

Palestine Focus

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Editorial

Reagan and Begin: Partners in Racism

President Reagan's swollen military budget has devastated the American people. With billions going for nuclear missiles and mounting intervention in Central America and around the world, we face the increasing threat of war abroad along with deteriorating economic and social conditions at home.

Without doubt, we are paying for war, whether in El Salvador or in Lebanon—with Blacks and other minorities paying the most and in more ways than one.

Reagan's program of military buildup has heightened racism in America. Not only the cutbacks have severely affected the lives of Blacks and other minorities. Accompanying the policies of war and the cutbacks designed to pay for the military buildup have come attacks on affirmative action, desegregation—attacks even on the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act. In this time of economic crisis—when Blacks are “the last hired and the first fired”—even the gains won during the civil rights movement of the sixties and seventies are under direct attack. All of this while U.S. aid to repressive and racist regimes increases.

America's Distorted Priorities

U.S. aid to Israel—which receives 25 percent of all U.S. foreign aid—stands out as one of the clearest examples of America's distorted priorities. U.S. aid to Israel—which has served to supply Israel with weapons of death in Lebanon and the means to build more Israeli settlements on the Palestinian West Bank—amounted to \$2.7 billion in 1982. And when you add to this the many millions in indirect aid, the total reaches nearly \$4 billion!

Consider the approximately \$5.4 billion Reagan has cut from job programs, the nearly \$1 billion from the Food Stamps program, or the \$2.2 billion cut from Aid to Families with Dependent Children. How many jobs could be created in Bedford



Fleeing Israeli bombs during the siege of Beirut.

Stuyvesant or in Watts with the money invested in one F-16 dropping tons of cluster bombs over Beirut?

Israeli Racism

Yet it is not just the dollars and cents that are wasted—but peoples lives as well. We are bitterly aware of the racist regimes supported by our government, such as the apartheid regime in South Africa, and Israel must be ranked in the forefront. Israel denies Palestinians their land and rights as thousands live in refugee camps without homes while many others live under brutal

occupation.

When Menachem Begin labels Palestinians, such as those murdered in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, “terrorists” or “two-legged beasts” or when former Israeli Chief of Staff Eitan can say, in regard to the West Bank, that “when we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do is scuttle around like doped cockroaches in a bottle,” the dehumanization of Israeli racism is vividly apparent; the touted democratic image of Israel must be called into question.

Democracy is not simply the fact that a parliament (the Knesset) exists. The test

of democracy—in Israel and in the U.S.—is whether all the people of a country share in full civil rights and equal opportunity. Within the 1948 borders of Israel approximately 94 percent of the land is owned either by the state or semigovernmental bodies, such as the Jewish National Fund, with explicit regulations forbidding non-Jews (i.e. Palestinians) from buying or leasing the land. Housing subsidies, building permits, education funds—the whole array of governmental assistance—are given freely to Jewish and are systematically denied Palestinians. It is virtually illegal for Palestinians to organize a national Arab party in Israel, while openly fascist Jewish parties, such as Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach party, are allowed to call for the expulsion of all Arabs from Israeli-held lands backed up by terrorism at the hands of settler vigilantes.

On the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinians face the continued encroachment of Jews-only settlements with their political rights almost completely denied. Houses can be destroyed because a family member is a suspected “terrorist.” Mayors and other officials can be summarily deported. Universities are closed for months at a time. Entire villages are put under curfew, allowing no one on the streets except a few hours a day, for weeks at a time. An Arab walking down the street with a T-shirt saying “Palestine” on it can be arrested for proclaiming the banned name of a country forbidden to exist by Israeli authorities.

During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon we saw the campaign to “destroy the PLO infrastructure” reach its genocidal climax in the Sabra and Shatila massacres. Today we see an estimated seven thousand Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners held in the Ansar concentration camp denied Prisoner-of-War status guaranteed them by the Geneva conventions.

If laws were enacted in the United States forcing Jews to live only in restricted areas or forbidding Jews to organize

Continued on page 4

Israel and South Africa

The Unholy Alliance

By Alfred Moleah

The most staunch, unabashed, and unapologetic supporter of the racist white minority regime of South Africa is now the state of Israel. With arrogance and defiance of international morality and legality, Israel has become the most open friend of the apartheid state. Their wide-ranging relationship encompasses trade, military, nuclear, political, and diplomatic cooperation. In fact, the ties between the two states are so strong that each has a direct stake in the survival of its partner.

There is a third partner as well. With the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency of the United States and the resultant attempt to vilify national resistance and liberation movements as “terrorist,” any remaining barriers to United States commitment to its two junior partners—Israel and South Africa—disappeared.

Under the U.S. umbrella, Israel and South Africa view themselves as gendarmes protecting Western values, yet they are unfettered by any moral or political qualms or by restraints imposed by legality or public opinion. What they share most is a sense of duty as point-

“Along with the U.S. government, Israel's has become a partner in the brutalization and oppression of the African majority in Namibia and South Africa.”

men in the crusade against communism and so-called Soviet Expansionism.

The alliance between Israel and South Africa began to accelerate after the 1967 war with trade in the forefront. The Israeli-South Africa Friendship League was founded in 1968, its first President: Menachem Begin. The South Africa Foundation reciprocated by forming the Israeli-South Africa Man-to-Man Committee. One of the committee's first acts was to arrange a meeting in South Africa between South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha, then Minister of Defense, and Shimon Peres, who was Secretary-General of the Israeli Labor Party.

In June 1973, South African businessman Benjamin Wainstein revealed a plan whereby South African companies would use Israel to evade sanctions imposed by African states. For instance, a South African company

Continued on page 7

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The Economic Invasion

By Douglas Franks

Two months after Israel invaded Lebanon last summer, Israeli Trade Minister Gidon Patt announced: "There is no intention whatsoever to expand the economic territory of Israel." Recent developments reveal that Israel intended to expand its "economic territory" all along. Israel has extracted tremendous economic benefit from Lebanon. Israel's economic entrenchment also strengthens the entire occupation effort and Israel's ability to manipulate regional politics. Moreover, economic conditions existing in Israel prior to the invasion and new ones created by the invasion and occupation made economic expansion an inevitable result of the war.

The recently concluded Shultz agreement includes an official statement of Israel's economic intentions toward Lebanon, expressed as part of a package of extensive strategic gains for Israel—and unspoken losses for Lebanon. Israel did not wait, however, for such official sanction. "The movement of goods, products and persons, communications, etc.," in the words of the Shultz document, began on a limited scale four years ago courtesy of Israel's "fence" in the border strip, Saad Haddad. The beginning of the invasion accelerated the movement of goods despite the fact that Israel did not officially declare the border "open" until November 17.

Invasion of Israeli Exports

The already cracked "unofficial" door for Israeli goods into Lebanon was literally wrenched wide open by the invasion. Bombing and shelling, the juggernaut-like movement of Israeli Defence Force materiel, and the carving out of Israeli roads and fortifications ruined great areas of farmland just at harvest time. By the end of the siege, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, 150 factories were destroyed and 331 severely damaged. Stocks of raw materials were destroyed, stolen, or depleted, so that even factories spared destruction could not function normally. With the work force and population at large under siege, transportation routes impassable, power stations and water distribution facilities inoperative, factories destroyed or paralyzed, supply links cut, Lebanon's agricultural and industrial production—large- and small-scale alike—was brought to a halt. Lebanon's reconstruction director, Muhammed Atallah, lamented that Israel seemed to target vital economic organs. The "damage has hurt more because it was concentrated in cities, in areas where there were not only demographic but capital concentrations."

Unable to produce food or goods for its people or for trade, Lebanon was a ready-made market for Israeli exports. From \$600,000 in illicit exports through Saad Haddad in May 1982, Israeli exports to Lebanon doubled in June and rose to \$21 million in the period June through August 1982. *The Arab Report and Memo*, a respected economic newsletter, estimates Israeli exports to Lebanon of \$15 million in September. Others estimated \$20 million in October, \$30 million in November, and \$20 million in December 1982. Since January 1983 Israeli exports have leveled off at several million dollars per month. In any given month of postinvasion 1982, Israeli exports to Lebanon equaled or exceeded the \$15 million of Israeli exports to Egypt in all of 1981.

Exports include citrus and other fruits, vegetables, olives, olive oil, garlic, chickens, eggs, canned goods, dry goods, biscuits, building materials, prefabricated shelters, textiles, clothing, jewelry, other luxury items, household appliances, TVs, radios, cameras—the list is inexhaustible. In short, Lebanon has become a one-way "dumping ground" for every conceivable Israeli-produced or -marketed commodity.

Having spawned the market through wholesale destruction of Lebanon, Israel oversees and operates it with an efficiency that matches that of its military apparatus (indeed, the two are tightly intertwined). At the border, the Israeli Ministry of Trade supplies catalogues of Israeli manufacturers and a catalogue of export firms, *Manual of the North*. Orders are placed and delivered easily and quickly.

Exhibits promoting Israeli wares have been erected on either side of the border, some appearing as early as last July. One such exhibit opened in the parking lot of a kibbutz north of Nahariya and represents thirty major Israeli companies. Another large agency was set up specifically to promote agricultural exports. Israel's official trade headquarters occupy the former Sidon government offices where glossy brochures extol the virtues of Israeli goods.

Ironically, the very destruction caused by the Israeli invasion paved the way for businesses like Orlan Ltd. to sell plate glass and cement in Lebanon only weeks after the invasion began. Another firm's response to the new refugees was to promote prefabricated shelters (at a price unaffordable to most).

