

# Palestine Focus

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NOVEMBER—DECEMBER 1985

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## Two Women under Military Occupation Absent from Nairobi

By John Masterson

Sameeha Khalil should not have been here! So it was with a tragic sense of the irony inherent in our good luck that we sat in her office in El-Bireh, twin city to Ramallah in the West Bank in the territories under Israeli occupation, this the 11th of July 1985.

Um Khalil, as she is called, is the biological mother of five children but far better

eloquent Palestinian women was a story of steadfast courage and ingenuity—the creation of self-reliant social, cultural, and economic institutions under a military occupation which has brought about the destruction of indigenous social structures by the replacement of a traditional civil legal system with a set of military regulations numbering over twelve hundred.

Of particular interest to the Nairobi conference, these institutions had largely been created by women and served principally the needs of women and their children in a land where most men would serve time in political prisons and, when freed, be drawn from their communities to serve the day-labor needs of the Israeli economy.

Sameeha Khalil was forced to flee her home in Mejda in the Gaza Strip in 1948 as Israeli forces occupied the town. She stated that, while she never accepted the U.N. partition of her land in 1947, done without consulting her people, she has turned her thoughts from what military power prevents her from doing to what she is capable of doing herself.

I have always had three slogans I live by," she said, stating two of them immediately for us. "First, it is better to light one candle every day than cry in the darkness a hundred years. Second, the word 'impossible' is nonexistent when the human will is liberated from despair and hesitation."

The third slogan was the cornerstone of what she was later to create. It had been formed in her mind in 1948, but she could not act upon it until her existence became more settled. She stated it this way: "We can use the thoughts, time, and money of our own people."

She did not want handouts. When her husband later became a director of UNRWA (United Nations' Relief and Work Agency),



John Masterson

Um Khalil

known in the West Bank as the spiritual mother of the movement to keep alive Palestinian culture and self-reliance.

She had been invited by the NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) Planning Committee of the United Nations to attend the International Conference of the Decade for Women in Nairobi as a resource person. She sat and spoke with us instead; the Nairobi conference had already started and would take place without her. She spoke in faultless English of the things she would have spoken of at Nairobi—the women's society called In'ash El-Usra which she

her anger only increased. "Why do they feed us," she asked, "but give no support for our return to our homes?"

When, in 1965, she had established a relatively stable existence at El-Bireh, she decided to put her slogans to work. With six women, she started her Society In'ash El-Usra. "I didn't want to be a beggar any more, from anyone," she stated, as she described her earliest efforts—a simple program to teach illiterate girls to embroider and sew. "We started," she continued, "with eight girls and one secondhand sewing machine. Two years later there were 42 girls."

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Israel's "Iron Fist" in Ramallah after killing of Israeli soldier, February 1985.

Anat Saragusti/HaOlam HaZeh

### Editorial:

## Israel's Iron Fist Gets Boost from Reagan

The Middle East has once again grabbed the headlines with a vengeance. Israel's raid on the Palestine Liberation Organization's Tunis headquarters, the hijacking of the Achille Lauro, and direct U.S. military intervention against an Egyptian airliner over the Mediterranean are only the sensational acts which have focused the media's attention on the region once again.

But these dramatic events did not arise out of a political vacuum. Events had been approaching boiling point for some time. Underlying these recent developments is an all-out campaign to discredit the PLO and eliminate it from any political role and an increasing assault on Palestinians living under Israeli rule.

In order to cynically manufacture public support for this coordinated campaign against the Palestinian people, the Reagan administration, amplified by the media, has deliberately whipped up war hysteria and anti-Arab racism in the United States. The bomb assassination of Alex Odeh, regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, in the organization's southern California headquarters is so far the most tragic and visible result.

Unfortunately, the Western media often minimizes or ignores the real roots of these events. But without getting to the heart of the matter, the seemingly endless cycle of violence in the Middle East can hardly be understood, let alone ended.

### The Iron Fist

Repression of Palestinians living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has recently intensified by deliberate decision of the joint Labor-Likud Israeli government. Measures which had been discontinued under the former Likud government, such as deportation and administrative detention, have been revived by the military government led by Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Closings of universities and newspapers have become more frequent. Many towns are under 24-hour curfew for days and weeks at a time. Demolitions of homes of those *accused*—not even waiting for convictions—of resistance activities have increased.

As part of a brutal psychological warfare campaign, collective humiliation and harassment have become commonplace. Entire villages are forced to stand outside for hours with their arms held high in the air. Men are stripped naked or forced into humiliating acts with animals by soldiers and settlers. Land confiscation has also increased; high government officials have recently been implicated in massive land fraud schemes, exposed only when Israelis were victimized.

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**"It is better to light one candle every day than cry in the darkness a hundred years."—Um Khalil**

started twenty years ago in order to recreate a Palestinian society on the rubble of a refugee existence. On July 3rd her attorney, Raja Shehadeh, had informed her that an Israeli Legal Advisor of the Military Government had denied her a permit to travel.

Several days later, we sat in Gaza with the equally remarkable Yusra Barbary, founder and leader of the Palestine Women's Union (PWU). It had been founded a year earlier than In'ash El-Usra, in 1964, and its goals and accomplishments mirrored in the Gaza Strip what Um Khalil had created in the West Bank. She, too, had been denied a permit to travel by the Israeli military authorities.

What was not heard at Nairobi from these

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# November 29th: Palestine and World Opinion

In 1979 the United Nations General Assembly declared November 29th as the Day of International Solidarity with the Palestinian people. On that date in 1947 the United Nations passed the partition plan which sought to resolve the conflict in Palestine by creating two states, one predominantly Jewish and the other Arab.

In the ensuing 37 years, Israel was established, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were driven out of their homeland during warfare and have been forbidden to return, and Israel has expanded to occupy the rest of Palestine and militarily dominate the region.

The 1979 vote to observe November 29th as a day of international solidarity marked a watershed: after three decades, the plight of the Palestinian people had achieved worldwide attention. This declaration was not an isolated gesture; it was part of a trend sweeping through world opinion. No longer were Palestinians considered only as refugees. At last they were recognized as a people with national rights that must be addressed for real peace to be achieved. Support for an independent Palestinian state came from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe. In this context, the Palestine Liberation Organization gained official observer status within the world body—an achievement won by the persistence of the Pales-

tinian resistance.

In declaring a day of international solidarity, world public opinion recognized that the rights of the Palestinian people are still violated, particularly their right to self-determination. Palestinians remain dispossessed, a people without a homeland.

Indeed, Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation has gained the support of the entire world for the justice of its cause and its desire for peace—with two glaring exceptions, the United States and Israel.

World public opinion recognizes that Israel is occupying and colonizing Arab people's land—Israel even proudly asserts it—yet, the Reagan administration and Congress have voted to increase aid to Israel for 1986 to \$4.5 billion, without imposing any limitations on the use of these funds. Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights and its continuing occupation of southern Lebanon are all patently illegal according to Geneva conventions and other declarations of international law.

The United Nations has proposed an international conference for comprehensive peace negotiations, a conference which would include the PLO, Israel, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Yet, both Israel and the United States stand out in op-

position, blocking all reasonable attempts for peace.

While repeated United Nations General Assembly resolutions have recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," Israel and the United States categorically reject the PLO, preferring to "settle" the Palestinian question without the Palestinians. Rejecting any comprehensive approach, the United States aggressively pursues its Camp David strategy as an alternative. The Camp David agreements proposed that the Egyptian regime should negotiate for the Palestinian people. The Reagan plan today—an extension of the same approach—asks King Hussein to speak for the Palestinians, once again bypassing the role of the PLO. In other words, the rejection of any independent Palestinian entity is built into the process.

Their rights have been violated for decades—by military occupation, expulsion, and massacres: all condemned by international law. Yet Palestinians are still smeared as "terrorists" by the media and official policymakers. A few isolated acts of violence are sensationalized by the media, while the pain of thousands of

victims of Israeli bombings in refugee camps is ignored. Palestinians who want to live in their homeland in peace are labeled as "extremists," while racist demands to expel all Palestinians from their lands with violence are tolerated as permissible dissent.

