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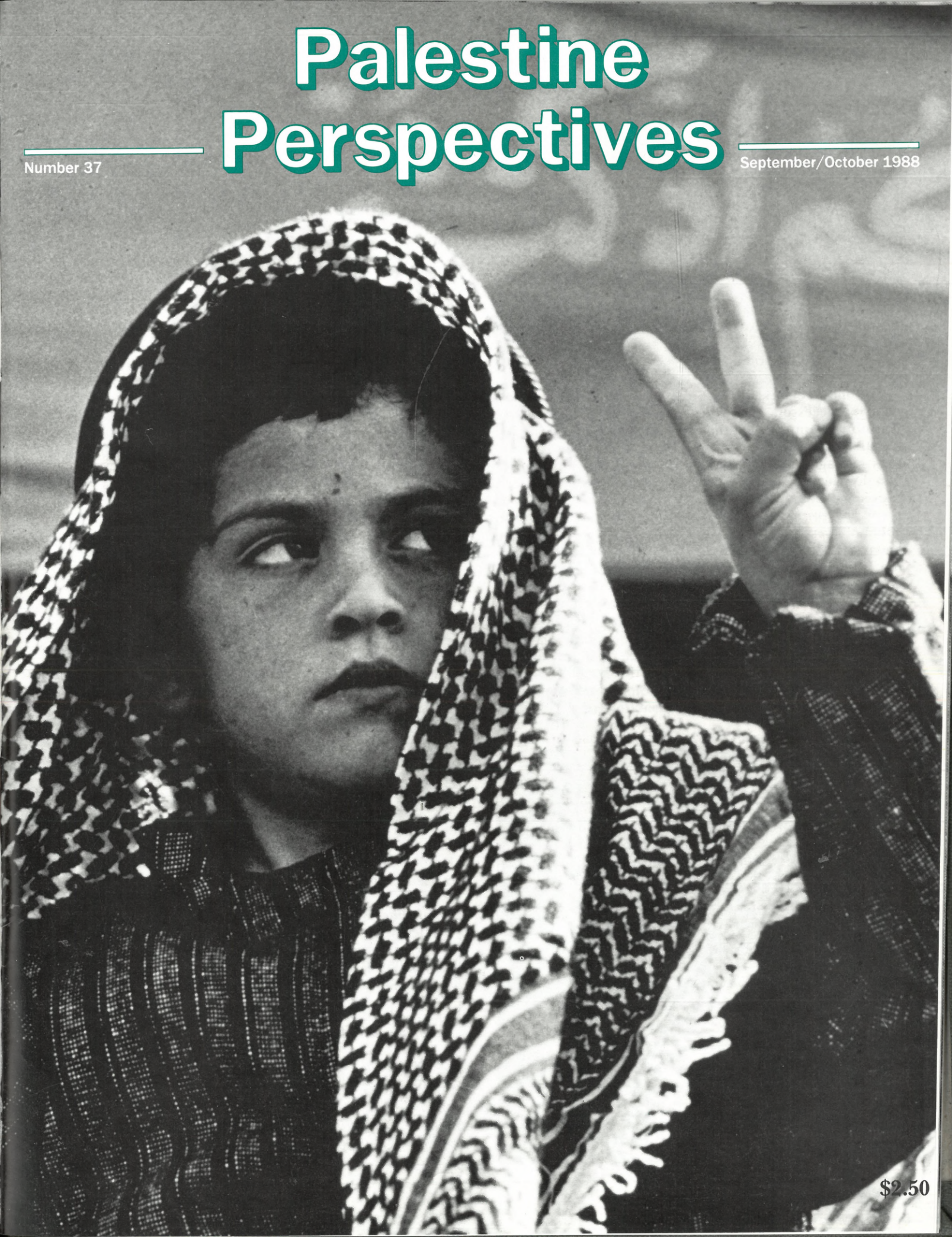

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THE PALESTINIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Regardless of how and why it started, the uprising against the Israeli occupation and colonization of the West Bank and Gaza has become a Palestinian war of independence. It has become an authentic anti-colonial struggle for self-determination.

The contemporary world is largely the product of wars of independence and anti-colonial revolts. Starting with the American Revolution, a series of rebellions by non-self-governing peoples has produced one of the greatest achievements of modern history: the universalization of self-government. The Palestinian rebellion in occupied Palestine is an integral part of this process of global national emancipation.

The most remarkable fact about it is that—unlike most of its predecessors—the Palestinian war of independence is a nonviolent struggle that is making progress. For nine months of confrontation with their occupiers, the Palestinians managed to keep their endeavor practically free of lethal violence. In every instance but one, they have been the victims of lethal violence.

Israel's response to this nonviolent struggle—repulsive by any standards—proves that Israel is opposed to Palestinian freedom, regardless of how the Palestinians strive to achieve it. Israel has always concealed this fact by claiming that it is violence which it opposes, and it used that argument to justify its own violence against the Palestinian people and to mislead millions of people around the world into believing that it was engaged in a struggle for survival. The U.S. government, basing itself on this Israeli myth, has pursued a policy of limitless and unconditional support for Israel and unreasoning antagonism toward Palestinian nationalism.

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The Palestinian ability to resist irresistible provocation and a most powerful temptation to use lethal force in their struggle exposes the Israeli "blood libel" against them as a slanderous and vicious libel to justify its own violence and irrational drive to be the last colonial power on this planet.

It may be argued, of course, that given the disparity in the fire power possessed by Israel and the Palestinians, it is in the interest of the Palestinians to wage a nonviolent struggle against Israel. But that neither detracts from the merits of the Palestinians' struggle nor condones Israel's brutality or irrationality. On the contrary, it confirms the fact that the Palestinians use armed struggle only as a last resort, as a necessity rather than a preference, and it confirms the fact that it is Palestinian freedom rather than Palestinian "terrorism" that troubles Israel.

One can understand—without condoning—Israel's behavior. After all, it covets the land of the Palestinians. It wants to evict the Palestinians from their homeland and from history and to usurp their national inheritance. That is what Zionism is about.

What is not understandable is the U.S. government's persistence in being an accessory to the Zionist scheme by paying for it, and by continuing to deal with the Palestinians as if they were the accused rather than the accusers.

We all know the reasons, and they are many, and not least among them is that the career politicians who administer this republic continue to fear the Zionist lobby more than they revere the principles of the republic entrusted to their care.

The American people will change all that, in due course. Israel's insatiable appetite for land and power will see to it. In the meantime, the Palestinians struggle and suffer... and struggle some more. □

M. Hallaj

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BURNING HATE

[In August, three Palestinian workers were deliberately burned to death as they slept in a shack near their place of work in Israel. An Israeli reporter visited the scene a few days later and filed the following story]:

People in Or Yehuda [an Israeli town near Tel Aviv] burned two Palestinians to death a week ago. They burned three but only two of them died; one died immediately and the other after a couple of days [the third died later—*Editor*].

Two days after the burning Shuki Khalif, 16, resident of Or Yehuda, said, "What does it matter if an Arab burns? What does an Arab matter at all? It's not a human being. I wouldn't care if more than 2,000 burned." His friend, Reuven Alayev, said, "I would burn 5,000 more...."

A couple of older people playing cards said that it wasn't okay to come and ask children such questions, because it gives a bad name to the place. They said that these kids, who just yesterday had their bar mitzvahs, are competing to see who will say the worst things about Arabs. But even among all these older people there were only 3 out of 10 who said the burning wasn't good. One of them said, "What happened happened. The Arabs are learning how to live, as we learn."

The youth in Or Yehuda are growing up in an atmosphere that probably encourages hate. At the edge of Tel Aviv, where the city lights are not so bright, cannibalism and dark hate awaken. Youth burned the shack. This story is the story of youth.

"It was all organized beautifully. They threw [gasoline] on them. And they didn't pay attention. They were sleeping." The man who spoke was 30 years old living near the place. He was a witness of the event. He didn't want to give his name because he has problems with the police. "I saw everything 20 minutes before it began. Two threw gasoline on this shack; the third threw a match and they ran."

"How old were they?"

"Seventeen years old. Youth."

"Benzene or kerosene?"

"Benzene. What's the matter with you? If it were kerosene they could escape. But benzene is like a bomb. Boom! And it all blew up. By the way, it's not the first time that Arabs are burned. In the past there was another case of burning in the industrial area. But nobody wrote anything about it because they lived."

"What do you think of this event?"

"Look, I could put ten in a line and shoot them. That's okay. But burning, I can't do. When it happened I sat on the veranda and if I didn't have family reasons not to I would dance. I wouldn't help them. Let them be burned, the Arabs."

