

Palestine Perspectives

Number 10

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Tent number 50 on the left, that is my present
But it is too cramped to contain a future
And, "Forget" they say
But how can I?

Teach the night to forget to bring
dreams showing me my village
teach the winds to forget to carry to me
the aroma of apricots in my fields!
And teach the sky too, to forget to rain.

Only then, I may forget my country.

Rashid Hussein
Palestinian poet

Editorial Editorial Editorial

ZIONISM IS A JEWISH PROBLEM

Whenever the excesses of Zionism embarrass its followers, a situation which has been recurring with increasing frequency, someone tries to shift the burden to the primary victims of Zionism: the Palestinians. The Palestinians, it is often said, owe it to themselves to help moderate Israeli elements to prevail in Israeli society and the supportive Jewish communities around the world. The Palestinians must show moderation to strengthen the hands of those who oppose extremism in the Israeli camp. Otherwise, the Palestinians will continue to have the Begins, Sharons, and Kahanes to contend with.

This argument is based on assumptions which are questionable, to say the least. It gives the impression that Zionism is a Jewish defense mechanism against Palestinian extremism, a view so patently untenable that no one explicitly expresses it. There was no Arab-Jewish problem at all when Zionism was invented in Europe in 1897. It is also based on the assumption that the Palestinians have not shown moderation in the pursuit of their national rights and aspirations. And it is based on the assumption that the alternative to Begin is his political opposite.

The purpose of this column is not to refute these assumptions. They belie too many facts to present in this limited space. Its purpose is to make a simple but fundamental point: *Zionism is a Jewish problem, not a Palestinian problem.* It trampled on the Palestinians, it is true; but it is equally true that it burdened the Jews with a modern golden calf, the state of Israel, and admonished them to

worship it. It made support for a state alien to most Jews the overriding criterion for distinguishing good from evil. In the process, it dragged the Jews of the world into a scheme to dispossess the Palestinian people, and it put them on the wrong side of the tracks in the struggle for justice at home and liberty abroad. As Zionism, and later Israel, increasingly and more overtly aligned itself "for reasons of state" with antidemocratic forces and states from South Africa to Honduras, Jews found themselves increasingly estranged in a world struggling for justice and freedom. In the 1930's, it even inhibited Jewish anxiety about the rise of fascism in Europe [see book review, p. 14].

The corrupting influence of Zionism is inherent in its ideology and political program. Zionism, which understands anti-Semitism to be an irrevocable law of nature, inevitably becomes its practical companion. And by justifying and even glorifying the dispossession and oppression of another people it is bound to cohabitate with the other self-styled *herrenvolk* of the world.

The Palestinians, like all victims of injustice, have no choice but to resist the Zionist onslaught against them. To advise them to placate Zionism is to counsel them to acclimate themselves to the injustice. But in the final analysis, Zionism remains a Jewish problem which concerned Jews must face sooner or later. □

M. Hallaj

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THE BRIDGE

Dalya Elkana

[Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians cross every year over two bridges on the Jordan River on their way in or out of their occupied country. These Palestinians include students, merchants, workers, as well as housewives, children, and grandparents traveling to visit families and relatives on either side of the river which divides occupied Palestine from the rest of the Arab world.]

Foreign visitors also use this route between Jordan and Palestine, but they have their own separate entrance and procedures, and they never experience the hardships and humiliation to which Palestinian travelers are subjected during such crossings. Most of them never even become aware that just beyond the thin wall which separates them from the Palestinians crossing the "Allenby Bridge," systematic harassment and humiliation are practiced daily against Palestinian travelers.

The following is an excerpt from an article by an Israeli woman soldier who describes her job on the Allenby Bridge. The writer tells of her encounter with Fatma, a Palestinian woman traveler, arriving at the Bridge from Jordan. It is taken from the Shahak Papers translation from Al-Hamishmar of 23 March 1984, where the article first appeared—Editor]:

Fatma, you enter the cell and I tell you to undress. Before this I ask your name and check your Identification Card. You hand me your papers being either embarrassed, hating, or fearful. That is you Fatma—usually dressed with ten layers of clothes and sometimes there is a smokey smell emanating from you. Usually you are big and fat, sometimes motherly, sometimes disgusting.

I stick to the body search booths. You, Fatma, are descending from the Amman bus. Coming back from a visit to your relatives, your husband or from your uncle's burial. You descend from the bus accompanied by three sometimes four, five or even more children. Sometimes you are alone, a Bir Zeit University student, or from the University of Jordan. Often you studied in the USA or the UK and speak English, you are either rich or poor, blind, ill or healthy as an ox. Sometimes you are smelling like earth, organic fertilizer, your hands are calloused and hard. Sometimes you are covered with perfume, and under other circumstances we could have shared a university.