However, despite decades of misinformation, Americans are beginning to respond: opinion polls regularly show that American public opinion is far more open to the need for Palestinian rights and for an independent Palestinian state than official U.S. policy. In this light, the recent fanning of anti-Arab racism and war fever by President Reagan during the Achille Lauro hijacking can be seen as an effort to prevent Americans from examining U.S. policy in the Middle East too closely. It is precisely during difficult times such as these that solidarity for the Palestinian people must be voiced.

One antidote to hysteria is information. The bare historical facts are partisan to the Palestinian cause. The worldwide commemoration of November 29th reminds us that we can oppose the psychological manipulations of our government and media. Solidarity with the Palestinian people can be built in North America; it can and it will. □

## FOCUS On Action

By Steve Goldfield

On October 11, 1985, Alex Odeh, the southern California regional coordinator of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), was killed and seven others, in nearby but unrelated offices, wounded in a bomb blast at the ADC office in Santa Ana, California. In August, the ADC office in Boston was bombed; a policeman was injured in the blast. ADC offices around the country have been receiving death threats along with hate-filled phone messages. The national office of the November 29th Committee for Palestine immediately issued a statement condemning the vicious bombing and calling for a full investigation by local and federal authorities and vigorous prosecution of the perpetrators.

The November 29th Committee for Palestine has also received phoned-in death threats and insults at our national office in San Francisco. The bombings and threats result from the hysterical anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab campaign waged by the U.S. government through the media. This campaign is designed to silence those who continue to challenge the policies of the U.S. government and the Israeli government in the Middle East. But as our statement concludes, "We will not be silenced. Our best defense is to redouble our own efforts to educate American public opinion."

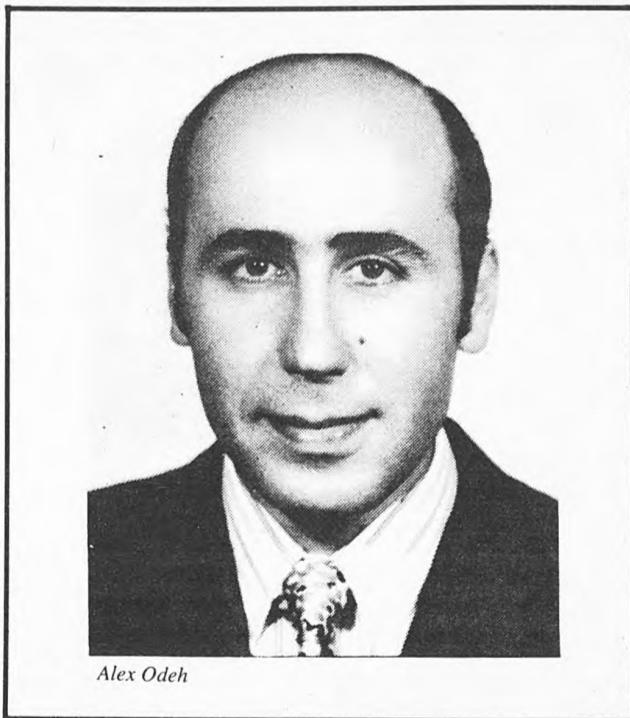
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Now, especially, all those who support democratic rights and stand against fascism in Israel and the United States must join to oppose hatemongers such as Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the terrorist group, the Jewish Defense League, and prominent leader of the Israeli fascist movement. As we went to press, Kahane was beginning another multicity tour to form chapters and raise money. Kahane will be met with demonstrations wherever he goes. Late word is that Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, personally responsible for the "Iron Fist" policy in southern Lebanon, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank, is coming in late November. It appears that Kahane is Rabin's advance man, or perhaps we should call him a stalking horse.

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Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr., who represents

the 13th District in Michigan, spent seven days in the Middle East recently. His September 13, 1985 press release stated that "his recent trip to the Middle East has convinced him that a system of apartheid exists on the West Bank and Gaza under the Israeli military occupation."



Alex Odeh

Congressman Crockett stated: "Here in the Congress we are fighting against South Africa's repressive measures and yet closing our eyes to the institutional repression and the brutality that is being daily conducted against the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories. We are looking the other way because Israel, like South Africa, is white and is a friend and ally."

Mr. Crockett, who is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, also said that "peace will never be realized so long as we allow Israel to pursue the kinds of regional policies that she has been implementing for the past eighteen years in the West Bank and Gaza. If a just solution is not found to the Palestinian question very soon, one which allows self-government and a homeland for the Palestinian diaspora, then the United States will be inexorably dragged into another and far more violent Middle East quagmire." The Congressman's statement concludes, "The United States must speak out for a comprehensive peace settlement and for an immediate end to the repressive measures against the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories."

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In response to the emergency situation described by Congressman Crockett, The November 29th Committee

for Palestine has called for national demonstrations on November 21 against the "Iron Fist" policy of the Israeli government and has invited other organizations to join us.

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Israeli military occupation authorities closed down the Palestinian newspaper *al-Darb* on September 30. For the first time, Israeli journalists joined Palestinians in protesting the closure. We sent the following telegram to be read at the October 1 demonstration: "The November 29th Committee for Palestine/Palestine Focus protests the closure of *al-Darb* by the Israeli government in its growing campaign of repression against the Palestinian people."

We also sent a telegram to the PLO regarding the Israeli raid on Tunis. It read: "The November 29th Committee for Palestine condemns the barbaric Israeli raid on Tunis and reaffirms our support for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

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Sabra and Shatila: The Palestine Solidarity Committee in Portland, Oregon (a chapter of the November 29th Committee for Palestine) held a memorial event, including a slide show, for Sabra and Shatila in September. The San Francisco chapter held a similar event in October. In Sacramento, several groups, including the November 29th Committee for Palestine, Sacramento Peace Center, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, General Union of Palestine Students, and others commemorated the massacre with a cedar-tree planting ceremony.

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Anti-Apartheid Activities: The November 29th Committee for Palestine's Chicago chapter is working on the steering committee of the city-wide Free South Africa coalition and had a speaker at the October 12 anti-Apartheid action in Chicago. Our New York chapter participated in a October 11 demonstration. A spirited Middle East contingent marched in the October 12 anti-Apartheid demonstration in Oakland, California where a representative of the General Union of Palestine Students spoke.

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November 29th Committee for Palestine National Chair Steve Goldfield was invited by the General Union of Palestine Students to Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge to lecture on Zionism as part of a series of forums on the Middle East sponsored by the local chapter of Amnesty International. Midwest Regional Coordinator Camille Odeh spoke at a reportback on the Nairobi women's conference in Chicago. National Director Jeanne Butterfield spoke at similar reportback events in Boston and New York.

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# You Can Be Part of Palestine Focus

**A**s a reader of *Palestine Focus*, you know what an effective tool it can be to present an alternative perspective on the Palestinian issue and on U.S. policy toward the Middle East to large numbers of people who need that perspective.

There are still far too few Americans who have even a basic understanding of the root issues of justice and peace in the Middle East. Those of us who do understand share a special responsibility. All of us must become teachers, daring to persuade the American public that our government's Middle East policy is dead wrong.

Today, the movement for Palestinian rights is growing and building the basis for a long-term challenge to domination of anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab views over American political life. Whether you are a friend, a supporter, or an active organizer, you can join this historic movement. Your contribution can help maintain *Palestine Focus* as a catalyst in the process of change. Financial assistance is one important way to make a strong statement of support for Palestinian rights. Consider the comments printed on this page and then consider how much you can give. We appreciate your generosity.

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"*Palestine Focus* is an excellent and informative newsletter on the Palestine question. It makes an extremely important contribution—especially to the progressive and peace groups in this country, that all too often ignore the Palestinian issue."

—**Cheryl Rubenberg**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Florida International University

"It places the Palestine question within its larger context of world liberation struggles. This is part of reality, and it is essential that it be reflected in the analysis."—**Muhammad Hallaj**, Director, Palestine Research and Educational Center

"*Palestine Focus* continues to be a fabulous contribution to the cause. And I must say, it is the best newsletter published in the

U.S. on Palestinians."—**Rev. Don Wagner**, National Director, Palestine Human Rights Campaign

"*Palestine Focus* has become a first-rate newspaper. We've needed a paper of this caliber on Palestine—and now we've got it."

—**James Zogby**, Arab-American Institute

"*Palestine Focus* remains an important source of factual information and objective commentary, not only on the day-to-day aspects of the central conflict, but locates the issue in its broader international context."