"Did somebody help them?"

"Yes, a neighbor, just released from the army. But I can't blame him. He heard 'Help' in Hebrew and he couldn't have known they were Arabs. If he had known he wouldn't have helped them. Look, one of the Arabs ran out while he was burning and he stood on the road but nobody helped him."

Hut where three workers were burned

This conversation occurred while the speaker was fixing his car; his 17-year-old brother was helping him. He said he had nothing to add, especially after his brother proudly said that he had punched an Arab who was cleaning the stairs and asked for his wages ("An Arab was coming to take money from a Jew?"). But the youngest brother added, "I will join the Border Police to kill Arabs by beating them with clubs."

This is our intifada. A hundred meters from the burned shack a slogan was painted, "Death to the Arabs and to the traitors." Not only there. There are a lot of places in Or Yehuda which are getting their slogans from Kahane's repertoire. One of the card players said, "This is our intifada." They add that the workers [who were burned] were not regular workers in Or Yehuda and that they had probably been targeted because their landlord does not live in Or Yehuda....

Avi Darwish, 20, wants to be mayor of Or Yehuda. He suggests that Arabs be transferred from Or Yehuda, "according to law, of course. Yesterday we sat here in the coffeehouse and we thought about how to establish such a political party. I will be the leader of it." He is a soldier and the couple of friends sitting with him were also soldiers. Golan Shai, 20, said, "They did well to burn them. Why should they be ashamed? Damn the Arabs! It's a pity that the other two didn't die also. Believe me, I would help them [the murderers]."

Rami Na'im, 19, a soldier, says, "If we knew who did it we would give him a medal. Maybe they didn't want to burn them, exactly, but only to frighten them. I personally can't burn, but whoever can, more power to them." Golan is very proud to say that he could even slit their throats. "I was happy that they burned him. A lot of us have died, so why shouldn't they lose some. It's a mitzvah [religious duty] what they did...."

A taxi driver said, "I hate Arabs but it's terrible what they did to them." Another, younger taxi driver said that we had to do to them what Hitler did to us. A nice, kindly guy from Ramat Gan said that he doesn't care if they put them in concentration camps. □

[Story by Yediot Ahronot, *17 August 1988. English translation by Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights]*

PALESTINIAN HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL?

*By Hilda Silverman**

I remember as a child wondering at High Holy Day services each fall why I was expected to atone for sins that I had not personally committed and that, in some instances, I had never even heard of. It was only in recent years, as I have struggled to face the catastrophic consequences for the Palestinian people of our century's greatest Jewish triumph—the founding of the state of Israel—and of the subsequent occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, that I have begun to experience a deep need for collective atonement.

An Israeli friend with kindred sensibilities describes his worst current nightmare: a vivid walk through a Palestinian Yad Vashem [holocaust memorial], and the thought that someday such an institution will have to be created and that we Jews will have to go there. But need we wait until then to begin, at least, the painful process of acknowledgment of wrongdoing, of atonement?

Last year, after Yom Kippur, I was profoundly moved by a piece in *Al Fajr* newspaper, written by Moshe Ben Shlomo, which began with the question, "How do we atone?" followed by a description of the murder of two Palestinians by Israeli military authorities, and an anguished litany of other abuses. It is noteworthy that Ben Shlomo's powerful piece was published almost two full months before the beginning of the Palestinians' brave intifada and Israel's "iron fist" response.

"How do we atone?" Ben Shlomo wrote. "You ask what we have to atone for? We must atone for the dozens of prisoners in our jails without charges or trial and the dozens of others confined to their towns or villages, all by the stroke of the military's pen. For the dozens of people deported from their homeland who can never return. For the dozens who sleep under the stars because their homes were demolished in the name of our security....

"As we pray in the Old City [of Jerusalem], will we remember to atone for the homes we stole a few meters away? For the houses we stole and the families we dispossessed?... Although we have much to atone for, Israeli politicians...praise our democracy. Jews in the U.S. send their dollars to fill our coffers...and even our liberal journalists slap us on the backs because torture, according to Amnesty, is not as bad as in Iran. Have we really gone that mad?"

These words were published on 11 October 1987. How much worse things are now! This year our Day of Atonement is hardly long enough to recount the new Palestinian dead, hundreds of them, with (for us) unpronounceable names and interchangeable, keffiye-wrapped faces, with remarkable absence of fear, with hands raised in defiance of Israeli soldier and settler violence. Yet each bullet that has found its deadly mark, each lethal and brutal beating, each tear-gas canister that has taken its toll of lives—old, young, sick and unborn—cries out for some kind of worldwide, collective Jewish atonement.

And the permanently maimed...what a legacy of suffering, of bitterness, and of rage is left for our children and their children to confront.

No longer "dozens" of Palestinian prisoners jailed without charge or trial, but now thousands—a community's leadership—are being held under conditions that must make God weep, and that Jews—of all people—could do such things to other human beings. And those sent into exile (mayors, university presidents, journalists, and leaders of women's and students' groups) are permanently separated from homes, families and loved ones and the communal institutions they had so carefully developed and nurtured. Numbering nearly 2,000 since 1967, they wander the earth, wondering where they will be buried when they die.

Is this, then, what it has all come to? That finally—after two millennia—when such wanderings are mostly a thing of the past for our own people, we now condemn the best and the brightest, the most dedicated and accomplished of another people to that same tragic fate? I can only say with Moshe Ben Shlomo: "We have much to atone for." □

**Hilda Silverman is a Jewish peace activist living in Philadelphia.*

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"The philosopher Santayana defined fanaticism as a redoubling of efforts after the aim has been forgotten. Anyone who, after everything that has happened in the last few months, still thinks that the solution to our problems is to plant yet more Jewish settlements in the midst of dense Arab population, is a fanatic bordering on a lunatic."

Professor Yoram Dinstein
Yediot Ahronot (Israel)
12 July 1988

"The intifada [uprising] is a war we've already lost, and for it to continue in any form will be to the PLO's advantage. We must rid ourselves of the notion—and declared stance—that we won't talk with the PLO, and start talking peace with our enemies."

Unidentified Israeli Army Officer
Al Hamishmar (Israel)
29 July 1988

"Here was a largely unarmed population...which, by its persistence and physical audacity, was able to teach Israel a lesson: that Israel may be the strongest regional power in the Middle East, but it is nevertheless unable to maintain effective control of the West Bank and Gaza in face of what even the most hard-line Israelis have to admit is a popular uprising."

Professor Shlomo Avineri
The Jerusalem Post
27 June 1988

"With the intifada now seven months old, we can definitely discern far-reaching changes in political, economic, and social life, both in Israel itself and in the [occupied] territories. Most of these changes have already been recognized: in many ways the Green Line has been restored. One hardly sees Israelis in the West Bank or the Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem. The Gaza Strip looks like the coastal strip of Tyre and Sidon [in Lebanon] did five years ago."

Danny Rubenstein
Davar (Israel)
8 July 1988

THE AUTHORIZATION OF TORTURE

*By Dr. John Quigley**

In 1987, the government of Israel appointed a commission to investigate interrogation practices of the General Security Service (Shin Bet). The three-member commission was composed of former Supreme Court President, Justice Moshe Landau, as chair; Judge Ya'akov Maltz, then serving as State Comptroller; and Maj. Gen. (res.) Yitzhak Hofi, former head of the Mossad. The Landau Commission issued its report on 30 October 1987, titled *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Methods of Interrogation of the General Security Service Regarding Hostile Terrorist Activity.* The cabinet of Israel endorsed the report.

The report focused on GSS interrogation of Arab detainees in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It said that evidence-gathering techniques used in most criminal cases did not suffice in such cases, since local residents do not cooperate with the authorities. "Almost invariably, and at variance with most of the criminal cases investigated by the police, a true confession extracted by the service from a suspect...is the main evidence against the accused when a case is brought before a military or civil court."

The practice that developed in the Gaza Strip and West Bank from 1971, the report stated, is that GSS interrogators used physical force to extract confessions. If the accused confesses and then alleges that the confession was involuntary, a "mini-trial" is held, at which the interrogator testifies. According to the report, interrogators routinely claimed that they had used no physical force against the suspect.

The Commission cited a document reflecting a 6 September 1982 discussion between the head of the GSS and the head of its investigation unit. One (unspecified) method of "physical pressure" was discussed. The document stated: "in the mini-trials...we will...deny having done this."