You descend from the bus and the reservists' hands, a woman soldier who only yesterday attended class, search your body for the first time. The soldier is looking for any sharp instrument you could stab her with, she is looking for bombs, explosives, knives, sharp scissors. Her hands search your head cover. Perhaps you have hidden something there? She goes on to your chest. You hold up your hands, she goes down to your hips—nothing, and sends you to join the crowd sitting under the tin roof. There you sit and wait. Everybody is waiting there: men, women and children. There is nothing new in it. You have been given instructions on what is allowed to bring and what is not, how you would be searched and what is going to be done to you. A closed circuit TV is watching you, going to the

furthest corners of the terminal, stopping on each face. The military radio station is broadcasting from every loud-speaker, music and news alternately—a bomb exploded killing two, Arafat held a meeting with Hussein, you too can hear that.

Men in blue overalls, like in the kibbutz, arrived from Jericho this morning. They are all Arabs. They are searched at the terminal entrance. Now they unload your luggage which is separated from you, the packages, suitcases, floor rags and bed covers. In exchange you get a numbered ticket which will enable you to get your luggage back.

Now you move with your personal effects and the number that has been assigned to you to another row of benches. You wait in the company of twenty or thirty women in front of a blue door. You wait for the soldier to open the door and say "ta'al"—"come." You get up, heavily or lightly, and go through the door, which closes behind you. A woman soldier searches you with a metal detector, looking for sharp objects. A couple of days ago, you were caught with a long, thick, rusty, pointed pin. It was confiscated and you snatched it back, not wanting to part with it. We were afraid you would stab us.

Sometimes you scare us a little, innocently or not. You are allowed just two packs of cigarettes and here is a place where your food is thrown away. You are hungry. Anything that looks suspicious is confiscated. Bandages and diapers are forbidden. They are thrown away. You have arrived at the Land of Israel and finally you enter the terminal building. Now you are aware of the smell of disinfectant. You find a seat on the new row of benches and wait for your name to be called.

Fatma, finally you have arrived at this hall, sometimes it takes half an hour, sometimes an hour. You shall stay here for a period of time ranging from three quarters of an hour to three or four hours. It is hard to search you quickly and we are shorthanded. It happens that there are a hundred women here. They sit and wait for hours. How come they are so patient, how come?

Before you sit and wait, you approach a long table at the booth's entrance and hand over your money. It is counted and sealed in a transparent nylon envelope. The exact amount is written down on a special paper—that way we know how much money you have brought in. The sum is limited. You won't be able to claim suddenly that your money was stolen. With the nylon envelope in hand, your dinars and your dollars, you return to your bench but not before leaving your shoes, which you throw into a dusty plastic box. Everybody's shoes go there—men, women and

(continued on page 3)



BRIDGE (continued from page 2)

children, some are old shoes, some classy, others dusty. Closed shoes, sandals, boots. You probably wonder how will you find them later. There are so many shoes in that box. Don't worry. You will find them. Now a man in a blue uniform takes the box, drags it by a cord to the X-ray room. There is where you will be caught if you have hidden money, detonators or notes in your shoes. They watch the shoes, completely transparent. As beautiful a sight as a lung X-ray. Not only your shoes pass through X-ray, so do your suitcases, your bedcovers—everything is X-rayed. If they only could, they would be sure to X-ray you too. Now you have arrived at the head of the queue. You sit at the entrance of the search booth. I go out, say "come" in Arabic. You get up, look at me, our eyes cross. Sometimes we would smile at each other. After all, we are both women, you know what is going to happen so you are probably embarrassed. You can be embarrassed, angry, frustrated, hating or desperate. But I am not allowed, at least according to regulations, to show too much sentimental involvement. I must control the situation.

I don't speak Arabic, Fatma. Most of the girls in the booths don't know your language. Instead, they handed us an Arabic phrase book and taught us some words. Almost as abroad. The words I know are far from creating a tourist atmosphere. I can ask your name. You say, Fatma, followed by a long last name. Where are your parents? Where is your number? You hand them over. Do you speak Hebrew...English? No? No good. "Undress," I order, "your dress, everything...everything." Meanwhile I go through your personal effects, checking everything. The lipstick is confiscated, so are deodorants, perfumes in an opaque bottle, makeup, pencils, pens, all that is confiscated and more: bandages, diapers, opaque key holders, toothpaste and handkerchiefs. I tell you in pidgin Arabic "it is forbidden...confiscated...". Today you give up. You say "OK, take everything." I have finished confiscating. Now I move over to censoring. Meanwhile you take off your third dress. The two of us are alone, an orange drape separates us from the corridor and from the crying and coughing emanating from the other booths. Both of us want this to be over with as quickly as possible. The walls of the booth are yellow, there is a small stand where you put your dresses, a hanger and a bench. I have got a jasmin spray. After you left the booth I sprayed everything with it, after I had thrown up. From the very beginning I want to be sick. It is hot in here. I have taken all your letters, all the notes, even those that have only one word written on them. I put every piece of paper in a plastic bag. It goes to the censor. I hope that there is no letter addressed to a terrorist cell, I hope you are not a terrorist. I sent the censor all the pictures you have, photos of your children, relatives and friends. Usually these are snapshots taken at family gatherings. I have never seen a picture that wasn't sad. It's a hidden kind of sadness. It shows in the eyes, the mouth struggles to a happy pose. I explain that everything will be returned, provided of course, that everything is OK, and that none of the people in the pictures are wanted and there is nothing written there that might reveal your true identity. You don't believe me, you are in a hurry and we have no common language to discuss the matter. All you want is to get out of here.