—**Richard P. Stevens**, Adjunct Professor of Government, Georgetown University

"*Palestine Focus* is a courageous publication which addresses a broad range of issues related to the Palestine question. It is a reliable source of information and analysis for all those concerned with the conflict."

—**Omar Kader**, Executive Director, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

"Salute! to *Palestine Focus* for answering questions rarely asked—but which should be—about the Middle East's central and most obdurate problem. In highly readable style it puts into perspective the events, usually too glibly reported in TV one-liners or incoherent, simplistic reportage of conventional newspapers. In my own work I find its knowledgeable expositions of the 'why's' to be valuable contributions to understanding the 'what's.'"—**Rabbi Elmer Berger**, President, American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism

"For those who contribute to the struggle against Zionism inside and outside of Palestine and who support the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, *Palestine Focus* is an important forum for information and publication and one of the pillars of Palestine solidarity work in the United States."—**Dr. Uri Davis**

"Its unique blend of expert analysis and unbiased comprehensive coverage of contemporary Palestinian developments makes it indispensable for anyone who is seriously concerned with the question of Palestine."—**Naseer Aruri**, Professor of Political Science, Southeastern Massachusetts University

"*Palestine Focus* is a first-rate source of information and commentary about developments around the Israel/Palestine conflict and about U.S. policy in the Middle

East. It is partisan in the best sense of the word and provides a badly needed perspective of solidarity with the struggle for Palestinian rights."—**Joe Stork**, Editor, *MERIP Reports*

"*Palestine Focus* meets the ultimate test: I met a man at an event who told me he hadn't done anything political in 20 years but came out that evening because he had been handed a *Palestine Focus* on the street. I was impressed."—**Jane Hunter**, Editor, *Israeli Foreign Affairs*

"In an environment where honest, accurate, and forthright news and comment on the Middle East and Palestine are nearly impossible to obtain, *Palestine Focus* stands out as a beacon of accuracy, wisdom, and integrity. It is indispensable."—**Mark Solomon**, Cochair, U.S. Peace Council and Professor of History, Simmons College

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## Israel Divided...

Continued from page 8

shaking hands with Palestinians as a cause of opposition to Kahane. Let us begin again with a real incident which repeats itself again not only in the speeches of Kahane but of many rabbis who are supporting him.

After so many years of dependency on America, everything American is popular and sacred in Israel. So, suppose one asks Kahane or one of his rabbis in a public meeting in Israel, why do you oppose democracy in America? (Not in Israel, I will come to democracy in Israel: he is against democracy in principle.) The answers of such people, given many times, are that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were not signed by any single Jewish person, they were actually signed only by non-Jews. This nobody can deny.

Therefore, it follows in their type of thinking—which you have to understand also in order to combat it—that first of all,

to use a term very similar to one employed here thirty years ago, they constitute un-Jewish documents. The second step would be for such people, and especially rabbis, who like this linguistic analysis, to point out that the word "democracy" is Greek. And the Greeks were heathens, they were worshipping idols. They point to the festival of Hanukah in which Jews had at a certain time a very strong religious conflict with Greeks. And they point to further developments of democracy which were not Jewish developments. And then they say that whatever does not have deep roots—the word "root" is, I think, very suggestive—in Jewish traditions and in Jewish history—which can therefore be described as un-Jewish—cannot be possibly good. Only things which have been Jewish historically for two thousand and three thousand years can possibly be accepted by Jews.

**F**or people who are believers in Jewish orthodoxy, this will be a very powerful argument. Second, such an argument will reach people who are influenced by the newer Israeli or Hebrew education of the last fifteen or twenty years in order to serve as a justification for occupa-

tion. You can, for example, connect the support for Kahane with the famous expression, "Judea and Samaria" as referring to the West Bank. The expression "Judea and Samaria" was promoted officially in order to say to certain types of people, Jewish and Christian fundamentalists, that if the Bible says by employing those two terms that this land in the Bible was promised to Jews, then this is so, although the rest of the world doesn't recognize it.

If you employ this form of argument, you reinforce in a certain part of Jewish opinion the idea that everything which was not Jewish from Biblical times continuously must necessarily be bad. And this argument continues. The argument with Jewish extremism is, for example, about the question of Hebrew theater. Obviously, theater in Yiddish or in Hebrew is a very modern institution. It was imitative. It was a sign of assimilation, another key word which is emphasized by them as a great sin. You can come from this to oppose classical music and not only classical music which is specifically Christian. Actually, many rabbis have said this summer that since Beethoven was not Jewish, this is by itself sufficient that you should not hear him.

Therefore, the rise of Jewish extremism—I am purposely changing my terms and using the term "Jewish extremism"—demands and points to a possible change in lifestyle of the majority of Israelis. Not only theater and classical music, but using a car to go swimming in the sea. According to Jewish orthodoxy, this is a mortal sin. Another example is giving any election rights to women.

Here we can give examples not only from Kahane. Of course, Kahane is against rights for women. But I will tell you a story of another party which is not as extreme as Kahane on Palestinians but is equally extreme about Jews. A party called Agudat Israel, a non-Zionist orthodox party, is now supporting settlements in occupied territories and built for itself and its own settlers a town in the West Bank called Emmanuel. Families who settle in their town have to sign an undertaking that women of those families will not require the right to vote in municipal elections and actually this was carried out. There were municipal elections in this town a year ago and women voluntarily abstained because they consider that it is a sin to vote. □

(to be continued)

# Censorship in t

This interview with two editors of *Al-Fajr* publications was recorded by the National Lawyers Guild delegation in Jerusalem, December 1984/January 1985.

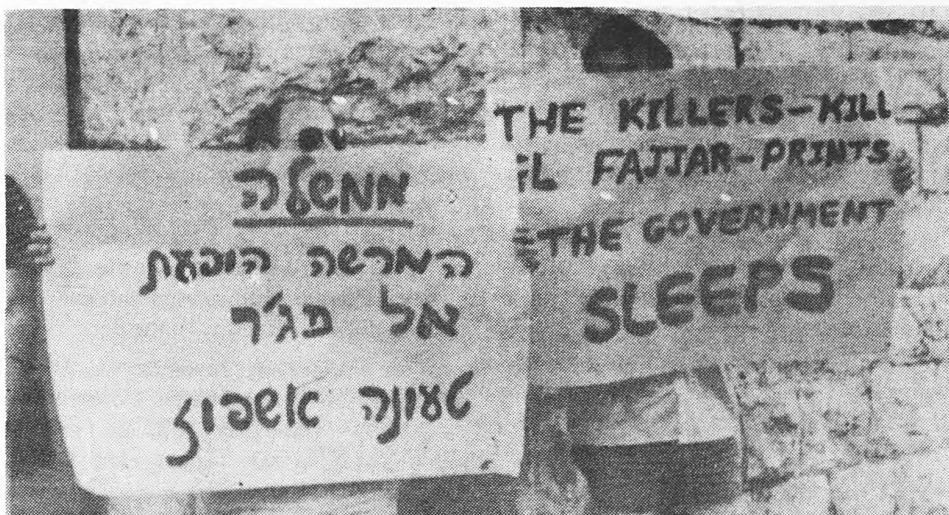
We started *al-Fajr* around April 1972. We started as an Arabic weekly, and progressed up to 1974 also as a twice weekly. At that time, this used to be the home of the founder of the paper, Mr. Joseph Nasser, the first editor of the paper. On February 4, 1974 he was kidnapped from this very place. When he returned home around midnight of February 4—he had just finished the weekly edition of the Arabic paper—he came home and since that day he disappeared.

We know that he was kidnapped. There was one Palestinian who was convicted of kidnapping Mr. Nasser, but neither Mr. Nasser himself or his body ever appeared again, although from our own private sources, we knew that the night he was kidnapped he was taken to Hebron and killed over there and his body was left somewhere that the Israeli authorities know about but they haven't uncovered. According to our information, they also took part in the kidnapping indirectly through Palestinian hands, Palestinians who are similar to the present Village league people, the alternative leadership that the Israelis are trying to create to replace the PLO. Even today an item appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* which says the deputy foreign minister of Israel, Mr. Ulmer, has declared that this was a failure in Israeli policy similar to the failure that they had in the Sharon policy of trying to eradicate the Palestinian leadership by invading Lebanon in 1982.