The Commission criticized the interrogators for lying. It said that in the future they should not lie, but that they may use certain methods involving physical force to extract confessions: "the exertion of a moderate measure of physical pressure is not to be avoided. The GSS interrogators should be guided in setting clear boundaries in this matter, in order to prevent the use of inordinate physical pressure arbitrarily administered by the interrogator. As is spelled out in the second [secret—*ed.*] part of this report, guidelines concerning such boundaries have existed in the Service since the scope of investigations of hostile terrorist activity was expanded, as required by the new situation following the Six Day War." The secret guidelines, the Commission stated, are to be reviewed annually by a government committee.

The Landau Commission sought to justify its authorization of the use of force in interrogations under the 1919 Geneva Convention Relative to Treatment of Civilians in Time of War. It cited the Convention's prohibition against "physical or moral coercion" but said that that provision "should be read together with Article 5 of the Convention, which deprives a person who is clearly suspect of activity hostile to state security...of the rights and privileges cited in the Convention, to the degree that the granting of such rights harms state security." Article 5, however, permits only limits on the right of a detainee to communicate with the outside world. It does not permit physical force to extract a confession.

The Commission also argued that human rights law permits the level of force it authorized against detainees. It cited two cases decided under the European Convention on human rights to suggest that some physical force is permitted in interrogations. In fact, neither of the two cases permits physical force.

The first case cited is one brought by Ireland alleging that Britain used unlawful interrogation techniques against IRA detainees in Northern Ireland. The European Court of Human Rights said that Britain had violated human rights law by five interrogation techniques: forcing a suspect to stand spread-eagled against a wall for long periods; placing a bag over the suspect's head for long periods; keeping a suspect in a room into which loud noises were broadcast; depriving the suspect of sleep; and depriving the suspect of adequate food.

The Landau Commission said that the Court found that the five techniques were used "in combination." It said: "It remains to be considered whether each of these acts separately constituted a deviation from the permissible." It thereby suggested that any of these techniques used singly might be lawful.

The European Court, however, did not suggest that. While it found that Britain had used these techniques in combination, it found a human rights violation where the impact on the detainee was serious, regardless of whether that impact was caused by a combination of the techniques or by one alone.

The Landau Commission also cited a decision in a case under the European Convention involving allegations of mistreatment during interrogation by the Greek colonels. In that case, it was said (and the Landau Commission quotes this language): "It appears from the testimony of a number of witnesses that a certain roughness of treatment of detainees by both police and military authorities is tolerated by most detainees and even taken for granted. Such roughness may take the form of slaps or blows of the hand on the head or face."

By citing this language, the Landau Commission indicated that it was authorizing GSS interrogators to engage in "a certain roughness," including "slaps or blows of the hand on the head or face."

The Landau Commission has thus authorized physical force to be used in interrogation. GSS interrogators have frequently abused Palestinian suspects. This authorization is likely to encourage them to continue that practice. □

**Dr. Quigley is professor of law at Ohio State University.*

"Congress cannot remain silent over the abuses still being committed by Israel. They include indiscriminate beatings, bulldozing of homes and the use of live ammunition and, to boot, the deportation of Palestinian activists, which is a violation of international law... We cannot forget here in this body that the Palestinians are also God's children. They have a right to self-determination, and—members of this body—they have a right to freedom...."

Cong. James Traficant (D-OH)
Congressional Record
10 August 1988

UPDATE ON THE PALESTINIAN REBELLION

The Uprising Matures Into a War of Independence

As the intifada (uprising) in occupied Palestine entered its tenth month in early September, it has become clear that it has matured from a protest against Israeli repression to a struggle for Palestinian independence. Confrontations with the occupying army and strikes continued, as did casualties, arrests, home demolitions, curfews and deportations. But there has been a significant escalation in the Palestinian political challenge to Israeli rule. Massive civil disobedience has shaken Israel's control over the occupied territories, the rise and proliferation of "popular committees" throughout the area have given the Palestinians de facto autonomy from Israeli rule, the disengagement of Jordan from the West Bank has enhanced Palestinian self-rule, and a spreading consensus about the need to establish a provisional government in the occupied territories has restored Palestinian self-determination to the agenda of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The "irreversibility" of the occupation has been proven to be an illusion.

The Sacrifices

These Palestinian achievements have not been without cost. Although the Palestinian rebellion has been downgraded in media coverage, it continues to rage. During the third week of August 11 Palestinians were killed by Israeli occupation troops in the West Bank and Gaza and 10 more were killed during the last week of August. The total number of fatalities since the beginning of the uprising last December has reached at least 323 by the end of August. The Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights reported 345 deaths, including 227 by gunfire and 118 by other causes, mainly beating and tear gas. Thousands have been wounded, 60 Palestinians have been expelled or await expulsion from their country. One hundred homes have been demolished and many fruit orchards have been uprooted. Many Palestinian institutions, including charitable societies and trade unions, have been closed down. The school year has been almost completely lost due to repeated and lengthy closures. The transfer of funds from abroad to the occupied territories has been severely restricted, and censorship on the local and international media has hidden the agony of the people in the occupied territories behind a curtain of silence. Frequent and extended curfews, often on hundreds of thousands of people simultaneously, have caused shortages of food and medicine, and whole communities have been denied telephone service and electricity.

Self-Help Outlawed

Israel not only ravaged its colonies, but it also outlawed Palestinian efforts to help themselves. In August, Israel outlawed the "popular committees," voluntary neighborhood groups whose function is to help the people in the occupied territories cope with their ordeal by organizing needed social services such as educating children whose schools have been closed, providing medicines and health care, helping people feed themselves by growing "victory gardens" in their backyards, and similar services essential to the survival of an unarmed civilian society under siege.

The Israeli order banning the popular committees makes it illegal to belong to them or to assist them in any manner. This includes attending their meetings, possessing their literature, or contributing to them. The order banning the committees makes thousands of Palestinians who are involved in community service activities "criminals" subject to ten years in prison.

The Jerusalem Post (Int'l edition, week ending 27 August) explained that the Israeli government's clampdown on the popular committees is motivated by its fear that they would develop into an embryonic administrative infrastructure which can serve a future Palestinian state. In other words, it is motivated by political rather than security concerns. The newspaper also quoted Israeli war minister Yitzhak Rabin saying that the order banning the popular committees "provided a more convenient legal means to deal with the members and leaders," meaning that it gives Israel another pretext for arresting and deporting more people.

The Israeli occupation authorities have even forbidden the Palestinians to arrange for schooling for their children at a time when schools had been closed down. Parents, teachers and students who have tried to cope by holding private classes in homes and other private locations were punished for doing so whenever they were caught. Israeli soldiers physically evicted parents, students and teachers when they tried to reopen the schools. In early September, more than 20 students and teachers were arrested and interrogated when they were "caught" in classrooms in Nablus and Bethlehem.

Deportations

Until now, sixty Palestinians from the occupied territories have been deported or await deportation. The last group of Palestinians ordered to be deported includes 25 who are now in prison. Among them is Taysir Aruri, 42, professor of physics at Birzeit University. According to a press release by Amnesty International USA, dated 30 August 1988, Aruri was arrested on 12 August; he was not told the reasons for his arrest nor interrogated.

The International Human Rights Organization said that it "believes that Taysir Aruri has not used or advocated violence and that he is in prison pending deportation for the nonviolent exercise of his right to freedom of expression." The Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Israeli Expulsion of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories has petitioned the Israeli government to release from detention and to rescind the orders for expulsion of the twenty-five Palestinians facing exile. The U.S.-based Committee demanded in its petition that Israel abolish its policy of deporting Palestinians.

Another way being considered by the Israeli authorities to break the will of the Palestinians is "temporary deportation." News form Israel indicates

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THE PALESTINIAN OPTION: THE ONLY GAME IN TOWN

Jordan's Disengagement Signals the Demise of an Illusion

Jordan's King Hussein finally did the expected and bowed to the inevitable. At the end of July, he announced his government's decision to sever all legal and administrative ties to the West Bank. The King explained that his decision was intended to enable the Palestine Liberation Organization to function as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to support and strengthen the Palestinian people's national identity.

His announcement was followed by measures intended to put that policy into effect. The lower house of the Jordanian parliament, in which the Palestinians from the West Bank were represented, was dissolved. Jordan terminated its subsidy to the salaries of Palestinian civil servants in the West Bank, and it indicated that Jordanian passports will from now on become travel documents rather than citizenship documents for the Palestinians. The PLO welcomed the move and said it would undertake the responsibility of filling the vacuum created by Jordan's decision. Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza tended to consider the Jordanian decision as one of the significant achievements of the uprising, as a step on the road to Palestinian independence.