There you are naked. In your underwear. Often you

don't wear a bra. I approach you with a metal detector and pass it over your body. It buzzes quietly. I go over your body looking for concealed letters, notes, dollars or drugs. You raise your feet and I peak into your slip. Nothing. You are clean. I go over your dress, check it with my metal detector. I tear apart every suspicious seam, go over every pocket and button.

Our booth is relatively silent. You mumble in Arabic, a language I don't know. Later, I was told that sometimes you wish me dead, sometimes you curse me, my mother, my father and all of us. I ask you to sign and you, often illiterate, press your finger to the ink pad and leave your fingerprint on the paper. Now we are finished. I take your papers, hand you everything that was not confiscated, your number and say, "come." You follow me through the corridor to another waiting hall. Here you will sit and wait for your shoes. A man in blue overalls brings the shoe box and empties it on a big tall table. You look for your shoes. People are pushing, looking, somehow finding their shoes. Often there is somebody with one shoe, he will wait for the next load. He will surely find his shoe there. You find yours, wear them and go out, holding your number. Your journey to Israel is not over. Now your luggage is searched. There, your electrical equipment that cannot be checked will be confiscated, along with all other suspicious objects. They will open everything and won't leave a millimeter unchecked. Later you will go to the censor and wait for your pictures, notes and photos. Later you will go to the confiscating office where some of your articles will be given back to you.

Finally you will reach the customs and after that go on to Ramallah, Gaza or Hebron. Who knows? Yesterday, you came from the University of Jordan and you spoke English. We are not allowed to talk, make friends or exchange addresses. I ask you how do you like Amman. You say you like it. You study for a second degree in English literature. You are engaged. I ask you if you feel humiliated, sometimes you don't say or say that you are. There is tension between us, you probably think I interrogate you. I try in vain to explain that I am sorry on account of all I am doing. You tell me, ironically or seriously, that this is my duty. You make me ashamed. I have nothing to say. Often, we the girls, are scared of you—hate you. Often we apologize, try to cool the tension, smile, try to confiscate as little as possible. How am I going to confiscate all your make-up kit? The eye liner? I will admit, sometimes I leave some of them to you. You smile, there is a mute understanding. You tell me you don't smuggle anything, that I have nothing to fear. Sometimes you let me down. You are stopped on your way to Gaza. After your body is searched, you are caught with a letter and a gold chain.

Where have you hidden it? Where? You are searched again, not by me, and they call me to the H.Q. You claim I let you have it. Suddenly you hate me and I hate you. You are searched again and again. You have lied to me and I understand, and I am angry. They let you go, but all those following you are searched and searched again. Now I am strict. And I see them, coming with their crying children, undress them, changing their diapers in my booth, although it is forbidden. I search the babies, all their diapers. Even the dirty ones. Even when you are menstruating I search you. In the other booths they found you were wearing ten pairs of slips under one that was soiled

with blood. Often you are sick or pretending to be sick. You ask, beg me to help you undress. You seem sick to me. I bring you some water and you kiss me, my hands, my feet. I cry, "stop," stop that is enough.

Today I undressed you. You had a black rag in your bra. Take it out, I told you. And you, happily, took out a black handkerchief and there was no breast there. You had a hole but no breast there. We look at each other, I smile, I am shocked. "Get dressed," and I sit heavily on the bench, thinking of all the scars and dead tissue, the surgery's leftovers.