With all commerce across the border under strict Israeli control, the financial returns flow one way—to Israel. Israeli exporters pay no customs duties because Israel unilaterally opened the borders, depriving Lebanon of a major source of income. Lebanese importers enjoy some limited benefits; they can receive goods at the port of Haifa, more easily accessible than Beirut. (There are fewer checkpoints en route.) Nevertheless, they must pay a 12.5 percent "supplementary" tax levied by the Israeli army on Israeli exports landing in Sidon and Tyre which have transited the port of Haifa.

In other words, the Israeli government and Israeli manufacturers and exporters profit while the Lebanese are taxed by an occupying army and their products and

"Israel's economic invasion of Lebanon has forged an occupation that military withdrawal will not remove. The same sort of process launched Israel's occupation of the West Bank in 1967."



Israeli postage stamps: *Settling Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), the Golan Heights, and the Galilee.* Will "Settling Lebanon" be the next?

services are deliberately undersold. Israeli biscuits, olives, and olive oil, for example, are available at half the Lebanese price; garlic at one-quarter the Lebanese price. As a result, the small Lebanese producers must sell their wares at a loss or not at all.

Israel has monopolized the Lebanese marketplace in other ways. Shortly after the invasion started, Israeli military authorities forbade the sale of any but Israeli produce before ten o'clock in the morning. Trucks bearing produce grown on Lebanese soil are detained at checkpoints so that Israeli trucks can get to the produce market first. Citing security reasons, Israel even imposed strict limits on when and where fishing is permitted.

The Economic Isolation of Lebanon

The infiltration of Israeli exports causes another serious economic consequence for Lebanon. Referring to that penetration, David Brodet, economic adviser to the Israeli Ministry of Trade and Industry, said, "Our government doesn't know and isn't involved in where our exports go. . . . It could be to the rest of the Arab world." Indeed, Israeli biscuits reportedly found their way to the Iraqi army and Israeli refrigerators and batteries to Syria. But if Israel hopes to enlarge its economic territory by using Lebanon as a conduit, Arab countries are also on their guard.

So far, Syria has banned the purchase of Lebanese oranges, knowing that among them could be "laundered" oranges from Israel. Nearly sixty thousand growers suffered severe losses if not complete ruin, their crops rendered unsaleable because of this citrus and fruit boycott. What's more, Syria's partial ban threatens to become a full-fledged blockade, a potential catastrophe for Lebanon's already crippled economy.

Since last February, Saudi Arabia has barred entry to all goods shipped from Lebanon. Lebanon's cargo carrier, Trans-Mediterranean Airways, has advised exporters in Lebanon to cease shipping to Saudi Arabia because "your goods aren't going to get in." The Beirut Chamber of Commerce confirmed that the Saudi ban "is bound to have serious consequences on the Lebanese economy," for the Arabian Peninsula has been Lebanon's principal export market. Of Lebanon's half billion dollars of 1983 exports, three-fourths went to Saudi Arabia. The Beirut Chamber of Commerce also admitted that Israel's "economic invasion" could "isolate Lebanon from its traditional Arab markets," articulating their fear that other Arab countries may follow the Saudi example. Israeli economist Zvi Timor sounds a similarly somber note in *New Outlook*: "The severing of Lebanon from the other Arab states, which have provided it with a market and material backing, would entail . . . a deficit of 3 billion

dollars needed for the survival of its economy."

The Lebanese economy is already reeling from another significant financial blow caused by the U.S.-engineered Palestinian exodus from Beirut last August. The PLO's military and civilian organizations netted Lebanon about one billion dollars annually, according to Zvi Timor. With the uprooting of the PLO infrastructure, a sizeable percentage of Lebanon's domestic national product has been lost.

Israel's Economic Woes

Israel's export blitz coincides with an Israeli export crisis which surfaced before the invasion. From mid-1982 to mid-1983, according to *MERIP Reports*, Israel experienced a 15 percent drop in industrial exports. Israel's traditional export markets have suffered from the ailing international economy and from selective boycotts by European nations in response to Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Considering Israel's 130 percent and rising annual inflation rate, lagging economic growth, sagging diamond trade, rising taxes and unemployment, and the high cost of occupying Lebanon (U.S. subsidies notwithstanding), Lebanon was a handy safety valve to relieve the faltering Israeli export industry.

The Israeli tourist industry is faltering as well. "Tourism is the primary source of foreign currency for Israel," said Geoffrey Weill of Israel's Ministry of Tourism office in New York. Tourism revenue accounts for 5 percent of Israel's gross national product. Yet by the end of 1982, Israel's Central Bureau for Statistics and its Tourism Ministry recorded a 20 to 30 percent decline from the previous year. Israel's financial magazine, *Shaar*, is gloomier in outlook, estimating the decline to be from 50 to 70 percent.

To ease its depressed tourist industry, Israel is again looking to Lebanon for relief, confident that Israeli-fed tourism will be as irresistible as any other export. Regularly chartered buses carrying Israeli tourists up to Lebanon began service last July. The money these tourists spend remains in the Israeli economy instead of flowing abroad.

Commercial plane flights into Lebanon began at about the same time. In fact, El Al, Israel's national airline, opened an office in Sidon below the Israeli military headquarters there. The shutdown of Beirut international airport during the invasion compelled outbound Lebanese, Palestinians, and other Arab nationals to patronize those who were themselves crippling air service in Lebanon. Passengers were shuttled from the El Al office at Sidon to Ben Gurion airport in Tel Aviv where they could proceed to their destinations.

While its tanks were rolling across Lebanon, Israel was rolling out the red carpet for the few Lebanese who were enticed to visit Israel. The first Lebanese tourists were effusively greeted by photographers, champagne, and the minister of tourism at a posh Tel Aviv hotel.

The "Israelization" of Lebanon (as the *London Times* terms it) seems in part to be linked with Israel's campaign to enhance tourism—entirely for Israel's benefit, not Lebanon's. A formidable network of Hebrew road signs has sprung up; Israeli contractors are involved in large-scale road repairs. The Israeli shekel has become acceptable currency in Lebanese shops; some Arab cafe proprietors have acquired a working knowledge of Hebrew. Direct-dial telephone service between Lebanon and Israel is in effect. Branches of Israeli banks have opened in Lebanon. The *Jerusalem Post* is sold at Beirut newsstands.

The people of Lebanon must also endure other hardships brought by Israel's economic invasion such as the imposition of a "protection" tax in the south. A Colonel Haim of Israeli army intelligence (known as the "smiling colonel") visits village mukhtars (mayors), demanding that their villages pay a sum of money toward the maintenance of a pro-Israeli village militia. The mukhtar of one impoverished Shi'a Muslim village recounted, "Yes, I will tell you, an Israeli called Haim came here this morning with some soldiers. They want 4,000 Lebanese pounds a month from this village, but we have no money. What can we do?"

This extortion in the south was preceded by outright looting at the height of the invasion. Eyewitnesses told the *Los Angeles Times* of "Units of Collection of the Loot," Israeli soldiers who "cleaned out" appliance and television shops and the stocks of other businesses. These units confiscated files and computer systems; they raided press agencies, radio stations, and banks.

Israel's economic invasion of Lebanon has forged an occupation that military withdrawal alone will not remove. The process of undermining Lebanon's economic self-reliance, of making it ever more dependent on Israel for solvency, of isolating it from its Arab neighbors, has imbedded Israel deeply and firmly there. The same sort of process launched Israel's occupation of the West Bank in 1967. No other Israeli tactic of the 1982 war better exposes Israel's intent to gain a permanent hold over Lebanon. The heated though fundamentally slanted debate over what Israel has or has not achieved in Lebanon wears on; but if Lebanon is truly to be returned to the Lebanese, Israel has a lot of clearing out to do and not just of tanks and troops. □

Covenant for War

Introduction

The agreement between Israel and the fascist-controlled government of Lebanon engineered by Secretary of State George Shultz has presented Americans with the illusion that "peace" could be achieved. U.S. media and public officials are now pointing the finger at the PLO, the Lebanese opposition, and Syria, declaring that they are "standing in the way of peace."

Despite all the talk about "peace," the intentions concerning this plan are clear. As the New York Times forthrightly explained (May 10, 1983), "Stabilizing Lebanon would give Israel another stable frontier... A pro-American coalition of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Lebanon would then acquiesce in the destruction of

the PLO and Israel's absorption of the West Bank and Golan Heights." As with the famous Camp David accords, this agreement is designed to assure the continued expansion of Israel at the expense of the Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian peoples. In effect, they are told to accept a puppet Lebanese government or—if the PLO and Syrians do not withdraw from the parts of Lebanon they still control—the de facto partition of Lebanon. The recent "redeployment" of Israeli troops in southern Lebanon may indicate that the Israelis have already opted for partition. In any event, this agreement threatens more war so that Israel—and the U.S.—can once and for all "stabilize" the region in the interests of U.S. military, political, and economic domination.

Many Americans are genuinely con-

fused as to why the PLO, the Lebanese opposition, and the Syrians should reject a "peace" agreement. But a careful study of the terms of the agreement itself reveals how completely the regime of President Amin Gemayel has sold itself to continued Israeli domination. Consider that the agreement was concluded by three allies—the United States, the Phalangists, and the Israelis—while none of the opposition played any role in shaping the agreement they are now supposed to sign.

In the next period the Shultz agreement—and its rejection by the progressive forces in the region—will be cited by the U.S. government and Israel as the pretext for a variety of diplomatic and military maneuvers. Americans need full knowledge of the reality of this agreement.

"The Shultz agreement actually legitimizes continued Israeli dominance and the virtual partition of Lebanon."

By Lee O'Brien

On May 17, 1983 a second Arab country signed a peace treaty with Israel. Egypt became the first when Anwar Sadat signed the Camp David agreement in Washington in 1979. Though officially termed an "Agreement Between Israel and Lebanon on Troop Withdrawal," the wide-ranging document is in fact the framework for future relations, on all levels, between Israel and Lebanon—relations based on Israeli hegemony over the country it invaded one year before and continues to occupy to this day. The Vichy-style Lebanese government which signed it was installed under that Israeli occupation. Indeed, the agreement actually legitimizes continued Israeli dominance and the virtual partition of Lebanon.

