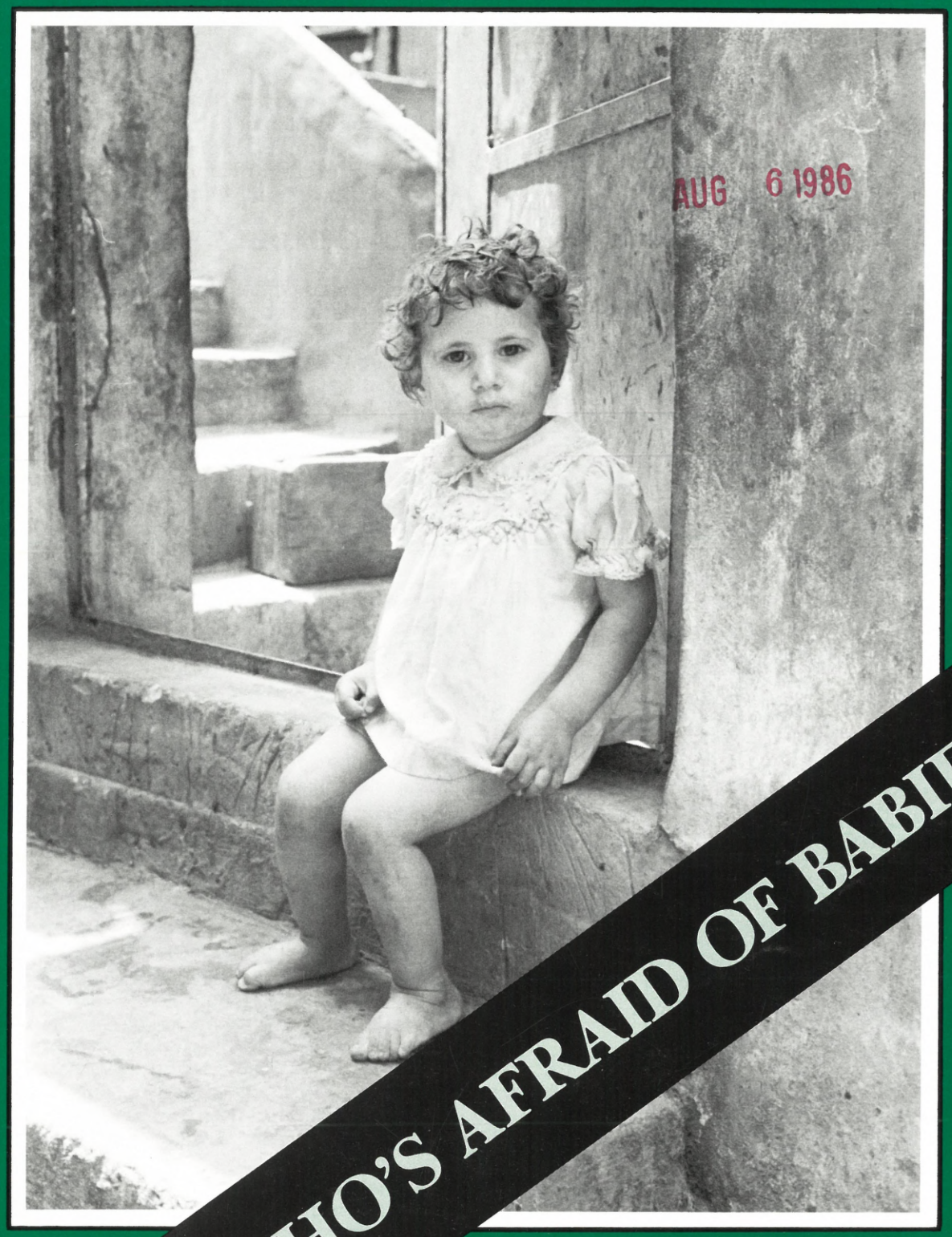
Palestine Perspectives

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WHO'S AFRAID OF BABIES?

Editorial Editorial Editorial

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READERS PLEASE NOTE

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WHAT PRICE ISRAEL...REVISITED

Recently, Israel's "friends" launched a campaign of disinformation to convince the American public that the Arabs are America's natural enemies. The campaign is no longer satisfied with distorting Arab political positions, but it seeks to stigmatize the prevalent cultural and religious heritage of the Arabs and to attribute to it inherent tendencies repugnant to the western world. In the most blatant racist fashion, Arab political disagreements with Israel and the United States are being attributed to "Arab extremism," "Islamic fanaticism" and similar alleged "national characteristics."

This smear campaign has two basic purposes. One, to absolve Zionism of the upheavals it has ignited in the Middle East since it infected the region. By picturing the Arab nation as a polyglot of warring clans and feuding sects engaged in ancient quarrels and perennial strife, Zionist misinformation wants people to believe that Israel is the hapless victim of a hostile environment rather than the cause of dislocations in the area.

Two, the anti-Arab campaign is designed to convince American (and western) public opinion that confronting the Arabs is a requirement of self-defense rather than a bias on behalf of Israel and its shenanigans in the Middle East. A U.S. public official recently calculated the times the U.S. supported Israel in the United Nations and concluded that Israel was a faithful supporter of the United States!

This second objective of the Zionist-inspired anti-Arab campaign is particularly important to Israel's "friends." Knowing that Israel's escalating ambitions are constantly driving up its costs, and realizing that "what price Israel?" is a question which would inevitably be asked more and more frequently by an overburdened American public, they fear the day when American public opinion would get fed up with Israel the burden masquerading behind a mask of Israel the friend and ally. Zionists cannot afford such an American awakening, because they know that without America's resources (financial, economic, military, diplomatic, and moral), Israel would have to shed its grandiose dreams of regional superpower and would have to be content with being just another Middle Eastern state.

This is not to argue that all of the disagreements which trouble Arab-American relations are Zionist fabrications. Some of them would exist even if Israel did not. For example, troublesome economic issues which plague relations between industrial and raw material-producing nations often disturb Arab-American relations. But it is the Israel-Zionist burden which threatens disastrous consequences to Arab-American disagreements.

Before Zionism, the Arabs regarded America more highly than did other peoples. When at the end of World War I President Wilson sent the King-Crane Commission to the Middle East (1919), the Palestinians and other Arabs said that they wanted independence, but if they had to be temporarily placed under the mandate of a foreign power, they wanted America to be that power. They thought that among all the western powers America alone had no imperial designs on the Middle East. Then Zionism came, and the rest is history. □

M. Hallaj

TO BE A PALESTINIAN POET

Mahmoud Darwish

[Mahmoud Darwish is perhaps the best-known contemporary Palestinian poet, with eleven collections of his work published. Born in the village of Al-Birweh in Palestine in 1942, he was imprisoned by the Israeli authorities in 1961, 1965 and 1967 for his political activities, and spent several years under house arrest in Haifa until his forced exile in 1971. Darwish is now the Secretary-General of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, and he lives in Paris where he edits the literary magazine Al-Karmel.

Recently, the French government conferred on Darwish its highest medal of honor in the field of culture in recognition of his creativity and his active role in international cultural exchanges. The medal, the Ordre des Arts et des Lettres *with the rank of* Chevalier *was awarded to the Palestinian poet by the French Minister of Culture, Jack Lang.*

The following remarks about Palestinian poets and poetry are excerpted from an address given by Darwish to a meeting of the Danish writers union]:

Poetry is a difficult craft, not so much because its true identity is still to be defined, but rather because it has yet to establish its necessity with the same power of conviction with which it has established its aesthetic worth.

Nevertheless, since the time man felt the urge to end his solitude and the need to extend human solidarity, he has been making poetry.

From that still undetermined moment of time till the present day, we have been faced with the same question—what does it mean to be a poet?—without succeeding in providing an answer other than that which is inherent in the poetic text itself. Significantly, it is up to the poem to inform us about its poet, rather than the poet explaining the poem.

Is it not enough to have to cope with this universal problem without being burdened with yet another, more particular one—what does it mean to be a Palestinian poet?

The question, although apparently simple and innocent, compels us to resort to historical conditions in order to explain the gestation of the poetic text and delimit its specificity, which may or may not be proper to it.

Thus, the question deviates from the domain of poetic creativity and requires a different formulation: what does it mean to be a Palestinian? Here also, national identity precedes aesthetic identity. Faced with these questions, the Palestinian poet is encouraged to defend himself.

