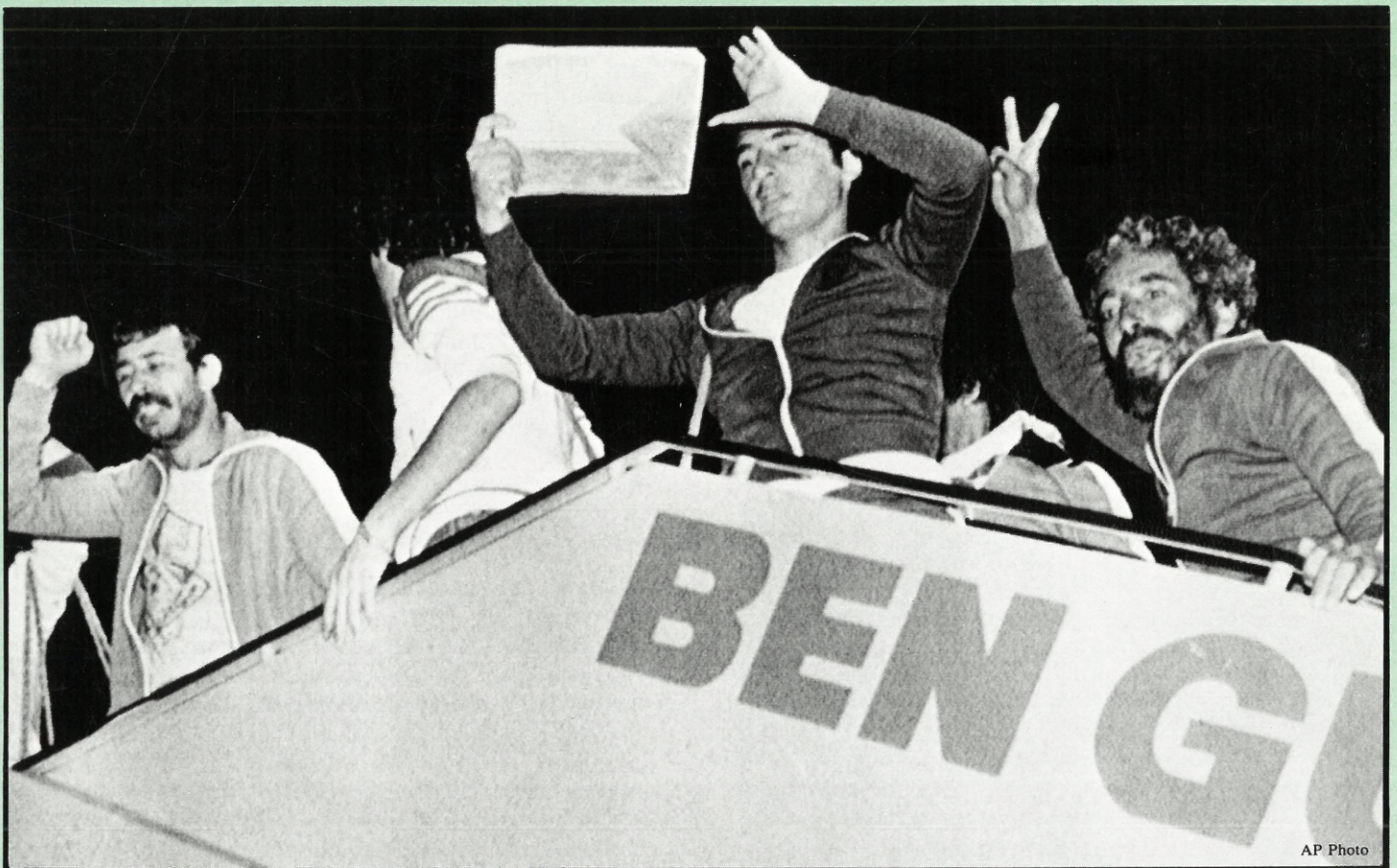


PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES

Palestine Research and Educational Center

January 1984

FLIGHT TO FREEDOM



AP Photo

Palestinian POWs Released from Israeli Captivity

Editorial Editorial Editorial

INJUSTICE IS NEVER IRREVERSIBLE

We increasingly hear that Israel's de facto annexation of the West Bank and Gaza has become irreversible or nearly so. More and more people are saying that it is "five minutes till midnight" in the West Bank. Frequently, this view is advanced as an expression of concern for the future of the Palestinian people and their rights. The Palestinians are counseled to "do something" about it before it is too late. And the "something" they are advised to do invariably falls short of even the minimal requirements of Palestinian national rights. To "liberate" the occupied territories from Israel, the Palestinians are often advised to give up their liberty by auctioning off their right to represent themselves. There are even some people who choose to show their sympathy by advising the Palestinians to abandon their struggle for national rights and to gear themselves, instead, to struggle for personal human and civil rights in "Eretz Yisrael," on the assumption that the Palestinian subjects of a Zionist state can have rights if they clamor for them.

Before this view becomes a litany innocently and unthinkingly recited by well-meaning people, it is necessary to raise at least the two following questions about it:

1. Does a military occupation become "irreversible?" In our view it does not. The forceful subjugation of one people by another cannot acquire legitimacy due to the unilateral acts of the occupier, although such acts may very well make the withdrawal symptoms more severe.

In the case of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the idea of its irreversibility is based on the outlandish premise that *Jews must not be inconvenienced*. If Israel's greed for land impels it to plant Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, it is unfair—according to this

premise—to have them relocated even as a part of a political settlement.

When the time came to remove a few hundred recent settlers in the occupied Sinai as a part of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, the process was pictured to be a most traumatic upheaval. It was made to look like a second holocaust. The talk about the irreversibility of the occupation lends credence to the settlement process which is nothing but an act of continuing aggression against a captive population protected against such acts by international law.

2. The second question which needs to be raised is this: what happens to the Arab-Israeli conflict if Israel's de facto annexation of the occupied West Bank and Gaza does become "irreversible?" The advocates of the idea that, for their own good, the Palestinians themselves should "do something about it," base their argument on the grounds that if annexation becomes irreversible, the whole issue of Palestinian self-determination becomes academic. If Israel plants a few more Jewish settlers, which it is doing every day, and if Jews must not be inconvenienced, then the file would soon be closed on the Palestinian people, and their national rights would become nothing but a historic memory.

Granted. This is certainly a possibility, if the lopsided balance of power in the Middle East continues indefinitely. In that case only what Israel wants would be achievable. But in that case it makes no difference what the Palestinians do, because Israel is dead set against Palestinian self-determination—with or without association with Jordan—as its immediate and categorical rejection of the Reagan scheme and as its refusal even to discuss the cessation of settlement demonstrates.

However, it behooves those who advise the Palestinians to swallow whatever it is that is being shoved down their throats, as a presumed alternative to oblivion, to consider another *theoretical* possibility which is transformable into a practical option. This possibility, which in fact is the only choice that would be left if Israel manages to make its annexation of the West Bank and Gaza irreversible, is that the struggle with Israel would cease to be over the West Bank and would become again a struggle over Palestine. In other words, instead of closing the file on the Palestinian people, Israel's annexation of the West Bank and Gaza would re-open the file from the beginning.

If Israel does make its annexation of the West Bank and Gaza irreversible, its idea that the Arab-Israeli conflict is a zero-sum game will be self-fulfilling. In preparation for that eventuality, the Palestinians have no choice but to gear themselves for a basic change in the coming phase of the conflict. They must cease to think of the struggle over the West Bank and Gaza as distinguishable from the larger struggle over Palestine, with all the implications it entails. □

Palestine Perspectives is published monthly by:

Palestine Research and Educational Center
818 18th Street, NW, Suite 645
Washington, DC 20006

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Subscription rates: In the U.S. and Canada, \$15/year (\$10 to students). Elsewhere, \$25/year. Single copies, \$1.50.



THE REAGAN-SHAMIR ALLIANCE

Ghassan Bishara

Since its creation, the State of Israel has been the beneficiary of U.S. generosity unequalled in modern history between any two states. That is normally; but recent times are anything but normal between the U.S. and Israel. Israel has so brilliantly maneuvered events in the Middle East since the summer of 1982 that it is now sought after by the U.S. to help in extricating U.S. marines from Beirut. This comes with the beginning of the national elections in the U.S., with certain built-in profits for Israel. Maybe this explains the results of the just concluded visit by Shamir and his party.

