

# فلسطين حرة free palestine

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## Security Council condemns Israel

THE US Security Council on 19th June voted unanimously for a resolution which strongly condemns the Israeli attack on Iraq. Despite US support for the resolution, it was described by the Israeli delegate as 'yet another biased anti-Israel resolution', which he said, 'Israel firmly rejects'.

The resolution said the Security Council 'strongly condemns the military attack by Israel in clear violation of the charter of the United Nations and norms of international conduct; calls upon Israel to refrain in future from any such acts or threats thereof; further considers that the said attack constitutes a serious threat to the entire IAEA safeguards regime which is the foundation of the NPT (Non-proliferation Treaty);

'Fully recognises the inalienable sovereign right of Iraq, and all other states, to establish programmes of technological and nuclear development for peaceful purposes; calls upon Israel urgently to place its nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards; considers that Iraq is entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction it has suffered.'

## US VOTE 'LESSER OF TWO EVILS', SAYS KIRKPATRICK

Israel escapes sanctions despite world condemnation of Zionist air attack on Iraq

### INSIDE THIS ISSUE



### The European Initiative

THIS MONTH sees the start of Lord Carrington's six month term as President of the EEC Council of Ministers. It is a period in which Europe is expected to unveil its initiative to resolve the Palestine question. On page 4, Louis Eaks examines the state of the initiative, and Dr Alan George looks at Europe's tortuous path in coming to terms with the Palestine conflict. An editorial comment appears on page 11.

### The Zionist Bomb

CONTRARY TO General Dayan's claims that Israel should have a nuclear weapons capacity, western intelligence reports state that the Zionists have manufactured and stockpiled a large number of atomic bombs. Phil Kelly reports on the Zionist bomb and its links with apartheid South Africa. See page 7.

## ACTIONS NOT WORDS, SAYS ARAFAT

THANKS TO American threats of a veto against any Security Council resolution which called for sanctions to be imposed against Israel, the Zionist state has once again flouted international conventions and earned nothing more than a rebuke. However, this latest Israeli aggression is not being taken lightly by Arab leaders, and backed by the powerful non-aligned lobby, it is expected that there will be renewed moves to expel Israel from the UN and impose trade and economic sanctions against the Zionist state, when the General Assembly meets in the Autumn, writes Louis Eaks.

PLO leader Yasser Arafat made clear his anger at the Security Council's failure to adopt a tough stand against Israel, urging Arab leaders to recognise that reaction to Israel's raid was totally insufficient.

In the face of the enormity of this attack, he added during a speech in Baghdad on 19th June, it was not enough for Arab Foreign Ministers to issue yet another statement. Arafat said that these were difficult times

'I consider this to be the most serious event in the entire modern history of the Arab nation. It is even more critical for us than 1967. For in 1967 we lost land. But with this raid they are trying to deprive us of something more vital: Our will and our ability to achieve progress and development. They are threatening the security of our future generations.'

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive

for the whole Arab nation. He spoke of 'this sorry era we are living in', and added that the Arabs now face a critical and historical turning point.

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Now, the PLO leader declared, any iron and steel plant, any technical institute training electronic engineers, can be considered a threat to US security, to US control of the region, and therefore becomes liable to attack.

'It is not only the Palestinian people who are the targets, but the whole Arab nation. This raid was not aimed at Iraqi regional security. It was aimed at the national security of

the Arabs as a people,' he added.

Thalif Deen reports from New York: The US vote against Israel at the Security Council meeting does not signify any change in the traditional policy towards the Arabs, US Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick has said. Asked if the anti-Israeli vote was a sign of 'even-handed treatment' of the Arabs, Kirkpatrick said emphatically: 'I don't think so.'

In a television interview following the Security Council vote, Kirkpatrick said the Reagan administration had to choose between condemning the Israeli raid or agreeing to military and economic sanctions against Tel Aviv.

'We chose the less of two evils,' she declared. The US vote, she admitted, was 'a well intentioned hypocrisy'.

□ A special report on world reactions to Israel's air attack on Baghdad, and details of Israel's own nuclear weapons arsenal, appear on pages 6 and 7. A report on page 5 looks at Yasser Arafat's efforts to unite Arab ranks.



## Resistance grows again in Gaza

AFTER SEVERAL years of relative quiet, resistance operations in occupied Gaza are once again troubling the Zionists. 'A resurgence of terrorism' was how the Israeli Armed Forces radio described events in recent months. The Israelis have run Gaza with ruthless efficiency over the past eight years, and have succeeded in lowering the level of resistance by their vicious repression of nationalistic sentiments.

Zionist officials now admit that this repression did not break the underlying spirit of the population; in the words of the Armed Forces radio station: 'Many terrorist cells were formed which kept a low profile.' The capitulation of Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat to the Israelis has also resulted in an upsurge of Palestinian resistance: 'The period of the resumption of this activity in the Gaza Strip coincided with the start of the implementation of the peace agreement with Egypt,' the radio said on 22nd June.

The occupation forces have resorted to standard colonial tactics in order to try and break this new resistance. Houses where alleged terrorists have lived are being bulldozed again. Two homes were demolished in the Al Burayji refugee camp near Khan Yunis on 22nd June. They were said by the authorities to be the homes of two men connected with resistance operations in June 1980 and January this year, when the targets were a military fuel station and a car belonging to Zionist settlers.

## Syrian missile crisis confirmed a ploy

THE CRISIS over Syrian missiles in Lebanon was deliberately engineered by the Israelis, Menachem Begin claimed at the end of June. He said that Israeli intelligence gathering activities, carried out by pilotless aircraft and US-supplied jets which can operate well out of the range of the missiles, were not being impeded by the presence of the missiles in Lebanon. The threats to attack the missiles made by the Zionists had served purely as a cover to distract attention from the Zionist attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor on 7th June, Mr Begin said. He omitted to add that the crisis also served to bolster his electoral support in the run up to Israel going to the polls on 30th June.

America's contribution to the diversion operation, 'mediator' Philip Habib, can therefore have as much time as he likes to sort out the 'crisis', Mr Begin confirmed on 18th June.

## Bologna bombing: Phalangist arrested

ITALIAN MAGISTRATES have ordered the arrest of Camille Tawil, a representative of the Lebanese Phalangists in Rome, in connection with the bomb attack on Bologna railway station last year which killed 85 people and injured hundreds. He is suspected of having helped the escape to Lebanon of Italian neo-Fascists who were responsible for the bombing. Bologna is the largest city in western Europe with an elected Communist city administration. Tawil has been accused of perjury in connection with the enquiry into the bombing.



# Palestine Briefing



The acknowledged assistance provided by the Israelis and Egyptians to the Lebanese Phalangists — whose party is explicitly modelled on Italian fascist lines — raises the question of their involvement in the Bologna bombing.

## US keeps Israel afloat

THE EXTENT to which the Zionist state is kept going by the United States were shown recently in a survey of the country's economy by the *Financial Times* (19th June, 1981). In 1980, Israel's balance of trade deficit was US\$3,832 million; imports of \$14,194 million, including \$1,725 million spent on arms, easily outstripped exports of \$10,362 million. But the trade deficit became an overall balance of payments surplus of \$434 million by virtue of 'long-term capital imports' of \$4,266 million.

Over half of this came from the US government; \$1,454 million as gifts and \$797 million as loans. The rest came from the West German government, \$468 million for reparations;

institutional transfers were \$501 million; personal transfers, \$548 million, and other loans and transfers, \$549 million. The underlying failure of the productive sectors of the Israeli economy is indicated by the net capital disinvestment of \$51 million.

Inflation in Israel, near a world record at about 130 per cent a year, threatens to bring down the whole of the Israeli economy. Indexation of wages and social benefits means that those who are part of Israel's cash economy suffer rather less than Palestinians and others on its fringes. But even so, Jewish Israelis are growing anxious about the future. 'If inflation continues at 100 per cent, we could live with it for many years. The trouble is that our inflation is being accelerated by the same factors as everywhere else. As inflation gets faster, the indexation interval will contract. Before we get to infinite inflation, the structure will collapse and it could take the whole country with it,' the Director General (senior civil servant) in the Israeli finance ministry told the *Financial Times*.

'Without the long-term loans and transfers, the Israeli economy could

not long continue along its present path,' commented the *FT's* man in Tel Aviv, Anatole Kaletsky, at the conclusion of his review.

## Press harassed again

RENEWED HARASSMENT of the Palestinian press by the Zionist authorities came on 19th June, when two members of staff of the Jerusalem paper *Al Fajr* were arrested by the Israelis on the pretext that they belonged to a resistance group.

## Polish union leader not for Israel

LECH WALESA, leader of the independent Polish trade union Solidarity, has not and will not accept any invitation to visit Israel. Walesa told the Warsaw correspondent of the Abu Dhabi paper *Al Bayan* that during his visit to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) headquarters in Geneva, he had been invited to visit numerous countries by their dele-

gations to the international body. 'Some of them may have suggested that I accepted their invitations,' the Polish union leader said. Several western news agencies carried a report from Israeli sources that Walesa would visit Israel, apparently without checking with him.

## Emotional farewell to murdered PLO envoy

YASSER ARAFAT and other PLO leaders wept openly as Bernadette Khader, widow of martyred PLO Brussels Representative Naim Khader, delivered the eulogy for her dead husband at the Requiem Mass in St Francis Roman Catholic Church, Beirut on 5th June. Naim Khader was

# Another Palestinian youth shot dead by Zionists

ZIONIST OCCUPATION forces shot and killed an eighteen year old Palestinian youth on 12th June as they battled with demonstrators near the refugee camp at Dubeisha in the West Bank. The youth was shot when Israeli troops opened fire on a group of young Palestinians whom they said had been throwing stones at a patrol of soldiers. Zionist officials said that the soldiers had been following orders, and that they had shot only at the legs of the Palestinians, who were running away from them at the time. The refugee camp was placed under curfew to prevent further demonstrations taking place.

A number of factors combined to spark the protests, which began on 1st June. The Likud government is rushing through a new wave of Zionist settlements to bolster its image among extremist Zionists in the run up to the Israeli elections on 30th June. The protests marked the anniversary of the assassination attempts on three Palestinian mayors last year, and they were also directed against Zionist celebrations of 'Jerusalem Day', which marks the Zionist seizure of Arab Jerusalem in 1967, proceedings which are used to remind the Palestinians of their subject status as an occupied people.

The protests were also directed against the meeting of President Egyptian Anwar Sadat, which took place on 4th June. Finally, West Bank opinion was outraged by the Zionist killing of Naim Khader, who came from the village of Jenin, and who was murdered in Brussels, where he served as PLO representative, on 1st June.

The protests erupted in all major West Bank towns, and the Palestinian flag was raised in several places. Troops replied at first with tear gas and rubber bullets, but the decision to shoot to kill was taken after this failed to clear the demonstrators.

In the course of the demonstrations, eight students from Al Najah University near Nablus were injured in the town of El Bireh. Students and lecturers at the West Bank's universities have been staging protests over recent months against the new Zionist education decrees, which give greater control to the occupation authorities over curricula, staff appointments, and student enrolment at the universities of the West Bank. Al Najah was closed at the end of May for two weeks, and as it reopened, Bir Zeit was closed. No reasons were given by the occupation authorities in either case.

shot by a Zionist agent in Brussels on 1st June.

'You shall remain alive amongst us all until your people and you return to Palestine,' Mrs Khader read from a prepared Arabic text. She was the only mourner to deliver a eulogy. As well as Yasser Arafat, other PLO leaders attending the Mass included Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) and Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad). Others present included two Belgian representatives to the European Parliament. One of them, Socialist MEP Anne Marie Lizing, said: 'Naim was the top man in diplomacy to explain the objectives of the Palestinians and peace in the Middle East.' A Belgian conservative MEP, Tjil de Clerq, said: 'Naim had a very great impact on our government and especially on the Common Market. He was so respected.'

Other diplomatic representatives present included the Belgian and Turkish Ambassadors to Lebanon, and Joseph Abu Khater, a minister of state and Lebanese Cabinet member.

It is intended that Naim Khader will be buried at his home village of Jenin in occupied Palestine.

