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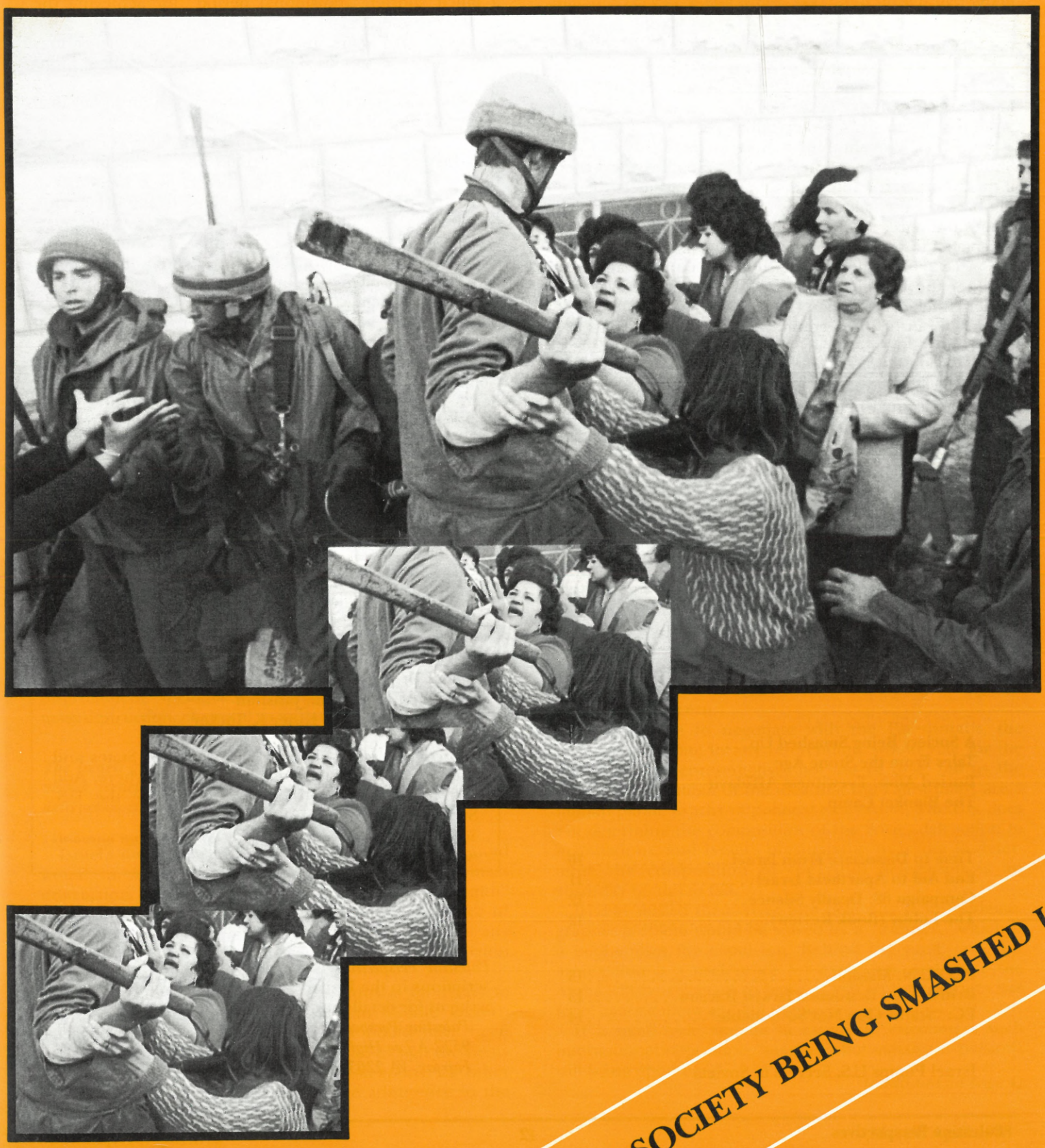

A SOCIETY BEING SMASHED U

HERE WE GO AGAIN

Why is it that some people think that they can extricate themselves from a quagmire by wriggling in their place? Haven't they seen enough movies to know that it doesn't work?

We are referring to Mr. Shultz and his most recent brainstorm about Arab-Israeli peace. Mr. Shultz—pretending that he had not seen, heard, read or learned anything new during the past ten years—came up with the uninspiring idea that Arab-Israeli peace can be achieved by getting Israel and Jordan to sit together and figure out how not to give the Palestinians self-determination.

Some people might think that we are being unfair to Mr. Shultz and his ideas. All we can say is "go ahead and check it out." The man wants Jordan and Israel to meet (behind the backs of the Palestinians, whose land and fate are the issue) and agree on how to elect a group of Palestinians acceptable to them. A few months later, Israel, Jordan and the acceptable Palestinians sit together and agree on whether the Palestinians are to live unhappily ever after under Israeli or Jordanian rule, or both.

We left out of the account a few minor details, to help you focus on the essentials, but in essence this is the basic outline of the Shultz initiative. The initiative, of course, is Camp David leftovers; a used version of a scheme which didn't get us anywhere when it was brand new. Now you understand why we started out with the story about people who wriggle in their place.

Among the details we left out are two which deserve to be mentioned. One, Mr. Shultz thinks that the Palestinians should have "limited self-government" within the context of Israeli-Jordanian Big Brotherhood. The extent of that "limited self-government" he left to Israeli-Jordanian magnanimity, something which the Palestinians find less than exciting. The concept of "limited self-government" within the context of Israeli-Jordanian sovereignty is a proposal for a Palestinian Bantustan, an idea whose time belongs to the Middle Ages at best.

The second detail is the fact that Mr. Shultz is proposing a much shorter "transitional period" for achieving the final agreement. The original Camp David agreement suggested five years; the Shultz version speaks of four months. This is supposed to be the big improvement in his proposal.

Sorry. Speeding up the consummation of an unfair deal is not our idea of reform.

The whole exercise compels one to wonder whether the Secretary of State is only too timid and unimaginative in his far from diligent search for peace, or if he wants to defuse the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation by creating the illusion of "movement" in the peace process. One is also tempted to say that Mr. Shultz is trying to undermine international support of a Middle East peace conference by giving the impression that a peace process is underway already.

The denial of self-determination to the Palestinian people is the reason why the Arab-Israeli conflict persists. The status quo, as the Foreign Ministers of the European Community recently said, is not sustainable. What the U.S. needs to do, if it is to contribute to a genuine peace process, is to think of an American policy and stop trying to sell Israeli policy. □

M. Hallaj

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Israel's Nuclear Policy

"A DEED OF IRRESPONSIBLE ARROGANCE"

By Matti Peled

[On 25 November 1987, Israeli Knesset Member Matti Peled made a speech warning of the disastrous implications of Israel's nuclear policy. The following excerpts from his statement are reprinted from the January-February issue of ***The Other Israel****]:*

At the U.N. General Assembly, Egypt proposed to declare the Middle East a nuclear-free zone. Israel made no response to this proposal and, as far as I know, even made no reference whatsoever to it. This indifference is astonishing... It seems that the Israeli government has not yet realized that nuclear disarmament is a vital interest of the state of Israel; that such a disarmament will safeguard Israel's existence as much as the existence of any other country in the region. The Israeli government's outright rejection of the Egyptian proposal can only be described as a deed of irresponsible arrogance....

The government seems to believe that the absence of nuclear arms in the Arab countries safeguards Israel. This was the underlying assumption behind the 1981 decision to bomb the Iraqi nuclear reactor. But this assumption is basically wrong. The danger facing Israel is not just a war in which nuclear arms are used, but a war conducted through weapons of mass destruction in general—nuclear or chemical.

Israel has no monopoly over weapons of mass destruction. Iraq alone produces each month 60 tons of "mustard gas," and four tons each of the lethal nerve gases "sarin" and "tabun." Syria, too, possesses gases of a kind considered a weapon of mass destruction....

Thus—even if we assume that no Arab country will ever possess nuclear arms—Arab countries already do have weapons of mass destruction which may be used in war and require nuclear retaliation. Is this not reason enough for Israel to have an urgent interest in achieving a nuclear disarmament in the Middle East? In this context "nuclear disarmament" includes the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, chemical as well as nuclear....

The Israeli government's illusion that its nuclear superiority makes Israel immune from all types of weapons of mass destruction is a dangerous error in strategic thinking.

Israel's nuclear "wealth" is detrimental to its future, and would in no way help its survival in a war of mass destruction. The same is true, of course, for the "wealth" in chemical weapons of some Arab countries. In face of these grave dangers, is it not natural to search for any possibility of eliminating all weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East?...