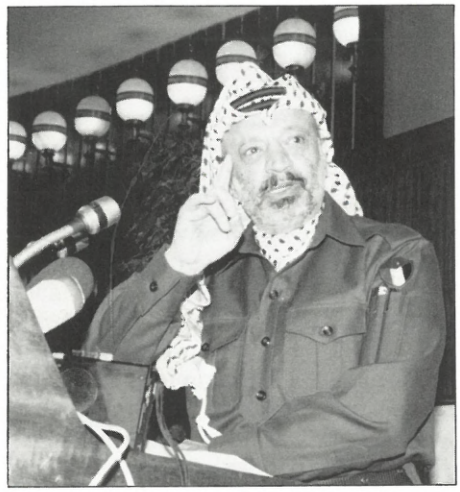
The Jordanian decision followed the most recent Arab Summit Conference, in Algiers, which reaffirmed the position of the Arab states—first made in 1974—that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It also came in response to the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories which enhanced the prestige and influence of the PLO and made it clear that there was not much support among the Palestinians for any other claimant to Palestinian representation.

Although most Western observers tended to see Jordan's decision in light of these events, it should be pointed out that the decision was also an expression of Jordan's discontent

(continued on page 10)

ARAFAT OUTLINES PEACE STRATEGY

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat outlined Palestinian peace strategy in a major address before the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, on 13 September 1988. He said the PLO was committed to a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of U.N. resolutions, including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. He called for an international



peace conference and said he would accept any security arrangements deemed necessary by the U.N. Security Council and for as long as necessary to guarantee the security of all concerned.

"The people of Palestine," Arafat told the European parliamentarians, "do not fight for the sake of fighting. Like other peoples in the world who yearn for peace, freedom, democracy and national independence, the Palestinian people...aspire to play in the near future a role of achieving peace and progress for themselves and the rest of humanity.

Arafat expressed the PLO's commitment to a just peace which, he said, must be based on "international legitimacy," meaning United Nations resolutions on the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is not right, he said, referring to U.S. and Israeli refusal to accept U.N. resolutions on Palestinian self-determination, to be selective. He said: "We believe that a just peace cannot be achieved through the selective application of half what international legitimacy provided for and the dumping of the other half."

From Arafat's Speech

We endorse the Charter of the United Nations Organization and all its resolutions, including 242 and 338. International legitimacy is an indivisible whole and no one can choose to accept only what suits him and discard what does not....

Consequently, we declare our acceptance of one of the two following options as the basis for convening the international conference under U.N. auspices and with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties to the conflict in the region, including the PLO and Israel:

A: All U.N. resolutions relevant to the Palestine Question, including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;

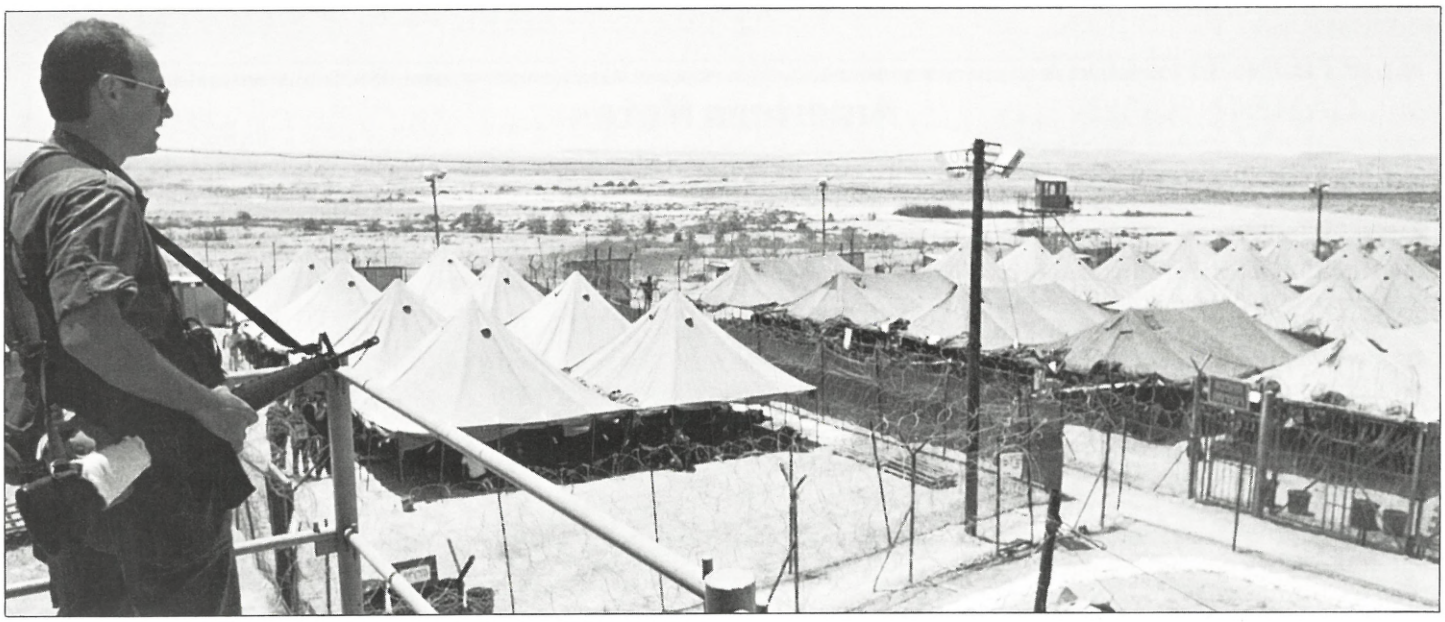
B: Resolutions 242 and 338 along with the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is their right to self-determination....

In this context, and in order to create an atmosphere of good will conducive to a just peace, we responded positively—and still do—to all proposals calling for the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and placing them under U.N. administration or an internationally-supervised European force for a limited interim period. The proposed international force could stay on after the establishment of the independent Palestinian state for as long as the Security Council deems necessary to guarantee the security of everyone concerned....

As a national liberation movement which took up arms against the oppression and illegitimate terrorism of the occupier, we have invariably, and in the clearest and strongest of terms, denounced terrorism in all its forms and from whatever source, be it by individuals, groups or states....

We reaffirm our commitment to the [anti-terrorism] Cairo Declaration made in 1985 in the presence of [Egyptian] President Mubarak as well as to the relevant United Nations Resolution, No. 42/159 (1987)....

I would like to add here that we are working to set up an independent Palestinian state on the land liberated from Israeli occupation. This state will have a republican, democratic and multi-party system; it will abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and will not discriminate among its citizens on the basis of color, race or religion. □



ANSAR III: ISRAEL'S CONCENTRATION CAMP

The Israelis call it Ketziot, and the Palestinians call it Ansar III. Ansar I and II were notorious detention camps set up by Israel during its 1982 invasion of Lebanon to detain thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners. Ansar III has become Israel's most infamous detention camp where at least 2,500 Palestinian political prisoners suffer inhuman conditions.

Ansar III is a tent and barbed wire prison located in an inhospitable region of the Negev desert close to the border with Egypt's Sinai peninsula. Its inmates are 2,500 Palestinian political prisoners from the West Bank and Gaza, held there without charges or trial. They are victims of Israeli army midnight sweeps and indiscriminate roundups.

Jerusalem Post correspondent Joel Greenberg reported that the prison's Palestinian inmates describe conditions there as "slow death." The prisoners are so weakened by the searing desert heat that they often lack the energy to speak. "I felt that we were dying slowly in jail," said one former Ansar III prisoner. "It was too hot to go outside during the day, and lying in the tent in the heat, we felt weak, without even the strength to talk."

In addition to the usual problems suffered by Palestinian detainees in other Israeli prisons, such as overcrowding and shortages of food and medicine, the inmates of Ansar III are plagued by scorpions and snakes and sadistic guards. They are continually humiliated and beaten.

Sanitary conditions are revolting and hazardous to health. Toilet facilities consist of boards with holes over open pits which fill rapidly. The powerful stench makes the prisoners dizzy as it wafts into their nearby tents. Toilet paper is doled out at the rate of two squares per person a day. Soap and razor blades are also scarce; one bar of soap and one disposable razor are given to each tent, housing 28 men. Water is barely enough for a quick shower every week.

The Jerusalem weekly *Al Fajr* called for the closure of the prison. In its editorial of 21 August, the paper wrote: "The spoiled, inadequate food, crowded tents, mistreatment by the guards, and lack of water in a desert prison where summer temperatures reach incredible levels, clearly reveal an Israeli policy intended to dehumanize the Palestinian prisoners and destroy them physically and mentally."