## Palestine gets less attractive for Zionist settlers

SINCE THE beginning of this year, only 974 of the 5,800 Jews who were allowed to leave the Soviet Union have chosen to go to Israel, the Israeli TV reported on 22nd June. The dropout rate was thus 83 per cent, and the number of Jews leaving the Soviet Union has dropped 60 per cent compared to last year. There is also a drop in Jews going to Israel from other countries; those singled out by Israeli TV include England, Argentina, South Africa and Romania.

## Kahane calls for 'Nuremberg laws' in Israel

RABBI MEIR Kahane, leader of the Zionist Kach organisation, has called for inter-marriage and sexual relationships between non-Jewish men and Jewish women to be made illegal. The call formed part of the Kach electoral platform for the June election in Israel. In advertisements in the Hebrew language dailies *Ma'ariv* and *Yediot Aharanot*, Kach called for a five-year mandatory jail

# Conspiracy of silence in Trade Unions is broken

TRADE UNION Friends of Palestine celebrated its first year of activity, marked by its Annual General Meeting at the House of Commons, with a degree of satisfaction. TUFF Secretary George Galloway, who is also Chairman of the Labour Party in Scotland told the AGM that their success had been 'quite remarkable'. 'We have generated more feet of film and column inches of print drawing attention to the Palestinian cause than many more respectable organisations,' he said.

TUFF's success, Mr Galloway felt, was because it had been able, as a group firmly based within the trade union movement, to put the Palestinian case to British society 'at the base', rather than concentrating on the establishment or on purely parliamentary activity. TUFF had been responsible for the twinning of Dundee with Nablus, he said. 'The initiative came from us; we discussed it with Nabil Ramlawi, PLO representative in London, and then with the Dundee councillors,' he disclosed.

Mr Galloway said that the move had been systematically misrepresented in the Scottish press, but it had resulted in many people hearing about Palestine, in many cases for the first time ever in a contemporary context. TUFF had also tabled resolutions for the Scottish Labour Party Con-

ference, and the Scottish TUC. Both resolutions were remitted, to the Executive and the General Council respectively. But that was not the end of the matter — the Scottish Labour Executive had now accepted the resolution on Palestine, which backed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to a sovereign state of their own, and called for the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organisation as their sole legitimate representative.

The General Council of the Scottish TUC, in asking for the resolution to be remitted, had made a statement which was more sympathetic to the Palestinian cause than any statement ever made by any trade union body in Britain.

TUFF also organised a successful trip to Lebanon where its representatives were able to meet Palestinian delegates of the Palestine Trade Union Federation to Britain. During their trip, the Palestinian trade unionists met workers at the Lee Jeans factory in Glasgow, which is under workers' occupation because the American owners are trying to close it. They also attended the Scottish Trades Union Congress, meeting the representatives of numerous trade unions, including the Mineworkers and the Public Employees, and having lunch with the Chairman of the Labour Party, Alex Kitson,

and a discussion with Party Leader Michael Foot.

The delegation also met with other trade union leaders and Labour MPs, visiting Birmingham, Aberdeen, London, Bedford, the Wales TUC meeting in Swansea, and of course, Dundee.

TUFF's activity, Mr Galloway concluded, had meant that Palestine had become a major issue of debate within trade unions, Labour Parties and other political parties, in Scotland particularly.

TUFF Chairman Ernie Ross, Labour MP for Dundee West, told the meeting that there had been a conspiracy of silence in the trade union movement about Palestine, but that this was being broken. 'We feel now,' he said, 'that the Arab states should stop fighting each other and realise the threat which is posed to themselves and to their natural resources by Israel and the United States.'

He said that on a Parliamentary level, the Palestinian cause was making great strides. 'In the recent Foreign Affairs debate, an hour and forty minutes out of four hours was devoted to the problems of Palestine and Lebanon,' he reported. Questions about the Middle East regularly occupied more than half of each Foreign Affairs question time in the Commons, he said.

Mr Ross said that the Israeli government had redoubled their propaganda effort in response to the Dundee-Nablus twinning and to the success which the Palestinian cause had enjoyed among British trade unions over the past year. 'They cannot tolerate the idea that their domination of debate on the Middle East in the British trade union movement over the party thirty years is being effectively challenged,' he declared.

The AGM adopted a constitution for TUFF which will allow both affiliation by trade unions and their branches, and individual membership for members of TUC-affiliated unions. Future activities which are planned include a speaking tour of union branches and trades councils in co-operation with the National Organisation of Labour Students. TUFF will also renew its campaign to sell shares in the retail consumer co-operatives operating in Palestinian camps near Beirut. A resolution will be circulated which, it is hoped, may be submitted to the Labour Party Conference by a sympathetic local Labour Party, and fringe meetings are planned for both the Labour Party and TUC conferences this autumn.

For more details of TUFF and its activities, please contact TUFF at 21, Collingham Road, London SW5.

## Three die in Israeli jails

THE PLO has disclosed that three Palestinians died recently in jail in Israel. In a report released by the PLO Amman office on 15th June, the three were named as Anis Dawla, Rassem and Ali Jaffri. They were said to have died as a result of torture and lack of medical attention.

## US pressure for Palestinian's release

THE AMERICAN-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) has called for 21st August to be commemorated as Ziad Abu Eain Day. Ziad Abu Eain is a Palestinian living in the United States who is wanted by the Israelis allegedly in connection with resistance activities. He has been held for two years in jail in Chicago while

deportation proceedings are going on.

ADC is expecting its supporters throughout the United States to express their concern by means of candle-lit vigils, prayers, fasts, letter-writing, meetings, or in other ways, to press for his release. Ziad Abu Eain, says ADC, is 'America's political prisoner'.

## Another Bir Zeit teacher penalised

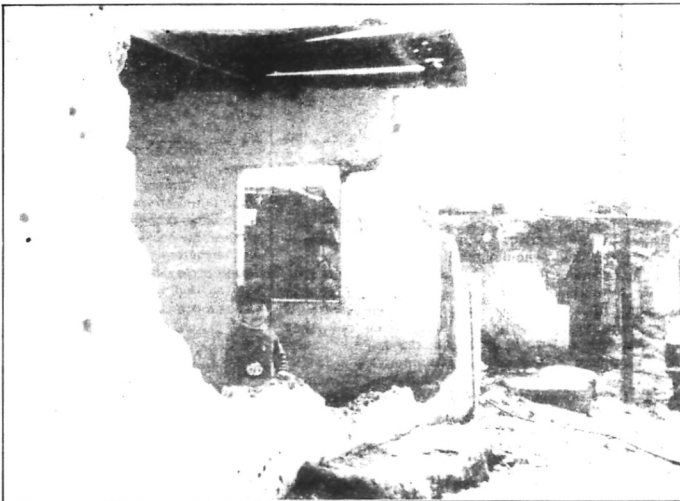
RIAD MISLEH, a lecturer in the Department of Biology and Biochemistry of Bir Zeit University College near Ramallah in the occupied West Bank, has been prevented from teaching by the Zionist occupation authorities. On 14th April, they restricted him to occupied Jerusalem, where he lives, and thus prevented him from entering other parts of the West Bank. He had been teaching at

Bir Zeit since 1976, and his work is related to the West Bank's public health programme.

## Syrian Druze resist occupation

THERE WAS overwhelming support for a general strike by the Syrian Druze community of the occupied Golan Heights on 3rd June. The strike had been called by Druze leaders to protest at the arrest of five of their community by occupation forces on 1st June. The arrested men were among the leaders of the campaign by Druze to refuse to accept Israeli identity cards which the Zionist occupation authorities are trying to force on them as a prelude to the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. The military commander in the 1967 occupied territories, General Danny Matt, expressed surprise at the level of support for the strike.

Photos below: Refugee shelters in Bourj el Shemali camp near Tyre (left) destroyed by Israeli bombing raids; corrugated iron shelters (right) have been built around Ein el Hilweh refugee camp. Sidon, by displaced refugees from the south of Lebanon.



TWO EVENTS in the next few weeks offer to give some new impetus to the moves towards a European initiative to resolve the Palestine question. Firstly, Lord Carrington becomes at the end of June the new President of the EEC Council of Ministers. It is Lord Carrington who is the most committed of the EEC ministers to finding a solution to the Palestine question, and he steps into the Presidency at a time when his two predecessors have already marked time with visits to the Middle East, and their reports will be on his desk awaiting action. Moreover, Carrington is one of the most skilful and experienced of European political leaders in the field of international relations, and he can look back on his successful negotiation of the Zimbabwe independence issue to guide him on the intricacies and pitfalls which have engulfed many a would-be Middle East peacemaker.

Secondly, early in July the new French Foreign Minister, M. Claude Cheysson, will hold his first meeting with an official of the PLO, when Mr Farouk Qaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department is expected to seek clarification of the new French administration's policy towards the Middle East. It was precisely this kind of meeting that led Zionists to campaign so vehemently against the re-election of President Giscard d'Estaing.

Yet despite these developments, the European initiative remains little more than political declarations, and even then many facts have yet to be confronted if the EEC is to make any serious effort. These declarations have been little more than a balancing act: a presentation of the Palestinian and Zionist positions, welded together with appeals for a 'just' settlement.

AT THE end of June, Britain's Foreign Secretary assumed a six month term as President of the EEC Council of Ministers. During this period Lord Carrington will be expected to play an important role in charting the development of the European initiative to resolve the Palestine question. *Louis Eaks* examines the state of the initiative, and *Dr Alan George* looks at Europe's tortuous path in coming to terms with the Palestine conflict.



## EEC's plan must include the PLO

So far the Palestine Liberation Organisation has welcomed the moves within the EEC towards an initiative. Indeed, however vague are the calls for a Palestinian state to be created, the Venice Declaration marked a significant shift from Europe's traditional alignment with the Zionists, right or wrong, and the persistent ignoring of the Palestinians. The call for the EEC to step into the Middle East arena came, in the first place, from the PLO. Israel, on the other hand, remains determined to keep the EEC out of the area, fearing a

domino effect with the US eventually coming to terms with the Palestinians' rights, just as Europe has done.

However, Europe's position remains ambiguous. It cannot be otherwise, since the EEC has come into direct confrontation with the US on the Palestine question with the election of the Reagan administration, since when the EEC has been trying to reconcile two irreconcilable points. If the Camp David process has failed, which was Europe's original starting point, how can it formulate an ini-

tative which has the support of the US, still committed to the Camp David process, despite its obvious collapse.

Moreover, how can Europe produce a scheme which has the support of all parties to the conflict, when the Zionists backed by Washington, remain wholly opposed to any formula which takes account of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians? In addition, the EEC is still hesitating over recognition of the PLO because the US and the Zionists reject it.

Lord Carrington's first decision

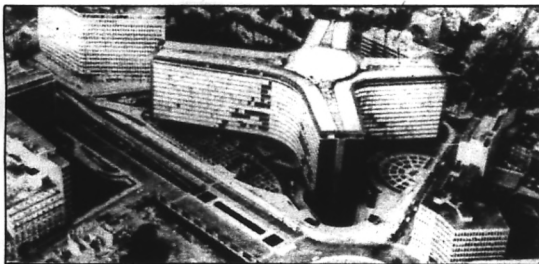
must be whether to proceed with plans for a European initiative, or to drop it. The PLO, however, will continue to urge Europe to move ahead, but at the same time it will stress the need for the initiative to be independent of US policy in the region. Washington's firm commitment to the Zionist state, as reflected by the US advocacy of Israeli bombing raids into Lebanon, and its inability to condemn outright the Israeli attack on Baghdad, removes any rights of the US to act as mediator in the Middle East. If Europe is to make a serious contribution to peace in the Middle East, its efforts must be directed to changing US policy, not attempting to formulate a plan which is compatible with Washington's pro-Zionist views.

The PLO will also urge Europe to make an unequivocal commitment to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to make clear its support for their right to return to their homeland, and to their right to self-determination in an independent sovereign state. EEC proposals in a draft policy paper widely leaked to the press, which call for a referendum of the Palestinians under the supervision of the Israelis and the Egyptians, suggest a less than total commitment to these principles.