The best answer to all these questions is for Israel to express its willingness to participate in Middle Eastern nuclear disarmament... This process would have been easier had the Israeli government agreed to sign the treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as other Middle East countries have done. The adherence to the treaty by all governments in the region should be the first step—as, indeed, the Egyptian proposal stipulates. Once all Middle East states have signed the treaty, the International Atomic Energy Agency would have the power to send inspectors and carry out the projected U.N. resolution on Middle Eastern nuclear disarmament. There is no doubt that the very announcement of Israeli adherence to the Egyptian proposal will decrease the tension and the growing fear of a Middle Eastern nuclear war.

Unfortunately, the government of Israel is ignoring both the problem and the possibilities of solving it... Therefore, I propose to express the Knesset's lack of confidence in the government, for its irresponsible treatment of this serious problem. □

Matti Peled, retired Israeli army general, is now a member of the Knesset representing the Progressive List for Peace.

ISRAEL'S MOMENT OF TRUTH

By Yehoshafat Harkabi

[The following are excerpts from a lengthy article by a Hebrew University professor, a former Israeli general who had been head of military intelligence. The article appeared in ***The Jerusalem Post,*** *International Edition, week ending 13 February 1988]:*

The choice before Israel is not between good and bad, but between bad and worse. In the absence of an accommodation, the following developments can be expected: Demographically, the Arabs will become a majority, or near-majority, and we cannot take for granted the long-term existence of a Jewish state in which half the population is Arab....

With difficulty, a state can defend poor borders, of the kind we will have after withdrawing from the West Bank and Gaza, but it cannot defend itself if half its population is loyal to the enemy. With all its nuclear arsenal, the U.S. would not be able to defend itself if it had 120 million Russians within its borders. The inability to understand this problem is evidence of skewed national thinking that is cause for concern.

We will have to negotiate with the Palestinians, the majority of whom, in any referendum, would vote for the PLO as their representative, not out of love, but as the unparalleled symbol of the idea that the Palestinians are a human public worthy of political expression. The U.S. does not determine the composition of the Soviet delegation to negotiations, and Israel's presumption in trying to determine the composition of the Arab delegation is an absurdity bound to fail....

Israelis misled themselves into believing that the demographic problem would be solved by a "transfer," which is a euphemism for expulsion. Behind the preference for annexation is a preference for expulsion, and since the Arabs will be reluctant to leave, it will be necessary to use force against them and kill them.

If a small-scale attempt at expulsion encounters such international opposition, imagine what massive expulsions will bring upon us....

(continued on page 4)

Our Readers Write...

I BEG TO DIFFER

By Francis A. Boyle

I was somewhat distressed to learn about the Landau Commission Report (which I have not yet read) indicating that the Israeli government plans to continue both physical and psychological torture of individuals alleged to have committed acts of so-called terrorism. Under basic rules of international law, the Israeli government is what is known as a "belligerent occupant" of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and Jerusalem. Pursuant to article 4 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, all non-Israelis living in these occupied territories are what are called "protected persons." Article 147 thereof provides that any of the following acts committed against "protected persons" are "grave breaches" of the Convention: "willful killing, torture or inhuman treatment...wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health..." Furthermore, article 146 mandates that all parties impose "effective penal sanctions for persons committing, or ordering to be committed, any of the grave breaches of the present Convention..." To the extent that Israeli government officials will implement guidelines for the torture of "protected persons," then they, together with the torturers become "war criminals" under the Geneva Conventions and the Nuremberg Principles.

I spent two weeks traveling up and down the West Bank and Gaza Strip during May of 1986 in order to investigate Israeli occupation practices. Toward the end of my trip, I visited the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv to complain about some of them. My political attache informed me that such matters concerned "internal affairs" of the Israeli government. I begged to differ. Under common article 1 to the Four Geneva Conventions of 1949, the United States government is obliged not only to respect, but also "to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances." When a party to the Conventions such as Israel is committing "grave breaches," such practices are not "an internal affair" but a matter of international concern; and all states that are parties to the Geneva Conventions have an absolute obligation to use whatever influence they can exercise over Israel to terminate such practices. I would urge everyone reading this letter to request their respective governments to demand the immediate termination of all forms of physical and psychological torture and other inhumane treatment inflicted upon "protected persons" by Israel. □

[Francis A. Boyle is Professor of International Law at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.]

"I THOUGHT THE STATEMENT BOMBASTIC"

Sami Hadawi

When I read the item of 'When Kahane Comes to Power' in the January/February 1988 issue of *Palestine Perspectives* [excerpted from *Middle East International*, 5 December 1987], it occurred to me that perhaps you would be interested in the following extract from my yet unpublished memoirs:

I recall a heated argument at which I was present which took place between a British Palestine Police officer and a local Zionist leader in the north of Palestine (as we sat to lunch on the shores of Lake Hule) during the early part of 1947 at a time when the United Nations committee was considering the future of Palestine.

In the end, the Zionist blurted out in extreme anger: "The Jews will have their state in Palestine, whether the British Government likes it or not. If Great Britain stands in the way, we will destroy it; if the United States opposes us, we will destroy it; and if the world stands in our way, we shall destroy it!"

At that time, I considered the statement bombastic and arrogant. Now, after 40 years, and Zionist-Israeli power in the United States what it is through the Jewish lobby and possession of the A-bomb thanks to the help of their spies in the world like Pollard, I am no longer sure. □

[Sami Hadawi is a Palestinian historian who had been a senior official of the Palestine government during the British mandate in Palestine. He now lives in Canada.]

MOMENT OF TRUTH *(continued from page 3)*

Another misapprehension among us is that our services to the U.S. are so vital that she will continue to support us, no matter what we do. This view holds that the expressions of criticism from the U.S. are only lip-service and an attempt to mislead the Arabs; that this is only a family feud, tactical but not strategic, and short-lived....

Subtle diplomatic phrasing is not understood in Israel. But the stronger our defiance of the demands of the rest of the world, including the U.S., as our current policy promises, the greater will our ultimate disappointment with their sanctions imposed on us. Only then will things be understood that were previously told us in gentle language. By then the harm will be irreversible. It is not true that all the world is against us, but we evoke its opposition.

The central norm of the international system and international law is self-determination. The great changes of our times, and the freeing of the colonies, occurred in its name. A country that insists that it can exist only if this principle is violated is destined to endanger the legitimacy of its own existence.

Reality will force Israel to retreat from her political stance, to withdraw from the territories and to negotiate with the PLO. She will undergo a tremendous crisis when she realizes her political stupidity. The blow will be as severe as the hopes were high.... □

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IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

A SOCIETY IS BEING SMASHED UP

American Physicians Report Fetal Deaths

[At the time of writing, the Palestinian uprising against Israeli military rule was well into its third month. Israeli brutality reached new intensity as Israeli troops were given license to kill and maim. The number of Palestinian fatalities exceeded eighty, excluding a hundred deaths of unborn babies resulting from beating and teargassing pregnant women].

MEDICAL CONDITIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

A team of American doctors toured the West Bank and Gaza Strip in February for a firsthand look at Israeli brutality and concluded that "If this were a war, much of what we observed would be considered atrocities." The four Americans, members of Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights, spent four days in the occupied territories, witnessed the "Israeli Defense Forces" in action, visited hospitals, and spoke with Israelis and Palestinians, perpetrators and victims.

The team included the following: H. Jack Geiger, Professor of Community Medicine at the City University of New York Medical School; Jennifer Leaning, Harvard Medical School; Leon Shapiro, Massachusetts Mental Health Center and Harvard Medical School; and Bennett Simon, Cambridge Hospital and Harvard Medical School.

In a press conference held in Jerusalem, on 11 February 1988, Geiger described what he saw as "uncontrolled epidemic of violence by the [Israeli] army and police." The violence that the team had witnessed, he said, was a "norm" rather than a deviation.

The number of Palestinian casualties was estimated to be in the thousands. The team said that "the valid conclusion...is that the proper estimate of injuries is in the 'thousands' and not the low hundreds, as reported by the [Israeli] authorities." Twenty percent of the injured were women, and 5-10 percent were children 10 years of age and younger.

Fatalities, according to a report by the Palestine Human Rights Information Center in Jerusalem, reached 87 by 20 February, including 57 deaths from gunfire and 30 deaths from other causes, mainly beating and tear gas. [Fatalities continued to rise after the report was issued in February].

Fetal Deaths

In addition, about 80 intrauterine fetal deaths in the Gaza Strip alone have been reported. The visiting American doctors said that UNRWA was conducting a study of tear gas-induced fetal deaths and that "there is reason to believe that it is a serious problem." One doctor in Gaza had handled 7 such cases in one day. "There are now documented in Gaza over 40 cases of intrauterine fetal deaths in the last trimester" of pregnancy. The Palestine Human Rights Information Center said that "informed estimates place the number of fetal deaths well over a hundred."

