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Washington vs America

While the U.S. government fights the PLO and Palestinian statehood, the U.S. people call for an independent Palestinian state and direct negotiations with the PLO

Shortly before U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz reaffirmed his government's opposition to Palestinian statehood, an American foundation ran an advertisement in national publications stressing the U.S. population's support for an independent state of Palestine.

The advertisement, published September 14 and paid for by Washington's Foundation for Middle East Peace, noted that opinion polls conducted since the beginning of this year had repeatedly found that more Americans favored an independent Palestinian state.

Among those polls, the advertisement mentioned a Gallup survey of Americans who are aware of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. That study showed that 41 percent favored an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and only 23 percent opposed it.

The same survey found that 58 percent wanted the U.S. to deal directly with the PLO, and only 27 percent opposed direct dealings with the organization.

A *Chicago Tribune* poll found that 38 percent of Americans, favored the creation of an independent Palestinian state, and 23 percent opposed.

A *Los Angeles Times* poll indicated that 52 percent of the Americans believed the U.S. should negotiate with the PLO and 34 percent were opposed.

HARKABI

The advertisement focused on the recent writings of Yehoshafat Harkabi, former director of Israeli Military Intelligence, who said in his *A Policy for the Moment of Truth*:

-- "The Central norm of the international system and international law is self-determination."

-- "Reality will force Israel to retreat from her political stance, to withdraw from the territories and to

negotiate with the PLO."

-- "We (Israelis) will have to negotiate with the Palestinians, the majority of whom, in any referendum, would vote for the PLO as their representatives."

-- "The wish for a local Palestinian representation detached from the PLO and more moderate than that body is merely delusion."

-- "A separate agreement with Jordan is no longer possible."





The town they held hostage

After eight days of round-the-clock curfew, during which Israeli soldiers broke into houses, destroyed property and arrested hundreds, the West Bank town of Kalkilya was evacuated by the occupation forces on September 14. The troops left behind them around 40,000 Palestinians doubly determined to fight for their freedom.

The latest crackdown raised to 70 the number of days the town has been under 24-hour curfew since the beginning of the *intifada* last December. In addition, Kalkilya has suffered two months of dusk-to-dawn curfews.

As the troops left the town, the Israeli authorities launched a publicity campaign apparently aimed at cowering other Palestinian towns and placating Jewish settlers who had been complaining about the army's inability to end the *intifada* and make the occupied territories safe for the Jewish invaders.

COMMITTEES

Israeli officers were quoted as saying that all members of Kalkilya's popular committees had been arrested, implying that the local leadership of the *intifada* had been crippled. The committees, regarded by the Israelis as the core of the uprising and the forerunner of independent

Palestinian government, were recently declared illegal, and punitive measures ranging from jail without trial to deportation were promised for anyone who worked or associated with them.

Kalkilya residents told reporters that several hundred people were arrested during the town's eight-day ordeal. All of them were herded into the local school, where they were "interrogated" by officers who used various methods of torture to loosen their tongues. Most of them were later released, but around 300

Kalkilya emerges from its eight-day ordeal ready to resume its fight for freedom

were driven away to unknown destinations, probably for six-month, renewable prison terms without trial or for deportation.

Kalkilya residents laughed at the Israeli claims that all members of the town's popular committees had been rounded up. They said that of the hundreds of names on the invading troops' "black lists," the Israelis were able to apprehend only two. The rest of the wanted youths evaded capture and spent the eight days living in the orange groves around the town, the townsmen told reporters.

ANSWER

The Israelis, they said, were free to make any claims they wished; Kalkilya's answer would be seen on the ground shortly.

"I hope they enjoy the peace and quiet," one man said, "because it's not going to last very long."

The town's answer, he said, would be more vehement and convincing than it had been to previous Israeli crackdowns.

"How do you expect us to forget

the fact that we had no food for eight days?" he asked. "How do you expect me to forget the night when my children were awakened by Israeli soldiers banging on our door after midnight and I couldn't even turn on the lights because they had cut off our electricity?"

The Israelis had cut off the water and power supply minutes before the assault on the town by scores of troops backed by helicopters. Telephone lines were also cut, and no one was allowed out of his home, not even mothers who wanted to get milk and other food for their children.