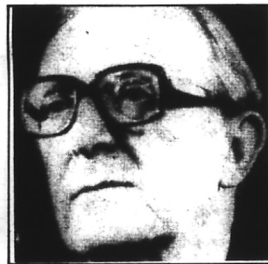
Moreover, if the EEC cannot bring itself to recognise the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians, it can only open itself to the accusation that it has submitted to Israeli and US pressures, and is denying the Palestinians the right to choose their own representative. How, it will be argued, can the Palestinian case be heard in any negotiations, if the representative body of Palestinian opinion is denied recognition?



Yasser Arafat



EEC Headquarters in Brussels



Lord Carrington

## Europe's tortuous route to Palestine

AT THE time of the Venice Declaration in June last year, many expressed high hopes that Europe would move speedily and resolutely to resolve the Palestine conflict. But the pace at which the EEC has moved on Palestinian rights and representation in recent years suggested that such hopes were misplaced.

At their meeting in Brussels on 6th November 1973, the EEC Foreign Ministers issued a statement on the Middle East asserting, *inter alia*, that 'in the establishment of a just and lasting peace, account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians'. The statement failed to spell out those rights, and that no peace would be attainable that was not based on them. Nor did it acknowledge the Palestinians' distinct national identity and their centrality in a peace settlement. There was no mention of who represented them.

It was more than three years before this position was changed with the European declaration at the opening of the Tunis meeting of the Euro-Arab Dialogue on 10th February 1977. The EEC said that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people

included 'the right to the effective expression of its national identity', adding that 'this could involve a territorial basis'. They also stressed 'the central importance which they (the Nine) accord the Palestinian people. The Palestinians have a crucial role in any settlement, and no peace agreement will be lasting unless it takes them into account.' For the first time Europe seemed to be hinting at recognition of the Palestinians as a national group, with a right to self determination in a state of their own.

In their London Declaration of 29th June 1977, the EEC Heads of Government, in addition to repeating earlier positions, stated that peace was attainable 'only if the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to give effective expression to its national identity is translated into fact, which would take into account the need for a homeland for the Palestinian people.' The Declaration added: 'The representatives of the parties to the conflict, including the Palestinian people, must participate in the negotiations.' In European terms, it was a breakthrough. For the first time the word 'homeland' had been used, and there

was the first vague and tentative suggestion of a role for the PLO.

### A homeland

There was no further movement in Europe's position for almost two years. On the one hand, the EEC appeared to have shocked themselves into inaction by the audacity of their London Declaration. On the other they had put themselves on record as backing the Camp David process, and it was only when this was clearly running into trouble that the European position evolved further. In a statement issued in Paris on 26th March 1979, the EEC said there was a need to 'translate into fact the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland', and referred to the need for 'representatives of the Palestinian people' to participate in the peace process. A homeland was now seen as an unqualified right of the Palestinians. Participants in negotiations were no longer to include just 'the representatives of the parties to the conflict, including the Palestinian people', but 'representatives of the Palestinian people'.

The next development came on 25th September 1979, when the Irish

Foreign Minister, speaking at the UN on behalf of the Nine, made the first explicit reference to the PLO, although implying only that it was a party with a role to play. It was certainly not recognised as representing the Palestinians. The next joint EEC communiqué was the Venice Declaration, 'in which the Europeans finally accepted the Palestinian right to self-determination, without qualification, and specifically accorded a role for the PLO, although again denying it any representative status.'

Joint EEC statements can only reflect the lowest common denominator of member states' thinking, but even allowing for this, the pace at which the European position has developed has been astonishingly slow. Even now they are years behind the majority of the international community, who in UN resolutions as early as November 1974 endorsed the inalienable right of the Palestinians to 'self determination without external interference' and to 'national independence and sovereignty', and recognised the PLO as 'the representative of the Palestinian people'.

## 'Cut US aid to Israel' says Tory MP

A CALL for the United States to cut its aid to Israel by \$150 million, the amount the Zionists are spending on establishing illegal settlements on the West Bank, has come from the Conservative MP for Abingdon, Mr Tom Benyon.

Writing in The Times on 27th June, Mr Benyon, who had just returned from an All-Party Parliamentary visit to the Middle East at the invitation of the PLO, says, 'On the West Bank, I saw some of the 110 settlements which have been established illegally by the Israelis with US aid in the occupied territories. These have been established in violation of international law and in contravention of the Geneva Convention: they indisputably act as an obstacle to peace. These settlements deny the Palestinians their hopes of obtaining a homeland. As these settlements increase, then the PLO will surely become more desperate in their attempts to draw world attention to their refugee status with all that will entail in further acts of hostility.'

Mr Benyon adds, 'Current US policy which, in fact if not in rhetoric, supports Israel right or wrong is encouraging Israel to behave in a way which, if it had not been for the Holocaust and Israel's excellent and formidable publicity machine, would be deemed totally unacceptable to all civilised western nations.'

# PLO points accusing finger at the United States

## Baghdad raid linked to Camp David process

THE ISRAELI attack on Baghdad, and the alarming build-up of US military bases and influence in the Arab region, are the logical results of the Camp David agreement, says the PLO. The Palestinians have seized the 7th June raid as an opportunity to stress the threat to the Arabs which they emphasise comes from the United States and Israel, and not from the Soviet Union. The Arab states must unite and mobilise to defend the Arab lands, stress declarations and statements coming from leading members of the PLO, writes Louis Eaks.

A report published in the *Washington Post* following the Security Council Resolution condemning Israel, disclosed that Israel sought and received advice from the US on how to destroy the Iraqi sector. Israeli scientists met structural specialists at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in Washington last October, at which the Israelis sought information about a hypothetical attack on a nuclear reactor and the damage which would be caused by 2,000 lb bombs — the kind used in the Israeli raid.

US aircraft were used in the Israeli raid, while US supplied and manned AWACS in Saudi Arabia did not pick up the Israeli raiding party, or at least did not report its presence in Saudi airspace to the authorities in Riyadh.



Floating tanks aboard a US army ship: Arafat warns of US military threat to the Arab homeland.

### PLO view

In Baghdad, Mr Farouk Qaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department, on 11th June called for the adoption of a serious unified Arab stand against the US and Israel. 'We must distinguish between our friends and our foes,' he said, pointing out that only the USSR had

stood beside the Arabs during all of Israel's aggressions.

Mr Qaddoumi added, 'The Israeli attack on Baghdad was designed to strike at Arab potentials in the knowledge that sooner or later Iraq will direct all its forces to confront Israel.'

### US decision

In Damascus on 22nd June, PLO

Chairman Yasser Arafat accused Reagan, Beigun and Sadat of seeking to bring the Arab region 'to its knees', and warned that the Arabs would not accept 'the peace of slaves'. What was happening in the Arab region was the logical progression of the Camp David process. He said, 'The Camp David logic is as follows:

that this region should be brought to its knees and subjugated to US will. Thus it is no coincidence that our region is besieged by three US fleets. It is our shores that the Sixth Fleet is threatening. Through Sadat's surrender, they were able to establish a base in the Sinai area. They were able to renovate another base for themselves in Ra's Banas on the Red Sea, yet another base in Berbera in Somalia, and also Masirah in Oman, in addition to the facilities in the Gulf. All this is not coincidence a US design with the aim of controlling this region which contains 80 per cent of the oil reserves of the world.'

Arafat continued, 'The last thing they came up with was that the Arab Deterrent Forces [in Lebanon], which had been approved by the Arab League, were not allowed to defend themselves and were not allowed to defend the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. These forces installed missiles to defend themselves against US belligerency and piracy. I do not say Israeli belligerency and piracy. No, this is not Israel's force. This is a US stand and belligerency adopted by the US Pentagon. All they do is use Israel's name. They are using the Jews as fuel for war and destruction. This hell which is being faced by the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples is not caused by Israel. It is a US decision.'



## Yasser Arafat launches initiative to unite Arab ranks

THE ISRAELI raid on Baghdad is having far-reaching effects on the future of Middle East politics. It has cast the United States clearly in an anti-Arab role, which could seriously affect Washington's Middle East schemes and open the way for the Soviet Union to step back into the arena of any international initiative to deal with the Palestine question, writes Louis Eaks.

At the centre of a major new initiative to resolve existing inter-Arab disputes, and unite Arab ranks to confront the United States over its continuing backing for Israeli aggres-

sions, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat has been meeting Arab leaders to lay the foundations for a new Arab strategy. Important to the Arafat initiative is Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi, who has given momentum to the PLO leader's efforts by signalling Libya's support for the restoration of diplomatic relations with Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, and Qadhafi's commitment to resolve the existing differences through negotiation.

Simultaneously, Mr Arafat is attempting to resolve the issues of the Moroccan-Western Saharan conflict, in which Moroccan forces are

under heavy pressure from Polisario forces backed by Libya and Algeria; the Iran-Iraq conflict in which Libya and Syria have backed Iran, while other Arab states have remained uncommitted or have backed Iraq; the Iraq-Syria dispute which has undermined unity efforts between the two Ba'athist regimes; the dispute between Libya and Saudi Arabia, in which diplomatic relations were severed over Libya's condemnation of US AWACS being used in Saudi Arabia.

The Palestinian leader has embarked on a continuous negotiating process which has taken him to

capitals throughout the Arab world in a non-stop effort to unite Arab ranks and pave the way for an Arab summit at which a new Arab strategy will be hammered out.

The initiative got under way during talks with Libyan leader Qadhafi on 11th June. From Tripoli, Arafat flew to Algiers for talks on 13th with President Chadli Ben Jedid, and later that day he met King Hassan in Rabat. On 14th June Arafat arrived back in Tripoli after a stop-over meeting in Algiers. The following day the PLO leader held talks in Damascus with President Hafez al Assad, and on the 16th June was in Baghdad for discussions with the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. On 17th June Arafat arrived in Aden for talks with Yemeni leaders, and was preparing to go on to Riyadh to meet with Saudi leaders.

An early indication of Arafat's success came with the news that Morocco and Libya are to restore diplomatic relations, with Polisario agreeing to open negotiations with Rabat for a settlement of the Western Saharan question. This alone has unbalanced US strategy in the Maghreb, where the US has contingency plans for the overthrow of the Qadhafi regime in Libya, using Egyptian and Sudanese forces backed by US naval contingents in the Mediterranean. Morocco was an important key in the US scheme, since unlike Egypt and Sudan, Morocco is not a direct or indirect party to the Camp David alliance with Israel, although it remains firmly pro-western. Washington had expected that Arab condemnation of any anti-Libyan moves could be weakened if Morocco and Saudi Arabia remained silent. Now with Libya actively restoring its ties with these two countries, the US scheme has suffered a major setback. Conversely, the anti-Camp David alliance, the Steadfastness Front, which links Libya, Syria, South Yemen and the PLO has emerged stronger, and Sadat more isolated.

## White House unable to act independently on arms

Report by Louis Eaks in London and Thalif Deen in New York

THE TEMPORARY ban on the delivery of F-16s to Israel has failed to satisfy Arab opinion. United States aid to the Zionist state in Palestine remains crucial to the survival of Israel. For all the propaganda surrounding Israel's manufacture of its own jet fighters, notably these have never been used in a major raid against Arab targets.

The inability of the US administration to enforce the terms of arms supplies to Israel has been made obvious by the Israeli raid on Baghdad. The US vote for the Security Council resolution condemning Israel emphatically implies recognition that Israel violated the US Arms Export Control Act. American law permits the sale of military equipment to friends and allies 'solely for internal security and for legitimate self-defence'. It is inter-

nationally recognised that the 7th June attack against Iraq does not fall into either of these categories.

However, Israel is confident that any move by the White House to stop deliveries would be overturned in Congress, thanks to the influence of two of the most powerful lobbies in Washington — the Zionist and the arms export lobbies.

Since Israel is now one of the biggest purchasers of American military equipment, there is very little or no chance that the multi-billion dollar US defence industry will allow the Israeli arms market to go down the drain without a big fight. Latest available figures, supplied by the Washington based Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, show that the US is by far the largest single supplier of arms to Israel, and that Israel is by far the largest single export market for US military equipment.

During the period 1974-78, the US supplied \$4.6 billion worth of military equipment to Israel compared with \$60 million to West Germany and \$30 million to Italy. The huge gap between the US and other suppliers provides a strong indication of the US military commitment to Israel: a commitment which the US arms industry has been delicately fostering over the years.