Have I the right to be a poet? Can I be one? Does the only efficacy of my poem reside in its 'Palestineness', a self-defense that lacks the courage to raise the provocative question: Do Palestinian poetics constitute one of the justifications, or better, one of the raisons d'etre of Palestine? Questions for questions' sake, for the stimulation of intellectual debate? Not exactly. For the shackles that encroach on man's freedom to be Palestinian are the same that encroach on the Palestinian's freedom to be a poet.

Where to begin the answer? Let us start with justification, since every Palestinian utterance is bound to be justificatory.

FORUM

Let me start from the moment the Palestinian entity was shattered by a military earthquake—quite akin to natural calamities—to be reconstructed as a paradise of consciousness; when the organic elements of a land were chemically transformed into a mere dream; and the exodus of an uprooted people—similar to that of the peoples of old in its tragic human aspect—was transformed into a protracted struggle to return to the land and for the future of our humanity, and towards the production of a culture under conditions of greater freedom.

I am the offspring of that exodus, the child of this long march and also a man on standby in that never-ending reserve army of Palestinian martyrs.

In addition to all this, I am a witness. Perhaps it might interest you to know that witnesses and martyrs, in the Arabic language, share the same term—the witness is the martyr.

The Palestinian, witness and martyr, is permanently engaged in the reconstruction of his crumbled world, of a collective childhood that was deprived of the right to flourish under normal conditions. He is forced to contemplate the first blossoms of life from behind prison bars, in the lands of exiles, in the midst of massacres, and under the torment of language. This should explain why the modern Palestinian poem became the hymn of men trying to demolish the walls of their solitude in order to build their national and cultural unity; and the battle cry of the new tragic heroes pitted against their fate and against the gods of war and oblivion; and the protest song of those kept in custody on the threshold of our globe and required to wither away or simply vanish; and the complaint of victims forced to prove that they are not bands of outlaws and criminals; for the Palestinian's only guilt is that he refuses to suffer voluntary amnesia and remains attached to his right and his humanity—the two pillars of his homeland.

For forty years, the Palestinian has been driven from exodus to exile, thrown into sea and desert and stacked in

(continued on page 3)



Mahmoud Darwish

DARWISH *(continued from page 2)*

concentration camps or collective graveyards. But the bee of his blood obstinately hovers around its original honeycomb, unyielding in its longing and destination. Only his butchers have changed clothes, masks, weapons and native tongues. Israeli occupation terror shares with the United Arab Repressive Regime in this ironic paradox—to banish the Palestinian even from his own dream!

The problems of freedom and independence are further aggravated by a multitude of more elementary ones concerning the Palestinian's survival among men: Where to go? Where to breed? Sleep? Work? Learn? Where to write poetry? And where to be buried? Believe it or not, the Palestinian searches for a grave as desperately as he searches for a home. And never does he forget his homeland... there.

Hunted by the forces of aggression everywhere, he is always in the firing line. And the industrial complex that manufactures human conscience (a limited-liability corporation), instead of looking on this tragedy with some understanding and compassion, unfortunately partakes—on brightly colored television screens—in embellishing and justifying the liquidation of a people, a homeland and a culture. How can we otherwise explain the offensive of western mass media, orchestrated by the USA, which insists on painting a unique portrait of the Palestinian, as a monster who specializes in the production of a single commodity—terror?

With his body, his soul and his identity under attack, what can the Palestinian do?

Peoples are not raw materials for some industry of transformation or other. Nor has man acquired as yet the freedom to choose his own skin and soul. Nevertheless, all that the Palestinian faces, day after day, makes him cling more firmly to his national identity. Israeli occupation denies him his most basic human rights while the United Arab Regime is incapable of fulfilling his elementary national aspirations. Israeli repression confirms him as an Arab, and Arab repression confirms him as a Palestinian.

What does it mean to be a Palestinian in this prolonged siege?

It means to be a madman of freedom, in a world where the reason of the consumer society amounts to sheer lunacy; to suffer 'incurable hope' in a world where despair reigns almighty; to tend the dream as carefully as a peasant tends his rocky soil, at a time when dreams have turned into nightmares; to raise your voice in incantation as a prisoner would lift a moon from the cellar. To be a Palestinian means to be both witness and martyr; to abolish the barrier between reality and language; to write poetry as you live and as you face death; to throw mysterious questions in the face of the sun. To be a Palestinian is to be constantly challenged to a duel: your blood against the sword.

Have we succeeded in laying the grounds for answering the difficult question: what does it mean for a poet to be Palestinian?

But it is more difficult for the Palestinian to be a poet and for the poet to be Palestinian. It is more difficult to strike a balance between the beauty of poetry and its efficacy; to reconstruct what is crumbling inside you, with mere words; or to build a homeland with no building material except the language. It is more difficult than poetry to regain Paradise Lost through poetic creativity and to recreate past, present and future within one moment.

For the poet to be Palestinian, in these times, means to transform the terms of Hamlet's quest into a definitive answer. Not to ask, 'To be or not to be, that is the question', but to affirm, 'To be or to be, this is the decision'! □

Reprinted from *Free Palestine* (Australia), January-February 1986

Investigation

Write down,
I am an Arab,
My card is 50,000
I have eight children
The ninth will come next summer.
Are you angry?

Write down,
I am an Arab,
I cut stone with comrade laborers,
I squeeze the rock
To get a loaf,
To get a book
For my eight children.
But I do not plead charity
And I do not cringe
Under your sway.
Are you angry?

Write down,
I am an Arab,
I am a name without a title,
Steadfast in a frenzied world.

My roots sink deep
Beyond the ages,
Beyond time.

I am the son of the plough,
Of humble peasant stock.

I live in a hut
From reed and stalk.
The hair: Jet black.
The eyes: Brown.
My Arab headdress
Scratches intruding hands,
And I prefer a dip of oil and thyme.

And please write down
On top of all,
I hate nobody,
I rob nobody,
But when I starve
I eat the flesh of my marauders.
Beware,
Beware my hunger,
Beware my wrath.

Mahmoud Darwish

PEOPLE WITHOUT LICENSE

Salim Jubran

On 23 June 1986, the apartheid regime in South Af... (oops!), pardon me, the "liberal" Israeli authorities carried out a demolition order against the residence of Ra'fat Ighbariyyeh of Umm al-Fahm. The demolished house was allegedly built without proper license.

The operation, another in a long Israeli tradition of "civilizing missions" toward the Arabs, was carried out with the firmness and precision of a perfect Israeli military operation. Most probably, it had a glamorous code name used by the Israeli civilian police, Border Guards, and regular military units who presided over and carried out the demolition order in an impressive show of force.

Through this no-nonsense operation, the State of Israel left no doubt as to its total military superiority over the "state" of Umm al-Fahm. Furthermore, it has made it crystal clear to Mr. Ighbariyyeh and others of his ilk that they cannot simply go on violating the law of the land with impunity. After all, Israel is not a chaotic state.

The "State," in all its glory and power, had previously warned Mr. Ighbariyyeh by ordering him to demolish his house at his own discretion. He could have even asked his wife and children to assist him in tearing down their unlicensed house. However, he adamantly refused to carry out the order and was subsequently arrested. Therefore, the State had no choice but to interfere in order to uphold the law!

Few days prior to this impressive military operation in its element of surprise and skillful execution, the State of Israel accomplished another momentous and complex operation which required the mobilization of its well-disciplined armed forces nurtured on the fundamental Zionist moral principle of the "purity of arms." The Israeli army succeeded in uprooting and destroying an estimated 4,000 olive trees in the little Palestinian village of Midyah, 25 miles northeast of Ramallah, because the trees were planted on "state land." The subversive villagers overlooked an important fact: The State of Israel, which is surrounded by mortal enemies from all sides, is continuously alert and vigil to the slightest move by its enemies. Tzahal and Shabak were not fooled by the innocent 4,000 trees of Midyah.

These two momentous accomplishments within a single week prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that the State of Israel is fully capable and willing to defend itself and thwart any domestic or foreign Arab threat against its security. Furthermore, both incidents point to the mortal danger presented by the underlying security problem of the highest significance namely, the "demographic threat" created by the "unlicensed" and "unauthorized" rapid natural growth among the Arab population.