Two prisoners were shot dead, and many others were injured, in the middle of August when the inmates protested the harsh and humiliating conditions of the camp. □

> "We have discovered that television crews have paid money to Arabs so that they would stage performances for the camera... The Arabs are good at acting and fantasizing... It may not be nice to say so, but the Arabs are born liars."
>
> **Abraham Sharir**
> (Israeli Cabinet Minister)
> *In These Times*
> 10 April 1988

BEATING INJURIES

Israeli censorship of news from the occupied territories has created the false impression that Israel has been behaving itself lately. In fact, there has been no letup in its vicious onslaught on the people of occupied Palestine.

During the last two weeks of August, 22 Palestinians were shot dead by Israeli troops. And injuries from beating have been increasing.

Jerusalem Post reporter Joshua Brilliant quoted Palestinian medical sources in Gaza saying that more Palestinians are being treated for injuries from beating than in previous months. Dr. Habis el-Wohidi of the Ahli hospital in Gaza told him that he had treated 92 beating victims during the first three weeks of August.

Brilliant wrote that "beatings seem to have become a daily feature in the Gaza District." He reported examples. Marwan Ghanem, a Palestinian refugee from Jabaliya, said that Israeli Border Policemen entered his camp one day, stopped two youths and asked for their identity cards. One youth reached into his pocket to get the card and one of the policemen slammed his nightstick over the youth's head. The second youth asked why they hit his companion and he too was clubbed. A third Arab saw the incident from his house and went outside and the policemen "lashed into him."

The Israeli reporter said that a paratrooper who had just completed a stint in Gaza was later asked whether the story sounded true. "It happens all the time," he replied. □

UPDATE *(continued from page 6)*
that the Israeli government, to contain increasing international protests of its deportation policy, is considering the idea of deporting Palestinians for a limited period of several years, after which they would be permitted to return to Palestine if they observed Israeli conditions of refraining from political activity while in exile.

The idea of "temporary deportation" would diminish the risk of international protest, Israel hopes. At the same time, it would enable Israel to inflict that type of punishment on a larger number of people. The Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* reported that the Israeli security services had a list of 1,000 Palestinians targeted for "temporary deportation."

Prisons

Yitzhak Rabin admitted that 18,000 Palestinians have been arrested since the beginning of the popular uprising in the West Bank and Gaza last December. Taking the population ratio into account, this number would be equivalent to about three million prisoners in the United States.

Rabin said that out of these 18,000 prisoners, 5,600 were still in custody, and 2,600 of these are administrative detainees, held without charge or trial. During the first half of September, the occupation army mounted a new wave of arrests. In the town of Qalqilya, hundreds of soldiers surrounded the town and conducted house-to-house raids which resulted in the arrest of more than 200 persons. Other raids in the West Bank and Gaza resulted in the arrest of several hundred people. Palestinian observers in the occupied territories called the raids election stunts designed to please right wing voters just before the Israeli elections.

Palestinian political prisoners are held under very harsh conditions. They suffer from food shortages, lack of water, lack of medical care, overcrowded prisons, and unsanitary conditions. They are subjected to torture during interrogation, and they are continually humiliated and punished by their guards. Four Palestinian political prisoners died in August.

The most notorious among Israel's numerous detention centers is Ansar III in the Negev desert, near the Egyptian border. The climate is merciless, with temperatures soaring to 120 degrees. It is also infested with snakes and scorpions. The 2,600 detainees in Ansar III are crammed 28 to a tent. They are frequently beaten and made to sit in the searing sun for hours with their arms over their heads or behind their backs.

Water is very scarce, and the prisoners are allowed brief showers once a week. One razor blade is given to the 28 inmates of each tent.

On 16 August, two Ansar III inmates were shot dead by their Israeli guards when the prisoners protested their living conditions. Impartial observers said that the shootings were unnecessary since rolls of barbed wire separate the prisoners from their guards, and the guards were in no danger. The International Committee of the Red Cross, whose representatives happened to be visiting the prison when the shootings occurred, issued a statement saying that it had "learned with consternation that two administrative detainees had been shot dead."

Palestinian political prisoners who had been released from Ansar III describe it as a concentration camp, and they say that life there is nothing but a "slow death."

Independence

One of the most intriguing developments of the ongoing uprising is the move to set up a provisional Palestinian government in the occupied territories which would declare Palestinian independence from Israel. The idea has apparently enjoyed increasing support among Palestinians inside and outside occupied Palestine, and it seems that it would be the major item on the agenda of the coming session of the Palestine National Council, which is scheduled to meet in Algiers in October. Some Palestinian sources say, however, that the PNC may decide to defer the issue and authorize the PLO Executive Committee to proceed with it at a later date, when it judges the time to be appropriate.

The idea of a unilateral Palestinian declaration of independence and the establishment of a provisional government are seen as a natural evolution of the uprising. Such political strategy is perceived to be the most logical step by an unarmed rebellion to achieve Palestinian self-government.

The provisional government would have legal significance, particularly after Jordan announced its decision to disassociate itself legally and administratively from the occupied West Bank. It would also have practical purposes, by helping organize needed social services to the Palestinian community, which had become in every sense of the word a stateless community. It is believed that the Palestinians in the occupied territories are coordinating this strategy very closely with the Palestine Liberation Organization. □

DEAR READERS

To ensure that you will continue to receive your copy of ***Palestine Perspectives*** on time, please let us know promptly if you change your address.

Count Folke Bernadotte

After Forty Years

ISRAELI TERRORISTS ADMIT MURDER

Two Israeli terrorists publicly admitted for the first time their role in the assassination of Swedish U.N. peace envoy Count Folke Bernadotte on 17 September 1948. Bernadotte, who was commissioned by the United Nations to bring peace between Arabs and Jews in Palestine during the war of 1948, was gunned down in a Jerusalem street along with his French aide.

It has long been known that Jewish terrorists belonging to the notorious Stern Gang had committed the crime, but it was not until now that some of those involved in the murder admitted it publicly. On 9 September, two of the surviving Jewish terrorists (Yehoshua Zeitler and Meshulam Markover) appeared on Israel television and told the story.

Markover said that he had led a four-man assassination team. They cut off Bernadotte's car in a Jerusalem street with their jeep. Three of them jumped out of the jeep and gunned down Bernadotte and his French aide. Zeitler, who said that he was the leader of the team, said that he decided to tell the story now as a warning to the United Nations which might try to extract concessions from Israel.

Shamir's Role

A third surviving member of the Jewish terrorist squad responsible for Bernadotte's assassination said that Israel's present Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who was a member of the Stern Gang's command, approved the plan to murder the Swedish envoy during a meeting in June 1948. Shamir's office said that the Prime Minister did not want to get involved in the "debate," but Shamir did not deny involvement in the murder.

The Washington Times (20 September 1988) quoted a spokesman for Shamir saying that "The prime minister is reluctant to say anything, whether he took part or whether he didn't. He will not take part in the debate."

The Israeli complicity in the murder of Bernadotte obviously went beyond the Stern Gang. After the assassination, the Israeli police arrested the murderers but they "escaped" and were never rearrested or tried, even though their identities were always known. Shamir himself was a wanted terrorist in the 1940s, during British rule of Palestine.

The Washington Times also reported that, after the recent public confession of the surviving murderers, Sweden has asked that the case be reopened. Bernadotte was a member of the Swedish royal family. □

THE RUNAWAY STATE

Israeli Knesset member Dedi Zucker charged that Israel's political system has become a runaway machine in dealing with the Palestinian uprising, taking violent actions "without any decision, deliberation or debate." And, he said, "it is happening neither in Cambodia nor in Afghanistan, but just a few kilometers from our own homes."

Citing an official report, Zucker said that through the month of May, 44 homes housing 600 people had been demolished without prior judicial proceedings. Among the 5,133 persons injured during the first five months of the uprising, 1,999 had bones broken by beating, 647 fell victim to tear gas, and 979 were wounded by live ammunition. The court system, he said, had not been reinforced, causing people to be detained for long periods without trial.

Furthermore, he said, the settlers have become a second occupation army which frequently engaged in actions right under the army's nose without intervention by the army. They have broken into a camp that had been under curfew and beat up residents. They have killed at least 13 Palestinians.

Zucker complained that the legislative and judicial organs of government have been bypassed or marginalized in the making and execution of policy.

FORBIDDEN OPINION

Israeli "democracy" moves in mysterious ways. Because it does not have a trained "riot control" police, Israel says, it uses soldiers to shoot protesters. Because it is a democracy, Israel uses 40-year-old British colonial laws to put thousands in prison without charges or trial. And it has a speedy system of "justice": it deports people and blows up homes of "suspects" even before they are tried and convicted of any offense.

