More U.S. Aid for Israeli Occupation" campaign. A new brochure of the same title is available from the PSC office, P. O. Box 27462, San Francisco, CA 94127.

The fifth annual North American Regional Symposium on the Question of Palestine was held at United Nations headquarters in New York in June. Approximately 250 representatives from 50 participant nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and 33 observer NGOs attended. The symposium was an opportunity for North American NGOs to discuss strategy and potential coordinated activities in support of Palestinian rights.

There were two main panels, focusing on the intifadah and on U.S. legislative attempts to close PLO offices in the United States. Some speakers came from the occupied territories and Israel, including Dr. Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Bir Zeit University (recently on "Nightline"); Tikva Parnass, an Israeli activist from the Alternative Information Center in Jerusalem; Dr. Bernard Sabella, professor of sociology at Bethlehem University; and recently deported Mubarak Awad. Panelists from the United States included former Attorney-General Ramsey Clark and Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) National Chair Jeanne Butterfield. Father Elias Chacour was invited to speak but was prevented from attending the symposium by Israeli security forces who interrogated him at length on two separate days.

Several plans for action emerged from symposium workshops, including a campaign to stop U.S. funding of Israeli occupation; a media monitoring project; work in support of Palestinian children, women, and trade unionists; and a further development of a religious network, which will study the feasibility of organizing a "witness for peace" movement from North American and European NGOs.

The newly elected North American Coordinating Committee (NACC) will facilitate the work of the NGOs in the coming year. The NACC includes the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, American Friends Service Committee, Methodist Board of Global Ministries, Presbyterian Church, Canadian Arab Federation, Palestine Human Rights Campaign, and National Lawyers Guild. The NACC is chaired by the PSC; the Near East Cultural and Educational Fund of Canada serves as vice chair, New Jewish Agenda as secretary, and NAJDA/Women Concerned about the Middle East as treasurer.



Samiha Khalil (right) of In'ash al-Usra speaks with Palestine Solidarity Committee National Director Ginny Kraus.

Photo: Steve Goldfield/Palestine Focus

Breakthroughs continue in the labor movement in the United States. The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) became the first international union to pass a resolution supporting the UN international peace conference and condemning Israel for its repression of the uprising at its June convention in Los Angeles. AFSCME is the largest union (1.15 million members) in the AFL-CIO. Although the resolution maintained a strong attachment to the Histadrut, Israel's labor federation which also describes itself as "Israel's largest industrial conglomerate," it nevertheless broke new ground and marked a rapid and significant shift in opinions toward Israeli occupation in the United States.

This shift was also evident in seven Democratic Party state conventions in different parts of the country which endorsed Palestinian self-determination; five called for a Palestinian state. The issue was debated for the first time at conventions in still more states and at the national platform meetings.

On another legal front, Federal Judge Edmund L. Palmieri ruled on June 29 that the U.S. government could not force the PLO to close its observer mission to the United Nations in New York. Although Palmieri also rejected a suit challenging the constitutionality of the terrorism law which ordered the closure of the mission, his ruling was seen as a major victory by the PLO.

In the last year, Israeli peace activists and journalists have faced treatment and charges more typical for Palestinians. Two recent Israeli actions deserve particular notice and support. In the last issue of *Palestine Focus*, we noted the arrest of Michal Schwartz (whom we mistakenly iden-

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By Salim Madi

Six years after the Israeli invasion of June 1982, the political and military situation in Lebanon is once more favorable to the democratic and nationalist forces. The NATO troops are gone from Beirut; Israel has been chased from most of the country and is facing an escalating war of attrition from Palestinian and Lebanese guerrillas; sectarian Shi'ite groups have been consumed in a vain battle for control over their community. The fascist project of the Phalange is severely weakened by failure and internal divisions; and the economic collapse has reawakened the working class to its common suffering, regardless of sectarian identification.

The recent events which shook Beirut are but the clearest expression of the ebb of the religious sectarian tide which almost engulfed the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese progressive forces during the period from 1983 to 1987. The cautious entry of Syrian troops into the southern suburbs of Beirut in May marked a setback for the Iranian-supported Hezbollah. The fundamentalists had gained control of the densely populated area following 22 days of fierce fighting against the Syrian-allied Amal militia. Syria's entry into the southern suburbs came after days of careful negotiations with Hezbollah and its Iranian protectors. The size of the force currently in the suburbs is limited, and the Syrians have not attempted to disarm the Hezbollah militiamen. Further, the Syrians have refrained from entering several areas used by Hezbollah militiamen as barracks and where the foreign hostages are said to be held.

Syria is playing its cards carefully in an effort to maintain a delicate balance in its international relations with Iran on the one hand and the NATO countries on the other. The rapid victory of Hezbollah over Amal, Syria's strongest ally in Lebanon, could have marked a significant upset of the precarious balance of forces in Lebanon. Syria is clearly unwilling to accept such a turnabout. But Syria also values its alliance with Iran and has gone to great lengths to avoid an open break. Iran, in turn, has been painstaking in dealing with Syria, its only firm ally in the war against Iraq.

Meanwhile, international negotiations regarding the fate of the foreign hostages continue but with no clear results yet. Syria, in nominal control of the southern suburbs, is careful not to crack down too harshly on the fundamentalists, who have publicly warned they will execute the hostages if the Syrians attack them. Such a development would be a major embarrassment to President Assad, who sees an active Syrian role in freeing the hostages as a route to improved relations with the West.

Syria is pushing for a rapid settlement of the Lebanese crisis based on the old sectarian system with minor political reforms. The rightwing Lebanese Forces and fundamentalist Hezbollah are the most active opponents of the Syrian plans for Lebanon. Syria's strategy is to weaken the two extremist sectarian groups and install an acceptable moderate in the September 1988 presidential elections.

Negotiations continue between Damascus and Washington in search for a formula which will meet Syria's security needs and Washington's insistence on a strong central government built around the U.S.-trained army. The plan agreed to in principle calls on the Syrians to take control of the southern suburbs, as they have just done, and for the Lebanese army to limit the power of the far-right Lebanese Forces militia in East Beirut. The greater Beirut region will then form an area under the control of the central government, which would then implement a program of minimum political reforms.

The changed internal political situation and the continuation of the Palestinian uprising has led to a sharp rise in the number of operations against the Israeli occupation forces and their local cronies in south Lebanon. Over the last few months, several successful operations in the Beka'a were mounted by the Lebanese National Resistance Front (a coalition of progressive, nonsectarian groups), while Palestinian units were effective in infiltrating into Israel across the border.

Two thousand Israeli troops, accompanied by airplanes, armored helicopters, and naval forces providing cover, moved out of the Israeli self-proclaimed security zone in south Lebanon on May 2 and undertook one of the largest Israeli operations in Lebanon since 1982. The Israeli forces shelled and

bombed a number of villages and towns and moved north in several areas, focusing on the Beka'a Valley town of Meidoun. Meidoun was completely demolished, and more than twenty-five resistance fighters from Hezbollah and three Israeli soldiers died in the battle.

The Israeli operation was portrayed by the Israeli government as a sweep against Palestinian guerrillas seeking to cross into Israel. On April 27, at least two Israeli soldiers and three guerrillas were killed in a pitched battle inside the Israeli border. These border crossings by Palestinian guerrillas have increased recently, in spite of the

Lebanon: The Tide Begins to Turn

efforts of the Israeli forces occupying the southern parts of Lebanon and of the allied local militia, the South Lebanon Army. The Palestinian guerrillas are benefiting from the support of the Lebanese National Resistance Front, which launched over one hundred attacks against the Israeli occupiers in March, for example.

The right wing is divided over who will control the so-called Christian camp. These differences have their roots in the historic failure of the Phalange to impose its fascist program on the rest of the country and the growing disillusionment of the population after thirteen years of war in defense of "Christian Lebanon." Israel's Christian allies, the Lebanese Forces, are pushing to partition the country into Christian and Moslem zones. President Gemayel, the Maronite Church, the Lebanese establishment, and the army oppose the partition plan. The United States has covertly continued to train and equip the army as a force the new president can rely on to assert his authority. In 1983-84, Moslem soldiers left en masse in opposition to the army's role in fighting against the progressive and Islamic forces. Today the army remains overwhelmingly Christian, with its main forces positioned in the Christian area. Its commander, Michel Aoun, is a contender for the presidency and rumored to be the preferred candidate of the U.S. embassy.

