

# FREE palestine

PER. DIV.  
APR 18 1978  
NYPL

Vol. V, No. 5-6 May-July 1977

## Arafat's Speech Before Peace Builders Congress in Warsaw

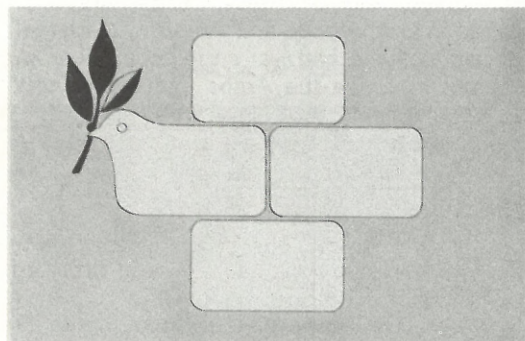


Mr. Chairman,  
dear friends,  
dear comrades,

It is a great honour for us to meet in this Assembly, in this friendly country, as guests of the great Polish people. It is a further honour that the date of the World Assembly coincides with the 32nd anniversary of the victory of the great Polish people over Nazism. Our Assembly also has a great and important meaning, since Warsaw is the beautiful capital which Nazism wanted to erase from the map of the world. Nazism further wanted the Polish flag never to fly again, but led by its vanguard, the Polish Peoples' United Workers Party, the will of this great heroic people was victorious.

Warsaw became an important symbol of defiance of the invading Nazis, and the Polish flag flew ever higher. Nazism was defeated forever by the will of struggling peoples, and definitely all waves of Nazism, neo-Nazism, and neo-fascism will be defeated in the future.

Mr. President, dear friends and comrades, members of the world conference of peace-builders,



I think you from the depths of my heart for your kind invitation, which has given me the opportunity to speak before your Conference dedicated to serving the cause of world peace. This invitation is the most faithful expression of the strength of world solidarity with the just struggle being waged by the Palestinian people to decide their own destiny, and to build their independent national state.

I thank you again my friends, the builders of peace, for giving me the opportunity to speak to you in the name of the Palestine Liberation

*(Continued on page 2)*

### Massive Demonstration

## Oppose Menachem Begin's Terrorist Policies



Marching against Begin in Washington, D.C.



A massive demonstration of more than seven hundred people greeted Menachem Begin, the Israeli Prime-Minister, at his arrival to the White House on July 9, 1977. Americans joined Arab and Third World students in an expression of solidarity and determination to oppose Begin's terrorist and racist policies in occupied Palestine. The marchers carried banners that condemned Begin as a "Terrorist Murderer", and demanded an "End to American Military Support To Israel". The demonstration included representatives from Black-American as well as African student organizations, and they stressed the racist relationship between Israel and South Africa and called for an end to the two racist oppressive regimes. Spokesmen for the demonstration mentioned that a large number of American and Third World organizations participated in the demonstration which was sponsored by the Organization of Arab Students.

The Committee for Human Rights for Palestinians also held a Press conference on July 8, in Washington, D.C. and called on President Carter to raise the issue of Israel's violations of human rights with Begin. Dr. Nasir Aruri documented Israel's illegal detention of his cousin, Mr. Taysir Aruri, in Israeli jails without trial for nearly two years. He made a special appeal to President Carter for the release of Taysir from Israeli jails.

A spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization held a Press Conference in Washington, D.C. on July 9, 1977 and made the following appeal to the American people:

"We are appealing to the American people and all their progressive and humanitarian organizations, to support the Palestinian Arab people who have suffered enough from Zionist-Israeli aggression.

One and a half million Palestinians have lived for ten agonizing years under an oppressive Israeli military rule in the West Bank and Gaza, denied their most basic human rights, and subjected to torture, imprisonment and expulsion without trial. No people have ever endured that long under such oppressive conditions. We demand the immediate end of Israeli military occupation of Arab lands, and appeal to the American people to help the Palestinian people in their struggle for full freedom.

For thirty years, three million Palestinian Arabs have been denied the right to freedom and national self-determination in their own land. The Palestinians have been denied their national, civil and human rights for too long. It is time for all Americans to stand up for freedom and help the Palestinian people return to their homeland and live there in peace in a secular democratic society where Jews, Christians and Muslims would have equal rights.

We appeal to the American people to urge their government to stop supplying the Israeli military with massive weapons of death and destruction; contrary to American legislation; such weapons have been used against innocent civilians in South Lebanon, in the West Bank and Gaza. We call for peace, equality and brotherhood in liberated Palestine for all people, Jews, Christians and Muslims."

# Patriarch Elias IV Calls For Justice For Palestinians

During his first historic visit to the United States, his Beatitude Elias IV Patriarch of Antioch spoke clearly and strongly in defense of the Palestinian people. At the annual convention of the Antiochian Orthodox Church in Washington, D.C. on July 30, 1977 Patriarch Elias IV stressed that the only solution to the Middle East conflict is the establishment of a society where Jews, Christians and Muslims would coexist with equal rights in Palestine. He criticized Zionism and stressed that as a colonialist movement it brought war and hate to Palestine, and later on Zionism brought violence to Lebanon. He said that the Palestinian and Lebanese people are one, united in brotherhood and Arabism, but Israel carried violence and war on to Lebanon in an attempt to divide the Arabs and create new



Patriarch Elias IV during the Orthodox Convention.

tensions. Patriarch Elias IV stressed that Christianity and Islam have coexisted through out the ages, and both called for peace and brotherhood. He called on Arab-Americans and Americans in general to work for real peace in the Middle East, to oppose the racist oppressive policies of Zionism, and to support the Palestinian people who have been denied their human, civil and political rights. He called for the liberation of Jerusalem and opening it to all peoples and religions, since it is holy to Muslims and Christians also. Patriarch Elias IV met with President Carter as well as Congressional leaders and explained to them that Israel's occupation of Arab lands is illegal, and stressed that Zionists have no rights in Palestine from the Biblical point of view. He called for support for the Palestinian people and asked for an American policy based on justice and human rights.