Tales of Israeli brutality could be heard in all parts of the town, but especially in the Zahran quarter, where reports abounded, about soldiers beating up residents, destroying furniture and breaking windows when they could not find the youths they were looking for. One elderly man said the troops returned to his home regularly three times a day for the full eight days, looking for his sons, who were out of town when the invasion started.

STEALING

Journalists were struck by the number of stories about Israeli troops stealing money and jewelry from the homes they broke into. The pattern was identical in every case: The soldiers would order the men out of the house and make the women stand in one corner as they searched the place. No one actually saw the soldiers stealing, but many reported money and jewelry missing after the search. One well-to-do family lost \$10,000 in cash and jewelry.

None of the robbery victims intends to take the matter to court. No Palestinian complaint ever got anywhere, they all said, and there had been many cases when Palestinians who tried to file complaints were beaten up and sent away at the police stations.



Four free Kafrs Liberated Palestinian villages mock Israeli attempts to subdue them

The Israelis launched their new year last week with increased raids on Palestinian towns, including a coordinated September 11 invasion of four villages in the Tulkarem district of the West Bank that had declared themselves "liberated zones."

The four villages -- Kafr Zibad, Kafr Abush, Kafr Sur and Kafr Jamal -- are among the increasing number of Palestinian enclaves in the Israeli-occupied territories that have cut themselves off from Israel and Jordan, learned to depend on themselves for all their daily needs, and are flying the Palestinian flag.

The four "Kafrs," defying an Israeli order to close all schools, had organized classes for their children and set up road blocks to prevent Israeli goods from being brought into their markets.

Reports from the four villages said that young villagers mobilized to face the invading troops and engaged them in running battles before melting into the countryside. Several Palestinians were wounded in the confrontations, and around 40 were reported arrested arbitrarily in the house-to-house searches organized by the Israeli troops.

As soon as the invaders pulled out, the four villages set to work caring for the wounded, repairing the widespread damage done by the soldiers and resuming the business of governing themselves.

Israeli raids on liberated villages have increased in frequency and intensity in recent months as the occupation authorities have scrambled to block the swelling movement toward Palestinian statehood.

The raids, however, have been uniformly ineffective, with the liberated villages continuing their trek to self-government as soon as the troops pull out.

VILLAGE

Not far from the four villages targeted September 11, the West Bank town of Kfar Nimeh, population 2,500, has been invaded three times since the uprising started last December. Western journalists visiting it recently reported hundreds of Palestinian flags flying from every tree and light post in sight, and patriotic graffiti on every wall. "Mother," one slogan read, "the feast is not for those who wear new clothes, but for those who die for their country."

The village is governed by a four-man committee that has organized subcommittees for agriculture, labor, medicine and education.

The agriculture subcommittee sees to it that the village is provided with food through cooperatives that raise sheep, poultry, cows, vegetables and olive seedlings. The leader of one cooperative told reporters, "We are able to provide the people in the town with meat from our 60 sheep and milk from our three cows, at cost."

The labor subcommittee finds work for the villagers in and around the village, discouraging work in Israel, while the medical subcommittee handles the procurement and distribution of medicine and the management of mobile clinics. Dr. Jihad Mishal showed his journalist guests a simple two-room building where he had set up a clinic for the week. "What you see here," he said, pointing at the row of villagers sitting in the shade of a giant fig tree next to the building, waiting for their turn in the clinic, "is how we are managing to take care of ourselves by ourselves, without the help of Israel or Jordan."

SECURITY

The security subcommittee, made up of the pick of the village's youths, guards the town's approaches around the clock, sounds the alarm when the Israeli army is spotted coming in that direction, and organizes a reception committee for them, equipped with stones and, when possible, Molotov cocktails. The *shabab* (young men) make the troops' entry to the village as difficult as possible before they disappear into the countryside, almost always eluding capture and returning to resume their activities when the soldiers leave.

"Palestine," one of them said, "is being born under their noses, and nothing they or their friends in Washington do can stop it."