Regardless of what bleeding-heart liberals and anti-Semites might say, the underlying question remains that thousands of Arab babies are born every year in Sakhnin, Arrabeh, Umm al-Fahm and Tayybeh without license and in direct challenge to the State's central demographic plan. They simply sneak into this world without license and manage to illegally occupy "state land." They seem to be multiplying in an organized and unprecedented fashion to take over this land. I would not be surprised at all to discover one day that this illegal conspiracy is somehow orchestrated and financed by the PLO!!!

This problem is not without a solution if we muster enough courage and decisiveness in meeting the challenge head-on. All Arabs who managed to "sneak" onto "state land" must be identified and deported. Of course, should this plan be carried out, we might automatically be accused in certain international forums of racism and exclusivism. But, we have nothing to fear, for we are most definitely guaranteed another U.S. veto to block any form of condemnation proposed by the Soviets, Arabs, Muslims or other undesirables. Besides, let them scream bloody murder, what really counts is preserving "state land," law and order, and the Jewish character of the Zionist State! □

Translated from *al-Ittihad*, Haifa, 27 June 1986

THE ETHICS OF SHCHARANSKY'S STORY

[The following is an excerpt from an op-ed column published by The Milwaukee Journal on 6 April 1986. Its author, ***Robert B. Ashmore,*** *teaches philosophy at Marquette University]:*

The Journal has editorialized that Anatoly Shcharansky is a symbol of hope for Jews. That may be so. But it remains to be seen whether his release from the Soviet Union is a victory for human rights.

An elementary moral point is that rights are not human rights if they don't apply to everyone. Shcharansky sets foot in Israel and instantly becomes an Israeli citizen. But millions of Palestinians are denied the right of return to their homeland. As we rejoice in the fulfillment of Shcharansky's dream, we should call for a "law of return" that applies to both Jew and Palestinian.

The foremost champion of Shcharansky's release was his wife, Avital. Ignored in the media's celebration of her effort is the fact that Avital is a member of Gush Emunim. Among that group are settlers convicted of car-bombing Palestinian mayors, attempting to blow up mosques sacred to Muslims, and illegally seizing Palestinian property.

Avital herself calls for driving out 1.2 million Palestinians so that room can be made for other Soviet Jews. A brighter day lies ahead if her liberated husband can inspire respect for the human rights of all who live in that land.

Elementary acquaintance with moral reasoning makes clear that consistency and reciprocity are necessary for ethical behavior. If Jews have a moral right to a state of their own, then Palestinians have the same right. If Jews have sound arguments to demand a secular government in the United States, there should be concern about a theocracy in Israel.

Jews correctly denouce the silence that made a European Holocaust possible. But it is part of that universal message that no one can look the other way while Palestinians suffer under an occupation that corrupts the occupier. Anatoly Shcharansky can be a rallying force for those courageous Israeli and American Jews who oppose the wrongs of occupation.

Lessons of the Holocaust are moral lessons only if they teach that all people, including Palestinians, have equal rights.... □

FORUM

. . . AND SPEAK NO EVIL

[On 16 April 1986, an Israeli government employee was fired from his job with the Ministry of Education, lost his pension, and was barred from government service for a period of five years. The sentence was passed against him by the Disciplinary Court of Government Employees. His crime: violation of a 1959 Israeli law which prohibits civil servants from publicly criticizing the government and its policies. The following is an excerpt from an interview with Gideon Spiro, the victim of Israel's peculiar democracy, taken from News From Within *of 20 May 1986]:*

Q: ***What happened in the courtroom?***

A: Since my case was the first of its kind, there was a problem about how the law should be interpreted. We argued that it should apply to views voiced by civil servants during office hours but that under no circumstances should it be interpreted to mean that a government employee is government property 24 hours a day, that when sitting at home with friends, he's barred from expressing his views about fundamental issues affecting Israeli society.

Now the court not only rejected our interpretation of the law, it also revealed an exceptional degree of hostility toward me and my views. The judges even saw fit to argue with me about my views, over whether I was a Zionist, and about the events of 1936-1939.

In the middle of the trial the judges decided to expand the charges against me beyond the demands of the prosecution. What's even more extraordinary, they found me guilty of violating the "spirit" of the anti-terror law and on two other counts related to incitement to rebellion. They cited a letter of mine to *Ha'Olam Ha'Zeh* in which I wrote that I was proud of my comrades who had refused to serve in Lebanon and in which I referred to them as the true heroes of Israel. Actually, only the Attorney General can lay criminal charges. Only in totalitarian countries are people prosecuted for violating the "spirit of the law."

At that point we requested that the judges disqualify themselves from sitting in judgment on my case, but they refused.

The punishment I received at the end of the trial was even more severe than that meted out to convicted criminals! I was fired from my job, I was stripped of my pension rights and I was barred from holding a government job for the next five years.

It's absurd! The punishment I received was much much more severe than anything that happened to the initiators of the [Lebanon] war, those who are responsible for the murder of thousands of people. Sharon is sitting pretty in the cabinet and there's no move afoot to strip him of his pension rights. □

In Brief

REAGAN AGAINST FREE ELECTIONS

The Reagan administration has asked King Hussein of Jordan to approve the appointment of Palestinians to the "civil administration" in the occupied territories. In spite of its official verbal support for free elections in the occupied territories, the United States apparently agrees with Israel and Jordan that free elections could hamper the construction of a "positive leadership infrastructure"—a diplomatic euphemism for local Palestinian leadership not associated with the PLO.

SETTLEMENT ABANDONED

Forty Jewish families living in the Vered Yericho settlement in the occupied Jordan Valley have packed up their belongings and abandoned their settlement in protest over the lack of Israeli government concern over their financial well-being.

ARAFAT: LEADING CANDIDATE

An official study conducted by the Israeli occupation authorities in the Gaza Strip reveals that the PLO under the leadership of Yasser Arafat would score a decisive victory if municipal elections were held today. If the state of Israel were to permit free elections in Gaza, according to Shaike Erez, head of the Israeli "civil administration," Arafat would win.

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JORDAN STEPS UP CONFLICT WITH PLO

Hussein Seeks New Ways to Weaken Palestinian Loyalty to the PLO

PLO News and Views

Jordan's King Hussein intensified his conflict with the Palestine Liberation Organization to new levels in July, when his government ordered the closure of 25 PLO offices and the eviction of high-ranking Palestinian leaders from Jordan. The Jordanian move's principal target was Fateh, Yasser Arafat's group within the PLO and its largest contingent, which represents mainstream Palestinian nationalism. Among the Fateh leaders expelled from Jordan was Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad), Arafat's second-in-command of the Palestinian resistance forces, and a very popular Palestinian figure. A number of other Fateh leaders had been expelled earlier.

Hussein's move climaxed five months of rising tension in Jordanian-Palestinian relations which was triggered by King Hussein's decision last February to suspend coordination with the PLO, because Arafat refused a U.S. demand that the PLO accept U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 as the framework for an Arab-Israeli settlement. Arafat and Hussein had signed an agreement in February 1985 in which they committed themselves to work for peace based on all U.N. resolutions relevant to the Arab-Israeli conflict. [On the breakdown of PLO-Jordanian talks in Amman, see ***Palestine Perspectives,*** March/April 1986].

After the failure of the Amman talks, King Hussein decided to suspend political cooperation with the PLO. Furthermore, he blamed Arafat for the failure of the talks, even though it was King Hussein who violated his agreement with the PLO by insisting on new conditions for a Middle East peace effort.

The disagreement deteriorated into open conflict when King Hussein publicly appealed to the Palestinian people, especially those in the Israeli-occupied territories, to dump Arafat and choose a new Palestinian leadership more to the king's liking. The Jordanian government tried to drum up support for King Hussein in his competition with Arafat and the PLO for Palestinian loyalty. The plan backfired, and the people of the occupied territories gave the PLO a resounding endorsement, making it clear that only the PLO enjoys legitimacy in the Palestinian community.

The conflict continued to escalate when press leaks surfaced about an Israeli-Jordanian understanding behind the backs of the Palestinians, and when one of Arafat's former lieutenants (Abu Zaim) led a Jordanian-blessed futile attempt to wrest the mantle of leadership from Arafat's hands. All Jordanian attempts to weaken Palestinian allegiance to the PLO and Yasser Arafat's leadership of the Palestinian nationalist movement failed.