The Antiochian Orthodox adopted a number of important resolutions calling for peace in the Middle East on the basis of justice for the Palestinians, their right to return to their homeland and to live with full and equal rights. It appealed for an end to American massive military and financial aid to Israel at a time when it still occupies Arab lands, asked for the protection of the human and civil rights of Palestinians under Israeli occupation, and appealed for an American policy that would show concern for the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. The convention was attended by more than two thousand members who paid tribute to Patriarch Elias IV on his first visit to the new world.



## Arafat's Speech (continued from page 1)

Organization, and in the name of the Palestinian people, their revolutionaries and militants, and for enabling me to take part in the work of this Conference. It takes on added importance because of its international character, and because it is the frame work within which constructive international dialogue may develop and deepen the bases necessary for finding a world peace based on justice and equality. It provides the framework in which we may work towards a world without war, a world of security in which social justice prevails; a world free of the danger of aggression and occupation, and far from racism, colonialism, Zionism, world monopoly, fascist and imperialist hegemony,

and the exploitation of man by his brother man; a better world for the man of tomorrow, and the goals and values for which we all struggle on this earth.

Dear Friends;

The Palestinian people, who have struggled without respite for 60 years, and continue to wage a hard and bitter struggle against the worst forces of imperialism, Zionism, and colonialism and have given tens of thousands of martyrs to achieve their just and legitimate national objectives, look towards peace and freedom. The heroic and difficult struggle being waged by the Palestinian people against occupation and racism, and against the hegemony of the Zionist-imperialist military gang, is a great historical contribution by the

Palestinian revolution and Palestinian revolutionaries in the Middle East region to uproot this source of aggression and constant tension which truly threatens peace in that area.

Four wars have taken place in the Middle East, but the forces of aggression have proven unable to impose their conditions on our Arab nation and force our Palestinian people to capitulate to their imperialist expansionist plans. Therefore, I warn you most strongly that this Zionist imperialist source of aggression which forms the bridgehead of imperialism and oil monopolies in our countries, and which aims to control the surface, and subterranean riches of our lands — the primary materials, the agricultural produce, and the enormous

(continued on page 4)

## SENATOR ABOUREZK'S CONFRONTATION WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — During Israeli Prime Minister Begin's visit to the United States Senate on July 20, 1977 a brief confrontation occurred between Begin and South Dakota Senator James Abourezk.

Following a series of questions by various Senators asking for Begin's assessment of prospects for peace in the Middle East, the confrontation occurred with relation to Begin's statement that Israel would not accept an official of the Palestine Liberation Organization at a Geneva peace conference.

"Since the PLO represents Palestinian Arabs," Abourezk asked, "is not Israel setting up a deadlock in advance by offering the Arab countries something Israel knows they cannot accept?"

Begin began his response by asking, "Who does the PLO

represent?" Abourezk interrupted by saying, "They represent the Palestinian Arabs and are at least as legitimate as the Irgun or Haganah was."

Begin launched into a long explanation of the difference between the Irgun and the PLO by saying it was a "sacrilege" to compare the two organizations stating that the Palestinians killed civilians and children and rejoiced while the Irgun always apologized when civilians or children were killed!

Further exchanges came to an end when Begin brought the meeting to a close after his response.

Abourezk said later if Israel attempts to dictate who shall represent the Palestinians rather than the Palestinians themselves, the chances of negotiation are extremely slim.

# THE MIDDLE EAST: Time To Consider U.S. Interest

Senator James Abourezk

One of the major reasons for Prime Minister Menachem Begin's visit here was to seek U.S. support for Israel's position on Middle East matters. Since such support goes beyond merely writing a check to Israel, the American public and its policy-makers should closely examine exactly what it is we are being asked to support.

Such requests for assistance are always phrased in terms of what is good for Israel. But it is time, I believe, that we determine our policy based on the interests of the United States, recognizing that the interests of the two countries do not always coincide.

Everyone seemed greatly relieved at the moderate image projected by Mr. Begin. His history as a terrorist and his reputation as a political hardliner in his dealings with the Arabs were cause for great concern prior to his visit.

However euphoric supporters of Israel may now feel about Mr. Begin as a messenger of peace, the ominous overtones of his proposal carry more potential for violence than did the bloody weapons of the Irgun under his leadership.

Mr. Begin once proudly announced his intentions never to return the West Bank and parts of the Golan Heights and the Sinai. He had since learned the more sophisticated diplomatic language of his Labor Party predecessors — offer to negotiate, assume a peaceful posture, but always include a condition impossible for the other side to accept. The language is different, more soothing. But the result is the same. The peace conference is deadlocked in advance. Israel keeps the occupied Arab territories, and the blame can go elsewhere.

Mr. Begin's offer to negotiate with Syria, Jordan and Egypt without precondition at first blush sounded very forthcoming. But he included one hasty catch which he did not label as a pre-condition. He would not negotiate in any manner with the Palestine Liberation Organization. He would, he said, accept "Palestinian Arabs" if they were part of another delegation at the Geneva Conference. How successful, one must ask, will such a peace conference be when one of the major parties to the conflict, the PLO, is excluded, and at the same time Israel attempts to select the team which will negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian Arabs?

