

# Palestine Focus

NO. 9

NATIONAL NEWSLETTER OF THE NOVEMBER 29th COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1984

Editorial:

50¢

## Supporting Palestinian Rights Means Supporting the PLO

*In 1979 the United Nations declared November 29th the Day of International Solidarity with the Palestinian People. On this date in 1947 the United Nations voted to partition Palestine. More than three decades later, the overwhelming sentiment of the world community opposes Israel's continuing expansion and its oppression of the Palestinians. By celebrating November 29th millions of people around the world assert that the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, independence, and freedom is just and deserves support. Our editorial is written for this occasion.*

Two important barriers have held up the growth of support for Palestinian rights in the United States compared to support for similar issues in other parts of the world. The first barrier is the unwarranted favorable image of the state of Israel, which benefited from many years of persistent public-relations work. Israel's supporters have manipulated the genuine sympathy of Americans for Jewish victims of Nazi atrocities into uncritical support for the Zionist venture to establish an exclusivist Jewish state in Palestine.

The second barrier is the negative image of the Palestinian people, who are only seen as veiled "terrorists" and not as human beings with human needs and aspirations, as doctors, poets, lawyers, and teachers as well as commandos.

The first barrier has been breached since 1982 by the publicity given to Israeli brutality and by what little attention has been given to the rise of a popular right-wing extremist movement in Israel. But the second barrier remains and has hardly been dented. The exposure of massacres, torture, land seizure, and forcible expulsion of Palestinians—the list is long—has only just begun to change the image of Palestinians from victimizer to victim. The key to changing the unwarranted negative image of the Palestinians is building understanding and support for the PLO.

Over one hundred governments and hundreds of millions of people around the world recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the embodiment of Palestinian



Which future for Palestinian children: Homeland or exile?

aspirations for their national and human rights. As the United States and Israel adamantly refuse to recognize what has become obvious to the entire world, educating (and re-educating) Americans about the PLO is a critical task for the peace and nonintervention movements.

Many gains have been recorded in the last year—most notably the outspoken support by Jesse Jackson and the

Rainbow Coalition—but the sad fact remains that many Americans remain reluctant to support the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Years of pro-Israel sentiment have permitted media slander about PLO "terrorism" and other myths and distortions to go unchallenged.

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## Blacks, Jews and Palestinian Rights

By Vincent Harris and Cathryn Salazar

When Jesse Jackson supported Palestinian and Arab rights during the Democratic primaries, he met a storm of criticism. Well before Jackson's "Hymie" remark, leaders of Jewish organizations, such as B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, had denounced Jackson, turning his 1979 embrace of PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Operation Push's receipt of Arab League funds into media issues which overshadowed the death threats and other harassment against the Jackson campaign. The press labeled this criticism of Jackson's Middle East position the "Black-Jewish rift." This sounded the first loud chord in a favorite media election theme—the fracturing of the Democratic Party coalition that since the New Deal has formed the party's base of support.

Neither Blacks nor Jews are monolithic communities, and gross generalizations

***Blacks—and other Americans—have the right to support the Palestinians without physical threats or political blackmail.***

about either group contain little clarity. However, the history of the issues and organizations behind this "Black-Jewish rift" offers important insights into current U.S. politics and policies in the Middle East—and their implications for the Palestinian rights movement.

Although a complete history of the relationship between Blacks and Jews in America is too complex to be recounted here, the current controversy does need to be viewed in an historical context. From the 1930s through the early days of the civil-rights movement, Blacks and Jews operated within the same Democratic-New Deal co-

alition which included the labor movement and other groups. Individual Jews were active in civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, CORE, and SNCC. This Jewish activism stemmed initially from the immi-

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## Rights in Peril

# Attacks on Pro-Palestinian Activists Mount

By Sheila Ryan

*The November 29th Committee for Palestine and other groups working for Palestinian rights have recently come under sharp attack. Notably, the effort by the Reagan administration to engineer federal "anti-terrorism" laws which would characterize those who support Palestinian rights as "acting in concert with terrorists" presents a peril not only to the democratic rights of those supporting the Palestinians, but to all Americans seeking to change the direction of U.S. foreign policy. In addition to such threats of legislated McCarthyism, pro-Israel groups have begun forming "hit lists," attempting to keep a watchful and intimidating eye on those who support Palestinian rights. Long-time Palestine rights activist Sheila Ryan, who is an associate with Claremont Research and Publications, Inc. in New York and editor of Update: Mideast, has been tracking such surveillance and the threat to democratic rights it represents. Ms. Ryan's name is prominent on such hit lists.*

In an ominous development, pro-Israel organizations are scrutinizing persons and groups within the United States who oppose Israel or its policies and publishing "hit lists" of "pro-Arab" activists. While the overblown rhetoric and catchall quality of these efforts can make them easily ridiculed, there is a history of private

blacklisting in this country which should not be ignored. Private groups which kept their own lists of "Communists" and "Communist-front organizations" began their activities before Senator McCarthy employed Congressional committees to harass suspected leftists, and then worked closely with Congressional and other governmental entities at the acme of the anticommunist hysteria.

Perhaps even more significant is the potential effect of such lists on civil society. The very conceptualization of the reports attempts to set "pro-Arab" or "anti-Israeli" groups or individuals apart into a special category which bears surveillance and is not quite legitimate. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith published the first of

from sincere (even if misguided) conviction but is rather a consequence of foreign manipulation. Both reports posit that a dramatic increase in anti-Israeli activity within the United States has occurred not because of any expansion of sincere concern for the Palestinians or genuine repugnance at Israeli policies on the part of some Americans, but rather as an emanation of a vast and monolithic Arab plan.

### Defamation by the Anti-Defamation League

The premise of the ADL report is that protests within the United States in the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon were essentially "propaganda" attributable to a de-

waging on the American front. Recent evidence suggests that plans have already been set for a concentrated pro-Palestinian propaganda war in the United States. In mid-July a then-secret three-day conference attended by 23 prominent Palestinians was convened in London. Of the resolutions passed at the conference, the most important allocated \$100 million for a massive anti-Israel campaign termed the "Palestine battle."

This plan provides for contacts to be made with people close to or within the American administration, whose sympathies the conferees perceived as pro-Arab. Reportedly, the plan's proponents hope that these contacts will result in the creation of a Palestinian "lobby" on Capitol Hill.

In view of this escalating campaign to undermine American support for Israel, Israel's friends and allies face a growing challenge in the coming years.

While the ADL report cited no reference for this information, it was clearly taken from the Foreign Broadcast Information Service's translation of an item in the Arabic language magazine *Al Majallah*, published in London. At least two pieces of

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## Pro-Israel organizations are publishing "hit lists" of "pro-Arab" activists.

the hit lists under the title, *Pro-Arab Propaganda in America: Vehicles and Voices*, in 1983. A second directory was issued later that year by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) as *The Campaign to Discredit Israel (First Edition)*. Both reports attempt to delegitimize opposition to Israeli policies by asserting that it flows not

from a secret Palestinian conclave. The report declares:

It has become apparent that having lost the PLO military base in Lebanon, the Arabs, the PLO, and their U.S. supporters will intensify the anti-Israel battle they have been

## FOCUS ON ACTION

By Steve Goldfield

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign held a major conference on Sabra and Shatila and the Ansar prison camp the weekend of September 29 and 30 in Chicago. The conference included presentations from a long list of well-known speakers, including author Cheryl Rubenberg on Israeli foreign policy, Fred Dube on Israel and South Africa, and FDR representative Arnaldo Ramos on Israel and Central America in a panel on Israeli foreign policy. In a panel on Israel in Lebanon and the occupied territories, Nubar Hovsepian gave an historical overview with a focus on occupation in south Lebanon; European human-rights activist Marie-Christine Aulas spoke on Palestinians in Lebanon, the politics of negation. Salah Ta'mari spoke on Ansar and Princess Dina Abdul-Hamid spoke on the importance of solidarity with prisoners. Albert Aghazarian gave an update on the West Bank human-rights situation; Dr. Ghada Talhami spoke on women's rights and human rights; John Quigley addressed Israeli violations of international law. Mr. Quigley is professor of international law at Ohio State and will lead a National Lawyer's Guild trip to the Middle East late this year. Nick Wolterstorff spoke on biblical justice in the Holy Land.