The report said that "from an epidemiological point of view, it is not sufficient evidence that the fetal death occurred 2 or 3 days after tear gas exposure." However, "For fetuses, it is possible that the gas affects the oxygen supply or the blood circulation. It is also possible that the deaths are from the breakdown of toxic chemicals (such as cyanide) in the tear gas."

Beating

The visiting doctors reported that most limb injuries caused by beating were "midshaft breaks" of hands, arms, legs and kneecaps. "This indicates that the limb was stretched out and deliberately smashed to disable" the victim. [A CBS television cameraman, unobserved by Israeli soldiers, filmed such a gruesome scene in February]. In the Gaza Strip, "there is a greater incidence of head injury and more fractures per person—often all of the limbs."

Dr. Leaning said that "the word 'beating' does not convey the scope and medical reality of the injuries" seen by her and the other members of the American team. She said that beating on the head, even when it does not result in skull fracture, can cause brain hemorrhage. Beating can also result in kidney failure, and in some cases normal activity can be permanently impaired.

Hospital Conditions

The American physicians noted the inadequacy of hospital facilities to cope with the high level of casualties. The system, they said, was "overwhelmed" by a steady stream of trauma cases, up to 50 times the normal load, both in terms of need for blood and treatment. Dr. Geiger said that hospitals in the occupied territories were "worse than MASH." The delegation was impressed by the Palestinian physicians "who did extremely well under appalling conditions." But they "did not see how the medical professionals could maintain the present level of trauma treatment into the next few weeks." They warned that "there is bound to be a collapse" of the health care system in the occupied territories.

Dr. Simon spoke of possible long-range psychiatric problems, and the danger of increasing "irrationality" in the political process. Young Palestinians, he said, "were angry, defiant, outraged and unified. The high level of unification was shown, for exam-

(continued on page 9)

TALES FROM THE STONE AGE

Palestinians have written books and articles about their strange experience as a people denied, but they told most of their experience in literature and art. The current insurrection in the occupied territories will undoubtedly add much to the already rich heritage of Palestinian national memories. It has already begun to inspire poetry, art and legends.

The following is a short story by Palestinian writer Muhammad Ali Taha, who had published several anthologies of short stories on the Palestinian experience. "Ammar," reproduced below, was first published in *al-Ittihad* (Haifa) in Arabic. This translation was made by Khalil Touma and printed in *al-Fajr* of 7 February 1988:

"Ammar"

The officer shouted: *"Forward!"* and the soldiers jumped from the military vehicle like devils. They were armed with guns and truncheons. They fired tear gas canisters and live ammunition and shouted threats with ugly voices.

The children stoned the soldiers and ran away.

At the entrance to al-Am'ari refugee camp, a child was caught by a soldier. The soldier slapped him on the face and kicked him in the back. The child fell to the ground.

The soldier ordered the little boy to stand up and raise his hands in the air. *"Walk in front of me to the car,"* the soldier ordered and the child walked, quietly feeling proud.

"What is your name?" asked the soldier.

"Ammar."

"How old are you?"

The child faltered and said *"seven."*

The fighter was lying for the first time. He was still six years old but felt shy to appear in front of the soldier as a kid, so he permitted himself to lie.

"Who incited you?" the soldier asked.

"Incited me?" said the boy.

"Yes, who incited you?. . .son of. . ."

"I don't understand what you're saying."

"Who incited you?"

"Incited me?"

"Who sent you to stone us? Talk lest I beat you."

The prisoner was perplexed.

The officer pulled the boy's ear.

"Don't pull my ear," said the boy.

"Who sent you to stone us?"

"My brother Mansour," said the boy.

"Come and show us the house," said the soldier.

The boy jumped into the car which immediately took off at high speed. When it reached a small house the boy nodded and the car stopped.

The officer ordered the soldiers to besiege the house and they spread in all directions quickly, their guns at the ready.

"Where is your brother?" asked the officer.

"In the house," the boy walked two steps and called with a tender voice: *"Mansour come here."* The door opened and Mansour came out quietly, a child three years old, with his eyes shining and carrying a balloon in his hand.

PALESTINIAN MEDICS APPEAL FOR HELP

[Following is the text of an appeal for help from the Palestinian Medical Relief Committees in the West Bank and Gaza Strip]:

The mass uprisings of Palestinians from camps, cities and villages in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, occurring over the past 40 days, have been met with extreme and unprecedented harsh measures by the Israeli army. Under the guise of "security," basic human and health rights of Palestinians living under Israeli military rule have been violated, including clear violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention. . . .

Under such circumstances, the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees (UPMRC) has been actively engaged in extending medical and first aid relief services to the areas most affected by these incidents, especially refugee camps. Union volunteers (doctors, nurses and health workers) have been visiting affected areas and providing medical/physical examinations, laboratory and pharmacy services to the inhabitants free of charge. In addition, Union volunteers have been engaged in training community members in basic first aid. The Union has also been distributing first aid kits to all those who attend the training sessions. Over 3,000 kits have been distributed so far. Such kits are assembled locally, with the basic items purchased in bulk and packaged in smaller sizes by Union volunteers. By now, the majority of the refugee camps of the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been served by the Union, under rather difficult working conditions, including entering camps that are under a state of siege or that have been under curfew for days and sometimes a week. Not less than 500-1,000 patients are being treated daily.

In view of the fact that the prevailing difficult conditions in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip do not appear to be subsiding, it becomes imperative that the Union declares a state of emergency and appeal to friends, international aid agencies and non-governmental organizations interested in health and development for immediate and concrete help. Most needed are medications and materials for first aid kit assembly. Because of the conditions of military rule, however, it is impossible for the Union to receive such materials and medications fast enough to cover immediate needs. Customs clearance can take months to complete at times. In addition, the Union must also pay heavy taxes to retrieve these items from customs, making it much cheaper and simpler to purchase the needed items locally. This is why cash donations are the most preferred form of donation.

The Union appeals to all its friends and the friends of the Palestinian people to participate in supporting the activities of the Union that aim to relieve the injured and the sick and calls on you to immediately establish connections with us to ensure the fast and effective flow of support to the area. □

For further information please contact ***Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi,*** *Box 19369, Jerusalem. Telephone 02-828257 (Jerusalem) and 02-952343 (Ramallah).*

BURIED ALIVE

On 5 February 1988, Israeli soldiers and armed settlers beat up four Palestinian young men from the West Bank village of Salem, in the Nablus district, and then buried them alive. The four victims were: Muhsen Mohammad Sa'id Hamdan, Abdul Latif Mahmoud Hamad Shtaiyeh, Issam Shafiq Daher Shtaiyeh, and Mustafa Abdul Majid Hamdan. They were beaten all over their bodies with clubs and stones. Issam suffered the most serious injuries. All four of his limbs and his pelvis were broken.

One of the residents of the village, Hamad Husni Mohammad Ayyad, witnessed the crime and gave the following sworn affidavit, witnessed by Attorney Jonathan Kuttab of Law in the Service of Man.

Affidavit

I the undersigned Hamad Husni Mohammad Ayyad, 33, residing in Salem village. After I was warned of penalties I could be subjected to, I testify the following:

1. On Friday 2/Feb/88 at around 12:00 pm following the Friday prayers, a march broke out from the mosque heading to the school hoisting Palestinian flags. Settlers of Alon Moreh opposite the village saw marchers and it seems that they called the military forces.

2. Five military cars and a bus carrying soldiers together with settlers in civilian clothes and kippas on their heads were dispatched to the village.

3. I heard gun shots and knew later there was a clash east of the school in which around 5 youths were injured and were taken first to Beit Forik village, then to a hospital.

4. At about 2:00 pm military forces and settlers broke into the village and imposed a curfew on it. I went into my 2 storey house overlooking the main street to stay with my wife, sisters and the rest of the family.

5. My house was in a location between the soldiers and youths who were stoning, so the soldiers attacked my house but I refused to open the door. They smashed the windows and broke into the first floor. I escaped with my family to the second floor after locking its iron door.

6. Military forces vandalized all furniture and contents of the first floor and smashed the windshield of the car that was parked in the storeshed under the floor. I attach to my affidavit a list of damages caused to my house [omitted here].

7. I vehemently refused to open the door leading to the second floor whilst a clash erupted outside when youths tried to keep the army away from my house to enable me to flee.

8. In the meantime I saw soldiers with some settlers taking 4 youths from my village: [names follow]. They beat them all over their bodies with clubs and stones.