Palestinians in Lebanon

The situation of Palestinians has markedly improved since the beginning of 1988. Beginning in 1985, Amal mounted a three-year siege of Palestinian camps in Lebanon. In spite of the horrendous attacks and cutting off of food, medicine, water, and electricity to the occupants of the camps, the inhabitants survived the siege. In January 1988, Amal leader Nabih Berri responded to the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories by lifting the siege of the refugee camps "as a gift to our brothers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip." The reconciliation meetings between PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Syrian President Assad on April 24 marked the beginning of an attempt to mend relations between Fateh and Syria after a

five-year break.

The reconciliation between Arafat and Assad did not, however, translate into a similar rapprochement between Fateh and the Palestinian dissidents headquartered in Syria. In pitched battles which began on April 30, forces loyal to Arafat took control of the camps of Bourj el-Barajneh and Shatila in Beirut and chased out their opponents from the dissident Fateh faction of Colonel Abu Musa. The battles which centered around Abu Musa's attempts to re-enter the camps left hundreds dead or wounded. After shelling Palestinian refugee camps, as they did in Tripoli in 1983, Abu Musa's troops regained control over Shatila with tacit Syrian support.

Lebanon's Economy

The economic collapse gripping Lebanon has become the primary concern of the vast majority of the population. According to local doctors, the poverty is so severe that "people come in offering to sell bits of their bodies, usually kidneys and corneas." The economic crisis reached an unprecedented level at the end of October 1987, when the Lebanese pound sank to 620 per dollar compared to 87 a year earlier and 8 two years before. Because war-ravaged Lebanon imports more than 90 percent of its energy needs, as well as consumer and food goods, the currency drop translates into direct inflation, in 1987 reaching an annual rate of 725 percent.

Although in 1988 the economy stabilized somewhat (the pound has leveled off at about 400 per dollar), this unending inflationary spiral has severely reduced the standard of living of the vast majority of the population. Today's minimum wage converts to \$37 per month, compared to over \$240 a few years ago. A study commissioned by the labor federation calculated the minimal food budget for a family of four at close to \$100 per month. In addition unemployment has reached 45 percent, according to Antoine Beshara, head of the General Confederation of Labor.

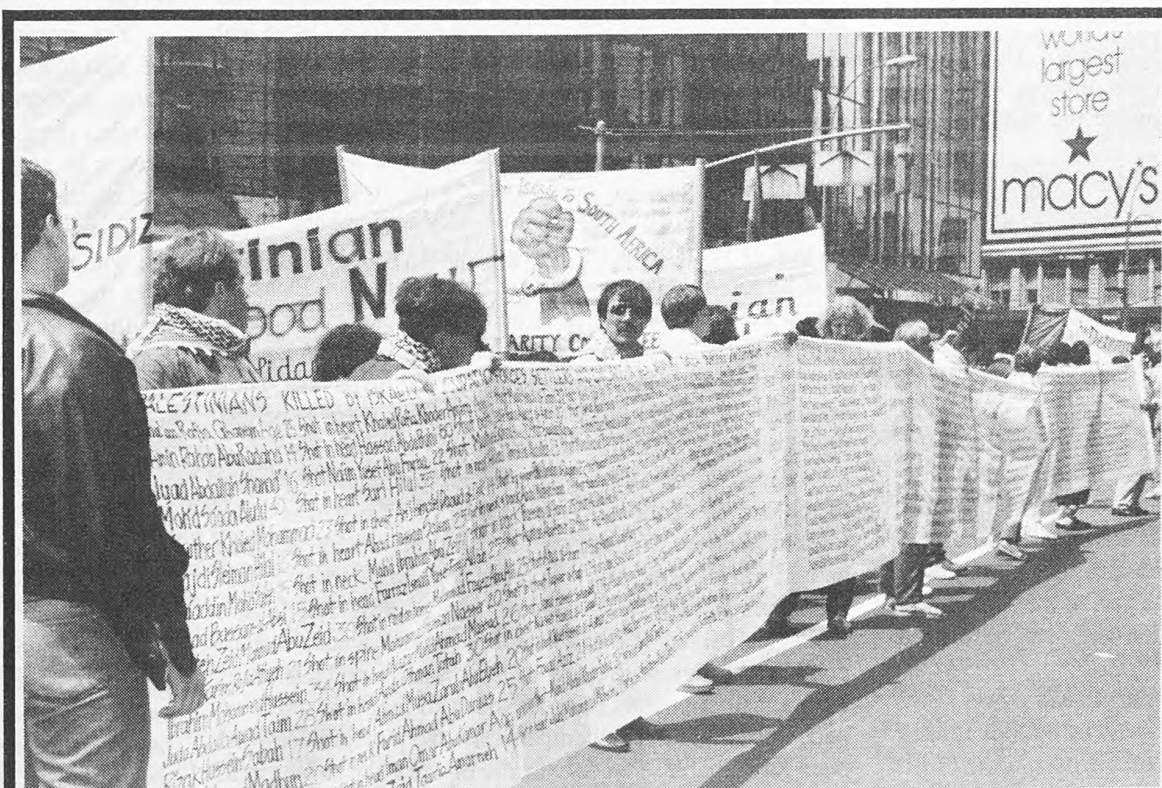
The economic collapse was not accidental. In 1983, the Gemayel government spent over 1 billion dollars, most of the country's foreign-exchange reserves, to acquire arms from the United States, leaving the Lebanese currency vulnerable, for the first time, to the manipulation of speculators. Since 1984, Lebanese business interests have used currency markets to attack the pound to accomplish multiple objectives: to weaken political opposition to Gemayel through severe hardship, to strengthen the hand of business—which moved its assets to foreign currency, and to reduce labor costs and retire old business debts. Today, more than 85 percent of bank deposits are held in dollars, in addition to the significant flight of capital to Europe and North America. The "dollarization" of the economy has tremendously widened the abyss separating rich from poor.

In Beirut, after several months of fruitless negotiations between the government and the labor unions, a strike over the cost of living increase broke out on April 21. The General Confederation of Labor asked for a salary increase of 310 percent—equivalent to the rise in the consumer price index since the last wage correction. The government, negotiating on behalf of an adamant business sector, offered adjustments of only 60 to 75 percent.

The response to the strike call was overwhelming across the country. Tens of thousands of strikers marched in Beirut in support of the demand for higher wages. Two separate marches started in East and West Beirut and met

at the Parliament building, which straddles the green line separating the two areas. Earlier, in November 1987, a five-day national strike brought the country to a standstill and, for the first time since 1975, united the workers of East and West Beirut.

The continued vitality exhibited by the labor movement marks an important development in Lebanon. Because of the depth of the economic and social crisis and the inability of the sectarian organizations to present any viable solutions, large segments of the population are searching for immediate relief from their economic woes. As a result, the left-centered labor movement has revived and remains today undivided by the civil war. Such unified national initiatives offer a glimmer of hope for Lebanon's future. □



Roster of Palestinians killed in the uprising at June 4 march in New York to protest Israeli occupation.

Photo: Palestine Solidarity Committee/New York

Barbara Lubin is former president of the Berkeley Board of Education and is currently director of the Middle East Children's Alliance, an organization committed to addressing the human rights violations of Palestinian children. [To read more about MECA, see "Getting It All In Focus" in this issue of Palestine Focus.] Barbara Lubin participated in a delegation of community activists and elected officials to the West Bank and Gaza in February. She made these comments in Berkeley, California after she returned from traveling to the occupied territories once again in May.

This is the second trip I took to the Middle East. The first was in February with a delegation of twelve people from all over the United States, primarily from the Bay Area. When I returned home from that trip, I started an organization with Howard Levine, Middle East Children's Alliance, concerning what was happening to the children in the Middle East.