The intifada in Strasbourg

Arafat urges Israelis to 'elect peace'

As the French foreign minister and the EC president support the Palestinians' right to self-determination, the PLO chief sends a New Year's message of peace to the Israeli people

Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yaser Arafat, speaking to reporters in Strasbourg, France on September 14, wished the Jews of Israel and the world a happy new year and urged them to do what the Palestinians had done and opt for peace.

"Shana tova," he said. "To all the Jews of the world, to all Israelis, I wish them shana tova, happy new year, a peaceful year."

Arafat said he was ready "to meet with any Israeli official who is ready to meet me" at the UN General Assembly or Security Council.

Noting that the Israelis were approaching a general election, he asked, "Will they elect peace or war? Will they elect those who will set fire to the region? ... We as Palestinians have chosen peace, and I call on public opinion to help us achieve this peace."

In a September 13 address to the Socialist Group of the European Parliament, which had invited him to Strasbourg, Arafat had offered peace "for ourselves, our friends, and even our enemies," declaring that "the key to peace lies in the realization of our people's rights."

The Palestinians, he said, were ready to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which recognize Israel's right to exist and call on it to withdraw from the occupied territories, if the Palestinians' right to self-determination was accepted. (See the September 16, 1988 issue of Intifada for the

full text of the speech).

Asked if he expected the Palestine National Council to declare Palestinian independence and form a government-in-exile when it met in October, Arafat said the PNC would consider two options: calling for international protection of the West Bank and Gaza pending Israel's withdrawal from them, or declaring a Palestinian state and forming a government-in-exile while the territories were still under occupation.

"My question is, would Europe recognize such a state?" he said.

In his speech to the European parliamentarians, Arafat said the Palestinians were seeking "an independent Palestinian state on the land liberated from Israeli occupation," a state that "will have a republican, democratic and multi-party system" and "will abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," rejecting discrimination "among its citizens on the basis of color, race or religion."

Arafat's comments were being recorded by an estimated 500 journalists who had converged on Strasbourg to cover the landmark visit, which was made all the more significant by the meetings the PLO leader held during his stay with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and top officials of the European Community.

DUMAS

Dumas, emerging from his talks with Arafat, told reporters they had

discussed "peace in the Near East in advance of the meeting of the Palestine National Council."

He added: "Israel wants peace, but it enjoys neither peace nor security. The Palestinians want peace, but the conflict persists and hardens. What can be done except to speak to the parties, to persuade and act?"

Israel, Dumas said, "has the right to recognized and safe borders; the Palestinians have the right to a homeland. Dialogue is necessary and entails the acceptance by the Palestinians that Israel must be able to live in peace and Israel's acceptance of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and statehood."

"France," he added, "has a role to play. France will encourage all steps that will lead to dialogue. Is it not time to stop the war?"

Arafat also held a 90-minute meeting with Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, who said later that the ramifications of recognizing a Palestinian government-in-exile would be discussed at the October 5 meeting of the EC Council of Ministers.

WINDOW

Papoulias is chairman of the EC Council, representing the Greek government, which holds the presidency of the Community for the current six-month term. The EC presidency will go next to Spain and then to France. All three governments are known to support the Palestinians' right to self-

