Palestine Perspectives

Number 36 July/August 1988

"I belong to a group of people who have survived an attempt to annihilate us from the face of the earth. We pride ourselves on our high moral and democratic principles. At the same time, I recognize that no matter how much humiliation, brutality, and punishment are measured out upon the Palestinians, they, like my people, will survive. Their desire for a homeland and their power to resist will not allow them to be extinguished as a people.

"I hope that other Jews will come to understand that our future depends on finding a just and equitable solution to this conflict."

Ellen Siegel

See Inside . . .

The Palestinians Will Not Go Away

$2.50

THE UPRISING IS MORE THAN STATISTICS

Many people think of the Palestinian uprising against Israeli military occupation in terms of numbers: how many weeks or months it has been going on, how many people have died and have been injured, how many people imprisoned, how many deported, how many houses demolished, how many trees uprooted, how many schools closed, and how long has this or that town or refugee camp been under curfew.

The tragic and exhilarating experience of a captive society in revolt for its freedom is larger than statistics. It includes dreams terminated or fulfilled; it includes loves denied and fears defied; it involves the withering as well as the renewal of life. Hopefully, in the end, it brings justice—perhaps even peace—and the enlargement of freedom. It does go beyond statistics.

The Palestinian uprising is also larger than the familiar pictures which depict its events. It includes intangibles which—even though they cannot be filmed—surpass in their significance the visible events. It includes a new spirit of communal solidarity and mutual assistance never witnessed before. It includes unconquerable faith in the eventual triumph of liberty over subjugation. And it includes a process of national regeneration which has begun to reverse the process of decay that the Israeli occupation had labored for two decades to inflict on Palestinian society. The uprising is bigger than pictures.

The Palestinian uprising is the twentieth century, represented by the Palestinian struggle for national independence and development, confronting the relics of a discredited past represented by settler colonialism and brutal force to perpetuate it.

For these reasons, those who think of the Palestinian uprising as a riot that can be quelled, or a mutiny that can be subdued, are mistaken. It is a national spirit rebellious, seduced by the irresistible appeal of liberty. It is the Palestinian share in the universal dream.

Israel can continue to fantasize about "irreversible" occupation. It can continue to scoff at peace overtures and belittle peace gestures under the illusion that time and firepower are on its side. It can continue to live by the sword...for another day. It can continue to curse the message and to lash out at the messenger. It can hold its palm to the lens, and it can keep trying to resuscitate dying myths. But there is one thing that Israel cannot do: it cannot stifle the yearning for freedom.

Finally, there is a consequence to Israel's ongoing refusal to concede the legitimacy of independent Palestinian national existence that has escaped many people. If it is acceptable to deny Palestinian independence, what legitimizes Israeli independence? Israel wants recognition that a Jewish state has greater legitimacy than the gun can confer. It can find no better way to undermine its own case than to continue to club the Palestinians into submission. And all history proves that it does not work anyway. □

M. Hallaj

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DEAR READERS

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Palestine Perspectives is a bimonthly magazine on Palestinian affairs. *Address:* 9522A Lee Highway, Fairfax, VA 22031. *Telephone:* (703) 352-4168. *Facsimile:* (703) 352-4169.

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Production Manager : Foster K. Tucker

Subscription rates: $15/year in the United States and Canada ($10 for students); and $25 elsewhere. Add $10 to checks drawn on banks outside the U.S. Subscribers receive their copies by airmail.

Signed articles express the views of their authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of ***Palestine Perspectives*** *or its staff.*

AN AFTERNOON IN DHEISHEH

*By Ellen Siegel**

[In May 1988, the writer—a nurse by profession—joined a United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) medical team providing health care to refugees in the Israeli-occupied territories. The following is from her account of a visit to Dheisheh refugee camp, which was under curfew]:

Slowly the van entered, making its way up the small hill. Through its open windows we heard no sound, saw nothing move. The camp's 6,000 residents were silent and invisible.

At the open area on the hillside, Israeli soldiers were sitting in a half-built house. We stopped. A soldier came up to ask what we were doing there. We had come to administer health care, we explained: to check up on known diabetics, examine some ailing children, and treat any other problems that might have arisen.

The UNRWA clinic was open, said the soldier; sick people could go there.

The clinic may be open, we replied, but people who cannot leave their homes cannot go there for treatment.

One soldier said, "Let them go." His superior disagreed.

More questions followed: Who were we? Were we all doctors? Where did we come from? What was in the van? "Show us your identity cards." One soldier announced that in the future, medical team members would have to show special identification cards from UNRWA. Was this, I wondered, how some of those 1,200 military regulations for the occupied territories had gotten their start?

Everyone could see I was an American; I even heard a soldier reporting to his superior on the walkie-talkie say "American." No one asked me for ID.

Still, we waited. Did we have any food with us? the soldiers asked. No. Careful examination of the van revealed a box of Beech-Nut baby formula. Angrily, a soldier yelled, "You said you did not have any food!"

"This is not food; it is baby formula."

"No, it is food."

"It is for sick babies."

"You lied! You said you did not have any food."

It is easy to get caught up in this argument and lose sight of the real issue: Why is it so wrong to bring baby formula, even food, into a camp where food is scarce?

After much deliberation, the soldiers allowed us to visit the camp. The UNRWA car was to wait at the entrance. We had 45 minutes to complete our task.

We divided up into small teams in order to cover as much of the camp as possible. Known cases got priority.

My first visit was to the home of a woman whose husband had been killed a week earlier. He had made the mistake of looking out the window; and for that he was shot dead. We entered the house and greeted the family. I stood in front of the hole in the windowpane trying to imagine the scene. When I looked up, I saw the remnants of splattered blood on the ceiling. Looking across the room, I saw the pregnant widow being comforted by relatives in black. I could not help noticing one of the family's daughters, a beautiful child of about 10, with large and expressive eyes. She was smiling at me.

Because of our presence, neighbors were allowed to gather in the house. We hurriedly took blood pressures, evaluated a diabetic, examined an old woman complaining of lower back pain, and checked the widow's condition. The beautiful daughter complained of eye irritation. The doctors wrote out prescriptions and gave referral slips to those who needed more extensive testing and treatment. Once the curfew was lifted, they were to go either to the UNRWA clinic in the camp or to the hospital in East Jerusalem.

We went on to other homes, examining babies, monitoring vital signs, listening to chest sounds and heartbeats. One young woman seemed to have rheumatic heart disease, a common ailment among camp residents because of the poor sanitary conditions. Others suffered from repeated infections and lack of adequate medical care. The many cases of eye irritation were caused by the army's frequent use of tear gas in the camps....

After completing our rounds, we returned to the van. The army allowed residents to assemble while team members dispensed medications and filled prescriptions written earlier. We gave out the boxes of baby formula to mothers of sick infants.

Strolling around to the other side of the van, I came upon a small, barefoot girl. Fingers on her right hand nervously curled a strand of hair; her left thumb was stuck in her mouth. A soldier stood between us, Uzi in hand, fingers near the trigger. Silently the three of us stared at one another, glancing back and forth.

"Do you have any children?" I asked the soldier.

In a pained voice he answered, "Yes, I have children."

Silence, more stares, each of us lost in our private thoughts.

(continued on page 5)

ISRAEL'S HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND U.S. POLICY

*By Dr. Shaw Dallal**

In its routine justification for the annual aid Congress grants to Israel, the Department of State again certified this year that "Israel...guarantees by law and respects in practice the civil, political and religious rights of its citizens."

This certification is fraudulent. It is fraudulent because in the same report to Congress, the Department of State acknowledged the following violations of human rights and discriminatory practices by Israel:

1- Emergency regulations continued in effect against the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel since 1948.

2- In October 1987, a special judicial commission, headed by former High Court President Moshe Landau, found that since 1971 Israel's internal security agency, Shin Bet, has routinely been using physical and psychological torture to obtain confessions from Palestinian Arab prisoners. These confessions are often the only evidence against the accused. The commission also found that by 1974, it had become a "well-rooted practice and the accepted norm" for Shin Bet interrogators to lie to the courts about their interrogation methods, and that by the early 1980s, Shin Bet interrogators "had been given written instructions" on how to lie to the courts when accused persons tried to retract forced confessions.

3- Administrative detention [without charges or trial] of Palestinian Arab Israeli citizens is still allowed.

4- The incoming and outgoing mail of Palestinian Arab Israeli citizens is often delayed or confiscated.

5- In 1987, a weekly Arabic magazine was denied permission to publish. There was never an explanation for the denial. No allegation that the magazine advocated violence was made.

6- The Law of Return of 1950 and the Citizenship Law of 1952 confer advantages on Jews denied to Israel's Palestinian Arab citizens, such as the use of land held by the state or quasi-public organizations "in trust for the Jewish people." The Jewish people are defined as those born of Jewish mothers.