"What did we get in return?" asked a reporter at the White House of a senior administration official at the press briefing about the conclusion of Shamir's visit to Washington. "He gave them (the Israeli visiting party) the country," said another well known reporter at the same press briefing, adding, "I have never seen anything like this in all of my reporting career." These remarks were but a few of the expressions of angry disbelief displayed by most reporters at the said briefing; and except for those known for their unqualified support for Israel, who were happily surprised, everyone else was astounded.

The surprise and disbelief were not merely at the extent and level of American generosity alone, but at the one-sidedness of it. Yitzhak Shamir, who inherited Begin's position as leader of the Likud Coalition, and thus as Prime Minister of Israel, came to the United States with a very long shopping list and was granted in two days even more than he had hoped for. On the other hand, the U.S. had few demands of Israel which were all turned down.

Election Rewards

One of the benefits of a two-four year term for the office of president, versus a longer term, according to American political scientists, are the rewards to some segments of American society, which are remembered only on election years. Those Americans, it is argued, due to their possession of the right to vote and to their readiness to use it, are remembered when candidates need their votes. In order to have their support, candidates to the presidency and to the U.S. congress promise these generally forgotten Americans all kinds of rewards, to be paid when and if the candidate is elected.

Israel, a foreign country, has benefited most from American elections, though Israel's friends in the U.S. are certainly not among the forgotten Americans. Due to their disproportionate power and influence on the American political scene, Israel's friends bring to their favorite state, Israel, the fruits of their "hard work" and the "blessings" of American wealth and technology, since the national elections of 1984 are around the corner and the campaign is already in high gear, it was expected therefore, that the visit of Shamir would be a rewarding one. Israel's expectations and American willingness to provide, are thus normal in this election year, but the rewards this time exceeded the expectations, and some Israeli officials were themselves generally surprised at the level of U.S. generosity. Reagan, who is certain soon to declare his candidacy for the presi-



dency, began long ago to appeal for the support of the U.S. Jewish community. And what better cause to espouse than support for Israel? Speaking to Jewish Americans at the Rockville Jewish Community Center, Reagan said on December 4th, "Israel's quest for peace and security is in constant peril from those [Arabs] driven by hatred and violence..." The general import of such a statement is obviously clear.

A Quagmire in Lebanon

The presence of the MNF (Multinational Force) in Beirut can be blamed directly on Israel's behavior in Lebanon and particularly in the Beirut area. Whatever circumstances and difficulties arise from that cannot be assessed without considering Israel's role as the party responsible for the MNF stay in Beirut.

Following the PLO agreement to the Philip Habib-negotiated cease-fire, and plans for Palestinian fighters' departure from Beirut on August 19, 1982, Israel's objectives, it was agreed at the time, had fallen far short of their targets. Israel's political and military leaders were determined to enter West Beirut, regardless of the consequences. MNF troops, including U.S. marines, who entered the city on August 25, left two weeks earlier than expected once the orderly PLO departure had been completed. Had it not been for Israel's violation of its agreement not to enter West Beirut, and its assistance in the massacres at Sabra and Shatila, marines and other MNF troops would not be in Beirut now. Observers also believe that if Israel, while in West Beirut and the Shouf mountains, did not facilitate the entry of the Phalange into the Shouf region, the fighting there of late summer and early fall of 1983 which saw U.S. marines and ships take part in the fighting on the side of Gemayel, may have been avoided.

The U.S. marines' presence and role in Beirut thus turned out to be synonymous with that of Israel and the Phalange, exposing them to the same treatment nationalists in Lebanon believe Israel and Phalange members deserve. Another American initiative, concluded this time with the direct involvement of Secretary Shultz, which provided additional proof of U.S. bias toward Israel and its Lebanese allies, the Phalange militias, was the May 17 agreement between Lebanon and Israel. The agreement infringes on Lebanese sovereignty and threatens genuine Syrian security interests. The side letters to the agreement, among other things, made Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon conditional on a similar Syrian-PLO withdrawal. U.S. emphasis on putting into effect the terms of the agreement placed it, once again, on the side of Israel and the minority regime of Amin Gemayel and his partners, the Phalange Party.

The attacks on U.S. and French troops in Beirut and the exclusion of other MNF troops from similar attacks, signify Arab Lebanese perceptions of the U.S. role. The closer the
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ties between Israel and any power in the Middle East, the more hostility that party will have to face from the Arab people—the U.S. is no different. The attack on the U.S. marines' headquarters in Beirut on October 23, killing 239, brought home to the Reagan administration a new reality and an urgent objective: withdrawing U.S. marines as soon as that becomes possible, and before the 1984 elections.

From Cooperation to Partnership

Appearing on "This Week with David Brinkley" on October 23, the day of the attack on the U.S. marines' headquarters in Beirut, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said that it is essential to improve the balance of forces in the Middle East in favor of the U.S., in order to put into effect the May 17 agreement. The agreement, Kissinger implied, would be good if it brings about Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, even through military means. The departure of Syrian troops under the terms of the agreement, administration officials believed, would pave the way for U.S. marines' withdrawal by November, 1984, in time for the American national elections.

"I don't think Syria will withdraw unless the balance of power within Lebanon changes..." Kissinger continued, adding "I am thinking of the Israeli army," which can best tip the balance against Syria. Such ideas were not lost on Secretary Shultz, who had already begun a process within the administration to reactivate Israel's role in Lebanon. A few days later, Lawrence Eagleburger, Under Secretary of State, went to Israel in search of "means of cooperation" with Israel, and while there he extended an invitation to Yitzhak Shamir to visit the U.S. Israel's assistance, the administration made obvious, was most needed, and the U.S. was anxious to pay Israel the price.

Shamir and his party arrived in Washington on November 27, pleased with the U.S. definition of Israel's role as necessary to extricate the U.S. marines from Beirut, where they had been sent in the first place because of Israel's own behavior. Shamir was well aware of what the administration would like Israel to do in Lebanon, thus he upped his demands. Reagan officials stated that the mere strengthening of relations between Israel and America would scare the Syrian government, now blamed by the U.S. and Israel for all "evils" in the region.

Having adopted Israel's objectives for the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, the administration's desires may prove not to be an easy task. Before pulling back the marines, Lebanon must be free of all foreign forces, Gemayel's authority must be extended over all of Lebanon, all under terms of the May 17 agreement rejected by most Lebanese, including a former president, Franjeh, Prime Minister Karami, Jumb-lat and Berri, (leaders of the Progressive Socialist Party and the Shiites in Lebanon) as well as Syria, the PLO and most Arab states.

Short of amending the agreement or possibly abrogating it all together, war against Syria to force it out of Lebanon is believed the only other means. The probability of a large-scale war in the Middle East, thus, should not be entirely discounted.

The question then becomes: would Israel go to war against Syria? And if so, and Syria is forced out of Lebanon, would that mean a solution to Lebanon's internal problems? The answer is admittedly highly complex, but putting aside likely global complications the problems in Lebanon cannot be solved militarily. Shamir's government is believed to be the weakest in Israeli history, mainly because of the weakness of his own personality compared to previous Israeli prime ministers. This will likely hasten a large scale war, and if successful, would improve Shamir's image in Israel and thus strengthen his government and party. The U.S. will probably not oppose such a war in order to bring the boys back, or it may introduce a Vietnam-like "victory" to achieve the same results.

The shopping list which Shamir brought with him to the U.S. was a very long and expensive one, but one which was met "and more." In the departure statement at the White House, President Reagan on November 29th, with Shamir standing next to him, said "we have agreed on the need to increase our cooperation in areas where our interests coincide, particularly in the political and military areas." Other areas of cooperation agreed upon are in the economic field, trade and technology. The agreement which was concluded between the two states has been described by Israeli and American officials as a "turning point" in the relations between the two countries. Characteristically, however, the agreement was a one-way street, Israel giving nothing in return.

In the area of defense and security, it was agreed that Israel and the U.S. conduct joint military exercises, the U.S. will make Israel an armory for U.S. weapons and munitions, the two countries will formalize the gathering and sharing of intelligence collected through their respective means, and Israeli ports will service American Navy ships. Foreign military sales (F.M.S.) funds, usually provided to countries to purchase American goods, will be used by Israel to develop the Lavie fighter and to purchase Israeli-made defense articles. No decision was yet made by the president on whether the U.S. will allow the transfer of U.S. technology needed for the Lavie development; it would be unlikely, however, that it would not be done. Although, according to the *Washington Post* in early November, Israel did not ask for cluster shells, the U.S. did offer them, nonetheless. When asked about this, Secretary Shultz was reported to have said that if the Israelis do not want them, they do not have to take them. The transfer of these highly lethal anti-personnel weapons to Israel was suspended by the U.S. during the '82 invasion of Lebanon, due to Israel's abuse of their use. Reagan also said that the U.S. "would allow Israel's industry to participate in the production of U.S. weapons systems..."

