Palestine Perspectives

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IT AIN'T FAIR

The Reagan administration and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) blamed each other for the collapse of the indirect negotiations they conducted in Amman in February via Jordan's King Hussein. Actually, they are both right. At least technically, they were both responsible. The PLO did not give the U.S. what it asked for, and the U.S. did not give the PLO what it wanted.

What did they want from each other? The memoranda they exchanged with each other, via King Hussein, show clearly that the PLO wanted the U.S. to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. The U.S., on the other hand, wanted the PLO to recognize Israel, to accept Security Council Resolution 242 as the only basis for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and it wanted the PLO to cease armed struggle against Israel without Israel giving any assurances of its willingness to recognize the national rights of the Palestinians.

The outcry in the media about the PLO scuttling the peace process makes sense only if it is assumed that peace is a Palestinian obligation but an Israeli privilege. The least that can be said about this view is that "it ain't fair." To insist that the Palestinians be the facilitators of the peace process and that the Israelis be its beneficiaries is the surest way to deny peace to all. All parties to a conflict must be both facilitators and beneficiaries of peace, or they will be neither.

The PLO is not only blamed for its refusal to accept Resolution 242 (which denies Palestinian nationhood) as the sacred text of the peace process, but it is also blamed for insisting on the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination as the condition for its participation in a negotiated peace settlement. It is said that the PLO ought to go to the negotiating table without safeguards, and there it can raise whatever issues it wants. This is a curious argument from a party which stipulates PLO advance acceptance of three specific conditions as the price of PLO admission to the pre-negotiation stage: a bilateral dialogue with the U.S. This is particularly curious in light of the fact that the PLO is also told that even if it accepted the three conditions, and if the peace conference in fact convened, and if it got to participate, the U.S. would still object to Palestinian self-determination.

PLO recognition of Israel, its unconditional acceptance of 242, and its abandonment of armed struggle is all that Israel wants from the Palestinians. Israel had already taken all of their country, and all that it still wants from them is their blessings. Why on earth should the Palestinians be remotely interested in such a deal?

It is clear that by refusing U.S.-Israeli conditions for participation in the "peace process," the Palestinians did not scuttle a peace initiative; they only turned down an invitation to oblivion. No one has the right to blame them for that. □

M. Hallaj

LETTER FROM HEBRON

John P. Egan

"Too many *jaish* (soldiers)," replied one Hebronite when I asked him about life in Hebron. "Look, they're all around. There will be trouble," he said with an air of resignation.

He was right. On September 24, Israeli soldiers in Hebron shot and wounded Marwan Jamjoum, age 20, after he disobeyed their orders to stop running away and show his identity card.

Jamjoum was one of 15 Palestinian civilians shot between September 3-24 by Israeli soldiers implementing tougher occupation policies in the West Bank and Gaza. Three of the 15 died, including a 6-year-old boy. These new measures were brought about after a sharp increase in the number and kind of Palestinian attacks against Israeli civilians and soldiers in the occupied territories.

Entering Hebron, our taxi passed under two Israeli observation posts, alongside a few buildings inhabited by Jewish settlers and past a recently completed synagogue ringed by barbed wire and guarded by an Israeli soldier. Fifty yards down the road, our taxi stopped by what used to be Hebron's central bus station. It was taken over by the army a few years ago. An Israeli soldier stationed atop a three story building next to the taxi stand watched our every move.

Coincidentally, I arrived in Hebron about one hour after Marwan Jamjoum was shot by Israeli soldiers. A shopkeeper said that Israeli soldiers had taken money from a Hebronite while they checked his identity papers. I also heard a more familiar complaint: that soldiers had harassed and abused some of the Palestinians they had stopped for routine identity card checks.

Four twenty-year-old soldiers stood guard at the "Hebronites' Houses" settlement, behind Hebron's wholesale vegetable market. They all agreed that Palestinians had made up the charges of harassment to make the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) look bad.

"Look, the IDF investigated those charges. They were lies—the Arabs just want to make it sound as if we're evil," one soldier said.

"We were told to treat the Arabs with dignity," said another. "Why would we want to make trouble with them?"

"You think that the allegations are all false? The IDF conducted a brief internal investigation. Maybe it didn't want to acknowledge that its soldiers mistreat Arabs," I suggested.

"There was a report on this morning's news that an Arab who complained of being harassed admitted that he lied. It's probably the same for all the others."

Sensing that this line of questioning would lead nowhere, I switched topics.

"Why do you think Palestinians run away when you order them to stop and show their identity cards."

"They're probably afraid."

"Of what?"

"They're on a mission for the PLO."

"How do you know?"

"The police have files and photos—they know who works for the PLO."

"But the police don't shoot the Palestinians—soldiers do," I said. "Did any of the people who have been shot lately have anything incriminating on them—like a gun or a bomb?"

"We know who works for the PLO."

Somehow I doubted it.

"How can peace be reached between Israelis and Palestinians?" I asked.

"We can't discuss politics when we're on duty," one soldier replied.

"But does your presence here make peace between Jews and Arabs any easier?" I asked. "As an occupier, aren't you bound to be hated by the local people? Without you, the settlers wouldn't be here for a minute." Pointing to the half-dozen mobile homes that made up the "Hebronites' Houses" settlement, I asked, "Is this the way of the future?"

"If we weren't here, you know what would happen?" one soldier asked with irritation. "The Arabs would kill every Jew they could find. In 1929, 69 Jews were killed here by Arabs—because they were Jews. You think we should leave?"

"We're not occupiers—this is liberated territory," another soldier said.

We had come full circle, so I left the soldiers. They seemed to believe that what they were doing was non-political: they were just doing their duty. Last month they were in Lebanon, this month they're in the West Bank. Duty is duty. It would probably have been impossible to convince them that the occupation in and of itself creates a context of violence within which Palestinians must live. Thus, when there is Palestinian violence against Israelis, it is a response to the everyday violence of the occupation. Palestinians attacked Jews in Hebron in 1929 for the same

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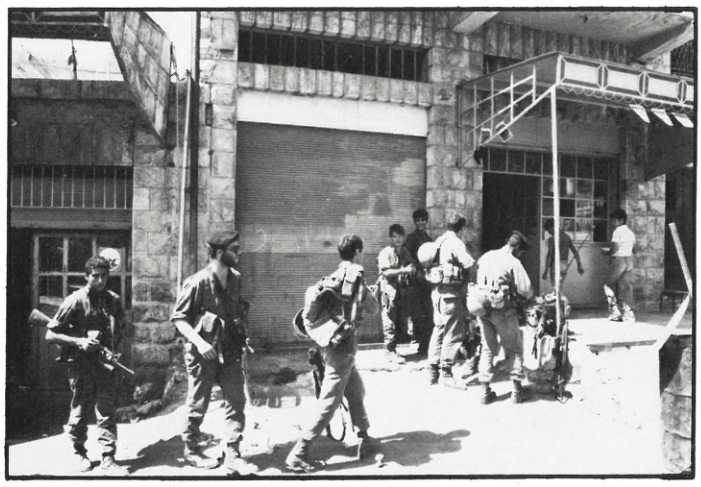


Photo: John P. Egan

The iron fist in Hebron

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THE TALE OF TWO CITIES

Nazir Majalli

In the minds of the children of Nazareth, "Upper Nazareth" was virtually the Garden of Eden. We used to wait impatiently for a holiday even though we were too young to realize the meaning of patience. On holidays, local buses operated on an expanded schedule to accommodate the larger-than-usual holiday crowd. We gladly spent all the cash gifts we received from parents and relatives going back and forth between the two cities.

After dreaming all night long about the public park and stores in Upper Nazareth, we would rise early, don our holiday clothes, then rush to the bus station singing in jubilation. As the bus reached its destination we would dash out toward the park trying to beat the crowd to the swings, the slides and the metal horses which we never knew in "our" Nazareth....

