

Palestine Perspectives

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THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Editorial Editorial Editorial

PALESTINIAN DEMOCRACY

After repeated delays and much uncertainty, the PLO finally reactivated its legislative branch and highest policy-making body, the Palestine National Council. The convening of the seventeenth session of the PNC (November 22-29) reflects the determination of the Palestinian people to safeguard their hard-earned right to speak for themselves and to represent their own interests. This is a minimal right of a people struggling for self-determination.

The Palestinians suffered and sacrificed much in order to gain and to protect the right to speak for themselves. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the Palestinian people paid a heavy price for allowing their case to be judged in their absence. They cannot afford to allow that experience to be repeated. There are influential parties who seek to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict at the expense of the Palestinian people, to repeat the error of the past, and thus perpetuate the injustice which caused the conflict in the first place. The Palestinians owe it not only to themselves but also to the cause of just and lasting peace to foil any attempt to sacrifice them for the sake of placating the appetites of others.

The most noteworthy meaning of the convening of the PNC, however, remains the fact that the Palestinian democratic tradition triumphed over the violent and coercive regional environment in which the Palestinian people are forced to live. This is one of the few bright moments in the long dark tunnel the Palestinian people

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have been compelled to traverse in recent decades. At a time when many other societies and states, more comfortable and secure in their national life than the Palestinian people, respond to crises by suspending constitutional processes, the Palestinians insisted on the involvement of their constitutional means to confront the very difficult conditions which they face today.

This is to the credit of the PLO, and it is evidence of its determination to prepare the Palestinian people for responsible and democratic public life. The PLO's refusal to allow difficult and threatening conditions to lead it to the easier path of authoritarian and oligarchic government, and its insistence on reliance on persuasion and open debate even under the most adverse conditions are reassuring signs regarding the future of the Palestinian people.

No national liberation movement dared, during its most difficult moments, to broadcast and televise the proceedings of its highest councils, and to open them to the scrutiny of observers and the press, as the PNC has done in its recent session. It reflects the confidence of the leadership in the authenticity of their representation of their people, and their faith in the superiority of open and democratic societies.

People who doubt the Palestinian people's fitness for self-government need to ponder this fact. □

M. Hallaj

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SEE NO EVIL, SPEAK NO EVIL

Shulamit Hareven

[The following story appeared in the Israeli daily *Yedi'ot Aharonot* of 23 October 1984. English translation from *Al-Fajr* of 9 November 1984]:

Shai lives in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. Like all Jerusalemites, he looks forward to the awesome silence that descends over the city every Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). Shai appreciates this day and regularly fasts out of a kind of inner obligation.

As the last Yom Kippur was drawing to a close, he went out to take his dog for a walk. From here on, I'll let Shai tell the story.

"I was walking in the direction of Zion Gate. I saw two kids coming around the corner of Habad St. They must have been 13 or 14; I figured they were probably Arabs from the village of Silwan taking a shortcut home. Two armed border policemen were making their way toward them and they met up at the passage.

"The policemen demanded the boys show them their IDs; their tone was pretty menacing and I saw that both youngsters were frightened. The two policemen appeared to be looking for trouble. One of them turned to me and said: 'What are you staring at?' I replied that I was waiting for my dog. The taller one seemed more threatening than his partner; the shorter fellow acted as a sort of look out for the other guy. Anyway, I thought that everything would blow over. But after checking the kids' IDs, they carried out a body search, in the course of which they found a pocketknife on one of them."

At this point I would like to interject. There is no law in the State of Israel against carrying a pocketknife. Every self-respecting 13-year-old has his own pocketknife and the more blades and openers it has the better. But it seems that adolescent Arab boys are denied the right that children all over the world enjoy, namely, the right to own a pocketknife.

Let's go out on a limb and suppose that he intended to use his pocketknife for some mischief. In such a case, an admonishment would have been in order; the policemen could even have confiscated his knife, taken the boy in for questioning and given him a warning. The law gives them ample room to maneuver if that had been their intention. But the law does not give them the right to do what they did.

"The taller policeman," said Shai, "told the boy with the pocketknife to come with him. He told the other kid to scam and he really hot-tailed it out of there. The policemen began walking up the hill with the boy between them. He didn't resist or try to escape—he simply went along with them. He was about half the size of the larger policeman, and he was frightened and bewildered. And then, about 20 or 30 meters up the hill, they took hold of him and one of the policemen grinded his elbow into the boy's chest. The boy let out a scream and I yelled: 'You can't do things like that!' They waved me away and continued in the direction of Zion Gate. A few seconds

later I heard horrible screams and I ran in the direction of the Gate. When I got there I saw the boy doubled up in pain, holding his hands over his face and unable to move. Two women—apparently new immigrants from the United States—were standing beside the policemen, terror-stricken by the sight of them beating the boy with their rifle butts. The women began to scream as the policemen beat him on his face and groin. In the midst of the altercation which ensued the boy managed to escape from the police and make his way back to the village.

"New immigrants from the United States," said Shai, "are not always all that familiar with the function of the border police. But they can always identify an Israeli police uniform. They may not speak fluent Hebrew but they do know that children should not be beaten with rifle butts. And that such an incident should occur so close to the Western Wall on the holiest day of the year was too much for them to bear. They knew what police brutality was when they saw it and they had not immigrated to Israel to witness such scenes. They screamed at the policemen, almost accusing them of having sullied their reasons for having immigrated to Israel.

"I also asked the policemen for their particulars. I said that I wanted to lodge a complaint. But they refused to give me their names or badge numbers. The shorter one said: 'You better get the hell out of here. You didn't see a bloody thing, so shut up!' I persisted and asked them for the name of their station. I asked if they were attached to the Kishleleh Station and they said: 'Yes—we're from Kishleleh.' Later I found out they had lied.

The women also refused to give up. They said they would follow them all night until they found out which police station was theirs. In the meantime a crowd had gathered around us, all of them wearing skullcaps. They were either on their way to pray at the Wall or had just come from there. And it didn't take long before they began to air their views. 'How long have you been in this country? Listen, what do you know about what's going on here? You probably didn't do your army service, did you? Now don't play Mr. Know-it-all! You probably weaseled your way out of having to go to the army, eh? People like you cause terrorism. The Arabs should be thankful we let them walk around freely. When it comes down to it, they should all be killed!'

These people were either on their way to pray at the Wall or were on their way back. A few minutes earlier they had been repenting for their sins and beseeching All Merciful God to take pity on them. But the brutal beating of a child was another matter. As regards Shai's army service, he had done his stint all right. In the airforce... But actually, that's an idiotic way of looking at it, for even if he had been a draft dodger, he would have still been in

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SEE NO EVIL

(continued from page 2)

the right. And yet, it's interesting to note who does the insulting and who is insulted in the state of Israel. But back to Shai.

"In the meantime the boy had returned with his father and a few other people, who might have been older brothers. The other boy must have run back to the village after the police had let him go. The boy who had been beaten—whose name was Subhi—was in pretty bad shape. He had a black eye that was all puffed up and he could barely raise his eyelid on account of the swelling. He was limping as a result of having been hit in the groin.

We began walking to the Kishleh Police Station but we couldn't find the two policemen. Subhi's father was too scared to lodge a complaint. He said it wasn't worth the whole mess and that we should forget about it and go home. The young men didn't accept the older man's reasoning, but in the end they gave in and after we exchanged names and addresses, they left and I went into Kishleh on my own. I was told that there weren't any border policemen attached to the station and that I ought to go to the Russian Compound (the headquarters of the Jerusalem police) and that they would find out who it was. I told them that I wasn't going to give up until I had gotten the names of the policemen and they told me to try the Temple Mount Station.