Partitioning the South

In September 1982, Ariel Sharon declared, "If a future Lebanese government signs a peace treaty with Israel, Lebanon will certainly be territorially united. But if there is a government in Lebanon that for some reason does not sign a treaty, then there will certainly be a special status in south Lebanon." Sharon's words have proved inaccurate: the Phalangist-controlled government in Lebanon has signed a treaty with Israel which provides 'special status' for the south and declares the southern third of the country a security region. This region is to be patrolled by eight joint Lebanese-Israeli teams and two Lebanese Army brigades with direct communication to Israeli officers. Two headquarters, staffed by Lebanese and Israelis, are to function 24 hours a day. In addition, the Lebanese brigades in the south are to be formed from existing forces there, those of renegade Major Saad Haddad, Israel's long-time ally.

The *New York Times* (May 18, 1983) reported a secret clause appointing Haddad virtual head of the Lebanese forces in the south:

Major Haddad, it was believed, would open the door to extensive, clandestine Israeli involvement in the region, as he did along a narrow border zone he controlled for years. Through the Major, Israel itself could effectively command the southern brigade, creating favorable conditions for the operations of its intelligence agents and elite antiterrorist units.

Thus the treaty transforms south Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate to be used as a base for intelligence and counterinsurgency against patriotic Lebanese, Palestinians, and all forces in the region who threaten U.S.-Israeli domination.

The New Lebanese/Israeli Army

The treaty also signifies the official transformation of the Phalangist-dominated Lebanese Army into an adjunct of the IDF (Israeli Army). The same *New York Times* article cited above notes "the accord ap-



Proposed Israeli-Lebanese security zone. The treaty transforms South Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate to be used as a base for intelligence and counterinsurgency.

pears to be less a ceiling on the Israeli role than a foundation for its day-to-day evolution into a close Israeli-Lebanese military and intelligence pact." The security arrangements call for "direct radio and telephone communications between the respective military commanders," as well as "continuous communications between the southern command of the Lebanese Navy and the Israeli Navy." The types of weapons that the Lebanese Army may carry are drastically curtailed, and no air radar is allowed in the south. Most important is what has been leaked concerning the secret agreements: all sources agree that Israel has been granted permission by the U.S. and Lebanon for its military forces to cross into Lebanon at will. As an Israeli military source told the *Christian Science Monitor* (May 17, 1983), "The nonpublished parts are critical in making the agreement work, including our right to self-defense and all sorts of letters of understanding between Israel and the U.S. and between Lebanon and the U.S."

Political Domination

Not content with military domination, Israel has demanded—and received—control over Lebanon's political role, internally and on the wider Arab level. Articles 4 and 6 of the agreement bar the existence in or passage through either country of any force (or infrastructure) that is hostile to the other. In addition, each country must abrogate any existing agreements "enabling the presence and functioning on the territory of either

party of elements hostile to the other party." This is, in fact, the de-Arabization of Lebanon and the nullification of all its Arab agreements, as all Arab countries are still in a legal state of war with Israel. More specifically, it is a blow directed at the Syrian presence, whose Arab Deterrent Forces troops are in Lebanon with an Arab mandate, and an open attack against the PLO (including its few remaining civilian institutions), the presence of which in Lebanon is legally based on the 1969 Cairo agreements.

Some internal controls that the treaty has granted to Israel include: 1) any new contributors to the Multi-National Forces shall only be selected from states having diplomatic relations with both parties, and 2) banning any form of propaganda against the other.

"Normalizing" Relations

Though it is denied that the treaty establishes diplomatic relations and is anything but a troop withdrawal agreement, numerous points in the text assume *de facto* diplomatic relations without referring directly to that term. The introduction agrees to the termination of the state of war and is couched in the language of a classic peace treaty imposing conditions of surrender on a defeated country. Most important is the formation of a Joint Liaison Committee to implement the treaty. This committee will include Israelis, Lebanese, and Americans and allows each country to set up a liaison office in the other—a device Israel sees as

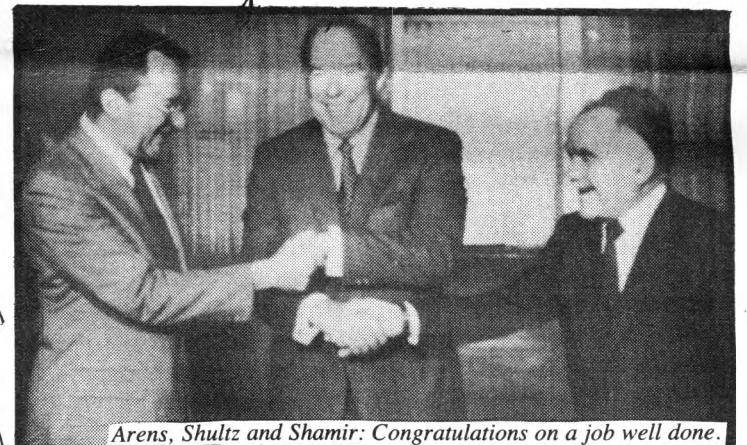
the embryo of an embassy.

In addition to implementation, the Joint Liaison Committee has a second role: to "address itself on a continuing basis to the development of mutual relations between Lebanon and Israel, inter alia the regulation of the movement of goods, products and persons, communications, etc." Israel is staking its economic future on economic relations with Lebanon. Lebanon is not only an important market for Israeli goods but also the gateway to finance and trade with the entire Arab world.

Who Benefits

Israel and, of course, the United States are to benefit greatly from the treaty. Israel has already benefited greatly even without withdrawing its troops, thanks to U.S. largesse. The mere signing—rather than implementation—of such a treaty is a great boon to U.S. policy. Suddenly it is no longer Israeli intransigence that is deadlocking the Lebanese situation but rather PLO and Syrian extremism! It was to achieve this flip-flop in perceptions that Shultz went to the Middle East, and in this sense his mission was successful. No matter that Syria or the PLO or, for that matter, any genuine Lebanese nationalist would have to be insane to agree to this virtual military pact between Lebanon and Israel; no matter that Lebanon has no genuine sovereignty. The important thing for the United States and its allies is that once again Syria, the PLO, and the Lebanese progressive forces are perceived as the "obstacles to peace," and the U.S. can relax and resume its "normal" relationship with Israel.

What are the tangible benefits to Israel for signing a nonimplemented troop withdrawal agreement? They are numerous and include: 1)



Arens, Shultz and Shamir: Congratulations on a job well done.

release of secret, advanced U.S. technology for the new Lavie jet; 2) release of 75 F-16's due in 1985 whose sale was postponed because of the invasion, as well as other arms shipments; 3) Reagan's support for an additional \$400 million in aid to Israel; 4) arrangements for Begin to visit the United States in the near future; 5) the supposedly pro-Arab Secretary of Defense Weinberger declaring his unswerving support for Israel as a strategic ally before the American Jewish Committee; and 6) the likely official and full revival of the November 1981 U.S.-Israeli Memorandum of Understanding on Strategic Cooperation which had been suspended following Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights. Not a bad windfall in the space of a single month.

However, the most important windfall is geopolitical and benefits U.S. regional hegemony, Israel, and the conservative Arab regimes. Camp David has been expanded to include a second Arab country in line with Sharon's boast during the invasion of creating a "triangle of peace" (Israel, Egypt, and Lebanon). This triangle is the spearhead of a strategy to maintain and extend U.S. domination over the region, a domination which necessarily denies basic human rights and freedom to the Palestinian and all Arab peoples. □

Lee O'Brien is a freelance writer and researcher on the Middle East. All uncited quotes are from the text of the agreement.

Palestinian Resistance Deepens

By Muhammad Hallaj

The West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian lands occupied by the Israel in 1967, are slightly more than two thousand square miles of territory relatively poor in arable land and other natural resources. Yet their fate has become central to the future of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The importance of the West Bank and Gaza derives from the fact that they are the *remnants of Palestine*, about four-fifths of which was occupied and became the state of Israel in 1948. As the international consensus favoring the two-state solution to the Palestinian-Zionist conflict emerged and developed in the 1970s, the West Bank and Gaza were increasingly perceived as a way to reconcile the fact of Israel's existence to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to reconstitute and rehabilitate their shattered society.