Professor Ibrahim Abu-Lughod hosted the banquet, which featured West Bank engineer Ibrahim Dakkak, Albert Aghazarian, Professor Edward Said, and Princess Dina Abdul-Hamid. Musician George Kirmiz played. The conference's final day featured an organizer's workshop, including discussions on reaching out to the antiwar and peace movements, to the religious community and to the black and labor movements; on education and networking; and on media contacts.

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Many November 29th Committee for Palestine chapters commemorated the second anniversary of the Sabra

and Shatila massacres. Israeli lawyer Lea Tsemel addressed an event in New York in September. In San Francisco an ad hoc coalition, which included November 29th, the National Lawyer's Guild, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Jewish Women for a Secular Middle East, NAJDA, and CAFIOT among the organizers, held a cultural memorial program on the theme, "We Will Not Forget." Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport headed up the list of speakers; Mayor Newport gave a powerful speech linking massacres in Lebanon to southern Africa, Central America, and Grenada. A Palestinian woman read her own poem for the occasion, and a Lebanese woman read a translation of a poem by Lebanese poet Elias Khoury. A representative from Casa de Cultura Nicaraguense made a stirring comparison between Somoza's massacres and those in Lebanon. The Wallflower Order performed a special dance piece composed for the occasion, and the evening ended with 'oud music. November 29th in San Francisco also held a silent vigil at the Israeli consulate on September 17th.

In Austin, Texas the November 29th chapter joined the General Union of Palestinian Students for a day of mourning on September 20th. Two hundred people watched a noontime dramatization of the massacre at the University of Texas, and the same evening the film "Beirut, Summer 1982" was shown. The film was also shown for six days on a cable television station.

On September 23rd, the Palestine Solidarity Committee in Portland, Oregon, a November 29th chapter, presented a slide show by Rev. Ellsworth Culver, president of Mercy Corps International, who was in Beirut during the Israeli invasion and in Sabra and Shatila after the massacre.



Dramatization of the Sabra and Shatila massacres at the University of Texas, Austin.

Two Bay Area women's organizations, NAJDA—women concerned about the Middle East and Jewish Women for a Secular Middle East—have formed a new organization, Tadamun (which means "solidarity" in Arabic), to work for women prisoners under Israeli rule. Tadamun cosponsored a visit by Rayna Moss from the Israeli feminist peace organization Women Against Occupation in October. Tadamun has also launched a petition campaign against the 4½-year town arrest of Zahera Kamal, chairperson of the Women's Work Committee in the West Bank. Tadamun can be reached at P. O. Box 882-882, San Francisco, CA 94188-2882.

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November 29th representatives from Chicago attended the Emergency National Conference Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean held in Cleveland, Ohio, September 14 to 16. The conference passed a resolution noting that the U.S. government uses client states such as Israel to achieve its foreign policy objectives when direct U.S. intervention is blocked by domestic opposition. Israel was identified as the main U.S. proxy for funneling military assistance to the repressive regimes in Central America. The conference therefore resolved that the action program for its spring mobilization should include literature and speakers exposing the role of U.S. proxies in Central America and calling for a cutoff in U.S. military aid to such proxies.

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NAJDA and CAFIOT—Committee for Academic Freedom in the Israeli Occupied Territories in Berkeley—held their second annual Run for Palestinian Universities which will provide scholarships for Palestinian women in the West Bank. The second run was even more successful than the first and again featured a special t-shirt for participants.

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The Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) will be held November 8 to 11 in Detroit. The convention's theme is "The Arab Nation: A Fight for Survival." Speakers include George Khodr, Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Mount Lebanon, and Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, Egyptian journalist and author, former editor of the daily *Al-Ahram*. Lebanese composer Marcel Khalife and the al-Mayadeen Ensemble will perform. □



# Palestine Solidarity Around the World

By Steve Goldfield

Working for Palestinian rights can seem a lonely task. Years of an incessant barrage of misinformation in an atmosphere of general ignorance means painstaking persuasion to win allies one at a time. The Palestinian people and those of us who support their cause, however, have allies all over the world. Many countries have active organizations or networks which devote their time, energy, and resources to education and information work and to medical and other direct support for the Palestinian people.

In August 1984, about one hundred nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) concerned with Palestinian rights met in Geneva. The meeting, a followup to the 1983 International Conference on the Question of Palestine, was held to foster coordination and contacts among the NGOs, many of which emphasize Palestinian rights as the primary focus of their work. The conference heard many eminent speakers and produced a declaration calling for an international petition campaign calling for an International Peace Conference on the Middle East to be launched on November 29, 1984, an international NGO coordinating committee, and annual conferences.

The conference declaration stated in part, "We call upon all the peoples and all the governments to take definitive steps to secure a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine."

The November 29th Committee for Palestine sent a representative, Steve Goldfield from the National Interim Steering Committee. Aside from the formal conference, the meeting provided a rare opportunity to find out how Palestinian rights are promoted in other countries. Conditions vary greatly, but an impressive array of activities for Palestine are going on, especially in North America and Europe, from which most delegates came. Organizations from Britain, both Germanys, the Soviet Union, India, Canada, the West Bank, Israel, Egypt, and many other places sent delegates.

One of November 29th's priorities was to speak with representatives of groups supporting Palestinian rights. We found that the two most developed centers of support are in Western and Eastern Europe. Accordingly, we have selected Holland, Norway, East Germany, and the Soviet Union to represent the breadth of this international movement.

**H**olland: The Dutch Palestine Committee was started in 1969 and is the only such group in the Netherlands, though there is a closely associated committee to supply medical services to Palestinians and Lebanese. They share a building with other solidarity groups, notably those working on southern Africa issues; the Palestine office was burned in 1982 during a demonstration against the Israeli invasion. Progressive carpenters donated labor and materials to help them rebuild it.

The committee publishes a magazine; an article by the author on the Israeli arms industry and international sales was condensed and translated into Dutch in their current issue. The committee is very poor financially, but the medical committee sometimes raises as much as \$1 million in one year, mainly for Lebanon but also for the West Bank.

Many Dutch are filled with guilt over the fact that almost all the Dutch Jews were killed by the Nazis (in Denmark, for instance, almost all were saved). Anne Frank's house stands on a corner in Amsterdam as a constant reminder. The Dutch and their government are, therefore, quite pro-Israel. In fact, all the fifty or so international solidarity committees in Holland get money from the government except two: the Dutch Palestine Committee and the committee which works for Cuba. Yet the people who run the Anne Frank House put up a photo display with a picture of Menahem Begin. Under his photo they asked, "Is this man a neofascist?" The state wanted it removed; the Anne Frank people refused.