According to the Security Assistance Agency of the Department of Defense in Washington, the US supplied nearly \$10 billion worth of military equipment to Israel during 1950/80 through official channels alone. Commercial sales of arms through the private sector during the same period was \$1.2 billion. Perhaps the largest amount of American assistance to Israel went as military credits: a total of \$12 billion during 1950/80. American equipment currently in the process of being delivered to Israel includes 75 highly

sophisticated F-16 fighter planes and 15 F-15 fighters. The F-16s cost £1.5 bn each and the F-15s approximately \$431 million.

The Reagan administration has also been planning to offer Israel 15 additional F-15s at preferential financing terms to help offset the recent offer of additional equipment to Saudi Arabia to enhance the striking power of its 62 F-15s.

Other recent US arms sales to Israel include:

- 250 improved Chaparral air defence missiles costing \$37mn;
- 120 Sparrow air-to-air missiles costing \$17.2mn;
- 600 Maverick air-to-surface missiles costing \$29.2mn;
- 600 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles costing \$40mn;
- 5,000 Dragon anti-tank missiles costing \$11.4mn;
- 200 Sharke air-to-air missiles costing \$19mn.



**'No people  
anywhere  
in the world  
are safe',  
says Thatcher**

BOTH IN the House of Commons and in an interview with the Zionist weekly *The Jewish Chronicle* on 19th June, the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, has unreservedly condemned the Israeli attack on Baghdad. Rejecting the interviewer's pressures for her to 'appreciate' Israel's reasons for the attack, Mrs Thatcher told *The Jewish Chronicle*: 'If we are not going to live by a system of international law, we are going to live by international anarchy. Then no people anywhere in the world are safe.'

When it was pointed out to Mrs Thatcher that she had condemned the raid as 'a grave breach of international law', she retorted with her characteristic emphasis: 'Most certainly it is.'

The Zionist weekly was clearly routed in its efforts to moderate the Premier. Mrs Thatcher repeatedly responded with rhetorical questions. 'Is Israel or any other country saying that because some other country happens to start up a nuclear plant, that warrants a bombing attack by another country? What sort of international anarchy is that? If anyone had done that to Israel, I would have been the first person to be up in arms about it. Is Israel saying now that she is at open war with Iraq?'

Mrs Thatcher warned the Zionists: 'Never espouse the cause of violence; if you do, then you are saying, other people are entitled to be violent against your own people.'

In contrast to Israel's open rejection of international conventions and the

sovereignty of the Arab states, Arab leaders at an urgently convened meeting in Baghdad responded with a call for embargoes on the Zionist state from the United Nations Security Council. No firm military response was agreed, but the incidents are clearly underlined to all Arab leaders that their security is not respected by the Zionist state, and that the raid on Baghdad was only possible as a result of the continued military support and aid given to the Zionists by the United States.

The Israeli attack has diverted attention from two important points. Firstly, Israel has its own nuclear reactor at Dimona in the occupied Negev. Unlike Iraq, Israel is not a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Secondly, it is accepted, even by the CIA and the United States administration, that Israel has its own nuclear stockpile of an estimated 24 bombs. It is known that Israel is now co-operating with South Africa in the field of developing nuclear weapons, and it is widely believed that testing has taken place in South Africa.

This was a point emphasised by the Arab League Council statement, which also gave warning to the United States that its support for Israel must cease if Washington expects to have friendly relations with the Arab states. The Arab League Council declared that it would work through the United Nations in securing mandatory sanctions against Israel in accordance with Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

It called on all states, 'headed by the United States' which extend economic, political, military and technological aid to Israel to 'adopt practical and tangible steps to end this aid'.

The Council said that the 'Israeli aggression and arrogant policy in the region aimed at expansion at the expense of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, could not have been possible had it not been for the support of some super powers, particularly the United States'.

Britain and France, on 15th June, urged the UN Security Council to adopt a 'firm resolution' that would condemn the Israeli attack, appeal to Israel to end such military actions, and call on the Israelis to compensate Iraq. Sir Anthony Parsons, the British delegate, told the Council, 'It was not a response to armed attack on Israel by Iraq, there was no overwhelming necessity for self-defence, nor can it be justified as a forcible measure of self protection.'

The Irish Republic's Representative, Mr Noel Dorr, also condemned Israel's actions. He called for a resolution which recognised the right of states to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The Security Council should also rule on Israel's claim that its attack was justified under the UN Charter, and consider the 'appropriate redress' to Iraq and against Israel, 'as a matter of principle'. And with obvious reference to Israel, Mr Dorr called for all states in the region to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

## Evidence shows Israel lied to justify Baghdad attack

WITH STRONG evidence from specialist agencies around the world refuting Israel's claims to justify the 7th June air attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor, there is little doubt that the Zionists are guilty of a deliberate attempt to deceive world opinion. Now the latest evidence from Paris, released by the new Mitterrand administration shows the existence of a secret agreement with Iraq which would have made it impossible for Baghdad to obtain a militarily significant quantity of nuclear explosive from the Osirak reactor before 1989 — the year in which the agreement to maintain French atomic scientists in control of the plant expires.

On 16th June, France's Atomic Energy Commission (CEA) disclosed that under a 1979 agreement, France had ten years' right of control over

the Baghdad reactor. Earlier the CAE had refuted the charges being made by Menachem Beigin to justify the bombing raid. The Commission said

Iraq could not have started to build nuclear weapons without the knowledge of French technicians working at the plant. The installations 'were

conceived specially for scientific research and training of personnel,' said the CAE.

□ **Washington:** while the Reagan

administration has delighted the strong Zionist lobby with its blatant political prejudices on the issue, a report from the Library of Congress rejects Israel's claims regarding Iraq's nuclear weapons potential.

The Washington report says that the Iraqi experimental nuclear reactor destroyed by Israel on 7th June could not have been used to build nuclear weapons secretly. It adds that in normal operations, the reactor could have produced small amounts of plutonium, probably much less in a year than required for either an advanced or simple weapon.

'If the reactor has been operated solely to produce as much plutonium as possible, the changes in operation would have been so noticeable as to quickly announce this purpose to international inspectors,' says the report published on 17th June. It adds that the reactor, in the best circumstances, would have been a most inadequate basis for a weapons programme as claimed by the Israelis.

□ **Vienna:** The report most critical of Israel's claims has come from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which has recommended that Israel should be expelled from the organisation because of the attack.

The Director of the IAEA described the Israeli raid as an attack on the Agency's safeguards regarding the non-proliferation of nuclear material. In a statement from Vienna, Sigvard Eklund said the Agency, a UN body, 'has inspected the Iraqi reactors and has not found evidence of any activity not in accordance with the non-proliferation treaty.'

In his 9th June statement, Eklund said that Iraq would not have had the capacity to produce an atomic bomb for at least ten years, contrary to Beigin's claims that production of the bomb was so imminent that the raid could not be delayed.

## Beigin's 'election stunt' says Israeli physicist

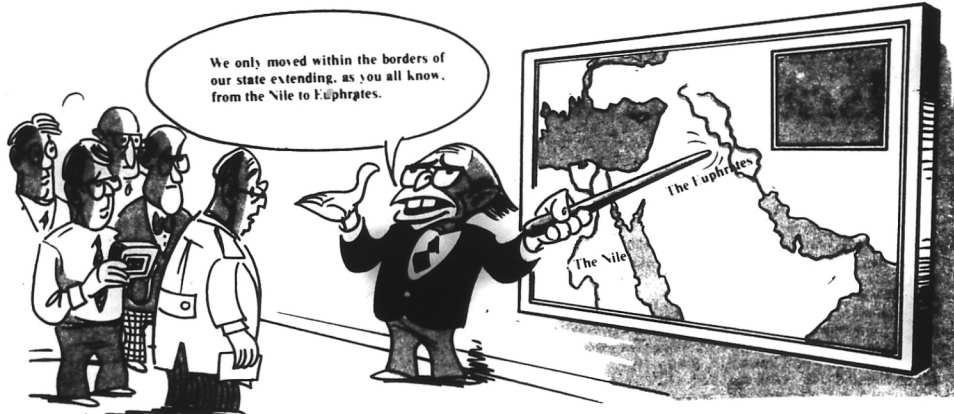
AN ISRAELI physicist of international reputation, Professor Daniel Amit, has strongly rejected the claims by Menachem Beigin to justify the Zionist attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor. Interviewed by the Israeli newspaper *Al-Hamishmar* on 12th June, Amit said, 'We did not face annihilation either in July or in September. The picture painted by Beigin was purely an election stunt.'

□ **Prof. Amit disputes that**

the Iraqi reactor could have been used for the making of nuclear weapons, as the Israeli government and its Zionist supporters in Britain allege. He commented, 'The question is not when the reactor becomes operative, in scientific terms what matters is whether its purpose is changed. From the moment it is adapted to a different purpose several years have to pass. The Osiris reactor was sold to Iraq under stringent conditions, any contravention of

which would show up immediately and would be followed by a stop in the supply of fuel.'

The Israeli physicist added, 'We must not forget that the Iraqis depend on the French in everything surrounding the reactor. The new French government is not that keen on nuclear co-operation with Iraq, and it is hard to believe that it would have helped or closed its eyes to any change in the purpose of the reactor.'



**THE ISRAELI attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor has diverted attention from the fact that the Zionists now possess an estimated 200 nuclear warheads, produced with the collaboration of the United States and more recently South Africa. Moreover, Israel refuses to sign the non-proliferation treaty and open her atomic reactor to international inspection, Phil Kelly reports.**

IN THE aftermath of Israel's raid on the uncompleted Iraqi nuclear reactor, most of the British press had to concede that 'it is widely believed that Israel itself possesses nuclear weapons'. No question of belief enters into the matter; Israel has for years possessed the atom bomb, and the nuclear reactor at Dimona, in the Negev, is the centre where the raw materials for the bombs are made.

Israel has steadfastly refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The significance of this is great. Countries which are signatories to the treaty, like Iraq, must provide access for on-site inspections of all their nuclear facilities. The International Atomic Energy Agency has made frequent visits to the site of Iraq's reactor at Tammuz near Baghdad. These inspections, the most recent of which took place earlier this year, are intended to assure the international body that no impermissible activity is taking place.

The reactor at Dimona has been functioning since the early 1960s. It has never been subjected to any outside inspection whatsoever, and so could have produced, by now, enough plutonium for up to sixty small bombs in the normal course of its functions. Israel has however been anxious to ensure a constant supply of uranium for the Dimona reactor, and to do this has resorted to theft. In the mid-1960s, 206lbs of enriched uranium disappeared from a depot in Pennsylvania, USA. According to Carl Duckett, formerly a senior CIA official concerned with scientific affairs, the uranium was reported missing to the US Atomic Energy Authority in 1965, and investigations centred on a US firm which provided enriched uranium fuel for US Navy atomic submarines, and had a subsidiary company jointly owned with the Israeli government. Enough evidence for a prosecution was not

obtained, but Mr Duckett admitted that the US AEA 'had no explanation for the whereabouts of the 206 lbs.'

#### Uranium hijack

In 1968, a carefully hatched plot by Israeli intelligence culminated in the hi-jacking of 200 tons of uranium oxide. The mineral was owned by a Belgian company, SGM, a subsidiary of one of Belgium's largest monopolies. SGM was approached by the West German firm, Asmara Chimie of Wiesbaden, which claimed

to need uranium for use as a catalyst in petrochemical processing. Asmara Chimie was run by Herbert Schulzen, a former pilot in Hitler's Luftwaffe, who had been recruited by Mossad, Israel's secret service, in 1964.

The uranium was bought by Asmara, and ostensibly prepared for shipment to a Milan firm for processing for use as a catalyst. Using an elderly ship, the Sheersberg, bought by another Mossad front man, the Israelis arranged to transport the uranium into oblivion. The Scheersberg loaded Asmara's uranium at Antwerp, and sailed on 16th November 1968. Somewhere in the Mediterranean, the uranium was off-loaded on to an Israeli freighter. The ship called briefly at Iskenderun, Turkey; by then, it was empty. The crew, believed to be Israeli navy sailors and officers, disappeared,

and the 'owner' re-instated the ship's old crew. Two pages were missing from the Scheersberg's log.