Is Israel's overall policy in any way consistent with America's interest? In moral terms, American support of Israel's continued military occupation of the West Bank does violence to our stated views on human rights. Although press coverage in the U.S. has been sadly deficient, documentation of torture, abuse, and involuntary relocation of West Bank Arabs by Israel is plentiful. It occurs at a level sufficient to warrant a cut-off of American foreign aid if any other country were involved. To maintain its presence in the West Bank, Israel must either tighten up its military occupation, or it must disperse a large part of the 800,000 West Bank Palestinians to make annexation more manageable.

And those who demand, in high moral tones, support for the existence of Israel, conveniently look the other way when Israel sells arms and other military hardware to South Africa.

In fact, support for the *existence* of Israel is usually confused, deliberately, with support for

the *objectives* of Israel. Those objectives seem quite obvious, even without the blunt pronouncements of Prime Minister Begin. Israel has made it clear that certain parts of the Golan Heights, the Sinai, and the West Bank are to remain Israeli territory. If there ever was an intention to return them to the Arabs in exchange for a peace agreement and the proper security guarantees, it vanished during the establishment of Israeli settlements throughout the occupied Arab lands. Placement of thousands of Israeli settlers and expenditure of vast sums of money in the occupied territories have not been accomplished in order to return them to the Arabs.

The Arabs have only recently been willing to swallow the taking of their lands in 1948 in order to establish the state of Israel. If they are willing to concede the territories taken from them in 1948 and 1949, they are certainly unwilling to do so with respect to the territories taken since then. And the ever-recurring constant in the Middle East equation is the issue of a state for the Palestinians. Despite their military losses during the Lebanese civil war, Palestinian political clout throughout the Arab world remains undiminished. Sympathy for the refugees runs so strong among the Arab masses that no government would survive an attempt to exclude them from an agreement.

American promises to the Arab countries of rapid movement toward a Middle East settlement have so far calmed the anger which exploded during the 1973 war. But the fact that Israel's intransigence can continue only with American support is not lost on the Arabs. Israel can hold on to Arab territories only so long as American money and arms flow through the pipeline.

Rejectionist Front Arabs have always argued that it is useless to rely on the United States to promote negotiations, since Israel's influence on the U.S. government would never allow the needed U.S. pressure on Israel. If rejectionist politicians are proved correct, moderate Arab leaders now in power face an uncertain political future.

Failure of negotiations, if perceived by the Arabs to be due to U.S. support, will bring about a strong Arab reaction. Based on recent history, the oil weapon is certain to be used in one form or another, its extent dependent upon circumstances. At the very minimum, the Arab



Senator Abourezk addressing convention.

oil countries can be expected to end their resistance to fellow OPEC members who want a sharp increase in world oil prices. Should war erupt, an oil embargo will surely result. Either reaction means disaster for the economies of the United States and other Western powers. Rhetoric about "oil blackmail" aside, should we realistically expect Arab countries to furnish oil to fuel a war machine that destroys Arab lives and systematically acquires more and more Arab territory?

American interests should however, look beyond economic impact. We owe a higher obligation to humanity. Continued military occupation of the West Bank can only retard the advancement of human rights. And those who casually make decisions which result in the slaughter of Arabs and Jews must also now consider the effect of the introduction of nuclear weapons in the Middle East conflict. Will the use of such weapons, now acknowledged to be at least in the hands of Israel, bring about a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Whether or not one agrees with Israel's objectives, its pursuit of them is understandable. But for the United States to continue to subordinate its own interests to Israel's is an unnatural act, and ultimately self-destructive. Israel's lobby in Washington has, to date, succeeded in intimidating elected officials in order to maintain an uninterrupted flow of American support, money and arms to Israel. Such support in the past has brought us to the present state of Middle East affairs. The stakes have escalated considerably since 1973, however, resulting in magnification of each act we undertake.

We are not too far from a time for decision in the Middle East. One can only hope that American politicians will look beyond the next election when that time arrives. The American interest requires no less.

## Palestinian Policy (continued from page 6)

fore, the American demand that they should accept and legitimize the existence of Israel "as a Jewish state", i.e., as an *exclusivist* state, is bewildering — as it should be to Americans also. What a strange spectacle unfolds before their eyes when they witness the United States Government strain every muscle in order to ensure the legitimization in the Middle East of an exclusivist system which is the antithesis of what America stands for!

The supreme irony of the situation lies in the fact that the American ultimatum has gone one step farther. The American Government has in effect served notice on the P.L.O. that, unless it accepts — and thereby legitimizes — the Israeli exclusivist system, which represents values which are the exact opposite of the values of

pluralism espoused by America at home, the P.L.O. will never qualify for recognition by the American Government.

(4) Finally, the demand that the P.L.O. should duly amend its Covenant and repeal those articles which, in the opinion of the United States, are incompatible with the peaceful coexistence of an Israeli and a Palestinian state, fails the crucial test of *fairness* and *even-handedness*. For it is not accompanied by a similar call upon Israel to disavow or repeal those principles — contained in the basic programs of the World Zionist Organization and in Israel's Declaration of Independence, Fundamental Laws, and formal policy declarations — which are irreconcilable with the peaceful coexistence of Israel and a Palestinian state in Mandated Palestine.

# Arafat Meets Arab-American Delegation



From left to right: Joanne McKenna, Edmund Howar, Chairman Arafat, Minor George, Mrs. George.

On 26 April, 1977, Chairman Yasser Arafat met a delegation from the National Association of Arab-Americans, headed by its President, Mr. Minor George. The delegation included Mr. Edmund Howar, Mrs. Joanne McKenna, secretary of the association, and Mrs. George.