"At the Temple Mount Police Station I was told they couldn't have been any of the men assigned to the station. 'You should try the Allenby Station,' they said. In the meantime, a group of observant Jews had gathered in the station. Yom Kippur had drawn to a close and their righteousness had been vouchsafed by the Almighty. The time had come to break their fast, and they had brought the police a cake for this purpose. Their aggression broke out as they turned on me and began ranting: 'What are you—a journalist? What's your problem? You just want to hand the state over to the Arabs! You're probably a new immigrant—you don't have a clue as to what's going on in this country. The Arabs deserve to die. When did you arrive here anyway?'

"At this point I got a bit carried away. I told them that my father had been one of the founders of the state. I asked them how they could remain insensitive to such incidents—and on Yom Kippur, no less! I thought that it would shake them up, but their response was: 'That's the way all the Arabs should be dealt with. That's the only way we're ever going to have any peace and quiet in this country.'

"I left. Discussion was obviously impossible. I went home, had a quick bite and drove over to the Allenby Base. I asked to see the officer on duty but it turned out that he was having dinner. And so I waited and waited and waited some more. Finally I went over to the front desk. It turned out that the two American women had already been there and filed a complaint. I did so as well. A border policeman, who had listened to my story, told me that he'd been in the force for a year-and-a-half and had never hit anyone without cause. And mind you, he supposedly condemned the beating I had witnessed. Anyway, the officer on duty took down my name, address and telephone number. He promised to check out my complaint and said that I was probably thinking it would not even be investigated or that nothing would come of it in the end. He tried to reassure me. 'We'll check it out,' he said.

"In any case I have his platoon number and the name of both his commanding officer and deputy commanding officer. Now I'm waiting to see what happens next."

That's Shai's story. I really don't know what to do with it. Should I have told it to the Minister of Police? Or to the Chief Rabbis? Should I have read it aloud to the leaders of the religious parties? Or should I have sent it to Beni Akiva (a religious youth movement)? The picture that emerges from Shai's story is far from flattering. How many people are prepared to even listen?

Shai has already drawn his own conclusions. For him, Yom Kippur—as he has experienced it up to now—will never be the same again. "I don't want to have anything to do with them," said Shai. If those who reviled him were observant Jews, then he would prefer not to be a Jew. Or vice versa. He can't stomach the hypocrisy of repenting before God and condoning brutality two minutes later. As far as Shai is concerned, he's finished with all that.

As regards the two policemen, so far, nothing has happened. □

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ARAFAT'S ADDRESS TO PNC

(Summary)

The convening of the Palestine National Council today, and the resolutions which will emerge from its free and democratic dialogue, affirm certain facts which I feel duty bound to state before our Palestinian people, the Arab nation, and the whole world.

1. The convening of the PNC affirms the indestructibility of the PLO, and the failure of the U.S.-Israeli alliance and all the forces antagonistic to our people and cause to eliminate the Palestinians from the Middle East equation.

The convening of the Council, which is the basis of legitimacy of Palestinian struggle and the highest authority responsible for our people's march, is the greatest evidence that no power on earth can destroy the PLO or ignore it. Those who believe that the PLO is a passing phenomenon in the life of our people must reconsider their calculations.

2. The second fact which is affirmed by the convening of the PNC, after all efforts to paralyze our institutions failed, is that the Palestinian people are determined to safeguard their freedom and independence. Our revolution has always been and will continue to be Palestinian, with an Arab heart and deep humanitarian roots.

3. The third fact which the convening of this PNC affirms is the authenticity of the democratic tradition of the Palestinian national movement. In spite of all the vicious attacks on our democratic traditions, and the use of coercive means against our revolution since our evacuation from Beirut, our Council convenes to confirm our belief that the PLO's constitutional organs are the only appropriate arena for resolving conflicts.

4. The convening of this PNC session in Amman affirms that in spite of political conflicts and regardless of all the difficult and bitter experiences, the ties between the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples are brotherly ties reinforced by a common destiny and will remain stronger than any transient circumstances.

The PNC meets today under difficult circumstances and in an Arab environment which lacks even a minimal degree of solidarity. The Palestinian cause always suffers from this condition, and that is why we always offered ourselves a bridge between Arab capitals. In our confrontation with Israel and its alliances, we need every brother and friend to stand by us in order to rectify the prevailing imbalance of power. Arab solidarity is a matter of life and death to us. That is why our strategy forbids us to concentrate on the negative side of the Arab position, and we stressed instead the heroism of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and the Syrian forces which were besieged with us in Beirut, in the face of three-quarters of the entire Israeli army. It was this commitment to reunify Arab ranks which guided our deliberations in the previous PNC session.

Our adversaries were shocked by our ability to continue armed resistance, in cooperation with the Lebanese nationalist forces, to the Israeli occupiers. They were shocked by the continuity of our revolution despite the departure of our forces from Beirut, and by the increasing international support for the PLO. They conspired against



Photo: Ghassan Bishara

our revolution and our cause by engineering a conspiracy against Fateh to split it and thus destroy the PLO. I do not deny that errors have been committed, but there is a difference between such errors and the sins of those who sought to destroy the PLO in the service of the U.S.-Israeli conspiracy against our cause. They hoped to eliminate Palestine from the political map of our region.

The conspiracy is not over yet, and its target is the whole Arab nation. Lebanon testifies to this fact. The fragmentation of the Arab world along sectarian lines is an Israeli dream. But I am fully confident that our brothers, the people of Lebanon, will frustrate this conspiracy, and we stand by them with all our capabilities.

Our enemy is also undertaking a most cruel campaign of repression against our people in the occupied homeland. He is intensifying his settlement on Palestinian soil; he is robbing our people of their resources; he is judaizing Islamic and Christian religious places; he is destroying our social, cultural, and educational institutions; and he is escalating his campaign of terror against our people.

After Israel succeeded in ousting Egypt from the arena of our struggle, it sought to fragment the region into ministates and cantons to facilitate its hegemony over the region. Then the Gulf War came to dissipate Iraq's resources and to enflame the Gulf region. The Palestinian revolution, knowing the dangers of this war, worked with the Organization of Islamic States and the Nonaligned Nations to put an end to the war between Iraq and Iran.

We also worked to restore Egypt to the Arab fold, and to free it from the shackles of the Camp David agreements. And the people of Egypt opposed the normalization policy

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ARAFAT'S ADDRESS *(continued from page 4)*

and affirmed the fact that they are inseparable from the Arab nation and its struggles.

From this rostrum, we declare our resolve to continue to confront the conspiracy to colonize our Arab homeland. We will continue the struggle to liberate our Palestinian land, as well as the Syrian Golan and occupied Lebanon. I do not fight only for Palestine, but for all the Arab lands under Zionist occupation. We struggle for a just peace based on the attainment of our people's inalienable rights of return to their homeland and our right to an independent state in Palestine. We declare our commitment to international legitimacy through an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to be attended by all parties. We adhere to the Fez resolutions which represent an Arab consensus, in order to make it clear to everyone that we do not accept a substitute homeland.