This time, [MECA staff assistant] Howard Levine and I went back to many of the places I had visited in February and found that things were very different. There still were isolated incidents of rock throwing, there still was much of the same brutality on the part of the Israeli soldiers against Palestinian people, but something else very major was happening, and it didn't take us very long to realize what that was: There's a lot of organizing, a lot of building of an infrastructure. The Palestinian people have pulled together.

For example, we saw the popular schools. The Israelis closed the schools for all the children—kindergarten, preschool, through the universities—four and a half months ago, and since I was there in February, these popular schools have sprung up. They're being held in people's homes, in churches, in mosques, and they are against the law. While we were there, the Israeli soldiers came into several homes in Ramallah and were demanding that four- and five-year-old children tell them who their teachers were, what their names were, so they could arrest them. The children, of course, refused, and I believe only one or two teachers were arrested.

I understand that the schools have now been reopened, because the Israelis finally understand how stupid it was to close them in the first place. After all, it does not serve the Israelis' best interest to have Palestinian children learning the truth of their history. This, in fact, is the first time that children were learning in school about Palestine, and about their own history and not just the history through the eyes of the Jordanians or the Israelis.

We also visited an agricultural collective. This was a wonderful visit. Three cows in this collective were brought

Eyewitness: The Uprising

there by the Palestinians when the Israelis cut off their milk supply. They went out, raised money, got three cows, bought sheep and goats, and now are supplying the entire community with all the milk that's needed. So they're no longer dependent on the Israelis for their dairy supplies. And this is the whole movement, the whole goal of what's going on now to become totally nondependent on, or independent of, the Israeli government.

So far, it looks very successful. Palestinians have stopped buying produce. Every neighborhood, every block in Ramallah, on the West Bank, and some in Gaza, had their own gardens. They are growing their own produce; they have stopped buying from Israel. Eventually, this is going to have dramatic effects on the Israeli government economically. I believe that's mostly what the occupation is about. Although the Israelis say it's about security, I think it's more in terms of economics and cheap labor force, the Palestinians being their cheap labor.

We visited medical clinics in Jalazoun camp, in Gaza.

basic laboratories. In fact, they're using Coke bottles for specimen bottles. So things are very basic, but the spirit is certainly very high, and people are determined not to go backwards.

We went to Jabalya in Gaza where we had a very interesting meeting with leaders of the community in Jibalya, headed by an educational leader, who spoke for quite awhile about the possibilities, what will happen if, in fact, the ballot initiative in Berkeley is successful and Jabalya is made the sister city of Berkeley. (The present mayor of Berkeley, Lonnie Hancock, does not support this, because she feels it's not even-handed, although 200 American cities have sister city relationships with Jewish cities in Israel, and there's not one city in the United States that has a sister city relationship with a Palestinian refugee camp or city).

We spoke of what would happen if we were successful, but we made it very clear that, if in fact it wasn't successful on the ballot, Jabalya would still become the sister city of the people of Berkeley, and it would be a people to people sister city relationship. So we set up a structure for how that would work. There would be individual committees in Jabalya, which would receive whatever material aid came in for those specific projects. There would be a doctor heading the medical committee, a teacher heading the educational committee, a woman from the women's committee that would head all kinds of interchange between women's organizations here and the women's committee there. The Middle East Children's Alliance would help play a role in that, and it looked like it could really work, as well as any of our other sister cities would work. And there is a structure that is ready to be put into place there.

The conditions in Jabalya were even more appalling to me this time than they were before. When we were there in February, it was raining and it was cold and dismal and horrible. But this time the sun was very bright, and it was 118 degrees, and the garbage that had piled up outside,

and the cesspools and the open pit in the middle of town where all the open sewage runs, which is a huge lake where children play, was just astounding to me. It was unbelievable. What I thought was awful in February was profound to me in May. Many of the people that I went there to see are no longer around; they're in jail, and that



Palestinian youths demonstrate in Idna, West Bank, February 1988.

Photo: Yvonne Golden

They are very primitive, but they belong to the people. The doctors work for nothing. The teachers in the popular schools work for no money at all. Doctors told us their needs, and we hope to raise money for specific projects. They desperately need a dialysis machine; they need all kinds of equipment. They have very basic supplies, very

Intifadah...

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maximize participation in their own liberation.

The ongoing effort to mount total civil disobedience, and at the same time create a parallel vehicle of dual authority, indicates a new level of maturity and sophistication on the part of the Palestinian leadership. A new level of national unity is represented by the unified command of the "United National Leadership of the Uprising." This unity is a qualitative development, a landmark, indeed, which has been able to guide the intifadah toward the stage of dual power.

The Palestinians are ready to sacrifice a great deal to achieve their goals; they have reached a level of determination and resolve to maintain the intifadah as a protracted resistance movement, and they are ready to sacrifice even more as a price for their freedom.

One concrete political result of the uprising is the transformation of the myth of small and endangered Israel versus the "terrorists." It has now become Goliath versus David, in which Goliath is killing, crushing bones, injuring, detaining, and expelling people because they resist oppression. The false label of Palestinian "terrorism" has been exposed. What has been revealed is the truth about Palestinian sufferings and their aspirations to reconstruct their independent national life and to be a part of the community of nations—a goal whose realization had been obstructed for decades.

The uprising has literally caught the Israeli power structure by surprise. Israel, because of its racist outlook toward the Palestinians, could not understand the deep-rooted feelings of resentment and rage it had created by subjugating a whole people for 21 years. Like South Africa, Israel would like to view the struggle as a "law and order" problem and

not one involving fundamental issues of human, political, and national rights. Israel could not imagine that Palestinians would achieve their unity, create new and unique tactics, and develop the resolve to resist on such a high level. The Israeli power structure is caught between its failure to understand the roots of such a strong and resilient uprising and, on the other hand, its plans to hold onto the West Bank and Gaza.

But it comes as no surprise to see young children who have grown up under the occupation bare their chests and challenge the occupiers to "kill us all or leave." Palestinians have unified to such a great extent because of the necessity of doing something qualitative against the occupation. They have come to understand that, if left unchallenged, the occupation would swallow the rest of whatever is left of Palestinian land for Jews-only settlements.

For 21 years, Israel's heavy-handed "Iron Fist" policy took its toll on a defenseless civilian population. Palestinians watched helplessly as Israeli bulldozers leveled their homes, razed their olive trees, confiscated their land to build Israeli settlements financed by U.S. taxpayers. They endured the suffering as their loved ones were expelled, killed, injured, or sent to jail for years.

Through such an iron fist, the lesson taught by Israel in the course of those 21 years was simple: It was quite legitimate to be a nationalistic, religious zealot, so long as you were Israeli, but it was not legitimate to be Palestinian, no matter what you thought or did. The lesson would be driven home when they would watch settlers come every day with guns at their waists or Uzis slung across their shoulders in order to instill fear and terror on peaceful villages. The comparison with the Old West has been inescapable. The only crime of the Palestinians is to be the native inhabitants of a land which, no matter what myth of "Manifest Destiny," another people seeks to steal.

After these 21 years, the nature of Israeli "democracy" has also become clear. Long praised by many in the United States, it has been revealed to be democracy for Jews only (and not even all Jews); there is freedom for only the Israeli and not for the Palestinian.

When the Israeli military inflicts pain, suffering and humiliation, when its leaders call a whole people cockroaches and grasshoppers, no wonder the Palestinians revolt.

Yet, ironically, when they do revolt, the Palestinians are also blamed for the "suffering" of the Israeli soldiers. Those soldiers have to be psychologically treated because of what they do to the Palestinians. The victimizer will always be accommodated because the victims are merely cockroaches and grasshoppers; they can always be crushed.

To add to this, Israeli policy then requires from a people who do not have a state to recognize another state. It asks the victim to comfort his victimizer and not to do anything to protest the injustices in order to cause any harm to the victimizer. It requires from the defenseless victim to guarantee the security and safety of one of the world's major military powers.