Confirmation that the ship had been used in a uranium theft was given several years later by Dan Aerbil, one of the Mossad terrorist group arrested and imprisoned in Norway in 1973 for the murder of a Moroccan waiter who had been mistaken for a PLO official. Aerbil had been temporarily installed by Mossad as the President of the company, Biscayne Traders, which had owned the Scheersberg.

The natural uranium stolen by the Israelis would have needed enrichment for use in a reactor; but it could have been transformed into plutonium without enrichment by allowing it to be bombarded by radiation. It was thus suitable raw material for nuclear weapons.

By 1973, a report prepared by the CIA for the US Defense Department as part of an assessment of Israel's needs during the Arab-Israeli war confirmed that Israel had nuclear warheads. In February this year, the total had risen to over 200, according to *The Economist Foreign Report*, a privately circulated newsletter which enjoys excellent relationships with western secret services. The figure was said to have originated with the CIA. ('American Intelligence sources', as *Foreign Report* put it.) It confirmed that the US had agreed in 1956 that it would do nothing to hinder Israel from developing nuclear weapons, and that President Eisenhower had even signed a secret protocol to that effect, which had been renewed by every President since.

## The South African connection

**SOUTH AFRICA has played an important role in arming Israel with nuclear weapons, and in doing so has obtained them for itself. The apartheid state has access to vast quantities of uranium ore in Namibia, and is one of the few countries which has developed the enrichment technology which is the pre-requisite for the production of both reactor fuel and weapons grade fissile material.**

The South African enrichment process was developed with the aid of West German physicists; the plant is situated at South Africa's secret Valindaba nuclear facility, west of Pretoria. In 1977, the International Atomic Energy Authority disclosed that the Helikon enrichment process, said to have been developed in South Africa by West German and Israeli physicists, would be able to process commercial quantities of uranium by 1986, and South Africa, it was said, were seeking commercial customers for its enrichment plants after that date. The facilities would presumably not be made available outside South Africa until after that country had manufactured sufficient bombs for its own use.

The other principal area of co-

operation between South Africa and Israel has been over the testing of nuclear weapons and the design and testing of 'delivery systems'. On 22nd September 1979, the first South African atom bomb was exploded in the south Atlantic. It had been carried aloft in a massive 155-mm howitzer shell, fired from a South African warship. The shell, and the gun which fired it, had been designed for the South Africans by a US firm, Space Research Corporation (SRC).

The shells reached South Africa from the United States despite the UN arms embargo because of astute manoeuvring by SRC. The shells were produced in a US plant as part of an Israeli defence contract, exported without licence to Canada as rough forgings, machined into finished shells at SRC's Barbados site, filled with propellant explosive in Israel, and finally passed to South Africa.

It was the fact that SRC had close links with Israel which allowed it to get the US Army material Command to allow it to buy 15,000 shells from the Army. Without a firm order private US firms may not manufacture them. The shells were made at the

US Army's Scranton, Pennsylvania, plant. The end user was said to be the Government of Israel. SRC concluded a deal with Israel's state-owned Israeli Military Industries for that company to fill the shells, which would then be re-exported to South Africa.

The Barbados link was severed under pressure from the new government of Premier Tom Adams in 1977. Adams objected to SRC's secretive activities, which in fact concerned the testing of nuclear shells and orbital atomic weapons for the US military, under the guise of high-altitude research.

Then the shells were routed through the duty-free port at Barcelona, Spain. They were bought by South Africa's state-owned Armscor, and the processing was finished off with the aid of a subsidiary of a British company, Cementation — owned by Trafalgar House, proprietors of the *Daily Express*. South Africa also arranged to copy and manufacture the SRC 155-mm howitzer.

Former CIA officer John Stockwell, who resigned over joint US-South Africa involvement in Angola, said that shells of that size 'are tactical nuclear weapons. You are throwing the shell 40 kilometres (25 miles)

and that's the nuclear delivery system for sure.'

#### Explosion

The 1979 explosion was picked up by the US Vela spy satellite. Though State and Defense Departments sought to maintain that the flash which had been detected was the result of a satellite malfunction, experts feel that this is not a plausible explanation. In 1977, Soviet reports that South Africa was planning to test nuclear weapons in the Kalahari Desert, in Namibia, resulted in US pressure on Pretoria to close down the test site.

A second offshore explosion was spotted by a US satellite in December 1980, in the same area as the 1979 explosion. This too, was attributed by US officials to 'natural causes', such as a meteorite hitting the satellite.

The reports of collaboration persist. The *Foreign Report* story which acknowledged that Israel had 200 nuclear weapons also said that South Africa and Israel were jointly developing cruise missiles with a range of 1,500 nautical miles, probably with the involvement of Taiwan, which had also been reported by the US columnist Jack Anderson.

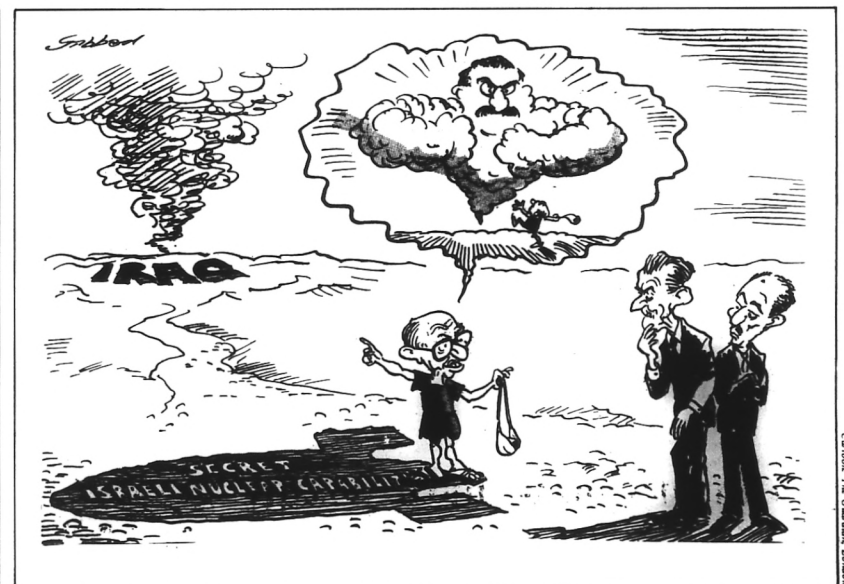
## Making a bomb

**THERE ARE two substances which can be used for nuclear bombs. One is enriched uranium — that is uranium which is over 90 per cent U-235, as opposed to natural uranium, which is mainly the non-explosive U-238, and only 0.7 per cent U-235. Uranium enrichment is a highly complex process, and one which the Iraqis had certainly not mastered. For the Osirak reactor, they were buying enriched uranium from France. IAEA safeguards ensure that the material would have been guarded in transit, and subject to inspection once in Iraq. So it would have been impossible for the Iraqis to divert fuel intended for the reactor into bomb manufacture.**

Plutonium is formed in the course of operation of a U-235 fuelled reactor. A small reactor might produce 35 lbs (16 kilos) of plutonium a year, enough for three small nuclear weapons. Extra plutonium can be produced by wrapping the reactor with extra

uranium. The Iraqi reactor was not yet working; once in operation, its plutonium by-product would have been subject to IAEA safeguards, and the IAEA has said that the design of the Osirak reactor meant that it could not be used for the production of extra plutonium.

None of these safeguards has ever been applied to Israel's nuclear reactor. The Dimona facility was set up in the late 1950s, as a consolation prize from the French after Israel was forced to retreat from Sinai in the wake of the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt in 1956. Elements of the US intelligence community, notably former CIA counter intelligence boss James Angleton, also helped pass nuclear secrets to the Israelis at this time. Respectable cover for the research programme was provided by the Weizmann Institute's Department for the Analysis of Solid Isotopes. West Germany helped to create this research programme.



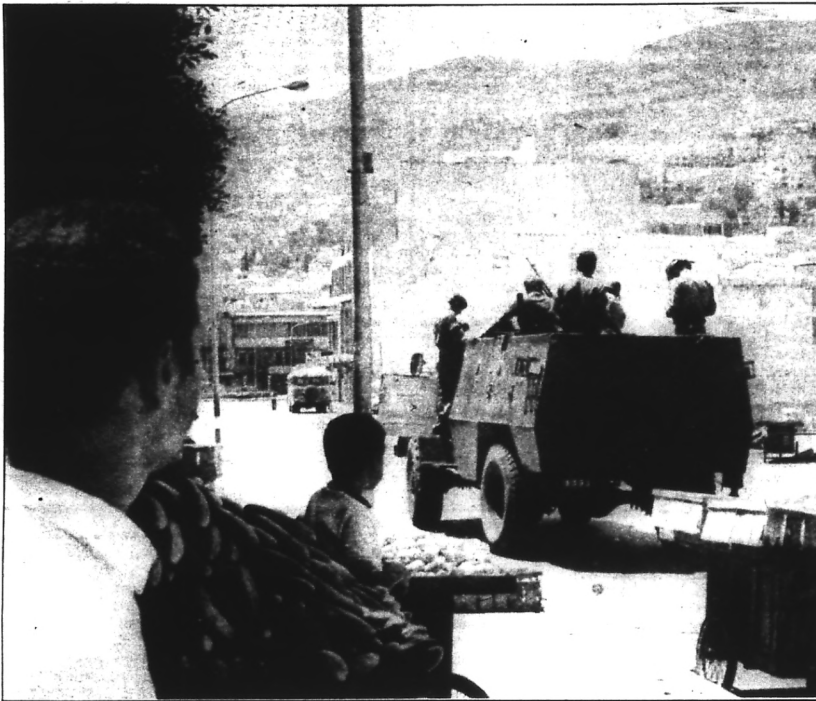
# Israeli military paves the way for settlement on Arab land

'THIS OUTPOST is one of a series of (nahal, ie military) outposts going up in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank),' Israeli television said on 22nd June, reporting the establishment of a new Zionist settlement on the West Bank. It continued: 'The system is to create facts on the ground even before the election, with the intention of finding in the future civilian settlement groups that will take them over from the nahal groups. The establishment of military outposts is a very rapid process which does not require the series of approvals which is required for civilian settlements.'

It was one of the most honest admissions to date of why 'security needs' — which must of course be met by such military bodies as the nahal settler group — are continually cited by Israel as the pretext for its colonisation of the 1967 occupied territories.

In the lead up to the Israeli election, colonisation has been proceeding frantically in a bid by Beigin's Likud coalition to underline their determination never to relinquish Israeli control of the regions seized in 1967.

The 22nd June television report disclosed that a new town, to be



Life under Zionist occupation: Israeli troops patrol occupied Nablus.

named Emanuel and with an initial 600 residential units, is to be set up near the existing settlement of Qarne Shomron. Two days later the *Financial Times* reported that approval had been given to a plan for the construction of 33,000 new housing units in occupied East Jerusalem. 'They are to be built on thousands of acres of land expropriated from their Arab owners,' the paper said. It also noted that a new road had recently been opened linking the Zionist suburbs of East Jerusalem to the western parts of the city.

Smaller settlement projects have also been the scene of feverish activity, and have been accompanied by the usual massive seizures of Palestinian land. The *Financial Times* said: 'Work is going on at more than a dozen sites on the West Bank, and tens of thousands of acres of expropriated Arab land have been added to existing Jewish settlements.' June alone saw the inauguration of five new settlements on the West Bank: Bet Arye, Einav (which is to be joined by three others in its locality), Ma'ale Amos, Mikhmas, and Mitzpeh

Guvrin (the subject of the 22nd June television report). On 2nd June it was reported that two new settlements would shortly be established near the Palestinian town of Jericho, to join the three already set up there and complete the town's encirclement. Two days later it was announced that the Binyamin Regional Council, which links the settlers in the Ramallah area, would soon be starting work on housing and offices for its employees in the Jabal al Tawil area, east of the town of El Bireh. And on 18th June it was disclosed that a decision had

been taken to establish two more West Bank settlements, to be named Mattityahu and Sha'are Tuqva.