9. Reaching my house, soldiers and settlers forced the 4 youths to kneel down on the ground as if they were bowing for prayers then trampled the youths' necks down with their feet and the soldiers beat them, each 2 by turn.

10. Most of the beating was centered on Issam Shafiq, who was taken aside, then returned to join the 3 others in the same position.

11. Meanwhile, a huge military bulldozer was blocking the entrance to the village with soil and stones; one of the soldiers told the bulldozer man to throw soil on the youths.

12. The soldier had with the bulldozer man, who was also a soldier, an argument which I could not understand. But I could realize from his signs that he asked the bulldozer driver to run over the youths but he refused. In the end the driver brought soil and dumped it on them covering most of their bodies and then repeated that.

13. The wet earth completely covered 2 of the youths while part of the third's head appeared and the head of Abdul Latif, who was the tallest among them, was not buried.

14. After burying the youths, they withdrew congratulating each other saying "kol hakavod," which means they were pleased about what they committed.

15. Around 2 minutes later, I shouted at neighbors to give me a hand in rescuing the 4 youths. We brought shovels and removed the wet earth that I estimated at about a ton and a half, about 1 meter high.

16. The soldiers heard our voices but did not come and we were hardly able to take the youths to give them first aid at our houses. Next day we took them to Jericho hospital, since Nablus city was under curfew.

17. After they buried the youths, I noticed the bulldozer heading to the little Volkswagen vehicle that belongs to the headmaster of the village's school, Khaled Abdallah Shihadeh, who was ordered by soldiers to leave his car there and to walk to the place of the incident. I saw the bulldozer damaging the car, smashing all of its windows.

18. I saw with my own eyes everything I mentioned in this affidavit."

"A SAVAGE STATE"

[Israeli brutality has become too horrendous to conceal. What most people do not realize is that it is not new, and it is not a reaction to Palestinian resistance. As early as 1961, before the PLO came into being, Israel's former Prime Minister Moshe Sharett warned that Israel was becoming "a savage state." The following excerpt from his diary is from a statement he had made at a meeting of the Mapai Party (parent of present-day Labor Party), on 11 January 1961]:

"The phenomenon that has prevailed among us for years and years is that of insensitivity to acts of wrong...to moral corruption... For us, an act of wrong is in itself nothing serious; we wake up to it only if the threat of a crisis or a grave result—the loss of a position, the loss of power or influence—is involved. We don't have a moral approach to moral problems but a pragmatic approach to moral problems... Once, Israeli soldiers murdered a number of Arabs for reasons of blind revenge...and no conclusion was drawn from that, no one demoted, no one was removed from office. Then there was Kafr Kassem [massacre of 1956]...those responsible have not drawn any conclusions. This, however, does not mean that public opinion, the army, the police, have drawn no conclusion, their conclusion was that Arab blood can be freely shed. And then came the amnesty for those of Kafr Kassem, and some conclusions could be drawn again, and I could go on like this....

"All this must bring about revulsion in the sense of justice and honesty in public opinion; it must make the State appear in the eyes of the world as a savage state that does not recognize the principles of justice as they have been established and accepted by contemporary society...."

Livia Rokach, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism: A Study Based on Moshe Sharett's Personal Diary and Other Documents.* Belmont: AAUG Press, 1980, page 36.

THE BLANKET CAMP

By Alison Katerji

To get into the blanket camp you must walk down a steep and often slippery ramp of rough concrete into an underground garage intended to house perhaps a hundred cars. Instead, it houses 800 people, Palestinians who have fled the refugee camps of Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh.

The stinking air, rising to meet you, is warm and humid and soon you are drenched in sweat. You must pause for a moment before you finally enter the blanket camp, leaving the bright clean sunlight above, so that your eyes can adjust to the semi-gloom. The fetid darkness is pierced now and again by light bulbs, burning dimly, hanging from a criss-cross of wires carrying electricity stolen from the bank above.

As you enter the maze of the alleys you realize that the walls are made from blankets hanging from ropes stretched tightly between wooden pillars wedged between floor and ceiling ....

The privacy is an illusion. The blanket walls contain no escape from the endless roar of domestic life from all quarters. Blaring radios and screaming babies contribute to the cacophony of sound echoing round the concrete chamber....

Perhaps you are a visitor, your guide will tell you that things are better now. During the bombardment of the Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh refugee camps there were over 2000 people living down here. Now there are only 800, so there is more space, more air. As you move among the dwellings, past open doorways, smiling faces greet you, "Welcome, come in and drink coffee," they say. It's an echo that follows you as you walk, embarrassed and ashamed, in the semi-darkness.

Perhaps you are not a visitor; perhaps you are a new arrival bringing your family from the ruins of your home in Shatila or Burj el-Barajneh. Once you have your blanket home you can settle down. There are no cupboards so you must keep what you have in cardboard boxes. Everyone is neat and tidy in the blanket camp since there is so little space.

The toilets are outside, there are only 12 so you must get used to queuing. There are no showers but there is running water. You will be told that you must not cook in the shelter, the ventilation is inadequate and there is a risk of fire, but you will see other people cooking. Every family has a cylinder of gas and a burner or two. They ignore stories of people being poisoned by fumes or gas leaks. There is a kitchen outside, at the top of the ramp, where everybody can cook and wash up. It's a long walk and you have to queue, but you will get used to it.

There is a generator down here, a large one. It's not for the shelter; it is for the bank above, and when it runs it releases fumes. There are engineers living here with their families. A group of them have built a ventilation system, but it is too small for the job and the electricity supply is frequently cut off. The men also constructed wooden racks which hang from the ceiling. They contain trays of salt which absorbs moisture from the atmosphere, turning the salt into hard crystals.

If you are sick you can go to the clinic in the shelter. It is a small room containing two examination couches and a glass cabinet whose shelves are almost empty. The staff of four nurses rely on people who visit the shelter, returning with small donations of medicines and gauze bandages. The seriously ill must go to the clinic in nearby Mar Elias refugee camp, but overcrowding there has stretched resources to the limit. Queues are very long and medicine is in short supply.

The other families say they will leave the shelter when the rebuilding begins in Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh. They are living here while they wait. You will get used to it too; some families have been living here, waiting, for two years. □

[The writer is the Projects Coordinator of Medical Aid for Palestinians, London. She wrote this report after a 5-week visit to Beirut in September 1987.]

THE EXPULSION OF THE PALESTINIANS

"It Isn't a New Idea, and It Isn't Just Kahane's"

Two Israeli journalists, Yossi Melman and Dan Raviv, wrote that old Zionist schemes to expel the Palestinians "might be attractive today to a growing number of Israelis who wonder—as they watch the recent uprising in the West Bank and Gaza—how long the [occupied] territories can be governed militarily."

In their article, published in *The Washington Post* of 7 February 1988, the writers said that "Two weeks after the Six-Day War in June 1967, the Israeli cabinet convened for a secret meeting to consider a thorny issue: what to do about the demographic problems created by the capture of the West Bank and Gaza, which had added nearly a million Arabs to Israeli jurisdiction."

Menachem Begin, the writers said, suggested the demolition of refugee camps and the "transfer" of their populations to the Sinai desert. Abba Eban and others recommended shipping the refugees to neighboring Arab countries. In the end, Israel secretly created an organization to "encourage" the Palestinians to leave their country. The plan was exposed when a Palestinian, who was "encouraged" to emigrate to South America, shot an Israeli diplomat in Paraguay in May 1970.

The writers then explain that the idea of expelling the Palestinians is an old Zionist concept, which predates the establishment of Israel, and that it has—and always had—broad support which goes beyond the rightist fringe.

SOCIETY *(continued from page 5)*

ple, by the incredible amount of blood being donated on a regular basis." He said that the adults the team visited in their homes "were stunned, outraged and just assumed that the level of brutality they and their children experienced was acceptable to the Israeli public." This experience could be expressed in many ways. "Small children could be expected to show signs of chronic anxiety, depression and nightmares, and the development of a fundamental attitude that the world is a dangerous place...."

The physicians noted other problems of health care caused by the massive Israeli assault on the Palestinian population of the occupied territories. They listed the following:

1. Health personnel have been denied entry into refugee camps and other areas under curfew to give medical treatment. "Ambulances have been hijacked [by Israeli soldiers] at gunpoint and used as 'Trojan Horses' to enter areas in order to beat and arrest people."

2. "Hospitals have been assaulted, medical personnel beaten, machines smashed and patients pulled from beds and arrested."

3. "There has been a disruption of prenatal care, especially in Gaza, and a halting of the immunization program."

4. "There is a shortage of water. Water supplies to camps are often cut for 3 to 4 days. Babies have been delivered without water." Camps have suffered from shortages of food and medicine, and sanitation services have been disrupted.