The Jordanians broadened the political offensive against the PLO. They encouraged their supporters to seize local leadership in the occupied territories by accepting Israeli appointments in the municipalities, and they used Jordan's geographic location as the only bridge the Palestinians under occupation have to the Arab world to punish PLO supporters. Pro-PLO Palestinian journalists were blacklisted, and Palestinians crossing into Jordan were harassed and questioned about their political beliefs. A few middle level Palestinian leaders were expelled from the country.

The Jordanian government also announced its intention to launch a $500 million 5-year development plan for the occupied territories. The fact that such a plan would have to be approved by Israel and financed by the United States leads Palestinians to believe that it is intended to subdue and domesticate the people of the occupied territories rather than to help them withstand the pressures of Israeli occupation.

But July's events came because the Jordanian authorities reached the conclusion that the Palestinians would not voluntarily abandon their national movement or leadership. The time had come, in their view, for some coercion.

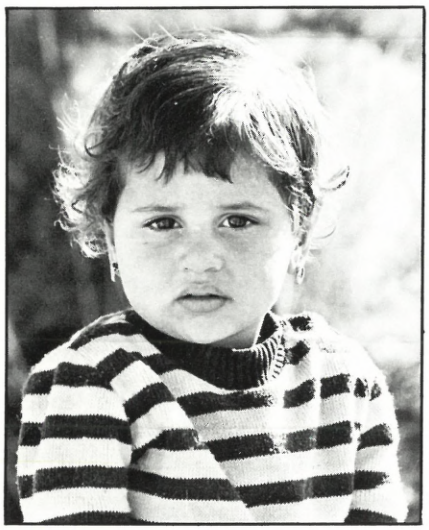
What does Jordan expect to achieve by its most recent escalation of the conflict with the PLO? It hopes that by monopolizing access to the occupied territories and their Palestinian inhabitants it would weaken the PLO's bonds with its main constituency. It hopes to intensify the Palestinians' sense of isolation from the leadership and hopes, as a consequence, that they would have no choice but to turn to Jordan for solace, support and guidance as they endure a cruel Israeli occupation. It also hopes to shore up its badly sagging credentials as the principal Arab interlocutor in the peace process by undermining the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Some analysts also believe that Jordan's moves against the PLO are partly motivated by domestic Jordanian considerations. The serious economic crisis in Jordan, and mounting dissatisfaction with the government have recently become widespread and vocal. The tragic events at Yarmouk University where Jordanian security forces stormed the campus to quell student unrest, killing and wounding a large number of students, intensified public resentment against the regime to unprecedented heights. Arrests and more stringent press censorship did not help. The regime felt a need to send a message that it was still in control, and that it was not about to tolerate opposition. The presence of Palestinians—who have a strong tradition of democratic politics and deep commitment to democratic freedoms was seen as an undesirable catalyst in a volatile political situation.

In the meantime, both Israel and the United States have been encouraging Jordan to clip the wings of the PLO. Israel frequently threatened possible strikes against Jordan as long as it hosted a PLO presence.

All of these events and factors converged to create the conditions which eventually exploded in the Jordanian offensive against the PLO. It remains to be seen if, this time, Jordan can succeed in achieving what history has shown on many previous occasions to be unachievable: to turn the Palestinian people against their freely chosen national movement and national leadership. □

Life Under Occupation



WHO'S AFRAID OF BABIES?

Israel's Demographic Nightmare

Recently, Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres, exhorted Israeli Jewish women to give birth to no less than four children each. A critical Israeli publication (*News From Within*, 20 May 1986) called the idea a "proposal to mobilize Jewish wombs" on behalf of Israel's struggle with the Palestinians.

The Israeli Prime Minister's call was provoked by a report on the demographic situation in Israel and the occupied territories. The report, prepared by Israeli demographer Roberto Bacchi and submitted to the Israeli cabinet, projected that by the year 2000, forty-three percent of the population (including the occupied territories) would be "non-Jewish."

The high Arab birthrate is perceived as a threat by most Israelis, and they customarily describe it as a "demographic nightmare." Israel, which rejects binationalism in Palestine, fears that the continuing increase in the ratio of Arabs in the population would make it increasingly difficult to conceal Israeli apartheid.

The Israelis now argue that there is a fundamental difference between Israel and South Africa because in Israel it is the majority which prevails, a distinction which ignores the fact that the Jewish majority in Israel was the result of war and expulsion of the indigenous Arab society. As the Arab population gains numerically, this distinction would disappear, and Israel would become a society dominated and governed by a settler minority.

Israelis worry a great deal about the demographic composition because Zionism rejects the pluralistic model of society. That is why they say that Israel is not only a Jewish state—meaning a state controlled by Jews—but also "the state of the Jews"—meaning that its population has to be overwhelmingly if not entirely Jewish.

Concern about the growth of the "non-Jewish" population has generated heated debate in Israel. There is broad agreement that it is a serious problem, but there are differences on how to deal with it.

(continued on page 9)

ANALYSIS...
SCAPEGOATS DON'T SUBSTITUTE FOR CONSCIENCE

A new book dealing with the handling of the Lebanon War by the Begin government blames Ariel Sharon for the "excesses" of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Arye Naor, Israeli cabinet secretary from 1977-1984, argues in his *Cabinet at War* that Begin sincerely intended to abide by a 40-kilometer incursion into Lebanese territory to drive the PLO out of artillery range of northern Israeli settlements. Sharon, on the other hand, viewed the invasion within the context of a larger design aimed at reshaping Lebanon and expelling the Palestinian population from that country to Jordan, where he hoped they would topple King Hussein and establish their own Palestinian state, thus facilitating Israeli permanent retention of the West Bank and Gaza, occupied by Israel since 1967.

One does not have to be a guardian of Sharon's reputation to see that the popular Israeli argument that Israel—both government and people—is innocent of all wrongdoing in the Lebanon War of 1982, and that Sharon is the sole guilty party to Israel's aggression is an untenable argument, to say the least. Sharon did not single-handedly dupe his country's military lieutenants, his fellow cabinet ministers, and the whole Israeli population into an ill-conceived adventure in search of unpopular and unattainable goals.

It is utterly inconceivable even for the unrestrainable Sharon to move unilaterally by "dragging an unwilling Israel" into an all-out war on Lebanon and the PLO without the acquiescence, if not approval, of most of his military and political colleagues. Therefore, to claim that Prime Minister Begin and his entire cabinet were misled and consequently approved the invasion on the basis of lies and inaccurate reports by Sharon or Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan is plain nonsense.

Hirsh Goodman (*The Jerusalem Post*, 21 June 1986) is quite right in arguing that "Ariel Sharon moved divisions that transformed Operation Peace for Galilee into three years of agony that left battalions of dead, brigades of wounded and Israel economically debilitated, morally sapped and internationally isolated." However, the blame for this national "agony" and debilitation cannot be solely Sharon's or Eitan's. After all, the man who allegedly brought a catastrophe upon Israel and the Jewish people remains today a *bona fide* minister in an Israeli government of "national unity."

It is high time for Israelis of all political shades to stop ducking responsibility for their crimes in Lebanon and assume a "national unity" front in accepting collective blame for the ordeal that they have inflicted on the people of Lebanon and Palestine...and on themselves.

Sharon, as defense minister and proud architect of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, does deserve a lion's share of the blame for that barbarous attack, but he certainly shares it with every Israeli and every Zionist who blindly supported and continue to support Israel's policy of aggression, expansion and military hegemony in the Middle East. □

THE PLIGHT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

TORTURE IN PRISONS

A new report on the torture of Palestinian political prisoners by Israeli interrogators reveals an alarming increase of such cases during the past year. The 23-page report was published by the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center under the title "1985—Policy of Torture Reviewed: Survey, Testimonies and Allegations." The Center is an Israeli organization which seeks to disseminate information on Israeli occupation policies and practices which the general media usually ignores.

The new report, prepared by Ghadda Abu Jaber, was based on field research which involved interviews with former prisoners who complained of having been tortured, and eight lawyers who represent political prisoners in the occupied territories.

Since the middle of 1985, the report says, there has been a 40 percent increase in the number of complaints about the torture of Palestinian detainees. All the cases studied involved torture during interrogation, and the increase in the use of torture to extract forced confessions is not restricted to particular prisons but is found throughout the occupied territories.