One of the delegates in Geneva was a member of the Dutch parliament, Klaas De Vries. He is a Social Democrat, presently the principal opposition party. He called for a delegation of European parliamentarians to visit the United States and attempt to reason with American legislators.

There are not many Palestinians in Western Europe generally, with the important exception of West Germany. A common theme heard in Europe is that while there was a big upsurge in interest and activity in 1982, a

steep downturn has occurred since. On the other hand, travel between Europe and the West Bank or Lebanon is much more prevalent than from the United States, and European solidarity workers seemed quite knowledgeable as a result.

**N**orway: Norway has two committees the Palestine Front and the Palestine Committee. The Committee began in 1969; the Front formed in 1976. Each group works in twelve to fifteen cities. In 1982 there were hundreds of activists. The Palestine Committee has about six hundred dues paying members, but each group has between one hundred and one hundred and fifty activists.

In 1969 when the Committee started, they were treated almost as "political criminals" in Norway. However, the Israeli equivalent of the CIA, the Mossad, made a drastic

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*The Palestinian people and Americans who support their cause have allies all over the world.*

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Igor Belyaev of the Soviet Union and Klaas DeVries, Social Democratic Member of the Dutch Parliament, both speakers at the Geneva Conference.

blunder in Norway. They sent a death squad to kill a Palestinian and killed the wrong man. Partly for that reason, there is a lot of sympathy for Palestinians in Norway.

Norway is very well-organized; there is a long tradition of national organizations, such as one big national union. Every Norwegian belongs to a trade union or other national grouping. Palestine solidarity work in Norway is understandably focused on addressing these national groups. In 1980 the Palestine Front organized a joint committee after Begin and Sadat won the Nobel Peace prize; ten thousand people protested in Oslo. The joint committee includes 19 organizations including the Communist and Socialist Left parties; youth groups from the Communist, Labour, Liberal, Socialist Left, and Center parties; national unions of chemical, graphics, child care, and social workers; national unions of students and Christian students; and the Women's Association, among others.

The long-term aim is to get the Norwegian parliament to recognize the PLO, but in the last seven or eight years, solidarity work in Norway has concentrated on two kinds of concrete projects. One is to raise support for specific needs of Palestinians. Medically, Norwegian doctors and nurses operate clinics with the Palestinian Red Crescent. They had a rehabilitation center in Ain al-Hilweh and are still in Tripoli. They also support the Norwegian Medical Committee's work in the West Bank. The Norwegian government provides 80 percent of the funds for the West Bank material assistance.

The Front has had a project to build a cultural center in Deir al-Asad village in the Galilee since 1978. They are presently planning a twin city project similar to that which Aberdeen in Scotland has with a city on the West Bank.

The other task is informational and educational. Some great successes have been recorded with the Trade Union Congress. At a congress—held every four years, this one in May 1981—official contacts were established with the Palestinian Workers' Union. This was a big breakthrough which has affected the Social Democratic Party, the principal opposition in Parliament. Some of the national unions, such as the Chemical Workers' Union, give grants for general solidarity work and to specific projects.

The student movement is weak and the university faculties generally have a bad position. Though there is now a network of professors who support Palestinian rights and the student unions are supportive, the universities are not a center of activity as they were in the late sixties.

**S**oviet Union: Igor Belyaev, foreign editor of the weekly *Literary Gazette* and Vice-Chairman of the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion,

began a discussion with *Palestine Focus* by contrasting solidarity work in a country whose government itself takes a stand of solidarity with our work in the United States, where the government is an adversary. Since the forties, he said, the Soviet Union has wanted a just solution to the dispute over Palestine.

Several committees work in relation to Palestinian issues. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee began a commission for the Middle East and Palestine. The Committee to Investigate Israeli Crimes in Lebanon is headed by a prominent jurist and meets every few months. It is connected to the International Committee of Jurists. They hold meetings, lectures, media work, and issue pamphlets and brochures. Lebanese Cabinet member and Shi'ite leader Nabih Berri came as a guest. The Soviet Peace Committee also has a Middle East section.

The Anti-Zionist Committee caused a storm when it was founded in April 1983. Its membership is 43 percent Jewish. The AZC exists throughout the Soviet Union. The committee supplies information to authors, writes letters, and answers questions.

The AZC also organizes demonstrations, gatherings, lectures. On September 19th several meetings were held in Moscow to commemorate Sabra and Shatila. (There are ten thousand Arabs in Moscow.)

On the radio, the AZC answers questions such as on new Soviet initiatives. The AZC is independent of the party and government, but independent organizations do have access to state radio.

Shortly after it was formed, the AZC held a press conference with correspondents from all over the world, including the *Los Angeles Times* and UPI. Prof. Belyaev was asked about his trip to Israel to celebrate Victory Day, May 9, 1983, the 38th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany. Although Victory Day is celebrated all over the world, in Israel there is no official ceremony. Instead progressive groups organized the event with ten thousand people—Palestinians and Israelis—meeting near Jerusalem.

**E**ast Germany: The GDR has only one solidarity committee for all issues, Willi Sommerfeld, representative to international organizations and Western committees, told *Palestine Focus*. It started in 1960 with Africa (the GDR Solidarity Committee, for instance, has for many years printed *Sechaba*, the organ of the ANC of South Africa, and more recently the organ of SWAPO as part of its solidarity work). In 1973 they added Chile and gradually other peoples in need of support.

The task of the Solidarity Committee is moral, political, and material support for liberation movements and defending progressive countries: Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia particularly. The committee has a budget of \$70 million per year which comes from direct contributions primarily from trade union members but also from bequests. Periodically, the committee holds conferences on Africa and the Middle East. The committee has given hundreds of scholarships to Palestinians. Two hundred and fifty released prisoners from Ansar were brought by the committee to the GDR for medical treatment. Of course, the state also gives some support.

Around the world the movement is growing. More and more people now see that the issue of Palestinian rights is a vital issue for all concerned with justice and peace. In very different countries with very different political circumstances, dedicated activists work to spread the message that world peace demands justice for the Palestinians. □



# Inventing Laws to

Raja Shihadeh is codirector (with Jonathan Kuttub) of Law in the Service of Man (LSM). LSM, founded in 1980, is an organization of Palestinian lawyers headquartered in Ramallah, which monitors human-rights violations and intervenes in legal cases. It is an affiliate of the International Association of Jurists. LSM educates people about Israel's attempts to give its occupation of the West Bank, illegal under international law, the semblance of legality. In this interview with Palestine Focus in Geneva in August 1984, Shihadeh describes the methods by which the Israelis have taken over the West Bank yet avoided formally annexing it—a process which leaves the Palestinian inhabitants virtually without rights.

**PF:** What is the legal status of Palestinians in the West Bank?

**RS:** All the legal difficulties that exist in the attempt to have settlements under Israeli law without having the whole area subject to Israeli law and, therefore, annexed have been solved.

Now the first requirement for settlement really is acquisition of the land, a very complicated subject. The Israelis have been operating on many assumptions which are legally incorrect to my mind. Certain areas are declared state land when, in fact, they aren't. And other areas are expropriated, seized for military purposes. Using these various methods, it is now the case that 40 percent has been declared state land—60 percent according to some estimates, I cannot vouch for that myself—has been seized for settlements or blocked from the Palestinian population. But there is more. The remaining 40 percent has also been dealt with by restricting the rights of the Palestinians to developments in these areas.

Now this has been done in various ways. One-third of the West Bank is property that has been registered. Property that has been fully registered is more difficult to seize with the assumption that it is state property or by any other method.