Then, having put forth its unobtainable conditions, Israel refuses to talk to the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. No matter what conditions it puts forth, Israel does not want to talk to the Palestinians; what it really wants is to maintain its hold on the land.

While there have been democratic voices calling for peace in Israeli society, they are being drowned out by extreme right-wing screams. The demand in Israeli society has been for even more extreme measures in response to the uprising. There is now even a discussion within the Israeli power structure on what is euphemistically called "population transfer."

g Reaches a New Stage

was very, very upsetting to me.

Raji Sourani, a wonderful attorney that we had met and spent time with, who works in Gaza, is in jail, and, according to the human rights people that we spoke to, he was being tortured. When we were there earlier, he had talked of the previous time he'd been in jail, and he had withstood the beatings that are very common in jail. They put a heavy sack over the heads of prisoners, many times it's urine-stained and filthy, and it's kept on for 24 hours, sometimes up to several months at a time. He told of not being allowed to sit down for weeks on end and being beaten. So I can only assume that the same kinds of things are happening to him now.

Other people whose names I won't mention are also in prison. So, many of the people that I wanted to see, I was unable to see them, and when I talked to people about it, they said they'd all been in prison. They'd all been tortured.

One of the young people that we spent a lot of time with told us of his imprisonment for two years. He was approximately 25 years old. During that time of imprisonment, the Shin Bet held him in this tiny cell. They hooded him and they would not allow him to sleep, and they tied his arms behind his back, had his legs back, and kicked him continuously in the groin, for days on end. He lost an enormous amount of weight. He's very little, he's very agitated, very bright, and very committed to the struggle.

When I think about all of this, about what's happening to the Palestinians, I have to think about our own government. We can talk about the Israeli government as much as we want, but the Israeli government would be powerless to continue the oppression and the occupation if, in fact, they weren't receiving over \$4 billion a year, with no strings attached, from the United States government. And I also think that it's very critical that we do not close our eyes, that we don't just focus in on Israel and the Palestinians, but we have to look at the whole region and what the implications are for the whole Middle East region.

And when it comes to the Palestinian uprising, it must become very clear that we are dealing with a people inspired by desperate conditions to utmost unity. I spoke with one Palestinian friend and had him continually go over and tell me all the factions of the PLO so I would understand them, and I must say, I still don't. He gave me copies of the weekly directives from the leadership that come out, that are quietly handed out on every street corner on the West Bank and Gaza. I can't read this, it's Arabic, but some of it was translated for me, and each one has four signatures. It has the signatures of all the factions. There

In March, Rafael Eitan, assessing the uprising and Israel's "security threat," told the *Jerusalem Post*: "If war breaks out and they make trouble, then we'll simply have to deport a million people." Even last July, five months before the uprising, Deputy Defense Minister Michael Dekel of the Likud called for mass expulsions of Palestinians. Such ideas have actually been discussed for years, but they have never been voiced so boldly as a legitimate alternative for Israeli policy; no longer can they be characterized as the ravings only of "extremists" like Meir Kahane.

"Population transfer," a code word for massive expulsions of Palestinians from their homeland to the diaspora, would be a development resembling 1948 in scope and horror, when hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were expelled before the establishment of Israel. The facts imposed by the violent creation of Israel in 1948 would be repeated: There is no room for Palestinians in their own

may be divisions within the PLO, but one thing that they are not divided about is the uprising, and there's total unity around them. There are other problems, but in terms of what is happening now, in terms of the popular schools, the medical things that are happening, the agricultural collectives, the movement towards self-sufficiency, there's total unity.



Palestinian prisoner's painting smuggled out of Ketziot prison, also known as Ansar 3, in the Negev desert. More than three thousand prisoners suffer from scorpions, poisonous snakes, brutal Israeli guards, and temperatures exceeding 110 degrees F. Human-rights organizations demand that the illegal prison camp be shut down. Send letters protesting U.S. funding of such detention centers to the State Department, Washington, DC 20520.

There's no turning back. If they don't make it, they will die. There's never going to be a turning back to the old life for Palestinians. They have crossed a line, and they're either going to win their own right to exist and have their own country, their own government, their own schools, or they'll be wiped out.

Could they achieve their own state? I don't know. I'm not that optimistic. Much of that will depend on the ability of the peace movement in Israel to force the Israeli government to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza and to accept real negotiations as proposed by the United Nations,

homeland, which became the reality of Israeli state policy.

It should be clear what has entered the center of Israeli debate: The current state of Palestinian resistance means that, if "population transfer" is attempted, whether by a protracted war of attrition or by sudden military attacks, Palestinians will not willingly leave their homeland. Such a policy means the death of thousands. That Israel would even consider such a policy means that the "final solution" for the Palestinian question has now been placed on the agenda.

But, as Palestinian resistance creates more and more of its own facts on the ground, this is not the only alternative. The uprising has articulated a clear Palestinian agenda that calls for their national rights to be expressed by establishing an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. The world community is behind this call and supports the convening of a United Nations-sponsored

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conference and told us that they had surgically removed from our midst terrorists and the beginnings of a terrorist cell in the United States. That immediately became a hollow claim when it was revealed that the FBI had taken the apartment next to my client's apartment, Khader Hamide, and an agent lived there and recorded Khader's every move, presumably opened his mail, engaged in electronic wiretapping of the apartment. They did it for months, and they couldn't find a single violation of any federal law or any criminal or conspiratorial activity. So they turned the case over to the immigration authorities for deportation. This person the FBI and the Justice Department publicly branded as a *terrorist* is an official in the Democratic Party in Los

Angeles. Actually at our first court hearing, we had a congressman appear to testify as a character witness, Congressman Dymally. The first move the government made at the hearing was to move to bar the congressman from the hearing room, and the judge granted it. In an unseemly spectacle, the congressman had to withdraw from the hearing room and stand outside in the corridor with the press, which was also largely barred while the hearing proceeded. The representative of the United States government could not abide the presence of a congressman in the courtroom while we were hearing this case.

So when they arrested him and made these allegations, which immediately turned out to be false, they proceeded on this immigration law and when the full nature of that charge became known, what happened? The government found that its brandishing of the terrorism label had fallen flat and that the eight, far from being isolated, as the gov-

negotiations which would include the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians.

But, again, the Israeli peace movement plays an important role. Although there is certainly an active peace movement in Israel, it's small. I think there's a lot of division in Israel. I think the settlers are frightening. I think for Israel and the Zionist government, there's a lot of issues here, and I think one of the wars that's going to be fought before they take on peace with the Palestinians, is the fight with the settlers. I think they have to deal with 45,000 maniacs with Uzis. That's their first fight, and I think that's what we should be watching for.

Many in the Israeli peace movement have been bold and fearless, so there is hope that they can meet the challenge. When I met with a Palestinian women's organization, they told me they had gone to one of the refugee camps with several older, Israeli Jewish women to demonstrate to end the occupation. They are doing a lot of joint activities. At the demonstration, an Israeli soldier started pushing them around, and they grabbed this 65-year-old Jewish woman and started screaming at her. And she put her hand on him and said, "Don't touch your mother." And he said, "What?" She said it in Hebrew, "Don't do this to your mother." And he said, "You're not my mother." And she said, "Yes, I am. I am a Jewish woman and we are all your mother. And you don't treat your mother like this." And the soldier just totally backed away from the demonstration and let it continue, totally unnerved. You know there is hope when the mothers of Israel decide to say, "Enough!"

But, of course, the key people are the Palestinians themselves, who continue to resist in an uprising that still grows. I was just asked on a radio talk show this morning, "Well, it seems that things have died down." Nothing has died down. You have to look at the media, the national media in the United States, and internationally, and what sells papers, unfortunately, what they think gets people interested in watching television, is body counts, rock throwing, how many people were murdered, those sorts of things. But the reality is that this is a much stronger movement now than when I was there in February, much stronger than just people out throwing rocks.

I would ask, "Where does it go next? How long can people just throw rocks and organize? What's the next step?" And every Palestinian I spoke to, no matter their political affiliations or where they were from, responded in exactly the same way: They said that they are committed for as long as they can hold out to nonviolence. That's very powerful.