In the area of finance and economy, President Reagan said that the U.S. agreed to help concretely in "bolstering Israel's economy," mainly by requesting congress to make all of the U.S. aid to Israel for fiscal year 1985 in the form of grants. Israel has requested \$3.2 billion for fiscal year 1985, according to sources in Washington. The U.S. and

Israel also talked about a free trade area intended to stimulate Israel's economy through increased Israeli exports to the U.S.

Politically, a senior administration official said at the White House, on November 29, that the President and Secretary of State reaffirmed their commitment to the Camp David Accords, the September 1st initiative, Security Council Resolution 242 and to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty of 1979. Both American and Israeli leaders recommitted themselves to the May 17 agreement between Israel and Lebanon, a commitment certain to drive Lebanon deeper into civil strife and the region into a wider war. Lebanese President Gemayel's visit to Washington, which opened the same day, aiming at amending the said agreement as a prerequisite for the success of the reconciliation talks at Geneva, was doomed before Gemayel and his party had their first meeting with their American counterparts. A letter from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to President Reagan urging American flexibility on the agreement apparently received little attention.

As usually is the case between the U.S. and Israel, an unannounced agreement was concluded as well. Knowledgeable sources believe that the U.S. and Israel agreed to active military cooperation against Syrian presence in eastern Lebanon. Immediately upon his return to Tel Aviv, Shamir sent American-made Israeli fighters to bomb Syrian and PLO targets, losing one or possibly two of them to Arab fire. The next day, as if to make that cooperation obvious, the U.S. for the first time ever sent its own Navy planes against the same targets, losing this time two of them, and damaging a third. When Israel's turn came, it lost another two pilotless spy planes. The U.S. and Israel in separate statements, of course, denied any cooperation.

No Reciprocity from Israel

The U.S. hoped for an Israeli change of heart on some issues. Unlike Israel, however, the U.S. did not press hard and was unable to obtain any of them.

Before Shamir's arrival in Washington, the U.S. was considering amending the May 17 agreement to help reconciliation efforts in Lebanon. Shamir obviously killed those American and Lebanese expectations, stating while still in the U.S. that "not a word" would be changed in the agreement. Reagan was also hoping that Israel will reconsider his plan of September 1st, 1982, which Begin had summarily rejected, labelling it a "mortal threat to Israel." The senior official briefing the press at the White House said that there was no change in Shamir's position from that of Begin. The U.S. received another "no" from Israel, refusing to freeze activities in the occupied territories, which Reagan had called "an obstacle to peace." Israel's position on this issue, the official said, was also a clear "no."

The president of the U.S. also appealed to Shamir to soften Israel's opposition in the U.S. congress to the proposed Jordanian strike force. This American-financed force, the administration hoped, could be used in the Gulf area when needed. Israel's friends in congress refused to finance the plan and killed it during the recent session. Shamir stood firmly by Israel's views, handing Reagan another "no." Finally, the administration had hoped Israel

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PLO 1983

A one-day conference on "The PLO 1983: Challenges Facing the Palestinian Revolution" was held in Newark, N.J., on December 4, 1983. The conference was attended by about 500 people from the Palestinian-American community and its various organizations including the Federation of Ramallah-Palestine, the Palestine Arab Fund, the United Holy Land Fund, NAJDA, and the Arab Palestine Associations of Toronto, whose representatives addressed the conference.

The conference included three panels which addressed the following issues: challenges facing the PLO, challenges facing Palestinians living under occupation, and challenges facing Palestinian organizations in the U.S. and Canada.

The conference was also addressed by Farouk Qaddoumi, the head of the Political Department of the PLO, Shafiq al-Hout, PLO representative in Lebanon, Fahed Qawasmeh, mayor of Hebron, Muhammad Milhem, mayor of Halhoul, Dr. Riad Mansour, of the PLO UN delegation, Dr. Ahmad Sudki Dajani, member of the PLO Executive Committee, and others.

Dr. Dajani deplored the resort to violence to settle differences of opinion within the Palestinian national movement and described it as a criminal deviation from the democratic tradition of the PLO. As we seek to rebuild our movement, he said, we should be governed by the following guidelines:

1. Our guide should always be the agreed principles of our struggle.
2. We must safeguard the integrity and legitimacy of our political institutions.
3. We must protect our leadership which symbolizes our struggle and derives its legitimacy from the consent of our people.
4. We must rely on free democratic dialogue and abide by its results.

Mr. Shafiq al-Hout said that Palestinian politics brought a uniquely democratic tradition to the Arab world, and the only unforgiveable sin is to violate this tradition. The leadership which imposes itself by force is unworthy of our people. He called for the complete unification of Palestinian groups and forces in a broad national front committed to the following principles:

1. The Palestinian cause is our people's priority.
2. The PLO is the achievement of our people's struggle and must be cherished accordingly. Without it we have no symbol and no address.
3. National unity is essential to the continuation of our struggle for our legitimate rights.
4. The independence of the PLO is a sacred commitment which we must never compromise. We insist on our distinctive Palestinian identity not because we reject our Arabism,

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but to refute the allegations of our Zionist enemies that we do not exist.

Mr. Qaddoumi, in his keynote address to the conference, said the current Syrian attempt to subdue the PLO and subordinate it is the latest in a long series of attempts by Syria and other Arab regimes to deprive the Palestinian people of their right to independent decision-making. He reviewed, in his two-hour presentation, the series of attempts made by various Arab rulers since the mid-1960's, when the Palestinian Revolution began. However, Mr. Qaddoumi said, the determination of our people to remain masters of their own cause, and their massive and unyielding support of their freely chosen leadership foiled such attempts and will always do so.

It pains me to recollect, he said, that the first martyr of our revolution, Ahmad Mousa, was felled with an Arab bullet. And he recalled that in 1966, in one of the earliest attempts to clip Palestinian wings, top leaders of our revolution—Yasser Arafat and Abu Jihad—were imprisoned for 56 days in Syria.

He contrasted the late President Nasser, as an Arab patriot, with what he called the dwarfs who rule in the Arab world today. In 1970, he said, when President Nasser accepted the Rogers Plan, we criticized him and some of us were most severe in attacking him. "When we met with him in Alexandria to discuss our differences, he said your revolution is the noblest phenomenon in contemporary Arab history, and it will remain so in spite of your mistakes." Mr. Qaddoumi continued to recollect this encounter with Nasser and said: "When we met him he said to us: 'I have just spent two hours pacing and training myself in order that I may not utter one word which may offend you.'"

Today, Qaddoumi added, our leadership and our people again face Arab guns, tanks and rockets. "Where is Nasser today, when we are confronted by the midgets who vent their misplaced wrath on our people in their wretched camps in Lebanon?"

He concluded by saying that the solid support of the Palestinian people, inside and outside occupied Palestine, for their legitimate leadership and institutions, manifested even in Baddawi and Damascus itself, is the guarantee of Palestinian independence and the the ultimate success of our struggle for our usurped homeland and national rights.

The conference approved the text of a message from the Palestinian-American community to the American people (see box), as well as a final statement which included the following:

1. We reaffirm our commitment to the PLO and its Executive Committee under the chairmanship of Yasser Arafat.
2. We condemn the attacks against our people in the north of Lebanon.

3. We reject the use of force as a method of change in the PLO.

4. We renew our commitment to our national charter, and the resolutions of the Palestine National Council.

5. We condemn imperialism and its Israeli ally, and its use of Israel as its instrument of hegemony over the Middle East.

6. We affirm our solidarity with all Arab nationalist forces.

7. We ask our leadership to give the highest priority to the support of our people living under Israeli occupation.

8. We salute the honorable American popular organizations which support our just cause, and call for further cooperation with them.

9. We salute our heroic prisoners in Arab and Israeli prisons, and we honor the memory of our martyrs. □

MESSAGE FROM THE PALESTINIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The Palestinian-American community, meeting in emergency session on December 3, 1983, hereby reaffirms:

1. That the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

2. Our full support for chairman Yasser Arafat, who was democratically elected as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization by the representatives of the Palestinian people in the Palestine National Council.

3. We reaffirm our full support of the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their national right to self-determination, which includes the right to establish an independent sovereign state on their historic soil and their return to Palestine.

We ask the American people to concert their support with our efforts to change American policy to make it conform to the aspirations and the wishes of the Palestinian-American community. □

TRIPOLI ACCORD

After weeks of fighting in the Tripoli area between the PLO and the Syrian and dissident forces, mediation efforts led by Saudi Arabia succeeded in the conclusion of a "permanent" cease-fire agreement. The agreement also committed the parties to a peaceful solution to the conflict between them, and the evacuation of fighters from Tripoli and its surroundings.