**PF:** How did it become registered?

**RS:** Registration in the whole of Palestine was started by the British in the twenties, and the operations for registration continued up to 1967; the Jordanians also carried it through. By 1967, in the West Bank only one-third was registered. When the occupation started, registration was stopped. We have asked that it be resumed, but the occupation forces said that they don't think it would be fair for those who are absent, [chuckles] who are outside. It's very funny because there are cases—and I have had one such case—where land was seized under the assumption that a person was absent when he was in Jerusalem. This is a very conspicuous person; he is very fat; he is a travel agent. He's very conspicuous. And he was thought of as being absent.

So we said he's not absent and made a case to try to get the land back. And then the Israeli military authorities

started saying this had been taken by the Jordanian government before and then they said it was state land—they used all the series of arguments. When we disproved all that—it was very strong proof—the committee could not but say that without any doubt this land belongs to this man.

But they said, since the custodian had taken it in good faith and transferred it to the Jewish Agency thinking it was absentee property, then the transaction would be allowed to stand. He lost his land nonetheless. So when you think of the answer that they are protecting absentees, it's really cynical.

**PF:** So you have a situation where almost two-thirds of the land has already been expropriated one way or another.

**RS:** Yes... seized rather, acquired, because expropriation is just part of it. So two-thirds acquired. In the remaining one-third, there is now an attempt to restrict the use of it by Palestinians. So, for example, near Ramallah, where all the land is registered, the army has just recently appropriated—in this case they used expropriation—3,000 dunums, each dunum is a thousand square meters. That is in the area into which the industrial zone is developing, and they said that this is needed by the army. It's a private Palestinian industrial zone, an area which has just recently been added to the municipality, and they just seized it altogether, expropriated it. So this has been one method.

No settlement exists nearby, and the idea is very clear that they are attempting in each case to block the development of each of the Arab towns. The end result that they would like to see is that all towns would be blocked from all sides. If it is settlements that do the job, then all right. If not, then they find other ways. In this case, when the land is expropriated, you can't build on it, the town cannot develop.

Another thing is that they have Israeli mayors in these towns. Israeli mayors are making town plans also to suit the policy. In Hebron, for example, they have changed the municipal area to give more for the Kiryat Arba settlement. It is a zigzag. Areas which they want they take, they take to suit their purposes. The towns where they installed Israeli mayors are the towns where settlement is taking place inside the town. In Hebron the mayor is the person who served as the custodian of absentee and state



Raja Shihadeh

Palestine Focus/Steve Goldfield

*"Israel has the best road that West Bank strangulation"*



Israeli patrol in the West Bank.

property since the beginning of the occupation.

And then there is the very serious matter of the regional plans. In 1970, the military government amended the planning law. Several military orders amended it, but the first one (118) was a brief order to put the power to plan in the hands of Israeli officers. It's a very simple amendment. And of course the reason the Israelis give is that the Arabs are not up to the standard of being able to plan, and they don't have the expertise, nor do they know how to plan, and "we are bringing civilization." That's how it was explained.

This military order amended the Jordanian law of planning, which, as any decent planning law, says that before you make regional plans you have to consult with municipalities, with the union of engineers, with health services, and so on. They did away with all that and said the people who would constitute the higher planning council are Israeli officers in the army. They just simplified it. And these officers have been hard at work,



A sign points to the offices of the Israeli occupation authorities in "Judea and Samaria" in Beit El, West Bank.

*"The end result is that Israel would block the development of all Arab towns from all sides."*

## Attacks...

Continued from page 2

information which might have assisted readers in evaluating the seriousness of the report were omitted. First, the article stated that the \$100 million "allocated" in fact was a goal of funds to be raised from individuals at a later conference, leaving the questions outstanding of whether or not the money was ever collected or whether any such funds were ever expended in the United States. The second is that the supposedly "pro-Arab" persons to be contacted included Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and John Conally. Needless to say, neither of these persons figured in any of the activities of the "Palestinian lobby" detailed

in the report. By selective inclusion of data from an uncited source, the ADL projects an illusion of an extraordinarily well-funded and externally inspired "Arab propaganda war," presumably in a calculated effort to raise an alarm amongst sympathizers with Israel.

### AIPAC's Campaign

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the registered lobby for Israel, in its *The Campaign to Discredit Israel*, issued in 1983, also hypothesizes a concerted effort against Israel, inspired and orchestrated by "the Arabs," in accordance with a decision reached at a crucial meeting—but a different meeting from the one the ADL discusses. The AIPAC study declares,

Specifically, the objective seems to be to discredit and delegitimize Is-

rael in the United States, to achieve her diplomatic isolation, and thereby to create the conditions for a radical change in the balance of power in the Middle East. Toward this end, a decision was taken at the November 1973 Arab League summit in Algiers "to multiply the efforts—with regard to the American people and their various information media—to clarify the justice of the Arab cause...." A fund was created, with initial contributions of \$5 million, to finance the effort and Arab League member governments and the PLO significantly stepped up their campaign aimed at American opinion.

The implication of this report is that all "anti-Israel" activity in the United States emanates from such a decision: the authors

write of the Arabs engaging "foreign agents," law firms, public relations firms, and retired diplomats, who lend professionalism to the espousal of Arab interests in American political life. They posit an effort to "recruit" a grass-roots constituency from among Arab Americans and "left-wing organizations," "Marxist cadres," and even "churches involved in liberal causes."

The report declares, "Some segments of the National Council of Churches, the American Friends Service Committee, and other groups have taken an active interest in the Palestinian issue as an element of their overall concern with the third world. Some have come to see the Arab-Israel conflict as one between a strong Israel and the weaker Palestinians (rather than a struggle between the Arab states and an Israel fighting to survive), or between the west and the third world, and this has created some fertile ground for recruitment to the anti-Israel



# to Get the Land

*the settlements served by roads and lands, hoping West Bank Arabs will die out of it on."*



Stern

ment of the settlements. Agricultural areas are defined as agricultural whether or not they really are. In these areas building, of course, is severely restricted. So the towns cannot develop because they are surrounded by agricultural areas. So this restricts the development very much and the use of the remaining land.

Another aspect of this restriction on the use of the land is refusing building licenses. I've been involved in this situation with Bir Zeit University. Bir Zeit has asked for a building license for a Fine Arts building, asked for a license to enlarge its existing new campus. We've taken a case on their behalf to the high court in which we are claiming bias against the university by the planning committee. I don't know what the result will be; it's not very hopeful.

There is even the problem that even in places where development is permitted in the plans, we are not given licenses. And then, because of the institution of the planning committee and its very clear directions and expectations, they do not support applications even where they are existing in places which do not contradict their designs if they are for institutions they do not want to help and they also help people they want to encourage such as the Village League type people.

Now over and above this there is already published a road plan, called Road Plan Number 50. This is the most serious and problematic thing we are facing in the West Bank. The amount of damage that this road plan is going to cause when it is implemented, and it may be implemented any time now because it has been published for several months, is very extensive. The plan calls for the establishment of several roads: in some cases enlargement of existing roads (to 120 meters in width!), in some cases building new roads. The whole system is to connect all the settlements to Israel and at the same time to avoid all the Arab population centers.

**A**n example of the damage to be caused is the road connecting the town of Tulkarim to the Jiftlik area which is on the river Jordan—a road called Road 57 of 80 kilometers in length. The following are to be destroyed: 3,500 dunums of vegetable farms, 1,200 dunums of olive trees, 350 dunums of citrus, and then 14 kilometers of the Far'a canal.