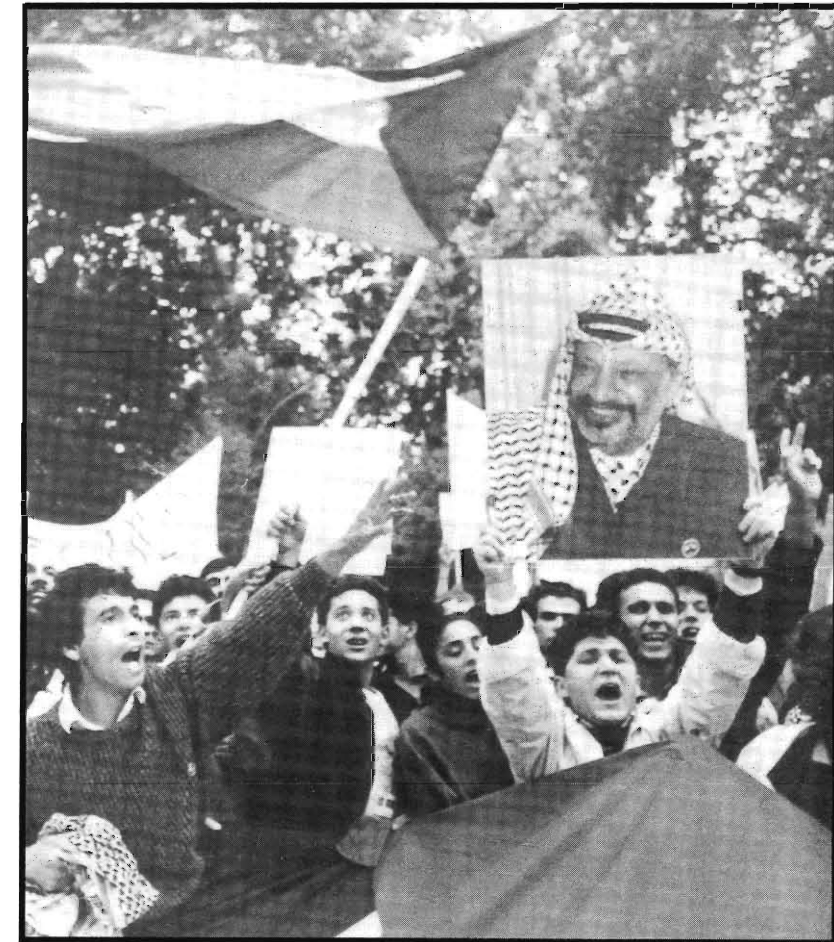


determination, which prompted European officials attending the Strasbourg event to tell reporters that there was "a window of opportunity" in the next 18 months for "the Palestinian cause to gain ground in Western Europe."

Papoulias told reporters it "is very significant that Yaser Arafat has come to the European Parliament and has made repeated references to Resolution 242. I believe the (European) foreign ministers will take note of this."

Arafat's performance in Strasbourg, he said, projected "not an extremist personality, but a personality wishing to achieve a viable and durable solution to the Palestinian problem."

During his stay in Strasbourg, Arafat also met with EC Commissioner for Mediterranean Affairs Claude Cheysson and the president of the European Parliament, conservative British MP Lord Plumb, who insisted on the meeting despite shrill protests from some Euro-MPs. After the talks, Lord Plumb reaffirmed his support for the Palestinians' right to self-determination.



Pro-Palestinian demonstrators in Strasbourg, September 13

The intifada in Strasbourg

Paris and Washington: La Différence

The Israeli embassy in Paris joined forces with French Jewish leaders last week to keep European MPs from attending the speech of PLO Chairman Yaser Arafat and scuttle a scheduled meeting between Arafat and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

The intensive Jewish efforts, backed by expressions of outrage from Israeli leaders, failed to make an impression on the European Parliament, which turned out in force to hear what Arafat had to say despite a demonstration by some 1,000 Jews in Strasbourg, or on

Foreign Minister Dumas, who showed up for his meeting with Arafat on time and emerged from it to reaffirm the Palestinians' right to self-determination and statehood.

Reporters in Strasbourg were overheard comparing between European and American reactions to Jewish pressure.

"If this kind of campaign was mounted in Washington, Congress and (Secretary of State George) Shultz would have run for their lives," one American correspondent said.

The French daily *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace* wrote that Foreign Minister Dumas came to Strasbourg not only "to meet Arafat, but also to confirm that French foreign policy does not depend on opinion movements or electoral considerations." The remark was widely interpreted as a reference to the difference between Paris, where national interests defined foreign policy, and Washington, where electoral considerations and the powerful Jewish lobby superseded national interests in the formulation of



Middle East policy.

The anti-Arafat demonstration organized by the French Jewish leaders in Strasbourg was matched by a pro-Arafat demonstration organized by supporters of the Palestinians.

Rudi Arndt, chairman of the European Parliament's Socialist Group and the man who extended the invitation to Arafat, said he found it strange that the international press, which covered the Jewish demonstration in detail, said nothing about the pro-Palestinian march.

He rejected Jewish and Israeli

criticisms of the Socialist Group's invitation to the PLO chairman and described as "ludicrous" the cables he had received objecting to the timing of Arafat's visit to coincide with the Jewish New Year, *Rosh Hashana*.