"If this were a war," one of the physicians concluded, "much of what we observed would be considered atrocities." □

"FINISH HIM OFF"

Rev. Don Wagner, Director of Palestine Human Rights Campaign, toured the occupied territories in February. He visited the family of Khader Tarazi, a 19-year-old Palestinian beaten to death by Israeli soldiers in Gaza on 8 February 1988. The head of the Chicago-based human rights organization related the family's account of the incident:

"Witnesses claim that Khader did not participate in the stone throwing but ran as soon as the scene turned ugly. Four soldiers from the tough Golani Brigade saw Khader run and followed him to the home of a former neighbor, Um-Issam, a friend of the family. Khader ran inside and hid under a bed. The soldiers smashed down the door and searched the house, finding the frightened boy in a bedroom. They dragged him out into the living room and began to beat him with clubs and the butts of their guns. The elderly Um-Issam (approximately 65-66 years) screamed and tried to interfere but was clubbed and pushed aside. Khader had collapsed from the initial beating and was lying on the floor. One of the Golani [soldiers], crazed with rage, lifted Khader over his head and slammed his body to the cement floor. Um-Issam, who witnessed everything, later said blood flowed from his mouth and eyes. Another soldier kicked him in the genitals. Khader did not react. His limp body lay motionless in a pool of blood.

"Within a few minutes two officers entered the house. By this time neighbors had heard the screams and noises and had gathered at a safe distance in adjacent houses and in the alley. One neighbor who understood Hebrew heard an officer use his 'walkie talkie' to contact another IDF unit to report their capture and the beating. The officer then asked what they should do next. The reply came back loud and clear, 'Finish him off.'

"Khader was then dragged out of the house and thrown on the hood of the jeep, with his head hanging over the front and his feet straight back toward the windshield. His arms were stretched outward and tied down in a crucifixion position. Then the Golanis began to beat him again, clubbing him on the head, back, arms and legs. Scores of people witnessed the scene. Blood spurted out of his mouth and nose, running down the front of the jeep. Many feel that Khader was dead at this point. The jeep drove away with the boy still tied to the front.

"Family members told us that on receipt of the body, one of Khader's cousins who is chief surgeon at Gaza's Shifa Hospital examined the body and photographed it prior to the funeral. He noted that the back was broken, the right front skull was fractured, bones in each arm and the right hand were broken, multiple lacerations appeared on the back, stomach, face, legs and arms. Internal injuries could not be measured. Khader was mutilated. To top matters off, his legs were curiously slit up the front and crudely stitched closed. Even the 500 Israeli shekels (approx. $300) he had taken with him that morning were missing.

" 'Tell the Israelis that I will never forgive them and I will never forget what they did to my son,' Khader Tarazi's father told the people who went with Rev. Wagner to visit the family."

ISRAELI TERRORISM ABORTS "THE RETURN"

A Cypriot passenger ferry chartered by the Palestine Liberation Organization to transport 200 deported Palestinians back to their homeland was blown up by Israeli agents in the port of Limassol, Cyprus. The underwater blast blew a six-foot hole in the hull of the *Sol Phryne,* a 6,150-ton ferry. The blast followed a series of Israeli threats to stop the symbolic Palestinian voyage.

The ship—named *"Al Awdah,"* Arabic for "The Return"—was intended to carry some of the 2,000 Palestinians deported by Israel since it occupied the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. Several hundred supporters and journalists of various nationalities, including an American delegation, were to accompany the Palestinians on their voyage home.

A day before the ship was attacked, on 14 February 1988, three Palestinians were assassinated in Limassol. They died when explosives planted in their car were detonated by remote control. Cypriot authorities believe that the three victims were Palestinian officials who were in Cyprus to negotiate chartering the *Sol Phryne.*

Israeli officials tried to picture the innocent voyage as an act of war. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said the ship would carry "murderers and terrorists." He called the voyage "a battle cry for war" against Israel. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told Israel Radio that Israel would stop the Palestinian voyage "in whatever way it deems suitable." After the *Sol Phryne* was blown up, Israel's Transportation Minister Haim Corfu threatened that if the Palestinians chartered another ship "its fate will be the same." □

TIME TO DISSOCIATE FROM ISRAEL

American Jews Call For Reconsidering U.S.-Israeli Relations

A group of prominent members of the American-Jewish community called on the government of the United States "to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel." Their statement, originally published in the *Nation* magazine on 13 February 1988, was published in the *Congressional Record* of 29 February 1988 (pages E 415-416) at the request of Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally (D-CA).

In their statement, the American-Jewish personalities said that Israel, for some years, deviated from "moral values that we hold dear." In our judgment, they said, these developments came about as the result of "a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racialist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor do we believe should our country."

In addition to its brutality toward the Palestinians, Israel had followed policies detrimental to the American national interest and harmful to the Jewish community. "Israeli complicity in Irangate and Contragate coupled with Israel's employment of American Jews as spies against our country further underscores the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews—an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement and the American Jewish lobby, which has come under its control—threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere."

Jews came to this country to escape persecution, the statement said. "How tragic that in our own time the very state established by Jews in the aftermath of this evil has become a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail." If the U.S. government does not take "firm steps of disengagement from Israel," our country might be dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way.

Think About It

A month earlier, on 28 January, Congressman Dymally appealed to his colleagues in the House of Representatives to break their silence and to join the worldwide debate on Israeli policies in the occupied Palestinian territories. "Mr. Speaker," he addressed his colleagues, "my statement today is designed to break the congressional silence regarding the uprising in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip." As someone who had visited the area, he said, "I feel compelled to appeal to my colleagues in the House to join in this international debate about the 'iron fist' policy of the Israeli Defense Forces and the need for peace in the Middle East."

Everyone, Dymally said, is debating the issues except the U.S. Congress. "Indeed, members of the media, the clergy, academicians and the public in general, in the United States and Israel, have all joined in this debate about bringing an end to the conflict which exists in the Middle East in general and Israel, the West Bank and Gaza in particular." This is too important an issue "for us to play it safe. Think about it," he urged members of the silent Congress.

Israel's lobby, AIPAC, in what appears to be an opening salvo against Dymally, said in its newsletter, *Near East Report* (2 March 1988) that he had "suggested imposing sanctions on Israel." □

COMMENTARY . . .
AFL-CIO: SEEING IS NOT BELIEVING

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, wintering in Bal Harbour, Florida, decreed that "Israel has not lost its moral bearings" and that it still "merits the support of the democratic community." In a statement issued on 16 February—as Israel's moral bearings inspired it to club Palestinian children—the group took its cue from official Israeli directives and said that due to "the inexperience of the Israeli army in riot control," it had "on occasion resorted to unnecessary force." Then it proceeded to blame the victims of the violence.

The Palestinians, the AFL-CIO statement said, cannot expect Israel to turn over the West Bank and Gaza Strip "to the PLO or the Islamic fundamentalists who are fueling the flames of violence in the occupied territories." Instead, it advised them, they should "create a responsible and credible leadership to defend their interests." It even made this "challenge" to the Palestinians easy by telling them who their leaders ought to be: "Jordan and others" it said, probably with a straight face.

The AFL-CIO was particularly angry with those who "have gone so far as to liken Israel's behavior to that of South Africa." It called it "a calumny we categorically reject and resent." Then it broke into a song about "Israeli democracy."

Reading the AFL-CIO statement, we could not come to a clear conclusion about whether it revealed ignorance of Israel or democracy or both.

This column is obviously inadequate to educate the AFL-CIO Executive Council about the realities of life in the occupied territories. The Council members think that people are getting "sensational media accounts" of the events in the occupied territories, and they say that "The complex historical realities of the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be reduced to lurid 30-second TV clips." (A wise observation, we must admit. The 30-second clips give only a fleeting glimpse of Israeli brutality).

What we would like to do, instead, is to issue a counter-challenge to the labor leadership of this country. Send a team of observers to the occupied territories. Have them talk to people in the Palestinian trade union movement and others. Let them see what it is like to live under "Israeli democracy." Then issue a statement.

Granted, Gaza is not as much fun as Florida. But a little sacrifice on behalf of reality is not too much to ask. Or is it?

PROTECTION MONEY FOR ISRAEL

All kinds of questions are being raised about the scheme to pay the Israeli government $650-700 million over a ten year period for not bombing a proposed (but never built) Iraqi oil pipeline which was to run through Jordan to the port of Aqaba on the Red Sea. How much did Attorney General Meese know about it? How involved was he? Was some of the money to go to the Israeli Labor Party?