Fatma. I could tell a lot of stories about you: how you have hidden some dough in your bra to test me, and how you have hidden some grain in your mouth (should I search your mouth too?) and how you begged me not to confiscate your son's toys, how you straightened up and left my booth without batting an eye. I could tell how you punched me as you were taking off your blouse, half intentionally. How you intentionally frightened your kids before entering, so they will start crying and I will search you more quickly. I could tell how your body looks, distorted after bearing ten children, and how you told me seriously that if we women were in power, all this wouldn't take place. In a low voice, in fluent Hebrew, you, a nurse from Gaza, tell me that we are producing children for them, to take them to war. Maybe you are right. I could also tell how you sat for a full half-hour showing me your wedding pictures and asked me if I like your husband. How you tried seducing me with chocolate, or "kohol" (traditional eyeliner), how everytime you showed up with two packs of cigarettes, I had to open them, empty them, throw out the silver paper and break two cigarettes.

For fifteen days, Fatma, we struggled. We struggled over every makeup kit, every piece of paper, as if it was our life. Fifteen days I spent with you in the same stinking booth, from nine a.m. to three p.m. Now, I know you closely: your smell, your body, wrinkles, sadness, desperation and pride. During the first week I was embarrassed. I was ashamed, disgusted. I spoke swiftly. I tried to be mellow. Bit by bit I lost my human face. I became restless. I kept thinking you are lying to me. I thought, after you were caught with the letter and the golden chain, that you surely had some detonators, even though I searched you thoroughly. I became a paranoid, living in a nightmare. I struggled to remember you are a human being, you are a woman, just like me. Should I have stayed for another week, the tension would have exploded. Bit by bit I became absorbed—me, my aims. I grew into the job. Some enjoy it, some indulge in it, above all those that do the same job with the men. Nevertheless, we, the girls, have tried to keep our sanity, though staying on the thin line is, I admit, hard. I couldn't say that we have succeeded. We all have a grudge against the situation in which we were stuck.

In the evenings, at the base, we drink beer or arak, laughing at you and telling joyously the morning events. We have developed a macabre sense of humor, imitating you, speaking a language only we know. That language sprinkled with Arabic words, taken from our phrase book was shocking and you would be surprised to hear it, Fatma. At the same time it was funny probably out of desperation.



We have done our job properly and your smell has impregnated our uniforms—uniforms we were so happy to give back as we ended our service. At the other terminal gate, where you have never been, there was a soldiers' billboard. On my way to you, I stopped there and read the leaflet on Jewish consciousness. The Military Rabbi's Bureau of Judea and Samaria H.Q. (West Bank), sent us this message: When Isaac and Ismael, the two sons of Abraham, stood in front of him so he could choose which one was the best to succeed him, the one who was to spread the word of God to the whole world. The deciding factor was the way in which they saw the future. We are told that Ishmael was only interested in the present. "Now I live," he sang. Following that, said the leaflet, God ordered Abraham to expel his concubine and her son from the Land of Israel. Ishmael, we are told, who lived the present alone, was not fit to live in his father's home and therefore was expelled. The people of Israel, are descendants of Isaac who sang for a future hoping for salvation. This orientation, Fatma, gave him the tremendous powers to ready himself for sacrifice obeying the Creator's orders, whose name is revealed in the verse "I shall be whatever I shall be... I shall be... I shall be endless, with an unending future, eternal."

Do you understand, Fatma? I read that before I came to search you. I was fortified in my rights. □

PUBLICATIONS

from

Palestine Research and Educational Center

- Muhammad Hallaj, *The Palestinians and the PLO*. Information Papers Series, No. 1, September 1983. \$1.00
- Alfred T. Moleah, *Israel and South Africa: Partners in Repression*. Information Papers Series, No. 2, January 1984. \$1.00
- Yehoshua Sobol, *You Can Only Weep*. Life Under Occupation Series, No. 1, September 1983. Free
- Avigdor Feldman, *The West Bank: Oppression by Law*. Life Under Occupation Series, No. 2, January 1984. Free (out of print).

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CONVENE THE PNC

The Palestine National Council (PNC) is legally the highest policymaking body within the PLO. In fact, it started out in 1964 as a constituent assembly which created the PLO, approved its basic laws, and elected its principal executive officers. Its members are selected after extensive consultations among all political factions and trends, including independents, to ensure its faithful representation of the Palestinian community everywhere. Its debates are frequently heated, and it is a democratic forum where opposition is expressed freely and in no uncertain terms.

The PNC stands at the center of the rich institutional heritage of Palestinian struggle against national disfranchisement and oppression. This institutional heritage, including both military and civilian structures, transformed Palestinian society from a traditional elitist community to a more modern and effective participatory society. It forged two-way links between leaders and masses. Through such institutions, a broad spectrum of Palestinians gained access to the leadership and the decision-making process, and through them Palestinian society found channels to mobilize and to serve its members.