7- Under Israeli law, Israeli Jews enjoy freedom of movement within the country and are free to travel abroad or emigrate. The movement of Palestinian Arab citizens is restricted within Israel and abroad.

8- United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194 of December 11, 1948 calls on Israel to permit Arab refugees who left their homes in the 1947-1949 fighting to return if they are willing to live in peace. If they choose not to return, they should be compensated. Israel refuses to comply with this resolution.

9- The Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are disadvantaged in the Knesset. There are no Palestinian Arabs in the cabinet.

10- The Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are disadvantaged in their access to education, housing, medical care, and are discriminated against in employment.

Despite these violations of human rights and the brutality inflicted on the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, the General Accounting Office of the U.S. Congress granted Israel about five billion dollars in 1987, in violation of the Foreign Assistance Act which stipulates that "a principal goal of the foreign policy of the United States shall be to promote the increased observance of internationally recognized human rights by all countries."

This Act links human rights to foreign assistance and prohibits the Executive Branch from providing foreign aid to any country "the government of which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights."

"Gross" human rights violations are defined in the Act to include "torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, prolonged detention without charges and trial...and other denial of the right to life, liberty, or the security of persons."

By any objective standard, the human rights violations by Israel, which are acknowledged by the Department of State in its report to Congress, are "gross violations." The scenes which have become familiar to television viewers all over the world during the past months, and to which the Department of State made reference in its report, cannot be considered other than torture and inhuman treatment. They are graphic documentation of "flagrant denial of the right to life, liberty, or the security of persons."

Yet, Israel's violations of human rights is nothing new. Such violations existed since the creation of Israel. In the occupied West Bank and Gaza, they have been increasing since 1967. Ironically, as Israel's human rights violations intensified, U.S. financial aid to Israel has increased.

In 1967, Israel received about $225 million in grants from the U.S. Treasury. By 1973, Israel was tightening its grip on the occupied territories, violently quelling resistance to its occupation, and U.S. annual grants jumped to $1.5 billion. By 1975, as more Jewish settlements were being built in the occupied territories, U.S. aid reached $2.5 billion.

After Israel's invasion of Lebanon, when nearly thirty thousand Lebanese and Palestinian civilians were killed and about six hundred thousand were made homeless, aid to Israel increased again to $3 billion.

Furthermore, from 1948 to 1967 most U.S. aid to Israel was in the form of loans at favorable rates. The aid Israel now receives is in direct grants. Most of the previous loans have now been "forgiven."

There are other forms of aid which Israel receives from the United States, which are not usually included in the reports of the General Accounting Office. They include about $1 billion of "charitable," tax-deductible contributions from American citizens; they include about $1 billion in annual sales of Israeli bonds in the United States; they include about $10 billion in short term loans from U.S. banks; and they include about $2 billion in Israeli goods and services sold in this country, almost all of which come duty-free....

Without this aid Israel cannot survive. Its bonds become worthless, its credit nonexistent. In short, it becomes financially bankrupt. The United States, in becoming responsible for Israel's economic solvency has inevitably also become the underwriter of its misdeeds: its wars, its conquests, its illegal settlements, and its gross violations of human rights. □

*Shaw J. Dallal is an international lawyer and businessman residing in the state of New York.

Books . . .

PALESTINE: EYEWITNESS HISTORY

The Palestinians: Eyewitness History of Palestine Under British Mandate, by Dr. Izzat Tannous. New York: I.G.T. Company (P. O. Box 20496, London Terrace Station, NY, NY 10011), 1988. 779 pages, including notes and index. $45 hardcover.

The Palestinians is a book with a unique perspective. Its author, Dr. Izzat Tannous, is a 92-year-old Palestinian patriot and activist who had witnessed and participated in the unfolding Arab-Zionist conflict over Palestine longer and more intimately perhaps than any other living person. At least for that reason, the book offers the reader something which no other work in the growing English-language library on the Palestinians and the Arab-Israeli conflict can offer.

The book begins before World War I, with an autobiographical account which not only acquaints us with the author and his personal background, but also with life and conditions in Palestine just before the Zionist influx began to unsettle the country.

The author, who had served as the emissary of the Arab Higher Committee—the Palestinian nationalist movement of the time—on many occasions, was a Palestinian roving ambassador whose missions had taken him to many lands in search of justice for the Palestinians. The bulk of the book deals with his efforts, and the efforts of the Palestinian nationalist movement, to awaken the world to the tragedy waiting to happen in Palestine if the Zionist movement is allowed to transform it into a Jewish state. As a narration of these efforts, the book acquaints us not only with the many events of Palestinian history, but also with many of the Palestinians and other political personalities involved.

The result is a unique and important document on Palestine and the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and it is required reading for every serious student of that subject. It helps fill the biggest gap existing so far in the literature. □

DHEISHEH *(continued from page 3)*

I returned to the front of the van. A young mother had come to get medicine, but the child with her, a girl of about eight, was screaming hysterically. Her mother said she was always frightened by the sight of soldiers.

A few days earlier, I had returned to the Israeli kibbutz where I had worked years ago. There, the members told me proudly that the children had access to the very latest equipment for child development. In Dheisheh, the Palestinian children amuse themselves by making toys out of spent tear gas canisters. . . .

Within this camp surrounded by wire and under guard 24 hours a day, there are more than just stone throwers, I thought. Here, too, are potential doctors, artists, musicians, poets, leaders—maybe even peacemakers.

We made our way back to the main road. As we waited there for the other teams, groups of soldiers waited with us. Off to the side I heard a soldier giving orders to his contingent in English. That seemed strange until several of them came over to chat with us. They had come to Israel, they said, from Brooklyn. . . .

As we left Dheisheh, the sun was setting and convoys of troops were massing at the entrance. I feared for the people inside. Routinely, soldiers burst into homes and round up people in the night. Sometimes, there are beatings, sometimes destruction of property. Mostly, there are arrests.

On the way back to Jerusalem, we noticed that roadblocks had been set up. At each one, every car with a West Bank license plate was emptied of its occupants, their ID cards checked, and the vehicle searched. Along our way we heard that earlier in the day, in Bethlehem, several Palestinians had been shot while trying to bury one of their dead.

My thoughts turned to a middle-aged man I had met in one of the homes an hour or so before. That night, he told me, there would be a wedding in the camp. "Not like normal," he said, "but it will go on as planned." I smiled.

**Ellen Siegel is a founding member of the Jewish Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Peace.*

In Brief

ISRAELI OFFICERS SUPPORT PEACE NOW

The Israeli Hebrew-language daily Hadashot reported on 4 April 1988 that 1,250 Israeli reserve officers "from the rank of brigadier general on down," have signed a Peace Now statement supporting the idea of exchanging land for peace. The list includes Brigadier (Res.) Giora Forman, former deputy commander of Israel's air force. Peace Now spokesman Amiram Goldblum told the paper that "more signatures are pouring in every day."

MORE DEPORTATIONS THREATENED

The Israeli occupation authorities issued deportation orders on 8 July 1988 against 10 more Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza. They include three journalists and two trade unionists. Twenty-one others have been deported since the uprising began in December 1987.

ISRAELIS OPPOSE EQUALITY

Fifty-five percent of Israelis oppose equality of rights between Arabs and Jews in Israel. According to a recent public opinion poll by professor Yo'av Peled of Tel-Aviv University, 41 percent of Israeli Jews also support the "transfer" (i.e. eviction) of Arabs, and 45 percent believe that Israel is "too democratic."

ALTERNATIVE PRESS

The Alternative Press Center of Baltimore, Maryland, has published its 1988-89 Directory, listing more than 300 periodicals. The Directory is available, for $3.00 from the Alternative Press Center, P. O. Box 33109, Dept. D, Baltimore, MD 21218.

RED BASS: "FOR PALESTINE"

"For Palestine" is the theme title of a recent issue of Red Bass magazine, published in New Orleans. The 70-page edition includes articles and interviews dealing with a broad range of issues related to the Middle East conflict, particularly the Palestinian issue. The magazine's address is 2425 Burgundy Street, New Orleans, LA 70117.

Subscribe to Palestine Perspectives

CASUALTIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES CONTINUE TO MOUNT

News Blackout Conceals Continuing Israeli Brutality

Behind the cover of news censorship, the Israeli occupation authorities continue their "force, might and beatings" policy in a vain attempt to suppress Palestinian protests against the occupation. Since the last issue of *Palestine Perspectives* went to press, in which were printed the names of 228 Palestinians killed since the beginning of the uprising on 9 December 1987, at the time of writing the number of Palestinian fatalities has reached 286. These include 191 killed by gunfire and 95 by other causes including tear gas and beating. *The Washington Post* of 22 July 1988 reported that 16 Palestinians were shot dead during a two-week period in July.