In this "Garden of Eden" we also came to know the police and its tyranny. Somehow, our presence in the park seemed to infringe upon state security. This, however, did not deter us from coming back year after year.

In those good old days, we did not know much about "Upper Nazareth" or the land of our forefathers on which it was arbitrarily built. We did not ask questions about the olive groves that used to exist there or even about the park which we never had in "our" Nazareth. Soon, however, the shocking discrepancies between the two cities forced us to outgrow the innocent and carefree nature of childhood to witness one of the most heinous crimes of this modern age where the lofty edifice of one people's civilization is being built at the expense of the existence, future and development of another people.

The Beginning

"Upper Nazareth" was established in 1957 as the Arab city of Nazareth was beginning to recover from the consequences of occupation, mass expulsion and military rule (1948-1966). The Arabs in Israel were still coping with the massacre of Kufr Qasim which took place on 29 October 1956.

As the largest remaining Arab city in the country, Nazareth was targeted by the Israeli authorities since its occupation on 16 July 1948. The objective, which has since been accomplished, was to surround the city with Jewish "watchful eyes." In the south, a military camp was set up which until recently served as headquarters for the Northern Military Command. From the west and southwest, the city was surrounded by the Jewish settlement of Kfar Hachoresh and the Shneller military camp. The length of the city's eastern boundary remained "unguarded" until the establishment of Upper Nazareth.



Nazareth

The Jewish city of Upper Nazareth was built by order of the Ministry of Defense headed by David Ben Gurion. Municipal affairs were administered by a ministerial committee for a period of six years (1957-63). Mayor Menachem Eryav of Upper Nazareth stated in a 1982 brochure that the city "was established on the shoulders of the Ministry of Defense." Mayor Eryav seemed to forget that his city was built instead on confiscated Arab lands belonging to Nazareth and the neighboring Arab villages of Ein Mahel, Reineh, Mashhad and Kufr Kanna. As a matter of fact, Nazareth lost 50 percent of its territory to the new Jewish city, even though Mayor Eryav claims that his city was established on "deserted and uncultivated land by isolated individuals in a hostile environment."

Mayor Eryav is a vocal proponent in Israel of the policy of "Judaization of Galilee" who continuously warns of the demographic threat in Galilee. As chairman of the Committee of Heads of Settlement Councils in the Galilee, he always claimed that the "Judaization" and development of Galilee will benefit all of its inhabitants. In practice, however, the notion of Judaization limits development to Jewish settlements alone. The Arabs, according to this scheme, are only extended the "benefit" of being employed by their new neighbors. Consequently, Nazareth and Upper Nazareth have become a prime example of this type of lopsided "coexistence" advocated by Eriav and representing Israeli policy since the creation of the Zionist state.

Upper Nazareth did not only take control of the land of Arab Nazareth, the Jewish town was established to rob its Arab counterpart of its historic, political, social and economic stature. The Arab town has historically served as an administrative center for the surrounding area... This fact has been opposed by the Israeli authorities who attempted to limit and undermine the influence of the Arab city.

With the establishment of Upper Nazareth, the Israeli authorities launched a systematic campaign to transfer all official administrative and judicial institutions from the Arab to the Jewish town. This included the regional offices of the Ministry of Interior, the Census office, the Education Ministry, the Land Registry, the Housing Ministry, the District Court, the Labor Court, the Public Works Department...etc. The jurisdiction of Upper Nazareth was even extended to remaining facilities within the boundaries of the Arab city such as Qiryat Hamimshalah (Government office complex), the Northern Command Headquarters and the Shprintsak Health Retreat... In addition, attempts are being currently exerted to annex a plot of 200 dunums where the city's only industrial zone is located....

Preferential Treatment

Since its establishment as a "Development Town," Upper Nazareth has received preferential treatment from the Israeli authorities. As a matter of fact, what has been achieved in Upper Nazareth throughout its 29 years of

existence far exceeds qualitatively and quantitatively the achievements of the whole Arab sector in Israel since the establishment of the Jewish state.

The Jewish city comprises thousands of housing units financed by the Housing Ministry and other governmental and official institutions. Its residents enjoy all the basic services deemed necessary for development: streets, sidewalks, parks, water, electricity, sewage, telephones, schools, shopping centers, cultural clubs, athletic facilities,...etc.

Today, Upper Nazareth claims about 30 miles of paved roads, 85 miles of sidewalks, 45 miles of sewer. It has 160 factories which employ more than half of the city's population (the rest work for the government, the police, the armed forces or the private sector). Upper Nazareth has 7,400 students enrolled in 8 elementary and 2 secondary schools. In addition, there are 72 child care facilities and kindergartens, two public libraries, five halls for cultural activities, a soccer stadium, two fields, two swimming pools (one with heated water), a dance school, a movie theater, three medical clinics, a fire and emergency station and five shopping centers....

The attempt to compare the Arab city of Nazareth with its Jewish neighbor is almost impossible because the bases of comparison are nonexistent. Nazareth has been exposed to outright neglect in all aspects of municipal services and development as part of an attempt to undermine its historical, political and social stature. This policy was enhanced by the collaboration and acquiescence of municipal councils elected prior to 1975.

Between 1948 and 1975, Nazareth was never included in the development plans of any Israeli ministry. The city began to demand its rightful share of national attention and benefits after the Democratic Front won a majority of the seats on the municipal council in 1975 thus launching a persistent public campaign to change that situation and secure more benefits for the city and its residents....

In the realm of land acquisition, the municipality has waged a protracted struggle against the ongoing Israeli policy of land confiscation. Nazareth has already lost 50 percent of its land (7,500 dunums out of a total of 15,000 dunums). In 1976, an area of 5,000 dunums was incorporated by the city, but the Israeli authorities reneged by revoking that decision.

In the fields of employment and industry, Nazareth continues to lack an adequate industrial infrastructure. Except for a textile factory (indeed a workshop), 146 car repair garages and several cement block factories, the city is void of industrial activity. This is further aggravated by the fact that 30% of all workers in the city—a total of 3200—are unemployed.

In the sphere of education, the city suffers from a severe shortage of classrooms. The municipality currently rents 220 classrooms from private owners to counter that shortage. These rooms are in residential buildings and quite often do not meet the minimal standards for educational use. The educational services of the city are enhanced to a certain degree by the presence of private church-related schools (7 secondary and 9 elementary schools), otherwise, its school system would face certain collapse, despite the fact that the city is managing to add a new school each year.

In addition, the city continues to suffer severe shortages in the areas of health services, housing and cultural activities. In terms of health, the existing two clinics are understaffed, underequipped and consequently incapable of responding adequately to local needs. Furthermore, 40 percent of the city neighborhoods remain without sewage system. As far as housing is concerned, the city has received assistance from the Ministry of Housing in building 300 residential units (i.e., less than 3 percent of all residences in the city). In addition, Nazareth is in dire need for funds to expand its cultural and sports program where severe shortages exist. For example, the city has only one soccer field which belongs to the local public high school, yet, the Ministry of Interior has repeatedly refused to allocate the necessary funds for building an additional field to satisfy the needs of the city's six soccer teams.

These shortages and inequalities are not restricted to the specific case of these two neighboring cities. On the contrary, they reflect the true discriminatory nature of Israeli policy and practices toward Palestinian citizens living in Israel since 1948. □

[Translation and editing by Khalil Jahshan, from al-Ittihad (Haifa), 15 March 1985*]*

HEBRON *(continued from page 2)*

reason they attack Jewish Israelis there today: because they are angry that their homeland has been colonized by foreigners, and they are afraid of losing that homeland, or what remains of it. In the occupied territories, at least, Jewish Israelis are attacked not because they are Jews but because they are conquerors. However, to understand is not to excuse, much less endorse.