The use of torture against Palestinian political prisoners is not new. In 1977, a team of investigative reporters from the (London) *Sunday Times* revealed widespread and systematic torture in Israeli prisons. The report caused Israel a great deal of embarrassment when it was published, and after 1978 there were fewer complaints of torture. The new report concludes that the recent increase indicates a change of policy. "We are driven to conclude," the report says, "that there has been a change of policy regarding interrogation and that torture is once again becoming part and parcel of interrogation."

Torture Methods

The report lists the following methods of torture used by Israeli interrogators to extract confessions from Palestinian political prisoners:

1) ***Cold showers:*** This is the most widespread method and is mentioned in at least three-quarters of the complaints. The detainee is forced to shower in freezing cold water and thereafter to dry off beside a space heater or a fan. After drying off, he is returned to the shower for a repeat of the process. Detainees have been subjected to as many as eight such routines a day.

2) ***Sack:*** The interrogators tie a sack around the prisoner's neck and tighten it. When the prisoner is about to suffocate, the interrogators open the sack for a few minutes to let him have some air and then they repeat the process.

3) ***Burns:*** Inflicting burns has become extremely common over the past few months; it is usually done with a lit cigarette.

4) ***Beatings:*** Beatings have once again become routine. Interrogators usually hit the prisoner all over his body, especially on his head and genitals.

5) ***Threats of expulsion:*** Such threats have always been a routine part of interrogation. Lately, however, interrogators have been threatening prisoners with expulsion from the country if they do not cooperate.

6) ***Sleep deprivation:*** Preventing prisoners from going to sleep has become a widespread practice over the past few months. There are prisoners who have been deprived of sleep for over a week.

7) ***Conditions of confinement:*** Detainees are usually held with their hands in handcuffs and a bag over their heads. They are forced to stand for hours. Also, they are rarely provided with a change of clothes, at best once a month.

8) ***Gas and drugs:*** The use of gas is still limited and complaints about the use of drugs appeared only one time in the files of the cases reviewed by the report.

It is worth citing that "we did not come across any complaint about torture by electricity or rape, in contrast to the situation in the seventies."

The Center says that its report is not a comprehensive survey of the use of torture in Israel, but a preliminary report to alert public opinion to the inhuman practice. Eight affidavits by prisoners who have experienced torture during interrogation and by their attorneys are included in the report.

The report may be obtained from Alternative Information Center, Koresh Street 14E, Jerusalem. □

PRISONERS TEARGASSED

Press reports from the occupied territories reveal a grave deterioration in prison conditions involving Palestinian political prisoners at Beersheba, Jnaid, Kfar Yona and Neve Terza prisons. Most recently, the Israeli prison authorities resorted to the use of tear gas at Neve Terza in an attempt to end a hunger strike by Palestinian detainees at the all-women facility to protest repeated attacks by Jewish criminal prisoners with the approval of the prison authorities. Strike leaders were teargassed in their cells, manhandled by prison guards and forcibly transferred to solitary confinement at Abu Kbir prison in Tel Aviv.

Lawyers associated with the Prisoner's Friends Committee who visited the facilities in question and interviewed some of the prisoners contradicted official Israeli description of the incident at Neve Terza as a routine clash between criminal inmates and political detainees. Instead, they revealed a series of arbitrary measures carried out against the prisoners by the Israeli authorities. These practices include solitary confinement, teargassing, confiscation of incoming and outgoing mail, withholding personal belongings distributed by the Red Cross, in addition to outlawing Arabic publications, including newspapers, within the prison facilities.

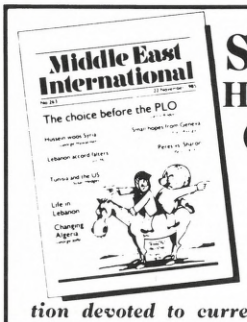
Similar tear gas attacks were reported in recent weeks at Beersheba and Jnaid where several Palestinian prisoners have been reportedly injured as a result of harsh treatment by the authorities. □

Life Under Occupation

APARTHEID VIOLATOR PENALIZED

An Israeli farmer is threatened with eviction from his land as punishment for violating Israel's apartheid laws. Yig'al Gee, 46, from *moshav* Sadeh Eli'ezer in the Upper Galilee, is being prosecuted for allowing his Palestinian farm hands to stay on his farm overnight instead of returning to their village, Sakhnin. Agricultural Ministry inspectors cited him for violation of the Agricultural Settlement Law which prohibits the accommodation of "non-Jews" on state land. The Arab farm workers had been sleeping in an empty chicken coop on the farm.

In previous cases of this type, violators had been fined. This time, the "offender" refused to pay the fine, arguing that he either has to be evicted or the law has to be repealed. □



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ISRAELIS TO DISMANTLE REFUGEE CAMP

Amid a new wave of Israeli harassment of Palestinian residents of the Shu'fat refugee camp, sources in the occupied territories confirm that the City of Jerusalem intends to evacuate and level the camp.

Camp residents told *al-Ittihad*, an Israeli daily published in Arabic in Haifa, that 65 youths have been detained in recent weeks on such charges as stone throwing or membership in "subversive" organizations. The Palestinian refugees complained of daily Israeli raids aimed at intimidating them into evacuating the camp. They mentioned specific plans suggested by officials of the Jerusalem municipality to remove them and level the camp.

An authoritative source in UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) confirmed to *Al-Awdah* (22 June 1986) in Jerusalem that camp residents have recently met Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek to express "their vehement rejection of the plan to demolish the camp and offer the inhabitants alternative accommodation elsewhere."

In an attempt to play down the affair, Emir Heishen, deputy mayor of Jerusalem, claimed that the whole problem is a case of misunderstanding on the part of local residents. He told *al-Awdah*: "It was just a suggestion. We have no specific plans for resettling the refugees of Shu'fat camp. We just wanted to hear what they think of such a plan!"

The Shu'fat refugee camp was established in 1966 by UNRWA on two square kilometers of land leased for a period of 99 years from its Arab owners. The camp's 6,000 residents are refugees from Lydda, Ramleh, Jaffa, Katenneh, Beit Thul, Beit Nuba...and other Palestinian cities and villages seized by Israel in 1948. □

BABIES

(continued from page 7)

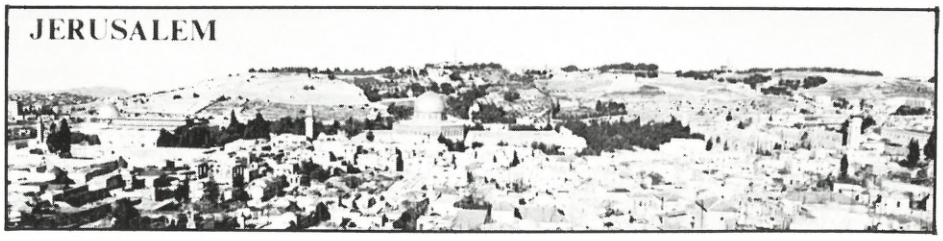
The dilemma the Israelis perceive is that the continuing growth of the Palestinian Arab population would inevitably force Israel to choose between its democratic facade or "Jewish character." It would either have to become a binational Arab-Jewish state, if the Arabs are given the right to vote, or an explicitly apartheid state on the South African model, if the Arabs are denied share in political power.

Some Israelis refuse to concede the existence of this dilemma. These include a minority who feel that Israel can save both its Jewishness and democratic facade by giving up the occupied territories, which would diminish the ratio of the Arab population from 37 percent to about 16 percent. Others, who oppose Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, advocate mass expulsion of the Arab population as the proper Zionist remedy. What they all have in common is that they are afraid of Palestinian babies.

News From Within described the Israeli cabinet's session which discussed Bacchi's report on 11 May in the following words:

"Among the dozen ministers present at the meeting, no one responded to his 'dire warning' by replying 'So what?' Nor did a single minister present protest against the implicit and explicit racism of Bacchi's 'demographic data.' Rather, they discussed the 'danger' and the 'threat' the 'demographic problems' posed with the utmost gravity and concern."

The decline in the relative ratio of the Jewish population of Israel is not all due to the higher Palestinian birthrate. It is also due to the decline in Jewish immigration to Israel, and to the fact that Israel is having problems holding on to its Jewish population. In 1985, for example, more Jews left Israel than those who went to live there. □



COMMENTARY...
WHAT DOES WASHINGTON WANT?