In addition, 149 homes have been demolished from February to June. The Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights reported that "well over 1,000 Palestinians have been displaced" because of house demolitions. Such people, it said, have been turned into a new group of refugees in their own land.

Many fruit orchards have been destroyed. A stone thrown at an Israeli patrol by a boy standing in an orchard has often resulted in its destruction by the occupation troops. "Victory gardens" planted by Palestinians to feed themselves during frequent strikes and curfews have also been targeted by the Israelis.

The Israeli weekly *Koteret Rashit* reported on 15 June 1988 that "violent incidents" averaged 16 a day between December 1987 and June of this year. The magazine said that 8,326 Palestinians have been arrested during the first six months of the uprising. Of these, 2,500 persons are under administrative detention for renewable six-month periods without charge or trial. The rest are detained in various prisons and detention centers in Israel and the occupied territories.

Bureaucratic Strangulation

As the Palestinian uprising matured and veered away from street confrontations with the occupying forces to a more quiet but highly significant effort to enhance economic independence from Israel, the occupation authorities have waged a "bureaucratic war" on the Palestinians. The entry of funds from abroad—including remittances from Palestinians working abroad to their families in the occupied territories as well as contributions to Palestinian institutions—have been severely restricted.

Permits and licenses have been made more difficult to obtain. Visits to prison, for example, now require clearance from the military government. Driving licenses, travel documents, birth certificates and similar documents now require the payment of taxes and "security clearance" before they are granted. Building permits, family reunification, and identity cards have become virtually impossible to secure.

The Uprising Continues

But the uprising continues, because the Palestinians have no choice as Israel persists in rejecting all peace overtures and continues to follow its fantasy of making the occupation "irreversible." Clashes with the occupation troops continue to take place, and victims continue to fall. But the uprising has focused in the last few months on changing Israel's de facto annexation to de facto Palestinian independence. Self-reliance—feeding themselves, caring for their own sick, educating their own children—has become the strategy of the uprising. The uprising has become a strategy of gradual disengagement from the occupation in preparation for independence from Israel. □

OPPOSITION

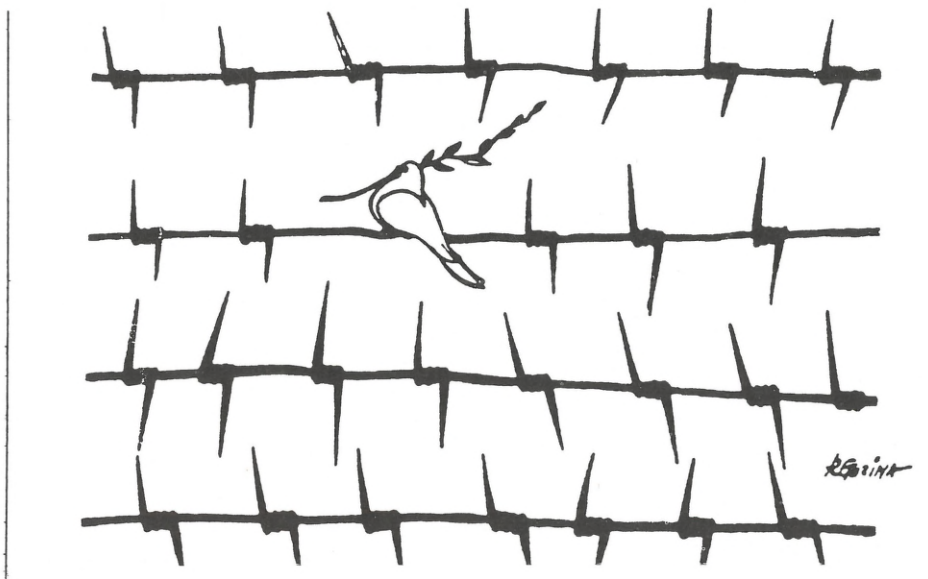
A Palestinian Poem

I am against my country's
revolutionaries
Wounding a sheath of wheat;
Against the child—any child—
Carrying a hand grenade.

I am against my sister
Feeling the muscle of a gun;
Against it all—and yet
What can a prophet do, or
prophetess,
When their eyes
Are made to drink
The sight of the raiders' hordes?

I am against boys becoming heroes
at ten;
Against the tree flowering
explosives;
Against branches becoming
scaffolds;
Against the rose-beds turning to
trenches;
Against it all—and yet
When fire cremates my friends, my
youth and country,
How can I
Stop a poem from becoming a gun?

Rashid Hussein



UPRISING HURTS ISRAEL'S POCKET BOOK

For the First Time, the Occupation Becomes Unprofitable

Israel's Economics Minister Gad Ya'acovi says that the Palestinian uprising has cost Israel more than $600 million since it began in December 1987. The loss is attributed to lower production and diminished exports to the occupied territories and elsewhere, and to a significant drop in income from tourism. In addition, there has been a drop of 40 percent in tax revenues collected from the occupied territories, a loss of about $62 million.

In addition, the cost of Israel's military apparatus in the occupied territories has increased as the result of tripling the normal size of occupation forces there. The cost of maintaining the occupation forces is estimated to be $100 million a month. The Israeli army has begun to complain publicly about these rising costs and to demand an increase in its budget.

Israel's trade relations with the world have also suffered as it increasingly acquired the image of another South Africa. The European Economic Community's decision to delay the ratification of a trade agreement with Israel and a spreading popular boycott of Israeli goods in Western Europe and Canada are costing Israel millions in lost sales. *The Jerusalem Post* (Int'l edition, week ending 9 July) quoted a source saying that "tons of rotting [Israeli] grapefruit and oranges have remained in storage houses in France and Italy."

Revenues from tourism in 1988 are expected to be $250-500 million less than anticipated. Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics said that the number of foreign tourists in the first half of 1988 dropped by 28 percent from 1987 levels. El Al, Israel's airline, reported significant cancellations of overseas flights. *Time* magazine (25 July 1988) described the drop in tourism to Israel as "The No-Shows at Israel's Party," referring to the influx of tourists—which failed to materialize—on the occasion of Israel's 40th anniversary. A $12 million music festival for the occasion had to be canceled. The newly-opened $60 million Hyatt International Hotel remained half empty. Many shops which cater to tourists closed or suffered a drastic drop in sales, reported to reach 80 and 90 percent in some cases. □

AN OPEN LETTER TO AMERICAN WOMEN

Let Us Proclaim Our Commitment to Life

[The following is the text of an open letter from Palestinian mothers in the occupied territories to American women]:

Palestinian women in the occupied territories of Palestine wish to address you as sisters who are privileged to share with us the knowledge and the pain of what it means to be mothers, and what it feels like to watch our children being brutalized and killed without being able to protect them or to stop them from being terrorized.

In our country, dear sisters, the greatest gift to humanity—the gift of giving life—which is bestowed upon us women, is being transformed into an intolerable burden approaching a curse. For the life we offer our children is threatened at the outset from their birth, since it appears to jeopardize the security of those who continue to rob our land and property and to deny us our human and political rights at gunpoint.

The pains of childbirth and the hardship of bringing up our children seem trivial compared to our agony at feeling helpless to provide for our children's security from the ravages of the Israeli army and settlers.

Our younger mothers wish, deep down in their hearts, that their infants would not grow out of their cribs, in order that they be spared the terrorism of the occupying army. Indeed, even their cribs are no longer a sanctuary. Poisonous gas has been hurled indiscriminately inside homes, killing and injuring infants. Army attacks inside homes have caused severe physical and psychological harm to several infants and younger children. Yasmine, a child of five, was burned all over when a soldier kicked the boiling water for her little brother's formula all over her. Recently two nine-month-old babies lost their eyes [from rubber bullets] while at the doorsteps of their homes.

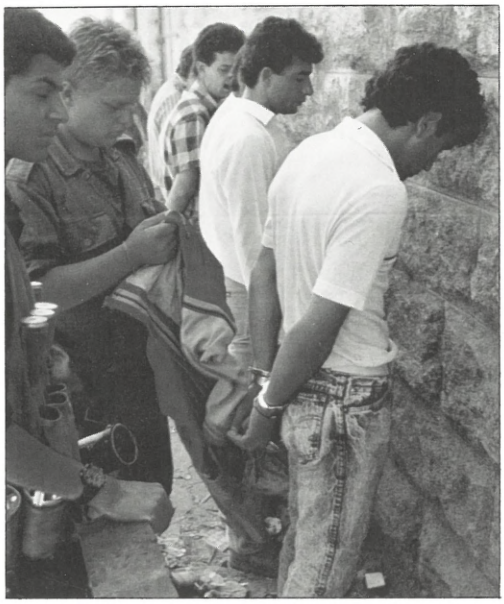
Dear friends: our hurt is very deep. Today all the world is celebrating Children's Day with joy and hope; while we are commemorating the deaths of about 300 of our children. We daily set out on endless journeys in search of children detained for weeks and sometimes months, without our being notified or able to know whether they are alive or dead.