This Far'a irrigation canal irrigates 35,000 dunums in that area. It follows the existing road. When the road is widened, this is going to be destroyed. The plan prohibits building canals underneath the road; so they will simply have to remove the whole canal. Now along that road there are also fifteen artesian wells which would be destroyed, fifteen irrigation ponds, four modern nurseries, one of them thought to be the biggest in the area including Israel, and three nurseries for vegetables. This is an example of the destruction that is to be caused by one road; there is more.

I think the situation is that they have taken as many lands as possible directly for the settlements. On the remaining lands, they want to make sure that their vision of what Palestinian society should become in the West Bank will be facilitated or brought forward by all these developments they are making. That vision is to have little townships, restricted on all sides, not having enough agriculture, not having any self-support. Migrant workers. And then to have the settlements served by the best

roads and the best lands and to hope eventually that the Arab population there will die out of strangulation.

**PF:** How do you fight the Israeli occupation strategy? How do you resist a strategy which seems totally bent on removing you?

**RS:** It seems to me very important to arouse more consciousness and awareness of what is happening and what it is leading to. How it is in contradiction to matters and principles that decent human beings and certainly people who are fighting and involved in human rights would disagree with. Then when there is mobilization against these matters, there will be an effect. I know this from experience. There has been an effect when there has been intervention from outside.

We have always been thinking about the bigger issue and forgetting about the smaller. There is a lot to be done about the little things. Take one issue after another issue and hope that the accumulation...because if this regional plan works, if the road plan works, if the settlements work, it will be too late. If we want to just fight the bigger issues and forget—because it's only a road plan, what is the importance of a road plan when all the land has been taken. No! It's very important, the road plan.

**PF:** Are you saying that the changes could become irreversible?

**RS:** No. I don't agree with that argument. I find it very irritating in fact. Because really what is irreversible? Building concrete is irreversible? That's not irreversible. It's not irreversible, but it will be more difficult to reverse, more costly in material terms and in human terms. But for the long term I find it all very, very hopeful because the occupation is just a doomed course, no hope for success. Because it's all based on the assumption that the Israelis can get rid of the Palestinians and expel them and make them tired of this and the Israelis will last forever in their determination.

It's all not true. The Israelis will not last forever and there's no reason why they should because they're not really fighting for existence. Everybody knows their existence is very well secured. One of the strongest countries in the world.

The Palestinians are not leaving because they have no choice, absolutely no choice. □



Israeli soldier checks Palestinians' IDs at Damascus Gate, Jerusalem.

Spike

because it's not easy to make plans for the whole area, and they did.

Some of these plans have been published, not all of them. One plan that has been published is called the RJ5, the Region Jerusalem 5 plan. It excludes Jerusalem; it includes the area from Bethlehem down to Nablus. Jerusalem is considered outside the West Bank since its annexation. The plan has the settlements with large areas around them. They have the Arab towns, some of the towns have small circles around them; other villages do not appear. Those that do not appear will cease to exist because they cannot get any licenses to build because they don't exist.

The regional plans have allocated where the settlements are and where the Arab towns and villages are, and they have made it such that around the Arab towns are agricultural areas. Around the settlements—the extended area of the settlements—are special areas. Special areas are not defined but they are obviously for future develop-

drive." Finally, the report states that corporations doing or seeking business in the Arab world "come under additional pressure to finance and abet sophisticated anti-Israel activity in the United States and to lobby directly on political issues of importance to their Arab clients."

## Hit Lists

Another parallel between the two reports is the use of a directory format to present data on what ADL calls "the 'vehicles and voices' in the vanguard of the anti-Israel Arab propaganda network in America," or what AIPAC calls "the actors" in a "campaign to discredit Israel." The hit lists are quite similar: about half of the individuals mentioned on one are mentioned on both. Even more noteworthy is the fact that there is a strong similarity between the profiles of the same individuals in each of the reports.

Steven J. Rosen, an editor of the AIPAC report, insisted in an interview that the dossiers for each of the books were assembled independently rather than shared between the two organizations, however.

The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith has been known for some time to maintain files on critics of Israel and Israeli policies; these files apparently include both materials from the public record—newspaper clippings, publications of various groups, leaflets issued for demonstrations, and rallies—and reports from observers at public meetings and protests, some of them written in a semblance of undercover-agent style. Most of the material in the reports is taken from items distributed by the groups themselves or printed in major daily newspapers. Some items were taken from wildly unreliable sources, like the remarks of the late Georgia Con-

gressman Larry MacDonald, who frequently took advantage of the immunity from libel laws afforded by his congressional standing to insert unsubstantiated charges against various progressive groups and individuals into the *Congressional Record*.

## Intimidation on Campuses

A new AIPAC publication, *The AIPAC College Guide: Exposing the Anti-Israel Campaign on Campus*, purports to survey political activity on the nation's campuses. Students around the country were asked to fill out questionnaires about their campuses, and the contributions of some two hundred are acknowledged at the end of the text. The reports typically span a range from a claim of little or no anti-Israel activity at a particular school to a catalog of recent protests against Israeli actions and a countering

list of activities of pro-Israel students, often presented in a rather self-congratulatory tone.

Neither the ADL nor AIPAC advocate in their reports that the freedom of expression of any of the persons or organizations listed should be restricted. The format they chose, however, lends itself to abuse. In at least one instance, a scholar who had applied for a tenured position at a New York metropolitan area university appears to have been denied the position on the basis of representations made to the university administration by pro-Israel faculty members armed with the ADL report. The AIPAC college guide in a number of instances lists professors on various campuses who are considered especially "anti-Israel." Certainly, academia is among the arenas most vulnerable to actions to suppress free discussion of the Middle East. These guidebooks are a chilling step in the direction of blacklists. □



## Blacks and Jews...

Continued from page 1

grant, working-class roots of most U.S. Jews. A vigorous, radical tradition led many Jews to respond to poverty and anti-immigrant prejudice by joining the labor and radical movements.

As they achieved economic mobility and acceptance into the white mainstream, many Jews retreated from radical to liberal politics. Yet continuing prejudice and the rise of European anti-Jewish hatred kept the need for allies alive. The visible participation of Jews in the civil-rights movement after World War II was fueled not only by a cultural legacy of activism, but also by the perception that anti-Semitism and racism share much in common. Legal barriers against Blacks could easily be used as legal barriers against Jews.

For Blacks, the 1964 Civil Rights Act was a watershed in the long fight against the worst system of institutionalized racial discrimination and domination this side of South Africa. The movement then shifted its focus toward obtaining scarce employment and educational opportunities, challenging the privileged access to jobs and schooling enjoyed by whites, often at the expense of Blacks, Latinos, and other peoples of color. While the mutual self-interest which brought Jews and Blacks together to fight legal discrimination was positive, it operated within the larger context of Black-white relations; the alliance began to weaken when the antiracist challenge moved beyond the confines of legal restrictions.

The civil rights coalition of the fifties and early sixties splintered. The Black Power movement, the most forceful reassertion of positive Black identity since Marcus Garvey, raised Black consciousness. In response, government repression and violence burgeoned. Blacks increasingly identified with national liberation struggles around the world, including the Palestinian fight for a homeland. Black awareness of Palestinian rights brought many Blacks and Jews into conflict. Even many progressive Jews who protested the war in Vietnam and marched for voters' rights would not recognize the justice of the Palestinian cause nor Israel's role in propping up states like South Africa.

By the midseventies, attacks on affirmative action as "reverse discrimination" gained added firepower when major Jewish organizations opposed this issue so critical to the Black community. By this time the current, conservative Zionist hegemony over the Jewish community was complete. Now, such leaders as Nathan Perlmutter of the Anti-Defamation League link affirmative action and support for Palestinian rights as the two most important examples of current "anti-Semitism."