The talks with Arafat were very satisfactory, he said, adding that only through peaceful negotiations could a solution be found to the Middle East problem.

PLUMB

A similar rejection of Zionist pressure came from the British

Conservative MP, Lord Plumb, president of the European Parliament, who met with Arafat despite protests by Jewish leaders.

"Arafat," one French newspaper said, "has defeated those who tried to stop the visit."

A PLO official said the defeat of "those who tried to stop the visit" came at the hands of the European peoples and governments, "who, unlike other peoples and governments, refuse to subordinate their policies to the policies of other powers and their fifth columnists."

The intifada in Strasbourg

Abu Sherif: We want the birth of Palestine, not the death of Israel

Bassam Abu Sherif, adviser of PLO Chairman Yaser Arafat, has told the people of Israel that what the Palestinians want is their own state in the West Bank and Gaza, not the destruction of Israel.

In an interview with the Israeli daily, the *Jerusalem Post*, published September 16, Abu Sherif said the PLO would accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which recognize the legitimacy of Israel, in return for recognition of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

Abu Sherif, interviewed in Strasbourg by the *Post's* Michel Zlotowski, was questioned about the PLO's position that it accepted Resolutions 242 and 338 in the context of all other UN resolutions, which include General Assembly resolutions equating Zionism with racism. "Let's not get into semantics," he said. "If there is a real intention to establish peace, the formula is very clear and very simple: the Palestinians accept 242 and 338 and at the same time expect others to accept their right to self-determination, so all the resolutions that call for this right should be included with Resolutions 242 and 338 as a basis for a settlement and for the establishment of peace."

Asked how this could be arranged as long as the Palestinian Covenant, which calls for the dismantling of Zionist Israel, remained in effect, Abu Sherif said the Covenant was a thing of the past.

"The Covenant was drafted before the present leadership of the PLO was elected," he said. "The PLO has a program, just as any party that hopes to win in the Israeli elections has a program. We do not open Israel's old files. We do not open the old files of Herut, for instance, which is the backbone of the present Israeli

government. We do not talk about Herut's anthem, 'From the Nile to the Euphrates.' We do not talk about the expansionist proposals put forward by certain people in Israel's ruling circles, like (Trade Minister Ariel) Sharon."

The Palestinians were fighting, Abu Sherif said, to regain their freedom and establish their own independent state, and not to destroy Israel or any other state.

"The PLO has never said it wants to destroy Israel," he told the *Post*. "I wish the people who talk so much about 242 would read it. The people who talk about the Covenant should read that, too, because the Covenant does not speak about the destruction of Israel. But I'm not dealing with the Covenant here. I consider that the political program of the PLO is the only paper to which we are committed."

NEGOTIATE

He said Arafat had made it plain to hundreds of European MPs that "he is holding his hand out for peace, that he is waiting for a courageous Israeli leader to sit down and negotiate peace, and that he is for the establishment of a Palestinian state and not for the destruction of other states."

Asked about the borders of the Palestine the PLO was seeking, Abu Sherif said those should be left for the negotiations.

"The principal point from which we can start the peacemaking process," he said, "is the occupier's acceptance of withdrawal and of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and the PLO's acceptance of the resolutions that ensure the security, sovereignty and safe borders of Israel."



A double negative from Washington and London

The two Anglo-Saxon ostriches still can't see the independent state of Palestine

The United States and Britain have once more rejected the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, dismissing an independent Palestinian state as a non-starter.

The prime minister of the U.K. and the U.S. secretary of state reaffirmed this policy in private meetings and public statements last week, shortly after PLO Chief Yaser Arafat made his offer of peace-with-justice to Israel before the Socialist Group of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France.

"Their rejection of Palestinian statehood does not eliminate Palestinian statehood," a local *intifada* leader said in Nablus, "but it may eventually eliminate any interests their countries have in this part of the world."

The independent state of Palestine "already exists," the Palestinian leader said, "and it will not disappear because Washington and London can't see it." British Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher reportedly reaffirmed her opposition to Palestinian statehood in her September 14 talks with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. She is said to have agreed with Peres that even if the PLO were to accept all the pre-conditions set by the U.S. and Israel, "the notion of a Palestinian state would remain out of the question" and the only solution would be a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation.