According to the agreement, a coordination committee is to be established, under the chairmanship of former Lebanese prime minister Rashid Karami, to work out details and to supervise implementation.

The agreement was met with general approval, because it ended the fighting and spared the city of Tripoli and its civilian population further destruction and injury. Different interpretations of some of the provisions of the agreement, however, continued to threaten the situation in the north of Lebanon with uncertainty. The dissidents said the agreement applied only to the city and did not require them to withdraw from the neighboring refugee camps which they occupied during the fighting, and they expressed the view that only Mr. Arafat and his aides were

required to evacuate but not their fighters.

At the time *Palestine Perspectives* went to press, however, it was reported from Tripoli that the Karami Committee had worked out the details of the agreement and that both sides agreed to the procedures worked out by the committee. The UN Security Council, on the other hand, endorsed the Secretary-General's decision to authorize the use of the UN flag on the ships to be used for the evacuation of the PLO fighters. A PLO spokesman in Tripoli said on December 6 that the PLO asked France, Greece, and the Soviet Union to provide escort ships for the estimated 4000 fighters who are scheduled to be evacuated, to discourage interference by Israeli gunboats off the coast of Tripoli.

TRIPOLI CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT

The Governments of the Syrian Arab Republic and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, out of their assessment of the gravity of the continuation of the fighting taking place between the brothers in Tripoli and their concern for the unity of the PLO and its future, and also for the security and safety of the Lebanese citizens, charged their foreign ministers with the task of holding the necessary contacts to achieve a cease-fire and save the city of Tripoli, and to underline the principle of solving the differences within the Palestinian arena by political dialogue and peaceful means. Following the consultations and contacts carried out by the foreign ministers of the two countries with former Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami, the deputy of Tripoli, the chairman of the PNC, and with the representatives of the parties to the conflict on the Palestinian side, agreement has been reached on the following:

1. A firm and permanent cease-fire and an end to the fighting.
2. The solving of Palestinian internal problems through political dialogue and peaceful means in order to preserve the unity of the PLO.
3. The departure of all armed Palestinians from Tripoli and the areas around it.
4. The Higher Coordination Committee in Tripoli, under the chairmanship of Rashid Karami, will supervise implementation of the cease-fire and the departure of the armed Palestinians in accordance with arrangements laid down by the committee. This is to be carried out within a period not exceeding two weeks from the date of the communication of the arrangements laid down by the Higher Coordination Committee. The Syrian and the Saudi Governments will render the necessary assistance required by the Higher Coordination Committee to implement this. □

REAGAN-SHAMIR (continued from page 4)

would provide guarantees against "surprising" the U.S. with such acts as the bombing of Iraq's nuclear reactor and the annexation of the Golan Heights. The senior official said: "I don't think governments will give each other that kind of guarantee," or simply put, another "no" from Shamir.

It may sound incredible, but Israel has others to thank besides the U.S. for this generosity—Arab governments' impotence. More than a week after the conclusion of Sham-

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PLO SUPPORTS CYPRUS UNITY

Mr. Farouk Qaddoumi, head of the Political Department of the PLO, issued a statement on November 22, 1983, expressing PLO opposition to the partition of Cyprus implied in the establishment of a separate state in the northern third of the island, separated since the Turkish intervention in 1974. Following is the text of Qaddoumi's statement:

As it expresses its deep sorrow for the step adopted by the Turkish side in Cyprus and the establishment of a Turkish Cypriot state in the northern part of Cyprus, the PLO wishes to reconfirm its constant principal stand regarding the unity, independence, and sovereignty of the independent Republic of Cyprus in all its territory. The PLO recognizes only the legitimate Cypriot Government, which in turn is recognized by the United Nations. Our Palestinian Arab people, who have been subjected to the plot of dividing their land and being expelled from it, are aware of the dangerous step adopted by the Turkish side in the island. Despite the continued plot and aggression against our people, they wish to voice their full solidarity with the friendly Cypriot people and their legitimate government. Our people wish to voice their support for the Cypriots' efforts to defend the unity, independence, and sovereignty of Cyprus. □

ir's visit, this writer was told by state department spokespersons that no Arab government had officially protested the American-Israeli "cooperation" agreement. American officials, on the basis of their knowledge of Arab regimes, told the *Washington Post* on December 2 that they "expected a few weeks of harsh rhetoric from friendly Arab countries, but that this rhetoric would be discontinued and would be followed by a realization in these countries that they have to return to cooperation with the U.S." This view of Arab governments is apparently outdated, since even the usual rhetoric this time failed to materialize. □



Life Under Occupation

DHEISHEH GHETTO

As a part of its plan to liquidate the Palestine question, which included the onslaught on the PLO and the Palestinian community in Lebanon, Israel intends to dismantle the refugee camps in the occupied territories. By doing so, Israel hopes to erase one of the more visible symbols and reminders of Zionist usurpation of Palestine.

In preparation for this act, which Israel euphemistically calls "resettlement," the occupation authorities intensified their repression of the refugee camp residents. The refugees in one of these camps, Dheisheh near Bethlehem, held a press conference on November 21 to bring attention to their plight. Following is the text of an appeal by the camp's residents against Israeli practices:

STATEMENT OF THE RESIDENTS OF DHEISHEH REFUGEE CAMP

Over the many years of occupation, our camp and other Palestinian refugee camps have suffered continuously from acts of oppression whose ultimate aim is the "resettlement" of the refugees. Similar attempts were made during the 1950s by the US and Arab reactionaries, in the name of "improving the conditions of the refugees." These attempts were based on the assumption that the plight of the refugees was at the heart of the Palestine problem. Advocates of "resettlement," then and now, believed this would do away with the Palestine problem. We, the residents of Dheisheh refugee camp, feel that our camp is the first target in the execution of the program, a feeling confirmed by the declarations of leading security figures, including Moshe Arens, Binyamin Ben-Eliezer and Shlomo Ilyia.

The initiator of this program, the minister Ben Porat, visited our camp last year, when we expressed our

total and resolute rejection of the idea of "resettlement" under any guise. Further, we expressed our support for the UN resolutions, affirming the right of return and of self-determination of the Palestinian people as a recognized natural and legal right.

As preparation for "resettlement," we have been subjected to a series of repressive acts—the arrest of tens of residents, night raids on our homes, curfews lasting weeks, heavy fines under different pretexts, confiscation of books, sealing of main streets with reinforced concrete, closure of shops bordering the inter-city road and closure of schools for periods of months. These acts have transformed our daily life into life under a prolonged and intolerable siege, destroying daily routines and adversely affecting the psychological well-being of everyone, most especially our children.

In the recent period, not content with these measures, the occupation authorities are responsible for the serious wounding of four of our young men, while further threatening to treat the residents of the camp with an iron hand. These acts of repression forced us to appeal to the High Court to order the re-opening of the sealed-off streets and to prevent the destruction of the houses bordering the inter-city road. The response of the government was to seal additional streets.

We, the residents of the "new ghetto" in this Middle Eastern "democracy," call upon all parties, institutions and progressive individuals both here and abroad to work for a speedy end to the policy of repression.

We stress that the occupation forces are directly responsible for our sufferings and for the harsh political and economic conditions under which we live. We ask you to act to prevent the dismantling of the refugee camps in the occupied territories, and particularly of Dheisheh camp.

November 21, 1983
Residents of Dheisheh
Refugee Camp

ISRAELI APARTHEID

Residents of the Jewish city of Upper Nazareth formed a local organization for the purpose of "stopping the Arabs from moving into our city." MENA (Prevention) is supported by the Kach movement headed by Rabbi Meir Kahana, who openly preaches the expulsion, voluntary or forced, of all Arabs from "all Israel." The city of Upper Nazareth was built in the fifties and sixties on Arab land confiscated from Arab residents of Nazareth. For the past ten years, a few Arab families have moved to Upper Nazareth due to the housing shortage experienced by the Arab city. The presence of these 220 families among the 25000 residents of the purely Jewish city became a major factor in the recent mayoral election.

In a recent interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, Menachem Ariav, who was comfortably reelected as Mayor, stressed that "the town was founded 27 years ago with the specific purpose of a Jewish town not a mixed one, in eastern Galilee." The mayor added: "It's not that we don't want Arabs to live here. We don't want to become a problematic city because they do."