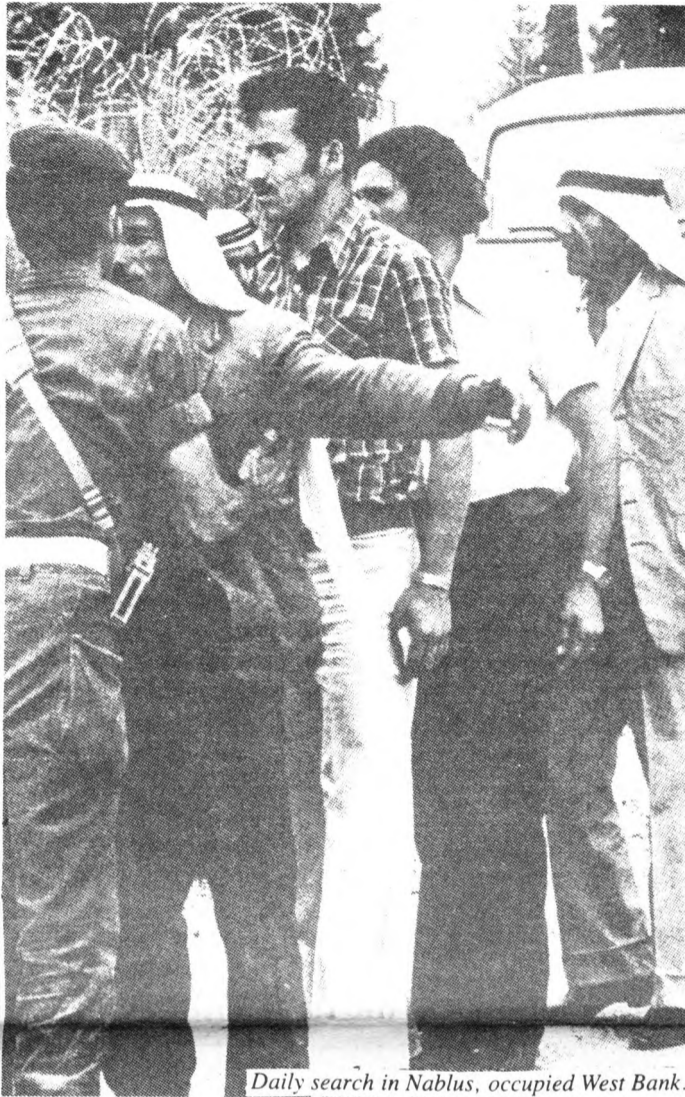
Since the early days of occupation, and increasingly since Begin's coalition came to power in 1977, Israel has pursued a plan calculated to subvert Palestinian nationhood and to abort the possibility of Palestinian self-determination and independence. It has done so by unleashing a two-pronged attack against the Palestinian people. It has rejected the concept of Palestinian nationhood and all its implications, including the Palestinian people's right to organize a national liberation movement and to engage in any form of struggle on behalf of their national rights. Israel's characterization of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a "terrorist" organization and its recent genocidal war against the Palestinian community in Lebanon were intended to discredit and to paralyze the Palestinian people's quest for national liberation.

In occupied Palestine itself, Israel mounted a campaign of ruthless repression against the captive Palestinian community and pursued a relentless plan to undermine its viability: it annexed Jerusalem and the surrounding areas; it confiscated about 40 percent of the lands of the occupied West Bank and Gaza; it implanted more than a hundred Jewish settlements from which the Arab population is totally excluded; it dismissed the elected mayors and dissolved the municipal councils of most Palestinian cities; it closed schools, universities, and newspapers; it *deported community leaders and sought to replace them with quislings of its own choosing* (the Village Leagues); it curtailed medical services; it restricted the entry of funds from the Arab world as well as the services of foreign charitable organizations working in the occupied territories. Furthermore, it integrated the socio-economic infrastructure of the West Bank and Gaza into that of Israel; it linked the electricity to the Israeli grid and the water network to Israeli mains; it reoriented the road system for the convenience of Israeli settlers; and it monopolized banking and foreign trade.

This scheme to suffocate and dismantle the Palestinian community in the occupied territories is usually described as "*de facto* annexation." In reality, it is nothing less than the deliberate destruction of a human society.

The Israeli onslaught against the PLO and the Pales-

tinian community in Lebanon and the ruthless harassment of the Palestinians under occupation are intended to stifle the Palestinian dream of freedom. They are the behavioral manifestations of Israel's resolve to usurp totally, and to deny permanently, the Palestinian quest for national independence as well as to render irrelevant the world community's expressed support for Palestinian national



Daily search in Nablus, occupied West Bank.

rights. In brief, they are meant to be the "final solution" to the question of Palestine.

Camp David and the Reagan Plan

As Israel labors to obliterate the material foundations of Palestinian national existence, its sponsors abroad seek to legitimize its efforts by advocating *substitutes and alternatives* to Palestinian freedom. The Camp David and the Reagan schemes are the diplomatic equivalents of Israel's designs to create a Middle East without Palestine and without Palestinians. More important, perhaps, such schemes are increasingly used to secure Palestinian acceptance of Israel's attempts to perpetuate the destruc-

"The Palestinian people are a nation struggling to be free, not a minority group pleading for civil rights."

tion of Palestine. Their advocates have been exploiting the ongoing Israeli "*de facto* annexation" of the West Bank and Gaza to panic the Palestinians and to stampede them into accepting "peace plans" which deny them their right to self-determination. The Palestinians are being counseled to accept what is offered them before Israel's absorption of the West Bank and Gaza reaches the point-of-no-return and the Palestinians have nothing left to claim.

The Palestinians themselves have become nearly obsessed with the need to "save" the West Bank and Gaza by preventing their integration into Israel from becoming irreversible. They have been committing the bulk of their material resources and political efforts to the task of halting Israel's absorption of the West Bank and Gaza and its continuing effort to uproot Palestinian presence from these areas. The ordeal of the Palestinians living in the occupied West Bank and Gaza is more than sufficient to justify the utmost concern for putting an end to the occupation. But it must not be allowed to set the perimeter of the struggle against Zionism. And it certainly must not be permitted to become a lever in the hands of those who wish to pry the Palestinian people loose from the national liberation arena.

Palestine: A Nation Struggling to be Free

The Palestinian people are a nation struggling to be free, not a minority group pleading for civil rights. Consequently, the Palestinian national liberation movement must not allow itself to be diminished to a pressure group seeking to ameliorate the hardships of life under continuing occupation and must never lose sight of its mission to struggle for liberation.

Israel's destructive behavior in the occupied territories, the holocaust it inflicted on the Palestinian people in Lebanon, and the supportive political circus managed by the U.S. administration on Israel's behalf are all intended to persuade the Palestinian people of the futility of their struggle. It is time for the Palestinians to respond to this deadly challenge. Without abandoning their concern for the plight of the occupied territories and without diminishing their concern for the plight of their inhabitants, they must revitalize their national liberation movement, refocus the objective of their struggle, and persevere in the defense of their usurped national rights. They must make it clear that if Israel succeeds in its ongoing scheme to dismantle their community in occupied Palestine, it will not close the file on the Palestinian cause but on the possibility of peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. The Palestinians need to make it clear to Israel and its sponsors that final solutions are not attainable, whether they are attempted against the Jews or perpetrated by them. □

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Racism...

Continued from page 1

themselves politically, a great and justified outcry against anti-Semitism would be heard. Yet such policies are carried out by the Israeli government with no regard for the civil and human rights of their Arab victims. Israel is a "democracy" that is stamped with its own form of Jim Crow marked "for Jews only." Palestinians, torn from their land and their traditional livelihood, are forced to work in Israeli agriculture and industry with the lowest pay and the least security of any workers—so much so that low-paying, dirty jobs are typically termed "Arab jobs." Americans have seen the same kind of racial discrimination create divisions among working people that hinder the struggle for justice and a better life.

In South Africa in 1976 high school students in Soweto filled the streets with their protests against a racist educational system and against the entire apartheid system which denies them any rights at all on the basis of their skin color. There is a strong parallel and a strong bond between the Soweto students and the students and children of the West Bank. Palestinian youth, labeled by the Israelis as "terrorists,"

fight against illegal occupation and colonization with mere stones. There is, as well, a parallel with those young people who rode the Freedom Rides to challenge Jim Crow only to face terror and possible death. And those courageous Israelis who demonstrate for peace and justice for the Palestinians are

"Israel is a 'democracy' that is stamped with its own form of Jim Crow marked 'for Jews only'."

cursed as "Arab lovers" just as whites who have come to the defense of Black people are labeled "nigger lovers" by the racists.

Growing U.S. Intervention

Yet the U.S. government continues to flood Israel with billions of dollars in aid, lauding Israel as a great "Western democracy." By now we are well aware that U.S. foreign policy is guided neither by altruism nor by the desire to achieve real justice. Rather, U.S. foreign policy is guided by the political, economic, and military needs of the multinational corporations. U.S. strategy in the Middle East, a vast source of oil profits, demands the U.S. support Israel at the same time it seeks to dominate conservative Arab regimes. But, despite the huge military edge held by Israel, this means not only increasing appropriations for aid, but increasing U.S. intervention as well.

There are now U.S. troops in Lebanon and in the Sinai; there are bases used by the U.S. in Egypt, Oman, and other parts of the Middle East. When U.S. soldiers are called upon to protect the profits of the multinational corporations, it will be Black and other nonwhite soldiers who will be called

in greater proportions as a result of the "poverty draft."

Connected to this climate of war preparations, we must also note the spread of popular anti-Arab sentiment in the U.S., where gross vulgarizations of Arab people appear throughout the media almost without challenge. How many times has the "terrorist" in some suspense drama turned out to be a sinister Arab who cares nothing for human life? How many cartoons—or the Abscam affair, a cartoon come to life—appear in the press with evil and wealthy sheiks standing by oil pumps—as if this stereotype had anything to do with the day-to-day reality of most Arab people? Unmistakably, Americans are being agitated to view Arab people as sub-humans—another nonwhite people who are

promoted as "natural" targets for U.S. as well as Israeli military adventures.

The chauvinism accompanying Reagan's military buildup, when linked to the heightening of racism in the United States, creates a climate of ugliness and hate that allows the Klan, the Nazis, and "more respectable" racists such as the Moral Majority to flourish.

All Americans who fight against racism and for democracy in America need to examine the relationship between U.S. foreign policy and domestic discontent. We must look at the character of the regimes supported by the U.S. When we examine the astronomical amounts of funds sent to Israel, we must conclude that cutting off these funds and stopping U.S. intervention in the Middle East must be placed high on the agenda by all people fighting for peace, jobs, and freedom. Racism and racist regimes—both supported by the U.S. government—exist around the world. Because the U.S. government is moving in the opposite direction—for racism and against justice—Americans must redouble our efforts to build a genuine movement for justice in the United States and throughout the world. Supporting the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, equality, and a homeland must be taken up by people seeking to eliminate all forms of racism. □

Sabra and Shatila: One Year Later

Only one element, and that is the IDF, shall command the forces in the area. For the operation in the camps the Phalangists should be sent in. Defense Minister Sharon's instructions regarding entry into West Beirut, Exhibit 35, Kahan Commission Report

Almost a year has passed since Israeli commanders sent Lebanese Phalangist units into the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila to carry out the most systematic and brutal slaughter of people in the history of the Israeli/Arab conflict.