Now we return to the censorship of the Palestinian press. As soon as things were arranged in *al-Fajr* house to keep the voice,

because we call *al-Fajr* the voice of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories—we try to reflect the aspirations, the thinking of the Palestinians inside and outside by reflecting here what they think and publishing it and at the same time taking from Palesti-

tributed in the occupied territories. It's legal to distribute English *al-Fajr* in Jerusalem. If you carry an issue of English *al-Fajr* into the West Bank or the Gaza Strip, you are liable to be jailed for six months.



Israeli settlers demonstrate for closure of *al-Fajr*. Another newspaper, *al-Darb* was closed October 1, 1985.

nian literature outside and publishing it in the occupied territories.

In April of 1980 also we started the English edition of *al-Fajr*. The English edition is not similar to the Arabic edition. It has only one page which is a window on the Arab press, which we take from *al-Fajr* and other Palestinian papers. Most of the other material is either original in *al-Fajr* newspapers or, because many of our studies are completely censored out, we take things similar to what we want to publish from the Hebrew press.

Because of the severe censorship, *al-Fajr* English, which has a policy of publishing from the Hebrew press without submission to the censor, is still banned from being dis-

Mostly the censors would like to obliterate the thought of Palestinian nationality. They don't like us to express this nationality; they would like to suppress it because they would recognize us as an Arab minority and not as a Palestinian people. Many times they will take the word "Palestinian" and put "Arabic" instead of "Palestinian."

Just to give you an example. Last week four items were tampered with somehow. One was about al-Aqsa [mosque in Jerusalem], the Dome of the Rock. The whole article was taken out, totally censored. It was about the harassment and the attempts to undermine the whole building, as stated by the officials of the Islamic

Waqf.

To give you an idea of what they have taken of the story about agriculture, specifically about bananas, produced in the Jordan valley. The very first sentence, where it says "Palestine's natural agricultural wealth has always made it an attractive target for colonial powers." That specific sentence was dangerous for the security of the state and it was taken out.

They have also taken out almost the whole ending of the article. It talks about how the Israelis are interested in changing the whole produce to suit their own industries and how they are interfering in the banana crop in this case. This is one of the partially censored items, and if you read it in our paper, you will see that whatever was taken out doesn't appear in the paper.

We tried to use certain graphics in place of the item that was censored, and we were instructed, after using it five or six times, not to use it. Then we invented the dotted lines to replace the censored material. Then, again, after a year they instructed us not to use it. Now we keep two lines of blank space, almost, just to give an idea to our reader that this is not how we wrote the article, and if he understands it, fine.

When our editorial disappears, we put "apologies." We are not allowed to put blank space so we had to do something and maybe soon they will also prevent us from using that. It is our policy to show that there is censorship, and that is why we put "Apologies." We can write another editorial, but otherwise people will not feel that there is any censorship.

The censor is a branch of the military, the Israeli Defense Force, a colonel. It's an office in West Jerusalem in the Beit Hagrom building. It's called the military censorship, and it's supposed only to censor things con-

## Tawfiq Zayyad, Mayor of Nazareth

# "We breathe discrimination the way a human being breathes air."

Tawfiq Zayyad is one of the foremost Palestinian poets, the mayor of the City of Nazareth in the Galilee, and a member of the Israeli Knesset from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality list. The speech (a summary translated from Arabic by the United Nations) and Palestine Focus interview excerpted here are both from the September 1985 International NGO Conference on Palestine in Geneva.

The latest American assault, which is being stepped up over recent months, is very far removed from being a peace initiative. Its real aim is to impose a liquidation of the Palestinian issue, and of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people to national sovereignty. It is being conducted on the basis of the official declared American position (the Reagan plan), which is based on rejection of the principle of withdrawal to the 1967 borders, rejection of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination, and an independent state, and rejection of recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people. At the least, it is conducted with a view to harnessing the PLO to the American position and depleting it of all Palestinian national content, thereby widening the split in the organization and aggravating its internal difficulties.

American timing is based on the difficulties facing the Palestinian people and the PLO as a result of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. The American (and Israeli) precondition for those Palestinians participating in the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation is that they should be "acceptable," in other words, that they should, in practice, be appointed by the United States and be acceptable

to the government of Israel. This implies a violation of the principle that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and opens a breach for the potential elimination of the legitimate leadership of the Palestinian Arab people recognized at the Palestinian, Arab, and international levels. Accordingly, the foundations are being laid for the implementation of the second phase of the Camp David design (the Reagan plan), this time by making use of the Jordanian regime and admitting it as a formal participant along with other Arab leaders who are sympathetic to the United States and to its strategic designs in the region and are endeavoring to increase pressure on the PLO. The Camp David agreements did not bring peace and did not resolve the Palestinian issue, which is the essence of the crisis, but were an invitation to a new war (that in Lebanon); a Camp David II would also be an invitation to future wars.

Reference must be made, with particular gravity, to the fact that the United States and Israel are using the so-called "peace initiative" or "peace process" referred to in order to cover up a number of matters of extreme seriousness: coverup of the continued Israeli occupation of parts of southern Lebanon, directly by Israeli forces and indirectly through the intermediary of the mercenary Antoine Lahad forces, and of the sabotage activity of Israeli lackeys inside Lebanon; coverup of preparations for a new war against Syria in order to open the way for the complete subjugation of the Middle East; coverup of Israel's involvement in schemes of the United States beyond the Palestinian issue and beyond the Middle East region, as seen in the strategic cooperation agreement, Israeli readiness to take part in Star Wars, nuclear-weapon production

programs, etc., in the belief that the United States will gain ascendancy internationally and in the Middle East and that the Soviet Union and the national liberation movements, in general, will be weakened by the success of Israeli schemes and expansionist ambitions.

There is no essential qualitative difference between the two major parties making up the Israeli government, the Ma'arakh (Labor) and the Likud. The differences are tactical and matters of outward form. Complete agreement exists on the three Israeli no's: no withdrawal to the 1967 borders; no right to self-determination and an independent state for the Palestinian Arab people; no recognition of the PLO. This makes Israel the only rejectionist state in the region. The continued settlement activity, the stepping up of the "Iron Fist" policy, and occupation-related oppression in the occupied territories are destructive not only for the Palestinian Arab people, but for the Israeli people and its national interests.

The solution, a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace, is possible only on the basis of withdrawal from all the areas occupied in 1967, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and an independent state, and recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This solution is based on the resolutions and covenants of the United Nations, which prohibit the acquisition of the territory of others by force of arms. What is needed is a balance of power, both internationally and within the region, and an objective outlook which does not permit the imposition of an unjust "settlement," as the experience of continued wars over 37 years (particularly that of the Lebanon war of 1982) has proved. International experience (that of the Vietnamese, Cuban,

# The West Bank

cerning the security of the state and against army movement. There are two types of censorship: one specifically for the Palestinian press and the other for the Hebrew press. For the Hebrew press, they only send the materials which I imagine concern security and army movement. But we, the Palestinian press, are asked to send everything, even a letter, that we print.

For the English weekly, we have to submit everything up to printing time. For the daily paper, we usually prepare 25 to 30 percent more material, and we send throughout the day from 2 in the afternoon until almost midnight when we go to press. So, since we are not allowed to leave blank spaces, many times we come out in Arabic without editorials, so we put the word "Natathir" there which means "apologize." But we put it once. We must use the other space to put other stories in.

The stories are normally delayed for 24 hours for the weekly; for the daily paper it is usually 2 to 3 hours. Sometimes a story which is killed the first night is not important to publish the next day; it's not a news item after it appears on TV, for example. Many of the items censored here, the people can still hear on the TV station in Amman and usually the foreign press relay the stories to the wire services. The wire services will carry them and then they are broadcast in Amman. And yet, though it happens here in Jerusalem or in the West Bank, we cannot report this.

Let me say that when the censorship regulations were introduced back in 1945 they were made by the British against whomever was in Palestine then, Zionist or non-Zionist, including us Palestinians. Maybe it was effective because communication in the world was somehow restricted. If people could not read something in Britain, then

they would not hear that item until a year later.

Now, with the new mass communications in the world, where people can hear what goes on in the States in the second hour, I don't believe that they really think this is effective. Because people still can hear whatever news item is being restricted by the censor. That's why we now believe that it's more of a harassment procedure against Palestinian papers rather than actually restricting the news item.