Similar racist problems have been reported in another Arab town, Jaffa. According to *Yediot Aharonot*, November 29, Israeli residents of one of the city's quarters petitioned the housing ministry, which has recently started selling and leasing apartments to Arabs in the neighborhood, expressing their opposition to living in the same building with Arabs.

One member of the neighborhood's committee was quoted as saying: "They are our enemies. I am for coexistence, but not in the same building."

The paper added that the Israeli inhabitants of this 48 apartment block neighborhood, which was completed three months ago, want Arabs to live in a separate neighborhood and say Arabs "shouldn't have a foothold in a Jewish environment."

It is worth noting that this "Jewish environment" was a major Palestinian city prior to the forcible removal of its Arab inhabitants in 1948 and their replacement by Jewish immigrants. □

THE DEMISE OF A DETENTION CAMP

Following lengthy negotiations supervised by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), an exchange of prisoners of war between the PLO and Israel took place on November 24, 1983. In accordance with this accord, 4800 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners of war were released from the Ansar camp and other Israeli detention centers in southern Lebanon and occupied Palestine. In return, six Israeli prisoners who had been held in Tripoli were released by the PLO. The Israeli POWs were captured by Palestinian fighters on September 4, 1982 at an Israeli military outpost near Bhamdoun, Lebanon.

The exchange operation began in the early hours of Thursday, November 24, when the Israeli prisoners were brought down to the beach south of Tripoli and placed in a small fishing boat. The six soldiers were promptly transferred to an ICRC boat—the *Flora*—and from there to a French destroyer that took them out to sea. They were then transferred to an Israeli missile boat and taken to Haifa.

As the Israeli POWs left Tripoli, Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners were released from Ansar and other prisons in southern Lebanon and occupied Palestine. In addition to the 4700 prisoners released in Lebanon, the Israeli authorities also freed 63 Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli jails and 35 Palestinians recently kidnapped by the Israeli navy while sailing aboard PLO ships en route from Cyprus to Tripoli. While an estimated 3600 of the Palestinians and Lebanese were allowed to return to their homes in southern Lebanon, some 1100 others were flown to Algiers. The latter were transported to Lydda airport where they boarded three Boeing 747 jumbo jets chartered by the ICRC from Air France. The jubilant prisoners sang patriotic songs, shouted pro-PLO slogans and made victory signs.

Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners who opted to rejoin their families in southern Lebanon were taken by bus to four release centers in Sidon, Tyre, Nabatiyya and Has-

baya. A curfew was imposed on all four towns in preparation for freeing the detainees.

According to official sources, the Israeli authorities released 100 prisoners out of a total of 2800 Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli jails. The released group included 52 prisoners sentenced to life imprisonment (among them 8 Israeli citizens), in addition to the 35 Palestinians kidnapped on the high seas on September 26, 1983, while on board the "*Hanan*" en route from Cyprus to Tripoli. Mordechai Wertheimer, the Israeli Prisons Service Commissioner stated that, "there was still 2700 security prisoners behind Israeli bars."

Furthermore, the eight Palestinian prisoners who held Israeli citizenship were given the "choice" by the Israeli authorities to relinquish their

Israeli citizenship as a condition for their release, or to remain in jail. Shimon Malka, the spokesman for the Israeli Prisons Service, disclosed that some of the prisoners, who had to forego their Israeli citizenship, objected to taking the step and furthermore refused to embark upon reaching Lydda Airport. The prisoners apparently changed their minds and agreed to sign the document waiving their Israeli citizenship in exchange for freedom.

The prisoners exchange operation was coordinated by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The French government played a crucial role in the last rounds of diplomatic activities leading to the release. Former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky also played a principal role in the long and arduous negotiations. □

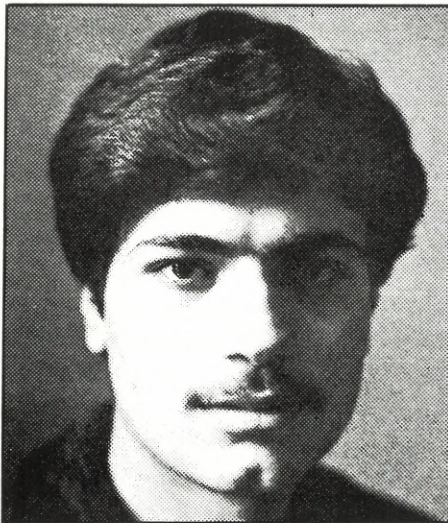


ARAFAT WELCOMES EXCHANGE

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, praised the successful exchange of prisoners expressing his happiness and satisfaction with the mass release of POWs from Israeli jails. Mr. Arafat promptly thanked former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, the French government and the ICRC "for their assistance in implementing this agreement which saved

thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese fighters from the hell of Israeli imprisonment."

At a news conference held in Tripoli, Arafat stated that: "Under these difficult circumstances which we and all those around me are living, we were interested in saving the POWs." He further told the correspondent of Radio Monte Carlo: "Even in my siege, my mind is at peace when I see thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian families receiving today their sons who are back from detention."



EXCHANGE AGREEMENT VIOLATED

Israelis renege on Ziad Abu Ein

Israeli attorney, Felicia Langer has confirmed that Ziad Abu Ein and at least two other Palestinian prisoners were prevented from leaving Israeli jails as part of the prisoner exchange agreement with the PLO.

On November 23, 1983, Ziad Abu Ein was summoned by the prison authority at Nafha to inform him of his impending release together with eleven other prisoners held at the same facility. The prisoners were informed of the agreement with the PLO and instructed to proceed with gathering their belongings.

Ziad and his fellow prisoners were asked to sign a statement expressing their willingness to go to Algeria. Then the prisoners were transported to Lydda Airport. While en route to

the airport, the vehicle was stopped by unidentified Israeli security agents who asked for Ziad Abu Ein to identify himself. Abu Ein was separated from the released prisoners and transported back to Nafha prison, to the surprise of the prison guards who just released him.

Both Abu Ein's family and the International Committee of the Red Cross were not aware of the Israeli arbitrary action. Attorney Felicia Langer learned of Ziad's situation while visiting other clients at the facility. She met with Ziad on November 28th and took his affidavit detailing his blocked release in violation of the Geneva agreement to exchange prisoners between Israel and the PLO.

Ziad Abu Ein was extradited from the US to Israel in 1982 where he was sentenced to life imprisonment for his alleged involvement in a bomb explosion in Tiberias. *Palestine Perspectives* has learned of two other similar cases: Ibrahim Saadallah and Akram Salimi al-Hawadi.

The ICRC acknowledged in Geneva that Israel failed to release all the Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners it had agreed to exchange on November 24. The Red Cross identified only one of the unreleased prisoners, Ziad Abu Ein. According to Nabil Ramlawi, the PLO representative in Geneva, a total of 39 prisoners listed in the exchange agreement were still held by Israel. Israeli military officials authorized to discuss the subject have refused to answer any questions on why some captives were not freed. □

FREED PRISONERS REPORT TORTURE

ALGIERS—PLO Executive Committee member Jamal Sourani told reporters, November 26, that many of the freed prisoners complained in Algiers they had been tortured during their detention. He said the Palestinians "were treated like common criminals and not at all as prisoners of war under the terms of the Red Cross conventions."

Sourani asserted that conditions in the Israeli prison camps were "comparable to those in Nazi concentration camps." He said the prison-

ers were systematically ill-treated and were guarded by convicted common criminals to whom the Israelis gave privileged status.

PLO Lieutenant Colonel Salah Ta'amari, who was president of the prisoners' defense committee in Ansar reported that a number of the Palestinians freed from Ansar "disappeared" en route to Lydda. Leaders of the released men felt their absence on the flight to Algiers, he said, and they suspect that Israel did not really free them.

ANSAR DISMANTLED?

Palestinian officials confirmed that the agreement with Israel through the ICRC stipulated the release of all prisoners at Ansar and the closure of the infamous detention camp. However, the Ansar camp has not been dismantled. "A small military contingent remains on the premises and persons arrested in the future in southern Lebanon will be brought there," according to Major General Ori Orr of the Northern Command.

Furthermore, Lebanese sources in southern Lebanon confirmed that the Ansar Camp is still in operation and that several released prisoners have already been rearrested by Israeli forces.

RESEARCH CENTER ARCHIVES RETURNED

In addition to freeing Palestinian and Lebanese POWs, the Israeli government released the archives of the Palestine Research Center looted by the Israeli army upon its occupation of West Beirut on September 15, 1982. Crates of books, pictures, films and documents weighing 32 tons were loaded onto the Algiers-bound planes carrying the released PLO fighters.