I am a soldier in the Palestinian revolution, and one of the sons of Palestine. It is this Council's right to decide if I and my colleagues in the Executive Committee are to remain in this position of responsibility. Your Council represents Palestinian legitimacy. I call on you to exercise your right in freedom. I greet all our people and assure them that the darker the night becomes, the closer becomes the dawn. □

KING HUSSEIN'S ADDRESS TO PNC

King Hussein said that "the existing facts of the Palestinian, Arab and international arenas require us to adhere to Security Council Resolution 242 as a basis for a just and peaceful settlement." He called for negotiations, within the framework of an international peace conference, to implement that resolution. He invited the PLO to join Jordan in a joint political initiative based on resolution 242, which the PLO had always rejected on the grounds that it deals with the Palestinians as refugees rather than a nation entitled to national rights.

King Hussein made it clear, however, that Jordan has not been offered any peace proposals, and continued to say: "If, on the other hand, you believe that the PLO is capable of going it alone, then we say to you 'Godspeed: You have our support.' In the final analysis, the decision is yours. Whatever it is, we will respect it because it emanates from your esteemed Council, which is the representative of the Palestinian people."

"We do not commit you to our vision, nor do we seek to impose it on you. The decision is yours, and so is the responsibility. We offer it to you out of a sense of sharing—whether in peace or in danger, for good or for bad. We are prepared to do anything for your cause—our cause—except conclude a separate peace." □



Photo: Ghassan Bishara

Kaddoumi makes a point

FAROUK KADDOUMI: POLITICAL REPORT TO PNC (Summary)

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, presented to the world as a disciplinary action against the Palestinians, was in fact intended to destroy the infrastructure of the PLO in order to put an end to its military and political existence. Israel did not accomplish its objectives, and we are present in various parts of Lebanon. Then the conspiracy to divide Fateh came to weaken the Palestinian resistance in order to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict in the absence of the Palestinians, and to partition Lebanon to facilitate the imposition of Israeli hegemony over the Arab world.

We sought to reunify the Palestinian movement through a lengthy dialogue, which resulted in the Aden Agreement in July 1984. And we sought a dialogue with Syria to resolve our disagreements, but all our efforts and the many attempts at mediation came to nothing.

In Israel, the elections produced a government of "national unity," which shows the collusion between Labor and Likud against the rights of our people. They both agree on the Zionist program of expansion, land seizure, settlement, the eviction of our people from their homeland, and the use of terror against them.

Regarding Lebanon, it is appropriate to begin by an expression of gratitude to the Lebanese people and their nationalist leadership who sacrificed much and struggled by our side. History will long remember the heroic stand our two peoples stood in the face of a long siege by the Zionist invaders.

Lebanon still suffers more than two years after the departure of our forces from Beirut, which refutes the allegations of Israel and its allies that it was our presence which plagued Lebanon. On the contrary, our presence was a deterrent to sectarian warfare in Lebanon, because we believe in its national unity. It is Israel which seeks to partition Lebanon and to create there sectarian states after its own model, and to facilitate its hegemony over the Arab world. But the people of Lebanon, who understand these

facts, rose to defend their country by resisting the Israeli occupiers.

In spite of our problems with Syria and the failure of all efforts to resolve them, the PLO will continue to seek to remedy our relations as is required by our battle with imperialism and Zionism. Our relations with Syria must be based on the need for joint struggle against the threats to the Arab nation, and mutual respect for each other's independence.

We should also seek to strengthen Arab solidarity through improving our relations with Jordan, and with Egypt which we must help overcome the shackles imposed upon it by the Camp David agreements with Israel. And we must continue to seek an end to the war between Iraq and Iran.

We should also continue to strengthen our relations with all friendly states in the world, including the socialist countries, the Islamic states, the nonaligned nations, and the Organization of African Unity. We maintain good relations with all national liberation movements, and we are proud of any assistance we have been able to give them.

The United States continues to deny our national rights, and it has escalated its alliance with Israel. It is now engaged in an effort to rescue Israel's collapsing economy, and it is negotiating with it a free trade area agreement.

Our priorities in the coming phase should include above all continued efforts to secure our national unity. They should also include an effort to stop the deterioration in inter-Arab relations, and we must continue to give importance to the struggle for world support. □

XVII PNC RESOLUTIONS

[The following is a summary of the resolutions adopted by the 17th session of the Palestine National Council]:

I. PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

A. National Unity: The PNC resolves that Palestinian national unity resides in the unity of the people, their popular organizations and armed formations, and independent nationalist personalities.

Resort to force to impose positions on the revolution violates PNC resolutions which are rooted in democratic dialogue, and constitutes a threat to the progress and unity of Palestinian struggle.

The PNC condemns all attempts to split the PLO or to counterfeit its leadership. We consider the Aden-Algiers agreements as the framework for continued Palestinian dialogue on the basis of Palestinian independence, fidelity to the National Covenant and previous PNC resolutions, and the commitment to legitimate institutions and democratic procedures.

The PNC reaffirms the right of Palestinian revolutionary forces to carry on and escalate armed struggle against Zionist occupation from all Arab fronts.

The PNC authorizes the Office of the PNC and the Executive Committee to establish a committee to make recommendations on the reorganization of PLO departments and offices to improve their effectiveness, and to establish committees for Foreign Affairs, Armed Struggle, Occupied Territories Affairs, and Social and Economic Affairs.

B. The Occupied Homeland: The PNC salutes our people in the occupied homeland, who paid with blood to express their support for this session and their solidarity with the PLO, and urges that efforts be redoubled to support the struggle and steadfastness of our people under occupation.

C. The Diaspora: The PNC urges the mobilization of our people in the lands of their exile, and calls on the Executive Committee to promote their social and economic well-being and to defend their security and fundamental freedoms. The PNC affirms the need to protect and assist our people who have been compelled by systematic terrorism and massacres to evacuate from Lebanon.

II. ARAB AFFAIRS

A. Jordan: The PNC affirms the distinctive and brotherly ties between the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples, and urges coordination of efforts to recover the occupied territories and to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights including the right of return, self-determination, and the right to establish their independent Palestinian state on their national soil.

The PNC reaffirms the resolutions of previous PNC sessions, especially the 16th session.

The PNC calls on the Executive Committee to study King Hussein's proposals in light of the objectives of Palestinian struggle and the resolutions of the 16th and 17th PNC sessions. It calls on the Committee to pursue the dialogue with Jordan on the basis of the resolutions of the 16th session of the PNC, and within the framework of Arab summit conferences decisions and U.N. resolutions on the question of Palestine.

B. Syria: The PNC stresses the need to correct the relations with Syria on the basis of commitment to Arab summit resolutions, mutual respect for national independence, and common struggle against the Zionist enemy. The PNC condemns Syria's expulsion of Yasser Arafat and considers it to be a slap against the Palestinian people.

C. Egypt: The PNC, cognizant of increasing Egyptian support for the aspirations of the Palestinian people, calls on the Executive Committee to pursue a policy toward Egypt which takes that development into account.

D. Lebanon: The PNC affirms the support of the Palestinian people for the struggle of the brotherly Lebanese people in their struggle to liberate Lebanon and to restore its unity. It calls on the Lebanese government to reject all attempts to isolate Lebanon from its Arab environment, and to cooperate with the PLO in safeguarding the Palestinian community and to facilitate its needs. The PNC also calls on the Executive Committee to strengthen PLO relations with the nationalist forces in Lebanon.

