

Zionist aggression are part of the Palestinian people, like the Christians and Moslems. This is what the PLO states. Do you agree?

Yes, that's right.

The Zionist movement is very influential among Jews in America, yet you and many others are anti-Zionist. What kind of activities can be done to limit the Zionists' role and increase that of anti-Zionists?

It is very difficult to reach the Jews in America through Jewish organizations. They have been closed to me. I'll be very frank: They won't debate. They recognize me as a great evil force and will have nothing to do with me, won't allow me to have meetings and so on. What I have done is by publicizing my viewpoint through books and articles. Particularly, I have done a lot of radio interview shows. Through these things I have kept the idea of basic anti-Zionism and true Judaism alive, both to Jews and Christians. Don't forget, when we think of the word Zionists, too many people immediately think that Zionists are Jews. All Jews are not Zionists, and all Zionists are not Jews. There are many Christian Zionists. They believe in this idea; they believe in the ethnic identity of the Jew, but they are not Jews. They give support for their own motivations, their own reasons.

What is your view of the strategic solution for the Palestinian and Jewish problem in the Middle East?

The solution sounds complex, but is very simple. The solution we are talking about is not the practical one - what will happen tomorrow, but the ideal solution which will happen one day; that is the two states solution - a Palestinian state coexisting side - by - side with a state of Israel, but a state of Israel which normalizes, de - Zionizes itself, a state made up of Jews with Israeli nationalism, not with world - wide Jewish nationalism. This is very important, if you understand the distinction. This state will say, we are a state of Israelis. When you ask a person in Israel today what he is, he right away says, I am a Jew. He doesn't mean in terms of religion either; he means in terms of nationality. In my kind of state, if you ask a Jew or a Muslim or a Christian in the ideal state of Israel, he

will say, I am an Israeli. There won't be any such thing as a Jew as a nationality. In the Palestine state to be, the Jews that remain there will receive equal treatment; the Muslims and Christians that remain in the state of Israel, will remain as Christian and Muslim Israelis. There will be Jewish Israelis, who are Jews by religion only. The idea of a nation, based on an ethnic nationality of Jews, goes out the window.

Do you think that this two states solution satisfies the Palestinians' national rights to their country?

I think it would satisfy as long as they realize that the first step will be a two states solution... Maybe there will have to be a combination of steps... The second step is that the state of Israel must change its basic nature, for it's not only its geographical expansionism, it's its ideological expansionism, which views Jews throughout the world as people who must come to Israel or aid Israel and its political problem. You have this abnormal relationship between a small number of Jews in Israel and all the Jews outside.

How do you think that Israel can change its basic structure?

This will have to come from Israelis and with the quiet prodding of the US which always took the view that Israel's ultra - nationalism, that extends beyond its borders, is something they wouldn't recognize. Mostly it has to come through an educational process in which American Jews will insist to Israeli Jews, saying: We are Americans, and you have to give up this fallacious idea that a Jew is a Jew by way of nationality rather than religion.

It appears today that there is no possibility of 'Israel' changing by itself...

No, it can't; it won't do it by itself. It has got to be done by outside pressure from Jews who understand the problem and the dangers which Israel's peculiar nationalism is causing to world peace. You are right; it cannot come from within the state.

Only through pressure from Jews outside, or also from the Palestinians?

Everybody: Oh yes, no question about it; that is why I have asked the drafting committee to put into its basic statement that we believe that Zionism is not Judaism, Judaism is not Zionism,

and that to be anti - Zionist is in no way to be anti-Semitic.

Do you see the US as responsible for the Sabra - Shatila massacre?

The US is responsible in several ways. There is no question that at least Secretary of State Haig knew beforehand of the war that was going to be waged by Israel. He had a number of warnings and was probably aware of the exact date that Israel was going to strike. So there is responsibility in that direction, responsibility in giving unlimited arms, in joining in their malicious press attack whenever possible on the PLO, and then the continued flow of arms and money to Israel. It meant that we do have a responsibility and a double responsibility after Habib made an agreement with Yasir Arafat, that in return for Arafat leaving Beirut and avoiding a slaughter, they would protect the women, children and old men who remained behind, and the families of the fighters. We betrayed the Palestinians in our promises. The open-handed, unrealistic, continued flow of arms, money, rewards, and sympathy to Israel after it was all over, shows our grave culpability for what took place in Lebanon. A lot of Americans feel deeply about this, but the problem is that there is no group in America that is bringing all this opinion to the top.

How do you evaluate the US role in Lebanon, especially after the Marines have directly intervened in the civil conflict, with US helicopters attacking West Beirut a few days ago?

The American people won't tolerate it. I have warned. I put it in the congressional record. This is the daily paper on congressional proceedings, and sometimes you can get a congressman to put in a private article or paper. If you go back to 1975, I put into the record an article "The Middle East - Our Next Vietnam". I think, God forbid, that may be happening now.

Do you want to say a final word to the Palestinian people?

Yes, I don't want them to give up on any branch of the human race in their struggle, and to remember that there are many Jews, many of whom won't speak up yet, but who talk quietly in utter horror... Many Jews have paid a price for their staunch support of justice in the Palestinian case.

When we think it's dark here and we