And the harassment doesn't stop just at censorship. They have a more effective way of harassing us. The English paper is intended for the international public; we don't mind if it is not distributed in the West Bank

this court order. It happened earlier when there were disturbances in the West Bank. And they stopped us from distributing for periods of sometimes up to six months.

The high court is in a dilemma. If they rule for us, censorship would be lost as a tool of the Israeli government to harass us. If they rule against us, it is a precedent that can be used against the Hebrew press. For over three years this case has been in the high court with no ruling. The court is trying to arrange a gentlemen's agreement between the paper and the censor. They want to settle it out of court because they don't want the precedent. If they rule for us, the Israeli government would lose a very good tool for keeping us under their thumb.

keep it up in the air.

The paper is confiscated. Also, many times even in the cities, every military governor is a law unto himself. If he doesn't like a news item, he can send his soldiers to the distributing point in the city and confiscate the issues. At the same time, they also have another weapon. The English and Arabic papers were closed twice. Once for a period of ten days. The next time for a whole month. We weren't allowed to publish at all. This was said because we published a cartoon in the English paper. Actually the Arabic paper didn't have anything to do with it. But because both of them are called *al-Fajr*, they were both closed at one stroke. In that cartoon, we showed a Palestinian boy with a small stone trying to burst the balloon of the Village League which we depicted as a balloon. And for that the entire paper was closed for a whole month.

At the same time we have restrictions against the journalists themselves. We have from *al-Fajr* English one person who is not allowed to go into the West Bank. We have from *al-Fajr* Arabic two people under town restrictions, one of them in Tulkarim—not even in Tulkarim, in a small village next to Tulkarim, and another one in Sa'ir, a village next to Hebron. The man from Tulkarim has been prevented from coming to work for the past two and a half years. And our man from Sa'ir has not been allowed to work for the third consecutive six-month period because the town restrictions are given at six-month periods. □

***"Every military governor is a law unto himself. If he doesn't like a news item, he can send his soldiers to confiscate the issues."***

or the Gaza Strip. But for the Arabic paper, when they prevent us from distributing in the Gaza Strip or the West Bank, it means we are losing 90 percent of our readers and our advertisement revenue. And this is more damaging than the censorship. This happens quite often. It happened for three months during the 1982 invasion in Lebanon. We had to go to the high court and in July 1982 we were allowed to distribute by court order. The military has, to date, still not answered the high court, and we are distributing in the occupied territories through

Because of the constant harassment, prevention of distribution in the occupied territories, we try to be cooperative in saying that we will agree to a gentlemen's agreement if we are allowed the same leeway as the Hebrew press, that we can publish everything that happens in the occupied territories except things that would endanger security, i.e., military information. The military government in the West Bank doesn't agree to this. What we try to publish in our paper would hurt foremost the military government in the occupied territories. So they



and Algerian questions and of dozens of other national liberation causes) demonstrates that it is not possible in our time to solve national issues by military might, but only on the basis of the principle of the right to self-determination.

### The Question of the International Conference

The entire discussion of the international conference (under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States, Israel, the PLO, and the other states concerned) is a discussion of whether there is to be a just solution or an unjust solution. All those who reject the international conference reject a just solution and seek to impose the liquidation of the rights of the Palestinian people to national sovereignty and the exclusion of the Soviet Union and the PLO. All those who desire a just, comprehensive, and lasting solution see the international conference as the framework for its achievement.

The international responsibility is a direct one. The conflict involved in the Palestinian issue cannot be removed from the general context of international relations. Conflagration and outbreaks of hostilities cannot always be contained within the Middle East. The Middle East issue (with a war every three to four years) may lead to an international eruption or one extending beyond the Middle East.

Accordingly, in present circumstances, the international conference is an appropriate framework, or rather

the only framework, for reaching a just solution which is also accompanied by assured guarantees for the future. The latest statements made by Reagan, Peres, and King Hussein on their conception of the international conference demonstrate that they seek an "international conference" that will be an umbrella, a rubber stamp, and an international endorsement of a liquidationist settlement of the right of the Palestinians to national sovereignty, of the realization by Israel of territorial acquisitions and of a settlement reached by them in advance.

**T**he statements in question were, nevertheless, made as a pro forma retreat in the face of the international campaign of pressure conducted by the

United Nations and its member states, by world public opinion, and by all the forces that truly desire a just, comprehensive, and lasting settlement. At the same time, caution should be used against any illusions created by this merely formal retreat. The idea of the international conference is taking firm root among such extensive international circles that the United States and Israel cannot ignore them and are resorting to stratagems against them. This shows the need to intensify the international pressure exerted by the United Nations, its member states, the peace-loving states, and the forces of rationality on the rulers of the United States and of Israel as a strategic framework for bringing about a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace in the Middle East.

**PF:** How has the rise of Kahanism affected Palestinians living within Israel at the present time?

**TZ:** Nazareth is the biggest Arab town inside Israel; it's population is more than fifty-five thousand people. The overwhelming majority of people work outside the town because of the lack of factories, and they work in Jewish-owned places of work. Now unemployment is rising intensively—it's over 20 percent—because we don't have local industrial projects.

This is a result of the Israeli policy not only toward Nazareth but toward also toward the other Arab towns and villages. Since the establishment of the state of Israel, the official policy toward its Arab citizens was—and still is—a policy based on racism and on national discrimination. I can say we breathe national discrimination like the way a human being breathes air in all spheres of life.

This is expressed mainly in the process of confiscation of the lands which belong to the Arab citizens of the state of Israel. And this process of confiscation of land is continuous all the time. Another thing is discrimination against Arab municipalities. The governmental budgets given to Arab municipalities are not more than 25 percent of the Jewish towns or villages. In education we suffer from a shortage of school buildings. There are about three thousand classrooms for seven hundred thousand people. And we suffer in all spheres of life.

**I** believe that this anti-Arab policy has been the basis for the rise of Kahanism, which is the worst kind of Israeli racism against the Arabs. Kahanism is not the only form of racism. All the policies are racist policies; and, thanks to these policies, Kahane could rise—and not only Kahane. During the last year, for the first time, there are many groups, committees, associations of racists, which remind me of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States. They attack Arabs and call openly for expelling Arab citizens from Israel.

Kahanism is rising in a very dangerous way in the last year. Last year he got enough votes for one member of the Knesset, but the newspapers report that if the election happened today Kahane would have eleven. This is terrible. But the whole process inside the country is going to the right. Inside even the Labor Party, the characteristic process is to the right, the same inside the Likud; and the extremists are becoming even more extreme than before. Our people are united against this policy. We believe that the struggle against racism and national oppression is a Jewish-Arab struggle, and we are working hand in hand with Jewish democratic forces inside the country. But, in general, the situation is very hard and getting harder and harder and more complicated. But we are doing our best to strengthen our unity, to strengthen our struggle inside the government, inside the Israeli Knesset, and in all other frameworks. □

## Nairobi...

Continued from page 1

When, in 1965, she had established a relatively stable existence at El-Bireh, she decided to put her slogans to work. With six women, she started her Society In'ash El-Usra. "I didn't want to be a beggar any more, from anyone," she stated, as she described her earliest efforts—a simple program to teach illiterate girls to embroider and sew. "We started," she continued, "with eight girls and one secondhand sewing

At this point she insisted that we follow her into another room of the sprawling center. "You must," she said, "see the work of my girls." And, opening several drawers, she showed us exquisitely hand-embroidered tablecloths, napkins, and pillow cases. It became quite clear that quality was one element in the success of her work.

The story of Yusra Barbary is similar and her accomplishments no less impressive. Starting with a single center in 1964 in the city of Gaza, serving largely needy women and orphans, three more centers were later added: at Khan Younis in 1969, Rafah in 1972, and Beit Hanoun in 1981. Three additional centers are in the planning stages.



John Masterson

Yusra Barbary

machine. Two years later there were 42 girls."

In a quiet voice, betraying none of the pride she must have felt in the society's achievements, she told us, "We now have 350 trainees involved in sewing, weaving, machine embroidery, and secretarial training." Graduates of the school now number nine thousand in the West Bank and four thousand in the Gaza Strip. Because the skills taught are production-oriented, almost all of her graduates are employed.