Existing settlements are also being expanded. On 17th June it was reported that the Zionist ministerial committee for colonisation had decided to add 800 housing units to existing West Bank settlements in the coming three months. This, it was said, should increase the settler population by some 3,000. Earlier in the month, large tracts of land were seized for colonisation on the outskirts of El Bireh, and shortly after, Israel radio reported a decision to fence off 'thousands' of acres of Palestinian land in the West Bank for the same purpose.

While the West Bank remains the focus of the Zionist drive to 'create facts', the Gaza Strip is not being neglected. On 5th June the *Jewish Chronicle* reported that premier Beigin had himself attended a ceremony marking the inauguration of the Gaza-Dead Sea canal project, designed to channel water from the Mediterranean to generate electricity.

The cost of the Zionist colonisation programme — borne by US taxpayers — is enormous. In early June the Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz* reported that the Israeli Finance Ministry was to provide nearly \$1.5 million for the two settlements destined for Jericho. And on 22nd June the Jewish Agency's settlement department disclosed that in the last four years something in the order of a staggering \$227 million had been spent colonising the West Bank — not counting the cost of developing and expanding existing settlements.

The extent of the Zionist colonisation drive during the last four years was underlined at the 17th June ceremony to mark the inauguration of Bet Arye, which was also attended by Beigin. Addressing the festive crowd, the head of the settlement department of the World Zionist Organisation boasted that since the advent of the Beigin government, 165 new settlements had been planted in the 1967 occupied territories, excluding East Jerusalem.

IN THE latest move by the Israeli occupation authorities to assert their control over the West Bank's academic institutions, Dr Gabi Baramki, Acting Principal of Bir Zeit University, has been charged with organising an 'illegal' demonstration against the arrest of a large number of the university's students. The circumstances surrounding the demonstration were detailed to Free Palestine in an exclusive interview with Dr Izzat Ghourani, Dean of Bir Zeit's Economic Faculty, who was recently in London to attend the Annual General Meeting of the British Friends of Bir Zeit University.

June saw a groundswell of discontent sweeping the 1967 occupied territories, with angry protest demonstrations marking the anniversaries of the 1967 June war and last year's car bombings that severely maimed the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah. Other demonstrations were sparked by the murder on 12th June of a young Palestinian from the Dahihaisha refugee camp near Bethlehem. According to the Zionists, he had been throwing stones at an Israeli patrol and the soldiers had fired at his legs when he attempted to flee. He was not the first Palestinian to be killed by Israeli troops 'firing in the air' or 'at the legs' of protesters. Another cause of demonstrations was the arrest in early June of large numbers of students at the Najah University in Nablus following angry protests there.

Dr Ghourani said that Bir Zeit students had taken part in four separate demonstrations in early

## Bir Zeit University struggles to operate despite harassment

June, each of which had been broken up by Israeli troops using tear gas. After the demonstrations had ended, and not in the course of angry confrontations in the streets, the occupation authorities had swooped on the university, sometimes breaking into hostels, and detained large numbers of students at random.

He added that the numbers arrested were much higher than on such occasions in the past. The pattern was for, say, 15 students to be arrested, of whom 10 would be released, only to be replaced by 25. Of these, 20 would then be released. What was disturbing, said Dr Ghourani, was that 'the number of those detained keeps on increasing'. On 15th June, 24 students were under detention.

### Peaceful march

The large number of students detained very naturally concerned the university, said Dr Ghourani. Attempts to contact the Ramallah military governor over the matter had failed, the Bir Zeit authorities being fobbed off with such excuses as 'he will be in later', 'he is in a meeting at present', or 'he may not be in his office today'. It was therefore decided to stage a peaceful and silent march as the most effective way of per-

suading the military authorities to release the students.

The march went ahead on 15th June, exactly as planned. About 1,000 protesters, students and faculty members, set out from Bir Zeit to march the seven miles to Ramallah, with Dr Baramki at their head bearing a letter for the military governor.

About two miles from Ramallah the procession encountered a roadblock, manned by soldiers fully equipped with tear gas canisters and other riot control gear. The marchers, however, said not a word, maintaining the total silence that was a key feature of the procession. Dr Baramki explained to the officer in charge of the roadblock that the university had tried in vain to contact the Ramallah military governor to protest the arrests, and handed the letter to him, asking that it be passed on to the governor. He added that, having achieved their objective, the marchers would disperse peacefully.

Buses arrived and the participants returned to their homes, either in Ramallah or on the Bir Zeit campus. 'The soldiers left, and that was that,' said Dr Ghourani. 'There was no trouble at all.' It was then about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

### Shots heard

About five hours later, however, shots were heard in the centre of Ramallah, coinciding with a power failure. In addition, roadblocks were set up preventing access to the city centre. All this caused apprehension at the university, said Dr Ghourani, since one of the men students' hostels lies in the heart of Ramallah. It was only after two hours that the university authorities were able to establish what had happened. Israeli soldiers had broken into the hostel and arrested every one of its 22 occupants. Four of them had been severely beaten. At about 2am that night, 18 of those arrested were released, but the four who had been beaten up were kept in detention. It has since been reported that Dr Baramki, who headed the entirely peaceful and silent march, is facing charges of organising an 'illegal' procession.

The recent demonstrations involving Bir Zeit must be seen in the context of an atmosphere of apprehension prompted by the promulgation last July of Military Order 854, insisted Dr Ghourani. This for the first time placed institutions of higher education on the West Bank under the direct jurisdiction of the military

governor, giving him the power to control the curricula of universities and to veto the appointment of staff and the enrolment of students.

He stressed that Bir Zeit sees academic freedom as crucial to the attainment of academic excellence. Any attempt to restrict academic freedom was therefore a direct threat to the very purpose of the university. Bir Zeit opposes Order 854, said Dr Ghourani, not only because it is an order from the occupation authorities, but 'because it undermines the basic principle of academic freedom, and our whole effort to achieve academic excellence'.

The apprehension prompted by Order 854 had been heightened by the delays to which the Israeli authorities had subjected the issue of work permits to teaching staff, said Dr Ghourani. In the past permits were, with a few exceptions, issued promptly. But in July last year the university had submitted about 60 applications for permits and by December there had been no response. Subsequently, permits were issued, but only a few at a time. Even now, at the end of the academic year, a number of teachers still have not received work permits. Dr Ghourani said that this had been extremely unsettling for the faculty. 'If you don't have a work permit, you cannot be issued with a residence permit,' he said. 'And without a residence permit you are technically in the country illegally. If you are stopped at an Israeli checkpoint and cannot produce a residence permit, you can be arrested.'

# THE STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE

## The story of a Palestinian family

'I WAS married on Friday 7th May 1949. On Friday 14th May, we were forced to leave our village. I lived only one week!' Abu Gazi's 60 years does not show: he looks young, alert and strong, particularly when he talks about his home, Palestine, and his insistence to return there.

We sat in a small humble room in his house in Rashidiyeh Camp, just south of Tyre, Lebanon. When I arrived, Abu Gazi had just finished repairing the roof of his house which had been shattered by Israeli shelling a few days before.

I asked Abu Gazi to tell me what had happened that Friday 14th May 1948, and how he and his wife Um Gazi had finally arrived in Rashidiyeh refugee camp. He stopped my questioning, saying simply, 'First we must have some tea.' As Um Gazi prepared the tea, he asked about my children, and I inquired about his.

As we drank tea, Abu Gazi reflected on those events which today make him one of 500,000 Palestinians refugees in Lebanon. His face expressed the recollection of painful memories.

I prompted him: 'What was it like, those days, Abu Gazi?'

'You mean the trip of torture?' I nodded.

'I am from Al-Bassa, a village in northern Palestine. I worked on my land, about 100 dunums, which I inherited from my father, and he from his father. It is good land, and we lived well.'

'I remember clearly, on the evening of 13th May, I was sitting with some of the other young men of Al-Bassa talking about the situation in our country. The war had started, and we had heard about some terrible, criminal deeds of the Zionists, such as a massacre in a village called Deir Yassin. We had heard that whole villages were being destroyed, and all their inhabitants — even old men and women and children — were killed and their bodies mutilated or thrown into the wells of the village.'

'Some of my friends said we should leave the village, because we expected that the Israelis were planning to attack Al-Bassa too. I think we were all afraid, but could not say so openly. I told them I was not going to run away. I never wanted to live anywhere but in my village. We sat for some time, talking, drinking tea, and then went to our homes to bed.'

'Within a few hours, in the early morning of 14th May, the Zionist attack on Al-Bassa had begun. The attack was severe, with much indiscriminate shelling. From the very beginning of the attack, it seemed clear that their aim was to destroy completely the village and most of its inhabitants. Of course we tried to defend the village with whatever we had. But we had very little and they had many weapons and reinforcements. By the evening, everything in the village was destroyed or burned. Our choice was to die or to leave. That is what the Zionists wanted.'

'My wife and I headed for Lebanon, since its border was close. We had nothing from our home, not even a blanket. Even the departure was difficult as the Zionists continued

their shelling. We walked all night until we reached the first Lebanese village on the border, Labona. There we stayed one week, with no shelter, living off whatever grasses we could collect from the fields. There was a group of us, refugees from Palestine. After one week, the Lebanese police arrived and ordered us to leave the area. So we all moved on to Al-Naqura, still near the border. We spent one week there.'

Reluctantly, I interrupted him: 'Why did you stay in the villages near the border?'

'Ah, you see, we kept hearing of promises — from the Arab countries and the rest of the world — that our exile was only temporary. We expected to return to our homes, so we stayed near the border, ready to go back at any moment. But by the end of the week in Al-Naqura, I realised that I must find some work in order for us to survive. The conditions were very difficult, and famine and illness were spreading quickly.'

'I headed north-east, searching for work. In Al-Klaylah, another Lebanese village near the border, I found work as a field-hand. The pay was minimal — one and a half Lebanese pounds per day. In Al-Klaylah, our third station in exile, we stayed two years. There my wife became pregnant, and Gazi was born. But there too, life was very hard, and when the landowner demanded the use of the land on which we were living, we had to leave.'

'In the village of Al-Hennyeh, our fourth station, we discovered the old stone aquaduct (and ancient water supply-line) of Al-Azzyeh. We enclosed the arches of the aquaduct, and made ourselves a house, and used water from the aquaduct. We lived there one year, and my daughter Iqbal was born.'

'I decided to go to Tyre to find work. I took the family and we stayed in Tyre three months, but I couldn't find any work. So we returned to our 'house' in Al-Azzyeh and remained there until 1952.'

'In that year UNRWA established camps for Palestinians in Rashidiyeh and Al-Bus. First we moved to Al-Bus, just beside Tyre. Then in 1965 we left to Rashidiyeh where we lived ever since.'

'Throughout this difficult journey, how could you provide for your nine children on your very meagre income?' I asked.

'When UNRWA established schools,' Um Gazi explained, 'we sent our children. They finished the preparatory — 10th grade — in these schools. All the time we were saving everything we could, economising on meat and such. In this manner we were able to buy school supplies and send six of our children to secondary school. The other three will go too in their turn.'

'But why is your children's education so important? Didn't you want them to work to help the family financially?' I questioned. But Um Gazi and Abu Gazi responded quickly: 'Knowledge is light and ignorance darkness. Knowledge is an essential part of our struggle to liberate our land and to build our society

in free Palestine.'

'How many schools are there in Rashidiyeh?'

'We have only two elementary and two preparatory schools here,' explained Abu Gazi. 'Even these schools are inadequate for a population of 17,000, so the schools have double shifts — one in the morning and one in the afternoon. There is no secondary school in Rashidiyeh. UNRWA provided higher education for only a few of the top students.'

### PLO's work

'But the Revolution has changed this. The Revolution is a modern revolution which means it must educate all the Palestinian people. Today we see that the Revolution provides scholarships for higher education — either in Lebanon or outside — for most of the Palestinian students.'

'Um Gazi, what were the living conditions like — especially the health conditions — when you came to Rashidiyeh?'

'As a mother, this was one of my main concerns. Health conditions were terrible. There was open sewage which caused many diseases. And there was only one clinic, run by UNRWA, with one doctor who worked only in the morning. It was very difficult to get an appointment with the doctor, or to get the necessary

medicine. If someone was critically ill, and needed to be hospitalised, first you had to fill out many forms, and only after long complicated procedures would he be sent to a hospital in Tyre or Beirut.'