As the list of atrocities committed by Israel grows longer, a pattern begins to emerge and a vicious logic begins to assert itself. Deir Yassin, 1948; Kibieh, 1953; Kafr Qassim, 1956...—all officially labeled "exceptional cases" and all absolved by judicial whitewash.

Yet the vicious logic of these assaults on the Palestinian people has grown starker in retrospect. "Plan D" of Israel's prestate militia, the Hagganah, discussed the need to depopulate Palestine of the Palestinians by instilling the widespread fear of genocide in their hearts. The Deir Yassin massacre, although committed by Begin's Irgun, rival of the Hagganah, achieved precisely that. After merely hearing rumors, some terrified Palestinians fled their villages shouting, "Deir Yassin! Deir Yassin!"

Twenty-four years after Deir Yassin, the massacres at the refugee camps clearly expose the Israeli/Phalangist intention of promoting the dispersal of the Palestinian population by trying to make conditions in Lebanon so intolerable that they would flee. It was hoped that the cry, "Sabra! Shatila!" would herald a terrified exodus.

None of this should be surprising, since the helmsmen of the Israeli invasion—Begin, Sharon, and Shamir—have well-known records as perpetrators of atrocities. Begin, as leader of the Irgun, was responsible for dozens of assaults against civilians during his terrorist heyday in the forties. Shamir, prominent figure in the pro-Nazi Stern Gang, was personally involved in murder and assault. And Ariel Sharon is a graduate summa cum laude from the infamous Unit 101 which carried out commando operations in the fifties. Unit 101 specialized in assaults against Palestinian villages and camps over what was then the border with the West Bank, a task with which other units could not be entrusted. To believe that this triumvirate sent the Israeli military into West Beirut to prevent outbreaks of violence is as absurd as believing that the deployment of Pershing missiles promotes peace.

Yet, what is most remarkable about the massacres is that Israel has managed once again to convince the world that it is the victim. By a sort of sleight of hand, Israeli aggression has, with remarkable success, been transformed in the eyes of many into the defensive actions of a victim. With the Kahan Commission report gently slapping the wrists of the war criminals, Israel is touted for its profound democratic instincts, its moral credibility upheld simply because a commission scratched



at the surface of the truth. Now critics of Israel are castigated for going too far, and the victimizers are painted as victims.

Portraying Israel as the eternal victim allows Israel's supporters and apologists to view Israel as transcending moral evaluation. The uniqueness of Israel, according to this view, lies in the fact that conventional standards of, say, military conduct, do not apply to it. The Holocaust, according to this ideology, has made Israel eternally moral and righteous.

Because the Nazi genocide was so shocking, it is natural to sympathize with its victims. The Palestinians ought to receive the same sort of sympathy. But the Israeli government monopolizes the Holocaust as its private property. Rather than viewing the Israeli attempt to eradicate Palestinian national identity in the same light as genocide perpetrated against Jewish people, a moral blind-

"To believe that Begin, Sharon, and Shamir sent the Israeli military into West Beirut to prevent outbreaks of violence is as absurd as believing that the deployment of Pershing missiles promotes peace."

ness persists. In this view, sympathy for the Jewish victims of Nazi atrocities cannot be reconciled with criticism of the state of Israel which is capable of committing the same types of crimes. However, many Jews, precisely because they are painfully conscious of the Nazi genocide, feel compelled to protest this latest of Israeli massacres.

One year ago Israel committed genocide. Today it is once again portrayed as the victim, forced against its will

to remain in Lebanon and sustain casualties in the face of Syrian and PLO "intransigence."

Along with Israel, there is yet another culpable party—the U.S. government. The United States financed the Israeli invasion, offering political, diplomatic, and military support. The United States guaranteed, in writing, the safety of Palestinian civilians when the PLO agreed to depart Beirut. U.S. intelligence was in direct contact with both Israeli and Phalangist intelligence from the beginning and throughout the entire grisly episode of Sabra and Shatila. In yet another bizarre distortion of reality, the United States can portray itself today as a "peacemaker," despite its open support of Israeli aggression. The Reagan administration can pose as a baffled neutral party in the conflict, only seeking peace in the face of its open support of the Phalangists as well as Israel.

Yet who remembers the real victims of the massacres? The babies and grandfathers murdered by the Phalangists while Israel and the United States watched? Who remembers the thousands who died or were wounded by fragmentation and incendiary bombs? The hundreds of thousands who lost their homes or saw their crops flattened by invading tanks? Who remembers all these victims?

One of the most vicious campaigns leveled against Palestinians here in the United States has been to place a taboo on their misery. It is still considered improper or "one sided" to address the need of the Palestinians for genuine security from assault without simultaneously mentioning Israel's "justified fears." It is high time that these "justified fears" be exposed. In the demagoguery of Menahem Begin, they are nothing but cruel, cynical excuses for terrorizing the Palestinian people. □

Remember Sabra and Shatila

Sabra-Shatila Ad-Hoc Committee will sponsor programs in the following cities in memory of the Sabra-Shatila massacres.

Touring the U.S. at the time will be a representative of the Lebanese Progressive Movement.

- Houston, TX September 10
- Washington, D.C. September 16
- New York, NY September 17
- San Diego, CA September 17
- Los Angeles, CA September 30
- San Francisco, CA October 1

Programs will also be held in Boston, Austin, and Portland, Oregon. Dates are tentative—please check with local November 29th Coalition chapters for time and place.



"The list of Israeli atrocities grows longer: Deir Yassin, 1948; Kibieh, 1953; Kafr Qassim, 1956... Sabra and Shatila, 1982... a pattern emerges and a vicious logic asserts itself."

Put Palestine on the Agenda

By Mark Solomon

Mark Solomon is professor of History at Simmons College and national cochair of the U.S. Peace Council. Professor Solomon gave this presentation in New York at a teach-in sponsored by the November 29th Coalition in the summer of 1982. We think the opinions offered here remain timely.

When Menahem Begin displayed captured weapons at Sidon, he said that Israel had captured a Soviet base in the Middle East and had destroyed it. Begin, of course, was playing to an American audience; he was playing to the basest and most essential characteristics of U.S. policy—hysterical cold-war anti-communism which is a cover for a persistent, unremitting, heartless, genocidal campaign to deny the peoples of the world the right to control their own resources and to determine their own destiny.

With notable exceptions, the peace movement has not had an honorable record in the past in relation to the Middle East. One thing this teach-in must mark is the full incorporation of the struggle for peace and justice in the Middle East, anchored in the full realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people. We can make that struggle a central aspect of the growing and powerful peace movement in the United States.

The peace movement lacks a consistent history of understanding the inseparable character of the fight for self-determination and the fight for world peace. The American peace movement lacks an understanding of the essential social forces dividing that region: the forces maintaining oppression and the forces fighting for freedom. In this age of potential nuclear war there is no consistent understanding of the stakes for the American peace movement in the Middle East question. That has not always been the case.

First of all the peace movement has been relatively silent on the Middle East question. People have attributed that to the alleged complexity and hopelessness of finding a solution. There's the syndrome characterized by I.F. Stone as the struggle of right against right. Many people would point to unremittent Zionist pressures as the most important ingredient in fostering this silence.

This was not always the case. If one goes back and looks at major sections of the peace movement that existed in the wake of World War II during the late 1940s, one of

the most striking characteristics is sharp criticism within that peace movement—noncorrosive, open, but nevertheless sharp—of Zionism. This criticism indicated that Zionism at its social root depended upon ruling groups and ruling classes; that the very essence—the social, political essence of Zionism—was in contradiction to self-determination. These critics warned that should this current be dominant in the Middle East, the potential for a real community based upon a sharing of the resources and the potential of that region would be lost and an ugly collaboration between empire and Zionism would develop.

This widespread criticism juxtaposed very clearly the simple fact that self-determination for all the peoples of the region was antithetical to various Zionist trends. Indeed, you might find it somewhat remarkable that even the conservative International Ladies Garment Workers Union in 1950, addressing Israel, urged the Israelis "to make new and extraordinary efforts, free from narrow nationalism, to eliminate the bitterness and to ameliorate the difficulties caused by the Arab refugee problem growing out of the war which has led to its birth."

But other things were happening that describe the situation we face today. During the 1950s Washington sought to displace the British as the major imperial backer of Egypt. Oil, contracts, arms supplies: all became fundamental. Washington sought to organize the region as a raw materials supplier to the U.S. and as a pressure point against social change, particularly in Eastern Europe, and most important, to rivet the dependence of Western Europe upon Middle East oil. There is an ugly inseparability at this very moment between the attempts to destroy the East-West oil pipeline deal and the attempt to continue Western European dependence upon Middle East oil.

At the same time, many liberals in the U.S. tended to identify Israel with so-called worldwide progressive development. There was a growing consolidation of the U.S. business relationship with Israel. There was an intensifying cold war. There was a growing identification of Israel with the "bastion of freedom" concept, of "socialism with freedom." And there were important social changes in the United States which I can only mention briefly. The withering, destructive effect of McCarthyism upon the progressive movements in this country, upon the spirit of internationalism. A relative protracted prosperity in which a certain kind of cult of meanness developed: "I'll take care of my own, therefore nationalism shall reign and let the Israelis and the other take care of their own."

In the midsixties some people called the phenomenon of support resulting from the June 1967 war "instant Zionization." It was not so instant; it had been growing for a long time. It was concomitant with the cold war; it was concomitant with the growing, snarling ugliness of the United States' role in the world.