It grieves us to listen to your official representatives preaching about human rights while your government does not stop to question the morality of its unconditional support to Israel, which not only violates our human rights but uses all forms of terror and brute force in an attempt to make us acquiesce to their aggression and to legitimate the consequences of that aggression. We often wonder if you, as women, will not be instrumental in effecting basic changes in the attitude of your government which, we feel, acts within the shortsighted framework of vested interests, ignoring the humanitarian basis of actions. This humanitarian basis generally guides our behavior as women and makes us more qualified to build a better world for all. It seems preposterous that we, the givers of life, should not be consulted when lethal arms are being developed and used to destroy our children, to quell their spirits aspiring to justice, peace, equality and freedom. We as mothers have taken great pains to mold that spirit.

Dear sisters: as your government shares the responsibility for the great suffering imposed upon us, we address you today with the hope that you will spare us a little of your time to learn the truth. For we know that the truth is the shortest means to achieve solutions and we are confident that once you have learned the truth you will act accordingly. We are also confident that you will realize that no solution to our problem can be achieved unless we are recognized as a people with political rights and not as a group of displaced refugees asking for charity. Foremost among these rights is our right to self-determination, to establish our independent state in our homeland under our legitimate leadership, the PLO.

Let us, dear sisters, join our efforts in proclaiming our commitment to life, truth and justice. Let us together stand up to all those who attempt to destroy our children's lives. Finally, let us have the courage to fight for the liberty, integrity and dignity of the human spirit, which have cost us years of anxiety and pain to instill in our children. □

THE PALESTINIANS



WILL NOT GO AWAY

[The following is a letter from a Palestinian-American who lives with his wife and two children in the occupied West Bank, to his parents in America. The letter, dated 28 April 1988, gives an idea of what it is like in rebellious occupied Palestine]:

We are all bracing ourselves here for a long siege, the indications of which have been clear for the last month. Not only the entire West Bank and Gaza are getting closed off to journalists and, more recently, to everyone, but villages and towns have been slowly and surely getting isolated from one another. The Israelis have put up mounds of earth, cement-filled barrels, huge boulders and other types of barricades to block access to villages, towns, and refugee camps. Where they haven't done so, checkpoints are almost constantly up harassing drivers and travelers by bus. On any given day, an order may be issued preventing entry or exit from a given area, declaring it a "closed military zone."

International telephone communications with the West Bank and Gaza have been cut off for nearly two months now. We sneak to Jerusalem to make our calls, protected to some degree by our American passports, and by a good bit of wit to fool foolish soldiers.

School children are having a hard time. Schools have been shut down. If they stay closed much longer, around 280,000 students will have to repeat their grades, not to mention all the five-year-olds who will not be able to start.

The ones that have it the hardest are the refugees in the camps. We live next to Am'ari camp near Ramallah. They recently lifted a curfew off the camp after 24 days! Jalazone camp on the other side of town was under curfew for 39 days. Imagine having to stay indoors for a month? Every second or third day, the army would let camp residents out to walk around for an hour. But during that hour, no one was allowed in or out of the camp. Food supplies in the camp ran short, especially milk for children, sugar and basic things like kerosene for heaters and butane gas bottles for stoves. Some young people were able to sneak in and out smuggling things. We sent milk down during a previous 15-day curfew. Most of the young men between 16 and 30 years have been sleeping away, at friends homes in nearby towns or out in the hills. Why? To avoid mass and arbitrary arrests which sweep through the camps periodically.

It is estimated that since December, more than 20,000 people have been arrested ranging in age from 9 to 87 years. Many of the detentions were made by surrounding an area or neighborhood and rounding up almost all males between ages 10 and 50. More than 1,200 people have been placed under "administrative detention," meaning imprisoned without charge or trial, for renewable six-month periods. The youngest known administrative detainee is 13 years old!

Even with fewer demonstrations, an average of one to three people are shot to death every day by the Israelis. They have absolutely no regard for human life if it is not Jewish life. Even after 20 years of occupation, the Israelis have not learned the most elementary forms of riot control. They use their firepower with no second thought. To date, at least 230 people have been killed; twenty of them by American-made tear gas, and by being bludgeoned to death. Thousands have been beaten as an expression of Israel's policy of "breaking bones." It has been next to impossible to get an accurate number of people wounded by live ammunition, since many will not go to hospitals for treatment, for fear of arrest which is almost a certainty. Conservative estimates give the figure 1,000-1,500 injuries, not including beatings which have caused serious injuries such as fractures and multiple contusions. We are not even bringing up the illegal use of rubber bullets and the eyes lost and noses and jaws broken. Soldiers have shot at people from a range of one meter only in "execution style." There are documented instances of soldiers opening young men's mouths and shooting rubber bullets into the jaw, breaking it and most of the teeth.

We still have not mentioned that 52 homes have been demolished since the uprising. Their occupants were given only 15 minutes to one hour to vacate their belongings before a house is blown up and bulldozed with whatever is left in it. We still have not mentioned the 12 exiled Palestinians, ripped from their homeland and literally dumped in Lebanon, and the 12 more awaiting the same axe to fall on their necks.

Did we talk about the hindrance of ambulance and first aid to the wounded, attacks on hospitals and the arrest and forced removal of wounded from their hospital beds, the shooting of tear gas inside homes and cars and the resultant deaths? Seven and eleven-day-old infants have died from tear gas; dozens of women miscarried.

Fuel was cut off to the West Bank for nearly two and a half months in the middle of winter. This created severe hardships, as nearly all heating and much cooking is dependent on kerosene.

We still have not mentioned horrible prison conditions in several newly-opened prisons and detention centers. Elementary schools were transformed into prisons! The prisons are severely overcrowded, they have open sewers, insufficient water, starvation diets, constant beating and humiliation.

And, you're probably wondering what the hell we're still doing here? Well, believe it or not, this is a most exciting time to be here. In spite of the difficulties, the level of cooperation and solidarity among the Palestinians is unprecedented. Everyone is bracing themselves for the long haul and helping others in the process. Popular and neighborhood committees have mushroomed all over the West Bank and Gaza, organizing night-watch patrols to guard against Jewish settlers and army attacks. They organize first aid classes, neighborhood schools and day care centers, plant almost every available plot of land. In one neighborhood, about 3,000 tomato plants were put in two weeks ago, and it is public property. Anyone can pick those tomatoes when they are ripe.

Political leadership is, of course, underground and secret. Every week to ten days, an intifada (uprising) "schedule" comes out. This is signed by "The Unified Leadership of the Uprising and the PLO" and details the focus of activities for the next ten days. These activities have ranged from strikes calling for the resignation of Arab policemen, to the boycott of Israeli goods, to civil disobedience such as the non-payment of taxes. The calls have been adhered to almost to the letter by the Palestinian community. Whatever you read about "PLO thugs" forcing people in line against their will is totally fabricated. The commitment of the Palestinians to the uprising is total and comprehensive. It covers all sectors of society, all classes, and all ages.

Why?

In closing, a word about...why? Why are the Palestinians willing to suffer all of the above measures, to sacrifice so much? The answer is really very simple: Any human being prefers life of painful dignity to that of comfortable subservience. The Palestinians want to run their own life, to elect their own representatives, to take out their own trash, to teach their children what they want to teach them, and to buy and sell what they want to buy and sell.

To call this a 20-year occupation is a misnomer. It has been a 20-year colonization. The Israelis have confiscated over 52 percent of the land, have control of over 80 percent of the water resources, have built over 140 illegal settlements housing around 65,000 Jewish religious fanatics. To the Israelis, the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians are both a source of cheap labor and a market for Israeli products. All Israeli policies in the area, from economic policy to education to "security" to road construction to budget planning, are designed for the benefit of the Jewish settlers and to the detriment of the Palestinians. If you are not a Jew here, you have nothing, not even basic human rights to life or liberty...not to mention the pursuit of happiness. The Israeli idea for Palestinians is simply to go away.

It is obvious, and the popular uprising makes it clear, that the Palestinians will not go away. They want an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO; no more, no less. □

TWO TALES FROM ISRAEL

A Case of Mistaken Identity

This is the story, told by the Israeli paper *Hadashot* (6 June 1988), of an Israeli Jew—Shmuel Cohen—who was beaten by Jewish settlers, because they thought he was an Arab:

Cohen works as a building subcontractor with the electric company. The day he was attacked, he was working in Elon Moreh [settlement] with two Arab workers and one Jew. They were waiting for a car to come and collect them. One of the [settlers] said, 'What do you want?' and I replied that I was waiting for the car from the electric company.