In an attempt to verify Palestinian allegations of harassment by Israeli soldiers, I went to the office of Law in the Service of Man (LSM), the Ramallah-based West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ). Started five years ago by attorneys Raja Shehadeh and Jonathan Kuttab, LSM collects information on the legal and human rights situation in the West Bank and issues periodic reports on the degree to which international law is being followed by the Israeli occupation authorities.

By the end of September, LSM caseworkers had collected over 100 affidavits which detailed harassment of Arabs by Israeli soldiers. The affidavits included charges that soldiers forced Arabs to kiss the behind of donkeys; that soldiers forced Arabs to lean against walls with their hands over their heads for hours at a time; that soldiers forced some Arabs to pull down their pants and walk around main streets in West Bank cities; and that soldiers forced Arabs to sing and dance. LSM plans to publish these affidavits in a few months.

Most of the human and political threads of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be found in Hebron: there are militant Jewish colons, out to "redeem Eretz Yisrael"; Peace Now supporters who disagree with the occupation but who nonetheless serve in the occupied territories and

(continued on page 6)

PLO
News and Views

THE AMMAN TALKS: SELF-DETERMINATION IS THE ISSUE

The PLO: Credibility Derives From Fidelity to Palestinian Rights

On 19 February 1986, King Hussein of Jordan announced the demise of his partnership with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the search for Arab-Israeli peace. In a lengthy speech, the king blamed the PLO for precipitating the collapse of the Amman talks in which the U.S. and Israel were semi-visible parties by rejecting American conditions for the unveiling of the peace process.

King Hussein claimed that his government had secured important concessions from the United States on Palestinian rights and on PLO participation in exchange for PLO recognition of Israel, its unconditional acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and its abandonment of armed struggle against Israel. King Hussein suggested that by not accepting U.S. conditions the PLO lost an opportunity to end the suffering of the people of the occupied territories.

The king's claims on behalf of his diplomatic achievements were in fact highly exaggerated. The U.S. continued to reject all of the essential elements of the Palestinian position, and it only wanted to erect for the PLO a convenient platform for surrendering to Israel. It continued to reject a meaningful international peace conference, insisting that whatever international forum is agreed upon would be a cover for direct negotiations with Israel. It also continued to stand by its familiar position that "legitimate" Palestinian rights excluded the right to self-determination. Furthermore, the U.S. made no commitment regarding the future of the occupied territories, which makes Hussein's assertion about ending the suffering of their inhabitants a matter of wishful thinking rather than diplomatic breakthrough.

The king's statement also exaggerated the inflexibility of the PLO regarding the demands made upon it. In fact, the PLO agreed to negotiate peace with Israel, within the context of an international peace conference; it agreed to condemn terrorism as it had already done in the Cairo Declaration of last November [for text, see *Palestine Perspectives*, number 21]; and it agreed to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 in exchange for U.S. support for Palestinian self-determination. This means that the PLO was accommodationist on all the issues of concern to the United States.

[See box for three formulations proposed by the PLO, all of which were rejected by the United States].

The PLO Responds

On 8 March, after more than two weeks of studying the king's statement, the PLO Executive Committee issued its own account of the failure of the Amman talks. In its statement, the PLO said that the United States bears the responsibility for the breakdown of the Amman talks because of its unbending opposition to the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination.



The PLO also criticized the attempt to circumvent its right to represent the Palestinian people, and said that the right of peoples to choose freely their own representatives is a fundamental political right. In the case of the Palestinian people, they have sacrificed much to establish the PLO as their sole and legitimate representative, a fact recognized by the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world.

The PLO statement also described King Hussein's attack on the leadership of the PLO as a vain attempt to drive a wedge between the Palestinians and the PLO, and between the organization and its leadership. "The PLO is the Palestinian people, and the Palestinian people are the PLO," the statement affirmed. It said that the Palestinian cause is indivisible, and one cannot separate "the liberation of the land from the liberation of the man," and that is why the PLO cannot accept Resolutions 242 and 338 except within the context of Palestinian self-determination.

"The Palestine Liberation Organization," the statement continued, "expresses its regret that King Hussein's speech blames the PLO and justifies the American position," when it was U.S. rejection of the fundamental Palestinian rights to self-determination and free choice of their representatives which proved to be the true obstacle to progress. "It is a distortion of the facts to claim that disputed issues were resolved and that an opportunity to achieve peace was at hand pending PLO approval, when all of the proposals made by the PLO were rejected by the United States."

The PLO said that it had never promised anyone to accept Resolution 242 unconditionally, because doing so would mean that it is unfaithful to its historic rseponsibility to struggle for the national rights of the Palestinian people, which is the true test of credibility.

In a subsequent interview with the editor of the weekly news magazine *Al-Yom Assabeh* (10 March 1986), PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat said that the conditions the U.S. demand amounted to "an invitation to treason." □

PLO PROPOSALS

The following are the texts of the three proposals made by the PLO, clarifying its position on the peace process. All three proposals were rejected by the United States, which caused the Amman talks to collapse.

I

In the event the Palestine Liberation Organization is extended an invitation to attend an international conference with effective authority to devise a peaceful solution for the Palestine question and to settle the Middle East conflict and in which the permanent members of UNSC and concerned Arab parties participate, then the PLO would accept to participate in this conference on an equal footing within a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and on the basis of securing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination, within a confederation with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as stipulated in the Jordanian-Palestinian Accord signed in February 1985, and on the basis of implementing U.N. and Security Council Resolutions pertinent to the Palestine question, including Resolutions 242 and 338.

In this context, the PLO reaffirms its condemnation and rejection of terrorism as confirmed in the Cairo Declaration.

II

The Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, affirms its steadfast belief that the peace process must lead to a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East, and to guarantee the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people including its right to self-determination within a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation.

In light of its sincere desire for peace, the PLO expresses its readiness to negotiate within the framework of an international conference attended by the permanent members of the Security Council with all the concerned parties including Israel, on the basis of the Jordanian-Palestinian Accord ratified on 11 February 1985, and on the basis of UN Resolutions pertaining to the Palestine question including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

In this context, the PLO reaffirms its condemnation and rejection of terrorism which was confirmed in the Cairo Declaration of November 1985.

III

The call for convening an international conference to settle the Middle East conflict and solve the Palestine question must be sponsored by the United Nations in its capacity as the international institution established after World War II to put an end to the suffering of peoples, to prevent aggression and to safeguard justice and respect for human rights. The Preamble fo the UN Charter issued in 1945 stipulates the realization of international cooperation to settle international disputes and to secure fundamental human rights and the right of peoples to self-determination.

And since the Palestine question is the core of our Middle East problems, the call to convene an international conference to resolve the conflict and establish peace in the region and to ensure the implementation of adopted resolutions and measures, the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and concerned Arab parties including the PLO on an equal footing within a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation must be assured.

On the basis of the UN Charter which affirms and determines respect for fundamental human rights and the right to self-determination of peoples, and on the basis of UN resolutions pertaining to the Palestine question and the Arab region including Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO shall participate in the international peace conference in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which is recognized (as such) on the Arab and international levels, and which enjoys Observer Status at the UN since 1974.

The participation of the PLO in the international conference shall be on the basis of securing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people including its right to self-determination within a confederation with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as stipulated in the Jordanian-Palestinian Accord signed in February 1985.

In this context, the PLO reaffirms its condemnation and rejection of terrorism as confirmed in the Cairo Declaration of November 1985.

In Brief

KACH JOINS TRANSPORTATION CORPS

The racist Kach movement in Israel issued a press release at the Knesset on 18 February in response to an article published by the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* on the same date alleging that Rabbi Me'ir Kahane has been encouraging his followers to join the Engineers Corps of the Israeli Army to receive training and expertise in handling explosives.