E. The Iraq-Iran War: The PNC urges Chairman Arafat to redouble his effort, within the Islamic Good Offices Committee and the Nonaligned Movement, to seek an end to the war. The PNC demand the immediate termination of the war.

III. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The PNC considers that a just solution to the Palestine question and the Middle East conflict must be based on the

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PNC RESOLUTIONS

(continued from page 6)

fulfillment of Palestinian national rights realized through an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations in which all parties, including the PLO participate on an equal footing.

The PNC urges the Executive Committee to further develop and expand PLO relations with the friends of our cause in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to intensify its efforts to advance the positions of Western Europe and Japan in support of Palestinian rights. It also calls on the Executive Committee to cooperate with democratic and progressive nongovernmental organizations which strive to secure their government's recognition of the PLO.

The PNC affirms its commitment to the U.N. Charter, its ideals, and its resolutions which support the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and all peoples who struggle for liberation and independence. □

PNC: AN EVALUATION

[The following analysis of trends in Palestinian politics, revealed by the 17th session of the Palestine National Council, is a summary of an article in the December 10 issue of the Arabic language magazine *Al-Yom As-Sabeh*, published in Paris. It points out, among other things, the emergence of a tendency to favor decision making by a majority rather than by consensus, as well as a tendency to derive legitimacy from broad popular support rather than agreement of the leadership of the several organizations affiliated with the PLO—Editor]:

The initial impression of the work of the PNC in its 17th session was that the Council met without the opposition and that, therefore, it was a Council representing one trend, which made it easy to deliberate and to arrive at resolutions. This first impression is not entirely accurate. A new opposition emerged in the Council, it generated argument and disagreement, and it will continue to be felt in the future. This new opposition is from within Fateh, from within the PLO Executive Committee and its Central Council.

The debate centered on the following issues:

1. The concept of national unity: Two trends emerged. One says it is the agreement of the various resistance groups. This is the concept which prevailed from the 4th PNC in 1968 to the 16th PNC in 1983. The second view is that national unity is the unity of the people, rather than the political groupings, around a program of struggle for Palestinian rights. It is this popular unity which legitimizes the leadership and gives them their mandate. This general national majority overrides the positions of particular groups. The two views had their supporters within the PNC and also within the newly elected Executive Committee. For example, Fahed Qawasmi and Jamal

Sourani, Executive Committee members, supported the second view, while Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf) supported the first, arguing that it was the resistance groups which gained for the PLO the international stature that it enjoys.

2. The second issue on which disagreement emerged is the proper decision-making process within the PLO. Traditionally, the various resistance groups had representatives on the Executive Committee. This meant that a consensus among these groups was necessary for decision making. Even the smallest group was able to obstruct decision making. The Executive Committee did not work with a majority overruling a minority. When disagreements occurred in the Executive Committee, a deal had to be worked out by an extra-legal body, a meeting of the leaders of the various groups.

To overcome this problem, a proposal emerged to do away with the idea of giving a seat on the Executive Committee to each group and to select an Executive Committee on the basis of political compatibility. Finally, a compromise was achieved, according to which a politically compatible Executive Committee was created (whose members shared a broad perspective but not similarity of political positions), while some seats were left vacant to be filled by other organizations in the future.

3. The PLO constitution stipulates that the Executive Committee is the leadership of the PLO. In the past it was the informal meetings of the Secretary-Generals of the resistance groups which had the ultimate decision-making power, even though it is not a recognized constitutional body of the PLO. The prevailing view now is that the Executive Committee must play that role as it is stipulated in the constitution.

In other words, a new opposition emerged in the PLO, a "loyal opposition" which pushes its position within the constitutional framework and the requirements of legitimacy and legality rather than outside it. This development reflects widespread Palestinian agreement that the PLO must preserve the hard-earned rights of self-expression and dissent but not at the expense of constitutionalism and Palestinian legitimacy and independence. That is why the present composition of the PLO's Executive Committee maintained the principle of group representation (Fateh, Independents, Arab Liberation Front, and Palestinian Liberation Front), but limited representation to groups committed to the expression of their dissent and opposition within the legal structure of the PLO. □

Photo: Ghassan Bishara



ACADEMIC FREEDOM UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION

"The pattern of Israeli treatment of the universities [in the occupied territories] over the past five years has been one of harassment going beyond what might be reasonably justified on grounds of public order and security."

This is one of the main conclusions of an independent mission of enquiry whose report was recently published by the International Commission of Jurists, based in Geneva, and the World University Service in London, England. The mission comprised three distinguished academics: Adam Roberts, Reader in International Relations at St. Antony's College, Oxford (UK); Boel Joergensen, President of the University of Roskilde (Denmark); and Frank Newman, Ralston Professor of International Law at the University of California, Berkeley, and a former justice of the California Supreme Court.

Their 88-page report, written after visiting the region and meeting both Palestinians and Israelis, calls for a fundamental reappraisal of the relationship between the Israeli military authorities and the Palestinian institutions of higher education in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The authors' conclusions and recommendations include the following:

■ "There is an undeniable conflict of interest between these institutions and the Israeli authorities. The universities reflect the widespread desire of Palestinians for some kind of statehood; the Israeli authorities oppose that aspiration."

■ "Since 1979 there has been a crisis atmosphere at the universities, due mainly to the rapid expansion of the six institutions of higher learning, the growing presence of Israeli settlers, the imposition of a relatively harsh policy towards the institutions and the growth of student militance in response."

■ "Military Order 854, introduced by the Israeli authorities in July 1980, and giving them extensive and extraordinary powers over the universities in the Occupied Territories, should be rescinded."

■ "Military intervention on campus and the closure of universities should occur only as an 'absolute last resort.' Such interventions are bound to be viewed very critically both on international legal grounds and because of their serious implications for academic freedom."

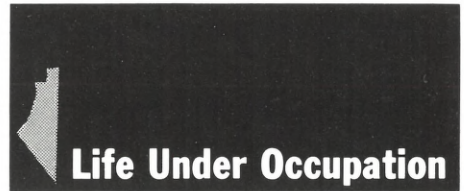
■ "Israel has a duty to protect the inhabitants of the territories. Failure to observe this may have contributed to the murder of 3 students at Hebron University in July 1983. *'We remain deeply apprehensive about the potential for violence in a situation where armed settlers are in close proximity to Palestinian universities.'*"

■ "There is a clear and urgent need to reconsider the wide range of administrative measures and practices affecting the universities, including particularly:

1. measures restricting the import of foreign funds, books and educational equipment,
2. the imposition of customs and other charges on imports for educational purposes,
3. refusal of planning and other permits,
4. book censorship policy should be reconsidered, including the stricter censorship of Arabic books than of English language publications."

"The international community, both in the United Nations and in other ways, must act to ensure that a basically defenceless people, faced with a foreign occupation and the presence of armed settlers, is not the victim of discriminatory treatment in higher education or other matters of such a kind as to lead to a status of educational disadvantages and permanent inferiority."

[Copies of the report are available at £2.95 (plus postage) from the World University Service, 20-21 Compton Terrace, London NLZ 2UN, or at SFr. 10 (plus postage) from the International Commission of Jurists, B.P. 120, 1224 Geneva]. □



TWO PALESTINIANS KILLED

Israeli soldiers shot and killed two Palestinian youths during demonstrations held on the eve of the Palestine National Council (PNC) meeting in Amman, November 22-29, 1984. News of the two martyrs reached Amman at the opening session of the National Council where Palestinian leaders quickly decided to dedicate the historic meeting of the PNC to the memory of the two Palestinian youths who died expressing support for the gathering.