"I saw that he didn't understand so I repeated myself in English and then he told me in English to leave the area, and he cursed. When I turned around, I was hit with the butt of a gun and when I collapsed, one of them struck me on the back with a board, while they kicked and hit me. The Arab workers got up to help me and one of my assailants said to the other, 'He's an Arab, kill him.' He meant me. I screamed, 'I'm a Jew' but they continued to beat me. When the Arabs approached, my assailants aimed their guns at them and I yelled at them to run away quick. They fled and called Yigal, who was working with us.

"When Yigal arrived and heard them say, 'Kill him,' he yelled: 'We're Jews.' My assailants desisted for a moment and I escaped."

Cohen says he phoned the Hebron police and arranged to meet them at the entrance to the settlement. When they arrived, the assailants approached him and one of them said, "Brother, I'm sorry, I didn't know you were a Jew." I told them that I wasn't going to accept their apology.

"Politically, I'm a Tehiya [right wing party] person. But after an experience like that, a person's political opinions can change...."

"Shooting and Crying"

The following is a protest song by popular Israeli singer Si Hyman. It is about the Palestinian uprising and its effect on Israel:

The street cleaner told me that in his village it has all changed;
Life looks different in the shadow of filth
And a window is broken in my flat, Tel Aviv is bursting in on me,
Even its smell has changed. I sense danger.
Boys are playing with lead, girls with steel dolls;
Life looks different in the shadow of filth.
And it makes no difference at all to me, who is going to win.
Boys play with lead, girls with steel dolls;
Life looks different in the shadow of filth.
Shooting and crying, burning and laughing,
When did we ever learn to bury people alive?
Shooting and crying, burning and laughing,
When did we ever forget that our children too have been killed?
On both sides, we want only to live;
In this fear it is impossible to see.
I want a refuge from all this struggle.
It really doesn't matter to me who is stronger.
In my city, it all looks different;
Wrapped in cellophane, tied to the platform,
I wait for the train to leave.
How long will we wait to see what happens?
How long will we wait and cry at what's happening?
On both sides, we want only to live;
In this fear it is impossible to see.
I want a refuge from all this struggle;
It really doesn't matter to me who is stronger.
Boys play with lead, girls with steel dolls;
Life looks different in the shadow of filth;
Shooting and crying, burning and laughing,
When did we ever learn to bury people alive?
Shooting and crying, burning and laughing,
When did we ever forget that our children too have been killed?

WHERE GRAFFITI IS MORE SERIOUS THAN MURDER

Israeli Editor Imprisoned for "Insubordination"

Adam Keller, the editor of *The Other Israel,* newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, has been tried by a military court and found "guilty of insubordination and of publication and distribution of written propaganda liable to undermine army discipline." He was sentenced to nine months imprisonment, of which six months suspended.

The last issue of the newsletter, No. 32 (May-June 1988), had a visiting editor, Zvi Schuldiner, who explained Mr. Keller's recent bout with the authorities. The following account is excerpted from his editorial in that issue:

"I replace Adam Keller as editor of this issue of *The Other Israel* for reasons symptomatic of the situation in our country. On April 15, while on reserve [army] duty, Adam was arrested and is still detained in a military prison. He was accused of painting slogans against military service in the occupied territories on 117 parked tanks, armored personnel carriers and trucks. He was also charged with putting up "Stop the Occupation" stickers in various parts of the base and distributing leaflets.

"When interrogated, Adam stated that his acts were symbolic, intended to express his conviction that the power of the Israeli Defense Forces must be channeled towards self-defense rather than towards acts of oppression as at present.

"On May 11 a military court found him 'guilty of insubordination and of publication and distribution of written propaganda liable to undermine army discipline.' Adam Keller was sentenced to nine months imprisonment, of which six months suspended; he was also fined and demoted from corporal to private.

"From the perspective of Israeli military justice, it transpires, Keller's deeds are far more serious than crimes recently ruled on by army judges. On February 5, for example, a group of soldiers attempted to bury alive 4 Palestinians suspected of causing disturbances in Kufr Salim, a village in the occupied territories. At the time, this aroused much consternation and guilt in Israel. Yet, after the commotion and the breast beating subsided, the junior officer in charge was sentenced by a military court to 5 months imprisonment and the two soldiers involved were sentenced to 4 and 5 months respectively. A military court of appeal reduced the latter to 2 and 2 ½ months while the officer's case is still pending. According to the judges, the circumstances under which the soldiers were acting must be taken into account as well as their very positive personalities.

"Another case, that of corporal Sagui Harpaz and his IDF comrades, reached the living rooms of millions of people all over the world. A CBS cameraman using a telescopic lens made a 40-minute film of two young Palestinians being brutally beaten by Harpaz and three other soldiers. Harpaz was given a 5-month suspended sentence....

"Thus, Israeli military courts perceive Keller's 'crime' as far more serious than beating, burying alive and torturing Palestinians. Opposition to war and cruelty and the expression of outrage against the occupation are regarded as crimes more heinous than the brutal and malicious use of force against protesters in the occupied territories....

"[In another case] an officer charged with improper use of arms by one of the soldiers in his command, in an incident in which a Palestinian was killed in the village of Azmut, was reprimanded; the soldier received a 35-day suspended sentence. Causing death of Palestinians, it seems, is less serious a crime than 'Stop the Occupation' graffiti." □

ISRAEL TORTURES ARABS TO INTIMIDATE JEWS

The Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* reported on 10 May 1988 complaints that Palestinian political prisoners have been tortured in order to pressure the detained Jewish editors of the banned newspaper *Derech Hanitzotz.* Attorney Felicia Langer said that one of the imprisoned editors, Hadass Lahav, testified that in the course of her interrogation by the Israeli secret police, Shin Bet, she was confronted with an Arab prisoner who looked "like a vegetable." Her interrogators told her that they would continue to torture the man until she talked.

The paper said that "from Lahav's report, this action would appear to be part of a series of heavy pressures being applied to compel her to confess to charges which she has firmly denied."

It also said that a similar complaint of torture of a Palestinian prisoner in her presence has been made by Roni Ben-Efrat, another editor of the paper. An identical complaint was also submitted in affidavit by Ya'akov Ben-Efrat.

The Israeli secret police, Shin Bet, has been torturing Palestinian political prisoners and perjuring itself in courts to get convictions for sixteen years, according to revelations made by an Israeli commission of inquiry [see article on the report of the Landau Commission in *Palestine Perspectives,* No. 33, January/February 1988, p. 8]. Now, the Israeli secret police not only tortures Palestinians to extract confessions from them, but it also tortures them to intimidate Jewish detainees. □

THE OTHER ISRAEL

More than 40 percent of Arab families in Israel live below the poverty level, according to new research sponsored by the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, an Israeli institute based in Tel Aviv. The study also shows that 26 percent of Israeli Arabs "live in extremely overcrowded conditions."

Forty-six percent of Arab teenagers (aged 13-17) are not receiving any formal education, compared with a school dropout rate of 6.3 per cent among Jewish youth. Municipal budgets of Jewish local authorities are three times greater than allocations to similar-sized Arab municipalities.

The research, funded by the Ford Foundation and conducted under the direction of Professor Henry Rosenfeld of Haifa University, investigated areas of health care, social and welfare services, local government, and the legal status of Israeli Arabs. Discrimination against Arabs was found in all of these areas.

A follow-up study will investigate discriminatory practices in the economy, employment, housing, and crime and law enforcement.

Arab community leaders in Israel said that similar information that they had presented earlier to the Israeli government had "fallen on deaf ears."

FEDERAL COURT RULES IN FAVOR OF PLO U.N. MISSION

Anti-Terrorism Act Found Inapplicable

A federal judge in New York City ruled on 28 June 1988 that the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 does not apply to the PLO Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations. The decision denies to the Department of Justice the legal authority to enforce its earlier decision to shut down the PLO office in New York.

The case against the PLO U.N. Mission was brought to court on 21 March when the PLO refused a Justice Department order to cease operations, citing legal protection under U.S. treaties. Lawyers for the defendant (PLO) argued that closing the PLO Mission would violate U.S. commitments under the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations. The court agreed.

U.S. District Court Judge Edmund L. Palmieri ruled that the Anti-Terrorism Act does not supersede treaty obligations, as some congressional supporters of the Act had argued. Under the U.S. constitutional system, Judge Palmieri ruled, statutes and treaties are both the supreme law of the land, and that "the Constitution sets forth no order of precedence to differentiate between them." Furthermore, he said, there is no indication that Congress intended to abrogate the Headquarters Agreement. Therefore, the Act does not displace the treaty and is inapplicable to the PLO Mission, and the government's interpretation of the Act as requiring the closure of the PLO office "would fly in the face of the Headquarters Agreement...and would abruptly terminate the functions the Mission has performed for many years."