Lenni Brenner, writing in the Fall 1984 issue of *Freedomways*, exposed the under-

lying false analogy to this opposition to affirmative action.

Traditionally, anti-Semites have used quotas to exclude Jewish minorities, and these are being wrongly equated with affirmative-action quotas, which are designed by governmental institutions to include, and ensure opportunities for, Blacks and other historically disadvantaged groups. Since Jews are not



Blacks are increasingly taking the lead in progressive politics—including support for Palestinian rights.

### Nathan Perlmutter of the ADL links affirmative action and support for Palestinian rights as the two most important examples of current "anti-Semitism."

a deprived group in U.S. society, they do not benefit from today's quotas, but neither do they suffer discrimination from them. Only insofar as affirmative-action quotas benefiting Blacks may affect, say, job opportunities for whites in general, may (or may not) Jews be affected, but in no way are they a target of such effects. By condemning affirmative action as racist, on a par with the numerus clausus of such regimes as the virulently anti-Semitic Russian Tsarist state, the Establishment is disguising its own white racist motives.

Opposing views on affirmative action and foreign policy culminated in Jewish support for "reverse discrimination" suits and the forced resignation of U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young after his "unauthorized" meeting with a PLO representative in 1979. The interrelation of foreign and domestic policy concerns was again underscored when most national Jewish organizations failed to endorse the commemorative march recognizing the 20th an-

niversary of the March on Washington, August 27, 1983, because the points of unity of the coalition demanded a cessation of arms shipments to the Middle East.

While major Jewish organizations have taken more and more conservative positions, it is important to note that a shrinking minority of all U.S. Jews affiliate with such organizations. Those contributing large

sums to Israel each year are an even smaller minority. Brenner estimates that "77 percent of those millions come only from 8 percent of the donors." The disinterest of the Jewish majority has meant that these organizations can speak for an ever-decreasing proportion of the Jewish population with an increasingly conservative voice, dominating debate through their organizational strength. Many Jews who continue to participate in the anti-intervention, civil-rights, and human-rights movements do so not in the name of the Jewish community but outside the narrow boundaries drawn by the Jewish establishment. Jews who challenge the notion of a Jewish state, support the Palestinians, or otherwise criticize Israel are frequently labeled as anti-Semitic or "self-hating Jews."

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Vincent Harris works with the Sacramento chapter of November 29th and is a spokesperson for the Rainbow Coalition. Cathryn Salazar is a contributing editor of *PALESTINE FOCUS*.

#### PALESTINE FOCUS

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*PALESTINE FOCUS* is the national newsletter of the November 29th Committee for Palestine (formerly November 29th Coalition). The newsletter 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 November 29th Committee for Palestine takes its name from the date declared by the United Nations as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Our 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 November 29th Committee for Palestine. Letters, opinions, articles, and other contributions are welcome.

#### Contributing Editors:

Douglas Franks, Steve Goldfield, Nanay Gabriel, Linda (Spike) Kahn, Tony Martin, Hilton Obenzinger, Cathryn Salazar, Ur Shlonsky

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By Hilton Obenzinger

Ingela Bendt and James Downing, both freelance journalists from Sweden, spent five months in Lebanon several years before the Israeli invasion. Spending much of their time at the Rashidiyah refugee camp, they examined the lives of Palestinian women, producing *We Shall Return: Women of Palestine* (Zed Press, London and Lawrence Hill, Westport, Conn.). Vivid portraits of Palestinian women fill this book—from grandmothers who remember fleeing their homes in Palestine and still have the keys to their front doors to women who fight to return to those homes.

Palestinian women are emerging from traditional roles to play active roles in the liberation movement. As one woman advises the authors, "Write that in spite of all the obstacles, in spite of war and death, in spite of the opposition from the men, the Palestinian women will participate in the liberation struggle. It is very important! It means that they believe in the Revolution and will teach their children to believe in it. Without the women, the Revolution would be without a future."

Social changes in the course of the liberation struggle have not come easily. Many men have resisted women leaving the home to work, much less leaving to join a commando unit. Traditions concerning marriage and child rearing have been challenged. Women active in the General Union of Palestinian Women painstakingly work in the refugee camps to create new roles for themselves. Day-care centers, clinics, and schools have all been built—and destroyed by Israeli bombs. Palestinian women share the national torment faced by all Palestinians.

Through interviews and personal accounts, this book captures the deep feelings of Palestinian women. One woman describes the change in attitudes about education: "I can neither read nor write... But my youngest sister who is twenty is now studying in Iraq. She is training to be a doctor! In my day it was inconceivable for a farmer's daughter to become a doctor!"

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The U.S. women's movement is developing in a very different context—but Palestinian rights are very much

## Getting It All In FOCUS

an issue here as well. The Alliance Against Women's Oppression, a national, multiracial women's organization, has published a discussion paper called "Zionism in the Women's Movement—Anti-Imperialist Politics Derailed," which carefully traces the responses of much of the women's movement to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and finds much lacking. Like other progressive movements, the women's movement has been influenced by Zionism. This paper follows the debate in women's publications and organizing projects and demonstrates how the women's movement is often deflected from solidarity with Palestinian women. "Understanding the social, historical and political questions that Palestinian women activists are grappling with will provide the basis to begin a long-overdue task—building solidarity ties between U.S. women and the women of Palestine." This paper is a valuable step in that direction. Write to the



Children at Palestinian refugee camp in Syria hold pictures of Jesse Jackson during his mission to Syria—postcard by Julia Jones.

Alliance Against Women's Oppression, The Women's Building, 3543-18th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

\*\*\*\*\*

Now you can get a postcard commemorating Jesse Jackson's mission to Syria! Julia Jones is a photographer who accompanied Jackson on the trip, taking the photo shown on this page in a refugee camp near Damascus that Jackson visited. The Rainbow reached out to Palestine—and now you can post that friendship through the mail. To order this and other postcards, write to Arabic Book Center, P.O. Box 6678, San Francisco, CA 94101-6678.

\*\*\*\*\*

*Time* magazine is not a citadel of pro-Palestinian sentiment in the United States. However, its coverage of the Middle East has gotten Ariel ("Butcher of Beirut") Sharon worked up enough to accuse the newsweekly of a "blood libel" against the entire Jewish people.

Why the big huff? *Time* based an article about the Sabra and Shatila massacres on a secret appendix to a report by the Israeli commission investigating the 1982 killings. The appendix revealed that Sharon met with the Gemayel family the day after Bashir Gemayel's assassination and, according to the February 23, 1983 *Time* article, "reportedly discussed with the Gemayels the need for the Phalangists to take revenge for the assassination." And so, Sharon is suing *Time* for libel!

A spokesman for *Time* replied to Sharon's accusation simply, "He's using the witness stand as a bully pulpit to say a lot of things that are not germane to the case" (*New York Times*, September 6, 1984). Apparently, *Time's* defense will in part show some very germane evidence of Sharon's long history of brutality, even delving into the escapades of the infamous Unit 101 Sharon headed in the fifties (which conducted terror attacks on Arab villages), all in order to prove that Sharon's reputation is so severely corrupted that *Time's* assertion of his culpability in the massacres was not libelous. This is a trial to watch! However, it probably isn't one we'll hear very much of in the media. If, indeed, *Time* does go ahead with its defense, we may actually see Sharon get his day to squirm in court! □

## Supporting Palestinian Rights...

Continued from page 1

With the PLO facing serious internal problems, some have found new ways to sidestep the pressing task of organizing American support for the PLO. "It isn't useful organizing support for a liberation organization that is filled with such internal dissension," these people argue; and once again, potential advocates for Palestinian rights in the United States are muted. In an earlier editorial we asked why such considerations were not raised over internal problems in the anticolonial movements in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Zimbabwe, or Mozambique, to name only a few examples. Nevertheless, we cannot close our eyes to the differences in the PLO, especially when they become front-page news.