The Kach statement denies *Ma'ariv*'s allegation insisting instead that Rabbi Kahane has been encouraging his supporters to join the IDF Transportation Units in order "to acquire expertise in operating heavy trucks which would enable them to assist in the future expulsion of the Arabs."

PALESTINIAN POET HONORED

The French government recently granted its highest medal of honor in the field of culture to Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish in appreciation for the creativity displayed in his works and for his active role in international cultural exchanges. Darwish, the Chairman of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, is the first Arab recipient of the *Ordre des Arts et des Lettres* with the rank of *Chevalier*. The award was made by the French Minister of Culture Jack Lang.

DRUZE TEACHERS HARASSED

The Israeli occupation authorities continue to harass the Druze population of the occupied Golan Heights of Syria for refusing to accept Israeli identification cards. According to *Ha'aretz*, the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture still conducts an annual campaign of dismissal of all Druze teachers in the Golan to be readmitted two months later on the basis of "private contracts."

MAYOR UNDER HOUSE ARREST

Mayor Wahid Hamdallah of Anabta on the West Bank was served a new house arrest order after one year of freedom. Prior to that, Mayor Hamdallah served five consecutive years under similar house arrest orders. The new order requires the Palestinian local politician to visit the Israeli police station at Tulkarm once a week.

HEBRON *(continued from page 4)*

protect the colons; Palestinian political figures who seek peace through the creation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza; and militant Palestinians who want nothing to do with any Jewish Israeli, regardless of their political affiliation.

Given that Hebron has been the home for these disparate human and political threads, the Israeli soldiers still stand out: twenty-year-old know-nothings armed with the best of American "population control" technology, they preside over the slow but apparently inexorable disenfranchisement of Palestinians. If the trends I saw in Hebron play themselves out more fully among Palestinians and Israelis, then the future was likely to be even more violent and blood-soaked than the past. Feeling anxious but helpless, I took a taxi bound for Jerusalem, the international city of peace. □

Life Under Occupation

REFUGEE CAMP TERRORIZED

The 12,000 residents of the Balata Palestinian refugee camp, which is located near Nablus in the occupied West Bank, have been subjected to a reign of terror by Israel's colonial army in the area. The Chicago-based human rights organization, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, reported "severe human rights violations and various acts of brutality" against the residents of the refugee camp, particularly against minors.

Since November 1985, according to a news release by PHRC, the camp has been experiencing various forms of repression, including the following:

- Intensive house-to-house searches. More than 500 Israeli soldiers stormed the camp and conducted these searches.
- Fifty camp residents were arrested for such "crimes" as the possession of "prohibited literature." The arrests included a number of parents whose wanted children could not be found.
- Checkpoints have been set up at camp entrances. Other checkpoints inside the camp were set up to harass, interrogate and round up residents.
- Mass arrests. The International Committee of the Red Cross reported that, in January 1986 alone, 258 residents were arrested and detained. Red Cross statistics show that 80 percent of the detainees in the January roundup were juveniles.
- Nighttime raids. Raided homes are often damaged in the process. Some families receive up to three such "visits" per week.
- Periodically, travel bans are imposed on the residents of the camp.
- The Camp's Youth Center continues to be closed by the occupation army for the third consecutive year.
- The camp's main entrance has been blocked and sealed by a concrete wall three meters high. □

THE CHOICE BETWEEN SURVIVAL AND LIBERTY IS NOT A CHOICE

The assassination of Zafer Masri, the Israeli-appointed mayor of Nablus, on March 2, was a tragic event which symbolized the collective ordeal of the Palestinians condemned to experience and endure Israeli occupation. It encapsulates the conflict between the imperatives of survival and the yearning to be free, both of which are deeply imbedded in the human spirit.

To grieve for the untimely death of the father of small children is a noble human instinct, and to condemn his murderers is an understandable political view. But who are Masri's murderers? To say "those who shot him" is to utter a half-truth.

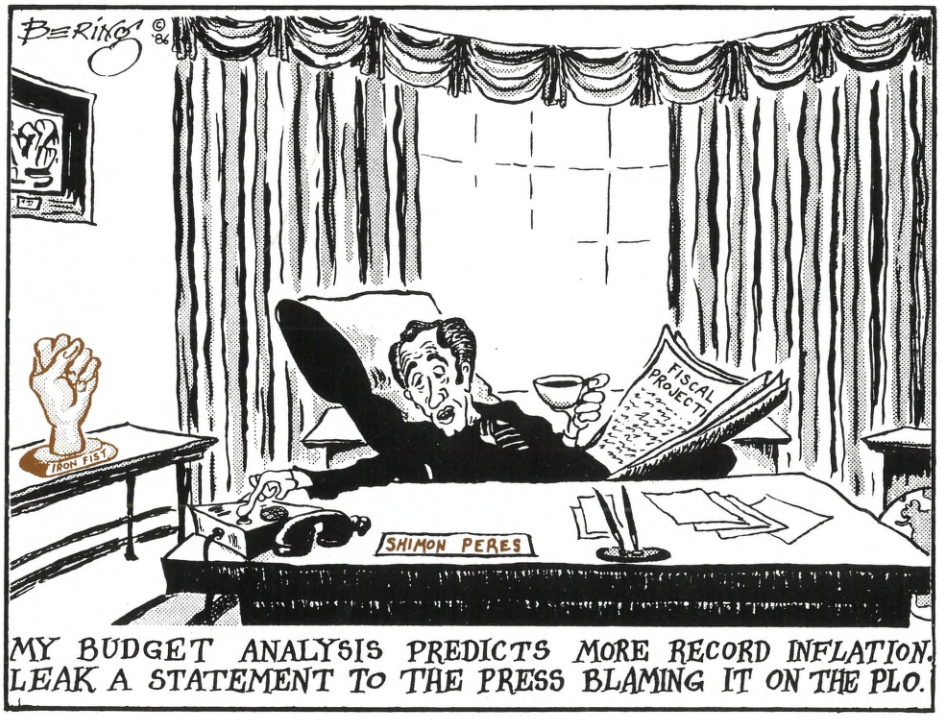
Israel bears much of the responsibility for his murder. It tried to use his desire to help the people of his city meet the imperatives of survival under a cruel foreign occupation by exploiting it for its purpose to frustrate their right to be free. It wanted to subvert his desire to ameliorate the harsh conditions of life under occupation, and to use it in order to perpetuate that occupation.

Masri, and the other Palestinians who accepted or considered serving as appointed mayors hoped to shield their cities to some degree from the heavy hand of Israel's imposed military rule, but Israel wanted them to be the instruments of its rule. So, who are Masri's true murderers?

The Palestinians used to elect their mayors and city councilmen every four years. But in 1980 and again in 1984, when municipal elections were legally due to be held, the much-praised beacon of democracy in the Middle East forbade such elections, because it feared the people's voice. The popularly elected Palestinian mayors were dismissed, deported, or assassinated by Israeli terrorists. And the people were forbidden by the Israeli state to replace them. So, who are Masri's true murderers?

It is hypocritical and offensive in the extreme to condemn a foul deed and to be a partner in its perpetration.

The Palestinians, like all peoples, have an inalienable right to survive and to be free. No one has the right to compel them to choose between survival and liberty. Anyone who contributes to the creation of conflict between these basic human rights inevitably contributes to the unending tragedy in Palestine and around it. □



IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

A year and a half ago, Prime Minister Peres and Defense Minister Rabin promised the U.S. government that they would work to improve the "quality of life" in the occupied territories. More than a few residents of the occupied territories were naive enough to believe that the Labor Party's rise to power would result in an improvement in their situation.