Faced with the problem of supporting her school financially, Um Khalil decided to extend the school's production to the neighboring towns where such skills abounded among the many refugees from various parts of Palestine. She sought out women known to be skilled in the arts of weaving and embroidery.

Today, the society has two thousand women producing woven and embroidered goods selling at 100 percent profit over cost of production. She is not only able to support the work of the school but gives financial aid to the families of over six hundred and fifty Palestinian men who are in prison for violation, or suspected violation, of military orders.

Kindergartens, equipped with modern educational media forms, modern teaching methods, and qualified teachers have been added to each of the centers. To celebrate the International Year of the Child, a nursery was added with a capacity of 40 babies, allowing mothers free time needed to support their families.

Ten centers to combat illiteracy have been established by the PWU in the towns and refugee camps in the Gaza Strip. Language classes are offered, where both English and Hebrew are taught.

Crochet and tricot workshops have been added to the curriculum of the centers. The income from the sale of these products has allowed the purchase of 58 modern knitting machines. My own daughter now wears a beautiful but inexpensive sweater bought at the Gaza Center.

That both of these women were denied the right to attend the Nairobi conference, while disturbing, is not an unexpected outcome if one looks at the problems they have had over the years with the authorities of the military occupation. Each has been de-

tained and questioned on a regular basis, and each has spent considerable time under house or town arrest—all this despite the fact that they have not been charged with or even accused of specific crimes.

But then, neither of these women considers herself merely as a provider of assistance to a refugee people. The goals of their organizations parallel the major themes in the statements they make. They consider themselves an integral part of the movement toward a self-determining Palestinian state and a correction (even if only partial) to the wrong done them by the 1947 United Nations partition and the subsequent wars. And about this, they do not mince words.

In referring to the denial of permission to attend the Nairobi conference, Yusra Barbary, the more outspoken of the two exclaimed, "We are the Palestinian Nation. Yet we were forbidden to go and represent the Palestinian women at the Nairobi conference. Were it not for America's pro-Israel policy, this would not have happened."

The work of their centers bears out the beliefs they hold and state. It is these activities which have brought them into conflict with the military authorities. Beyond the creation of self-reliant economic institutions, cultural and folklore programs are an important part of each woman's work. They point to the constant attack by the military occupation on all cultural institutions in the communities and camps.

Um Khalil showed us her displays of Palestinian land documents representing generations of deeds to the land which they and the world are often told was empty. She also showed us a display of the changes in Palestinian dress throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "We are creating books also," she said, "to show the Israelis and others the rich culture which existed on this land."

Each emphasized the importance of the support their organizations are giving to the prisoners and their families, from providing

time in prison as a mark of pride for a Palestinian. One does not accept such a fate and not respond in some way, she feels. It is, however, a situation which brings much grief. Her children are forbidden to enter the occupied territories and she is forbidden to leave. She mentioned that she has been invited by the United Nations to over fifteen conferences but has been able to attend none. With each permit denial she loses another opportunity to see her family. Only once was she allowed to visit some of them in Amman, Jordan.

Dismissing the sadness from her eyes with a shrug, she led us off to see other parts of the center: a class of singing children, a museum of Palestinian pottery and more embroidered items which we could purchase.

Yusra Barbary also discussed with us her problems with the military authorities. The picture she insists on keeping over her desk containing an image of the Palestinian flag has brought her to jail more than once. (Displaying the Palestinian flag is forbidden by military order.) Only recently she had been called in for questioning by the local military commander. When asked to state what she thought the problems were and what might be done to alleviate them, she responded, "Occupation is the problem. Evacuation is the solution." She was returned to house arrest.

Money contributed in the form of checks to her centers, she indicated, is most often useless. The authorities simply do not permit her to cash them. Just this week, she told us, it was necessary to return a check for \$1,000 written three years ago by an American. She hoped we could see the irony. "The United States provides Israel from the loaf of bread to the phantom jet," she vehemently stated, "yet contributions to us from American organizations are stopped by Israeli military order."

Concluding her remarks with a thought for us to ponder, she said, "We both must struggle to liberate ourselves, we Palesti-

**"Occupation is the problem. Israeli evacuation is the solution."—Yusra Barbary**

warm socks and reading material for the prisoners to financially supporting those outside whose subsistence is threatened because the breadwinner is imprisoned.

Um Khalil is intimately aware of the prisoner problem. One of her sons served five years of a seven-year sentence for illegally returning home. Given a choice of freedom if he agreed to exile, he remained the last two years only to be exiled after seven years anyway. She has herself been in prison five times and spent two and one-half years under house arrest. While specific charges are not filed, she is sure that the prison work is the principal reason.

She has raised her sons to accept their

nians from military occupation, you Americans from Israeli cultural and political occupation."

Direct, uncompromising language to be sure! But coming from this wiry former headmistress, who has devoted her life to the struggle for survival of her people, not particularly surprising. □

*John Masterson is professor of Mathematics at Michigan State University in East Lansing and a member of the November 29th Committee for Palestine. He visited the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1985 with a delegation from the Palestine Human Rights Campaign.*

### PALESTINE FOCUS

(415) 861-1552

P.O. Box 27462 San Francisco, CA 94127

*Palestine Focus* is the national newspaper of the November 29th Committee for Palestine (formerly November 29th Coalition). The newspaper is an activist vehicle tied to an activist movement, yet aimed at a general audience with little background knowledge. We report on activities, not only of our committee, but of other groups; and we provide consistent commentary and analysis of events in the Middle East.

The November 29th Committee for Palestine takes its name from the date declared by the United Nations as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Our task is to spark and support consistent, far-reaching, and effective activity which brings the issue of Palestine before the American people and builds a growing and deepening base of understanding. Our committee organizes to stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East and to cut off U.S. aid to Israel. We educate Americans on the need to support the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to oppose Israeli policies of discrimination which deny the Palestinian people their rights.

Signed articles are not necessarily the opinion of the November 29th Committee for Palestine. Letters, opinions, and other contributions are welcome.

#### Contributing Editors:

Douglas Franks, Steve Goldfield, Tony Martin, Hilton Obenzinger, Randa Baramki, Ur Shlonsky

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PALESTINE FOCUS P.O. Box 27462 San Francisco, CA 94127

By Hilton Obenzinger

Marcel Khalife and the Al-Mayadeen Musical Ensemble produce some of the most exciting music from out of the turmoil of today's Lebanon. Rooted in traditional Arabic music and influenced by Western techniques, Khalife and his group capture the spirit of a people in struggle. Like his counterparts in the Latin American "New Song" movement, this spirit is a partisan one, driven by the quest for democracy and independence. Marcel Khalife's popularity throughout the Arab world testifies to the power of this message presented in compassionate, human terms.

Now we have the chance to see this musical phenomenon in America. Sponsored by the Middle East Philanthropic Fund, Marcel Khalife and Al-Mayadeen will be touring the United States as part of a fundraising drive. Funds from the concerts will go to rebuilding the hospital in Tyre in southern Lebanon and toward rebuilding Sabra, Shatila, and Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camps in Beirut, recently devastated during the attacks launched by the Amal militia. These two purposes for the money raised at the concerts speak to the breadth of Khalife's vision, for his songs have been taken up as anthems by both the Lebanese and Palestinian movements and symbolize the deep ties between them.

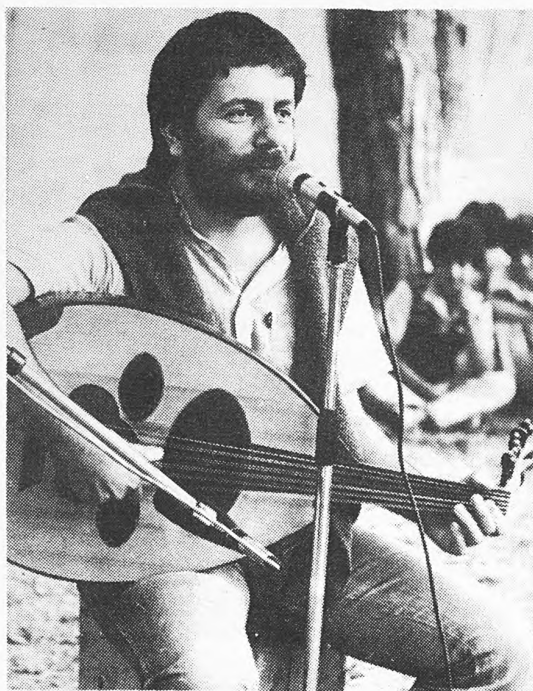
These exciting concerts should not be missed. The tentative performance schedule is November: 10 Chicago; 16 Detroit; 17 Cleveland; 23 Austin; 24 Houston; 29 San Diego; 30 Los Angeles; December: 1 San Francisco; 6 Portland; 8 Boston; 13 Washington, D.C.; 15 New York.