During this meeting, the delegation exchanged views with Chairman Arafat on the latest developments of the Middle East crisis and the Palestine question.

It is worth noting that this visit aimed to promote the traditional ties between the people of the United States and the peoples of the Arab countries.

The delegation expressed their support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people and their just demands for self-determination.

Upon his return to the United States, Minor George, President of NAAA, held a Press Conference to discuss the group's visit to Syria and Lebanon. George declared that Arafat told the delegation that the PLO is working for peace in Lebanon. "The Palestinian people want to return to their homeland, Palestine. They do not want to remain in Lebanon or be re-settled somewhere else," Arafat told the group. Minor George said: "There never was a more saintly, godly man than Yasser Arafat. He is not a terrorist. He is a decent, humane man." Joanne McKenna told the Press Conference that Menachem Begin is the terrorist.

## P.L.O. Executive Committee Communique

After a series of meetings, headed by Yasser Arafat, the PLO executive committee issued a communique on August 2, 1977, on the current intensive political activity centering on the Palestine question.

The communique declared that the Palestine problem is currently the target of a fierce American imperialist and Zionist attack. This takes the form of projects aimed at imposing capitulationist settlements in the Arab region at the expense of the Palestinian people, their just cause, and their right to return, to self-determination and to establish their independent state over their national soil, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

It added that the Palestinian revolution has always sought a just peace based on the recognition of the Palestine problem as the essence of the conflict in the area, and has stressed that the solution of this problem in accordance with the national aspirations of our people is the only path leading to such a peace, for no just peace can be achieved in isolation from the Palestinian people as represented by the PLO. The communique continued: "The executive committee stresses that it will not stand idly by in the face of any attempts to bypass the issue of our independence on our own soil. We will moreover resist firmly any conspiracies aimed at detracting from the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people. The executive committee confirms the PLO's right to represent the Palestinian people on an equal and independent basis in all Arab and international efforts and conferences which deal with the Palestine and Middle East problems.

The communique then confirmed the concern of the executive committee for the unity of the Arab stand and

warned against the danger of attempts to split the Arab cause and to impose Israeli peace on the region, at the same time holding the international forces which support Israel and supply it with political, military and material aid responsible for the anticipated explosion in the area.

The communique concluded by confirming the determination of the Palestinian people to pursue and escalate their armed struggle, and called upon the Arab masses at this critical phase to be on the alert and to support their struggle. It called finally for a high-level Arab meeting to establish a unified Arab stand in the face of these developments.



On with the Struggle.

### Arafat's Speech (continued from page 2)

petroleum reserves — not only threatens our Arab nation, but also threatens the peace and security of the people of the neighbouring regions, including Europe, Africa and Asia, and subsequently threatens world peace.

On this basis it can be understood why our enemy actively seeks armaments, and why he is supported and backed in this by American imperialism, until this small spot has become a veritable military arsenal full of the latest and most sophisticated arms. It is obvious to you that the rulers of Tel-Aviv are storing these huge quantities of destructive weapons and are blackmailing our Arab nations with nuclear weapons, so as to force them to submit a policy of fait accompli. That is the logic of arrogance

and violence which the imperialists wish to impose as the basis of international relations with the developing countries.

World public opinion and international peace movements have played a major role in exposing Israel's racist, aggressive and expansionist policy to the world. At a time when occupation authorities are setting forth the confiscation of land to establish settlements and to imprison thousands of our militants and to deport them out of our homeland.

Dear Comrades:

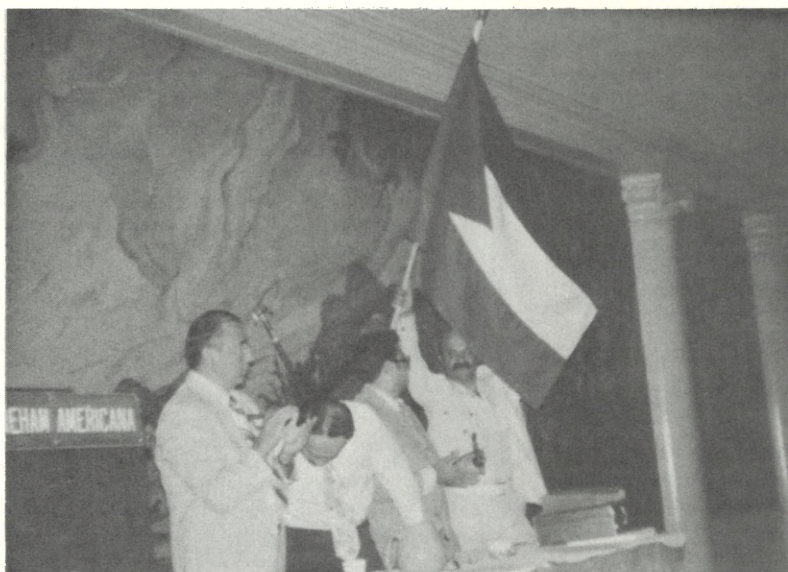
All this constitutes a flagrant violation of human rights in our occupied homeland, Palestine. On the other hand, you have supported the human, progressive and civilizing essence of the Palestinian people's

struggle under the PLO leadership. The noble and courageous support given to our Palestinian and Arab peoples by all freedom and peace — loving forces in the world reinforces the possibility of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. The wars of aggression waged by the Zionist Movement and the rulers of Tel-Aviv — encouraged and supported by international imperialist circles — have resulted in the dispersion of the Palestinian people from their homeland, Palestine.