ISRAELIS EXPRESS CONCERN

Israeli military sources expressed their concern over the increased security risk presented by the mass release in southern Lebanon of PLO fighters and supporters. Brigadier Amos Yaron, head of the Israeli military Manpower Branch, expressed his "heartache at seeing terrorist prisoners released." According to the *Jerusalem Post*, Israeli military officers stationed in Lebanon "are reportedly perturbed, some even distraught at the security challenge that this will pose." Maj. Gen. Ori Orr, of the Northern Command, acknowledged the possibility that some of the Ansar detainees would resume "terrorist activities."

In response to mounting domestic criticism, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens denied that the exchange of prisoners erased the achievements of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. While acknowledging the security risk created by the release of prisoners, Arens stated that: "Our aim was to bring peace to Galilee and that objective was accomplished." Other Israeli officials justified the exchange on the basis of the mounting physical danger faced by the six Israeli prisoners held by PLO forces in Tripoli. Former Justice Minister, Shmuel Tamir, who represented Israel at the Geneva negotiations preceding the release of prisoners, emphasized that: "Our boys were in very real and terrifying danger... We concluded that there was no choice but to make very painful concessions."

Meanwhile, the *Jerusalem Post* reported widespread criticism in Israel of the "exaggerated festive welcome" accorded the six Israeli soldiers held captive by the PLO for over a year. Rafael Eitan, the former chief of staff, stated that the six soldiers "brought shame on the State of Israel and on the IDF" because they had given up without a fight and had thrown down their weapons. Israeli President Chaim Herzog agreed with Eitan's remarks arguing that the army could not countenance carelessness and lack of discipline.

In their interviews with the Israeli press, the six prisoners said that they were treated well in captivity and denied they had been tortured. Avi

Kronenfeld (20) of Acre, told the correspondent of the *Jerusalem Post* that he and his fellow Israeli prisoners were well-treated by their PLO guards. He added that they received Hebrew and English books as well as writing materials. Another prisoner, Reuben Cohen (21) of Yavne, remarked: "The first few weeks were the hardest... the last were bad too—the waiting and the fighting in Tripoli. They protected us as much as possible, and moved us once to a less vulnerable building. We talked to our captors a lot about politics, our relations with the Arabs, how to solve the problems of both sides. We became friends with some of them." □

THE WEST BANK: REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

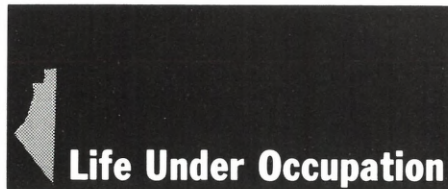
In spite of the imposition of increasingly harsh measures in the occupied territories, demonstrations and other forms of resistance to Israeli rule and colonization continues in the West Bank.

Nablus remained the center of tension after the stabbing of an Israeli settler, and the killing of a Palestinian girl in the city. A large demonstration in support of the PLO and its chairman Yasser Arafat was dispersed by Israeli troops. The tension was heightened because of a march through the city by Israeli settlers, who plan to create a colony in the midst of Nablus, as they had done in Hebron.

Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, Israel's military coordinator for the occupied territories, announced on November 17 new "security measures" throughout the occupied territories. He said the measures were aimed at reducing the number of stone-throwing incidents against settlers.

The new measures include mobilization of greater numbers of soldiers and the introduction of new technology, according to a variety of reports.

Israeli communications minister Mordechai Zipori, acting defense minister while Moshe Arens is in the U.S., announced November 29 that the number of soldiers assigned to patrol the occupied territories, especially at certain focal points, has been increased. Zipori, who was speaking during a visit to Bracha



settlement near Balata refugee camp, Nablus, told settlers that electronic surveillance equipment would be installed on the major roads they use.

Israeli military sources say armed soldiers will also be assigned to Israeli buses operating between settlements in the West Bank.

Greater army presence was evident in several parts of the occupied territories. A foreign tourist said that in Nablus, November 27, "it seemed there was one soldier for every shop."

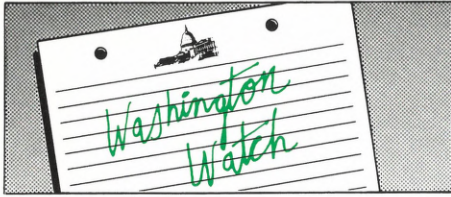
At the Jalazon refugee camp, Israeli troops established a new command post overlooking the camp. Residents say that several tents were set up at camp entrances and regular foot patrols pass through the camp.

A permanent command post was also established in a vacant building opposite Am'ari camp, near Ramallah. Soldiers were seen unloading water containers, beds and other equipment into the building. Patrols were seen in the main street of the camp.

Permanent military checkpoints north and south of Jerusalem caused long delays and harassment, commuters say. Soldiers at the post on the Ramallah side of Kalandia camp were making regular ID checks and searching car trunks, causing long traffic jams at peak hours.

The permanent army outpost over the police station near Dheisheh refugee camp, outside Bethlehem, has been reinforced with several tents to house military personnel. Dheisheh residents say there are now round-the-clock patrols in the main streets of the camp.

In general, a high level of confrontation continues to characterize the relations between the military occupation authorities and the population. The unrelenting Israeli pressure is primarily intended to increase the risks and uncertainties of life under occupation in order to encourage a Palestinian exodus from occupied Palestine. □



MILITARY WITHDRAWS BU CLOSURE ORDER

The Israeli military authorities unconditionally withdrew, November 25, their decision to close Bethlehem University for two months, university sources say. The Catholic-run school was closed three weeks earlier.

The decision was announced after a meeting at the University between the Israeli military coordinator for the occupied territories, Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, Shlomo Ilya, head of the West Bank "civil administration," and Bethlehem University Vice Chancellor Brother Thomas Scanlan and Vice President Dr. Anton Sansour. University officials said instruction resumed on December 5.

The meeting, which took place at the university's request, made it possible for the officials to respond to what Brother Thomas called "an unjustified closure decision based on incorrect information." Scanlan said that the university cleared the record and the military authorities reiterated their warnings that "students should not cause disturbances."

Bethlehem University was closed, November 2, after students clashed with the Israeli Army when eight members of the university's student body were detained. A number of Palestinian artifacts had been confiscated two weeks earlier from a folklore festival and used by the Israeli authorities as justification for the arrests and closure.

US AND BZU VOLUNTEERS HELD

Twenty-one American students from St. Olaf's College, Minnesota, and members of the Birzeit University students council were arrested, November 25, and held for several hours for participating in community work in Jabaliya refugee camp, the Gaza Strip.

A BZU volunteer said the arrests

ANALYSIS... BEYOND ACADEMIC REPRESSION

By the time this issue of *Palestine Perspectives* appears, Bethlehem University will have reopened after having been closed for two months by order of the Israeli occupation authorities early in November. How often and for how long it will be closed again before the end of this academic year is anybody's guess. So far, Birzeit University holds the record. In the academic year 1981-82 it was closed three times for a total of seven months.

The closure of universities, teacher training colleges, and high schools has become one of the common forms of collective punishment used by the Israeli occupation authorities against the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Other forms of collective punishment frequently used are curfews and travel restrictions imposed on towns, villages, and refugee camps. Of course, all of the Palestinian people are continually subjected to the supreme form of collective punishment through denial of self-determination and independence.

The Israeli infringement of the Palestinians' right to education through the frequent closure of their schools and universities is often seen as a violation of their right to academic freedom, which of course it is. Even Secretary Shultz said in November 1982 that Israel's infringement of academic freedom in the occupied Palestinian territories reminded him of the McCarthy period in the United States, which was an understatement, because McCarthy never assaulted college campuses with machine guns and hand grenades. But Israel's repression of educational institutions goes beyond the infringement of academic freedom. It is an integral part of Israel's plan to coerce the inhabitants of the occupied territories to abandon their homes. It is a method of eviction which, Israel hopes, would appear to world public opinion as voluntary emigration.

By continually harassing the student population, and by frequently closing schools and universities, Israel wants students and parents to conclude that anyone who seeks an education must look for it outside the occupied territories. Most parents in the West Bank and Gaza go hungry or go into debt to educate a son or daughter, and they cannot afford the uncertainty of the outcome. By sending their children to study abroad, they minimize not only the risks of interruption of their studies, but they also protect them from the possibility of being imprisoned, beaten, or even shot, risks which always face any student in the occupied territories. This not only retards institution-building in the occupied territories, but it encourages the migration of students, and consequently their families. This policy has the added "virtue" of undermining the quality of education received by those who are stubborn enough to prefer the uncertainties and hardships of life at home, especially that they would be more suitable to the needs of the Israeli economy for cheap "native" labor.