One question, in our view the most significant question, has not been asked: Is paying Israel protection money to keep it from committing an illegal and war-like act without provocation compatible with U.S. policy not to encourage blackmail?

The proposed pipeline is an economic project, and the economies of the West are the intended beneficiaries of the project. The United States government has always identified Western access to Middle East oil as one of its strategic interests. When it thought, in the 1970s, that the Arabs threatened that interest it hinted that it would be willing to go to war to safeguard Western access to Arab oil. Why is it willing to pay Israel for not disrupting the flow of oil to Europe? Is blackmail acceptable and rewardable when it is practiced by Israel?

The Special Prosecutor is looking into questions of law involved in the scandal. Shouldn't Congress look into the policy behind it? □

RESOURCE GUIDE

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) has released a new publication which should be valuable to educators, students and groups interested in the Arab world. *Resource Guide to Materials on the Arab World* is a directory of films, videos, filmstrips, slide programs and other visual presentations on the Arab world. The directory, compiled for the AAUG by Audrey Shabbas, briefly describes each item and gives information on how it can be obtained.

The *Guide* is available from AAUG, 556 Trapelo Road, Belmont, MA 02178. Telephone (617)484-5483.

THE TIME HAS COME TO END ALL AID TO APARTHEID ISRAEL

[The following statement, sponsored by the "Campaign to End All Aid to Israel," P.O. Box 90609, Santa Barbara, CA 93190, and endorsed by a large number of people, appeared in The New York Times of 13 March 1988]:

We cannot stand silently by as we watch young men and old, women and children murdered daily in cold blood—shot at point-blank range, savagely beaten to death with heavy staves, their heads, hands and limbs smashed.

We cannot permit a ruthless state to poison people with toxic gas and bury young men alive.

We shall never accept an entire people denied the elementary democratic and human rights we insist upon for ourselves. Were we subjected to a brutal occupation, daily humiliation, military rule, mass imprisonment and institutionalized torture, we too would rise up in revolt.

The rebellion of the Palestinian people has been a long time coming. Twenty years of occupation are but one dimension of their tragedy. They were driven from their original homes, villages and land by sustained massacre, condemned to miserable camps, subjected in a far-flung Diaspora to renewed slaughter, saturation bombing and unending persecution.

The tyranny suffered in the West Bank and Gaza is but the little continuation of how all of Palestine was colonized. Between the time of the partition of Palestine in 1947 and the formation of Israel, Zionist militia seized 75% of the land and drove out 800,000 Palestinians through a series of massacres.

When the state of Israel was declared, there were 475 Palestinian cities, towns and villages. Of these, 385 were razed to the ground—disappearing from the map. The 90 remaining were denuded of land, confiscated without compensation.

Today, the Jewish National Fund administers 93% of the land of Israel. To live on land, lease it, sharecrop or work on it, one must establish four generations of maternal Jewish descent.

If, in any country, people had to prove they did not have generations of maternal Jewish descent in order to enjoy elementary rights, no one would mistake the quintessentially racist character of such a state.

Israel is an apartheid state, founded on pillage and predicated on exclusivity. Rights flow from ethnic and religious identity.

How is this to end?

There are over six million settlers of European origin in South Africa. The Afrikaaner population and those of British descent have lived in South Africa for many generations. Yet, very few people, let alone those purporting to be advocates of self-determination for Blacks in South Africa, propose two states—a European white state with guaranteed security abutting a demilitarized, subordinate African state.

A dependent Bantustan alongside an apartheid state is a mockery of self-determination—whether in South Africa, colonial Rhodesia and Algeria—or apartheid Israel.

In Israel, no less than in South Africa, minimum justice requires dismantling the apartheid state and replacing it with a democratic secular Palestine, where Jews and Arabs, Christians and Moslems, live together with equal rights and opportunities.

Apartheid Israel cannot exist without the U.S. treasury. Since 1948, $92 billion of U.S. tax money—$6 billion in 1987 alone—have financed Israel, a state built on expulsion, dispossession and subjugation. The American people have no interest in subsidizing the world's fourth largest military power or the torment of the Palestinian people. End all aid now!

The response to four decades of outrageous tyranny exists—in the stone throwing children of Jabaliya, the Beach Camp, Balata and Dheisheh. It is echoed in those Israeli Jews who resist the oppression of others.

Theirs is the struggle, slingshots in hand, of David against Goliath.

Theirs is the passion for a life without oppression.

Theirs is the vision of a country shorn of racist dominion.

Palestinians and Jews, free at last from discrimination and injustice, will forge lasting peace only in a democratic and secular society where elementary rights are accorded to all.

Extend your hand to the heroic people of Palestine.

Support the campaign to end all aid to apartheid Israel.

Join the worldwide call for a democratic and secular Palestine. □

CAMPAIGN 88: DEADLY SILENCE

The 1988 election campaign has been a noisy affair in so many ways...but not on U.S. policy in the Middle East. On that issue, there prevails a "deadly silence," according to a report by the Washington-based Arab American Institute.

Presidential candidates have debated practically everything, and often. They have debated issues of leadership, defense, the economy, disarmament, Central America...but not the Middle East.

"This is a profoundly disturbing fact," says the AAI report, "in light of both our interests and deep involvement in the Middle East." In the Middle East, the United States has over 40,000 military personnel, and during the past five years more than 300 Americans died in the region, more than any other area in the world.

In addition, AAI said, in the past ten years more than two-thirds of all U.S. foreign assistance ($50 billion) went to the Middle East. And the Middle East is where two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves are located. Yet, U.S. policy in the Middle East has not been debated by the presidential candidates.

The 26-page report, titled "**The Deadly Silence: A Report on the 1988 Presidential Candidates and Where They Stand on the Middle East,**" briefly surveys the positions of each of the candidates of the two major parties and shows that, with the exception of Jesse Jackson, the candidates have satisfied themselves with parroting pro-Israel statements which the report describes as "rote and patterned responses" rather than thoughtful policy positions. They represent platitudes to appease the pro-Israel lobby rather than commitments reflecting the national American interest.

Arab-American and other organizations interested in U.S. Middle East policy have been trying to penetrate the taboo on public debate of U.S. policy in the Middle East, with very limited success so far. The Arab American Institute, headed by Dr. James Zogby, for example, has made repeated efforts to engage the candidates in a debate on the Middle East. Arab-Americans and their supporters have held protest demonstrations in front of campaign offices in various cities demanding to hear from the various candidates their positions on the ongoing Israeli repression in the occupied territories. In most cases, they have met with "deadly silence."

The AAI report points out a glaring contradiction in the positions of many of the candidates, especially those—like Dukakis—who champion justice and human rights everywhere in the world but fail to notice what Israel has been doing to the Palestinians under its military rule.

"**Deadly Silence**" may be ordered from the Arab American Institute, 918 Sixteenth Street, NW, Suite 501, Washington, DC, 20006, telephone (202) 429-9210. □

Book Review FIRST THERE WAS A LOBBY

The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy, by Edward Tivnan (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987). 270 pages + notes and index. $19.95.

"Before Israel existed as a state, it existed as a political lobby." Thus begins this serious study of Jewish power in America on behalf of the state of Israel. It is an important analysis of the connection between Israel, American Zionism and American foreign policy.

The Zionist movement—being a product of European Jewry and its response to European conditions—produced a state unlike any of the other hundred states which emerged since Word War II. It was not the outcome of a national liberation struggle; it was not the result of an indigenous uprising against foreign colonial rule. On the contrary, it was part of the colonial experience which implanted immigrant settler societies in place of native communities.

This audacious defiance of the political laws of the twentieth century was beyond the capacity of the Zionist movement and its institutional offshoot: the state of Israel. Hence the never-ending and ever-increasing dependence on outside support. The Zionist movement, needing a great deal of support to pull off its coup, latched onto the greatest powers of this century. First Britain, until its power declined after the war, then the United States ever since.

The Lobby is the history of the successful Zionist effort to gain access to American power (economic, financial, military, technological and diplomatic), and to tap that power in the service of the Israeli state. It traces the emergence of the Jewish lobby in the 1940s, and follows its progress to the summit of political influence where it is today, illustrating its rising influence with episodes from successive administrations.

The book also deals with one of the most dangerous elements of the power of the Israeli lobby: its ability to silence dissent and stifle debate on Israeli and U.S. Middle East policy, including dissent among American Jews who have become a "large public relations agency" for Israel, and "a spigot to be turned on and off by the Israeli Embassy" in Washington (page 61).