Being such a peculiar "democracy," Israel forbids unpopular opinion. Below is the editorial of the Jerusalem *Al Fajr* newspaper (11 September 1988) about conditions in the occupied territories:

Situation Getting Worse

APOLOGIZE APOLOGIZE APOLOGIZE APOLOGIZE

THREE WORKERS BURNED TO DEATH

Their Murder "Inspires" Similar Atrocity

The most barbaric recent crime against Palestinians in Israel involved the burning death of three Palestinian workers on 8 August. The three men, Said Saleh Abed, 22; Khaled Mustafa Abadi, 40; and Nassim Abid, 24, from the Gaza Strip died when Israelis doused the shack where they slept at their place of work in the Or Yehuda district of Tel Aviv with gasoline and set it on fire. The first two men died the following day, and the third died a few days later.

On 17 August, the Israeli Hebrew daily *Yediot Ahronot* published a lengthy report on the incident (see page 00, this issue). It quoted an eyewitness saying: "I saw everything 20 minutes before it began. Two threw gasoline on this shack and a third threw a match and they ran."

"Did somebody help them?" the reporter asked. "Yes," was the reply, "a neighbor just released from the army. But I can't blame him. He heard 'Help!' in Hebrew and he couldn't have known they were Arabs. If he had known, he wouldn't have helped them. Look, one of the Arabs ran out while he was burning and he stood on the road but nobody helped him."

Palestinian trade unionists said that Palestinian workers in Israel were often assaulted before, and the authorities did not protect them. In a press conference in Jerusalem, Palestinian trade union official Ibrahim Shuqair also criticized the Histadrut—the Israeli trade union federation—for failing to condemn the murder of the three Palestinian workers in Or Yehuda.

In a related incident, three Israeli Jews from Or Yehuda were arrested in late August on charges of arson and conspiracy to commit murder. The three were "inspired" by the burning of the Palestinian workers in their neighborhood and prepared Molotov cocktails to firebomb another shack where other Palestinian workers slept. At the last moment they lost their nerve, and one of them threw the bombs in his own backyard, apparently to make the police think that it was the work of Arabs seeking revenge for the murder of the Palestinian workers.

The burning death of the Palestinian workers was the most atrocious crime against Palestinians working in Israel, but attacks on Palestinian workers have become commonplace. The crime at Or Yehuda has apparently "inspired" a wave of assaults on Palestinian workers.

On 22 August, a Palestinian worker from Ramallah was nearly killed when three Israelis armed with clubs and iron bars attacked him in Tel Aviv as he waited for a cab. Three days earlier, three Palestinian workers and their Israeli employer were assaulted while they worked in Tel Aviv. The Israeli press reported that a car pulled up next to them, and its club-wielding occupants beat up the four men. Before they left the scene, the assailants warned the Israeli employer that he would be killed if he continued to employ Arab workers.

A Palestinian worker told the Jerusalem weekly, *Al Fajr,* that "work in Israel has become a suicidal venture."

MORE INSTITUTIONS CLOSED

Israel continued its efforts to paralyze the Palestinian community in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Lately, it has targeted Palestinian institutions, of which it has closed several during the past few weeks. They include trade unions, charitable societies, and professional associations.

The Union of Charitable Societies was ordered closed for one year. On 28 August, its Jerusalem offices were raided by Israeli police and searched. The Haya News Agency was also closed for one year. In Nablus, the Israeli occupation authorities closed the offices of the General Union of Workers for two years. The Friends of Patients Society in Tulkarm and the Society for Protection of the Environment in Qalqilya were also closed for two years. The Israelis also closed the Professional Union's Headquarters in Beit Hanina, a suburb of Jerusalem, for one year. It houses the offices of several Palestinian professional groups, including doctors, lawyers, and engineers. □

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KILLING MADE EASY

Shamir Defines Stones As Lethal Weapons

Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir eased the rules on killing Palestinian protesters at the end of August by redefining stones as lethal weapons. This makes killing protesters an act of self-defense.

The absurdity was obviously intended to appease Shamir's rightist constituency which has been demanding greater violence to subdue the rebellious Palestinians in the occupied territories. It would also justify settler violence which had increased during the last few months.

Shamir endorsed the policy of shooting stone throwers during a meeting with a Jewish settler who was seeking his intervention to recover his submachine gun, seized by the police after the settler had shot a Palestinian stone thrower in a refugee camp near Hebron. Shamir had interceded on behalf of settlers before, ordering the police to return their weapons to them.

Since the uprising began last December, more than 15 Palestinians have been shot dead by armed Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza. The settlers have increasingly become a second occupation army, setting up roadblocks and carrying out vigilante raids on Palestinians. □

RESOURCES ON THE INTIFADA

Among the recent studies published in the United States about the Palestinian revolt against Israeli rule are two dealing with its causes and significance and two dealing with Israeli violence against the Palestinians.

The first two appeared as journal articles, one by *Palestine Perspectives* editor Muhammad Hallaj, titled "Revolt in Occupied Palestine," published in *American-Arab Affairs* (Number 24, Spring 1988), and the other by University of Chicago professor of Middle East History, Rashid Khalidi, titled "The Uprising and the Palestine Question," published in *World Policy Journal* (Vol. V, number 3, Summer 1988).

The studies on Israeli violence include an issue of *The Link* (Vol. 21, number 3, September 1988), published by Americans for Middle East Understanding. Written by Muhammad Hallaj, the study deals with Zionist attitudes toward the Palestinians, leading to violence against them, since the beginning of Zionist colonization in Palestine.

The other study is a booklet by ADC Research Institute, titled "Children of the Stones." The 49-page booklet, edited by Anne Mooney, includes affidavits by victims and eyewitnesses to Israel's violence against Palestinian children during the current uprising.

Amnesty International also issued a report, in August, about Israel's use of excessive force in the occupied territories. Titled "Israel and the Occupied Territories: Excessive Force, Beatings to Maintain Law and Order," the report includes affidavits by a number of Palestinian victims of beating by Israeli soldiers.

A compilation of newspaper accounts and commentaries on the uprising was produced by the National Association of Arab Americans, titled "Winter of Discontent."

A collection of affidavits by victims of Israeli brutality in the occupied territories, particularly children, titled "Children of the Stones," has been produced by the Jerusalem-based Palestinian Center for the Study of Non-Violence.

In Europe, the Geneva-based International Coordinating Committee for Non-Governmental Organizations on the Question of Palestine published a book of documents on the early phase of the uprising. Titled *The First 100 Days: The Background to the Palestinian Uprising*, the book includes documents ranging from reports by international committees and groups which had visited the occupied territories since the uprising, to newspaper columns, cartoons and letters to the editor.

Audiocassette

Two American ministers, a social worker and a freelance journalist have produced an audiocassette titled "Eyewitness: The Palestinian Intifada." The 1 hour and 15 minute cassette is a record of a public program during which the speakers, who had visited the West Bank and Gaza, presented their observations and impressions. It is available for $8.95 from G. Green, 301 Perkins Street, Suite 107, Oakland, California, 94610-3450. □

RECENT BOOKS

□ Simcha Bahiri, *Industrialization in the West Bank and Gaza.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988.
□ Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Israeli Connection: Who [sic] Israel Arms and Why.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1987.
□ Henry Cattan, *The Palestine Question.* New York: Croom Helm, 1988.
□ Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1987.
□ Stephen Green, *Living by the Sword: America and Israel in the Middle East.* Brattleboro, VT: Amana Press, 1988.
□ Walter Lehn with Uri Davis, *The Jewish National Fund.* London: KPI, 1988.
□ Ian Lustick, *For the Land and the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel.* New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1988.
□ Philip Mattar, *The Mufti of Jerusalem: Al-Hajj Amin Al-Hussayni and the Palestinian National Movement.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
□ Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
□ Muhammad Y. Muslih, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1988
□ Hisham Nashabe, ed., *Studia Palaestina: Studies in Honor of Constantine K. Zurayk.* Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988.
□ Donald Neff, *Warriors Against Israel: America Comes to the Rescue.* Brattleboro, VT: Amana Press, 1988.
□ Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens, eds., *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question.* London and New York: Verso, 1988.
□ Izzat Tannous, *The Palestinians: Eyewitness History of Palestine Under British Mandate.* New York: I.G.T. Co, 1988.
□ Fawaz Turki, *Soul in Exile: Lives of a Palestinian Revolutionary.* New York: Monthly Review Press, 1988.