But their hopes were quickly dashed. Save for a more flexible policy in regard to the transfer of funds from Arab countries to various institutions in the occupied territories, it is difficult to discern any improvement in the quality of life on the West Bank or in Gaza. Indeed, the opposite is true. Over the past year, repression against the residents of the occupied territories has been stepped up, especially against activists and Palestinian institutions. At present there are over 130 administrative detainees; 30 deportation orders have been issued (some of which were issued under the guise of "cancellation of temporary residence permits"); newspapers have been shut down; the military courts are handing out stiffer sentences (e.g., 8 years in prison for a sixteen-year-old who threw a molotov cocktail but did not injure anyone); and regular army troops have been deployed throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip—a move that has exacerbated the harassment and humiliation of the local population and increased the number of people killed and wounded because they happened to get in the way of the forces of law and disorder....

Labor Party apologists seeking to absolve Peres and Rabin of any blame for the deterioration of the situation, claim that Shmuel Goren, the Coordinator of Operations in the occupied territories, is responsible for the present state of affairs. Goren, they say, is acting in defiance of the ministers he is subordinated to and on behalf of the settlers and their representatives in the government. They further claim that the Labor Party is interested in embarking on a dialogue with Palestinian leaders—or at least some of them—but that settlers and their supporters are trying to prevent them from doing so by clamoring for the intensification of the "iron fist" policy.

But it would be a mistake to argue that Peres' attempts at initiating a dialogue with local Palestinian leaders is at odds with the current campaign of repression being waged against the residents of the occupied territories. Shmuel Goren is simply implementing a government policy decided upon by the Prime Minister and the Defense Minister of which the administrative detentions, the deportations, the closures of university campuses and the curfews are all part and parcel. Through the detention or deportation of Palestinian political activists and leaders of every PLO affiliation, the "iron fist" policy can facilitate the government's attempt to negotiate with non-PLO elements....

A much more plausible argument, which is often put forward on the West Bank, is that the Israeli government is out to smash the PLO and prop up a new generation of pro-Jordanian leaders in its place.... Only collaborators and pro-Jordanian figures who are "not tainted" by any PLO connection are considered candidates for the dialogue which Peres and Rabin wish to embark upon.

Both the Labor Party and the Likud have consistently refused to speak to or recognize the PLO or figures connected with it. However, while the Likud government regarded each and every Palestinian as an active or latent PLO supporter—thereby nipping any chance of Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in the bud—the Labor Party has always been partial to pro-Jordanian elements in the occupied territories and has actively sought to bolster them up. This entails smashing the PLO in its entirety. For only by breaking up nationalist bodies and neutralizing the authentic spokespersons of the population of the occupied territories, can a vacuum be created in which pro-Jordanian elements can emerge. □

[News from Within, 31 December 1985*]*

IN MEMORY
DEIR YASSIN, 1948

[April 9 marks the 38th anniversary of the massacre of Deir Yassin which was perpetrated by Zionist terrorist organizations against a peaceful Palestinian village in the vicinity of Jerusalem shortly before the establishment of the Jewish state. Even though most of our readers are familiar with the name and the annual commemoration of Deir Yassin, the details tend to be forgotten with the passage of time. But history, as gruesome as it might be, should never be forgotten for fear it might repeat itself. With this in mind, we have chosen excerpts from David Hirst's excellent book, The Gun and the Olive Branch, *as a memorial to the events of April 9-10, 1948.]*

In 1948 Deir Yassin had a particularly peaceable reputation. For months, as Arab-Jewish clashes intensified throughout the country, it had lived 'in a sort of agreement' with neighbouring Jewish settlements; it was practically the only village in the Jerusalem area not to complain to the Arab authorities that it was in danger;... On the night of 9 April 1948, the villagers went to sleep, as usual, in the comforting knowledge that they were among the least likely of Jewish targets....

At 4:30 the following morning, a combined force of *Irgun* (Etzel) and *Stern* (Lehi), 132 strong, descended on the sleeping village. By noon they had slaughtered two-thirds of the inhabitants. For this operation, as for the blowing up of the King David (22 July 1946), the *Irgun* was acting in collaboration with the *Haganah* and the official Jewish leadership....

The raiders called it 'Operation Unity', for not only had *Irgun* and *Stern* joined forces, *Haganah* had made its contribution too. It had furnished weapons, and a unit of the *Palmach*, the *Haganah*'s elite commando forces, was to play some part in the actual fighting—

(continued on page 9)

DEIR YASSIN
(continued from page 8)

supplying covering fire according to its own account,. . .

Although it took place on the very edge of Palestine's biggest city, very few people, apart from its perpetrators and surviving victims, actually witnessed the massacre or its immediate aftermath. The perpetrators did not consider it an atrocity at all; people who did had fallen for 'lying propaganda' designed to besmirch their name. According to (Menachim) Begin, his men had fought a clean fight against fierce resistance; they had sought 'to avoid a single unnecessary casualty'; and, by using a loudspeaker to warn all women, children and old men to take refuge in the hills they had deprived themselves, in a spirit of humanity, of the elements of complete surprise.

It seems, however, that the loudspeaker was as ineffectual as the claimed half-hour advance warning to the occupants of the King David Hotel; the armoured car on which it was mounted fell into a ditch.... The surviving victims certainly told a very different story,... The attackers killed, looted, and finally they raped. They dynamited the houses; and when the dynamite ran out they systematically worked through the remaining buildings with Sten guns and grenades. By noon they had despatched 254 people; as for their own casualties, what Begin described as 'murderous' fire from the old Mausers and muskets had cost them four dead.

The 'victory' at Deir Yassin—as the Irgunists called it at a press conference had immense repercussions. Begin described them: "Arabs throughout the country, induced to believe wild tales of *'Irgun* butchery', were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into maddened, uncontrollable stampede. Of the about 800,000 Arabs who lived on the present territory of the State of Israel, only some 165,000 are still there. The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be overestimated." □

BOOK REVIEW

ISRAELI SETTLER VIOLENCE

A. Clare Brandabur

Israeli Settler Violence in the Occupied Territories 1980-1984: An Investigative Report. Dr. Jan Demarest Abu-Shakrah, Principal Writer and Researcher; Donald Betz and Rev. Donald E. Wagner, Editors, Advisory Committee on Human Rights. Published by The Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 220 South State Street, Suite 1308, One Quincy Court, Chicago, Illinois 60604. $7.95. 125 pages.

The rapacity of the settler movement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip reveals the true character of the colonial-settler apartheid state of Israel. The new zealots of Gush Emunim, in league with Me'ir Kahane, comprise a criminal anarchism which seeks to destroy or expel the Palestinian Arab population and threatens (if it has not already begun) civil war against the Israeli government. This is the thesis of *Israeli Settler Violence.*

Principal writer Dr. Jan Demarest Abu-Shakra who lives on the West Bank makes extensive use of direct contact with local leaders as well as the research facilities of Professor Israel Shahak at Hebrew University and of the Arab Studies Society directed by Feisal Husseini in East Jerusalem.

The book recapitulates the discovery and trial of the Jewish terror underground which revealed the web connecting these religious fanatic criminals with religious, governmental, and military leaders in the Israeli mainstream. What emerges is an account of collusion between land companies, settlers, soldiers, and judges in land confiscation, murders, theft, and the destruction of Palestinian homes and villages.

In addition to this documentation of historical developments virtually unknown to American readers, *Israeli Settler Violence* offers penetrating insight into the ideological struggle of which these external events are the manifestation. Gush Emunim and the "Whole Land of Israel Movement" are engaged in "redeeming" the land of Biblical Promise: it is this totalitarian Messianic belief on which the settler movement is based. Opposed to Gush Emunim is a peace movement which Dr. Demarest characterizes as "at best a marginal, minority position" within the Zionist community. (p. 50)

Peace and human rights groups who disapprove of the extremism of Gush Enunim have been ineffective in turning public opinion in Israel toward controlling settler incursion in the Occupied Territories, in part because a majority in the government supports and encourages the extremists. Begin announced long ago that Israel would never relinquish the Occupied Territories, and Messianic religious views conveniently provide a rationalization for total opposition to international law and United Nations resolutions.