Although Judge Palmieri upheld the constitutionality of the Act in a parallel motion brought to court by 65 interested American citizens and organizations, saying that the Act was "a valid enactment of general application" which could be used to "effectively curtail any PLO activities in the United States, aside from the Mission to the United Nations," he did clarify that in order to withstand constitutional scrutiny, the Act must be interpreted narrowly. □

COMMENTARY... THE PECULIAR RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL

Israel's shocking brutality against the Palestinian people, practiced as a matter of policy for decades and more recently paraded through the world's living rooms, led some people to predict that, finally, the U.S. will rationalize its relationship with Israel and its policy in the Middle East. Israel's intransigence, rudely expressed, regarding the latest American thinking on peace in the Middle East gave further support to the belief that a reassessment of U.S. policy may not be far away.

Such prophecies were proven wrong again. As Israel's rampage reached new heights—or lows—in April, the U.S. signed a new agreement of military cooperation with Israel. In late June, the author of Israel's "force, might, beatings" policy, its Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, came to Washington to negotiate with a receptive administration new American assistance (financial and technical) to develop a new Israeli missile.

People who have been predicting that Israeli intransigence and irrationality—often frustrating declared U.S. national interests in the Middle East—are bound to lead to rethinking about U.S. policy in the Middle East err in their expectations because they misunderstand the nature of the U.S.-Israeli relationship. They call it "special relationship," a name which suggests rationality. A special relationship among states is one based on a unique convergence of interests. The history of Israel's dealings with America has been a case of unilateral exploitation rather than a convergence of interests. Israel has not only frustrated U.S. policy objectives in the Middle East, but it has repeatedly created embarrassments and risks for it.

"Peculiar relationship" is a more descriptive name for the type of collusion which prevails between Israel and the American political establishment. It defies any definition of the U.S. national interest, and that is why it is unaffected by Israel's behavior. From the perspective of the American national interest, it is an irrational relationship, and that is why it continues to confound rational analyses and projections. □

CONGRESS AND THE PALESTINIANS

Following a year of anti-Arab legislative campaign on Capitol Hill, several pieces of legislation sympathetic to the Palestinians have been introduced in the past few months. On 3 March 1988, Cong. Geo. W. Crockett, Jr. (D-MI) introduced a bill to rescind the closure order against PLO offices in Washington and New York. The proposed bill, H.R. 4078, seeks to repeal the "Anti Terrorism Act of 1987" which mandated such closure. The Crockett bill has 23 cosponsors in the House of Representatives.

In a press release issued on 3 March, Cong. Crockett gave four reasons why the closure provisions should be repealed. First, the closure of the PLO mission to the United Nations violates U.S. treaty obligations to the United Nations. [A recent federal court decision said that closing the PLO mission to the United Nations would violate U.S. treaty obligations].

Second, the closure violates the First Amendment rights of U.S. citizens. Third, it presents another obstacle to the search for peace in the Middle East, because no peace is possible without the participation of the Palestinians. Fourth, the act constitutes a "dangerous precedent" to be applied at a later time to other unpopular groups such as the ANC and SWAPO, the liberation movements in southern Africa.

Self-Determination

Congressman Nick Rahall (D-WV) introduced a sense of Congress resolution in support of Palestinian self-determination and statehood. The resolution calls on the administration to adopt a policy supportive of Palestinian rights to self-determination and statehood in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The resolution is cosponsored by Congressmen John Conyers, Geo.

(continued on page 12)

CONGRESS *(continued from page 11)*
W. Crockett, Mervyn M. Dymally, and D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy.

On the Other Hand...

On the other hand, the witch-hunt continues. Friends of the Israeli lobby in Congress have introduced several bills to keep up the anti-Palestinian crusade.

Two of these bills provide for the imposition of sanctions against countries which support "international terrorism," believed to be intended for threatening countries which support the Palestinians.

Another bill, introduced by Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY) seeks to relocate the U.S. embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Finally, an amendment has been introduced to a House bill dealing with the notorious McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, whose language and intent single out the Palestine Liberation Organization for exclusion from this country. □

GENERALS AGAINST OCCUPATION

Four retired Israeli generals, touring the United States by invitation from the American Jewish Congress, told their audiences that Israel's failure to end the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza diminishes its security and would inevitably lead to more wars with the Arabs. The four generals are members of the newly founded Council for Peace and Security, a coalition of 350 Israeli academics and retired generals who subscribe to the idea that Israel's interest requires a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of exchanging territory for peace. The Israeli government has rejected that idea.

Although members of the group do not agree on the specifics of Arab-Israeli peace, they agree that continuation of the status quo is untenable and that Israel must negotiate withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967.

The group touring the U.S. includes Maj. Gen. Aharon Yariv, former chief of military intelligence and founding member of the Council; Maj. Gen. Ori Orr, former military chief of staff; Brig. Gen. Ephraim Sneh, military governor of the West Bank from 1985-1987; and Brig. Gen. Yoram Agmon who had served as Israeli Air Force attache in Washington from 1982-1985.

Although the Presidential Candidates Do Not Hear

OTHER VOICES CALL FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Although the leading contestants for the American presidency continue to sidestep the Middle East as they debate and make proclamations of various kinds—except for periodic expressions of homage to Israel—other political leaders, in the U.S. and abroad, continue to express concern about the festering Arab-Israeli conflict and the need to resolve it.

Two former presidential nominees and political opposites, Barry Goldwater and George McGovern, have joined American and world figures in issuing a statement about peace in the Middle East. McGovern, the 1972 Democratic nominee and outspoken liberal, and Goldwater, the 1964 Republican nominee and equally outspoken conservative, have cosigned a statement calling for negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians to resolve the conflict between them.

"We believe," they said, "there is a wide and growing spectrum of political support in the United States, Europe and around the world for early negotiations to resolve the Palestinian issue."

The statement was also signed by former U.S. Undersecretary of State George Ball; former U.S. Secretary of Commerce Philip Klutznick who is also former President of the World Jewish Congress and International President of B'nai B'rith; and three former European heads of government: Garret FitzGerald of Ireland, Anker Jorgensen of Denmark, and Bruno Kreisky of Austria.

The seven signers of the statement agreed on the concept of Israel withdrawing from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, occupied by Israel in the war of 1967, to become a homeland for the Palestinians in return for Arab acceptance of the state of Israel and the establishment of Middle East peace. The statement, titled "A Proposed Declaration of Peace for the Middle East," was sent to officials interested in the Middle East conflict.

Text of Statement

We the undersigned urge immediate international attention at the highest level to foster negotiations between the state of Israel and the Palestinians based on mutual recognition of national legitimacy and the exchange of territory for peace. The bloody violence and the loss of life in the disputed territory underscores the urgency of constructive negotiations. Now is the time for a Declaration of Peace for the Middle East.

We support the continued independence and security of the state of Israel. We equally affirm the right of self-determination and security for the Palestinian people. We believe that mutual recognition and good-faith negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians can achieve a just settlement and that such a settlement should be guaranteed by appropriate international peacekeeping arrangements. We further believe that such a political settlement can result in a reduction of the military burden for the people of the Middle East and open the way for constructive economic, social and cultural development in the region.

Negotiations must involve not only the Palestinians but also the Arab states in conflict with Israel over substantive issues.

An international peace conference including active roles by the United States and the Soviet Union can facilitate bringing the various parties together, establishing assurances of fairness and opening the way for substantive bilateral negotiations.

[Signers: **George Ball; Garret FitzGerald; Barry Goldwater; Anker Jorgensen; Philip M. Klutznick; Bruno Kreisky; and George McGovern.]**

THE INTIFADA
Challenging America

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) will hold its annual convention this year on 1-2 October in Chicago. The theme of this year's convention deals with the Palestinian uprising, and it is being organized under the theme "The Intifada and Palestinian Rights: Challenging America."

Convention panels will deal with such topics as the uprising's next stages, its effect on American public opinion, the media, churches, peace groups, ethnic allies...etc.

For more information, contact **PHRC: 220 South State Street, #1308, Chicago, IL 60604,** or call **(312) 987-1830.**

FBI IDENTIFIES SUSPECT IN ALEX ODEH'S ASSASSINATION

Refusal of Israel to Cooperate Obstructs Justice

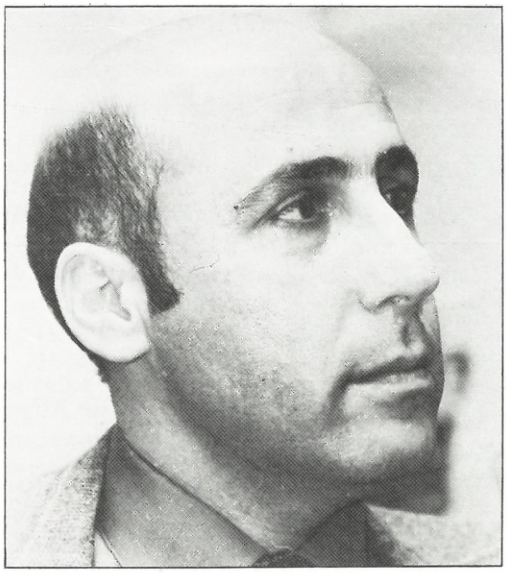
Arab-American spokesmen expressed reserved satisfaction at the news that the FBI has revealed the identity of a prime suspect in the 1985 murder of Alex Odeh, south California director of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). The suspect, identified as Robert Steven Manning, 36, is a dual American-Israeli citizen. Formerly a resident of Los Angeles, he is currently hiding in Israel. The announcement came after three years of procrastination on the part of the Department of Justice which, Arab-Americans charge, has not handled the case with the desired sense of urgency because of Israel's involvement in the case.