I asked, "How long can that hold out? To the end?" They said no, they're talking about now, and right in the near future, and they hope they can hold out. "We don't know what the next step will be. But at this point, and in the near future, we are committed to non-violence, and civil disobedience."

I think that we're going to see a lot of movement toward mass civil disobedience. I think it's important to know that there are still beatings. The hospitals are still filled with people who are suffering from from beatings, gunshot wounds, rubber bullets, and that has not let up. The violence is still very profound. But the people are really committed to seeing this through one way or another. □

international peace conference, where the PLO is the undisputed representative of the Palestinian people.

The United States and Israel must acknowledge the obvious and deal with the reality of the Palestinian problem head on (and not through third parties, such as Jordan). Until then, people around the world will view Israel, along with its funder and backer, the United States, as the rejectionists and hardliners who want "the land without the people."

The uprising creates optimism despite the great dangers. The determination of the Palestinian people is decisive, and by mass resolve and creativity Palestinians will continue to change the terms of the confrontation. Because of what Palestinians have demonstrated, world opinion, including U.S. public opinion, will increasingly pressure Israel and the United States. The message is clear and will be heard: The occupation will end, the Palestinian state will be a reality, and there will finally be real peace. □

ernment had intended, had immediately received the support, of course, first of the National Lawyers Guild, which became the defense team, but, more importantly and secondly, of the *New York Times* and *Boston Globe*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*: Every major newspaper in the United States broke with tradition and commented on a pending case, citing the danger that this case posed to the entire immigrant community as well as to the citizenry of the country as a whole.

When that sunk in, the government withdrew its charges, decided they would try another and instead filed new charges in place of something the government found was not going down so well. So they elected another one, which had a slightly better ring to it within the same McCarran Act, and that was the charge that the eight belonged to an organization and that they themselves had advocated the use

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Jack O'Dell ...

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This whole thing backfired on Koch, and the net result was that even the Jewish community didn't support the candidate he designated. They voted for Dukakis. He said, "Vote for Gore." And Jesse handled the matter in such a statesmanlike way that it embarrassed a lot of people and encouraged his friends, but it embarrassed some would-be enemies, so it neutralized him. It was intended to be harmful, and I'm not saying that it didn't register any harm but I think the harm was probably negligible. What it did do was expose the character of the opposition.

Any time you come out and say "a Jew that votes for Jesse Jackson is crazy," that's kind of gutter politics, and most people do not subscribe to that. But Koch does and I think a lot of people are going to meet him at the polls in '89. So I think it did Koch more harm. The strength that we came out of New York with, finishing second, getting 566,000 votes, carrying New York City, carrying Buffalo upstate, and a number of other cities in the New York state area, has given hope to the coalition that does want to come together, a political force in New York that's going to have the possibility of cleaning house, and moving New York in a progressive direction. I think Governor Cuomo read that correctly, and was very positive toward the Jesse Jackson candidacy. So, all in all, it was an interesting experience, and one that we learned something from. But I think it did our adversaries more damage than it did the Rainbow Coalition.

PF: Where does the Palestinian issue stand in terms of the progressive movement? It's always been something that's pushed back because of the difficulties in dealing with it. Is that over now?

O'Dell: It's not over in terms of efforts to push it back, but it's over in terms of the success of those efforts. We're not going back to pre-'88. It's been out there for four years; the Palestinian groups, and the Arab-American groups have done a marvelous job the last five or six years of reaching out and getting involved in a variety of issues, as citizens. They have showed their interest in other people's agendas, and they have, with dignity and good judgment, projected the issue of the Middle East and a change in foreign policy. And life has confirmed the correctness of their position, and the correctness of those of us who saw earlier the need for this kind of change.

So, with the uprising in 1988, we're not going back, we're not going back to the previous period. There will still be the pressures, there will still be the lobby that would have us continue to spend our tax money supporting the military occupation, but the progressive movement has to draw a line. You're either for military occupation or you're not. We're at that point now. Either we seek military solutions to problems, or political solutions. And if we remain consistent on the side of seeking political solutions to problems, then we cannot be supportive of a military occupation, wherever it is. And conversely, this military occupation that we are paying for is all the more unconscionable.

The progressive movement has grown in this period as a result of this experience. Again, the Palestinian people have paid a very heavy price, in their children's lives and others, but that's the way the freedom struggle is. All people who uphold dignity have to make some sacrifices, and sometimes it's the sacrifice of human life. But it's a sacrifice that's not in vain, because human life will flower and be affirmed by the victory.

The ability to remain true to principle has been made easier now, by the atmosphere being cleared up. We have

seen the Palestinian people as people, but we also see the nature of the opposition. And I know in our civil rights experience, people really didn't understand segregation until we confronted it and Bull Connor took hold of those children, taking children on school buses to jail, and people had to stop and say, "Wait a minute. Don't give me this moderation argument at all."

Once people see that a system of violence is necessary in order to uphold a system of oppression, they shift their opinion. The same thing has happened in the struggle against apartheid, and our country has moved away from support of apartheid en masse. And it is because we saw that the barbarism that was required to sustain the system of apartheid was what it is, we saw it in its naked inhumanity, and so consequently we rejected it.

It is not going to be quite as easy with this Middle East thing as it has been for apartheid. The Israeli state is clearly an oppressive regime, and therefore we must examine it in the context of foreign policy, in relation to apartheid, or El Salvador, or Chile, it belongs in that category; and therefore the Middle East issue has been joined with the Central America and Latin America, and the Philippines, and that's the road to being recognized as the victors. Because it was the isolation which worked against a clear understanding. "This is different, this is too complicated." Well, it isn't any more complicated than some places I've been, no different than any places I've been. It's a people struggling for their dignity and their rights against oppression.

One last thing: We in the Rainbow want to use this occasion to commend the peace movement in Israel, who represent the conscience of their nation. When they have a big demonstration against the military occupation, they're calling for peace and for justice, and that's an agenda that all decent people can subscribe to, and we wish them well. □

Felicia Langer ...

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you imagine how many Silbersteins and Goldsteins we had there?"

The second generation of Palestinians together with others is carrying this uprising on their shoulders, and I am proud because I am defending the second generation and I have the privilege, the honor, to be not only their lawyer but, forgive me, their mother. And I feel proud that they are not running before the Israeli armored cars, in front of the soldiers resisting with their bare hands, without fear, and causing admiration among our people, changing the image of the Palestinians.

But we have to ask ourselves: "What has life done to those children that they are not afraid to lose it?" How miserable their life is that they are throwing it away. And we caused that miserable life of those Palestinian children. We deprived them of childhood.

We are very sure that they will win. We want you to help. We want you to spare their blood. We want to reclaim their place in beauty and in human nature. We don't want them to be embittered because we want to be together in the future of the Middle East.

I am not telling you what to do, but I have a message. And the message is very, very simple. We have to help, we have to contaminate every battle with our pressure for human justice for the Palestinians and

for those in Israel who cannot bear any more this situation. It is unbearable, an insult, an unnatural situation for the twentieth century, this abuse of human rights. We are not doing a favor to the Palestinians granting them their right to self-determination. It is a very old maxim of international law, and only Israel, because of this support and veto of the Americans, is able to behave as a spoiled child of the world community.

We are asking how long? How can we? We are human beings. We cannot bear it that this terrible planet from which I come is full of tears and sorrow and blood and suffering. It is impossible to bear. Sometimes I ask myself, we, the Jewish people, who gave to humanity so much, how we are losing our place, we are losing our soul, our moral standards are eroding, and we are turning into a new Sparta of the Middle East in which the fathers are burning their sons. Instead of a cult of life, we have a cult of death and weaponry which is contradicting the spirit of this earth. It is outdated. It cannot continue. Dear friends and brothers, in the names of all those on this planet whom I very dearly love, who are always with me, children and women and adults, the first generation, the second generation, who are heroes and who are simple people, too, I am applying to you for help. And I can say that the Middle East can be just a flourishing orchard and not a minefield as it is now with your help. United we can do it. □

FOCUS ON ...