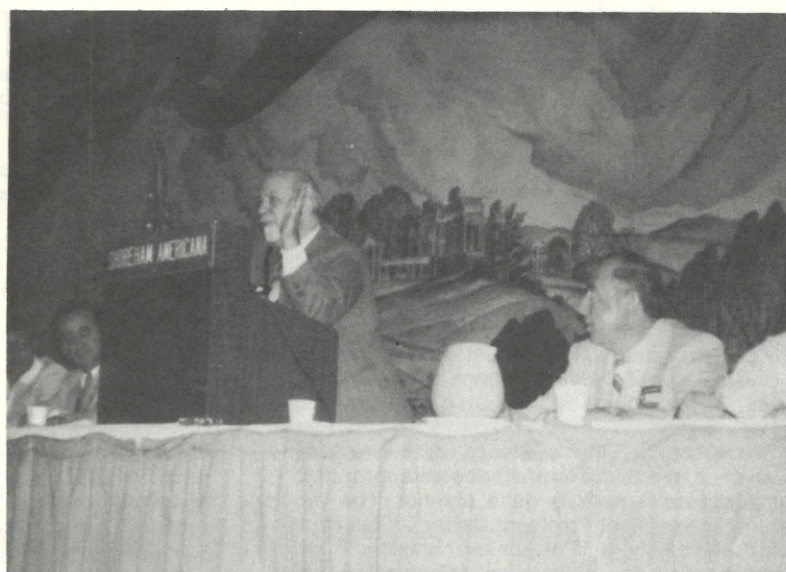
Thus, peace will not be realized in this area, not because it is impossible to achieve peace, but because of the policy of ignoring the existence of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination and independence in their homeland and the repatriation of the refugees.

(continued on page 8)

# AMERICAN RAMALLAH FEDERATION SUPPORTS THE P.L.O.



*Palestinian flag at convention.*



*PLO representative Tarazi addresses convention.*

In an expression of full support for the Palestinian cause, more than four hundred members of the Ramallah Federation marched in front of the White House on July 10, 1977 demanding human rights for the people of Palestine. The marchers carried posters that read "Palestinians Have Human Rights Too", and called on President Carter to end American military aid to Israel and to support the Palestinian people in their just struggle.

At the American Ramallah Convention, held on July 7-10, 1977 in Washington, D.C., a number of prominent leaders spoke in support of the Palestinian people. Senator George McGovern called on the American government to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people and criticized the Begin government for violating human and civil rights in the occupied territories. He warned that Begin's policies will lead to another war, and called on the American government to reconsider its

military aid to Israel if the Israeli government continues to hinder peace in the Middle East. Senator McGovern stressed that the Palestinian people have suffered a great injustice, and are therefore entitled to freedom, self-determination and a state of their own. The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization also addressed the convention and expressed appreciation for the convention's support and pledged that the PLO will continue the struggle and the sacrifices until it achieves victory.

The Ramallah Convention adopted a number of resolutions calling on the American government to recognize the PLO, to support the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and independence, and to end American military aid to Israel due to its violations of human rights in the occupied territories.

## Marchers Support Palestine, Denounce U.S. Backing of Zionism

About 400 people rallied to celebrate the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People June 5 in New York City.

Carrying Palestinian flags and banners, the marchers denounced Zionism and supported self-determination for the Palestinian people: "Democratic Palestine, Yes, Zionist Israel, No"; "Victory to the PLO" (Palestine Liberation Organization); "No more U.S. weapons in Begin's bloody hands."

The demonstrators gathered at the Exxon Building, where Sheila Ryan of the Palestine Action Coalition denounced the "Salute to Israel Parade" a few blocks away.

Ryan demanded an end to all arms shipments to Israel. She noted that U.S. weapons allow the Israeli government to continue its occupation of Arab land, its military rule over the Palestinian people of the West Bank and Gaza and its aggression in southern Lebanon. She reiterated the demonstration's support for the PLO, "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — a people which counters Zionist racism with its own aspirations to live in a democratic Palestine in harmony with the Jewish masses."

Zehdi Tarazi, permanent observer of the PLO to the UN, then thanked the crowd for their solidarity with the Palestinian people. Referring to the Zionist parade, he observed: "They're condoning Nazism and racism a block away." He announced that on the 29th anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel, Palestinians in the cities of Nablus and Hebron declared a general strike in protest of the racist occupation of their homeland.



*PLO supporters march through New York City's Rockefeller Center June 5.*

Tarazi concluded his remarks with a pledge. "We will maintain our struggle until we get all our rights in our native land — Palestine." He was greeted with militant chants of "Long Live PLO, Long Live PLO."

Demonstrators then marched to the office of the South African Airways, chanting "Begin-Vorster, fascist friends; colonial rule is bound to end;" and "Palestine, South Africa — one struggle, many fronts." Speakers emphasized that U.S. aid to Israel, like aid to South Africa, enables racist regimes to deny the right of indigenous people to self-determination.

# President Carter's "Palestinian Policy"

## A Palestinian View

By DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

Member of the Palestine National Council

For the first time in thirty years, the United States now has a "Palestine policy". The Carter Administration no longer perceives the Middle East problem in just two dimensions: normalization of inter-state relations and withdrawal from occupied territories. Its acknowledgment that the Palestinian problem cries out for a just solution, as an integral part of durable Mideastern peace, provides its vision with that vital third dimension to which previous Administrations blinded themselves. At last, America is in step with the rest of the world.

To recognize the existence of a problem, however, is one thing; to prescribe an appropriate and adequate remedy is quite another. The two cardinal elements of President Carter's "Palestine policy"—namely, a "Palestinian homeland" and "compensation for Palestinian refugees"—are, respectively, *ambiguous* and *deficient*.