SHULTZ

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said on September 17 that "peace cannot be achieved through creation of an independent Palestinian state."

Shultz was speaking at a conference in Queensland, Maryland, sponsored by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, a relatively new think tank closely associated with the Israeli lobby in Washington, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).

He said that "the status of the West Bank and Gaza cannot be determined by unilateral acts of both sides, but only through a process of negotiations. A declaration of independent Palestinian statehood or government-in-exile would be such a unilateral act ... The United States cannot accept 'self-determination' when it is a code word for an independent Palestinian state."

He added that there was no chance of reviving UN Resolution 181, which divided Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, and that Israel, "for security reasons," could not be expected to withdraw from all the territory it acquired by force in 1967, although it should pull out of "some" of it for the sake of "peace and security."

A PLO official, commenting on Shultz's remarks, said there would be no peace and security "for Israel or anyone else as long as the Palestinians are denied their rights." In his address

to the European MPs in Strasbourg on September 13, Arafat referred to Shultz's fourth and final trip to the Middle East, when "he stood up in Cairo to declare that he had discovered that the conflict in Palestine was one between two peoples over the same land and that the solution lay in the recognition of both peoples' rights."

Arafat said: "We saw in this the first positive stand by Washington in terms of recognizing the Palestinian people and their rights. But no sooner had Shultz made his statement than he reverted to the practice of partitioning international legitimacy by translating Israeli rights into an independent state, a government and a people, and dismissing the Palestinian state, government and people by speaking of Palestinian rights in terms of a mere entity attached to the Kingdom of Jordan and of Palestinian residents being absorbed within the Jordanian population."



How did Ahmad die?

Ahmad Abdelhamid Dababseh is dead.

The 26-year-old Palestinian, resident of the village of Nouba, near Hebron, was shot by Israeli soldiers on September 10, but he was still alive when the troops dragged him away.

Later, the Dababseh family received word that their son was dead.

How did Ahmad die? The Israelis are ignoring the question, and the people of Nouba have no access to information about what happened to the young man after he was captured.

The Dababseh family buried their son at dawn on Monday, September 12, and nervous Israeli occupation soldiers clamped a curfew on Nouba that morning, allowing only five family members to attend the funeral.

An undetermined number of Palestinians have died after being captured by the Israeli occupation authorities. Some of them are known to have died because of torture, lack of medical attention or both. Palestinian protests in such cases have gone unheeded unless the matter was taken up by a foreign or international organization powerful enough to raise Israeli concerns about the Jewish state's image abroad.

TARAZI

Palestinian charges last February that soldiers had killed a 19-year-old Palestinian, Khader Tarazi, a Gaza Christian, by beating him after his capture and denying him medical attention were ignored until the Tarazi case was included in an August 17 Amnesty International report titled "Israel and the Occupied Territories: Excessive Force" (*see page 4 of the September 2, 1988 issue of Intifada*). The Israelis have since then "investigated" the case, and a statement issued by the Israeli army on September 8 said that an Israeli officer, two enlisted men and a military doctor had been "charged in connection with the death" of Khader.

The occupation forces, which had earlier dismissed Palestinian charges as propaganda and said Tarazi had died of "heart failure," admitted that the young man had been "subjected to several blows" during his capture and while he was being driven to a detention center. Refusing to comment on charges that Tarazi had been denied medical attention despite insistent requests from his fellow prisoners at the Ansar-2 concentration camp, and that the doctor who finally saw him "gave him some medicine" and had him returned to his tent without calling an ambulance, the Israeli army said it was still not certain Tarazi had died as a result of the beatings. The direct cause of death, it argued, could very well be the fall he had taken while allegedly running away from the soldiers. Tarazi's relatives said he had not fallen, but had been picked up and thrown on a cement floor repeatedly by Israeli soldiers, who then proceeded to hit him until blood spurting from his mouth and nose and his eyes rolled up.

The Dababseh case is expected to be swept under the Israeli rug with other unexplained deaths unless it draws international attention.