On Wednesday, November 21, Sharaf al-Tibi, a 24-year-old engineering student was killed at Birzeit University when Israeli border police units invaded the campus and opened fire at the students who were holding a political rally in support of the PNC session in Amman. *Al-Fajr* quoted a university spokesman accusing the Israeli soldiers of unnecessary brutality. "Normally they shoot tear gas and maneuver for a while trying to reach some kind of cease-fire agreement." This time, however, the soldiers opened fire at the students with the aim to kill, not to disperse.

Al-Tibi died while lying in a car waiting to pass an Israeli military checkpoint outside campus. Medical sources at Ramallah Government Hospital stated that the student's life could have been saved had he arrived at the hospital immediately after the incident. Al-Tibi was buried in his hometown of Khan Yunis on November 22. The Israeli authorities allowed only 10 members of his immediate family to attend the burial ceremony at Khan Yunis cemetery.

The second Palestinian casualty occurred on Thursday, November 22, when Bakr Ali Abdallah, a 21-year-old laborer, was shot and

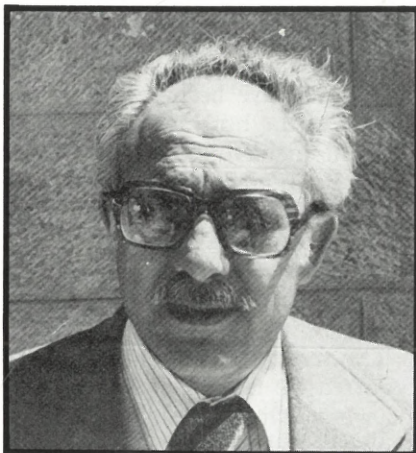
(continued on page 9)

BZU CONDEMNS STUDENT MURDER

Birzeit University declared November 22 a day of mourning to mark the brutal murder of Sharaf al-Tibi, an engineering student at the university who was shot and killed on campus when Israeli soldiers opened fire on a student demonstration held on November 21. In a press release reported by *Al-Fajr*, university officials denounced "the use of raw and indiscriminate force by the [Israeli] army against defenseless students."

The statement strongly condemned the "inhuman and illegal delays that soldiers put in the way of ambulances and private cars transporting injured students to hospitals in Jerusalem and Ramallah." According to eyewitness reports, the car carrying al-Tibi to Ramallah Hospital was delayed for one-half hour at an Israeli army roadblock where Israeli soldiers banged on the car and taunted and threatened its passengers while al-Tibi bled to death. This premeditated delay at the army checkpoint clearly contributed to his death.

University officials stressed in their press release that the serious nature of the injuries sustained by al-Tibi and three other students indicate that "the army was shooting to kill." Furthermore, the statement accused Israeli soldiers of bursting into the cafeteria and smashing its furniture long after the demonstrating students dispersed. □



MAYOR QAWASMI

AAUG DENOUNCES ISRAELI REPRESSION

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) accused Israel of aiming at "removing the Palestinians from the historical record," by destroying their institutions, especially educational institutions in occupied Palestine. The AAUG statement was made in a press release, dated 26 November, in response to the continued closure of Najah National University in Nablus. Following is the text of the AAUG statement:

"The sustained and systematic Israeli assault against Palestinian institutions in the occupied West Bank is aimed at robbing Palestinians of their culture, history, and natural development," said Abbas Alnasrawi, President of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, which has its national headquarters in Belmont, Massachusetts. "The Israelis regularly close down Palestinian universities and press services for months at a time. Palestinians who promote their cultural heritage are regularly arrested as 'subversives,'" continued Alnasrawi.

"Clearly, Israeli policy is aimed at removing Palestinians from the historical record and thereby eliminating them as a people with national rights in Palestine, now totally occupied by Israel. Closure of Al-Najah University for seven out of the last fifteen months, the indiscriminate firing on, wounding and killing of peaceful Palestinian demonstrators in support of the Amman meeting of the Palestine National Council reflects this continued Israeli policy."

"Indeed, noted the Association's Public Affairs Chairperson, Elaine Hagopian, "the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon had as one of its main goals the destruction of the social, economic, cultural, medical, and political institutions of the Palestine Liberation Organization. These institutions, which provided 'state' services to the Palestinian people, represented the legitimate claims of the Palestinians to national self-determination and preserved Palestinian history, economy, art, and all functions a state

would perform on behalf of its citizens. The PLO never constituted a serious military threat to Israel, but it did stand as a claimant of Palestinian land, something Israelis will never accept. Hence a destruction of Palestinian institutions is the road Israel has taken to making Palestinians extinct. As that policy failed in French Algeria after 130 years of colonization and settlement, so too will it fail in Palestine, and for the same reason—a fight for survival is the only option of those threatened by policies aimed at their extinction." □

REFUSENIK JAILED

Corporal (Reserves) Eli Kuzenski (22) of the Israeli Armored Corps was sentenced to 14 days in jail for his refusal to serve in Lebanon. He is the 140th Israel soldier to be jailed on similar charges. Two other reservists are currently serving time in a military jail for their refusal to report to duty in occupied Lebanon. They are Michael Levine (42) of Jerusalem and Max Blach (46) of Tel Aviv.

On December 5, "Yesh Gvul" (There is a limit), an Israeli anti-war movement, called for the immediate release of the refuseniks. A spokesman for the movement stated that the repeated arrests of those who refuse to serve for reasons of conscience are failing to break their spirit and instead they are promoting wider public support for their cause. □

TWO KILLED

(continued from page 8)

killed at another demonstration in Ramallah. Abdallah's father told *Al-Fajr* that his son was in Ramallah by chance to purchase a new suit for his upcoming wedding when Israeli soldiers began shooting demonstrators and bystanders. Abdallah was taken to the local Government Hospital where he was pronounced dead on arrival.

The Israeli press reported that nine other Palestinians were injured during both attacks. □

THE TALE OF TWO VILLAGES

Iqrit and Kufr Bir'im are two villages in Upper Galilee, northern Palestine, occupied by Israel in 1948. In 1951, the residents of the two villages were ordered to evacuate their villages for two weeks. The reason given was that the Israeli army needed the area for military maneuvers. They were never allowed to return. In 1953 Israeli planes and artillery destroyed the two villages, and their residents joined the other "internal" Palestinian refugees who became homeless although they never left their country.

The villagers, who are Palestinian Christians, were subsequently allowed to rebuild their church but not their homes. They have been allowed to visit their ruined villages occasionally and for brief periods to perform wedding and funeral and similar ceremonies, but they have been denied to live there. Although on many previous occasions they have been promised to be permitted to return to their villages, they were never allowed to do so. The most recent instance was Menachem Begin's promise, during his 1977 election campaign, which he failed to keep.

The Palestinian inhabitants of Iqrit and Kufr Bir'im, now "Israeli citizens," continue to share the experience of dispossession and exile with the rest of their countrymen.

NAJAH UNIVERSITY REOPENS

Studies have resumed on December 3 at Najah University in Nablus following a 4-month closure by order of the Israeli military government. Najah spokesman, Sa'id Barakat, announced that "The University has opened today and everything is proceeding quietly and according to schedule."