### — I —

What does the much-flaunted concept of a "Palestinian homeland" mean? Is that "homeland" to be a "reservation" for Palestinians in a non-Palestinian state? Will it be an independent state in its own right, equal in sovereignty to all other states? Or will it lie somewhere in between?

And where will that "homeland" be located? In Palestine itself or somewhere else?

Whether the imprecision with which the "homeland" idea has been expressed reflects the groping of a new Administration for clearer visions or whether it represents a deliberate, tactical ambiguity is not relevant. Sooner or later, equivocation must give way to precision. Unless the idea is then translated into *sovereign Palestinian statehood in Mandated Palestine*, this cornerstone of Mr. Carter's "Palestine policy" will have proved to be neither morally just nor politically useful.

### — II —

If the ambiguity of the "homeland" concept obscures its potential defectiveness, the concept of "compensation" manifests its deficiency from the start. By implying that mere monetary compensation constitutes sufficient redress for the injustices which the Palestinians have suffered, the Carter Administration arbitrarily abridges the natural human rights of the Palestinian refugees. And the call for mere compensation represents a retreat from the established position of the United States Government, which was consistently maintained from 1948 until 1976.

The primary and inalienable human right of the Palestinians is their right to return to their homes and property.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims unconditionally the right of everyone to return to his country, in the same article in which it proclaims everyone's right to leave his country. *Its much-publicized commitment to the cause of human rights will not be fully credible or truly non-discriminatory as long as the Carter Administration remains silent about the inalienable right of the Palestinians to repatriation.*

With specific reference to the Palestinian refugees, the United Nations decreed (in paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III), adopted by the General Assembly on 11 December 1948) that those refugees who would choose to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, while those who would choose not to return should be compensated for the property they left behind. (That decision was adopted at the urging of the U.N. Mediator for Palestine, the late Count Folke Bernadotte, who had told the General Assembly: "It would be an offense against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine, and, indeed, at least offer

the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries."

Far from being a forgotten, abandoned or obsolete decision, that 1948 resolution has been reaffirmed—with near unanimity—*every year*, including 1976.

In fact, *the successive resolutions reaffirming the original decision have been submitted year after year by none other than the United States delegation.*

### — III —

Another basic element of the emerging "Palestine policy" of the Carter Administration is the rejection of the involvement of the P.L.O. in the search for a settlement. In that respect, the Carter Administration follows in the footsteps of its immediate predecessors. When Mr. Vance reaffirmed his recognition of Israel's "right" to veto the participation of the P.L.O. in the Geneva Conference, he was only reiterating an undertaking first made by Dr. Kissinger in the Kissinger-Allon agreement of September 1975. But Dr. Kissinger was at least consistent with himself: his opposition to the participation of the P.L.O. in the peace-making process was consonant with his denial of the Palestinian factor within the Middle Eastern equation. The reaffirmation of that opposition by Mr. Vance, on the other hand, is incongruous with the Carter Administration's professed awareness of the importance and distinctiveness of the Palestinian factor.

The present United States Government has inherited, and adopted as its own, its predecessor's phobia about the P.L.O. Yet it expresses that phobia within a policy-context at variance with that of its predecessor. The Carter Administration has thus placed itself in the anomalous position of acknowledging some Palestinian rights and affirming the imperativeness of satisfying some Palestinian aspirations within the framework of a comprehensive Middle Eastern settlement while, at the same time, denying the Palestinian people equal representation—indeed, any representation—in the forum in which that settlement is to be sought. George Orwell's famous witticism, that all animals are equal but some are "more equal" than others, has thus been dignified and made the basis of a policy: All peoples are equal but the Palestinian people is "less equal" than the others.

### — IV —

Besides barring direct Palestinian participation in the peace-making process, the United States Government has committed itself, as a matter of proclaimed policy, to refrain from any contact with the universally-acknowledged representative of the Palestinian people, the P.L.O. It has done so by dictating certain conditions (which, it very well knows, cannot possibly be acceded to by the P.L.O.) and declaring those conditions to be the minimum prerequisites for P.L.O. acceptability to the United States. To the two original conditions laid down by Dr. Kissinger (that the P.L.O. should "accept Security Council resolution 242" and "recognize the right of Israel to exist"), Mr. Vance has now added two new conditions: that the P.L.O. should "recognize the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state" and that it should appropriately "amend its Covenant". Let us look at these four conditions one by one:

(1) The demand that the P.L.O. should "accept" Security Council resolution 242 as the basis for settlement—while that resolution totally ignores the national rights, and indeed the very existence, of the Palestinian people—is patently absurd. But the timing of the re-issuance of that demand by the Carter Administration makes it, in addition, provocatively humiliating. For that demand is being reiterated after the formal declaration, by

fourteen of the fifteen members of the Security Council (during the full-dress debate which took place from 12 to 26 January 1976), that that resolution was inadequate precisely because it failed to take into account the Palestinian dimension of the Middle East situation, and that its provisions should be appropriately supplemented if it was to serve as a valid basis for a just and durable settlement. On 26 January 1976, the United States cast the only negative vote against a draft resolution which attempted to supplement, and remedy the shortcomings of, resolution 242. But that was during the tenure of President Ford, when Dr. Kissinger did not share the misgivings of the rest of the world about the incompleteness of the settlement envisaged in resolution 242, by virtue of its omissions regarding Palestine. Now, however, the Carter Administration openly and repeatedly acknowledges the inadequacy of any settlement-formula (such as that implicit in resolution 242) which ignores the Palestinian factor in the Middle Eastern equation. For the Carter Administration, notwithstanding these new circumstances, to continue to demand P.L.O. acceptance of resolution 242 is astounding.