Dr. Demarest quotes Professor Ephraim Urbach who opposes Gush Emunim, for example, yet who remarks "as long as we remain in the realm of ideas I regard their viewpoint as legitimate in the context of an open democratic society." (p. 52) But, as Demarest points out, Messianic Zionism does not confine itself to the realm of ideas, and its adherents regard themselves as "living in the Kingdom of Israel or YESHA, whose laws have nothing to do with democracy."

The most important opposition to Gush Emunim ideology from a religious perspective has come from one man, Demarest believes: Professor Yeshayahu Leibowitz, a religious Jew who has been an outspoken critic of occupation from the beginning, warned from June 1967 that "occupation is corruption." Leibowitz calls Gush Emunim's position "an absurdity," pointing out that the attribution of intrinsic value to the state, whether on religious or secular grounds, is "the essence of the fascist approach." (p. 50)

According to Professor Leibowitz, the atmosphere in which settler violence developed stems from the teaching of Rabbi Tzvi

Yehuda Kook, spiritual father of Gush Emunim, who encouraged the "divinization of the Land, sanctification of violence, and a mystification of force." Kook spoke of the development of "a new Jewish man ...in a knitted skullcap, wrapped in a prayer shawl and armed with a Kalashnikov; nationalistic, callously trampling down the watermelon beds of Nablus and uprooting the vineyards of Hebron, convinced that he is the 'crown of creation, the acme of spirituality.' " (p. 49) Dr. Demarest concludes: "The story of settler violence in the Occupied Territories is in large part a living testimony to the redemptive vision of his 'new Jewish man.' "

One of the Jewish scholars to whom this book is dedicated is Professor Uriel Tal who devoted his life to the study of racism directed against Jews. In the months which preceded his recent death, Professor Tal was appalled to find burgeoning racism among Jews engaged in the persecution of Arabs. His anguish may have caused the depression which led him to take his own life.

In a brilliant lecture a few weeks before he died, Professor Tal revealed the demonic nature of Messianic Zionism. Since everything non-Jewish is, in this system, unclean, and the Land of Israel is totally sacred, Jews are commanded to kill those nations who are the descendants of the seven tribes of Biblical Amalek, i.e. present-day Palestinians. This motivation was behind the attacks on the three West Bank mayors, massacres of many Palestinian people, and the attempts to destroy the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa mosques.

"The first stage," Professor Tal says of this racist ideology, "is restriction of rights... The second stage is deportation. The third stage (and here the speaker's voice trembled) is genocide. Yes, cold blooded genocide." (p. 109-110)

This courageous book will help to change the level of discourse with which Americans deal with the Palestinian crisis. PHRC is to be commended for presenting *Israeli Settler Violence* at this time.

ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION

[The following article is reprinted from a fact sheet on administrative detention distributed by the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist. It was published in News From Within, *4 February 1986]:*

Administrative detention is detention of individuals by the military authorities without charge or trial using administrative (as opposed to judicial) procedures. The practice originated with the British Mandate Emergency Defence Regulations of 1945, which were extended by Israel to the occupied territories in 1967 and incorporated into the military government by Military Order 378 in 1970. In 1979, Israel enacted its own laws authorizing administrative detention. Except in the early days of occupation, when over 1000 Palestinians were at times held under administrative detention, the procedures have been used against selected individuals, with generally 100 or less being held at any one time. (Other administrative procedures, such as 18-day extendable interrogation/detention, are used for mass arrests.) Under administrative detention procedures, a detainee can be held up to six months, with the option of indefinite six-month renewals.

Review and appeal procedures within the military court system, instituted in 1980, are not subject to outside scrutiny. The evidence presented before the military court to justify the detention is secret, open only to the prosecutor and the military judges. Access to evidence is again denied to the detainee and to his legal counsel, although the burden of proof is placed on the detainee to substantiate procedural complaints against his detention. Moreover, the reviews and appeals are conducted by military officers inferior in rank to the issuing officer, who is their commander, thus putting the independence and objectivity of the review and appeal under serious question.

Bowing to intense international and local pressure in the late seventies and early eighties, the last administrative detainee was released on March 2, 1982. Other administrative procedures took its place, including house, town and district restriction orders.

The reintroduction of administrative detention orders in 1985 seemed to be a response to intensified pressure on the government from Israeli settlers and other extremists for harsh measures to be taken against the Palestinians of the occupied territories in the wake of the (May 1985) prisoner-exchange and intensified resistance activity. The first order, against Ziad Abu Ein, was made on July 31 and confirmed on August 2. By the end of 1985, at least 125 administrative detention orders had been issued, 21 of which were cancelled after three or four months. Most of the detainees are students, with a high percentage of union leaders, and a large number of journalists and other professionals. □

NO, THANKS

A recently discharged Israeli soldier refused veterans privileges in protest against Israeli policy toward the Palestinians. The soldier, Ehud Shegel, returned his discharge papers with a letter explaining that "my protest arises from sympathy with the Palestinian people, who were robbed of their right to freedom and independence."

Shegel, who had just completed his compulsory military service, said that he specifically objected to Israel's "iron fist" policy of repression in the occupied territories and to Israel's plan to impose "autonomy" to perpetuate its rule over Palestinians.

The Jerusalem-based Palestinian weekly, *Al-Fajr,* to which Shegel sent a copy of his letter, said that he wrote the Israeli authorities that "he believes that the Palestinian people must be allowed to establish their own state on the West Bank and Gaza, and that Israel must establish actual peaceful relations with the Palestinian state." □

Life Under Occupation

LESS EQUAL

The following are excerpts from an article on discrimination against non-European Jews in Israel. The article was written by Charlie Biton, member of the Israeli Knesset, and it was published in *Ha'aretz* on 10 January 1986:

☐Oriental Jews comprise 53 percent of the current Jewish population in Israel, yet the percentage of Oriental Jews among students in institutes of higher learning does not exceed 15 percent.

☐Oriental Jews make up 90 percent of the population of poverty stricken residential areas such as Musrarah and Katamonim in Jerusalem or Hatikvah and Salamah in Tel Aviv. These are typical areas of poverty with delapidated housing, severe overcrowdedness, gross neglect and unbearable filth.

☐Oriental Jews make up a majority of the unemployed, the recipients of substandard wages and minimum wages.

☐At least 90 percent of all prisoners in Israeli jails are Oriental Jews. The same ratio applies to delinquent youth heavily engaged in crime, drugs and prostitution.

☐There is cultural and intellectual discrimination. Consider the prominence given in Israeli society for Yiddish literature and European Jewish culture. It certainly dwarfs the attention given to the great culture of Oriental Jews. ☐

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JEWISH TERRORISTS PARDONED

Boaz and Ya'acov Heinemann, two convicted members of the Jewish terrorist underground, were granted clemency by Israeli President Chaim Herzog. The two terrorists have been sentenced to 40 months imprisonment for their 1980 attack on West Bank mayors which maimed Mayor Bassam Shak'a of Nablus and the late Mayor Karim Khalaf of Ramallah. They have also been convicted of conspiracy to blow up the Dome of the Rock, attempted manslaughter in the 1983 raid on the Islamic University in Hebron, planting explosive devices on Arab buses, and membership in a terrorist organization.