There's lots of other things I'd like to say about some of the attempts of the peace movement in the recent period to deal with some of these problems—the American Friends Service Committee, the courageous

Jewish organizations, elements of the New Left—but there's not much time to do that except to say this in essence. This is not in any way to undercut the important courage and outspokenness of some of these efforts; but there was a tendency throughout not to locate the fundamental problem, the collaboration between the United States and Israel. This collaboration at its very core spelled out an interlocking relationship based upon a gendarme role for Israel and police action against the growing aspirations for self-determination and for profound, transforming social change in the region.

The peace movement never sufficiently grasped that. There was a tendency at times to place evil against evil, crime against crime, an even-Steven type of analysis, and of course even that analysis was subject to attack. But the difficulty with that kind of approach was that it failed to locate the dynamic forces; it failed to explain to the American public that you could not—as many people attempted to do in 1967 and thereafter—be against empire and oppression in Vietnam and be for empire and for oppression in the Middle East. The struggles were inseparable.

Finally, I want to suggest a couple of points for the present and hope that this marks a whole new stage of development.

The heroic struggle of the Palestinian and Lebanese people against this genocide has changed many things rapidly. If those of us who belong to peace groups, the neighborhood groups, the trade union organizations, do not recognize these things, then we too are condemned as part of the conspiracy of silence that can only work against our own self-interest, our own survival. There should be no more confusion for the peace movement in the United States. When such friends of Israel as Seymour Martin Lipset and Nathan Glazer declare that this is not a defensive war, that PLO firepower is used only to reply to Israeli retaliation, that there was no pretext for this



horrible slaughter, we can certainly say no less.

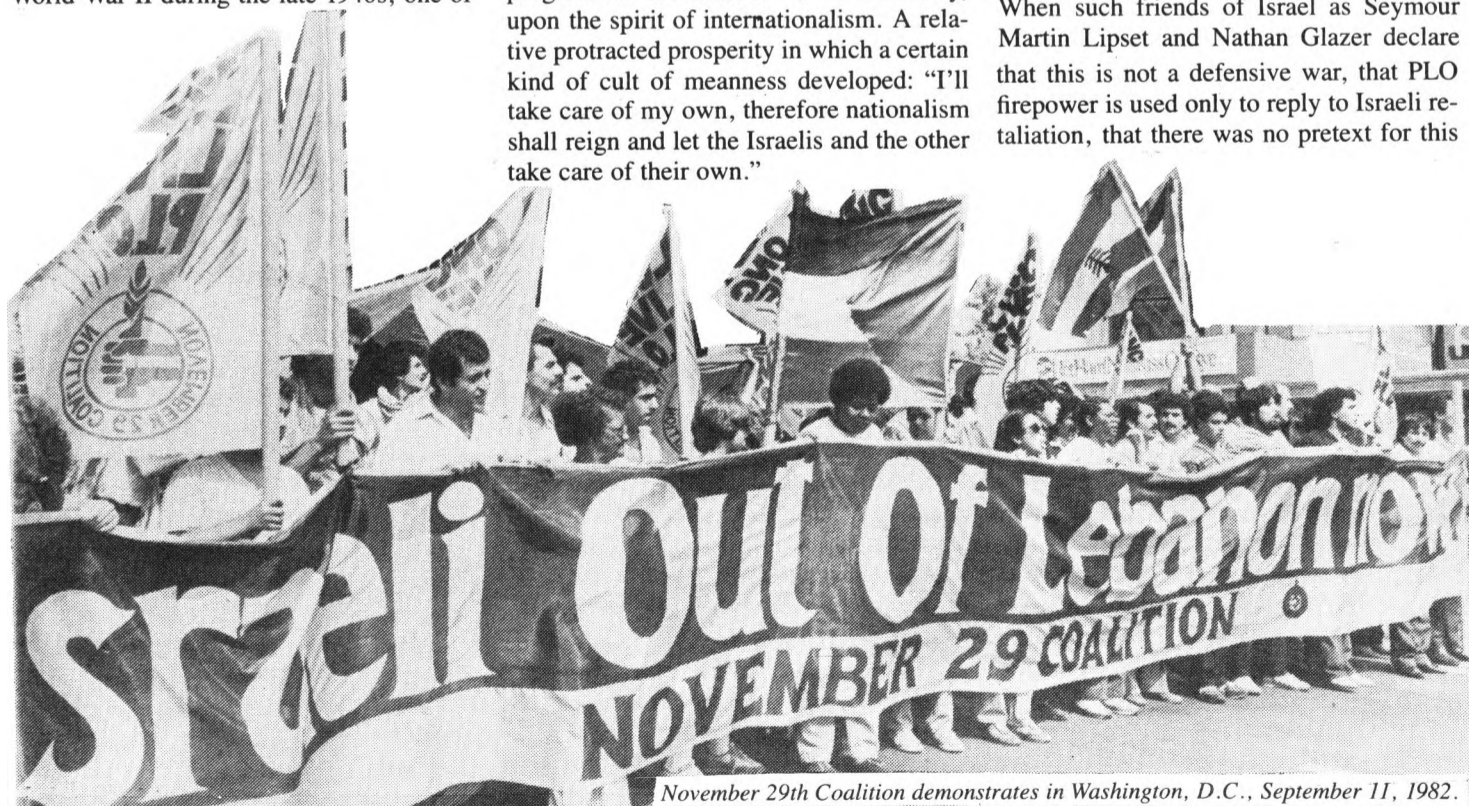
Secondly, there is absolutely no question that the campaign of extermination against the Palestinian people in Lebanon is inseparably tied to the effort to destroy the aspirations of the people on the West Bank. Many of us in the peace movement for a long time have contended, in something of a wilderness, that Camp David was a sham, that Camp David was a military agreement. Camp David had nothing to do with the struggle for peace. Moreover, the military separation of two American clients freed the Israelis for the kinds of attacks that we see today and if those in power in Cairo are uncomfortable about this, so be it. But the point is, Sharon as far back as 1976 said, "There will be no Palestinian state on the West Bank, not a state, not autonomy, this that or another—nothing."

That is the kind of situation that Camp David confronts us with. And of course there is no abatement of the larger cold war.

Therefore what must the peace movement do? One of the most incredible, criminal elements of relative silence at this very moment is to sit back without pressure, without criticism, without battle and assume that the Shultzes and the Habibs and all the others are really concerned about making peace. It's time to recognize, as many have said, that there is something obscene about structuring negotiations to get the Palestinians to leave Lebanon when conscience, morality, and practical politics declare that the Israelis must leave Lebanon immediately. That is the fundamental issue.

I would like to ask: Can the people who brought us Vietnam, the people who sponsor mass murder in El Salvador, in South Africa, nuclear superiority, protracted nuclear war, "full court press," as they call it, against the Soviets, cancellation of the talks on a nuclear test ban treaty, can these people bring a just, compassionate peace to the Middle East? That is an absurdity that has to be exposed and battled against.

Where to, then? I would like to modestly suggest some thoughts. This teach-in and this November 29th Coalition and those who have the ability to "move 'em and shake 'em" call into being—from the bottom up and from the top down, both ways—a coalition of coalitions. Such a coalition of churches, unions, Black organizations, women's groups, young people's groups must demand: Stop the Killing; No More United States Troops in the Middle East. First things first: Israeli Withdrawal. We must demand a settlement of the Palestinian question based upon the absolutely indivisible right to self-determination. This must be an international solution: no more Camp Davids. Bring the Western Europeans in, bring the Soviets in, bring the Third World in, bring the conscience of world public opinion and world politics into this battle. This is not naive. It can win. We can win. □



November 29th Coalition demonstrates in Washington, D.C., September 11, 1982.

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Palastine Focus is the national newsletter of the November 29th Coalition. It is an information vehicle tied to an activist movement, yet aimed at a general audience with little background knowledge. We intend to report on activities, not only of our coalition but also of other groups, and to provide consistent commentary and analysis of the situation in the Middle East.

The November 29th Coalition takes its name from the date declared by the United Nations as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Our task is to spark and support consistent, far-reaching, and effective activity which brings the issue of Palestine before the American people and builds a growing and deepening base of understanding. Our movement organizes to stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East and to cut U.S. aid to Israel. We educate

Americans on the need to support the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, developing a movement to oppose the discriminatory and racist policies and practices toward Palestinians inherent in the Zionist movement and the state of Israel.

Palastine Focus is distributed free. However, we urge readers to write for individual subscriptions for mail delivery at \$5 per year.

Signed articles are not necessarily the opinions of the November 29th Coalition. Letters, opinion articles, and other contributions are welcome.

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Douglas Franks, Steve Goldfield, Nanay Gabriel, Hilton Obenzinger, Ur Shlonsky.

Getting It All In FOCUS

By Hilton Obenzinger

"Getting It All in Focus" is devoted to surveying resources through which our readers can learn more about Palestine and the entire Middle East. We'll keep abreast of books, periodicals, movies, television, and radio—any medium; and we'll occasionally survey pro-Israel material, just to see what gets ground out by the propaganda mill.

However, with a large and growing body of materials, we can't possibly get our hands on everything by ourselves. We need your help! Send review copies of books, letters on local media coverage, any exciting tidbit of information that we can all get in focus. Send it to Palestine Focus, P.O. Box 27462, San Francisco, CA 94127.

Here's a request for any reader who might know: Celebrated Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish (recent recipient of the Lenin Peace Prize) has written a monumental, long poem about the siege of Beirut. Has anyone seen it translated into English? Let us know.

Speaking of celebrated authors, "4 Hours in Shatila" by famed French writer Jean Genet is featured in the

spring issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*. *JPS*, published jointly by the Institute for Palestine Studies and Kuwait University, is both authoritative and scholarly. In addition to Genet's eyewitness account of the massacres, "Strategies for Struggle, Strategies for Peace" by Israeli activist Daniel Amit, "The Public Relations of Ethnocide" by Eqbal Ahmad, and an article examining the growing collaboration between Israel and Zaire by Najib Hakim and Prof. Richard Stevens are included.