(2) No less astounding is the demand that the P.L.O. should "recognize the right of Israel to exist", as a *prior* condition for its participation in a process which is supposed to produce, among other things, a mutually-acceptable definition of Israel's permanent frontiers.

The right of a state to exist cannot be divorced from its location and frontiers. France has a right to exist: but does it have a right to exist on Algerian soil? Will those who exhort the P.L.O. to "recognize the right of Israel to exist" be good enough to tell the P.L.O. just *where* that "right" is supposed to be exercised? And are they prepared to guarantee that Israel itself will accept that territorial stipulation? (It is the Government of Israel which refuses to accept a state of Israel within those very borders which, presumably, the United States Government has in mind when it speaks of "the right of Israel to exist" and demands that the P.L.O. recognize that "right").

Furthermore, is not the requirement of recognition a requirement of mutuality? Has the United States Government as much as hinted that Israel should recognize the right of an independent Palestinian state to exist in Palestine? Has it ever considered Israel's compliance with that hypothetical demand a condition for American recognition of Israel?

Above all: The demand that one party should recognize the right of the other party to exist, before a settlement has been achieved, puts the cart before the horse. *Mutual recognition should be envisioned as the end-result of a process of settlement and reconciliation, not as a prior condition for participation in that process.* Most certainly, it should not be a prior condition imposed upon only one of the parties.

(3) The declaration that, in order to qualify for recognition by the United States, the P.L.O. should first recognize "the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state" poses great difficulties for Palestinians and should raise disturbing questions for Americans as well.

For Palestinians, that demand implies that the P.L.O. should acquiesce in the permanent alienation, within Israel, of half a million non-Jewish Palestinians, and legitimize their status as less-than-full citizens. It implies also that the P.L.O. should forfeit the rights of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes inside Israel. And it implies that the P.L.O. should relinquish future, and by peaceful means and mutual consent—of a pluralistic society of Israelis and Palestinians in a re-united Holy Land.

Palestinians know very well that the American system prescribes the separation of Church and State and that American society cherishes and zealously guards the ethnic, cultural and religious pluralism which characterizes it. To them, there-

(continued on page 3)

# A Report on Hunger Strike at Ashkalon Prison



Miserable conditions faced by Palestinian prisoners in Zionist jails.

by Lea Tsemel, Israeli Lawyer

The following details were given to me in the course of visits which I made to my clients in Ashkalon prison on February 2, 1977. They asked me to make these things known to the entire world, hoping that such publicity will allow them to be treated like human beings.

After 45 days of fasting, the prisoners of Ashkalon prison suspended their hunger strike which began on December 11, 1976, and ended on January 25, 1977.

Most of the prisoners observed the strike for 35 days, but a group of 56 prisoners who were transferred on the 32nd day to Kfar Yona Prison continued to strike until the 45th day.

The prisoners decided to halt the strike for the following reason: A few of the Kfar Yona prisoners were received by the prison director, M. Segal, on the 44th day of the strike, but they refused to discuss matters with him, asking instead that the commission elected by the Ashkalon prisoners be designated to represent them. They also asked that two of their comrades who had been transferred from Ashkalon to Shatta prison be returned to Kfar Yona to rejoin the other committee members. In compliance with their request, Mohamed Mahadi Bsiso and Jaber Ammar arrived at Kfar Yona two hours later. Mr. Segal told the commission that he had spoken with David Levi, the General Commandant of prisons, and that Mr. Levi promised to study their demands in a positive manner. However, he would not meet them so long as the Ashkalon prisoners were striking because of their dissatisfaction with the fact that Mr. Levi, a former commanding general of the frontier guards, was General Commandant of prisons. The prisoners strongly reiterated their demands pertaining to their inhumane conditions of detention, and the fact that they were treated equally to criminal prisoners. It made no difference to them whether Mr. Levi wanted to put pressure on them, because as prisoners they were living under very restrictive conditions as it was. The committee refused to halt the strike before Mr. Levi received them. Mr. Segal spoke on the phone with Mr. Levi, and announced that the latter was very busy dealing with the Ashkalon strike, but since he wished to resolve this entire question in a positive manner, he would send a delegation to Ashkalon prison personally accompanied by him, to discuss matters with the committee. The committee would have the opportunity to present its demands on behalf of the prisoners, and he would do his best to meet their demands and more.

After these impressive promises the committee decided to moderate the hunger strike, and the striking prisoners began to eat breakfast and dinner. All the prisoners were returned to Ashkalon where they awaited the arrival of the promised delegation. However, by February 2 neither the delegation nor Mr. Levi had come.

In addition, the prisoners are disturbed because, at the time I write this (February 3), they know nothing of what happened to two of their comrades who were not returned to Ashkalon, Mohamed Abou Hamid and Mohamed Madukh.

The prisoners protest the treatment they received during the strike. Mohamed Mahadi (whose lawyer, Felicia Langer, has appealed to the High Court of Justice because she is prevented from seeing him) was very badly beaten by Ben Sawo, the director of Shatta prison. In addition to beatings, Mahadi was made to suffer in an isolation cell after being weakened by 32 days of the hunger strike.

In Ashkalon prison there were also scenes of brutality on the part of the guards. When Mouhuim Abou Zeid, a Palestinian refugee from Lebanon, asked the guards to give sanitation services to a striking prisoner whose situation was becoming increasingly alarming, they answered: There's time, there's no urgency. Mouhuim was taken out of his cell and someone sprayed him with tear gas, while someone also gagged him so that his cries would not be heard by the other prisoners. He was beaten all over his body and sent into isolation.