It is not an exaggeration to say that through the various institutions of the PLO, the Palestinian people made meaningful progress toward self-government. They partly circumvented the cruel fact of dispossession and dispersion, and gave the Palestinians a measure of autonomy even under occupation and in exile. Through the various institutions of the PLO, the Palestinians cared for their sick, educated their youth, encouraged their artists, trained their workers, liberated their women, selected their national leaders, built bridges to the community of nations, participated in regional sports festivals and international trade fairs, and they fought for their usurped homeland and denied national rights. And they did so according to their own will and in light of their national purpose.

Within the broader context of Palestinian struggle for national rights, the creation of national institutions (economic, cultural, medical, professional, educational, as well as political and military) has been one of the notable achievements of the PLO on behalf of Palestinian aspirations. That is why, when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, it singled out Palestinian institutions for its most vicious attacks. The hospitals and clinics of the Palestine Red

Crescent Society, Samed workshops and factories, and the Palestine Research Center became main targets for Israel's war against the Palestinian people. It was these institutions which the Israeli invaders had in mind when they identified their objective as the destruction of the "PLO infrastructure."

The Palestinian national interest dictates that, in view of the importance of Palestinian institutions in the process of nation-building and the degree of damage they suffered in the course of the Israeli invasion, the rehabilitation and the reactivation of these institutions should be top priority for the Palestinians at this stage of their history. This is the reason why internal Palestinian politics during the past several months focused on the preparations to convene the PNC.

What makes the convening of the PNC particularly important is that in addition to being an important institution itself, it is a pivotal institution whose proper functioning is a prerequisite for the rehabilitation and reactivation of other PLO institutions. It is the PNC which approves their programs, elects their executives, and authorizes their budgetary allocations.

It is always important to prepare carefully for PNC sessions. Its sessions are short, and its members are not paid employees with no other preoccupations, and the issues which wait for its attention are many, complex, and difficult. *But there is a vast difference between careful preparation to ensure success and endless delay which means paralysis.*

Palestinian critics of PLO leadership, policies, and procedures helped to reinforce the expanding democratic traditions in the Palestinian community, and helped to spotlight many inadequacies within the Palestinian national movement. These are important matters, because—considering the awesome challenges the Palestinians face—they cannot afford not to take advantage of every opportunity to sharpen the instruments of their national liberation struggle.

Furthermore, their criticism did produce important achievements reflected in the provisions of the Aden-Algiers agreement of July 1984 [see *Palestine Perspectives*, August/September 1984]. The agreement to broaden the powers of the Central Council and to elect its members by the PNC, to appoint deputies to the Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, and to further democratize and streamline PLO institutions are bound to enhance the effectiveness of the Palestinian national struggle.

But it makes no sense to reform PLO institutions and then to paralyze them. After all, the purpose of reforming them is to enable them to work better, something they cannot do if they are not allowed to function at all.

Finally, no reforms of PLO institutions and procedures can serve the Palestinian community unless the PLO continues to respond primarily to Palestinian will. The PLO is the framework of Palestinian self-determination at this stage of Palestinian history, and to infringe on the independence of the PLO is to undermine the prospects of Palestinian independence.

The Aden-Algiers agreement represents a Palestinian consensus on what needs to be done. And Palestinian affairs should be conducted on the basis of that consensus. Arguments to the contrary should not be made by Palestinians but by their adversaries. □

ANALYSIS... THE LESSON OF UMM-EL-FAHEM

Rabbi Meir Kahane recently led his yellow-shirted fascists on a rampage to terrorize the Palestinian population of Umm-el-Fahem, southwest of Nazareth, into fleeing their homes and abandoning their village. Kahane, whose overriding objective is to make Palestine Arab-rein (Arab free), is the most unabashed fascist in the Zionist establishment today. He sought and won political office in Israel on a platform calling for the expulsion of the remnants of Palestinian society, by force if necessary.

Years ago, the British philosopher Bertrand Russell wrote that the tragedy of the Jews is that, after having been the victims of oppression, became themselves the oppressors at the first historic opportunity which presented itself to them. The Zionists are fond of repeating Chaim Weizmann's remark that the world will judge Zionism by what it would do to the Arabs. They seem to believe that the words themselves exonerate Zionism and establish for it humane credentials. This form of self-deception is dangerous to the Palestinians, but it is fatal to the character of the Jewish people.

The courage of the people of Umm-el-Fahem, and the other Palestinians from occupied Palestine, who faced Kahane's armed bandits, evoke admiration and provide a lesson. The lesson they teach is that the weak can triumph by raising the cost of oppression, a lesson which the Arab nation has yet to learn in its confrontation with Israel which tries to be a neo-Roman empire in the Middle East.