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tified as male) of the weekly Israeli newspaper *Derech Hanutzot/Tariq al-Sharara*. In fact, five editors have been arrested, four charged with having joined the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a component of the PLO. Held in solitary confinement, beaten, and tortured, some signed written confessions under intense interrogation. The initial information we received that they are under administrative detention was incorrect. Avi Wineberg, a senior editor at Israel Radio, told the *Chicago Tribune*: "I'm not 100 percent sure, but I have a bad feeling that a big part of [the government's action] was that *Derech Hanutzot* was an excellent source of what was going on in the territories." Urgent protests are to be sent to Mr. Bar Lev, Minister of Police, Police Headquarters, Jerusalem, Israel with copies to the Israeli Journalists Association, Beit Agron, Jerusalem, Israel and to *Hanutzot*, P. O. Box 1575, Jerusalem, Israel. In the United States a Freedom of the Press Appeal is being circulated c/o 2980 College Avenue, #2-12, Berkeley, CA 94705.

In addition, two Israeli peace activists, Reuven Kaminer and Latif Dori, were convicted of meeting with PLO representatives and sentenced to prison.

Amidst the tremendous wave of repres-

sion against Palestinian national institutions in the West Bank and Gaza during the current uprising, one target deserves special attention. In'ash al-Uusra in El-Bireh is the largest charitable institution in the West Bank and world-renowned. In'ash al-Uusra provides financial assistance to 1,200 families—12,000 people—a month. The organization helps children at home, girls with health care, university students, and homeless girls on its own premises. In'ash al-Uusra also trains thousands of women in traditional embroidery and secretarial skills among its many activities.

The founder and leader of In'ash al-Uusra, Samiha Khalil, is herself a national institution in the West Bank. She was detained and interrogated and then the Israeli authorities issued a two-year closure order based on crudely faked evidence. The center had received in the mail an unsolicited video which Israeli officials claimed was anti-Semitic and charged was typical of the education conducted on the premises. In'ash al-Uusra has issued an appeal with three demands. (1) Stop the two-year closure order and return stolen property. (2) Stop the harassment and interrogation of Samiha Khalil. Stop actions against her. (3) Put the occupied territories under UN auspices until the Palestinian question is resolved because Palestinians currently have no security of life or property. Telegrams should be sent to Secretary of State George Shultz, State Department, Washington, DC 20520. □

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of violence against property in another country, a third country. Presumably the theory of the government was that any immigrant in the United States who advocates the use of property damage is deportable. Again, that one hadn't been used before.

What became of that charge? On the first day of hearing of that charge we brought in Mr. Chamorro, who was a leading contra figure. He had left the contras. He testified: "I was an immigrant who came to the United States from Nicaragua, and I was solicited by the CIA to go around the country advocating property damage in Nicaragua." (Applause) We brought in an Afghan who said the same. And a Cuban who said the same. And a Vietnamese who said the same. And when it was all over, what we found out was that the major violator in the United States of that section of the McCarran Act was the United States government. (Applause)

So the government decided that the case, perhaps,

should go sideways for a while. We subpoenaed the individual who had signed the arrest documents for the eight. The government said, "He is in the building, and he'll appear momentarily to testify." Then they hemmed and hawed and said, "He's outside the courtroom, and he will appear momentarily to testify." Then the moment came for him to appear, and the government said, "Sorry, we're not going to produce him." And upon hearing that, the district judge hearing the case—an immigration judge, who wears a robe and appears as a judge, but is actually an employee of the Justice Department as are the prosecutors—did an unusual thing, summarily dismissed the case.

That news went across the nation. People thought our case was over as did we. But the government is unrelenting and immediately filed identical charges within 24 hours after the dismissal of the original charges. As you know, we have a provision in our Constitution, which is time-honored, which says no double jeopardy. No one is to face jeopardy twice if they have already been acquitted of the identical charge. We claimed the double jeopardy bar in this case, and the judge took it under consideration and decided

that she would not dismiss the government's case again, but that she would stop the proceedings and certify that issue for appeal. So we are now in the process of an appeal of that issue, and the case is still very much ongoing.

But what can be said of that case as well as the case in Hartford is that the government is reaching out in both instances to prevent those elements within our midst and in their homeland from engaging in processes for self-determination. It is remarkable that this government is doing that because, if you do any study of history, conceptually and ideologically, that is supposed to be the bedrock of American jurisprudence and the democratic principles: self-determination. It has been conceptually and intellectually and jurisprudentially the basis of our laws from the very beginning. And we've even insisted on it internationally. If you look at President Wilson's fourteen points, what is point 1? The right of self-determination.

And yet in 1987 the main opponent of self-determination worldwide is this very same government. I think it's correct if you travel the country and speak the issues to people, American people relate to notions of self-

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"We believe the path to peace is through the children. They can show the adults that reconciliation through understanding is possible. In truth, it is the only hope. ... Children in the West Bank and Gaza strip are being raised in an atmosphere of anger, humiliation and death, without regard for their human rights. Young children are being beaten and gassed, living in abhorrent conditions without the food, educational, housing, sanitary and medical supplies basic for simple, healthy survival. Children cannot grow up in such an environment without learning to hate those they blame for their torment. The Palestinian children deserve better than that."

So reads an introductory statement by the Middle East Children's Alliance (MECA), a new nonprofit organization that calls for an end to Israeli occupation and humanitarian assistance to the victims of the occupation. MECA was created by former Berkeley School Board President Barbara Lubin after she returned from a delegation to the Middle East (see interview in this issue of *Palestine Focus*), and it has already received tremendous support. Its advisory board includes such notables as actor Ed Asner, Congressman Ron Dellums, singer Holly Near, Professor Ibrahim Abu Lughod, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, National Chairperson of the Palestine Solidarity Committee Jeanne Butterfield, Israeli attorney Felicia Langer, and Director of the San Carlos Foundation Dr. Davida Coady, with former Berkeley Mayor Eugene "Gus" Newport as President of the Board.

MECA has already mapped out several ambitious programs, including monitoring human rights abuses of Palestinian children. One imaginative project is to hold an International Peace Conference for Children and Youth based on the framework proposed by United Nations General Assembly Resolution 38/58c to be held at UN Head-

GETTING IT ALL IN FOCUS

By Hilton Obenzinger

quarters in New York. Children and youth from all the designated countries will come together to discuss and debate the future of the Middle East and, most importantly, show the adults that peace is possible.

MECA is also launching several material aid campaigns which deserve special attention. Funds are being raised to support:

- Day care/ kindergartens in Ramallah, West Bank and Jabalya refugee camp, Gaza. Barbara Lubin notes that "when we met with the women's committees in each of these areas they stressed that supporting day care was one of the most important things we could do for them, since it allows Palestinian women to become involved in the intifadah." The money will go to pay teachers' salaries and to buy toys and educational materials.
- A recreation center in Jabalya. According to Lubin, "Jabalya has the best volleyball team in Gaza. But right now they have no volleyballs, no nets and no place to play. They would like to build a recreation center where children and youth can go."
- An agricultural cooperative in Gaza which is

attempting to build greenhouses throughout Gaza to make it self-sufficient in terms of food production. "We are interested in the project for that reason, since self-sufficiency is so important for the Palestinians to detach themselves from all vestiges of the occupation, but we are also interested because it will employ Palestinian youth, freeing them from having to take jobs as Israeli laborers."

• A popular pediatric clinic in Jalazoun refugee camp. "In particular, we will be providing supplies and equipment for prenatal care and trying to raise money for an urgently needed EKG machine."

Reaching the children is a way to make an impact that will be felt for years—on both the children and ourselves. It is a way to reach our own hearts, as we witness the daily brutalities inflicted against Palestinians of all ages, and to take concrete action. Such material aid campaigns are also ways to counter the enormous amounts of our tax money which goes towards perpetuating the occupation. So, in a way, donating money for a volleyball net or an EKG machine is a form of people's tax, an intifadah tax, if you will, paid by the American people. It is money well spent.