Najah University was closed on July 30, 1984, after Israeli forces raided its campus to end the Palestine Week Folklore Exhibit which was deemed "hostile and inflammatory" by the Israeli occupation authorities. (See, *Palestine Perspectives*, August/September, 1984). □

ISRAELI PROGRESSIVE LAWYER THREATENED

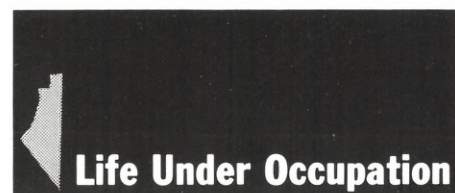
Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer was recently threatened with death due to her association with progressive causes, particularly her defense of Arab political prisoners before Israeli courts. Vandals spray-painted Langer's office door in Jerusalem defacing it with death threats and accusing her of being a PLO supporter.

Langer told *The Jerusalem Post* that although this is not the first time she has been vilified for representing Arab clients, she has never before been so brazenly threatened with death. Langer has antagonized racist and extremist Israeli circles for her defense of captured Palestinian guerrillas, political prisoners and Arab residents engaged in land disputes with the Israeli authorities. □

ISRAEL VS. DEMOCRACY

Israeli sources claim that the Peres government intends to take specific steps "to improve living conditions" in the West Bank including a decision to reinstate Palestinian mayors dismissed by the previous Likud government. Such remarks were expressed during recent exchanges with American and Egyptian officials. However, these plans are vehemently opposed by Israeli military and legal authorities.

In a recent case involving the appeal of seven Palestinian residents of Dura before the Israeli High Court of Justice demanding that municipal elections be allowed in their West Bank village, the State Attorney's Office insisted that such elections would be used by the PLO and their local supporters "as a tool for establishing a dangerous and subversive entity." The Israeli armed forces insist that democratic elections in the occupied territories would encourage active resistance by the Palestinians similar to the elections of 1976, therefore, Israel cannot afford them. □



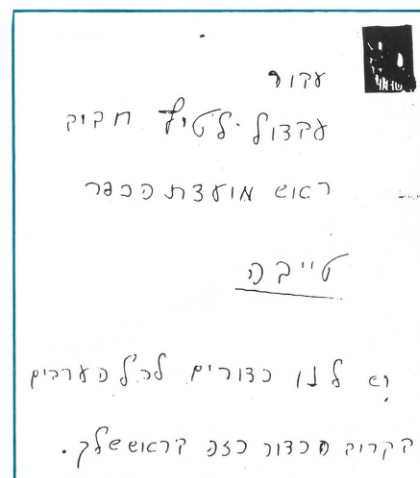
ARAB OFFICIALS THREATENED

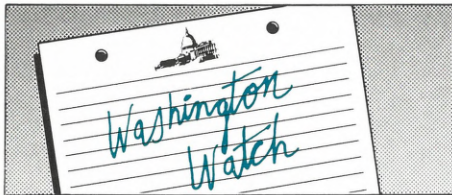
Rabbi Meir Kahane's racist gang, Kach, adopted a new technique in its relentless campaign to create a purely Jewish society in Israel by terrorizing and deporting all Palestinians residing under Israeli rule. *Al-Ittihad* reports that Hashim Mahamid and Abdel-Latif Habib, the heads of the local councils of Umm el-Fahm and Taybe respectively, recently received similar notes from Kahane's terrorist group threatening them with outright assassination. The notes which were accompanied by a bullet read as follows:

To
Abdel-Latif Habib
Head of Village Council
Taybe

We have enough bullets for all the Arabs. Soon you will be getting a similar bullet in your head.

The message also included a flyer calling on Israeli girls not to date Arab men. It invited "the sons of Israel" to join "The Guardians of Jewish Honor" who "work legally and closely with the police." The following is a copy of the original threatening note in Hebrew:





CAMP DAVID: PAX HEBRAICA

The Camp David accords, which led to a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt in 1979, have become a "framework for war" instead of the framework for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, as they had been advertised to be. This is the conclusion of an article by Stephen Green, the author of *Taking Sides*, which appeared in the Fall 1984 issue of the *World Policy Journal*.

The author says that soon after the agreement was concluded, it became obvious that it was intended to establish a "pax hebraica," an Israeli hegemony over the Middle East. The treaty, by securing for Israel its southern borders with Egypt, left Israel free to dominate and intimidate its other Arab neighbors, as it did by attacking Baghdad and Beirut.

Green explains this transformation of the Camp David agreements from a framework for peace to a prescription for war by saying that the assumption behind the earlier view of the agreements, that the U.S. would serve as an honest broker to advance the peace process, proved to be false. He wrote:

"When Egypt signed the treaty with Israel in 1979, surrendering its position as a 'frontline' Arab state, it assumed that the United States would remain a full partner in the peace process, and that Israel, whose continued military superiority in the Middle East was assured by the treaty, would exercise restraint in the use of that superiority. The events of the past few years have convinced the Egyptian leadership that these two assumptions were baseless: Cairo is now a city of seething anger. The Camp David accords have in effect become a framework for war." □

COMMENTARY... THE PRICE OF EMPIRE

The Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, were made to pay for Israel's existence. They have also been made to pay for its imperial pretensions and its paranoic concept of security. Now, the U.S. Senate wants them to pay for its economic well-being.

In a recent (November 1984) report on "The Economic Crisis in Israel," prepared by the staff of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, it is recommended that to ease Israel's economic crisis the United States must further restrict the sale of weapons to Arab countries. The report says that among other measures the U.S. must take to protect Israel's economy from collapsing, it should help Israel reduce its military budget by making it more difficult for Arabs to obtain weapons. Here is how the report put it:

"In considering proposed sales of sophisticated weapons to the Arab countries, such as advanced fighter planes and missiles, the United States also should take into greater account whether the quality and quantities are such that they might be ultimately used against Israel, thus prompting Israel to buy more equipment as a precaution. A major factor in Israeli defense spending is its concern that the additional sophisticated Arab equipment may inflict higher casualties on the smaller Israeli forces."

There is no question that armaments are a major reason for Israel's economic disaster. What the Senate report fails to clarify, however, is that the United States government itself is responsible for this fact. As long as U.S. declared and practiced policy is that Israel must continue to enjoy military superiority over any combination of Arab states, Israel's military budget will have to be a back-breaking burden. Israel does not have the human or material resources to be a Roman Empire in the Middle East. As long as it continues, with U.S. encouragement, to entertain such fantasies, it would have to continue to live with the nightmare of impending economic collapse.

Israel's friends in the U.S. Senate should understand that Israel's safety lies in its willingness to coexist with its region rather than in its unacceptable and unrealistic ambition to dominate it. Its security is enhanced more by reasonable objectives than by greater fire power. Israel's entire history proves this point. The greater it grew militarily, the smaller it became in every other way.

If, for any reason, the U.S. Senate wants to persist in its encouragement of Israel's imperial career, that is its own concern. But it has no right to expect the Arabs, the victims of that policy, to share its cost. □

ISRAEL: NUCLEAR THREAT

Two studies released in November assert that Israel has the capacity to manufacture nuclear weapons and may have actually done so already, according to the *Washington Jewish Week*.

Israel has consistently denied that it has manufactured nuclear weapons insisting that it "will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East." However, Leonard Spector of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace reports in his new book, *Nuclear Proliferation Today: The Spread of Nuclear Weapons 1984*, that Israel may already pos-

sess some 20 nuclear weapons "or their easily assembled components."