The difficulties faced by the PLO since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon have indeed been serious. Deprived of the relatively protected haven for the resistance in Beirut and Lebanon as a whole, the PLO has had to assess its circumstances and determine the next step in the fight for a Palestinian homeland. Differences arose first within Fatah (the largest organization within the PLO umbrella), leading to the sad sight of warfare within the Palestinian movement. Chairman Arafat's visit to Egyptian President Mubarak in Cairo has also been a subject of much controversy.

The seriousness of the crisis within the PLO was underscored when the Lebanese nationalist forces succeeded in forcing Lebanese President Amin Gemayel to renounce the May 17, 1983 Shultz agreement (imposing an Israeli "peace" on Lebanon) with Israel and the Palestinian movement was unable to take full advantage of the new situation. As a statement on the internal PLO crisis issued by West Bank Palestinian national leaders (including Nablus Mayor Bassam Shakaa, Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf, and trade-unionist Adel Ghanem) declared:

This should have meant the decisive failure of the Camp David policy and the Reagan plan and a positive impetus for the Palestinian, Arab, and international struggle had it not been for the divisions in the Palestinian arena. If these divisions continue, they threaten the very existence of the PLO and the achievements of our people under its leadership on the Palestinian, Arab and international level, in defense of their rights.

Against this background, several organizations within the PLO met in Aden, Democratic Yemen. On June 28th

they reached an agreement on how to achieve unity, signaling a new and hopeful initiative. Their joint press release stated, "The participating forces in these meetings were able to decide upon a political and organizational document that will improve the path of the PLO and its strategy. This document will serve as the basis for a com-

chosen vehicle: the PLO.

Resolving the crisis in the PLO is the task of the Palestinian people, and we remain confident that Palestinian unity will eventually re-emerge stronger than before. Changing U.S. public opinion is our business and our responsibility. Support for the PLO at this critical histor-

## Support for the PLO at this critical juncture becomes even more urgent than before.

prehensive Palestinian national dialogue to strengthen and ensure the unity of the PLO and activate its legitimate bodies."

The process of reunifying the PLO is still far from complete. Discussions continue among the various organizations within the PLO with the aim of strengthening Palestinian national unity. Against this process, Israel and the United States continue seeking to undermine the authority of the Palestinians to demand their rights through their

ical juncture—when our own country controls the flow of arms and funds to Israel at an alarmingly rapid rate—becomes even more urgent than before. We cannot allow attempts to destroy the PLO and the Palestinian people to proceed unchecked by U.S. public opinion. To do so would betray not only the Palestinian people but our own interests in preventing wars of intervention and nuclear holocaust. □



Palestinian children in Chicago on Day of International Solidarity.

Arab Perspectives



# South Lebanon Speaks

By Douglas Franks

*From south Lebanon, Habib Sadek is in the general assembly of the South Lebanon Cultural Council, an organization founded in 1964—and spurred on by the 1967 war—for the purpose of promoting the cultural life of south Lebanon. The Council is composed largely of writers, poets, and intellectuals. The following article is based on an interview, translated from Arabic, with Mr. Sadek conducted by Palestine Focus in September 1984 during his speaking tour of the United States and Canada.*

The continuing Israeli occupation of the southern part of Lebanon, virtually forgotten by the U.S. media, is a continuing nightmare to the Lebanese and Palestinians living there. The daily threat of death, injury, or arrest, economic devastation, and deprivation of medical services, are facts of life in the south. While speaking positively of the ever-mounting Lebanese resistance to these conditions, Habib Sadek cites the grim incentive behind that resistance: "Human rights, including freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom of culture and art, all are denied the people of the south. They cannot move; they cannot express themselves."

## Occupation of the South

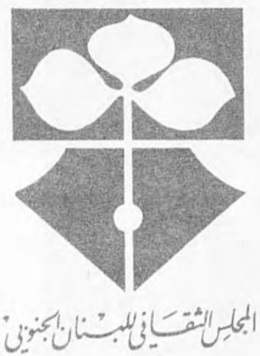
Describing the Israeli methods of occupation, Sadek is quite frank and graphic: "By occupying the south and the western Bekaa region, Israel is engaging in terrorism, a subject the U.S. administration likes to talk about so much. The Israeli forces systematically threaten the lives of Lebanese citizens. Many are killed or taken away, be it day or night. The latest example of this is the massacre at Sahmar in which 13 were killed, 20 wounded, and more than 30 taken to Israeli prisons.

"I'm from the border town of Khiam. Israel completely destroyed it, erased it. Thirty thousand people living there fled. The ones who remained—the old, the handicapped, the sick—were all killed by the Israeli forces. We appealed to the International Red Cross to gather the bodies and bury them in a mass grave."

Israel has virtually sealed off south Lebanon from the rest of the country. Sadek likens this tactic to a siege. "One million people are under siege in south Lebanon. Under this siege, there is only a very small opening through which Israel permits exit from the south but not reentry. Sometimes a Lebanese citizen waits an entire week before being allowed back to south Lebanon.

Many people die as a result of these long waiting periods. Many children die. A pregnant woman had a miscarriage. Many sick persons die from waiting. The Israeli authorities sometimes permit them to pass through and visit their home village or town in south Lebanon—but only during the last few minutes of their lives."

The economic consequences of the occupation have been disastrous as well. "The material basis upon which human life depends, specifically the economic infrastructure, has been obliterated by the Israelis burning crops, destroying trees and tobacco fields (from which 60 percent of the south earns a living). The Israelis order closures of entire marketplaces for weeks at a time.



Logo of the South Lebanon Cultural Council

The penalty for opening a store after a closure order is issued is to burn the store down. Water, electricity, and fuel supplies to some of the villages and cities are shut off. Foodstuffs are prevented from reaching their destinations. Survival is made very difficult."

Israeli restrictions on movement have been keenly felt in the delivery of medical services, further jeopardizing survival for some. "The Israeli forces prevent ambulances from entering the south and transporting the sick to hospitals in Beirut. Hence, they are forced to go to Israel for medical care. But the citizens of south Lebanon do not want to go to Israel for treatment. Many of these patients actually die because the Israeli forces forbid them from going to Beirut where there are well-equipped hospitals. No such hospitals exist in the south.

"I have an uncle in south Lebanon who is paralyzed. He was taken to Sidon, the capital of south Lebanon. In Sidon he was informed that he would have to be treated with special equipment available only in

Beirut. The Israelis forbid him from traveling to Beirut so he returned to his village and is now dying. He does not want to go to Israel for treatment."

## Israeli Goals

In identifying Israeli goals in south Lebanon, Sadek begins by looking into Lebanon's history. He draws a parallel between Lebanon and Palestine. "South Lebanon became a part of Lebanon when various Arab states were formed by the colonialist partition after World War I. Previously, this section of Lebanon was called Mt. Amal. The region had strong relations with northern Palestine and southwest Syria. Thus the cul-

statements concerning withdrawal of troops from the south, Sadek feels strongly that "such claims are lies. Israeli plans are based on invasion and annexation and more invasion and annexation. Israel's actions in south Lebanon do not demonstrate any interest in withdrawing. On the contrary, Israel is strengthening its positions. It more likely will redistribute its forces in the south so that it can avoid more human and material losses. "Owing to long experience, the south Lebanese, even if they see the Israelis withdrawing with their own eyes, will not believe it. They will always believe that behind any withdrawal is another scheme and more dire consequences."