JPS regularly surveys the Israeli, Arab, and international press. As well, appearing over the last three issues has been a daily chronology of the war in Lebanon, of which the events of January–February 1983 are covered in the spring issue. *Journal of Palestine Studies*: P.O. Box 19449, Washington, DC 20036...

One note on this issue of *JPS*: Fascinating results of an opinion poll of Americans, sponsored by the Institute of Arab Studies, reveal that U.S. public opinion is by no means as anti-Palestinian as official U.S. policy. For example, 76 percent of those polled believe Palestinians should have the right to an independent state; 65 percent believe there will be no peace until there is such a state; 72 percent believe there should be a freeze on further Israeli settlements on occupied Arab lands; 69 percent disapproved of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, while 72 percent disapproved of Israel entering Beirut. While the poll also indicates support for Israel remains strong, the American people seem to be much more open to the truth about the Palestinians than ever before.

Collaboration between the Zionist movement and the fascists during World War II is a controversial topic that touches a raw nerve for many. The allegations of such collaboration can elicit outbursts of shocked disbelief and disdain from many who sympathize with the plight of the

Palestinians but who think that the current Begin government is an aberration from the otherwise "humanitarian" foundations of Zionism.

Now, a newly published book, *Zionism in the Age of the dictators*, by Lenni Brenner (active in the November 29th Coalition in New York) exposes this shameful history to light—with thorough documentation.

One fantastic episode. It is well-known that Israel's present foreign minister, Yitzhak Shamir, was a leading member of the "Stern Gang." This ultra-Zionist group proposed to the Nazis in 1940 and 1941 that, in exchange for sending all Polish Jews to Palestine, they would go to war on Hitler's side. "The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis and bound by a treaty with the German Reich, would be of interest to a maintained and strengthened future German position of power in the Near East," their proposal offered.

Nor is this vivid example overly extreme. The logic of Zionism, which put the creation of the exclusivist Jewish state above all other concerns, either led the Zionist establishment to outright collaboration or to acquiescence with murderers of Jews. As David Ben Gurion could exclaim, "If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by transporting them to Eretz Yisrael, then I would opt for the second alternative." Consistently, the Zionist movement did just that, sabotaging and sidetracking the opposition to fascism in favor of its "greater" goal—the dispossession of the Palestinian people.

Zionism in the Age of Dictators (Lawrence Hill) is must reading on a very controversial issue. It seems that Begin's propensity to ally Israel with the anti-Semitic Argentinian junta or to supply weapons to the fascist Phalange in Lebanon is by no means a new phenomenon.

The Unholy Alliance...

Continued from page 1

was to invest heavily in an Israeli textile factory. All its production was to go to Africa. Wainstein stated, "Israel serves as a very useful base for South African companies that cannot supply directly to Africa."

In May 1973 a joint-ownership company, Iskoor, was formed to distribute steel in Israel. Iskoor is 51 percent owned by Koor Industries, a heavy-industry conglomerate owned by the Israeli trade union federation, the Histadrut, and 49 percent owned by the South African government's iron and steel corporation, Iscor. The Israeli steel industry was quite outmoded at the time and the South Africans helped modernize it. South Africa also supplied special hardened steel for Israeli tanks. Iskoor today produces half of Israel's steel.

Collaboration is especially extensive in military production. In 1970 the Israeli firm Tadiran licensed the South African firm C.F. Fuchs, Ltd. to produce sophisticated electronic equipment. Tadiran, the third largest Israeli arms exporter, is jointly owned by the Histadrut's Koor and the U.S. General Telephone & Electronics. Israel was reported to have shared its stolen blueprints of the French Mirage jet fighter with South Africa. The Israeli and South African subsidiaries of Motorola operate several joint ventures. In 1977, the *Economist* reported that the South African government provided the capital to develop "the next generation of Israeli warships." In return the South Africans received the first four or five new boats. More than 250 South African firms belong to the extremely active South Africa-Israel Chamber of Economic Relations.

Israel's Military Sales to South Africa

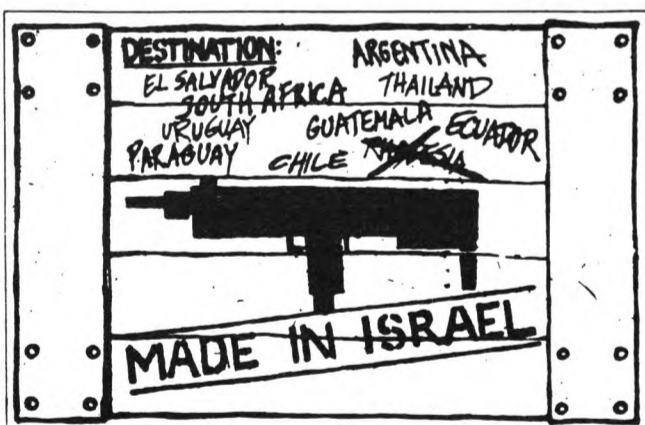
In 1977 the United Nations' Security Council imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Israel pledged to honor the embargo. Yet Israel has become South Africa's principal arms supplier and South Africa has become the number one customer for Israeli arms exports, purchasing 35 percent of all Israeli arms sales between 1970 and 1979.

In 1976 the Israelis hosted a visit from then Prime Minister Vorster. The two governments used the occasion to form a Ministerial Joint Committee made up of the defense ministers of both countries. According to this agreement, the exchange of Israeli arms and advice for South African strategic materials has three main areas: conventional arms trade, nuclear collaboration, and counterinsurgency.

Conventional arms flowing from Israel to South Africa include: Reshef-class gunboats armed with Gabriel missiles; Dabur coastal patrol boats; hardened steel for South Africa's armored corps; self-propelled 105mm howitzers; air-to-air rockets; antitank missiles; assault rifles; radar bases; and surveillance equipment. Between 1970 and 1979, 45 percent of Israeli arms exports were naval ships of which South Africa purchased 35 percent. One \$500 million contract provided South Africa with six Israeli corvettes equipped with surface-to-surface missiles. Between 1977 and 1979, after the imposition of the

embargo, South Africa purchased 180 Gabriel I and II missiles. Israel modernized 150 British-manufactured Centurion tanks for South Africa after the British refused to do so. Israel has sent Kfirs and rebuilt Mirages to South Africa. South African helicopter squadrons were equipped with Israeli night-visibility equipment, and Israeli engineers have helped, according to the *Economist*, "develop a sensitive surveillance system using highly sophisticated electronic detection equipment along South Africa's border, aimed at detecting guerilla attacks."

"Israel is an Apartheid state." —former South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd.



On September 22, 1979, a U.S. Vela satellite picked up the characteristic double flash of a nuclear explosion off the coast of South Africa. Many reports ascribed this to a jointly developed Israeli-South African nuclear device. In 1980 Jack Anderson reported that Israel, South Africa, and Taiwan were about to begin to produce 1,500-mile range cruise missiles.

As to counterinsurgency, the third part of the Israeli South African agreement, Marcia Freedman, an opposition member of the Knesset, alleged in 1976 that hundreds of Israeli soldiers were attached to South African army units as instructors and participants in training maneuvers.

In early 1975 Henry Kissinger asked the Israeli government "to send troops to Angola in order to cooperate with the South African army" in fighting the MPLA, according to the *Economist*. The Israelis sent the advisers and trained Savimbi's UNITA in Walvis Bay, Namibia. In 1979 Israeli Aviation Industry built an electrified fence on the border between Angola and Namibia to thwart SWAPO guerrillas. In 1980 the London *Sunday Telegraph* reported volunteers from Israel, Britain, and Chile serving with South African troops fighting SWAPO in Namibia. Colin Legum of the *Observer* revealed uniformed Israeli soldiers were seen with the South African Defense Force in Namibian villages. In December 1981 former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon made a ten-day visit with South African forces in Namibia. In an interview with

Drew Middleton of the *New York Times*, Sharon called for the lifting of the arms embargo against South Africa because of its role as a bulwark against Communism and "Soviet expansionism."

Staying Afloat in a "Sea of Barbarism"

The strong alliance between Israel and South Africa derives from their similarity of condition—both are settler colonial states which see themselves as outposts of Western civilization in "a sea of barbarism." Though the South Africans quite openly acknowledge this affinity, the Israelis find it more a source of embarrassment than pride. The *Jerusalem Post* quoted a senior diplomat in the Israeli Embassy in Pretoria, "South Africa is the only country with which we maintain relations where our main problem is not so much that of explaining Israel and her positions with the aim of improving those relations, but rather that of maintaining a low profile on what are embarrassingly good relations."

A view with wide currency and support in both Israel and South Africa was expressed by the late Hendrik Verwoerd, former South African Prime Minister, "Israel is an apartheid state." The ties between the Zionist movement and the South African government date back more than fifty years to the close alliance between Chaim Weizman and another South African Prime Minister, Jan Smuts. D.F. Malan, the founder of South African apartheid, was the first Prime Minister from the British Commonwealth to pay a courtesy visit to Israel.

The South African-Jewish community, per capita wealthiest in the world, is the highest per capita contributor to the state of Israel in the world. In return for a muting of the formerly pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic position of the South African government, Rabbi M.C. Weiler stated in 1953,

The Jews as a community had decided to take no stand on the native question, because they were involved with the problem of assisting Jewry in other lands. South African Jewry was doing more to help Israel than any other group. The community could not ask for the Government's permission to export funds and goods and, at the same time, object to the Government."