The Jerusalem Post (22 February 1986) reported that the two Jewish terrorists were released prior to serving their sentence because "they expressed sincere regret for their actions" and because they had "personal problems." Other members of the Jewish terrorist underground Uri Meir, Dan Beeri and Yosef Tzuria, were similarly pardoned by President Herzog in September and December of 1985. ☐

ZIONIST IMMIGRATION LOWEST EVER

According to Israeli official statistics released in January, Jewish immigration to Israel fell in 1985 to its lowest level since 1948. The data released by the Israeli Ministry of Immigration and Absorption reflected a drop of 41 percent in overall immigration from the previous year. In 1985, only 11,298 immigrants arrived in Israel compared with 19,230 immigrants in 1984. These figures include the 10,000 Falashas secretly airlifted from Ethiopian refugee camps in Sudan....

The drop in immigration is compounded with a growing rate of Jewish emigration from Israel. In 1984, the number of Jews who left Israel reached 17,882 people, compared with only 2,500 in 1983 and 8,100 in 1982. Furthermore, Israeli officials are concerned about the high rate of local Arab growth which is estimated at twice the rate of Jewish growth in Israeli society. The idea that Arab citizens of Israel might become a majority by the year 2015, thus peacefully taking over the country, is making many Israelis nervous. Right-wing parliamentarian Meir Cohen-Avidov (Likud) commented: "If we don't do something fast we will have parity between Jews and Arabs in 30 years, and a bi-national state." Cohen-Avidov surprised his colleagues at the Knesset by proposing to declare 1987 "a year of Jewish fertility" by offering substantial government subsidies to Jewish families that increase their number of children to three or more. The proposal was referred to the appropriate committee for further study. A female Knesset member accused Cohen-Avidov of "trying to turn women into birth machines."

1948 EXPULSION ADMITTED

A recently revealed Israeli report by the military intelligence department of the Haganah, the Zionist military force which in 1948 became the Israeli army, admitted that most of the Palestinians who became "refugees" in 1948 were in fact expelled or driven out during the war. The report, dated 30 June 1948, refutes Zionist allegations that the Palestinians left their country voluntarily or in response to a call by their leaders to move out to facilitate the Arab war effort.

The report, according to the *Jerusalem Post* of 2 March 1986, was discovered by the Israeli historian, the late Aharon Cohen who had been one of the leaders of the liberal Mapam Party. In a lecture at Tel Aviv University's Shiloah Institute, *Jerusalem Post* editor Benny Morris said that according to the Haganah report, the population of more than 250 Palestinian towns and villages were driven out during the few months following the massacre of Deir Yassin on 9 April 1948.

The Arabic-language newspaper, *al-Ittihad* (Haifa) reported on 3 March that the Hebrew press in Israel totally ignored the report and the lecture about it. ☐



FLASHPOINT . . . ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS

Public television is making what it calls "a bold but balanced effort" to explain the Arab-Israeli conflict to the American public. The two and a half hour program entitled "Flashpoint: Israel and the Palestinians" was produced by KQED public television station in San Francisco. It will be shown on public television stations in almost all major cities around the country from 8 to 10:30 on the evening of Wednesday 9 April 1986.

KQED, the program's producer, described it as "an experiment in free speech television, analogous to a newspaper's Op/Ed page where viewpoints, not always popular in the mainstream opinion, are given free expression. The program "offers viewers a rare opportunity to hear very different versions of a volatile situation" through films "made by independent filmmakers, partisans of either side."

A news release from station KQED said that it is important for Americans to understand the Palestinian-Israeli conflict because, more than any other conflict in the world, it "can spark global violence which Americans may not escape."

The program presents Palestinian and Israeli views by showing two films which express Israeli attitudes and a film depicting the Palestinian people's trauma and struggle in occupied Palestine. It also features two commentators, Israeli Knesset member Ehud Olmert of the Likud Party, and Dr. Rashid Khalidi, Palestinian professor teaching at Columbia University. Reporter Stephen Talbot introduces the program.

Occupied Palestine

The tragedy of the Palestinians, victimized by Zionist colonization and a cruel Israeli military occupation, is dramatically portrayed in the film *Occupied Palestine*, produced by David Koff, Cinema Six Productions. The film, originally produced as a feature length film (90 minutes), had never been on American television. It has been shown in classes, conferences, and to private groups, but the shorter (one hour) version which will be shown on PBS on 9 April will be the first screening for a national audience.

The film portrays the continuing and relentless Zionist drive to dispossess and subdue the Palestinian people, and the Palestinians' resistance to Zionist usurpation and Israeli repression. And it tells this uniquely tragic Palestinian experience through ordinary people who directly and personally experienced Israel's "iron fist" policy. Through footage filmed on location, it tells the Palestinian story through par-

(continued on page 13)



THE POLLARD AFFAIR: ANOTHER COVER-UP?

Anne Henderson-Pollard, arrested in November 1985 with her husband Jonathan Jay Pollard for suspicion of spying for Israel, has been released from a District of Columbia prison on a $23,500 bond on 24 February. In two court hearings in December, federal prosecutors argued that her release would constitute a threat to national security, and she and her husband were ordered by a U.S. magistrate and a District Court judge to be held without bond.

Jonathan Pollard was arrested outside the Israeli Embassy in Washington on 21 November, while he was trying to escape the country by seeking political asylum in Israel. His wife was arrested the following day and charged with the possession of government secrets. FBI sources said that Jonathan Pollard admitted spying for Israel for $2,500 a month.

Two Israeli diplomats implicated in the Pollard affair were spirited out of the U.S. shortly after the Pollards were arrested to keep the FBI from questioning them. The Israeli intelligence unit said to be responsible for the type of spying of which the Pollards are accused is known by the Hebrew acronym LEKEM, and it specializes in the gathering of technical and scientific military secrets.

Jonathan Pollard, who is still in prison, may not be tried. It is reported that attorneys on both sides of the case are trying to convince him to plead guilty to reduced charges in order to avoid trial.

U.S. security sources say that because the Pollard case has potential adverse effects on U.S.-Israeli relations, it is being "handled delicately." Unlike other spy cases, the Pollard case has received very little coverage or publicity.

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POLLARD

(continued from page 8)

Some groups in the United States are fearful of a cover-up, as happened in the Liberty case, when Israel attacked and severely damaged a U.S. naval vessel in 1967 [see *Palestine Perspectives*, number 21].

ADC Protests

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) said it is important that people let public officials know that they object to a cover-up in the Pollard case. In a news release dated 5 March, ADC said that if there is no trial "the full story of this Israeli spying incident will never be told."

ADC said that several questions about the Pollard case need to be answered:

☐ How many more Israeli spies are operating inside the United States government?

☐ Why did Israel need such an elaborate control apparatus for just one spy?

☐ Why did the State Department send Abraham Sofaer, an outspoken supporter of Israel, as the head of the delegation to Israel to investigate the Pollard case?

☐ Why did U.S. officials accept statements by the Israeli government that the spy operation was carried out without the knowledge or approval of Israel's political echelon?

☐ Why did the U.S. allow Israel to recall the two accused spymasters who controlled Pollard before they could be questioned here?

☐ Why is the U.S. government silent on this case, when they are so vocal on other recent espionage cases, such as that of Larry Wu-Tai Chin and the Walker family?

The ADC press release concluded by saying that "These questions will remain forever unanswered unless there is a full trial. The American people have a right to know the answers to these questions that affect the security of their country."

PBS

(continued from page 8)

ents whose sons and daughters were felled by Israeli bullets, through people whose homes were demolished, through farmers whose lands were confiscated, and through students who were shot or imprisoned to silence them. And it pictures their defiance to Israel's attempts to intimidate and subdue them through footage of clashes with Israeli troops, demonstrations against the Israeli occupation, and defiant expressions of support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as the leader of Palestinian struggle for freedom.

One of the outstanding features of the film, which makes it such an authentic and compelling account of the Palestinian experience is that it speaks through the affected people themselves. It lets the story emerge through the views and feelings of the participants, both Palestinian and Israeli.