Spector wrote that information leaked by the CIA confirms that Israel has produced plutonium at its nuclear reactor in Dimona which is not under international inspection. Israel has never agreed to ratify the international nonproliferation treaty.

Similar conclusions were reached also by Warren Donnelly, of the Congressional Research Service at the Library of Congress. Donnelly maintains that Israel poses the greatest "threat" among five non-nuclear states to test or produce weapons. □

AMERICAN HARASSED FOR ATTENDING PNC

An American lawyer is being harassed and her life has been threatened for attending the recent 17th session of the Palestine National Council as a guest observer. Adrien K. Wing, New York lawyer, read to the conference a message of solidarity in the name of the National Conference of Black Lawyers in the United States, just as fifty other guests did on behalf of parties, movements and groups around the world.

Ms. Wing said that upon her return to the United States, she faced "a desperate situation." She explained: "The physical safety of my family and myself; my professional career as a lawyer; my political principles as a believer in the right of self-determination for all peoples; and the economic and political existence of the organization that I represent at the United Nations—the National Conference of Black Lawyers" are threatened.

She said that she has been the object of journalistic sensationalism for participating in a customary show of solidarity which was worldwide. "At the PNC," she said, "I was one of perhaps 50 speakers from all over the world who made brief remarks followed by a customary embrace from Chairman Arafat. As a young black American woman from a relatively unknown small black lawyers group, I was certainly the most insignificant and brief speaker among the various foreign ministers, diplomats, ambassadors, members of parliaments, leaders of political parties, and heads of well-known solidarity groups from Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East."

She said the attacks against her are part of an ongoing process "to destroy the credibility of any black individual or organization, who dares to speak out on behalf of the internationally recognized rights of the Palestinian people." She listed among such black persons the Rev. Jesse Jackson, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young, and talk show host Gil Noble.

Ms. Wing said that the sensationalism used against her places her in



jeopardy. "I have personally received threats against my life," she said. "NCBL received bomb threats, and economic blackmail was utilized to attempt to destroy the success of a fundraiser and to force the organization to disavow me personally and politically. My job as an international lawyer at a major Park Avenue firm is in grave jeopardy...." □

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BLACK LAWYERS

"We Will Not Be Intimidated"

The National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL), a New York-based organization representing about 1,100 black lawyers in the United States says it is being subjected to "McCarthyite tactics of terror" in an attempt to intimidate the black community and to deny it the right to speak out on international issues. In a lengthy press release on 5 December, the NCBL said its offices have been "threatened with bombing" as a part of a campaign against it sparked by the attendance of its U.N. delegate Adrien K. Wing to the 17th session of the Palestine National Council. The following are excerpts from the NCBL news release:

"The National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) condemns sharply the McCarthyite tactics of terror directed at it and NCBL's

United Nations delegate Adrien K. Wing in the wake of her attendance at the recent Palestine National Council meeting in Amman, Jordan.

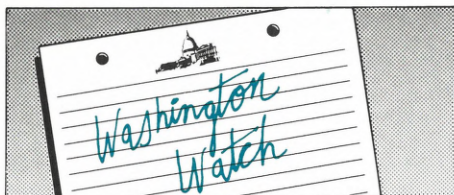
Though NCBL regularly and consistently issues statements and engages in newsworthy acts in areas such as police brutality, anti-apartheid, and the invasion of Grenada, the press has chosen to ignore all this while splashing Ms. Wing's trip and alleged statements over newspaper headlines nationally. It is evident that the purpose was nothing more than to stoke racism and anti-Semitism while promoting a Black-Jewish rift.

In the wake of these headlines, *the office of NCBL was threatened with bombing and death threats were made as well.* In addition a number of donors cancelled grants for work designed to ameliorate the depression level conditions facing the Black community. Indeed, as long as billions of our tax dollars are sent to the Mid-East while unemployment, substandard housing and inadequate education stalk the Harlems of this country, NCBL will be compelled to speak out. It is no secret that certain forces oppose African-Americans speaking out on foreign policy generally and the Middle East specifically. Witness the sacking of former U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young, the harassment of presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson and the attack on WABC-TV newsman Gil Noble. The furious assailing of NCBL must be viewed in this context.

The PLO has been recognized as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by both the General Assembly and the League of Arab States.

The Reagan Administration's nonrecognition of the PLO and its attempt to brand the PLO a "terrorist" group contravenes the right of self-determination.

NCBL will continue to speak out on pressing domestic and international questions. We will not be intimidated by McCarthyite tactics of terror." □



THE ARMAGEDDON NETWORK

by Michael Saba

[Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1984, 221 pp. \$9.95 paper]

BOOK REVIEW

The book is about how Israel's friends in America use public office to better serve Israel. It is also about how such officials are sheltered from punishment by their network of influential friends even when they betray U.S. secrets to Israel.

The author of the book, a well-known Arab American, became involved in the events he related in the book purely by chance. It started when in 1978, he accidentally overheard a conversation between a senior staff member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and three visiting Israeli defense officials, while he waited for a business associate in a Washington hotel. The American official, Stephen Bryen, was overheard by Michael Saba offering a secret Pentagon document on Arab defenses to the Israelis.

Mr. Saba prepared an affidavit on the conversation, which he delivered to the FBI and the Department of Justice, believing that he possessed evidence of a violation of the Espionage Act by a U.S. public official. A lengthy investigation began which resulted in a recommendation by attorneys of the Department of Justice for an investigation by a grand jury. But the investigation was suddenly terminated.

Mr. Bryen resigned his position on the staff of the Senate Committee, but shortly after that he re-emerged, in 1981, as a high-ranking Pentagon official, as deputy to Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle.

The book continues to explore the activities of Stephen Bryen in his new position to advance Israel's interests. The author shows how, through his jurisdiction over the control of technology transfer, Mr. Bryen is squeezing American industry out of the export market and how he is seeking to do the same to

December 12, 1984

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to request that you reopen a 1978-1979 Justice Department investigation of Stephen D. Bryen, who currently holds a deputy assistant secretary position in the Department of Defense.

In March of 1978, I reported to the Justice Department a conversation I had overheard between Mr. Bryen and foreign government officials. Mr. Bryen was discussing policy strategy and said to the officials, "I have the Pentagon document on the bases, which you are welcome to see."

The Justice Department and the FBI immediately began an investigation of Mr. Bryen, who was then a staffer on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Two years later, however, the investigation was closed quietly without a determination of innocence or guilt. Information received in 1983 through a Freedom of Information lawsuit reveals that key investigators felt that Mr. Bryen should testify before a grand jury, but for some reason the Carter Justice Depart-

ment terminated the investigation. Investigators were never permitted to examine key Foreign Relations Committee documents, nor were they able to take Mr. Bryen's deposition.

In 1981, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle appointed Mr. Bryen to be his deputy in the Defense Department, notwithstanding that, as Senator Denton said at Mr. Perle's confirmation hearing, Mr. Bryen's "reputation for integrity and loyalty had been severely tarnished." As a loyal citizen of the United States, I am gravely concerned about the prudence of allowing a man investigated for espionage and violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act to have access to highly classified Pentagon data.