Those who oppress others do so obviously because they have lost moral restraint. That is why it is useless to appeal to their sense of fair play. They must be confronted and made to understand that it is in their own interest to respect the rights of others. □

REPORT ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

According to a report on political prisoners in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, the number of known prisoners was more than 1,260 in April 1984. This number includes 60 prisoners in Tulkarm, 500 in Nablus, 200 in Ramallah, 250 in Hebron, and 250 in the notorious Far'a prison. The numbers do not include the Jenin prison, the newly-built Jnaid prison west of Nablus, or prisons in the occupied Gaza Strip and Israel where a large number of Palestinian political prisoners are kept in Ramleh, Birsheba, Askalan (Ashkelon) and other prisons.

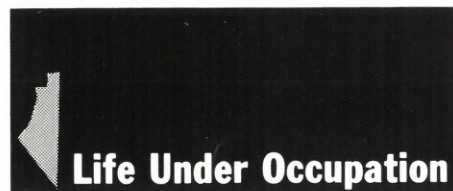
The report, prepared by Law in the Service of Man, the West Bank affiliate of the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists, says that anemia and ulcers and other dietary-related diseases are common among the Palestinian political prisoners, who complain of inadequate space, diet, and medical treatment, and who are subjected to physical torture during interrogation.

The report focuses on Far'a pri-

son, about 12 miles northeast of Nablus, where 250 Palestinian prisoners, most of whom are students between the ages 15 and 18, are detained. The report includes affidavits from several prisoners, taken shortly after their release. The following statement, given by a 15-year-old student who spent two months in Far'a prison, depicts the typical experience of students arrested on suspicion of having participated in a demonstration, or throwing a stone, or a similar "offense against Israel's security":

"When I got to Far'a prison, my personal possessions were taken and I went to the doctor's room for a check—I didn't have any illness—and was taken from there to the Stable. There, I was handcuffed with one hand over my shoulder and the other behind my back, and they put a bag over my head. Then they took me into the toilets. They forced me to sit down in the water there inside the toilets and I stayed there for two days. During this time I was subjected to ugly interroga-

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HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Israeli violation of the human rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories continues unabated. In her report to the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer, the League's vice president, reported that she personally has been involved in cases representing twelve types of human rights violations. In her report, dated April 1984, Ms. Langer recorded the following types of Israeli violations of human and civil rights in the occupied West Bank and Gaza:

1. The violation of the human rights of prisoners, including the use of torture to extract forced confessions. She said that since its establishment in 1982, the Far'a prison "overshadowed" all other detention camps in the mistreatment of prisoners.

2. Ordinary citizens are stopped and beaten in the streets without justification. Langer said in her report that "complaints about beatings of inhabitants of the occupied territories in the streets by soldiers and border police guards have become a daily matter." Victims are afraid to seek redress, she said, because they are threatened into silence.

3. Students and trade unionists have become special targets for brutality by the occupation authorities. "Brutalities against Palestinian students, school pupils, trade unionists and others have become a regular issue in the territories."

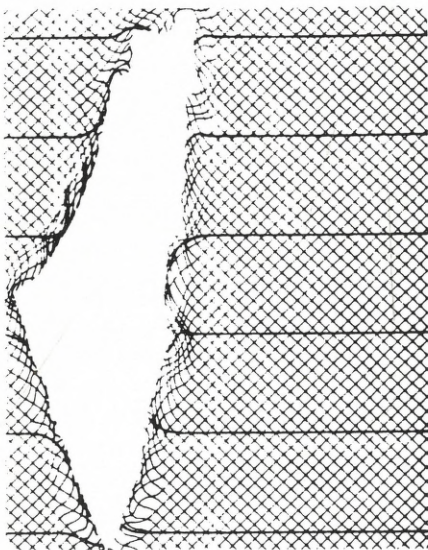
4. Soldiers and armed settlers have been shooting Palestinian civilians, killing and wounding several people during the past year. Langer said that the Israeli authorities refused to answer her questions regarding the murder of two Palestinians in the Tulkarm refugee

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POLITICAL PRISONERS

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tion; they beat me with an electric cable and ordered me to turn round and round for a long time so that I go giddy and nauseous. They made me stand cross-like in the middle of the interrogation room for an hour and a half, after which I simply was not aware of what was happening to me, as I was in a heavy faint because of the interrogation. When I came to, I found a nurse beside me calling me by my name, and he gave me some tablets. Half an hour later I was returned to interrogation. They used extremely bad methods of interrogation. They kicked me with their army boots on my shins, and used insults and bad language, saying for example that they'd bring my sister and do what they liked with her. This went on for a long time. I told them I was innocent but they didn't believe me, and kept on torturing me for 12 days on end. During this period, many charges were made against me but I only confessed to one, which was throwing stones at a car with an Israeli number. After 12 days, they put me in the rooms and I stayed there for two months. During these two months, I was taken to court four times. The fifth time, I was sentenced. The judge was satisfied with my term of detention (two months) and sentenced me to two months suspended for three years. I was released at 7:30 pm on 22 March 1984." □



Dear God,

My father keeps
on saying "When
we will go home".
Is there another
home for us?