One of the less familiar and most disturbing facts brought out by the study is the degree to which the government of Israel uses, controls and manipulates U.S. Jews to serve its interests. Contrary to the prevailing belief that American Jews rise in spontaneous sympathy with Israel, Tivnan's book gives numerous instances of Israeli government's use of Zionist organizations and leadership to instigate and direct the political activities of American Jews. It is a picture which casts doubt on the prevailing thesis that the Israeli lobby is just another manifestation of American popular democracy.

The author touches on one of the most sensitive—and thus least discussed—aspects of the Israeli lobby: its long-range impact on Jews in American society. The inordinate power of the lobby, used in conjunction with political money dispensed by numerous pro-Israel public affairs committees (PACs) which often make or break political careers, and the lobby's single-minded concern for Israeli interests which frequently clash with American national interests, worry some American Jews. Tivnan quotes an American Jewish leader to the effect that the power of the lobby "creates more anti-Semites than it's scaring away." (Page 165). □

PLO UNITED NATIONS MISSION

Justice Department Insists On Closure

The Department of Justice was reported, at the time of writing, to be ready to close down the Palestine Liberation Organization's Observer Mission to the United Nations. The closure of the Palestinian office in New York is scheduled for 21 March 1988.

The Reagan Administration has been hesitant to enforce an act of Congress mandating the closure of the PLO mission in New York, although it had closed the Palestine Information Office in Washington earlier. The closure of the Washington office, believed to be in violation of First Amendment rights, is being litigated in federal courts. In the case of the PLO's U.N. mission, the issue is further complicated by a 1947 treaty between the international organization and the United States as the host country. Under the treaty, the PLO has the right—as an observer member of the United Nations—to maintain a delegation in New York.

Meanwhile, the United Nations General Assembly held an emergency meeting on 29 February to discuss the implications of the U.S. move and to develop a common response to what the U.N. feels to be illegal interference in its operation and violation of treaty rights. The U.N. reaffirmed the right of the PLO, under the treaty, to maintain its mission and said that it finds that "a dispute exists" between the United Nations and the United States, a dispute which must be arbitrated as the treaty itself stipulates. The U.S. government has not responded to U.N. requests to arbitrate the dispute, and the Assembly referred the matter to the International Court of Justice.

In an earlier meeting, on 17 December 1987, the General Assembly condemned by an overwhelming majority (147 votes) the attempt to deny the PLO its rights as a member of the U.N. The U.S. did not participate in that vote, a reflection of internal disagreement within the administration.

The Washington Times of 1 March described the crisis precipitated by the move against the PLO office as bringing U.S.-U.N. relations "close to rupture." The paper quoted the U.N. Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, saying that "The PLO is an invitee of the United Nations and the United States is obliged by its U.N. Headquarters Agreement to permit accredited PLO personnel to enter and remain in the U.S. and carry out their official functions."

Back in Washington, Congressman Jack Kemp (D-NY), who had championed the Israeli lobby's aim to close down Palestinian offices in the U.S. from the start, circulated a "Dear Colleague" letter on 11 February, urging members of Congress to pressure the administration to insist on the closure of the PLO U.N. mission.

The move to close down PLO offices in the United States originated with the Israeli government, and through the Israeli lobby it was transmitted to Congress, which made it into law by attaching it as an amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act. As usual, Israel got what it wants, and the U.S. was left behind to clean up the mess. □

British Jews Denounce Israeli Racism

The Israeli Law of Return (1950) grants every Jew the right to live in Palestine, while the displaced indigenous Palestinians are denied that right. This Israeli law is considered the cornerstone of Israeli discrimination on religious grounds.

The following statement, initiated by a group of anti-Zionist Jews in Britain, will be published in the British newspaper the Guardian on Saturday 14 May 1988, the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Israel. Its sponsors welcome endorsement by Jews who subscribe to its message. They can be contacted at the following address:

RETURN
c/o BM 8999
London WC1N 3XX
England

AGAINST THE ISRAELI LAW OF RETURN
FOR THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT TO RETURN

Forty years ago, on 15 May 1948, the state of Israel was declared established.

As a result, the Palestinian people now live under Israeli rule, or in exile. Those in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 (many of them refugees from areas occupied in 1948) live under continuing harsh military rule; those in the territories occupied in 1948 are second-class residents in a Jewish state, denied the rights and privileges accorded to those residents recognized by the state as Jews. The Palestinians in Lebanon daily suffer attack, murder and deprivation.

Israel itself has become an armed camp, at war with its neighbors and with its subject Palestinian population. In its operations in Africa, Asia and Latin America, Israel represents a major link in the world network of repressive and racist regimes. Its nuclear weapons capacity is a danger to the entire Middle East, and to the whole world.

Meanwhile, Jewish communities have been recruited by Israel as both support and justification for its activities. The historic suffering of Jews, particularly the Nazi murder of six million European Jews, are held to justify Israel's existence and behavior. Israel continues to present itself as acting in the name of the Jewish people in international affairs.

We, entitled to the privileges accorded under the Israeli Law of Return to Jews and their close relatives, declare our opposition to the state of Israel as a Jewish state and to the Zionist movement. We call on our fellow Jews and their close relatives to join us in making the following statement:

- *The Palestinian people, at whose expense the state of Israel was established and continues to exist, have the right to return, to self-determination and to their independent state on Palestinian soil;*
- *The Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people;*
- *The state of Israel does not represent all Jewish people, neither legally, morally nor in any other way;*
- *The Zionist structure of the state of Israel is at the heart of the racism and oppression against the Palestinian people, and should be dismantled.*

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

"The Status Quo Is Not Sustainable"

The 12 Foreign Ministers of the European Community expressed their countries' "profound concern at the deteriorating situation" in the Israeli-occupied territories. At a meeting in Bonn, Germany, on 8 February 1988, the European ministers called for an international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

At the end of their meeting, they issued a declaration which said that "The status quo in the Occupied Territories is not sustainable." The only solution, the declaration said, is a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement as outlined in the European Community's 1980 Venice Declaration and subsequent statements. The Venice Declaration called for a peace process in which the PLO would participate to achieve Palestinian self-determination within the context of Arab-Israeli peace.

The Bonn Declaration noted that wide support exists for a peace conference under U.N. auspices. It called for convening such a conference "as early as possible."

"The Twelve deplore the Israeli settlement policy in the Occupied Territories," the declaration said, "and the diversion of resources to these illegal settlements". It urged Israel to abide by the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, and recent Security Council resolutions on Israeli violations of human rights in the occupied territories. The Europeans, the statement added, "deeply deplore the repressive measures taken by Israel, which are in violation of international law and human rights."

The European declaration said that "without prejudicing future political solutions, the Twelve remain determined to work towards improving the living conditions of the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories. The Community is pursuing its own development program for these Territories, has granted additional humanitarian aid to their Palestinian population and is determined to promote direct exports of agricultural and industrial products from the territories to the European Community market."

The European Community has been trying to surmount Israeli restraints on Palestinian trade with Europe. Israel had been compelling Palestinian producers to export only through Israeli channels. □

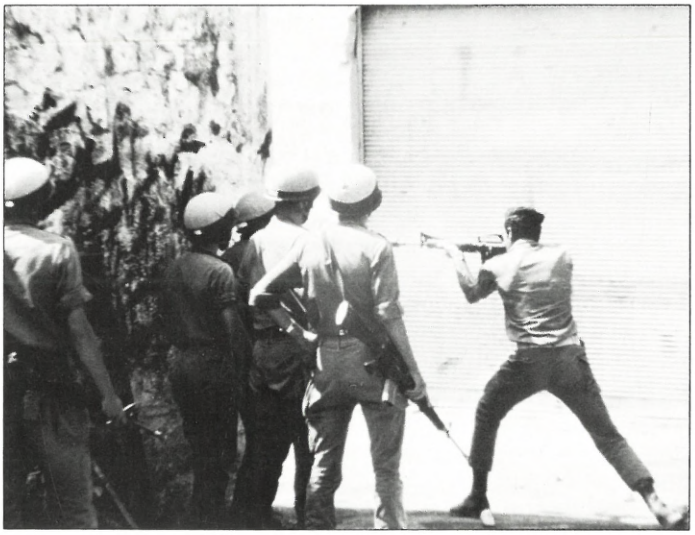
"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"When Israeli troops dragged those Arab youths behind buildings and broke their hands with two-by-fours, those were our tax dollars at work."

Patrick Buchanan
The Washington Times
27 January 1988

"The Israeli army, once a proud fighting force, has descended to the tactics of a goon squad."

Richard Cohen
Philadelphia Inquirer
27 January 1988



BRITISH POLITICIAN ACCUSES ISRAEL OF USING BANNED BULLETS

The leader of the opposition British Labour Party, Neil Kinnock, accused Israel of shooting Palestinians with ammunition forbidden by international law. The "dumdum" bullets used by Israeli troops against Palestinian protesters in the occupied territories are soft-nosed and explode on impact, causing large and tearing wounds in the victim.