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"A circular prohibiting meetings between Jewish and Arab school pupils was issued by the director of the state religious school system, a division of the Ministry of Education, and will be distributed at the beginning of the coming school year. The reason given for the decision is that such meetings can lead to intermarriage."

So begins the astonishing report on another racist outrage in Israel entitled "What Did You Learn in School

## Getting It All In FOCUS



Marcel Khalife

Jamal Saïdi

Today?" from *News From Within*, a weekly newsletter issued by the Alternative Information Centre. The newsletter is produced by progressive Israelis seeking to "get the word out" about the rise of the rightwing in Israel, the progressive movement of Israeli Jews, settler violence condoned by the Israeli government, the Palestinian resistance—in short, all the "news from within." It's rare that we can get such on-the-scene reporting by Israeli peace activists, so it's worth the subscription: \$25 for six months; \$45 for a full year. Write to Alternative Information Centre, 14E Koresh Street, Jerusalem, Israel.

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Now that Rambo and the other war promotion movies have hit the bigtime, it's hard to tell where fantasy ends and reality begins. *Soldier of Fortune* is a glossy "men's adventure" magazine whose profits go to aiding the contras fighting against the Nicaraguan government, among others. Replete with regular ads seeking to hire mercenaries, the magazine, over its ten-year history, has moved from the fringes to Reaganesque respectability. On September 21, the magazine held its annual convention in Las Vegas, attracting 800 potential Rambos.

\*\*\*\*\*

In this issue of *Palestine Focus* we feature an interview with the editors of *al-Fajr* on Israeli repression of the Palestinian press. One way to support *al-Fajr*—and to see life under occupation through Palestinian eyes—is to read the English-language edition of *al-Fajr*. We've noted this excellent weekly before, but it's worth drawing it to your attention again. Subscriptions are \$50 for one year. Write to Al-Fajr Palestinian Weekly, 2025 Eye Street, NW, Suite 925, Washington, DC 20006.

With weaponry of all sorts on display, a booth for the Israeli-made Uzi light machine gun drew particular attention. According to the *New York Times*, "The Israeli military is one of the enduring heroes of the *Soldier of Fortune* conventions. Israeli officers in the United States for training have occasionally lectured at the convention, and an armed assault demonstration by a squad of Israeli soldiers was scheduled for this weekend's convention."

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One of the regular excuses used by the Israeli government for its ties with racist South Africa is its apprehensions concerning the security of South African Jews. No such concern stopped the Israeli bombing of Tunis, however, where the representative of the Tunisian Jewish community denounced the raid, declaring that "we vigorously condemn the Israeli bombardment, which violated the territorial integrity of Tunisia." □

### Focus on Action...

Continued from page 2

This year's United Nations International NGO (Non-Government Organization) Conference on Palestine in Geneva in September was quite successful, both in terms of who participated and what was decided. More delegates came from Asia and Africa than previously, though those continents are still under-represented. A strong contingent of Israelis and Palestinians with Israeli citizenship attended. Tawfik Zayyad, mayor of Nazareth, gave a particularly strong speech, which is summarized in this issue. National Executive Committee member Hilton

Obenzinger represented the November 29th Committee for Palestine in Geneva.

The conference declaration again strongly promoted the International Peace Conference on the Middle East as the means to negotiate a comprehensive and just peace and opposed the Israeli government "Iron Fist" policy in the occupied territories.

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We received late word from Israeli lawyer Lea Tsemel of the illegal transfer of 39 Palestinian administrative detainees from the West Bank to Israel on September 22, 1985. This transfer violates not only international law—which prohibits transfer of population out of an occupied territory—but the special emergency laws on administra-

tive detention themselves, which specify that the place of detention is the locale where the arrest took place.

Why is this so important? Ms. Tsemel explains, most of the detainees are from the northern part of the West Bank (Jnaid prison near Nablus) and their transfer to Bir Shebba prison in the Negev desert will lead to increased hardship for their families. This transfer is a direct violation of the Geneva conventions governing occupations. Ms. Tsemel calls for a campaign to protest administrative detention in general, to protest the transfer of detainees to distant prisons, and to protest the separation of the prisoners from each other and their mixing with criminals convicted of nonpolitical offenses, such as murder or drug dealing. Protests should be sent to Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and to the Legal Counselor, the Knesset, Jerusalem. □

### Israel's Iron Fist...

Continued from page 1

At the same time, a fascist movement is rapidly growing within Israeli society. Not only the fanatical settlers of the West Bank, but the religious extremists in Israel itself—symbolized by Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach Party—are openly calling for the expulsion of all Arabs from all of Palestine and for orthodox religious beliefs to become mandatory practices in Israel, including the denial of the vote to women, banning many activities on the sabbath, and more.

Kahane's views can no longer be dismissed as the lunatic fringe. Lunatic they may be, but recent polls predict that the one vote his party received in the last Knesset election could become eleven today. Over 40 percent of high-school students polled said they support Kahane's proposed "solution" to the "Palestinian problem." Other signs of the rightward shift in Israeli politics are the growing demand that the death penalty be used against Palestinians convicted of "security offenses" and the call for the release of convicted Israeli terrorists, who are glorified as heroes.

There is significant opposition to this direction, particular to the further dominance of orthodox Jews over the majority of Israelis who are not observant Jews. Nevertheless, not only the openly fascist right, but the Labor and Likud blocs forming the present government unite on meting out increasingly harsh treatment to Palestinians.

Increased repression has been answered with increased resistance, predominantly in the form of attacks on Israeli soldiers throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Each such act of resistance is met with fierce retaliation; yet Palestinians are increasing their resistance whether with captured weapons, stones, and knives, or their bare hands. All such acts are explicitly sanctioned by international law, including the United Nations charter, which recognizes a people's resistance to foreign occupation as completely legitimate.

#### The Campaign Against the PLO

Israel and the United States are moving to head off any kind of peace talks which involve the PLO. They want to make it perfectly clear that the PLO is "out" and King Hussein is "in." There is no room in their calculations for any independent Palestinian—individual or

organizational—participation in any negotiation or agreement. Using both the carrot and the stick, they hope to lure Hussein into dumping the PLO and talking directly with Israel under U.S. auspices a la Camp David.

On the international scene, the Israeli government is not wasting any time planning new adventures in the "post"-Lebanon era. The occupation continues in southern Lebanon, even though it receives little media coverage. In the past year, the Israeli press has openly discussed the pros and cons first of war with Syria, then with Jordan.

The unprovoked Israeli attack on Tunis shows that all this talk is more than just words. The United States hijacking of an Egyptian airliner signals an even more aggressive role for Israel's senior partner: the revival of direct U.S. intervention.

#### War Hysteria and Racism in the United States

The United States government has unveiled its traditional warlike face, whipping up war hysteria over the Middle East and Central America and anti-Arab racism to gain support for its aggressive acts. The murder of Alex Odeh signals that the United States/Israeli campaign against the Palestinian people and their supporters will not be confined to the Middle East. Regardless of who may be responsible—the Jewish Defense League, the Mossad, a U.S. government agency, or somebody else—PLO supporters in the United States have been served notice that we are legitimate targets.

All those who support and work for democratic rights need to defend the Arab-American community against racist attacks and to defend the right of free speech for critics of the Reagan administration's foreign policy in an atmosphere free of bigotry, racism, and violence. The murder of Alex Odeh is an attack on everyone's democratic rights.