The internal logic of Zionism, which places the exclusivist Jewish state above all principles—ethical, moral, or legal—is thus used to justify Israel's unique relationship with South Africa. The organic links between Israel and South Africa are now so intertwined that to break them would threaten the vital interests of the state of Israel. But by maintaining and strengthening these relations, the Israelis are making new enemies and engendering new hatreds. Along with the U.S. government, Israel has become a partner in the brutalization and oppression of the African majority in Namibia and South Africa. □

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Ariel Sharon Shoots for the Stars

By Ur Shlonsky

Over a year after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Israelis—once relatively unified in their perception of reality—are fragmenting: The broad peace movement, establishment forces critical that the goals of the war have not been achieved, and the dominant forces (the present government), led by Begin and Sharon, who view the invasion in the context of wider, long-term plans for regional domination. These alternate perceptions of reality range from genuine disenchantment with Israel's policies of war and aggression to an uneasy sense of failure, to the wildest of fantasies on the order of "The Empire Strikes Back."

Opposition to the war began to take shape soon after the first shots were heard last June. Sometimes it has been barely audible above the pounding of the mortars, at times voluntarily muted in favor of national solidarity. Nevertheless, various strands of opposition have united on the concrete demand for the withdrawal of troops from Lebanon.

This opposition revolves around several main themes: Deceptive official pronouncements on the military and political objectives of the war have caused widespread sentiment that the government misled the public. The growing toll of casualties, length of reserve service, and social cost has forced reappraisal of the benefits of the war in relation to its cost. The objectives of the war are viewed as ideologically questionable.

As Peace Now leader Z. Reshef commented, "The goals of the war are unprecedented in the history of the state. There has never, in our history, been a war in which we did not fight for our defence but rather posited goals such as changing the regime of a neighboring country by force of arms." (*Yediot Aharonot*, May, 1983)

Lastly, the conduct of the Israeli army and the extent of the destruction it has perpetuated have been criticized on moral grounds. The bombing of major Lebanese cities and the slaughter of thousands of civilians is seen as undermining Israel's claim to morality in its war against "terrorism." Shock greets the recognition of growing brutality in an Israeli society shaped by fifteen years of direct occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Recently, new voices can be heard among the multitude criticizing the invasion. Unmoved by moral considerations, these establishment critics question the success of the war, reevaluating its underlying motives.

The Ideology of Invasion

What were the objectives of the Israeli government in invading Lebanon? The Israeli authorities viewed their failure to crush popular Palestinian resistance to the occupation in the West Bank and Gaza as the major obstacle to the annexation of these territories. Begin, Sharon and their cohorts thus justified the invasion of Lebanon, using the repulsive metaphors in which Israeli policy is frequently couched: "Not only must the fingers and hands of the PLO be amputated in the West Bank, but its head and heart in Beirut must also be dealt with."

No doubt the PLO has suffered tremendous setbacks. Its fighters dispersed and its military capabilities dealt a severe blow, it nevertheless emerged from the invasion with its genuine source of power unscathed: its legitimacy as the representative of Palestinian interests and national aspirations.

The ethnocide directed at the Palestinians last summer was intended to crush the backbone of resistance to the occupation of the West Bank. But as *Haaretz* military correspondent Z. Schiff reported (May 7, 1983), "Instead of a drastic decrease in terrorist assaults and disturbances of peace, Judea and Samaria have witnessed a 69 percent rise compared with last year, from 66 terrorist actions to 110. A drastic rise of 79 percent can also be discerned in disturbances of peace, from 2,467 incidents to 4,417." Schiff concludes that "Ariel Sharon's thesis, voiced before the war and its inception, that the annihilation of the PLO military infrastructure in Lebanon will of necessity lead to an alleviation of tension in the occupied territories and to the rise of a moderate leadership has been proven wrong."

Many Israelis realize that the invasion was motivated by a mistaken thesis and that Israeli troops must continue to serve in hostile territory to defend these highly questionable achievements. This realization has fueled an unprecedented, expanding movement of "conscientious objection" to service in occupied Lebanon. In a society in which military service represented the highest form of moral virtue, this crack in the vessel of national conscience is no small hemorrhage.

Israeli leaders dismiss such considerations, viewing the invasion as only one episode in a larger drama. "Many options are still open to us," commented the chief of the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) Northern Command, General A. Drori, on the present impasse in Lebanon. "It is too early to judge not only the final results as they pertain di-

rectly to the assurance of peace to the Galilee but, more importantly to the far-reaching goals we had in mind." (*Haaretz*, June 3, 1983)

The Empire Strikes Out

What are these "far-reaching goals"? The strategic designs of the present Israeli ruling circle are global. In late December 1981, then Defence Minister Ariel Sharon spoke at the Institute of Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv on Israeli defence plans for the eighties. Attracting little attention, Sharon was remarkably straightforward:

A source of growing anxiety for us and the Western world which will certainly develop into the most important challenge for the eighties is the Soviet expansionist strategy directed at the Middle East and Africa. It should be perfectly clear that in the new strategic environment, Israeli security interests are influenced by development and events which occur outside the sphere in which Israel has hitherto concentrated its attention... Beyond the first, traditional circle of confrontation which surrounds Israel, Israeli strategic interests demand that we expand into two geographic regions which constitute a security interest for us: The peripheral Arab states and all those peripheral countries, the status and political-strategic orientation of which may have dangerous effects on Israel's national security.

"With over 500 soldiers dead, hard realities are turning the grandiose fantasies of Begin, Sharon and company into nightmares."



Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens' "Arc of Intervention."

(*Monitin*, April 1983)

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What is new about the Sharon doctrine is the perception of the Soviet Union—along with its allies in the region and, in fact, all states and movements which are not explicitly pro-Western—not merely as a threat to U.S. interests which Israel, as a junior partner of the U.S., can assist in subduing. Rather, they are perceived as a direct threat to Israeli interests per se.

Recent reports in the Israeli press reveal the terms in which Israeli military strategists now think. The new minister of defence, Moshe Arens, plans to reorganize the IDF. An outline of his plan appeared in *Monitin* (April 1983) accompanied with a map of the areas included in Israel's strategic planning. The map has Israel in the center with an arc indicating the boundaries of its interventionism. Within this arc lie Libya, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, the entire Arabian Peninsula, and Iran. The temptation to extend the arc to a full circle and speculate on its boundaries is almost irresistible.

Israel is not necessarily contemplating a practical demonstration of all its emerging global pretensions. Yet these fantasies provide insight into Israel's compulsion to remain in Lebanon and its determination, despite protests, to shape the future of Lebanon's national tragedy.

Arens' document reveals the discourse prevalent in the Israeli military establishment. "A Strategy for Israel in the Eighties," by O. Yinon, recently of the foreign ministry, was published in *Kivunim* (February 1982), journal of the World Zionist Organization. Yinon sheds light on the new political strategy accompanying and guiding the military strategy.

Yinon opens with a description of the world situation: the decline of humanism and the onslaught of bar-

barism. He argues that the influence of the United States is bound to decline in coming decades and that the impoverished and downtrodden state of the Arab peoples will lead to revolution in the countries surrounding Israel. Israel, therefore, needs its own regional plan, independent of the United States, if it is to survive intact.

Regaining the Sinai Peninsula, with its present and potential resources, is therefore a political priority which is obstructed by the Camp David and the peace agreements... and we will have to act in order to return the situation to the status quo which existed in Sinai prior to Sadat's visit and the mistaken peace agreement signed with him in March 1979.

Breaking Egypt down territorially into distinct geographical regions is the political aim of Israel in the 1980s on its western Front. Egypt is divided and torn apart into many foci of authority. If Egypt falls apart, countries like Libya, Sudan, or even the more distant states will not continue to exist in their present form and will join the downfall and dissolution of Egypt... Iraq, rich in oil on the one hand and internally torn on the other, is guaranteed as a candidate for Israel's targets.

The conceptual underpinning for Israel's interventionist strategy is that the power and influence of the Arab world can be sabotaged by alliances with ethnic and political minorities in the region. While such plans are not new, they are discussed and debated more openly today than ever before and for the first time seem to fall within the realm of possibility. The unprecedented growth of the IDF since 1973 coupled with the parallel decline of Arab unity and of concerted opposition to Israel have created an opening for Israel to become

"With over 500 soldiers dead, hard realities are turning the grandiose fantasies of Begin, Sharon and company into nightmares."

more directly involved. The U.S.-Israeli agreement on strategic cooperation, which Sharon hoped would provide cover for last summer's invasion, also facilitates direct intervention by Israeli troops.

In its invasion of Lebanon the Israelis put some of these plans to the test. Describing the role of the Mossad (the Israeli C.I.A.) in planning last year's invasion, H. Hecht remarks that "the Mossad candidly believed that Lebanon could be ruled by the methods of the Shah. In its briefing of government officials, the Mossad propagated the view that by granting adequate support to Bashir Gemayel and the Phalangists, success for Israel could be guaranteed." (*Monitin*, April 1983) It is no surprise to find that Israel's former ambassador to Iran, Uri Lubrani, is now coordinator of affairs in Israeli-occupied Lebanon. It was Lubrani who forged and supervised ties between the Mossad and the Savak, the Shah's secret police.

Although last summer's invasion failed to annihilate Palestinian national existence, it serves as a portent, a prologue to further Israeli involvement in the region.

When Israeli forces invaded Lebanon last June, the public was informed the operation would last from 24 to 28 hours. Over 14 months have gone by, and Israeli troops still occupy southern Lebanon. *Davar* (June 1, 1983) reports that they are preparing to remain at least until April 1984. The threat of a renewed conflagration is imminent. With over 500 soldiers dead and several thousand wounded, hard realities are beginning to turn the grandiose fantasies of Begin, Sharon, and company into nightmares. Israelis must ask themselves whether they are willing to pay the price of becoming a subimperialist power. □