According to the information recently released by federal authorities, Manning is a demolition expert suspected of a series of bombings in this country, including the one which killed Alex Odeh as he entered his Santa Ana Office on the morning of 11 October 1985. Manning is one of four suspects in the attack, and all four are associated with the Jewish Defense League and the racist "Kach" party established in Israel by Rabbi Meir Kahane, who is now a member of the Israeli Knesset.

The Los Angeles Times reported on 25 June 1988 that U.S. law enforcement agencies have tried for several years to secure Israel's cooperation in gathering evidence against Kahane's followers, who live as settlers in Kiryat Arba in the occupied West Bank. Israel has consistently refused to cooperate with the U.S. authorities.

Manning apparently has a long crime record. After a long history of juvenile delinquency, he joined the JDL in 1971. A year later, he was arrested in Los Angeles for bombing the home of a local Arab-American community leader. He was later convicted and sentenced to three years probation. Then he migrated to Israel and became an Israeli citizen. He visited the United States frequently, and according to his travel documents obtained by the FBI, three of the 1985 bombings occurred while he was in this country.

The Justice Department has not yet explained whether the U.S. government has asked Israel to extradite Manning. Although an extradition treaty has existed since 1967 between the U.S. and Israel, no one has ever been extradited from Israel. Arab-Americans are anxious to see if the "special relationship" with Israel extends to the protection of criminal suspects. □



Alex Odeh

MORE MONEY FOR LAVI

Israel's friends in Congress are still stuffing dollars down the Lavi's throat. The Lavi is an Israeli project to develop and build an advanced jet fighter with American money and technology. Last August, the project was declared stopped by the Israeli government under pressure form the Reagan administration to abandon the costly project.

Apparently, the Israelis only scaled down the project rather than ending it. Research and development as well as prototype test flights continued. Some of the Israeli engineers and technicians who had worked on the Lavi project are now helping South Africa and China in the development of military technology.

Recently, the sum of $450 million was included in a foreign aid bill approved by the U.S. House of Representatives. Apparently, Israel's friends in the House, knowing that Israel intends to resume working on the project, wanted the money available for it. The bill sets the money aside for payment to Israel "whenever it asks for it."

The Reagan administration estimates that the Israeli Lavi would cost the American taxpayer $1 billion a year for 10 years. □

OFFICIAL OBLIGES ISRAEL

Stephen Bryen, deputy undersecretary of defense for trade and security policy, has recently come under fire for having approved the export to Israel of restricted military technology without the appropriate authorization required in such cases. Bryen had previously been the subject of an FBI investigation for charges of passing to Israeli defense officials confidential U.S. information on Arab military capabilities.

According to a UPI report filed by Richard Sale, the new case involves an attempt by Bryen to circumvent U.S. arms export controls by approving the transfer to Israel of a new radar tracking device for anti-aircraft guns in spite of opposition by all concerned agencies. These agencies—which include the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Pentagon's Office of International Security Affairs, and the three main branches of the armed forces—were unanimously opposed to the transfer sought by Israel.

Bryen approved the transfer before the State and Defense Departments could coordinate their response to the Israeli request. He reportedly complained to colleagues that the normal bureaucratic channels were too slow, and made the decision on his own. Defense Department officials were so outraged by Bryen's behavior that they revoked his approval and decided to deny Israel's request.

In spite of a controversial background which includes allegations of involvement in what has been called a pro-Israel "Armageddon Network," Bryen was brought to his sensitive Pentagon position by his friend Richard Perle who recently resigned his post as assistant secretary of defense for international security policy. Bryen's spokesperson at the Pentagon is Barbara Ledeen, wife of former National Security Council consultant Michael Ledeen of Iran-Contra scandal fame, and who is known for his close contacts with the Israeli intelligence establishment. Bryen, Perle and Ledeen are linked to the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), a Washington-based Zionist setup which specializes in propaganda promoting close security linkages between Israel and the United States. Shoshana Bryen, wife of Stephen Bryen, has been JINSA's executive director since her husband secured his Pentagon position. □

UNRWA photo

NEWS FROM UNRWA

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) reported the following developments affecting the lives of Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories during a two-week period ending 30 June 1988 (from UNRWA News, No. 159 -1 July 1988):

■ **Casualties:** The five Palestinians shot dead during the period included two 17-year-old refugees from the Gaza Strip and a 15-year-old boy from the West Bank. UNRWA protested the use of the Youth Activities Center in Kalandia refugee camp as an army detention center and the beating of three refugee youths there, all of whom required hospitalization. Three other refugee youths were later found injured near Ramallah and taken to hospital by an UNRWA refugee affairs officer.

■ **Demolitions:** Two refugee shelters were demolished by the Israeli authorities in Jenin camp with no reason given. Four neighboring shelters collapsed in the operation, leaving six families homeless. Another 14 nearby houses were damaged, and a 17-year-old girl was injured by falling debris. A house was also demolished in Tulkarm and five houses, three of them belonging to refugees, were sealed in Jericho. The home of a Palestinian employee of UNRWA in Halhoul was confiscated for three months and used as an Israeli army post. A refugee family shelter in Bureij camp in the Gaza Strip also was demolished.

■ **Schools:** After closing all West Bank schools for three months from February to May, and again for four days in mid-June, UNRWA schools in Jerusalem, Jericho and the Nablus area were closed for additional periods of varying lengths as punitive measures. An extended curfew in the Tulkarm area kept pupils from attending school in five UNRWA schools in the area.

■ **Contributions:** Governments disturbed by the plight of Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories, made more severe during the past few months as Israel brutally tried to suppress Palestinian protests of its occupation, have made additional contributions to UNRWA.

JAPAN has contributed $500,000. Its Foreign Minister Sousuke Uno visited Dheisheh Refugee Camp in the West Bank in late June and said that "the Japanese people were concerned about the situation in the occupied territories and followed it with deep sympathy."

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES donated $2 million to UNRWA to buy food for refugees in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in addition to $1 million contributed earlier. Food for refugees was also the purpose of a $200,000 from the Emirate's National Committee for Arab Solidarity.

SWEDEN has given UNRWA $50,000 for a diesel generator for the Augusta Victoria Hospital in Jerusalem. The hospital, financed by UNRWA and operated by the Lutheran World Federation, treats refugees from the West Bank and Gaza.

ITALIAN parliamentarians contributed $23,377 to support UNRWA's relief program in the occupied territories. The money will be used to expand facilities at the Gaza Center for the Blind, which provides training for 125 blind people.

[In another development, UNRWA reported in a news release that its field staff who visited Shatila refugee camp in Beirut at the end of June "found a shattered wasteland." The camp, once home to about 6,000 Palestinian refugees, has been devastated several times since the Israeli invasion in 1982, and has become "little more than several hundred square meters of rubble."] □

BRITISH AUTHORS CALL FOR END OF OCCUPATION

In a strongly worded letter to the London *Times*, six British authors, including famous novelists Graham Greene and John le Carre', called for an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The letter denounced Israeli violence and human rights violations in the occupied territories and called for convening an international peace conference to be attended by all parties concerned, including the PLO, to work out a peace agreement. □

From *Palestine*, vol. 13, No. 68 (1 July 1988)

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THE DEATH OF A BRIDE

Ilham Abuzarour, 20, was shot and killed by armed Israelis in Nablus on 26 July as she was doing last minute shopping for her wedding, due to take place five days later. The bride to be and her cousin, Miriam, who was also shot but survived, were leaving a shop in downtown Nablus when they were gunned down.

Israel radio reported the next day that Dr. Jihad Awnallah, who removed the bullet from Ilham's body in a futile attempt to save her life, was arrested by the occupation authorities and charged with "attempting to conceal evidence." The radio explained that the Israeli soldiers who went into Nablus hospital where Ilham was being operated on found the bullet taken out of her body in the surgeon's pocket.

QUOTE UNQUOTE

"Beirut is one heckuva long way from the 25 mile buffer area the Israelis said they wanted to secure. And neither is this war an effort to wipe out the PLO.