FOUR DIE IN CAPTIVITY

Two Palestinian political prisoners died under "mysterious circumstances" while in Israeli custody in August. Atta Yousef Artoufi, 21, from Qalandia refugee camp north of Jerusalem, was found dead on 13 August in his prison cell in Dahriyeh detention center. Two days later, Nabil Mustafa Ibdah, 20, was found dead in his cell in Mascobiyeh interrogation center in Jerusalem.

In both cases, the Israeli authorities claimed that the prisoners committed suicide, although in Artoufi's case the guards gave the family conflicting explanations of his death. Some said that other prisoners killed him, others claimed that he died of natural causes, and others said that he committed suicide. Both young men had been arrested a short time prior to their deaths and had no reason to kill themselves.

The Artoufi family was ordered to bury Atta within 10 minutes, about 2 o'clock in the morning, and only 15 of his closest relatives were allowed to attend the ceremony.

These deaths bring to four the number of Palestinian political prisoners who died in prison in the month of August. Two detainees at Ansar III camp were shot dead by their Israeli guards on 16 August.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES COMPETE FOR ZIONIST SUPPORT

With the presidential campaign rhetoric intensifying, both candidates outdid each other in vying for Jewish votes and financial backing. The two contenders appeared separately on 7 September 1988 before the Biennial B'nai B'rith Convention in Baltimore, Maryland, to present their Middle East policies and reiterate unwavering support for Israel.

GOP nominee George Bush, the first to address the Jewish gathering, went on the offensive by attacking his Democratic challenger for wavering on the issue of Palestinian statehood. Bush told his approving audience: "I am opposed to an independent Palestinian state for a very simple reason... Such a state would be a threat to the security of Israel and of Jordan... And,...it would also be contrary to America's interests."

Taking advantage of an ambiguous statement by Dukakis made on 11 April on the subject of Palestinian statehood, suggesting that it was up to the negotiating parties, Vice-President Bush emphasized that "Anyone who has trouble making up his mind on this issue, or who proposes to leave it open, just doesn't understand the dangers to Israel and the United States."

Bush did not present new ideas on the peace process and was satisfied with expressing his support for current administration policy.

Two hours later, it was Dukakis's turn to pay homage to Israel. He repeated the same commitments made by his opponent. The similarity in the positions of both candidates prompted *The Washington Post* (10 September) to editorialize that "their endings picked up almost precisely the same language. Everything said was defensive and safe—and, in our view inadequate."

Gov. Dukakis, however, seemed to go a step farther when he said that he would "never recognize a unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state or government in exile." The Democratic candidate accused his Republican opponent of "playing politics with Israel's security" by opposing U.S. funding for Israel's new Arrow missile.

Dukakis also attacked Bush for supporting arms sales to Arab states. He promised his Jewish audience that "Lloyd Bentsen and I are going to say 'no' to Arab shopping lists that endanger the security of Israel." He also repeated his support for Israel's annexation of Jerusalem.

PARTISAN PLATFORMS ON THE MIDDLE EAST

From the Republicans

"...oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state... the PLO should have no role in the peace process unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist... Jerusalem should remain an undivided city... move forward the peace process toward direct negotiations as long as the security of Israel is not compromised."

From the Democrats

"...the current administration has too long abandoned the peace process in the Middle East... This country, maintaining the special relationship with Israel, founded on mutually shared values and strategic interests, should provide new leadership to deliver the promise of peace and security through negotiations that has been held out to Israel and its neighbors by the Camp David Accords."

AIPAC Unhappy

In spite of all indications that the candidates of both major parties continue to toe the line, the Zionist lobby is still worried. It knows that open discussion is not in its interest. In August, AIPAC circulated an internal memo dated 3 August, from Edward C. Levy, Jr., its president, and Thomas A. Dine, its executive director, to "AIPAC Leadership," in which it spoke of "warning signs."

"In Atlanta," the memo says, referring to the Democratic Party convention, "the Jackson forces, led by James Zogby, director of the Arab American Institute, fought to change the Middle East plank in the platform. After several failed attempts to alter the language in private meetings, the Jackson campaign decided to debate the minority plank on the Convention floor and then withdrew the minority plank before a vote could be taken. According to Dukakis and Jackson delegate counters, the minority plank would have been defeated by more than 2 to 1. Pro-Israel language prevailed."

"Despite the fact that this battle was won," the memo continued, "we cannot ignore the warning signs it presents for us. We are being directly challenged. For the first time, anti-Israel forces have organized grassroots support. In the last year, their activity has increased in a rate that would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. The results include seven state party platforms calling for a Palestinian state; 46 Arab Americans were delegates to the Democratic Convention compared with only six in 1984; and throughout the 20 minute debate on the Middle East plank, both pro-Israel speakers were booed and heckled."

"We have our work cut out for us! In 1984, nine percent of the Democratic Convention Delegates were Jewish. In 1988 the percentage dropped to six. We must work together to re-energize our community and to broaden our political base, in both the Democratic and Republican Parties."

It remains to be said that the Zionist lobby, which gets rightly indignant about an official who counts how many Jews work for a particular government agency and demands—and gets—his head, thinks it has the right to count how many Arab and Jewish Americans attend a party convention.

"AIPAC seems to have succumbed to an unreasonable extremism that is immune to either moral or intellectual intrusion."

Jeffrey Record
Los Angeles Times
8 August 1988

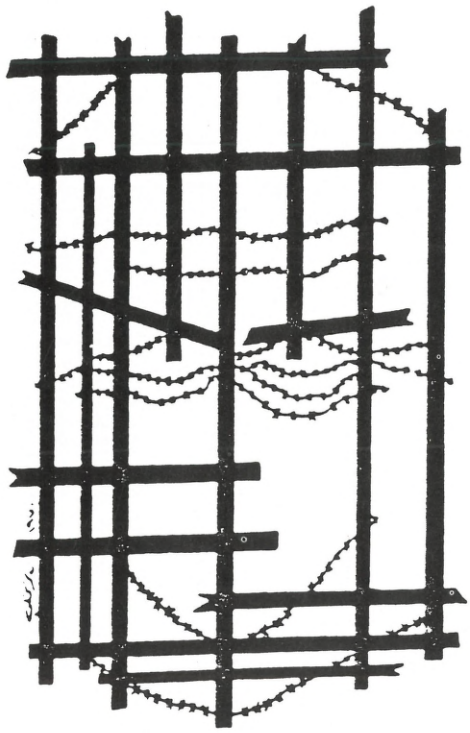
HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS PROTEST ABUSES

Washington Reported "Uncomfortable" With Israeli Policy

Representatives of several human rights groups met with Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Humanitarian Affairs, and protested Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights. The group reported after the 14 September 1988 meeting that Schifter and his aides were "genuinely concerned about the situation" and "seemed to be increasingly uncomfortable with Israeli policy."

The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), which was represented in the meeting by Abdeen Jabara, its president, said in a press release about the meeting that Israel has not been responsive to American concerns on this issue. It was learned, the ADC statement said, that "the State Department had made a number of private presentations to Israel on issues concerning human rights and that a direct channel of communication with the Israeli Army had not produced the expected results."

The representatives of human rights groups provided Mr. Schifter with detailed accounts of serious Israeli human rights abuses, including harsh conditions in Ansar III detention center. In addition to Jabara, the group included former U.S. Attorney A. Bates Butler, who recently made a fact-finding tour in the occupied territories, Virginia Baron of the Washington office of the Fellowship for Reconciliation, and Sue Robinson representing the United Methodist Church.



Mr. Butler urged the U.S. government to take the necessary steps to pressure Israel to conform to internationally recognized standards of respect for human rights. He said that it was continued U.S. economic and military aid to Israel that was, in part, financing Israeli policies in the West Bank and Gaza.

Ms. Robinson, an expert on the history of the Algerian struggle for independence from France, said that the brutality of Israeli conduct toward the Palestinians exceeds the well-documented history of French military violence against the Algerian civilian population. The ADC press release quoted her saying that "a recent annual conference of the United Methodist Church had virtually unanimously adopted a resolution calling for an end to all U.S. aid to Israel."

Ms. Baron noted that Congress is under a great deal of pressure to place conditions on future economic assistance to Israel, and that American officials have become "uncomfortable" with Israeli policy.

Other Protests

Fifteen American humanitarian organizations involved in charitable, educational and development work in the occupied West Bank and Gaza called on the U.S. government to protest "to the highest levels of the Israeli government" punitive acts against the Palestinians in the occupied territories. In a joint statement the groups said: "Lives today are marred by increasingly aggressive Israeli military practices against the civilian population."