The widely accepted myth that Israel's repression in the occupied territories is motivated by security considerations hides the enormity of its intentions. It is difficult to understand Israel's behavior, and the degree it threatens the survival of Palestinian society, without realizing that every form of harassment it employs against the people of the occupied territories is intended to bring about their ultimate eviction. Because Israel, the Zionist state, was never established to give Jews the opportunity to govern Arabs. According to Zionist ideology, a Jewish state is not Jewish because of who governs, but also because of who is governed. □

were made as the students restored the camp's cemetery: "As students were working in the graveyard, at about 11:00 am, jeeploads of Israeli soldiers surrounded us. All of the American students and seven Birzeit students were arrested and taken to Jabaliya military headquarters. The rest of the group fled."

Israeli attorney Lea Tsemel was contacted and all the students were

released at 4:00 pm. One released volunteer said that while in detention, the American students were told by soldiers that Jabaliya residents were "dirty and like animals." The volunteer work was abandoned after 90 minutes.

The Israeli military have broken up every BZU student community work project in the Gaza Strip for the past two years.

VIGILANTES SETTLE NABLUS

Israeli settlers escalated provocations following the stabbing of Yosef Stern, an Israeli settler from Bracha settlement, near Nablus. Settler representatives met at Bracha, November 28, and drew up "a rotation system" to keep a post they have established at the Nabi Youssef tomb in the city permanently manned. *The Jerusalem Post* reported.

Over 300 settlers, among them Israeli officials, held a meeting on November 29, at a building near the tomb, and announced the establishment of a permanent headquarters. They also held a protest march from the building to the vegetable market.

The Israeli press said settlers hope their move leads to a permanent presence in the heart of Nablus, "as happened in Hebron." *Ma'ariv* said dozens of settlers and their families plan to live in the vicinity of the new command center.

These developments in Nablus are not unique. Jewish settlers have continuously attempted to extend settlement activities to the heart of Arab towns in the occupied territories. The settlers strategy is to take advantage of Palestinian acts of resistance and unrest in the area to grab Arab land and settle in areas normally

kept out of their reach. The Israeli authorities have not taken any action against expansionist moves by the settlers particularly after incidents where Jewish blood was shed. This pattern has brought success to Jewish settlement in Hebron despite the objections and resistance of the local Palestinian inhabitants. □

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Hilmi Hannoun, mayor of Tul-karm, called for new municipal elections in the West Bank and Gaza. No municipal elections have been held since the spring of 1976, when PLO supporters won by a landslide and occupied a large majority of seats on the city councils throughout the occupied territories.

Mayors and members of municipal councils serve for four years, but the Israeli occupation authorities refused to allow elections to take place on schedule, in April 1980, because they knew that PLO supporters would further increase their majorities. Instead, they dismissed the mayors of most Palestinian cities and towns, dissolved many municipal councils, and appointed Israeli officers to run the cities and towns of the West Bank and Gaza. □



SATIRE...

THE REAGAN-GEMAYEL SUMMIT

The public statements issued at the conclusion of meetings between heads of states usually say very little about the discussions which take place between them. For example, at the end of Lebanon's president Amin Gemayel's recent visit to Washington, Mr. Reagan's statement said, in effect, that Mr. Gemayel came to ask for the modification of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement of May 1983, and that he was told "nothin' doin'." Guided by these fruitful results of the constructive talks between Reagan and Gemayel, we tried to reconstruct the dialogue which must have taken place between the American and Lebanese presidents. Here is what we came up with:

Reagan: You're back again?

Gemayel: Sorry, Mr. President, but Begin and Shamir get so much when they come here they don't need to come very often. But I...

Reagan: Come now; you're not comparing yourself to Shamir!

Gemayel: You said Arab moderates are your friends also.

Reagan: Only Arab moderates who can deliver. What have you done lately?

Gemayel: We cleaned out Beirut and...

Reagan: Look. You can't live off the glories of Sabra and Shatila forever. Your country is still crawling with Palestinians, Syrians, Druze, Shiites and other terrorists. Moshe Arens told you to start guerilla activities against the foreigners in your country. Have you done that?

Gemayel: Wouldn't that be terrorism, Mr. President?

Reagan: Not when it is done by our side. It didn't keep Menachem Begin from getting a Nobel Peace Prize.

(continued on page 13)

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"To suggest that the new arrangement [between Israel and the U.S.] is an example of cooperation may well be stretching the meaning of that word beyond anything that the dictionary intends."

Editorial
Los Angeles Times
(December 4, 1983)

"Now America is just another Lebanese faction, failing where the Israelis failed, inching toward a big-power confrontation, thinking somehow that its guns and planes kill better or differently than those used before."

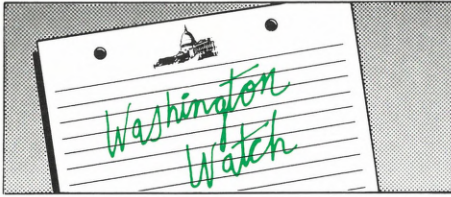
Richard Cohen
Washington Post
(December 6, 1983)

"Israel is into a settlements program estimated to cost \$30 billion over a decade—10 years' worth of American aid at the current rate. Mr. Shamir may not be ready to thank Mr. Reagan for the economic largess and political license that make possible Israel's tightening of its grip on land it promised to leave open to negotiation. Can Mr. Reagan bring himself to say a word about it?"

Editorial
Washington Post
(November 29, 1983)

"We came to Israel to escape the gentiles for the sake of our children and not to live with Arabs again and have our women chased by them."

The Jerusalem Post
(December 4-10, 1983)



(continued from page 12)

Gemayel: Pardon me for being so bold, Mr. President, but would you put in a kind word for us with your Israeli friends to be a little more understanding about the May agreement?

Reagan: What ingratitude! After all they have done for you?

Gemayel: Mr. President, people say to me: Amin, how come the Israelis and Americans came to rid us of foreign forces but there are a lot more of them than before?

Reagan: Sorry Amin, but I don't have time for idle talk. I would have liked to talk some more to you, but I have a Hanukah happening to go to, and I am late already. Shultz here will take good care of you, I am sure.

Shultz: How would you like a nice Big Mac, Mr. President? □

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES EXPRESS SOLIDARITY

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, Presidential Candidates Jesse Jackson and George McGovern issued unprecedented messages of solidarity with the Palestinian people. The messages were read at a meeting held on November 29 in Washington, DC. The meeting was sponsored by ADC and the Washington Chapter of AAUG.

Candidate Jackson stated that "the quest by the Palestinian people for self-determination must ultimately be respected by all the nations in the world."

Former Senator George McGovern told the audience that "the Palestinian people have been victims of one of the world's great tragedies by being denied their legitimate rights of self-determination and statehood."

Other messages of solidarity with the Palestinian people were received from Congressmen Walter E. Fauntroy, Nick J. Rahall II, John Conyers, Jr., and Marvyn M. Dymally. □

COMMENTARY...

THE EDUCATION OF GEORGE P. SHULTZ

When General Alexander Haig was invited out of Reagan's cabinet in the summer of 1982, and Mr. Shultz was chosen to replace him as Secretary of State, the guardians of Israeli interests in America nearly had a fit and predicted dire consequences to Israel's safety and welfare. Shultz, they said, had Arab connections, through the Bechtel Corporation, and was presumed, therefore, to have Arab sympathies. In their view, of course, no one with such credentials was fit to hold public office in the United States, the premise being that the supreme obligation of U.S. public officials—elected and appointed—is to safeguard and advance the interests of the state of Israel.

Mr. Shultz has been in public office for about a year and a half now, and all indications are that Israel and its domestic agents had no reason whatsoever to be alarmed about his appointment as Secretary of State. On the contrary, he turned out to be the architect of the partnership recently consummated between the U.S. and Israel. Before Mr. Shultz, Israel was generously supported and subsidized by the United States. Now it has been taken into the family, so to speak.

There are two possible explanations why Israel and its American cheerleaders become indignant whenever someone with "Arab connections" seeks or achieves public office in the United States. The first explanation is that the whole thing is just an act, the purpose of which is to say that the Arabs got "concessions" and Israel, therefore, must be compensated—preferably with more cluster bombs or an equally worthy reward.

The second possible explanation is that the Israelis are not as smart as they pretend to be, and really don't understand Arab-American relations. They assume that they represent mutually beneficial dealings which equally serve the interests of both sides, and that they are based on a *quid pro quo* basis. This assumption leads to the belief that the Arabs have leverage which they employ to advance their causes. The problem with this view is that it is based on the normal models of international relations, and there is nothing normal about how Arab-American relations work.