While such attacks are meant to intimidate people into silence, those who seek peace and justice in the Middle East will continue to protest the increasingly militarist policies of the United States and Israel. While all Arabs are smeared as "terrorists" by the media and official policymakers, no serious attention is paid to the roots of the conflict: continuing denial of the national and human rights of the Palestinian people and increasing U.S. intervention throughout the region. Despite threats to peace and to our civil liberties, increasing numbers of Americans are speaking out for Palestinian rights and against U.S. intervention. Joined with the resistance of the Palestinian people, the American public can change the dangerous course the Reagan administration is now taking. □

# The Danger of Israeli Extremism

By Israel Shahak

*Israel Shahak is the Chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and Professor of Organic Chemistry at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Professor Shahak was born in Warsaw in 1933, survived the Warsaw Ghetto and the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, and arrived in Palestine in 1945. He is the author of Non-Jew in the Jewish State, Israel's Global Role, and other books. He gave the following speech at the University of California in Berkeley in October 1985. Part II will appear in the next issue of Palestine Focus.*

Extremists, whether religious or political, are defined in Israel first of all as those people who have said for many years that Begin and Sharon and other people have been traitors because of having made peace with Egypt. But more than this: the word "traitor" is a secular term. Those people, especially the rabbis among them, are not especially emphasizing the word "traitor," they are especially emphasizing expressions that mean that they were disobedient to God's plain command. Because Kahane knows, or says that he knows, what

The second important thing to understand about what Kahane and also the second party leaning to him, Tehiya, mean—even more important than what they are saying about Palestinians, or Arabs, to which I will come presently—is that they are saying that the reason why Israel has failed in Lebanon and was compelled to withdraw was that God punished Israel for making peace with Sadat. This has been said not only by Kahane but by important rabbis at Gush Emunim, Rabbi Laor, Rabbi Levinger, and very many others in the circles that are lenient toward Kahane. And Kahane has since August 1985 the sympathy of 10 percent of the adult Jewish vote in Israel. The Tehiya, a rather similar party, has an additional 5½ percent. So we are not speaking here about marginal groups. And there are of course other parties which will support religious fanaticism without supporting his stand about Palestinians. This argument is being taken very seriously.

Now, let us come to what Kahane means exactly in terms of Palestinians—by the way, he uses the expression, non-Jews. Not only does he mean to expel all non-Jews. The much more important question is what he proposes to do meanwhile, meaning until they would be ex-



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the orthodox Jews. I don't mean by this that there are not other references. Maybe rabbis in the United States will find them. I only mean that no orthodox rabbi, the only kind of rabbi in Israel, is standing up and saying that Kahane in any and all of those proposals doesn't speak in terms of orthodox Judaism.

What sort of supporters are being drawn to Kahane and which are not: who are opposing him? I will especially emphasize the issue of Palestinian rights, the influence of occupation. Second, I will try to give a deeper analysis which is not a personal one, but for all practical purposes based on what many social scientists and commentators are saying. What are the deeper reasons for his success or of people like him? Because even if Kahane the person will go, Kahanism will remain for some time.

Let me begin with what sort of persons have been joining Kahane or the Tehiya Party. Israel in the last five or six years has been in a process of polarization. It means that we have two blocs in Israeli Jewish society. On one side are Labor and parties to the left or similar parties. And on the other side are Likud, the religious parties, and the extremists as I defined them. Take the election results of 1981 and 1984, neighborhood by neighborhood, or take all available polls of a more detailed nature, meaning they are taken in special neighborhoods. Add to this personal observation and other forms of information. Apart from the very young—meaning people up to the age of 25 or so, about whom I will speak in particular—Israeli Jews don't cross between the two camps. They change their opinion within one particular camp. Labor party members can go to the left or people of the Zionist left can return to the Labor party. Likud members can go to Kahane, or let us say there will be an overflow from the religious par-

answer to this was zero. Not one out of 756 people was even prepared to entertain this idea. The second question was, "Would you consider voting for any party removed from Likud?" Two people were found who would consider voting for Ezer Weizmann, who stood in the middle. The same sort of questions asked in a Labor Party surrounding will draw the same sort of answer.

Therefore, it follows also as a matter of observation that all the supporters of Kahane come from Likud and the religious parties, and mainly from Likud. Thus one consequence of the rise in Kahane's support is a decrease in Likud.

What does a person like General Sharon try to do against this? Because whatever you can suspect, rightly, Sharon of trying to do, he doesn't want to diminish his own base of power. Therefore, it would be of extreme interest to you to know, not of course in apology for the numerous acts of butchery of Sharon, but of political interest, how Sharon in the last two or three months conducts a fight against Kahane. This he conducts—because he is a clever man as well as a murderer—on the following two fronts.

First, every three or four days or every week, Sharon visits a Palestinian who is, of course, an Israeli citizen who is either an officer in the Israeli army, a bedouin sheikh serving in the Israeli army and of the Likud tendency (there are such tribes), or—as happened only a week before I left Israel—a chairperson of the Herut—this is Sharon and Begin's party—branch in Nazareth. There is such an institution in Nazareth—of course, mostly engaged in corruption—but there is a chairman of such an institution. And Sharon shakes hands with such a Palestinian before press cameras. And then this question of shaking hands with such a Palestinian becomes the divisive matter between him and Kahane or Tehiya, which does not admit any Palestinians on principle to its ranks. Sharon will say that he is for Palestinians who are loyal to the state of Israel, loyal even to his branch of Zionism. Kahane will say that all Arabs—necessarily because they are non-Jews—are nonloyal and have to be expelled.

On the streets and in the schools and in other places people more worthy of honor and who have deeper instincts and deeper dedication are working against racism. But if they belong to the mainstream of Israeli public opinion, the decisive question is exactly over Israeli Palestinians who are citizens and who serve in the Israeli army or in similar institutions. Because inside the second Israel, among the people who hesi-



Israeli crowds salute Meir Kahane in Afula

God wants, what is plainly written in the Bible. And many, many Israeli rabbis, more important in scholarly and influential terms than Kahane, are saying the same. Remember one fact: the only form of Judaism in Israel is orthodox Judaism. For all practical purposes, we don't have reform or conservative Judaism in Israel. And of all orthodox rabbis in Israel, not one has said a word against Kahane on any subject whatsoever.

To sharpen this very important silence, I will give you an example about how Kahane will be attacked in those circles. An important orthodox American rabbi called Louis Bernstein came to Israel about two months ago and addressed a congress of Israeli orthodox rabbis. He blamed them for not attacking Kahane because Kahane is now well-known to have had a non-Jewish mistress in the early seventies in New York. The orthodox rabbis in Israel didn't follow this advice and didn't attack Kahane on the question of a non-Jewish mistress, with emphasis on the word "non-Jewish," but this will show you the frame of reference within their part of society. We even have an expression for it in Israel: "Israel number two," or "the second Israel," where there are tendencies toward Kahane.

What are his actual proposals to do meanwhile to Palestinians, first of all, and secondly to Jews?

First of all, he wants immediate separation of beaches. Again, the frame of reference is not Arabs and Jews, but non-Jews and Jews, who would not be allowed to bathe in the same pool or on the same beach. A special law was submitted many times, not only by Kahane, which will fix a punishment for intersex relations between Jews and non-Jews. By the way, a much bigger punishment should be inflicted according to those proposals on a Jewish woman who has relations with a non-Jew than on a Jewish man. A condition for a temporary stay within the Jewish state for any non-Jew will be signing a document acknowledging a state of slavery.

Kahane supports all those things by two types of argument. Kahane has an answer to the Attorney-General of the State of Israel, who in August described Kahane as a Nazi. Kahane said that he will write all his program by quoting only from sacred books of Judaism and, believe me, the reason of silence of the rabbis is that Kahane is able to find references for all the things that I mention, and many things that I didn't mention, from books which are considered sacred by

***The extremists say the reason Israel failed in Lebanon was because God punished Israel for making peace with Sadat.***

ties to Likud as happened under Begin. But, between those two big blocs, there is absolutely, except among the young, no crossing over.

Let me give you, to support my views, which are well-based on many types of evidence, one particular type of research. A friend of mine was engaged in Spring 1984 in polling a part of south Tel Aviv called Hatikvah Quarter which is inhabited more than 80 percent by North African Jews. He polled 756 people whom he asked two questions among others. The first question was, "Would you consider voting Labor?" The

tate about whether they will follow Likud or Kahane, this is a question which is divisive. The question of what to do in the West Bank, or to do anything in the West Bank, is not important to such people.

I am now ignoring the differences between other Israelis and Kahane because they will appear only after I describe what Kahane and other religious fanatics want to do to Jews, not only to Palestinians. In terms of more immediate American interests, this is more important than Sharon

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