The statement (whose signers included America-Mideast Educational Training Services, American Friends Service Committee, American Near East Refugee Aid, Church World Service, Foundation for Middle East Peace, Grassroots International, The Jerusalem Fund, Unitarian Universalist Association, United Church of Christ and Christian Church, Mennonite Central Committee and others) listed the following Israeli practices which they protest:

- systematic and indiscriminate beatings;
- widespread use of tear gas, rubber bullets, and live ammunition;
- repeated attacks on hospitals, clinics, and medical personnel;
- administrative detention and mass arrests;
- protracted curfews, house demolitions, and other forms of collective punishment;
- extended closure of schools and universities.

"Whatever the provocation," the statement said, "such practices are not acceptable. They are inconsistent with universally recognized norms of behavior and violate principles in international law pertaining to conduct toward civilians under military occupation." The groups called for an immediate stop to such acts and for U.S. government intervention to bring an end to them and "to press for a solution that will realize security and self-determination for both Palestinians and Israelis." □

JEWISH PATRIOTISM

Israeli and American Jews are still campaigning on behalf of convicted Israeli spies Anne and Jonathan Pollard. In a recent article published in *The Jerusalem Post* (Int'l ed., week ending 3 September), one of the Pollard activists charged that the Pollards' conviction was questionable because it was the product of a corrupt system of American justice. "Despite the series of scandals in the U.S. Justice Department," wrote Julian Ungar-Sargon, a physician from Havertown, Pennsylvania, "no one is questioning the justice of the Pollard case."

Echoing Pollard's own bragging that he spied for Israel because he considered himself a "soldier of Zion," the writer said that the Pollards were punished even though their crime was nothing more than "Jewish patriotism." He approvingly quoted a rabbi who urged American Jews to speak out on behalf of the Pollards without fear of "the absurd canard of dual loyalty." □

NEWS FROM UNRWA

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) reported in its 1 September news bulletin that at least 14 Palestinians died during the previous two weeks, and that "a marked escalation in the number of casualties" was reported to UNRWA during the 14-18 August period when Israeli troops sealed off the Gaza Strip. Even though the comprehensive curfew in the Strip was lifted on 18 August, the U.N. agency reported, most refugee camps remained under curfew. It also reported "selective curfews" in many areas in the West Bank.

UNRWA also reported that three houses were demolished by the Israeli army in Jalazone refugee camp, north of Ramallah, housing 18 refugees. One of the houses belonged to an UNRWA teacher, who was brought from prison to watch the destruction of his house. Earlier, on 3 August, the Israelis demolished 10 other houses, making another 34 refugees homeless.

In other news, UNRWA reported that the Palestine Liberation Organization contributed $800,000 to the international agency to help rebuild destroyed refugee camps in Lebanon. The Red Crescent Society of Qatar also contributed $500,000 for food and medicine for the people of the occupied territories. Qatar had made a previous special contribution of $2 million for the same purpose. □

ITALIANS SUPPORT PALESTINE

An Italian delegation of teachers, professors, workers and technicians concluded a three-week work camp in the Palestinian town of Taibeh on 14 August. The 57-member delegation helped renovate a kindergarten serving 72 children, painted a local high school and renovated an old house to be used as a community cultural center.

Luisa Morciantini, head of the international affairs section of the Italian Metalworkers Trade Union and a member of the visiting delegation, said "we came here to show our strong support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people."

"We chose an area where discrimination is felt," said Morciantini, "and chose to work on projects which the Israeli authorities refuse to fund." She told *Al Fajr* newspaper that the members of her delegation were moved by the Israeli policy of discrimination and oppression against the Palestinians and that they came to understand the situation better. "We knew about discrimination and the policy of repression in Israel and the occupied territories," she said, "but the reality is much more bitter than we expected."

Another member of the Italian delegation described the living conditions of the 13,000 Palestinians in the city of Jaffa as "unbearable." He said: "This undermines the myth of a democratic Israel."

The Italian delegation said that activities of solidarity with the Palestinians in Italy included discussions, exhibitions about the uprising, and fundraising. Future projects will include sponsoring Palestinian children and twinning arrangements between Italian and Palestinian universities and towns. □

In Brief

TAX RESISTERS

A group of American tax resisters who oppose the payment of taxes for military purposes have issued a statement in support of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza who refuse to pay taxes to support the Israeli occupation authorities. The group, Pioneer Valley War Resisters in Greenfield, Massachusetts, said in its statement: "We wholeheartedly support your refusal to pay taxes in protest of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. As believers in nonviolence, it seems to us one of the strongest and most responsible means of expressing in action deep concerns."

AAUG CONVENTION

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates will hold its 21st annual convention 10-13 November 1988 in San Francisco. "War and Peace in the Arab World" will be the theme of the convention, and it will include panels on the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories, Israeli society, Lebanon, U.S. policy, and the Gulf War.

Speakers and panel participants will include scholars, journalists, political activists, eyewitnesses and others. For information contact AAUG, 556 Trapelo Road, Belmont, MA; telephone (617) 484-5483.

REFUGEE HEALTH CARE

Georgetown University Medical Center in Washington, DC, will host an international symposium on "Health Care for Displaced Persons and Refugees." The event will be held at the Sheraton Washington Hotel 4-7 December 1988. The organizers aim to bring together researchers, educators and refugee relief organizations to discuss issues of health care delivery for refugees and displaced persons.

For information, contact Melissa M. Lankler at Georgetown Medical Center, telephone (202) 687-1049.

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GREATER ISRAEL IDEA IS BANKRUPT

Abba Eban Urges Peace With the Palestinians

Knesset member and former Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban urged Israel to live in peace with its Palestinian neighbors. He told the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* (1 August 1988) that the next Israeli government has to decide whether it wants to continue facing a Palestinian rebellion in the occupied territories, and if not "to shift from the Jordanian option to the Palestinian one."

In an obvious reference to Israel's policy of refusing to deal with the PLO, Abba Eban said: "The Palestinian issue demands that we increase contact between us rather than be hemmed in by prohibitions against contact with certain Palestinians, where such contact is held to be a criminal offense."

He warned that Israel cannot hope to achieve its purposes by force. "We stand on the threshold of a fateful period," he said. "If an understanding is not reached between the opposing sides, matters will be decided the hard way two years hence. Modern weapons systems have deprived the concept of 'military victory' of any meaning. We must therefore thaw out frozen ideas and explore whether the situation can remain as is, or whether perhaps we might maintain neighborly relations with the Palestinians."

Abba Eban warned that the demographic situation "is constantly changing—to our detriment." The 'Greater Israel' idea, he said, "has shown itself bankrupt." Only two percent of Israel's population has settled in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where they constitute approximately four percent of the inhabitants. "We can control the territories," he said, "because we hold a monopoly on power, but every Jewish child one to seven years old will be, when he grows up, a member of a minority in an Arab country."

Abba Eban reviewed the history of the establishment of Israel forty years ago. It was made possible, he explained, because the great powers agreed "that it was neither fair nor realistic to subjugate 600,000 Jews to an Arab majority. Now, the wheel of history has turned full circle, and soon there will be two million Palestinian Arabs under our jurisdiction. Forty years ago, we undertook not to demand all the territory for ourselves, but rather to partition it with our neighbor, and that worked to our benefit. Forty years have passed, and there has been no change in the world's attitude. I am afraid that if we do not retreat from our demand to have the whole [of Palestine] for ourselves, we shall find ourselves in a difficult situation. Two entities have taken shape, and the concepts of partition and partnership have accordingly become real."

Abba Eban, one of the founders of the Jewish state, has recently been pushed to the sidelines of his Labor political party because of his relatively conciliatory views on the Palestinian question. □

[Based on a translation by Israel Press Briefs, *No. 60, July-August 1988]*

For the record...
FACT AND FICTION

There is a widespread misconception in the United States about the policies of the U.S. and Israeli governments on the Palestine question. Most people, including usually well-informed people, think that the U.S. and Israeli governments would be amenable to Palestinian independence if only the PLO would meet certain conditions. These include recognition of Israel, acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and the abandonment of armed struggle against Israel.

This is not true.

U.S. policy is that Washington will not deal with the PLO unless it meets the above conditions. This policy—demanded by Israel—was put in writing as a "memorandum of understanding," signed by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in 1975. Later, the U.S. Congress added to it the condition that the PLO abrogates the Palestinian National Charter. In exchange, the U.S. promises nothing, except to talk to the PLO.

Israel's opposition to Palestinian independence and dealing with the PLO, on the other hand, are absolute and unconditional. Its policy is that it will not accept Palestinian statehood or the PLO no matter what the Palestinians do...or do not do.

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