Mr. Kinnock, during a visit to the occupied territories on 19 February 1988, was shown evidence of this Israeli violation of international conventions during visits to Palestinian hospitals. He had seen X-rays of injuries caused by such bullets. In a press conference in Jerusalem, he said that the injuries he saw were consistent with wounds which can be inflicted only by dumdum bullets. He also displayed samples of the bullets during his press conference.

The British leader raised the issue with Israeli leaders, who did not specifically deny the use of dumdum bullets.

FROM FRANCE TO GAZA

Fifteen organizations in France sponsored a project to collect a boat load of medical equipment, medicines and food for the people of Gaza.

A statement by sponsoring organizations said that "The uprising of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza, and the brutal repression by the Israeli army have opened the door to an awareness by world public opinion of the gravity of the situation." Noting that "The Palestinian people are seeking no more than the ultimate right, acknowledged to all peoples, of self-determination," the appeal said "We must respond to this appeal through active solidarity. It is with this in mind that the French non-governmental organizations, under the sponsorship of Monseigneur Gaillot, Bishop of Evreux, are proposing to send to Gaza a humanitarian shipment of medical equipment, medicines and food to be handed over to UNRWA on arrival."

The sponsors appealed to "all humanitarian organizations in Europe to make this initiative a success." Contributions, collected throughout the month of February, were scheduled for shipment in early March.

ISRAELI PIRACY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Israel continues to practice piracy on the high seas. Since 1985, it has seized twelve ships and abducted about 100 of their passengers. In one incident, on 21 April 1985, twenty passengers of *The Ataveros* drowned when Israeli naval units sank the ship. All of the incidents took place in the eastern Mediterranean, in the territorial waters of Lebanon and Cyprus and in international waters. None of the vessels involved flew the Israeli flag or had Israeli citizens on board.

To justify its acts of piracy, Israel gives itself extra-territorial jurisdiction, a global police power. Its laws provide that it is competent to try a person who commits abroad an act which would be considered an offense if it had been committed in Israel. The Nazareth-based Palestinian human rights organization Prisoner's Friends Association, says that the Israeli practice of boarding and seizing vessels on the high seas and the territorial waters of other states is unlawful and flagrantly contravenes the Geneva Convention and the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea.

In a report on Israeli piracy, the Association said in the case of *The Ataveros*, "the Israelis not only did nothing to help the drowning men but continued to shoot at them in the water." When prisoners are taken, they are imprisoned in Israel for as long as 50 days before trial. They are tortured during interrogation, and they have no access to legal counsel.

According to another report published by the Committee Against State Terrorism at Sea (compiled by the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center and the Palestine Human Rights Information Center), one of the vessels seized by Israel (*Ataveros*) flew the Panamanian flag, another vessel (*Casselardit*) flew the Australian flag, and a third (*Maria R.*) flew the Honduran flag. The rest were small fishing vessels and flew no flags.

Vessels Hijacked By Israel

Name of Vessel	Date of Hijacking	Persons Abducted
Khalil I	29 March 1985	6
*Ataveros**	21 April 1985	8
Hamdallah	1 July 1985	2
Ainadin	25 August 1985	8
Casselardit	31 August 1985	5
Opportunity	10 September 1985	1
Amal	1 September 1986	1
Anton	15 September 1986	8
2 fishing vessels	17 November 1986	3
1 fishing vessel	4 December 1986	2
Maria R.	6 February 1987	58
Nadija	? November 1987	(unknown)

*Only ship captured on its way to Israeli territorial waters, believed to be on a military mission. Vessel sunk and 20 passengers dead. □

The Committee's report said that "The capture of foreign ships sailing outside Israel's territorial waters by the Israeli navy has become an integral part of Israeli military policy in the Mediterranean Sea... It is our opinion that we are dealing here with a policy of state terrorism whereby the state of Israel systematically kidnaps those it suspects, thus violating international laws and conventions, and transforming the Mediterranean Sea into a lawless zone in which everyone must fear for their security."

SHAMIR GLORIFIES TERRORISM

[The following are excerpts from an article by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir which appeared in *Hehazit* (summer 1943), the journal of the Lehi terrorist organization known as the Stern Gang. Shamir was a member of the organization's command. In the article, he justifies terrorism, which he and his group practiced in Palestine to establish the state of Israel. Translated from the Israeli daily *Al Hamishmar* of 24 December 1987]:

"Neither Jewish ethics nor Jewish tradition can disqualify terrorism as a means of combat. We are very far from having any moral qualms as far as our national war goes. We have before us the command of the Torah, whose morality surpasses that of any other body of laws in the world: 'Ye shall blot them out to the last man.' We are particularly far from having any qualms with regard to the enemy, whose moral degradation is universally admitted here.

"But first and foremost, terrorism is for us a part of the political battle being conducted under the present circumstances, and it has a great part to play: speaking in a clear voice to the whole world, as well as to our wretched brethren outside this land, it proclaims our war against the occupier." □

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ISRAEL PUMPS U.S. SECRETS TO THE SOVIETS

UPI Story Says Israel Is Infested With East European Moles

Israel not only spies on the United States, but it is also a conduit for East European spies who use the Israeli secret service to spy on America. Some of America's most sensitive secrets reach the Soviet Union via the Israeli transmission belt. A United Press International report exposing this Israeli role as middleman in the spying business was largely ignored by the media, and very few newspapers thought it was "fit to print."

The City Paper (Washington) was one of these few. In its 15-21 January 1988 issue, the Washington weekly published a story, written by Jonathan Marshall, based on the UPI report. "*The Washington Post* didn't run it," Marshall said about the UPI report, "*The Washington Times* didn't either. Indeed, as few as nine newspapers around the country picked up a blockbuster story issued on December 13, 1987, by UPI: that some of America's most sensitive secrets have made their way to the Soviet Union via East bloc 'moles' in the Israeli government."

Richard Sale, who wrote the UPI report, said that a Justice Department source said that "U.S. counterintelligence agents became aware of the Israeli-Soviet espionage pipeline when data stolen by Jonathan Jay Pollard, a U.S. Navy analyst convicted of spying for Israel, was 'traced to the Eastern bloc.'" Sale wrote that "U.S. intelligence analysts said the Pollard data was traded to the Soviets in return for promises to increase emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel."

Soviet penetration of the Israeli intelligence apparatus was apparently known to the CIA. An administration official told Sale that in a meeting of CIA, FBI and other U.S. counterintelligence specialists, "a CIA guy spoke up and said that if Mossad was involved [in the Pollard case] it meant that copies of everything were going to (the KGB's) Moscow center." He quoted a U.S. intelligence source saying that Soviet spies "are highly placed agents in the top echelons of Mossad," and that such infiltration has occurred at "very significant levels" of the Israeli intelligence establishment.

Soviet agents planted in Israel is not a new phenomenon. Several such agents were exposed in the 1960s. They included Professor Kurt Sitte, a nuclear physicist at the Haifa Institute of Technology. They also included Dr. Israel Beer, former aide to the chief of staff of the Israeli army and liaison officer on intelligence to David Ben-Gurion. In more recent times, Sale wrote relying on U.S. intelligence sources, the latest penetration by Soviet agents occurred in the early 1980s under the administration of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

Israel is particularly vulnerable to Soviet penetration not only because of the large number of Soviet and East European Jews in its population and ruling establishment, but also because of its desire to bring more Soviet Jews to Israel. For this reason, wrote Sale, right wing Jews as well as left wing Jews are vulnerable to recruitment by Soviet intelligence. Unlike other countries where spying for the Soviet Union is often done by leftists for ideological reasons, in Israel the pool of potential recruits is much larger.

In his article, Jonathan Marshall, explained that Israeli spying on behalf of the KGB was the reason why Pollard stole U.S. secrets "of marginal interest to Israel, but of enormous value to the Soviet Union." Such secrets included U.S. cable traffic on "details about U.S. ship positions, aircraft stations, tactics and training operations." He asked: "Did KGB agents thus actually direct, and not merely profit from, Pollard's espionage?" Marshall concluded his article with the unanswered question: "Why have American news organizations, which gave such sensationalist coverage to the Marine-embassy spy scandal last year, so far ignored one of the decade's great espionage stories?" □

PALESTINE NEWS HOTLINE

A "Palestine News Hotline" has been set up in Washington to give interested people current information on events in occupied Palestine. The service, sponsored by Friends of Palestinian Prisoners, is available in English and Arabic.

To hear the News Hotline in English call (202) 543-6968, and to hear it in Arabic call (202) 543-8624.

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