The prisoners complain that the food they received after the strike has given them stomach trouble and caused serious ailments. On the first day that they ate they were given only beans, which caused stomach cramps, constipation, and hemorrhoids. They asked for



Palestinians behind barbed wire.

medicines, but the doctor refused to give them any.

The prisoners are now in a very serious situation. They are very gaunt and almost appear to be living skeletons. The authorities send these prisoners to change their clothes in the bathrooms so that the others do not see them in such a state.

The prisoners do not believe that Mr. Levi will keep his promises. If he does not come the prisoners will renew the strike. They will continue to fast even if it means they all must die.

One of the prisoners told me: 'Before this I used to go underwater diving and get other kinds of exercise, and was in very good health. But after six months in Ashkalon I'm very ill, with sickness all through my body. If I'd known that prison was like this, I'd have preferred to be beaten than to become a prisoner.'

Another said: 'If you don't let us live like men, we'll die like men.'

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# Appeal for Help for Greivously Ill Prisoners

We wish to ask your help for several prisoners, who are suffering from greivous physical illness, or incapability. In spite of our request for good medical help in prison, or of a release on compassionate grounds, we were not successful in obtaining from the Israeli authorities any relief.

1) Ismail Kamal Arafat. 32 years old. He suffers from a broken spine and is incapable of movement except with the help of others.

2) Nefez Suleiman Halan El-Maq'ad. He has lost his arm and has two legs paralyzed. In addition is very weak from an uncertain weakness. Because of this he has asked now for a "voluntary expulsion" to Jordan — an offer he had refused once.

3) Muhammad Suleiman Katmash. Suffers from a general paralysis and is now hospitalized in the hospital of Ramlah Jail.

4) Muhammad Badai Jabrin. suffers from grave heart illness. Is not hospitalized but is kept in Nablus Jail.

5) Ali Nafa Abdu, 61 years old. His condition is described

in a medical report as follows: "Signs of early arterosclerosis, chronic pyelitis and neuro-vegetative disturbances which reflect frequent attacks of cardiac extrasysteliose and shocking sensations." Apart from this (heart disease) he suffers from diabetes and has a high blood pressure. *His condition gets worse and worse.*

6.) Maryam Shakhshir — in life imprisonment. Suffers from a serious lung disease and rheumatism brought-on by very long imprisonment in inhuman conditions.

7) Muhammad Rashid Shahad Mamgad Alkarim (in Ramla prison). Suffers from Cancer.

8) Yusuph Adilbi. Suffers from gangrene in his leg. The prison doctor offers only one treatment — to cut the leg off. Mr. Adilbi refuses. Since the illness even in his present condition immobilizes him, we prefer to ask for your help.

The Israel League for Human and Civil Rights  
P.O. Box 14192  
Tel-Aviv, Israel

## Arafat's Speech (continued from page 4)

That is the policy of the rulers of Tel-Aviv and their imperialist allies, headed by the United States of America, which has led to this succession of destructive wars. This policy will never lead to real and honourable peace in Palestine, the land of peace, in which Muslims, Christians and Jews can coexist in equality, justice, peace and fraternity, without any religious, or racial discrimination, far from fascism, oppression and suppression.

On this occasion I seize the opportunity to greet our steadfast Palestinian masses inside the occupied territories. I greet also those in Zionist jails, who suffer from oppression and barbaric torture.

Dear comrades,

The battle of economy and development is the battle of this age against all forms of exploitation and economic and social oppression resulting from social and economic injustice. It is also the result of colonialism's looting of the natural resources of the peoples of the world. It is, therefore our duty to struggle both for the development of our resources through joint cooperation, and for a balanced economic system freed from imperialist hegemony and exploitation, and to struggle to impose principles based on equality in order to build a better future for us and for the generations of future, carrying our principles

with us in order to contribute to the alleviation of the sufferings of humanity as a whole.

Taking into consideration all these development, we must recognize the importance of an integrated, balanced and cooperative world economic system to meet the needs of man at present and in the future, when demand will exceed the sources of supply. That is why we have to build our political forces depending on the power of our economic resources.

Dear comrades,

I cannot fail here to refer to the urgent necessity for revolutionary solidarity among all world liberation movements. And I stress the importance of this joint militant role in order to confront all the hardships and conspiracies instigated by world imperialism and its local and international allies, aiming to stifle these militant peoples' determination for liberation and freedom.

We see, therefore, that our duty as Palestinian revolutionaries is to stretch our hands to all these militant forces and revolutionary peoples with whom we stand in a single trench against Zionism, racism, fascism, racist colonialism and imperialism. And we say to them with pride in the name of the Palestinian people, revolution and revolutionaries: "We are with you in the same trench. We are together in confronting these colonialist oppressive policies in their old and new forms, and with

their various and numerous tools."

We in the Palestinian revolution are aware of the militant relationship between the struggle of our Palestinian people against the Zionist settlers colonialism and the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe against the settler colonialism of South Africa and Rhodesia.

We are side by side with these free revolutionaries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa where imperialism is nowadays trying to create explosive points in the world.

Dear friends and comrades,

Let us struggle together for the realization of a peace based on justice, in order to make the road shorter and less painful. This will only be achieved through our mutual solidarity and the consolidation of the solidarity on sound bases and principles.

— Victory to the will of the peoples struggling for freedom.

— May the flag of a just peace fly over our land.

— Long live the struggle of all peace-loving forces.

— Long live the struggle of the oppressed peoples.

— Long live the struggle of revolutionaries for freedom and liberation.

— Long live the militant solidarity among the free people of the world.

*Free Palestine* is a monthly paper published by the Friends of Free Palestine. All readers are invited to participate by submitting their comments, letters and articles.

فلسطين حرة  
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