In the fall of 1982, as the Israeli invasion of Lebanon detonated another explosion in the Middle East, the Arabs unanimously approved a framework for peace in the Middle East. The Arab peace plan, approved by an Arab summit conference at Fez, Morocco, met with unequivocal rejection from Israel and failed to excite the self-styled peace brokers in Washington. The Reagan administration's reception of the Arab peace proposals was cool—to put it mildly.

Now, the White House admits—four years later—that the Arab peace plan was not so bad after all. A White House letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, dated 18 June 1986, stated that the Fez proposals "significantly and irreversibly modified" the Arab position on conciliation with Israel. It "moved the Arab position from rejection of peace to consideration of *how* to achieve peace with Israel." The letter from the White House said that the Fez plan was "the single largest step toward peace on which the Arab world has been able to agree."

In view of the fact that one of the arguments usually invoked to question Arab willingness or ability to make peace is that they are unable to agree among themselves, it is important to stress that the Fez plan was approved unanimously and at the highest levels of Arab decision making.

Why was the Fez plan ignored when it was made, and why is it being praised now? And if it represents such a significant step in the direction of Arab-Israeli conciliation, why is it not being explored by the peace brokers in Washington? The Arabs have not withdrawn the offer; it is still available.

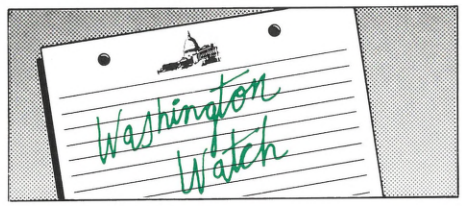
It would not do to argue that the U.S. has some problems with some of the Arab proposals. Are the Arabs supposed to come up with totally acceptable proposals before they deserve to be discussed? The usual procedure in negotiations is that once important progress is achieved, negotiations are held to firm up what has been agreed and to iron out remaining difficulties. Otherwise, negotiations become nothing more than signing ceremonies, which is not normally the case. The U.S. should know this better than anyone else, because it is always telling the Arabs to go to the negotiating table to argue against what they cannot accept.

The point is that the questions raised above still need to be answered. And the answer is that the Reagan administration is currently lobbying, not on behalf of peace, but on behalf of its arms policy in the region. The President seems to be more rational when he wears his arms merchant's uniform than his peacemaker's hat. His letter to Congress is intended to secure congressional approval of his arms sale proposal to Saudi Arabia, and he is using its role in the Arab adoption of the Fez plan to achieve that objective.

There is nothing wrong with that, except that it is hypocritical. If the Fez plan is sufficient proof of Saudi Arabia's endeavors on behalf of peace in the Middle East, why is it not also sufficient proof of Arab readiness to make peace? After all, Saudi Arabia's initiative at Fez was intended to move the peace process, not to get American weapons.

The problem is that the admission that the Arabs seek peace requires that their overtures be reciprocated. This creates problems for Israel and its friends in Washington. It would raise questions about Israel's own readiness to make peace. It would raise questions about its refusal to deal with the PLO, one of the architects of the Fez peace proposals. It would raise questions about Israel's continuing policy of repression and annexation in the occupied territories. It would raise questions about Israel's massive armaments program. And it would raise questions about the wisdom of Washington's fierce campaign against the Arabs.

Washington needs to decide: What does it really want in the Middle East? □



PEACE PROPOSALS IN WASTEBASKET

The America-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace wants to know what the U.S. government has done with the PLO proposals for convening an international conference for peace in the Middle East. Three alternate proposals were transmitted to the U.S. through Jordan last February. The U.S. government never publicly acknowledged receipt of the PLO peace proposals. [For the text of the three proposals see **Palestine Perspectives,** number 22, March/April 1986].

A statement about the fate of the PLO proposals and U.S. lack of response to them was distributed on 20 June by the Washington chapter of the Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. The statement said: "It is feared that they [PLO peace proposals] have been tossed into the wastebasket by the United States."

According to the statement, even members of congress have been kept in the dark about the fact that the PLO had made three proposals for a peace conference. During hearings in the House of Representatives on 6 May, the statement said, "it appeared that most of the members may have learned of the proposals from an ad in *The New York Times.*

"Why was so little attention paid to the proposals?" The statement asked. "Why is there no serious thinking about involving the Palestinians in the peace process? Why was there no serious response from the U.S. to the proposals? Why didn't the media ask about the proposals and the U.S. response?"

The America-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian peace answered the questions by saying that "the necessary commitment from the administration is not there; public opinion will be necessary to influence Mr. Shultz and the President."

ISRAELI ESPIONAGE IN AMERICA

THE POLLARD CASE
A Family Affair

An Israeli journalist expressed surprise that American Jews are worried about possible implications of the Pollard case, involving Israeli spying in the United States. In an article titled "The Spy and the American Jew," (*New York Times*, 9 July 1986), Annette Dulzin wrote that she could not understand why American Jews should worry about suspicion of dual loyalty.

"As an Israeli," she wrote, "I don't understand why this charge makes American Jews so uncomfortable. Is it not tantamount to contending that one loves one's mother less because one also loves one's father?"

Although Ms. Dulzin, who is a political commentator for the Israeli newspaper *Yedi'ot Ahronot*, does not explain who is the mother and who is the father of American Jews—admittedly a secondary point—her message comes through clearly: Israeli spying on America is really harmless; it all stays in the family anyway. What Dulzin fails to make clear—and this is not a secondary point—is how an issue involving betrayal of country gets whitewashed with a sermon about filial obligations. □

GOOD NEWS FOR SPIES

Spies against America may soon get a badly-needed boost to their careers. They may have a brand new defense. They can always claim that they thought they were spying for Israel!

At any rate, that was what the defense attorney for Jerry A. Whitworth, accused of spying for the Soviet Union, said on behalf of his client.

Whitworth, a former navy radioman, is on trial in San Francisco. His lawyer, James Larson, told the jury that it wouldn't be fair to convict him for spying. After all, the man thought that he was helping Israel. □

ISRAELIS CAUGHT AGAIN

U.S. federal authorities issued subpoenas and search warrants on 8 June 1986 against several officials of the Israeli Ministry of Defense Procurement Mission in New York and three U.S. companies as part of an investigation into Israeli attempts to obtain illegally U.S. technology to manufacture antipersonnel cluster bombs. The identities of the Israeli officials involved were not revealed.

Officials in Washington confirmed that a probe into illegal transfer of cluster-bomb manufacturing technology to Israel is currently underwary. *The Washington Post* (9 July 1986) reported that Israeli Ambassador Meir Rosenne has been summoned to the State Department on 8 July 1986, and informed of the investigation. Meanwhile, Israeli Defense Ministry officials denied the charges and announced that their government is looking into the reports of alleged smuggling attempts.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin told the foreign press that "it looks like some people somewhere are trying to find out of nowhere stories that will undermine the relationship and put pressure on American industry, threaten it not to cooperate with Israel." *The Washington Post* further quoted Rabin insisting that, "To make a fuss over this issue looks artificial to me!"

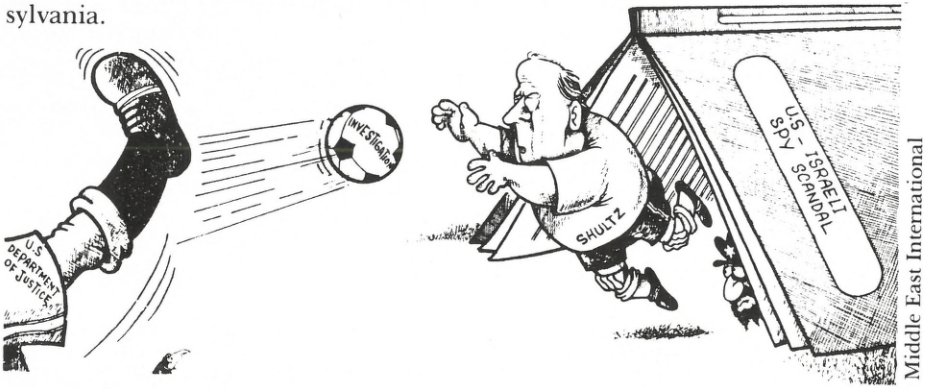
Dan Hoover of the U.S. Customs, however, confirmed that search warrants have been served on two Iowa companies, Vector Corporation and Bexco International. Investigators planned to search a third company, Assembly Machines Inc., of Erie, Pennsylvania.