The film's producer, David Koff, is an honor graduate of Princeton University, and he has produced—in addition to *Occupied Palestine*—a number of films all of which depict victims of oppression and their struggle for justice and liberty. His productions include *The Black Man's Trilogy* which includes three documentaries (*White Man's Country, Mau Mau,* and *Kenyatta*), *Black Britannica,* and *People of the Wind.* His films have earned awards at international film festivals.

Occupied Palestine is available for purchase or rental from Cinema Six Productions, P.O. Box 7354, Silver Spring, Maryland 20907. It is available on 16 millimeter as well as on VHS and Beta videotape. ☐

FAYEZ SAYEGH MEMORIAL AWARD

Four Palestinian organizations and individuals have been honored with the Fayez A. Sayegh Memorial Award. The award, established in 1985, is given to organizations and individuals selected by a special committee "for their dedication and commitment to human principles, and sustained contribution to the understanding of the Palestinian cause."

The four recipients of this year's award are Law in the Service of Man, the film "Gaza Ghetto," the Nazareth Voluntary Group, and Mr. Naji Ali.

The award was established by the Fayez A. Sayegh Fund in 1985 to honor the memory of Dr. Sayegh, a noted Palestinian author, educator, and diplomat. He lived for more than 30 years in the United States where he earned widespread recognition as an eminent scholar, statesman and eloquent spokesman for Palestinian rights.

Dr. Sayegh had a PhD in philosophy from Georgetown University. He taught at Stanford and Yale Universities, and was a fellow at St. Antony's College at Oxford University. His books and articles were published in 16 languages.

LAW IN THE SERVICE OF MAN: West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists; for sustained efforts in developing and upholding the principles of the rule of law in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, and for carrying out vitally needed legal research and providing legal services for the captive Palestinian community.

GAZA GHETTO: a documentary film which portrays the Palestinian experience under the Israeli occupation. It was produced under extremely difficult conditions and, like *Missing* and *The Last Grave at Dimbasa,* is a piercing account of human suffering and injustice that reminds us of reality.

NAZARETH VOLUNTARY GROUP: an international solidarity project whose sustained contribution to community development and vitally needed services made it an important pillar of the struggle for Palestine. The annual gatherings of people from around the globe symbolize the struggle for a pluralist existence and a common humanity.

NAJI ALI: Palestinian cartoonist whose drawings served as a beacon of light and hope to Palestinian communities in exile during their darkest hours. His creative work expressed Palestinian sentiments, aspirations, and a vigorous commitment to free expression and the right of dissent. ☐

UN DEFINITION OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

RESOLUTION NO. 3236 (XXIX) OF 22 NOVEMBER 1974

World View

[In response to the ongoing campaign to pressure the Palestinians to accept UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338 as the sole basis for a negotiated settlement with Israel, the PLO has responded unequivocally that 242 and 338 are not an adequate or sufficient basis for peace negotiations because they simply do not deal with the Palestine question and totally ignore the aspirations and national rights of the Palestinian people. Instead, the PLO has proposed through the Jordanian-Palestinian Accord of 11 February 1985, and the recent round of PLO-U.S. negotiations mediated by King Hussein in Amman, that the Palestinians are willing to accept as a total package all UN resolutions pertinent to the Palestine question, including those of the Security Council. These resolutions, applied *in toto*, deal rather adequately with the Palestine question. Following is the text of UNGA Resolution 3236 of 22 November 1974, which reflects the will of the international community as to the meaning of Palestinian national rights including the right to self-determination.]

RECOGNIZING THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine,

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,

Having also heard other statements made during the debate,

Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved and recognizing that the problem of Palestine continues to endanger international peace and security,

Expressing its grave concern that the Palestinian people has been prevented from enjoying its inalienable rights, in particular its right to self-determination,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Recalling its relevant resolutions which affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including:

(a) The right to self-determination without external interference;

(b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;

2. Reaffirms also the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return;

3. Emphasizes that full respect for and the realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;

4. Recognizes that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East;

5. Further recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

6. Appeals to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the implementation of the present resolution;

9. Decides to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in the provisional agenda of its thirtieth session.

Adopted at the 2296th plenary meeting:

In favour: 89

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Central African Rep., Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Dem. Rep., Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Emirates, Un. Rep. of Cameroon, Un. Rep. of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: 7

Bolivia, Costa Rica, Iceland, Israel, Nicaragua, Norway, United States.

Abstained: 37

Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Fed. Rep., Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Laos, Luxemburg, Malawi, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Singapore, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Venezuela.

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"Recognizing the Palestinian right to self-determination is no more than reiterating our belief in the most fundamental human right that we have always lived by, the right of people to democratically choose their own government."

Dr. Alfred M. Lilienthal
Speech to Phi Beta Kappa Assn.
16 October 1985

THE LIMITS OF OBEDIENCE

At the height of the Lebanon War, the *Yesh Gvul* (Heb: There is a Limit) movement called on Israeli soldiers to disobey orders and refuse to cross the international border into Lebanon. Hundreds of soldiers responded to the call and approximately 135 of them went to military prison rather than serve the Israeli war machine in its onslaught against the civilian population of Lebanon.

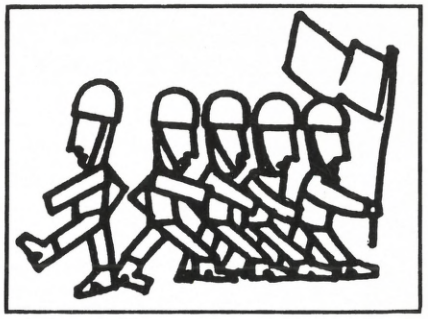
The rise of the *Yesh Gvul* movement and the refusal of hundreds of Israeli soldiers to implement the imperial fantasies of Messrs. Begin, Sharon, Eitan & Co. marked a watershed in traditional Israeli attitudes to the army. A stormy public debate ensued in which journalists, writers and academics expressed their views on the issue of draft resistance as many of the most prominent members of the Israeli intelligentsia rallied to the support of the resisters. Since then, the army command has had to reckon with the possibility of collective draft resistance in the event of mass mobilization of the reserve army for war.

In December 1985, *Yesh Gvul* published a book which gives an overview of the debate on draft resistance that took place during the Lebanon War. Titled ***The Limits of Obedience***, the book has provoked a good deal of debate in its own right. A plethora of reviews have been written about it both by supporters of the draft resistance movement and by its detractors. Yet the vast majority of reviewers agree on one thing: the high quality of the articles included in the anthology. To name but a few: jurist Avigdor Feldman's analysis of the legal aspects of draft resistance; Prof. Yishayahu Leibowitz's salute to the resisters, in his words, "the true Israeli heroes"; and philosopher Yehuda Meltzer's critique of the "shoot and cry" attitude of Peace Now.

Yesh Gvul activists report that the first edition of the book has practically sold out—which attests to the continuing relevance of the issues discussed.

At a press conference held by *Yesh Gvul* on the eve of the book's publication, Prof. Yishayahu Leibowitz gave three examples of situations which called for disobedience:

1. Three pilots visited me and told me that during the Lebanon War they received an order to bomb a refugee camp. They flew to the site, 80 kilometers north of the



Israeli border, saw the hovels and flew back. They were not put on trial so as not to publicize the affair.

2. A tank corps officer came to see me. He had received an order to use his battery against a Lebanese village at 800 meters. He refused to do so.

3. A young officer came to see me who had been ordered to disperse an illegal demonstration in the occupied territories. He and his soldiers were ordered to fire above the demonstrators' heads and afterwards at their legs. As a result an eight-year-old child was killed. The officer was broken when I saw him. His whole ideological worldview was in ruins. He is thinking about emigrating as soon as he is released from the army. *[*Translation: *Kol Ha'ir*, 6 December 1985*]*. □

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