Yours,

Palestinian Child.

N.B. REPLY SOON.

TERRORISTS OUT ON BAIL

Judge Menachem Alon of the Israeli Supreme Court ordered the release of two Israeli officers charged with the assassination attempt against two Palestinian mayors in 1980. The two officers who were released on bail are Shlomo Livyatan and Roni Gilah, both officers in the military government of the West Bank at the time of the assassination attempts against Bassam Shak'a, mayor of Nablus, and Karim Khalaf, mayor of Ramallah. Both mayors lost their legs when explosives planted in their cars detonated as they drove to work. A third mayor, Ibrahim Tawil of Bireh escaped unharmed.

Major Livyatan, who served at the time as deputy director of the economic section of the Israeli military government, is charged with supplying the Jewish terrorists with information on the whereabouts and movements of the mayors. Captain Gilah, who was the deputy military governor of Ramallah, is charged of knowing in advance about the assassination attempts against the Palestinian mayors.

A Druze policeman, Suleiman Khirbawi, was blinded when he was called in to search for explosives in Mayor Tawil's garage. Captain Gilah, who knew of the existence of the bomb, stood silently across the street as Khirbawi checked the garage door and lost his eyesight when the explosion occurred. Khirbawi accused Gilah of causing his injuries, vainly petitioned the Israeli judge against his release, and is seeking an appointment with the Israeli president to protest against the release of the officer. □

SHARON WANTS JORDAN

There was a time when the Zionist movement was less inhibited about the expression of its territorial ambitions. In his diaries, for example, Theodor Herzl gave various boundaries for the Jewish state the Zionist organization which he headed demanded. At one time he said "from the Nile to the Euphrates," and at another time he said "the more immigrants the more land." In 1919, the World Zionist Organization asked the Paris Peace Conference to endorse a Jewish state which included all of Palestine, the south of Lebanon to the Litani River, and the fertile parts of Jordan up to the Hijaz Railway.

In recent years, Israel sought to conceal its territorial expansionism with arguments about the need for "strategic depth for security reasons." In recent negotiations between the Labor and Likud parties to form a government of national unity after the July 23 Knesset elections in Israel, Ariel Sharon revived the Zionist premise that Israel has not yet reached its territorial limits and argued that Jordan also belongs to Israel. The Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* quoted Sharon as saying that "Jordan rightfully belongs to Israel and will one day be settled by Jews." □

HUMAN RIGHTS

(continued from page 6)

camp, Omar Radwan and Ibrahim Bishara, by Israeli border police in November 1983.

5. Collective punishment is still being used. Langer said she had been involved in hundreds of cases arising out of collective punishment.

6. Refugees have been favorite targets for Israeli repression. In refugee camps, she said, "frequent curfews, attacks by settlers and the army, mass arrests, holding all the men (ages 14-90) for hours and harassing them, are all daily matters."

7. Appeals against the sealing or demolition of houses have become increasingly difficult, since the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that such actions do not violate international law.

8. Israel has created "an atmosphere of terror" around patriotic and popular Palestinian public figures. Langer gave the relentless harassment of Anabta mayor, Wahid Hamdalla, as an example.

9. The imposition of severe penalties by military courts on civilians for minor "offenses" such as throwing a stone, or participation in a demonstration, or carrying a Palestinian flag.

10. House and town arrest are frequently used methods of harassment and intimidation. Langer said: "I have recently dealt with cases of dozens of people, mainly students, who fell victim to this policy."

11. Many families continue to be denied the right to be reunited. Family reunion applications are frequently denied.

12. Land continues to be confiscated and used solely for Jewish settlement.

Felicia Langer's report concluded by saying that these are a *part* of the attacks on basic human rights. It is not a complete list, but it exposes the terrible suffering of the inhabitants in the territories for the past 17 years. □

850 PRISONERS AT ANSAR

Officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Beirut confirmed that the number of Arab prisoners held by the Israeli occupation authorities at Ansar Camp in southern Lebanon rose to 850 by the end of August. In July, the number of prisoners at Ansar was estimated at 602.