'But the Revolution brought better medical care. Now we have five medical clinics, each with a doctor and nurse who work full time. There are two ambulances for emergencies, so that critical cases can be rushed to hospitals in Tyre, Sidon or Beirut. There, the hospitals run by the Revolution give free treatment and medicine. This makes a big difference in our health conditions and in our daily lives.'

### Democracy

'Abu Gazi, how does the popular committee in the camp function?'

'I am not a member of the committee, but it was created by popular demand. There is one member from each of the Palestinian organisations, two independents and representatives of the Palestinian unions of students, workers, women, teachers. It serves most of our needs in the camp. For instance if someone is unemployed, the committee tries to help find a job, or offers food and financial assistance to the family. When someone's house is destroyed by Israeli shelling, the committee provides compensation. The committee

constructed shelters to protect the people against Israeli shelling, and built roads inside the camp. The committee also helps to solve any disputes among the people.'

'During the Israeli invasion and the Eight Day War of March 1978, there was a shortage of food and cooking fuel. The popular committee contacted the PLO in Beirut. Within two days we received a shipment of flour and cooking fuel, at cost price.'

'Abu Gazi, what are your dreams for the future of Palestine?'

'It doesn't matter what kind of state it will be. What is important is that I want to go back to my land, to my home and live in peace and freedom. It may take a long time, or a short time, but we will return. We have taught our children to love their land. Every Palestinian mother nourishes her children with love for Palestine. If not we, and my generation, then our children will return and we will see the victory through their eyes.'

### Mother's concern

'Um Gazi, are you afraid of the Israeli shelling?'

'Of course. Like any mother in the world, I am afraid for my children. When the Israelis begin shelling I gather my children and hide them in the shelters. My daughter Nihad was killed by Israeli shelling. As a mother, I want my children — and all the children of the world — to live in peace. Israel kills our children, destroys our houses, and ignores our human rights. Someday, the truth will be known, our rights will be recognised and we will return to Palestine.'

I asked Muwafak, their 10 year old son who is in the 4th grade, 'Have you lost any friends during the Israeli shelling?'

His child's face reveals sadness, and in a solemn voice Muwafak answers: 'Yes, two friends. Ali and Mohammed. One day they were playing, and a cluster bomb, dropped by Israeli Phantom jets during the Eight Day War, exploded.'

'What will you be when you grow up, Muwafak?'

'I hope to be a doctor to help the people. But first, I would like to be a pilot, to stop the Israeli planes which bomb and kill my friends.'

Here we finished the long journey of exile of the Abu Gazi family, which is a symbol of all Palestinian families, forced to leave their land and live in oppressed and tragic camps. One day they will retrace their journey. Abu Gazi will walk with his family from Rashidiyeh to their village Al-Bassa in Palestine.



Zionist terrorism has followed the Palestinians to their refuge in the Lebanon. The target of Israeli raids is civilian homes.



Um Ghazi



Abu Ghazi

# Resistance poetry

## Prison Walls

### 'An appeal to Heaven and the US Courts'

The following poem was written by Robert Isa for Ziad Abu-Eain

In as much as some apocryphal men have made once again their ritual demands, pieced together with pieces of flesh, with myths and with lies and with pieces of law, we might have seen before this instant but we still may look at this so-called anarchist: one Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian Arab, 7 seasons in jail, a boy, wrapped in butcher paper, and, as such, extraditable home.

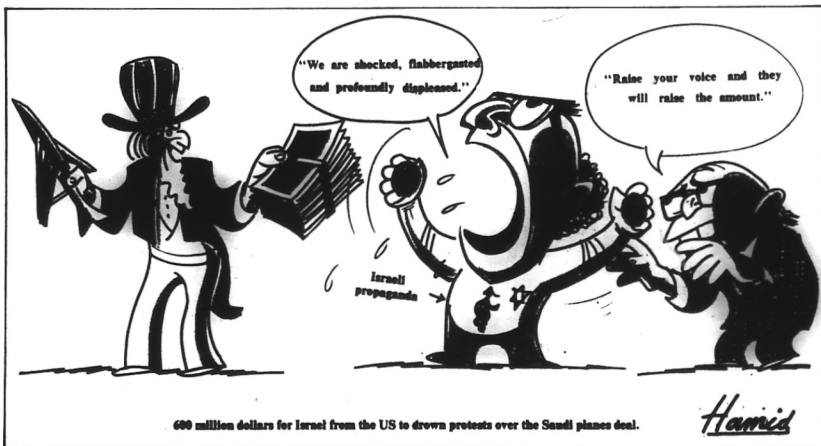
Might fewer lies and fewer appositions to a boy have sufficed in this and left us yet some pride and divine grace here in America, the home of the free and the brave and the decent?

I ask myself in secret and in shame what has changed since one moment ago when we trusted in God and believed in our laws, not in some apocryphal men who make ritual demands that the sun be a spotlight. that our wholeness and children be broken.

So, perhaps, it is best, after all, that this butcher so-called, this boy, should go home to the valley where Jesus was born.

Forsaken in a jail cell, Ziad Abu Eain, entangled in scribbles of spittle ex post facto, wrapped in butcher paper as a pound of beef, be gone.

And yet I would spare at least his human dignity for your sake and mine. And I will not press my face into the dirt or grovel in silence. For we are many, you and I, Americans, resplendent in our freedom, humanity and laws. And if not I, then you can wipe the spit from your eye and find your tongue and speak the truth and say, No, we will not extradite this boy!



## America and Palestine: who calls the tune?

A WEEK after the Israeli attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor, the Sunday Times on 14th June examined the response of the American Zionist lobby. 'It was rather like turning an oil tanker,' said the article, 'It took time, and a lot of muscle — but she did, eventually, respond to the rudder. American public opinion — and, crucially, Congress and the press — took just about 48 hours to alter course.'

The initial reaction in the United States was one of anger and outrage. This was followed by a short period of complacency, but was succeeded by open admiration for Israel's aggression. The Sunday Times article described how the volte face was carefully engineered by the principal Zionist lobby group in Washington, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), which has an annual budget of over £1 million and a staff of more than 30.

AIPAC's initial reaction, they claimed, was one of apprehension at the enormity of the propaganda task facing them. As one of the staff was quoted as saying: 'On the face of it, the Israeli raid was going to be pretty damned hard to justify.' Undaunted, however, AIPAC was urged into action by the Israeli embassy, which also determined the strategy to adopt. At dawn on Tuesday, less than 24 hours after news of the raid broke, a five-paragraph AIPAC memorandum was published, to be circulated to every Senator and Congressman.

Sarah Ehrman, one of AIPAC's leading lights, had meanwhile been on the phone to the ardent pro-Israeli Colorado Senator Gary Hart, to seek his advice. 'I talked about how we could eventually turn things round. We figured it would take a day or so for the dust to clear. I guess I made about 60 phone calls that day, mostly damage assessment and control,' she said. 'We didn't get on to talking about admiration for the macho aspects of the raid, its precision, the courage, until next day. The first few hours were spent repairing the breach.'

By lunchtime, said the Sunday Times, Congress was already responding, and 'by the end of the day the speeches were running about three to one in Israel's favour. By the next morning the press, too, were changing tack.' By the end of the week, 'the chorus of disapproval had become a litany of praise for Beigin'. One of

the AIPAC staff was quoted as saying: 'All told, then, pretty successful don't you think?'

### No one dares

This power of the American Zionist lobby is a recurrent theme in Mohammed Shadid's *The United States and the Palestinians*, and in the fascinating chapter devoted to the lobby's structure and activities he cites some remarkable cases that underline the pressure the lobby can bring to bear on politicians who dare to criticise Israel — however cautiously or implicitly. In April 1975, for example, President Ford received a letter expressing discontent at his 'reassessment' of US Middle East policy. Signed by 76 Senators, the letter was drafted by Morris Amitay, then, as now, director of AIPAC. Senator Charles Percy from Chicago, however, refused to sign the letter, and instead wrote his own to the President, explaining his viewpoint. In a pre-emptive move to reduce the impact of Percy's letter, Amitay presented the 76-Senator missive to the *Washington Post* the day before it reached the President. One of Amitay's aides is quoted as saying the AIPAC director decided to follow up this action by 'making an example of Percy' so that 'no one else would dare to do what Percy did'. By the end of the lobby's campaign against him, reports Shadid, 'Percy's office was flooded with over 20,000 pieces of critical mail'.

Shadid convincingly demonstrates the crucial role played by the lobby at every key stage in the Zionists' usurpation of Palestine and in their continuing denial of Palestinian rights. At the time of the 1947 UN resolution calling for the division of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, for example, the Zionists mounted a major campaign aimed not only at winning US support for the resolution,

but also at ensuring US pressure on states subservient to Washington to make them vote in favour as well. Commenting on the Zionist campaign, President Truman said: 'I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance.' Under-Secretary of State Robert Lovett reported that 'he had never in his life been subject to as much pressure'.

### Motives

While the Zionist lobby... d the need to appease American Zionist voters have clearly played a major role in shaping US policy on Palestine, Washington has had other motives for its consistent support of the Zionists. Many sections of American public opinion, and also key centres of power in Washington — notably the Pentagon and the intelligence community — have always seen Israel as a vital ally, to be deployed, as necessary, both in the strategic 'struggle against Communism', and to protect US interests in the Middle East.

Ranked against those who hold this view, however, are other groups, including the State Department and the oil companies and other business interests, which have tended to argue that US support for the Zionist state in fact works against long-term American interests by angering the Arabs and driving them into the arms of the Soviets.

The key point about US Middle East policy is that it is not formulated by one group alone, but has often been the muddled outcome of attempts to reconcile fundamentally opposed interpretations of how best to secure US interests.

It is against the backdrop of this complex policy-making process that the Zionist lobby operates, and a weakness of Shadid's book is that he does not set out clearly the entire array of interacting forces that have led to US support for Zionism. The book nevertheless offers a valuable history of the changing US policy towards a people it successively ignored, regarded simply as refugees, denounced as 'terrorists' and finally began to acknowledge, although not explicitly, as a people with national rights.

Dr Alan George

□ *The United States and the Palestinians*, by Mohammed K Shadid. Croom Helm, London, 1981. 252 pages. £12.95



## EDITORIAL

# The European initiative: Coming to terms with Zionism and the Palestine question

THE NEXT six months will be crucial for the future of Euro-Arab relations. It is in this period that the EEC must make a positive and unequivocal move to resolve the Palestine question. Not least the Europeans must make clear their views and policies on the Middle East from which the EEC can be judged. It is absurd enough that for more than a year the EEC has been despatching envoys on sojourns around the Middle East, under the guise of fact-finding missions. The EEC embraces some of the most powerful nations in the world, many with long histories of colonialism which, if nothing else, has left them with considerable experience in foreign affairs, and no lack of knowledge, experience and understanding of what the Middle East conflict and the Palestine question is really all about. Any further delay, beyond the next six months, in the EEC making a positive declaration of principles and revealing a clear programme of action to resolve the Palestine question can only add support to the view that the EEC is perfectly content to reap the benefits of trade with the Arab states, but hopes at the same time that its subservience to the Zionist lobby and the United States will not be exposed.

It is not sufficient for the EEC to lament that a common denominator for peace does not exist between the Zionist leaders and the Palestinian Arabs. There is no common denominator between the mugger and the victim, but the courts do not prolong their deliberations by seeking to find one. Justice is not based on meeting the demands of the criminal and the victim.

It is shameful that the Arabs should have to be seen pushing the EEC to take a stand on the Palestine question. But it is no less shameful that the EEC should continue to jeopardise the well-being of the European nations, and more besides, by permitting a situation to continue in Palestine which makes the threat of a new major confrontation very real.

## Nuclear threat

The fact that the possibility of a nuclear confrontation in the Middle East is now recognised is not because Israel chose to launch a blitzkrieg against the Baghdad nuclear reactor. It is because Europe and the international community remained subservient to Zionist pressures and the United States for so long, and turned a blind eye to the fact that

Israel over a long period of time has been manufacturing and stockpiling her own nuclear weapons. While the western press and western political leaders have devoted so much of their time presenting Arab aspirations and Arab leaders as extremist, the Zionists have been faced with little criticism of their own extremist actions. (No Arab leader has ever expelled half the population of a land, nor wantonly destroyed thousands of homes in pursuit of a racist political programme, nor flouted international law so frequently as to come anywhere close to the record of UN condemnations now held by the Zionist state.) And even now the West is so preoccupied with the possibility that Iraq or Libya might have a nuclear capacity in ten years time that little concern is voiced that Israel has it now — some estimates from Western intelligence sources put the figure as high as 200 nuclear warheads now in the Israeli inventories.