I therefore respectfully request that your Administration reopen the investigation of Stephen Bryen. The previous Administration allowed an extremely serious investigation to whither away quietly. Please correct this negligence by asking the Justice Department to investigate Mr. Bryen until a final determination is made as to whether he is guilty or innocent of espionage or violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Sincerely yours,
Michael P. Saba

European industry to eliminate all competition to Israeli exporters. He suggests that Israel's collapsing economy requires that Israel increase its international trade, and that Stephen Bryen, using his new authority in the Department of Defense, is assisting Israel in this effort.

The book, which draws on classified documents made public for the first time under the Freedom of

Information Act, is shocking in its implications. It is a serious accusation of U.S. public officials who still hold high-level and sensitive positions in the Pentagon. And it throws new light on how Israel's "friends" in American public life misuse their positions of trust to serve a foreign power to the detriment of U.S. domestic and international interests. □

PALESTINE AT THE U.N.

The head of the Political Department of the PLO, Farouk Kaddoumi, who headed the PLO delegation to the 39th regular session of the U.N. General Assembly, said that for nearly 40 years Israel defied the community of nations and violated every resolution on the Palestine question. It is "really unfortunate that it continues to occupy a seat amongst you," he said.

Mr. Kaddoumi said that U.N. resolutions on Palestine express the will of the international community and reflect the spirit of the U.N. Charter. "In this sense," he said, "we consider that the struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom and independence is the cause of all of you as much as it is our cause... It is a cause that concerns humanity as a whole, for it is a cause of right and justice, which represents the aspirations of the international community to establish a better world in which people enjoy freedom and sovereignty."

Mr. Kaddoumi said the PLO is in agreement with the views of the overwhelming majority of U.N. members, that a lasting peace in the Middle East requires a solution to the Palestine question "based on enabling the Palestinian people to achieve their legitimate inalienable rights, including the right to return, to self-determination, and the establishment of their independent state on their national soil." He said that "the acceptable framework for such a solution is the United Nations and its existing resolutions pertaining to the question of Palestine," to be pursued through an international peace conference on the Middle East in which the great powers and all interested parties, including the PLO, would participate on an equal footing.

Mr. Kaddoumi criticized the U.S. government's opposition to Palestinian self-determination. "If the United States does not wish to recognize the PLO, a position which is condemned, this is up to her," he said; "but to refuse to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination constitutes a question of law, morality and principle, equivalent to refusing to recognize the Charter and the principles of the United Nations itself."

Mr. Kaddoumi added: "The Palestinian people are industrious, creative, and are proud of their national identity, land, and homeland. They are a people of long history, one of the oldest peoples of the earth... All the revered religions were nurtured in the land of Palestine; it is holy to us all. Why should the people who bear its name be deprived of their most basic human right?"

As Israel and the U.S. oppose Palestinian self-determination, he said, Israel proceeds with the annexation of the territories it occupied in 1967, and to oppress their Arab populations. Israel's policy of repression and aggression is harming the Jews themselves, and not only the Palestinians. Israeli society has been disrupted, it suffers "from ideological and economic bankruptcy, from social, class, and racial contradictions, from international isolation, and from lack of internal peace. In such an atmosphere, as history teaches us, extreme fascist and racist currents find fertile ground, and militaristic tendencies emerge which attempt to export the internal crisis and to contain it by launching new wars." □



SHAMIR WARNS JORDAN, EGYPT

At the end of King Hussein's recent visit to Egypt (1-3 December), an Egyptian-Jordanian communique was issued emphasizing among other things *"that there can be no settlement of the situation in the area without the solution of the Palestinian issue, because it is the core of the problem, and without the achievement of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their inalienable right to determine their own future in the form they deem fit on their national soil."* The two sides also affirmed that *"the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."*

Israel's reaction to the communique was swift and unambiguous. Vice Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir went on Israeli radio to warn Jordan and Egypt to "stay away from the PLO." Shamir emphasized that there is a national consensus in Israel not to maintain any political contact whatsoever with the PLO. He added that "it should be clear to the leaders of both these countries that they must stay away from the PLO."

Meanwhile, Israeli Foreign Ministry officials in Jerusalem confirmed that Israel will seek clarification from Egypt on its "commitment to the Camp David peace accords," in light of the Egyptian-Jordanian communique. The Israeli officials said "the communique contains statements that Israel finds unacceptable." These apprehensions on the part of Israel do not conform with earlier expressions of satisfaction over Egyptian-Jordanian rapprochement. On December 2, 1984, *Ha'aretz* reported that Israeli leaders in Jerusalem welcomed Hussein's visit to Egypt expressing hope that it will further the "peace process," enable direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel, and further the resumption of direct talks with Egypt. □



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ISRAELI ECONOMY

From Crisis to Collapse

A recent U.S. Senate report on the Israeli economy concluded that current trends threaten the Israeli economy with collapse. The November 1984 report "The Economic Crisis in Israel," prepared by the staff of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, says that "The economic crisis gripping Israel today... could pose as serious a threat to the security of Israel as any hostile neighbor in the region."

The report lists the following among "key developments" in the rapidly deteriorating Israeli economy:

1. Foreign currency reserves fell below the minimum "red line" of 3 months worth of imports. In July, Israel had enough reserves to pay for only 2 months of imports, and the reserves continue to dwindle.

2. Four digit rate of inflation is expected by 1985.

3. Budget deficits equal to 17 percent of the GNP, compared with 5 percent in the United States.

4. Rising unemployment, now 7 percent, contributes to rising emigration from Israel.

5. A stock market crash in Israeli bank shares wiped out \$10 billion worth of assets, equivalent to 3.5 percent of the total wealth in Israel.

6. Economic growth has been stagnant for several years and is expected to decline in 1984.

7. Israel's external debt rose to over \$23 billion in 1984, the highest per capita debt in the world. It is expected to rise to \$41 billion by 1988.

8. The deficit in Israel's balance of payments reached \$5.3 billion, up from \$1 billion 3 years ago.

The report says that Israel's ability to obtain credit from the world's financial market is likely to suffer as a consequence, a development which could lead to economic collapse. It cautions that without drastic reforms of the Israeli economy, even generous U.S. assistance could not save it. The report lists the following among U.S. efforts to rescue Israel's economy:

1. It gave Israel \$1.2 billion in economic aid for 1985, gave it as non-repayable grants, and advanced it in one lump sum instead of paying it as usual in installments. [This does not include another grant of \$1.4 billion for military supplies.]

2. Relief for Israel's \$9.5 billion debt to the United States.

3. Free Trade Area agreement being negotiated with Israel to enable it to increase exports to the U.S. market.

4. The U.S. has awarded U.S. defense contracts to the Israeli military industries, and should do more.

5. The U.S. should make it even more difficult for the Arab countries to buy U.S. weapons to enable Israel to cut its military budget. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"Egypt and Jordan must choose between support for the Palestine Liberation Organization and peace with Israel... the two are incompatible."

Yitzhak Shamir
Israeli Foreign Minister
Los Angeles Times
6 December 1984

"The Labor Party has rejected all peace proposals... The government of 'National Paralysis' is leading the nation into a new war... There are many new things in the East. However, the world of the government of 'National Unity' remains unchanged. There is an opportunity and a hope for peace, however the Labor Party is about to miss this opportunity again."

Yossi Sarid
Israeli Knesset Debate
Sawt al-Bilad
12 December 1984

"Anyone who cannot live in Eretz-Israel with Arabs will not be able to live in it without them, either. In simpler terms, a State of Israel in which Arabs can't live will not survive, for it will have no right to exist."

Amos Kenan
Yedi'ot Aharonot
9 September 1984



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