## Resistance

Resistance to the occupation is "on the increase," asserts Sadek. The main instrument of the resistance, the Lebanese National Resistance Front, "was born a few years ago and at that time carried out few operations. Activity intensified steadily until reaching the current level. Despite the great difference in strength between the two, the Resistance Front is confounding the occupying Israeli forces, an army equipped with the most sophisticated materiel American factories have yet manufactured.

"A good recent example of the resistance: a general in the Israeli army was killed along with a number of Israeli soldiers. This general was a military leader in occupied Lebanon and oversaw the [recent] massacre in the village of Sahmar.

"In addition, Israeli forces are withdrawing from certain cities and towns, namely Nabatiyeh and Sidon. They will be replaced by Lahad's forces [the South Lebanon Army], an army formed by the Israelis. The Israeli troops are vulnerable to attacks by the Lebanese National Resistance Front within these cities. Israel decided to withdraw and turn its positions over to the Lahad's gangs because it doesn't care if Lahad's men—or other Lebanese—take casualties from the attacks. As long as the victims aren't Israeli, Israel doesn't really care."

A pressing issue within the current Lebanese government is its refusal to support the very resistance movement which seeks to regain Lebanon's sovereignty. "Even if the Lebanese government is one of 'national unity,' it has not yet taken a positive position regarding the Lebanese National Resistance Front. Despite the symbols of progressive politics within the government, the government is dominated by the rightwing blocs, all connected in one way or another with Israel and allied governments.

"The popular uprising taking place in Lebanon is reflected within the government by cabinet members Walid Jumblatt, Nabih Berri, and Salim al-Hoss. They are waging a campaign of pressure on the government to urge unconditional government support for the National Resistance."

The broadest context of resistance includes the American public as well, stresses Sadek. "We encourage people in the United States to educate public opinion. Inform American taxpayers that they are paying money into the U.S. Treasury which is then transformed into cluster bombs, vacuum bombs, Phantom Jets, and 155 mm cannons. As a result, our families and homes are being destroyed along with our farmlands and workplaces. We are dying. We ask you to awaken the American public to the fact that their taxes in effect are killing human beings who are not their enemies.

"We hope the American people who conducted an honorable national and international battle on behalf of Vietnam will move now as they did then in that era. Why are they being selective in whom they support? The cause is the same: justice and freedom and the right of self-determination." □

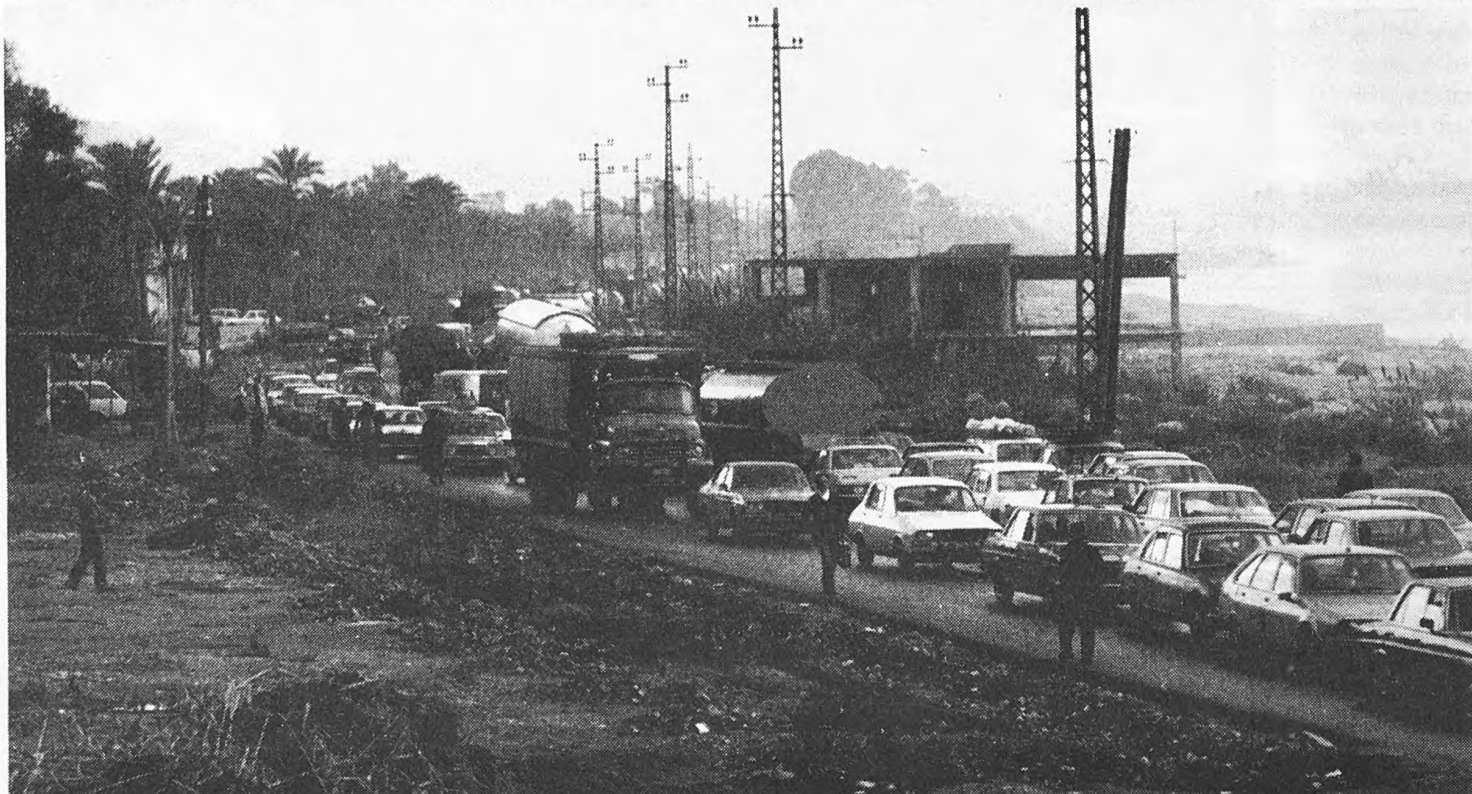
*"Despite the great difference in strength between the two, the Resistance Front is confounding the occupying Israeli forces."*

tural, social, and economic links among the populations of those areas, later known as Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon, were very strong. In the past they were all members of one nation, sharing the same culture, the same economic life, and the same popular heritage.

"When the Zionist movement appropriated Palestinian land and displaced the Palestinian people, one of the methods used was the annihilation of the Palestinian popular heritage, the annihilation of its very essence, and the alteration of its history. Israel wants to do the same thing in our region: to erase Arab history, popular heritage, and culture."

More specifically, says Sadek, Israel's goals in the south are "to subjugate the people of the area, to make them give in to the will of Israel so that south Lebanon will be incorporated into Israel and to force the people into leaving if they refuse to cooperate—abandoning their land, their source of income, their houses, everything."

Assessing the Israeli government's recent



Crossing from Israeli occupied south Lebanon towards Beirut: The wait could take days.

Jeffrey Blankfort