Write checks for your tax-deductible donations to the Middle East Cultural and Educational Foundation (write MECA on the bottom of the check), Middle East Children's Alliance, 2140 Shattuck Avenue, Suite 207, Berkeley, California 94704.

If you want to get a vivid picture of the kind of suffering Palestinian kids face, read *Children of Palestinian Refugees Vs. The Israeli Military: Personal Accounts of Arrest, Detention, and Torture*, by Dina Lawrence and Kameel Nasr. This booklet can be obtained for \$3 from BIP Publications, 3450 Golden Gate Way, Lafayette, California 94549. □

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determination. That's why the Palestinian case was necessary in Los Angeles. Because Khader was being listened to in the Democratic Party. No accident that Congressman Dymally was there along with a member of the Los Angeles City Council who was there and testified for him. That is precisely why he is a danger. Not because he is a terrorist; they would love it if he were a terrorist; it would fulfill the fantasy. But he's not; he's engaging in a dialogue within the electoral system in the United States on an issue that this government cannot now face and will not face and will do everything it can to repress.

The same is true with the case in Hartford. The defendants in Hartford are all members of the *independista* movement, advocating independence for Puerto Rico. And they cannot be allowed to circulate in that community or this community with those ideas which are anathema to a government which stands by colonialism in the Middle East and colonialism in the Caribbean basin and through Central and South America.

When my case was first called in Hartford and I was asked to enter a plea on behalf of Juan Segarra in a federal court, I indicated to the court that I didn't know exactly how to enter the plea because I had never before represented a person in a United States court who was charged with a crime but was not part of the social contract. Puerto Ricans do not elect the president; they do not elect a congressman; they do not elect a senator. And yet they're bound by the laws of Congress. Without representation there can be no requirement to abide by a law. Again a founding principle of the republic. And yet if you are Puerto Rican, you have no representation in Congress, no right to vote for a president, but if you violate a federal law, you are brought into federal court and charged with it. The judge indicated to me that he didn't want to hear any more of this. This was not within the bounds of the rules. But nothing that happens in Puerto Rico, just as nothing that happens in the occupied West Bank and Gaza are within the rules of international law and decency.

You can see how far we have drifted from very basic concepts of self-determination and constitutional rights and due process. That drift nowhere is more evident than in the cases that I've been privileged to be part of in both Los Angeles and Hartford.

For more information, to make contributions, or to become active in the defense committees, contact the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, 577 Columbus Avenue, New York, NY, 10024 (212) 927-9065 or the Committee for Justice to Stop McCarran Act Political Deportations, P.O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, CA 90051 (213) 413-2935. □

PALESTINE FOCUS (415) 861-1552 P.O. Box 27462 San Francisco, CA 94127

Palestine Focus is the national newspaper of the Palestine Solidarity Committee (formerly November 29th Committee for Palestine). The newspaper is an activist vehicle tied to an activist movement, yet aimed at a general audience with little background knowledge. We report on activities, not only of our Committee, but of other groups; and we provide consistent commentary and analysis of events in the Middle East.

The Palestine Solidarity Committee's task is to spark and support consistent, far-reaching, and effective activity which brings the issue of Palestine before the American people and builds a growing and deepening base of understanding. Our Committee organizes to stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East and to cut off U.S. aid to Israel. We educate Americans on the need to support the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to oppose Israeli policies of discrimination which deny the Palestinian people their rights.

Signed articles are not necessarily the opinion of the Palestine Solidarity Committee. Letters, opinions, and other contributions are welcome.

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Palestine Focus: Fifth Anniversary

Activist Voice for Palestinian Rights

With this thirtieth issue, *Palestine Focus* marks five years of continuous coverage of the Palestinian people and their aspirations for freedom and independence, of Israel and its supporters and allies, of the movement for Palestinian rights, and many other related topics. In that five years and thirty issues, we have documented Palestinian victories and setbacks and the machinations of the United States and Israeli government and we have published firsthand interviews with and articles by many of the best-known writers and public figures concerned with these issues. In those five years, a national movement for Palestinian rights has grown in the United States to the point that in 1988 its influence is slowly spreading into many communities and constituencies and its concerns are dramatically entering national forums of debate and even the national consensus.

The ongoing Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza has served to focus and accelerate these trends. And, for a time, our national media focused their collective attention on the Palestinians. Much of its coverage was biased and tailored to fit a pro-Israeli point of view. Some, however, was honest and revealing and challenging to long-held but false assumptions about the Palestinian/Israeli conflict.

The media's attention span, however, is short and the uprising has all but disappeared from the front page—and even the inside pages on most days. Some reporters have declared the uprising over.

Whether you are a first-time reader of *Palestine Focus* or a regular reader who has come to rely on this newspaper for information and commentary, you need *Palestine Focus* to fill in the gaps in the mass media and to provide an honest alternative to frequent media distortions. That an honest approach to the issues also happens to be pro-Palestinian is hardly accidental; that reality is the very basis of *Palestine Focus*'s partisan but responsible approach to ideas and information.

You need *Palestine Focus*, and *Palestine Focus* also needs you. Almost all the work to produce this newspaper is done by unpaid volunteers, but typesetters, printers, and shippers, insist on being paid. If only half of the readers of *Palestine Focus* became subscribers, the newspaper's continued existence would not only be assured, but its quality could be improved and extended.

If you are dissatisfied with coverage of Palestinian issues by the major media, if you believe that the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is necessary for world peace, if you want to promote a process of changing the role of the U.S. government in the Middle East, we urge you to join in building a grassroots movement to accomplish those objectives. And we appeal to you to support what has become an important tool in building that movement by subscribing to *Palestine Focus* today. □

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PALESTINE FOCUS P.O. Box 27462 San Francisco, CA 94127

Felicia Langer is internationally known as an author and as an Israeli attorney dedicated to defending Palestinians in the Israeli courts. She delivered this speech in Richmond, California on May 30, 1988 at a banquet for the People's Daily World newspaper.

I have a duty to perform. I cannot go back without doing it. I have to bring you to the planet of suffering and sorrow which is a part of my life for 21 years. I have to share with you the heroism and the suffering of the Palestinian people and my pride that the best sons of my people are now revolting against this horror and injustice.

It happened in 1967 that Israel became an empire after a war which we commemorate now on the fifth of June, after 21 years, a war which was called the six days war, the longest war in Israeli history. Israel became an empire and Levi Eshkol, the late prime minister of Israel, said, "What a beautiful dowry we have, these vast territories. But the bride, what can we do with the bride, the Palestinians." He meant the people of Palestine because of Israeli captivity with the well-known slogan, "the land without people," which was always the Zionist emblem, its trademark.

The Israeli authorities tried in every way possible to get rid of the people. In 1967, in the beginning of the occupation, the water of the Jordan River was red with the blood of those Palestinians who were driven out and who tried to come back to their land. Afterward, the policy of expulsion, of deportation of the Palestinians, in order to deprive the Palestinian people of its leaders, was also a trademark of the Israeli occupation.

There was no one means of oppression which was not used against the Palestinians: demolition of houses, ruins of thousands of Palestinian houses in order to make them desperate. (But the Palestinians are sticking to the ruins of their houses.) Curfews imposed on the cities of Palestine for months. Expropriation of the Palestinian lands; more than 50 percent of the Palestinian land is in the hands of the Israeli occupiers.

For Palestinians, land is their identity. I know one who is 80 years old, Rafi Sultan, and he said to the Israeli occupiers, "You are worse than the Turks. You are worse than the British because you want to replace us, because you want to be on the land instead of us, and you are forbidding me to drink the water from the same well that I dug." And this Rafi Sultan gave birth, with his wife, to children and grandchildren. And those are the carriers of the uprising today, the second generation of Palestinians.

All those long terrible 21 years were marked with tortures during investigations. They were marked with collective punishments on all cities. They were marked with complete domination of the Palestinian economy; it was a market for Israeli goods and a source of cheap labor for the Israelis. The Palestinians were cleaning out cities, and they were called dirty. They were working in our factories, and they were called lazy. And all the terrible stereotyping, from which we Jews suffered for so many years for generations, was applied to the Palestinians in the occupied territories, dehumanized completely for all those long years.