No one doubts (apart from the Zionists and Washington) that a new initiative is needed to resolve the Palestine question. The Camp David process, from the outset, failed to come to terms with the reality of the situation. It was a

deliberate scheme aimed at subverting the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. Its clear intention was to stop the creation of an independent Palestinian state, to ignore the plight of some two million Palestinians now exiled by the Zionists from their homeland, and to perpetuate the Zionist military occupation of the territories seized by Israel in the 1967 war. The tragedy of Camp David has merely turned to farce, with Israel stubbornly refusing to respect the obligations of the accords, as many observers expected in the first place.

## PLO recognition

If the Palestinians have rights, the same as other human beings, then no European initiative is worthy of the name if it does not embrace these rights. The UN General Assembly has defined the legitimate rights of the Palestinians as the right to return to their homeland and properties from which they have been dispossessed, and their right to self-determination within an independent sovereign state. It is the denial of these rights, rejected out of hand by Israel and the United States, which are at the heart of the Palestine tragedy.

Moreover, Europe has to come to terms with who represents the Palestinian people. There is only one body which can make this claim. The Palestine Liberation Organisation is recognised by the Palestinian people as their representative. There is not another single body of Palestinians which either makes this claim, nor which even the most ardent opponent of the Palestinians can present as such.

Europe's task in formulating an initiative, or even a policy, must take into account that the rights of the Palestinians are not negotiable. It is not Europe's task to show its complicity with the Zionists in seeking to rewrite the UN Charter of Human Rights so as to exclude the Palestinians. It is Europe's task to make proposals which are new, which embrace the rights of the Palestinians, and which show Europe's independence from the United States on this issue. If the EEC believes that a new and serious initiative can embrace United States policy on Palestine, it should say so now, and save itself both time and money. This deception that a European initiative can be compatible with Camp David, and the foreign policy rantings from the White House, must stop now.

## LONDON NOTES

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### Zionism is racist — official

FROM THE *Jewish Chronicle*, 26th June 1981: 'An "Anglo-Saxon" Poale Agudat Israel settlement was officially dedicated on the West Bank on Tuesday afternoon. The settlement, about 12 miles inside the West Bank, south-east of Lod, is entirely populated by immigrants from Britain, the United States and Australia who have been in Israel for less than a year . . . The 25 new settlers are to be joined by 15 British families and a number of Israelis.'

### Don't let them eat cake

A CHARITY Fête to celebrate the opening of a new orphanage in the village of Al Bireh in occupied Palestine was closed by the occupation authorities after a contingent of Israeli soldiers headed by the local military governor, arrived and ordered the proceedings to halt. They had taken objection to the icing on a cake, which was in green, red, black and white, the Palestinian national colours. This meant that the celebrations were a political event, and therefore not allowed.

### Driving the Jews Into the sea

'BEIGIN TO power, Peres to the ocean,' trumpeted the Likud Party's street mobs in the closing stages of the Israeli election campaign. Irony, isn't it, that the Zionist right wing is actually becoming as anti-semitic as they once accused the Arabs of being. No-one has ever come forward



to claim the £10,000 offered by ex-Minister and leading Palestinian supporter Christopher Mayhew to anyone who could show that any responsible Arab leader had ever threatened, in the words of the Zionist propagandists, to 'drive the Jews into the sea'. When Beigin returns to power, Mr Peres might feel safer with the protection of the PLO around him than as Leader of the Opposition in a Likud-run Israel.

### Recapturing the truth

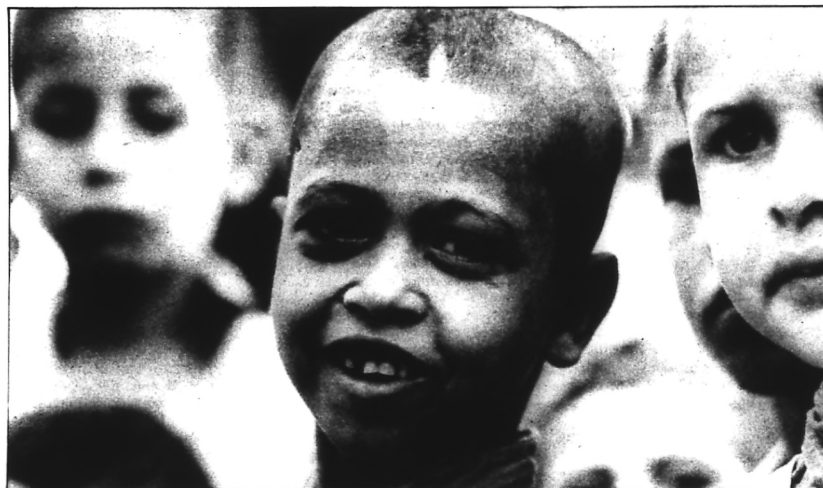
WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS in Israel are increasingly appalled by the disgusting behaviour of Israeli Premier Menachem Beigin and the handpicked crowds of thugs which his Likud Party is using to break up opponents' election meetings. *Daily Mail* correspondent Brian James wrote of Beigin recently: 'Surely the Jewish people could not have a more dreadful enemy than a leader so wanton as to try to turn the chosen people into some sort of master race.'

Perhaps this new critical attitude towards Zionism will prompt some journalists to get their facts straight. James, for example, is under the impression that 'the Israeli Knesset [is] now sited in re-captured Jerusalem'. The Knesset building, dating from the early 1960s, is sited in the area near Jerusalem seized by the Zionists in 1948; never having held the area before, they certainly didn't 're-capture' it.

### Defending what In 1947?

GLANCING IDLY through *Who's Who* the other day (we do it to remind ourselves who our elders and betters are), we noticed that the Israeli Ambassador in London claims in his biography to have been a member of the Israel Defence Force from 1947 to 1950. As the 'State of Israel' was only proclaimed in May 1948, we wonder exactly what he was 'defending' in the previous twelve months. Or is this just another Zionist attempt to rewrite history?

# فلسطين حرة free palestine



The Palestinians' right to self-determination recognised by Scottish socialists.

## Scottish Labour Party backs PLO

THE SCOTTISH Executive of the Labour Party has called for the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Executive, meeting in Edinburgh on 13th and 14th June, was considering a motion from Dundee Labour Party supporting the Palestinians which had been remitted from the Scottish Conference of the Labour Party last November. The Dundee resolution, which the Scottish Executive adopted, also supports the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a state of their own in Palestine.

After being remitted to the Executive by the Conference, the resolution was endorsed by the Party's policy committee, and then supported by a clear majority of the Executive. The resolution will now be formally forwarded to the National Executive Committee in London. But supporters of the move said that the next step in the campaign would be to have recognition of the PLO and Palestinian rights supported by the Scottish Trades Union Congress, the TUC and the Labour Party Annual Conference, all of which take place in the autumn.

The Scottish Labour decision was predictably attacked as 'anti-semitic' by Dr Jack Miller, a member of the

Board of Deputies of British Jews, who claimed that such support for a liberation movement was 'completely contrary to the tradition views and values of the Labour Party.' His comment was the only one from any source to appear in the account of the Labour decision in *The Scotsman*, Scotland's main national paper. Dundee Labour Councillor Colin Rennie said: 'We have had a bad press from the beginning... there has been an attempt to bury this issue but now it is being widely discussed in the movement for the first time.'

The Secretary of the Labour Party in Scotland, Helen Liddell, said that there was nothing anti-Jewish in any part of the resolution.

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## Baramki visit to London barred by Zionists

BIR ZEIT University, on the occupied West Bank near Ramallah, has been the principal target of Zionist attempts to curb the independence of academic institutions in the 1967 occupied territories. Outrage amongst British academics at the pressures placed on Bir Zeit prompted the formation in 1978 of the Friends of Bir Zeit University (FOBZU) as a non-political organisation dedicated to assisting the university in any way possible.

Perhaps FOBZU's most important contribution has been to send prominent British academics to lecture at Bir Zeit, thereby helping to diminish the inevitable isolation from the international academic community suffered by any university under occupation. The most recent guest lecturer was Professor Dorothy Hodgkin, of Oxford University. Her subject is crystallography, for which she has won a Nobel Prize. She is the President of the British Academy for the Advancement of Science.

FOBZU held its Annual General Meeting in London on 18th June. It was hoped that Dr Hanna Nasser, President of Bir Zeit University and now also a member of the PLO Executive Committee, would be able to attend the AGM, but he was unable

to come owing to prior commitments. Dr Nasser was summarily deported from the West Bank in 1974, without any charges being levelled against him. Dr Gabi Baramki, the Vice President, had been scheduled to stand in for him, but he too was unable to come. A few days before he was to depart, the occupation authorities issued an order barring all residents of the Ramallah area from leaving the country via Israel's only international Airport at Lydda. At short notice, Dr Izzat Ghourani, Dean of the Faculty of Economics, travelled to London to bring FOBZU members up to date on the latest developments at Bir Zeit (see page 8).

Bir Zeit, with 1,670 students and 170 faculty members, is the leading Palestinian university in the 1967 occupied territories, and has continued to function, and to maintain its high academic standards, only with the greatest difficulty in the face of persistent Zionist harassment.

If you are interested in joining FOBZU, please write to the Membership Secretary at 13, Southwark Street, London SE1 1RQ. Financial contributions to the work of the Friends are welcome, and should be sent to the above address, with cheques made payable to FOBZU.

## Bradford event goes ahead despite threats

THE 16TH May Palestine Day School at the University of Bradford went ahead with strong support from local Labour movement activists and students, despite a concerted campaign by local Zionists to force university authorities to stop the event.

The activities of the Zionists underline a continuing problem in universities and towns throughout the country. Repeatedly the Zionists, often supported by Zionists in Parliament, attempt to subvert the right to free speech, sometimes leading to violence at public meetings and occasionally injury to speakers and public alike.

Zionist activities in Bradford reportedly included:

□ Demands to the local radio station that tapes be handed over of an interview with the organising secretary.

□ Warnings to the President of the University Students Union that the meeting would be disrupted by Zionists coming from Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield.

□ Pressure on the University Senate to disassociate the University from the school, which would have stopped the meeting being held on the university premises, and lost the organisers a £200 expenses grant from the Issues Fellowship at the University.

□ Persistent attempts by Zionists to disrupt the meetings during the Day School.

The Day School on 'Labour and Apartheid in Israel' was organised by the Bradford Labour Movement Campaign for Palestinian Solidarity and attracted over a hundred participants. Speakers included anti-Zionist Israelis Dr Uri Davis and Elfi Pallis, Simon Collings, a member of the NUF Executive, and Samir Speitan of the London PLO Office.

### Pamphlet:

BLMCPS produced a 48-page pamphlet for the Day School, entitled

*Palestine: Our Struggle*, copies of which are available price 75p from Roy Stoves, 40 St Paul's Road, Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD8 7LP. BLMCPs would also like to hear from other Palestine groups with news of their activities and planned projects. Information should be sent to the same address.

## Human Rights group in Australia

AN INTERIM Committee has been set up to create a Palestine Human Rights Campaign in the Australian state of Victoria. The group intends to promote the investigation, publication and understanding of incidents of violation of Palestinian human rights. It hopes to provide support for Palestinians whose rights have been violated, and to help secure the treatment of Palestinians according to internationally-recognised standards of human rights and basic freedoms. In the first issue of its Information Bulletin, the Australian PHRC focuses on the torture of Palestinians in Israeli jails. PHRC's address is PO Box 275, Carlton South 3053, Australia.

## Students please note

If you are a student reader of Free Palestine, and will be leaving university at the end of this term, please remember to advise us of your new address. Student groups receiving bulk copies of Free Palestine should also advise us of any changes in the mailing address for next term.

## Next issue

Free Palestine will not be published in August. The next issue will appear during September.

## From El Salvador to the Libyan Jamahiriya