This incident represents the fourth Israeli arms export violation in the past 14 months. In May 1985, Richard K. Smyth, an Orange County engineer, was indicted in California for illegally shipping to Israel 810 electronic triggering devices known as krytrons which are used to trigger nuclear explosions. Smyth fled the country before his trial and remains at large.

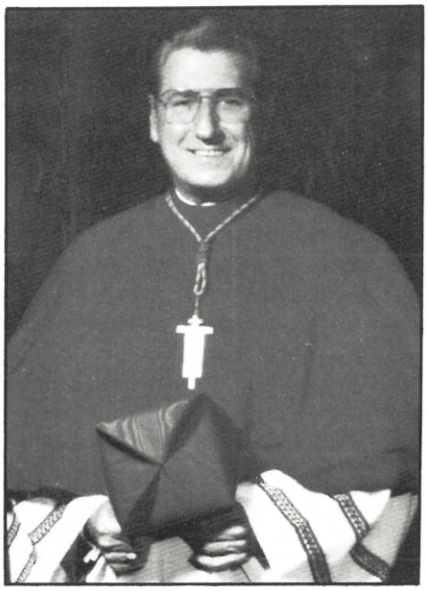
The second incident occurred in December 1985, and involved several U.S. companies engaged in the illegal export of chrome-plating equipment for tank gun barrels. The companies were accused of exporting technology to Israel without the required government munitions license. The Israeli government blamed the American companies for the violation. No charges have been filed as of this date.

In April 1986, three Israelis, including a reserve general licensed by the Israeli Defense Department as an arms dealer, were arrested in Bermuda and subsequently extradited to the United States where they were charged with conspiring to smuggle $2.5 billion worth of advanced U.S.-made arms to Iran from Israel, Greece and another NATO country. U.S. law prohibits the transfer of American-manufactured weaponry to third parties without State Department approval.

It is worth noting that the export of cluster bombs to Israel, the subject of the current smuggling attempt, had been banned by the Reagan administration in 1982 due to Israeli violation of U.S. restrictions that American-supplied weapons be used only in self-defense. □



Middle East International



CARDINAL O'CONNOR CALLS FOR PALESTINIAN HOMELAND

John Cardinal O'Connor, the Roman Catholic archbishop of New York, called for the creation of "a homeland" for Palestinians and warned that the conditions the Palestinian people are forced to live under "spawn terrorism."

In an unprecedented statement following a three-day visit to Lebanon, Cardinal O'Connor remarked that "any honest observer who asks questions out there always comes back to a fundamental question that in my judgement we continue to ignore, and that is the Palestinian question." The Catholic archbishop insisted that, "somehow, a homeland has to be provided for the Palestinian people."

The cardinal admitted that specific aspects of "statehood or protocol or official recognition..." must be left "for the people in public office," however, he insisted that "from a moral perspective, these people [the Palestinians] have to be given a homeland. Otherwise, everything spills over into every area, and that has to result in a very volatile situation."

Upon his return to New York, after a two-day stop in Rome to brief Pope John Paul II about his mission to Lebanon, Cardinal O'Connor defended his support for a Palestinian homeland by asking: "What is the natural reaction when you see people without a home but to give them a place to live." Then, in an attempt to alleviate possible Jewish fears as a result of his statement, O'Connor added: "I am the first to defend the Israelis, but that is not going to keep me from talking about the needs of homeless people."

Msgr. John G. Nolan, national secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (CNEWA), who accompanied the cardinal on his trip to Beirut, explained that the cardinal's position on a Palestinian homeland is fully consistent with that taken by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in 1973 and 1978. The Catholic bishops called for a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement that would assure the creation of a Palestinian homeland while preserving Israeli sovereignty within secure borders.

"There are millions of people in refugee camps, raised in the camps, with no national identity, no passport...Until this problem is solved," Msgr. Nolan told the *Catholic New York* (26 June 1986), "there can be no peace in the Middle East."

According to *The New York Times* (19 June 1986), Cardinal O'Connor's statement parallels Vatican policy on the Middle East, although the cardinal was more straightforward in his comments. The Vatican has consistently expressed concern about Palestinian rights and has refused to extend diplomatic recognition to Israel until a peaceful settlement is achieved between Israel and its Arab neighbors over the Palestine problem. □

ARSON DESTROYS UPA OFFICES

The Washington headquarters of the United Palestinian Appeal were firebombed on June 16 causing extensive damage estimated at $60,000-$100,000. The police, according to Dr. Bishara Bahbah, UPA Director, ruled the fire an arson but had no evidence that it was set by terrorists. The FBI and the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms were involved in the investigation to determine whether or not the arson was politically motivated.

Dr. Bahbah told *Palestine Perspectives* that the police had arrested a suspect who was arraigned before the District of Columbia Superior Court, charged with arson and subsequently held without bail.

Although the motive for the arson remains unknown, Bahbah expressed his concern in light of recent attacks against several Arab-American targets throughout the United States. He said: "Our concern stems from the fact that Arab-Americans in the past have been a target and therefore we cannot help but think that there might be a connection."

United Palestinian Appeal is a tax-exempt, charitable organization incorporated in New York in 1978. It is an independent, non-political charity devoted to "alleviating the human suffering of ordinary Palestinians" living under Israeli occupation and throughout the diaspora. In 1985, UPA was recognized by the U.S. Agency for International Development as a private voluntary organization (PVO) involved in foreign aid programs. Although this recognition entitles UPA to apply for U.S. government grants to sponsor development projects for Palestinians, the Israeli government refused to register the organization as a PVO in December 1985. □



UPA offices destroyed

ISRAEL PROFITS FROM OCCUPATION

A recent internal study prepared by U.S. State Department staff revealed that the balance of trade between Israel and the occupied territories netted $800 million in surplus for the state of Israel. The study traced this surplus to growing Israeli services and exports to the West Bank and Gaza coupled with a decline in imports from the territories to Israel.

This surplus in the balance of trade between Israel and the occupied territories, according to the report, is twice the size of the surplus in the balance of trade between the United States and Israel, excluding military imports. The study concludes that this sizeable profit resulting from Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory could be a serious hindrance to the peace process which might in fact deprive Israel of this additional income. □

PALESTINE AND JUSTICE

PHRC Conference

The Chicago-based human rights organization, Palestine Human Rights Campaign, plans to hold this year's annual conference in Chicago on 19-20 September 1986. The theme of this year's conference will be "Palestine and Justice: The Next Phase."

The conference will include panels on a variety of topics related to the main theme, such as "Religious Aspects of Justice in the Holy Land," "Historical and International Dimensions to the Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination," "Confronting Israel's Iron Fist," "Israeli Apartheid and Palestinian Resistance," and others.

Conference speakers will include former U.S. Attorney-General Ramsey Clark, M.I.T. professor Noam Chomsky, Columbia University professor Edward Said, and other well-known activists in the struggle for human rights.

For information about the conference write to PHRC, 220 South State #1308, Chicago, Illinois 60604. □

HELMS' BLACKMAIL

Senator Jesse Helms (D-NC) wants to prohibit any improvements in the security of the U.S. embassy in Israel unless it is moved to Jerusalem. Helms' blackmail of the State Department came in the form of an amendment (no. 2191) to a House appropriation bill (H.R. 4151) which would allocate $857,800,000 for the construction of more secure U.S. embassies and the improvement of the security of American embassies in 75 locations around the world. Of that amount, $83,423,000 would be used to build a safer U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv, and $41,083,000 for the construction of a new U.S. consulate in occupied East Jerusalem to replace the existing one. The State Department believes that the present location of the Tel Aviv embassy makes it vulnerable to attack and difficult to secure.

The Helms' amendment, which was accepted by unanimous consent in the Senate on 25 June, stipulates that the funds earmarked for the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv would not be released unless it is rebuilt within five miles of the Israeli Knesset building in Jerusalem.

In a statement on behalf of his amendment, Senator Helms argued—in masterful doublespeak—that building a new U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv, where U.S. embassies have been always located since Israel came into existence in 1948, would be tantamount to changing the status quo! He explained his strange logic by saying that building the new embassy in Tel Aviv "is an affirmative act which assumes that there will never be an outcome to the Middle East peace negotiations which acknowledges Jerusalem as the capital of Israel."