You would see them near the roadblocks. You could see the actual apartheid policy when the Israeli cars passed through cleanly and the Palestinian cars were stopped and the Palestinians were humiliated. The Israelis deposed the Palestinian mayors and then the fascist settlers, whose settlements were erected on the Palestinian lands, killed and maimed them.

For years Israel had immunity which was granted by the silence and by the gross support of U.S. imperialism and its

allies. We were crying and shouting for years: "Please stop this injustice. Please grant the Palestinians their rights." But it was so hard to convince the others. Also the Palestinians were fighting relentlessly against occupation for all those long years. No one day was without a strike against the occupation.

They were waiting in place, the children of Palestine. They were buying matches in order to make molotov cocktails. They were preparing in prison cells and not going to school in order to fight the occupation. And sometimes the courtyards of Nablus, of Ramallah, resembled school classes. I can see the little faces of the Palestinian children, the small wrists on which they were putting manacles manufactured in the USA, and the eyes of the children.

Once I said to the judges: "Here you see the death sentence of the occupation. On the faces of the children you can sense that your

"The Middle East Can Be a Flourishing Orchard and Not a Minefield"

By Felicia Langer

days will be counted." But they were too strong to hear the sounds of the storm. They didn't want to hear it in 1973, and they went on and on. In 1982, in the valleys and hills of Lebanon, they wanted to drown in blood Palestinian rights and the Lebanese nation. They wanted a victorious war under the auspices of U.S. imperialism to impose Pax Americana, to liquidate once and for all the Palestinian question, to perpetuate the occupation of the West Bank, to exterminate the brothers and sisters of those in Jenin, Ramallah, and Hebron in the refugee camps in Mieh Mieh, Rashidiyah, and Beirut. And they besieged Beirut. When I saw the children of Beirut carrying water under Israeli siege, I couldn't help thinking about the children of the Warsaw Ghetto and of the children of besieged Leningrad, and I felt ashamed during those years of this Lebanese adventure about which Begin said that it will grant us "40 years of peace."

They realized that there is no possibility of liquidating the Palestinian question, no possibility to impose their will upon liberation movements. Instead of liquidating the Palestinian question, a new peace movement emerged in Israel, and the best part of the Israeli people understood that there is no other solution than to grant to the Palestinians their vested rights.

The Israeli government started massacring again, and there was the Sabra and Shatila massacre, another cornerstone in the history of the Palestinians. So many massacres: Deir Yassin, Qibya, and Nahneen, Kufir Kassem, and Sabra Shatila—all to frighten, to terrorize, but to no avail. No chance to persuade the Palestinians that we can overcome them, that we can subdue them by force. And those who were saying that the only language understood by the Palestinians is force were badly mistaken. The only language which the Palestinians don't understand is the language of force. All this sophisticated power, Israeli, American, and others, didn't help to subdue Palestinians, and they emerged even from the Lebanese struggle more mature and

stronger. And now you see the results.

In the valleys of Lebanon there rose the slogan: Never, never, foreign domination. And now, Israel, the "most enlightened democracy in the Middle East," this democracy is killing indiscriminately women and children, sweeping the hospitals in the West Bank and Gaza. See the victims of the high-velocity bullets of the M-16. See the amputated limbs—I won't read you the names, but I have them—I see their faces now standing before you, from Gaza, from Jenin, from Ramallah. If you walk there as we did, their little organs are destroyed by those bullets which are sleeping in their bodies. And the Americans have paid for these bullets.

Can you imagine, and you are paying for this. And you will continue to pay and to be an accomplice to murder. I have seen old people who died from tear gas because they couldn't endure the lack of oxygen.



They died during funerals because this "most enlightened democracy in the Middle East"—all the goyim, the life of the gentiles is not given even a permit to bury with respect and honor the victims of its own criminals. Funerals are another source of death. They are massacring people who want to commemorate the victims of their massacres. Massacres upon massacres.

"And who is paying for it?" as Tawfiq Zayyad, my friend, said. There is no way they could sustain this occupation without American money, with all their victorious self-generated image abroad. They are not dominating the United States. It is a shame that the Palestinian children, the Palestinian women are looking at this gas with the mark "U.S. made," the handcuffs U.S. made, the rifles U.S. made, and the money which is going and coming to Israel. We have no people sleeping on the street.

The average income in Israel, even now, is not less than yours, and we have not got such poverty as I have seen here in the United States. Mr. Koch cannot clean the streets of New York, but he is donating and dictating and consulting how to suppress the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian children are growing up in refugee camps. The third generation is born in refugee camps which resemble our ghettos. When I first used the word "ghetto," they were very angry. Now they are not angry any more; they know that they are penned in ghettos. They are not ashamed any more.

When you say to them, "You are fascists."—I am speaking about the ruling circles and the soldiers—they aren't ashamed any more. The only consolation, the only encouragement is that there are hundreds of Israeli soldiers who refuse to serve in the occupied territories. The Israeli soldier is now armed with a gas mask, a rifle, and his stick because this stick became a trademark of our minister who is called minister of "defense." The most aggressive and bloody minister is called minister of defense.

They are risking everything. As in Orwell's 1984 in which there is the motto, "War is Peace"—because the war in Lebanon was called "the war for peace in the Galilee." "Freedom is Slavery" because they are enslaving people saying that they are liberating the occupied territories. "Ignorance is Power"—Francis Bacon said that knowledge is power, for them ignorance is power because they are using your ignorance, those outside Israel in order to suppress and to kill under a veil of silence and lack of knowledge.

But now something has changed. It is very hard to do everything in darkness. The Palestinians now in this uprising are building the infrastructure of the future Palestinian state. If somebody is deluding himself that this uprising will be completed as they want, they are very much mistaken.

First they said that it is something temporary, a small disturbance of order. They had the right, of course, to restore order. But the most terrible disorder is the occupation itself so they have no right to restore order.

Please do not be misled by some American media saying on one side we have the stone throwers and therefore the Israeli authorities have the right to suppress them and to restore calm. It is not true; scientifically it is not true because the people of Palestine, of the occupied territories, according to international law have the full right of rebellion against tyranny and oppression. The people have the right of rebellion, and they have no right of suppression, no right whatsoever.

We Israelis have only one right, the right to live in peace, and we can obtain it. Because the message of this intifadah is peace with us, a Palestinian state alongside Israel. It is the only right we possess under international law. We have no right to suppress and to kill and to mutilate people.

There is a woman in prison named Munira Shamseh; she is from Beita village, where 16 houses were demolished because a settler killed an Israeli girl and two Palestinians. Mrs. Munira is the sister of one of those killed by the settler, and she threw a stone at him. Therefore, she is in prison for more than three months; she has a baby six months old; and she is now also pregnant. But those who killed Palestinians, the settlers, those who maim Palestinians, those who bury Palestinians alive—I have seen the four buried men from Saleh—those soldiers who buried them alive are free. It is the splendid judicial system of such an enlightened state as Israel.

Please take into consideration that we are an empire in which we now have 8,000 prisoners in addition to the 4,500 which we had before. They are scattered throughout the empire. They are turning hospitals and schools into prisons in which they are torturing and beating people. And they are erecting concentration camps, and I use this term with all the responsibility, with all the knowledge of the connotations of this word, as somebody who is a survivor of the Holocaust.

Where is the civilization? Where is the culture in Ansar 3 camp in the Negev where people are almost dying of thirst in dirty tents, of lack of hygiene and lack of water. They are only numbers. Can you imagine that more than forty years after the defeat of fascism we, the sons and the grandsons of those who remained alive thanks to the Soviet Union and to all progressive people in the world, are now burying people? There are no names in Ansar 3; there are only numbers. And when I say to the manager, "How can you do it? Such lack of sensitivity." He says to me, "Felicia, there are so many Ahmeds and Muhammads here; it is just for convenience." And I said to him, "Can

Continued on Page 6