This is an attempt to wipe out as many Palestinians as they can . . . an extension if you will of their policy on the West Bank and Gaza."

Jim Vance, commentary, NBC News, June 1982

"But does Israel's security have to be purchased by the slaughter of innocents? We don't think so.

You are properly concerned with the safety of Israel. Over the years since Israel's founding we have demonstrated our concern, perhaps not always so strongly as you would have us do. But there is something else that comes to us from our founders. It is what Thomas Jefferson called "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

You ignored that when you bombed Beirut, Sidon and Tyre."

ISRAEL SEEKS PEACE WITH ITS SHADOW

Unwilling to do what it takes to make peace with the world, Israel is trying to make peace with its own shadow. For this reason it conceived, produced and orchestrated a third-rate show called the "Village Leagues." These are small bands of quislings and mercenaries from the occupied territories whom Israel hopes to parade before the world as the true and authentic voice of the Palestinian people. Israel picks them, finances them, arms them, and moves them.

Recently, Israel moved them to proclaim a "Palestinian National Charter for Peace," as a part of its unceasing and furtile attempt to counterfeit the will of the Palestinian people. No one has taken the Israeli forgery seriously, least of all the Palestinians under occupation. But Israel keeps trying, determined to live in a world of make believe of its own making.

Mary McGrory, *Boston Globe*, 20 June 1982

Palestine Perspectives

FIVE YEARS AGO

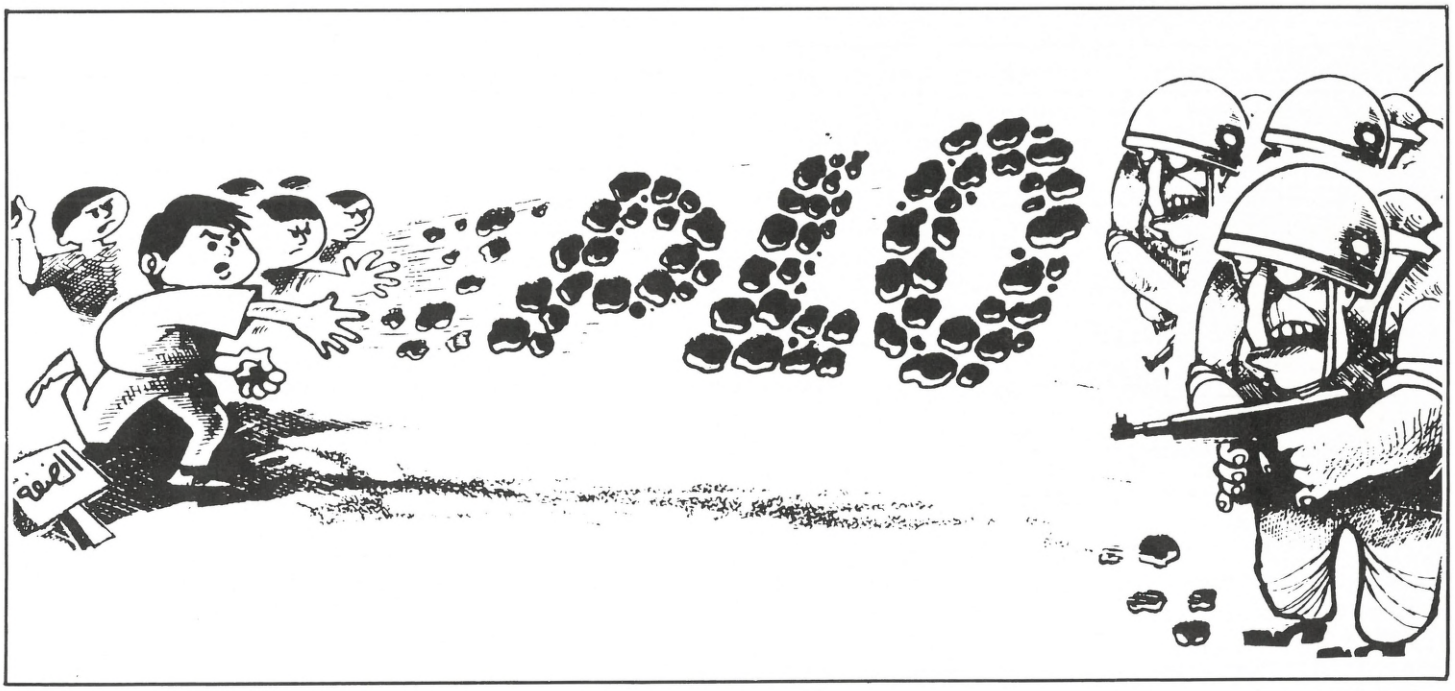
On this page, we have reproduced sample items from the first issue of Palestine Perspectives, published in September 1983. They show how today's events expose the futility of repression.

For many years, Israel has been trying to domesticate the Palestinian people and to convince them of the inevitability of subjugation. And the Palestinians have been trying to make the Israelis understand that continuing repression is bound to lead to continuing resistance.

"How many years can a mountain exist
Before it is washed to the sea?
How many years must some people exist
Before they're allowed to be free?
The answer, my friend, is blowing in the wind!
The answer is blowing in the wind!"

SENATE PURGE

American Zionists seem to believe that the Congress of the United States is a super-lobby for the state of Israel. Enlightened by this view, and motivated by this vision, they have begun to beat the drums of war against Senator Charles Percy.



ISRAEL: THE GUN BEHIND NORIEGA

Mossad Spy Links Israel With Panamanian Dictator

The New York Post of 11 July 1988 published an astonishing report on Noriega's Israeli connection. The report, written by the paper's Mideast correspondent Uri Dan, details the varied and close association between the Panamanian dictator and Israel, through Mike Harari, an Israeli spy who had risen to become a top commander in Israel's secret service, the Mossad.

The author of the report says that Harari operates in Panama "with the quiet blessing of the Israeli government," and that he has convinced three Israeli prime ministers—Menachem Begin, Shimon Peres, and Yitzhak Shamir—"that he is operating in Jerusalem's best interests."

The report describes the Israeli spy as "a political confidant, security adviser and financial partner" of the Panamanian strongman, and that he has become "the brains and brawn" behind him. Harari, the report says, has provided the following specific services to Noriega:

- He has provided him with sophisticated Israeli-made eavesdropping and security equipment—installed by Israeli experts—to spy on Noriega's political opponents in Panama. Harari also secured Israeli electronic equipment for Noriega's special hideout, a bunker which featured the photographs of his two heroes: Moshe Dayan and Adolph Hitler.

- He has helped Noriega acquire advanced Israeli weapons and to enlarge Panama's army from 4,000 to 20,000. The Israeli defense ministry made it possible because it "routinely approves all arms and equipment sales requested by Harari."

- Harari also launders Noriega's money and delivers it to secret Swiss bank accounts.

- Harari has recruited Uzi-toting Israelis to serve as Noriega's security detail.

- Harari gets 60 percent from Israeli business deals with Panama, which he allegedly splits with Noriega.

In addition to these services to Noriega, the Israeli spy—known in Panama as "Mad Mike"—runs "a drug-funded arms supermarket" in Central America and has "secretly funneled weapons to the Contras." This information was made available to Congress by an American businessman "with ties to both CIA and Mossad."

Noriega's close ties to Israel are also shown by the fact that—although the Israeli government claims that Harari operates in Panama as a private person—the State Department, pro-Israeli congressmen and U.S. Jewish leaders are skeptical and have failed to convince Israel to persuade Harari to leave Panama. Noriega also owns two "palatial homes" in Israel, and when U.S. pressure against him intensified he discussed with Israeli officials the possibility of granting him asylum, and his wife was reported in Jerusalem looking for a school for their daughter.

Harari's contention that he operates with the knowledge and approval of the Israeli government—and possibly even on its behalf—is supported by the fact that he has been able to secure for Noriega any assistance he needed from Israel, by arranging for him an official visit to Israel in 1984, and by arranging for Israeli secret service protection for Noriega on foreign trips. Harari was also present at Panamanian receptions for senior Israeli officials such as Shimon Peres and Abba Eban.

The New York Post report explained one of the advantages to Israel of Harari's presence in Panama. "If Israel," Harari was quoted saying to the *Miami Herald*, "ever needed something, like something for [its nuclear facility at] Dimona, it could be done." *Newsweek* magazine had said in an earlier report on the Israeli-Panamanian connection that Panama serves as an important site for eavesdropping on communications between the United States and South America. □

The Chickens Too

On 20 May 1988, the Israeli army teargassed a chicken coup in the West Bank village of Anabta, setting fire to the structure and causing the demise of 120 chickens and the destruction of many eggs. An Israeli army spokesman said that rocks had been thrown at a passing military patrol from the chicken coop.

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