Senator Helms, who until his last reelection campaign was branded by the Zionist lobby as an enemy of the Jewish state and barely kept his Senate seat, has become an outspoken friend of Israel and a most ardent supporter of its expansionist policy. His amendment is intended to bring about de facto U.S. acceptance of Israel's annexation of occupied East Jerusalem and the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In its 1986 annual conference, the Zionist lobby (AIPAC) resolved to work again for the transfer of the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"That Sharon remains in the wheelhouse of power, though not yet at the helm, makes a mockery of the concept of accountability. Worse, it casts a shadow over the fundamentals of what constitutes right and wrong in this country."

Hirsh Goodman
The Jerusalem Post
21 June 1986

"It has become almost an annual event to write epitaphs for the PLO. In the past four years the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has experienced stresses that would have spelled the end of most political organizations, but the PLO seems to have had enough resiliency to survive."

Bryan Daves
Defense & Foreign Affairs
June 1986

"Refusing to negotiate with the PLO is one of our most sacred cows, and the time has come to give it a proper kosher butchering. The need for this... arises rather because the Palestinians will never consent to a leadership dictated by us. Such leaders will be viewed as despicable quislings...."

Natan Grusovitch
Ha'aretz
25 May 1986

"When someone says to me: 'If we annex the territories, Israel will cease to be a democratic state,' I say: 'In fact, Israel is already not democratic, because it includes territories and population that fall outside the pale of democracy.'"

Haim Zadok
Politika
April 1986

THE WORLD COMMUNITY SPEAKS OUT ON PALESTINE

All States Should Facilitate Palestinian Rights

World View

On 10 December 1981, the U.N. General Assembly resolved to convene an International Conference on the Question of Palestine. The conference convened in Geneva between 29 August and 7 September, 1983. It was attended by 137 states, 20 of which attended as observers, and by a large number of delegates representing regional organizations, liberation movements, specialized U.N. agencies, and non-governmental organizations.

The conference adopted a "Program of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights." It resolved that "no effort should be spared to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their rights in Palestine." To achieve that end, the conference adopted a large number of recommendations including the following:

Recommendations on Palestine

I

All states, individually or collectively, should:

1) Recognize the importance of solving the Palestine question.

2) Intensify efforts for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

3) Consider Israel's continued occupation as exacerbating instability and endangering international peace and security.

4) Oppose and reject, as a serious and continuing obstacle to peace, the expansionist policies pursued by Israel, including its actions to change the geographic nature and demographic character of the occupied territories.

5) Refrain from giving Israel any assistance to encourage it militarily, economically and financially to continue its aggression and occupation.

6) Comply with U.N. resolutions which reject Israel's annexation of Jerusalem and its declaration of the holy city as its capital.

7) Urge Israel to take measures to prevent the desecration of the holy places.

8) Consider ways to meet the threat to Africa posed by Israel's close collaboration with the apartheid regime in South Africa.

9) Encourage states which have not yet done so to welcome all peace initiatives based on the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

10) Seek and develop ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to exercise sovereignty over their natural resources.

11) Declare null and void all Israeli acts to annex territory by the expropriation of land, water resources, and property.

12) Assist the Palestinians to alleviate the economic and social burdens of the occupation.

13) Express concern about Israeli repression involving mass arrests, acts of torture, destruction of houses, and expulsion of people.

14) Recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and establish with it appropriate relations.

15) Encourage the formation of national committees in support of the Palestinian people.

16) Encourage the observance of 29 November as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

17) Request the General Assembly to designate a Year of Palestine.

II

The conference stresses the obligation of all states to enable the U.N. to play an expanded and effective role in solving the Palestine question, including:

1) Suppress acts of aggression in the Middle East.

2) Take prompt and effective steps to establish an independent sovereign Palestinian state through the implementation of the relevant U.N. resolutions.

3) To place the occupied territories, following the withdrawal of Israel, under a short transitional period under U.N. supervision, during which period the Palestinian people would exercise its right to self-determination.

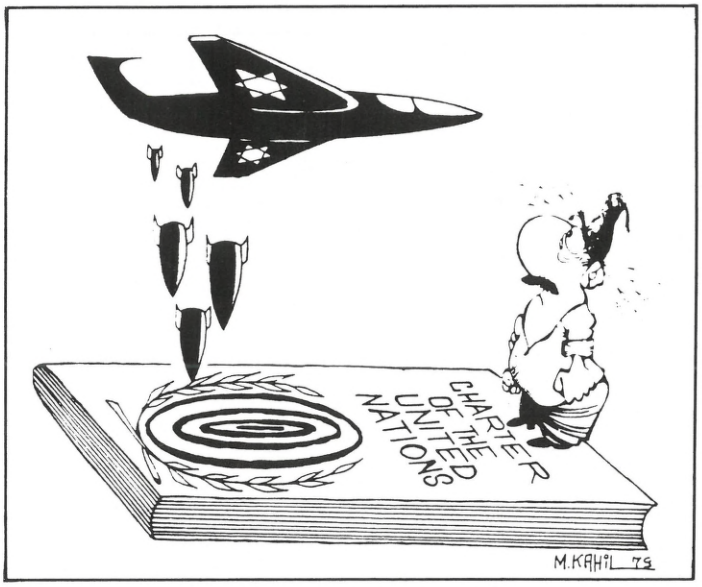
4) Facilitate the right to return of the Palestinians to their homes and property.

5) Supervise elections to the constituent assembly of the independent Palestinian state in which all Palestinians shall participate.

6) Provide, if necessary, temporary peace-keeping forces to facilitate the implementation of the preceding recommendation.

7) Urge the Security Council to consider appropriate measures to ensure Israeli compliance with the relevant U.N. resolutions.

8) Request the U.N. Secretary-General, the appropriate U.N. agencies, and non-governmental organizations to work to disseminate accurate information about the Palestine question and to raise awareness of and support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent sovereign Palestinian state. □





Middle East International

RELIGIOUS-SECULAR CONFLICT IN ISRAEL

Violent clashes between religious and secular groups flared up in Israel. The conflict became so threatening that Shimon Peres, Israel's Prime Minister, warned that "the country could destroy itself from within." His remark came after the conflict climaxed with the burning of a synagogue in Tel Aviv, the painting of swastikas on another, and the ransacking of two yeshivas (religious schools).

The burning of the synagogue was a reaction to a violent rampage by religious militants in which more than 100 bus shelters around the country were burned and defaced. The Jerusalem area was the hardest hit in the clashes.

The problem began when extremist religious groups began to protest advertisements on bus shelters showing women in bathing suits. It spread to other areas, such as Petah Tikva, where orthodox Jews began to clash with Sabbath moviegoers. The secularists, who resented the attempt to impose religious observances by force, began to fight back, a cycle which ended up with the burning of the Tel Aviv synagogue.

The religious-secular split is one of the most dangerous sources of social and political conflict in Israeli society. It divides Israel on practically every issue, from the form of government to bus services on Saturday. It is one of the principal reasons why Israel does not have and never had a written constitution. □

THE ISRAELI SPY NETWORK

American intelligence officials believe that Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega has been peddling U.S. secrets to Israel, according to *Newsweek* magazine (30 June 1986). The general has been serving Israel by intercepting and relaying to Israel coded U.S. data on Latin America, a lucrative arms market for Israel.

American intelligence sources say that Noriega has been spotted meeting with high-ranking Mossad (Israeli intelligence) agents in Panama, Canada and Europe in recent years. They also suspect that a multi-million dollar Israeli contribution to Panamanian President Eric Arturo Delvalle was probably in payment for Noriega's services.

Noriega is also believed by U.S. intelligence to be involved in drug trafficking, money laundering and arms dealing. □

YELLOW STAR IN ISRAEL

The Israeli Interior Ministry has instituted a policy requiring that the word "converted" be stamped on the identity cards of converted Jews residing in Israel. The practice, in effect, creates a group of stigmatized class of Jews in the Jewish state.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, described this Israeli policy as "the equivalent of the infamous yellow star" used by the Nazis to discriminate against German Jews. In a letter to the *New York Times*, published on 27 June 1986, Rabbi Schindler called it "humiliating" and "mean-spirited," and he said that it "affronted the dignity of the human person."

Palestinians have long suffered from Israeli discrimination. Among other things, Palestinians with Israeli citizenship are assigned distinguishable numbers on their identity cards. Now Israel is learning that once you concede the idea of discrimination, there is no telling how far it would go. □

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