Example: Since 1948, U.S. policy in the Middle East has been increasingly offensive and injurious to the Arab people in general, and most cruel to the Palestinians in particular. It enabled Israel to grow from a colonial settlement on Palestine's seashore to a regional empire. Yet, U.S. interests in the Arab world grew and prospered to a degree unparalleled anywhere else in the world. In 1948, the U.S. hardly had a presence in the Arab world. Now it enjoys nearly a monopoly over the Arab world, and it is indignant that the monopoly is not quite complete.

The secret ingredient in this peculiar formula is that Arab political regimes are not popularly based. *Thus lacking the affection of their peoples, they rely on the protection of foreign sponsors.* That is why the threat of Arab indignation has totally ceased to impress American policy makers. People who used to warn that the United States, by its continuing and flagrant disregard of Arab feelings, jeopardizes its important and profitable interests in the Arab world obviously cried "wolf" too often.

When the results of the recent Shamir-Reagan talks were announced, a reporter who asked if the Reagan administration had any apprehensions about possible Arab reaction, was told by an official spokesman that the U.S. had no anxiety about that. There is no need to explain what that means.

It did not take Mr. Shultz long to learn what is essentially a simple lesson: As long as the Arab world is governed in the interests of its rulers and dynasties rather than on the basis of national interest, Mr. Reagan needs not worry about the interests of the United States, and Mr. Shultz needs not worry about the welfare of the Bechtel Corporation, no matter how insolently they deal with the Arab nation. But, to conclude, we offer them what we hope is a disquieting thought: that history teaches that things never stay the same, no matter how unchanging or unchangeable they appear to be at any given moment. And it is the duty of statesmen to think of the future, because future possibilities have the annoying habit of becoming present realities. □

PALESTINE AT THE UN: 1983

On November 29, the annual International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the United Nations General Assembly began deliberations on the question of Palestine. The Assembly reviewed current developments regarding the Palestine question and adopted a series of resolutions dealing with its various aspects.

It discussed and approved the report and recommendations of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, which included the following specific provisions:

1. The demand that Israel reports on the status of its investigation of the attempted assassination of the Palestinian mayors of Nablus, Ramallah, and Bireh in 1980.

2. The demand that Israel should respect academic freedom in the occupied territories and to cease all violations of that freedom.

3. The illegality of all Israeli actions pertaining to the demographic and other changes in the status of the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights.

4. The applicability of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 to the occupied territories, and Israel's obligation to abide by them.

5. The condemnation of Israel's violation of its recent agreement with the PLO on the exchange of prisoners by the rearrest of Ziad Abu Ein and the demand for his immediate release.

The Assembly also debated and approved the report and recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which included the following items:

1. Endorsement of the recommendation of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine (Geneva, September 7, 1983) regarding the convening of an international peace conference in which the superpowers and all interested parties, including the PLO, would be represented on an equal basis to seek a political settlement of the conflict.

2. Requesting the Secretary-General to coordinate with the specialized agencies as well as nongovernmental organizations to step up assistance to the Palestinian people.

3. Assisting the UN Department of Public Information in its effort to disseminate objective information about the Palestine question.

The Assembly also renewed the mandates of its committee on Palestinian rights and the special committee on Israeli violation of human rights in the occupied territories. □

PALESTINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS

Israel holds the record, among all members of the United Nations, for the number of times it has been condemned by the international organization for human rights violations. Israel's image in the Western World is based on its treatment of its *Jewish* citizens. South Africa also would have a much better image if it were judged solely on how it deals with its white citizens.

Below is an excerpt from resolution 3204 (XXIX), a typical General Assembly resolution, passed in 1974, regarding



Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied territories. Similar resolutions are adopted annually, to no avail:

The General Assembly,

Expresses the gravest concern at the continued and persistent disregard by Israel of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and other applicable international instruments, in particular the following violations:

- (a) The annexation of parts of the occupied territories;

- (b) The establishment of Israeli settlements therein and the transfer of an alien population thereto;

- (c) The destruction and demolition of Arab houses, villages and towns;

- (d) The confiscation and expropriation of Arab property in the occupied territories and all other transactions for the acquisition of land involving the Israeli authorities, institutions or nationals on the one hand, and the inhabitants or institutions of the occupied territories on the other;

- (e) The evacuation, deportation, expulsion, displacement and transfer of Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories, and the denial of their right to return;

- (f) Mass arrests, administrative detention and ill-treatment of the Arab population;

- (g) The pillaging of archaeological and cultural property;

- (h) The interference with religious freedom and practices, as well as family rights and customs;

- (i) The illegal exploitation of the natural wealth, resources and population of the occupied territories;

Declares that those policies of Israel constitute not only a direct contravention to, and violation of, the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, the principles and provisions of the applicable international law concerning occupation and the basic human rights of the people, but also an impediment to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. □

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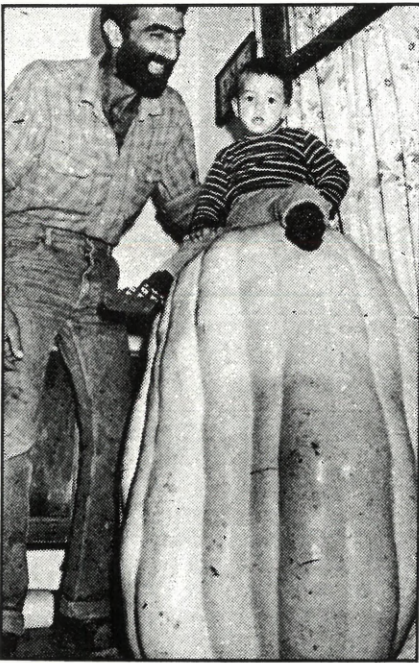
THE PUMPKIN MORALITY

Do you remember the story of the Russian university student who thought his genius entitled him to kill less intelligent people? It is understandable that Dostoevsky would choose this idea to weave a novel around it. But it is inhuman when a state bases its policy on such a myopic view.

Hitler thought the German *herrenvolk* were entitled to special privileges at the expense of Slavs and other "subhumans." Even after the experience of several decades, we continue to hope that the Zionist state has not yet gone that far. But disquieting signs continue to make one wonder.

Recently, the *Jerusalem Post* (International Edition, November 27-December 3, 1983) published a photograph, intended to convey a message the least that can be said about it is that it is bizarre. Israel, according to the *Post*, produced the largest pumpkin in the world. The title given to the photo indicates that it is outrageous for the U.N. to condemn a state capable of such a great feat.

Once upon a time Zionism justified its usurpation of Palestine by the myth (and it is a myth) that it made the desert bloom. Apparently, there is a modern version now which says that Israel is entitled to oppress the Palestinians and deny their rights, and avoid U.N. condemnation, because it produced the largest pumpkins. □



...and the UN condemned us for it!

OUR TWO PEOPLES?

We have all heard Mr. Reagan make strange statements before. You undoubtedly remember one of his famous statements about U.S. policy objectives in Lebanon. Mr. Reagan said, we want the Israelis, Syrians, and Palestinians to withdraw their forces behind their borders! We don't know if anyone of his advisors bothered to explain to him that the reason the Palestinians are fighting is for borders behind which to withdraw.

At any rate, on December 4, 1983, Mr. Reagan surpassed himself. Addressing 300 *Americans*, celebrating Hanukah at the Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington at Rockville, Maryland, the President of the United States said: "The bonds between *our two peoples* are growing stronger and they

must not and will never be broken." Our two peoples indeed!

Many Jewish leaders opposed Zionism and the creation of a Jewish state early in this century out of fear that Jews will appear to be aliens in their respective countries. Apparently, these people knew what they were talking about. How can Mr. Reagan's statement make sense unless he thought of American Jews as Israeli tourists?

MORE DRUZE SEEK ARMY EXEMPTION

The number of young Druze exempted from compulsory military service in Israel on religious grounds tripled during the past year, according to Nissim Dana, the head of the non-Jewish division at the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Problems in Jewish-Druze relations have surfaced recently as a result of heavy losses among Druze units serving in occupied Lebanon. The relationship has also been affected by Israeli alliance with the Phalangists in Lebanon against the Druze Lebanese community headed by Walid Jumblat. Members of the Druze community have raised some questions about their second-class status in Israeli society despite their service in the Israeli armed forces. Some Druze argue that they are considered Israelis in terms of obligations, but Arabs in terms of rights and benefits. Amal Nasr al-Din, a Likud member of the Knesset, himself a Druze, asked his fellow Knesset members: "What else do we have to do to win your complete trust?" □

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