The 850 figure is the largest number of prisoners held at Ansar since the camp was reopened. The infamous facility was established by the Israeli army during its invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 to house Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners. The camp was closed on November 24, 1983, when Israel and the PLO exchanged prisoners. However, the Israelis reopened the facility immediately to house Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners suspected of armed resistance against the Israeli occupation of Lebanon. □

PRISON FOR ISRAELI DISSENTER

An Israeli military court sentenced an Israeli soldier, Gideon Raz, to 28 days in prison for refusing to serve in the occupation army in Lebanon. Raz is the 131st Israeli soldier imprisoned for this reason since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

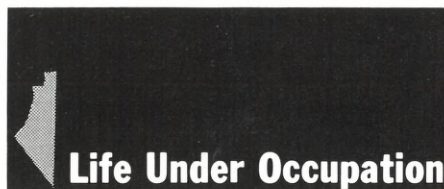
The Haifa daily *al-Ittihad* (August 6, 1984) said that the number of Israeli soldiers who refuse to serve in occupied Lebanon is much greater than the 131 so far sentenced to prison terms. To avoid adverse publicity, the Israeli authorities often choose to give soldiers who refuse service in Lebanon alternate assignments. □

WHEN HOME IS PRISON

The Israeli military government in the occupied West Bank renewed the town arrest order against a West Bank teacher for another six-month period. This is the ninth consecutive order against Zahera Kamal, the 37-year-old physics teacher at the Women's Teachers Training Institute in Ramallah, bringing her time under town arrest so far to five years. Included in the town arrest order is the requirement that she reports in person to the police station twice a day.

When the town arrest order against Ms. Kamal was renewed the seventh time in December 1983, the human rights organization Amnesty International declared her a "prisoner of conscience," a status given to a person "who is imprisoned because of his/her religious or political beliefs, color, sex, language, or ethnic origin, and one who neither used nor advocated the use of violence." In its newsletter of January 1984, Amnesty International expressed concern for Ms. Kamal's plight "because she has been restricted without having been formally charged or brought before a court of law. She has not been given details of any charges against her and has no right to challenge any evidence against her."

[For background story, see *Palestine Perspectives*, March 1984]. □



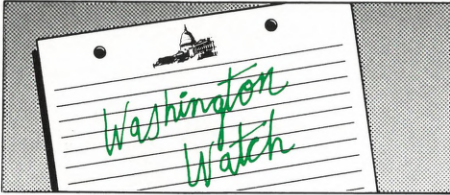
1948 MASSACRE UNCOVERED

It has been revealed recently that in 1948 Israeli forces committed a massacre against the inhabitants of the Palestinian village of Dawaymeh in the Hebron district. In this massacre, 580 Palestinians were murdered.

The Israeli newspaper *Hada-shot* confirmed the 36-year-old massacre when its correspondent, Yoella Har-Shefi, uncovered skeletons in a cistern near the village which was occupied and destroyed by the Israeli forces in 1948. The story of the massacre had been told by Hassan Mahmud Hodeib, the *mukhtar* (village head) of Dawaymeh. The discovery of the skeletons confirmed his account.

Hodeib, one of the few survivors from the village, said that on 28 and 29 October 1948, 20 tanks from Moshe Dayan's 89th Battalion surrounded the village and committed mass murder against its defenseless inhabitants. Those murdered included 75 elderly persons who took refuge in a mosque. The members of 35 families who were discovered hiding in a cave were machine-gunned. The *mukhtar* said that he had subsequently reported the massacre to the Jordanian military governor of Hebron.

The best-known massacre committed by Zionist forces during the war of 1948, which resulted in the establishment of Israel, was the Deir Yassin massacre, in which 250 Palestinians were murdered in cold blood by Zionist forces on April 9, 1948. The recent revelations about the Dawaymeh massacre indicates that the mass murder of civilians during the 1948 war was a more frequent Israeli practice than had been known so far. □



PENTAGON IDF UNDISCIPLINED HORDE

American military experts described the Israeli armed forces as an "inept, undisciplined horde." This assessment, based on classified battlefield reports on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, left U.S. military experts "stunned by the ineptitude of the IDF" [Israeli Defence Forces].

Senior U.S. defense experts said the secret reports about the war in Lebanon show that the Israelis inflicted on themselves nearly 20 percent of the casualties they suffered in Lebanon. Writing in the *Washington Times* of 27 August, Carlton Sherwood said that Israel's performance, "rated poor by virtually all sources, raises serious questions about Israel's combat dependability, particularly since U.S. policy under the Reagan administration has put a heavy premium on 'strategic cooperation' between U.S. and Israeli military forces."

One U.S. official described Israel's military performance in the Lebanese war as a "disaster," and the high rate of self-inflicted casualties was blamed on poor coordination, poor leadership and poor troop discipline. Israeli military sources admitted the 20 percent rate of self-inflicted casualties, but they blamed it on "political meddling" in the war, a charge the military frequently resort to when they perform poorly.

Another U.S. military expert, who had formerly served in a senior administrative post in the Department of Defense, said that Israel's propaganda is catching up with its military reputation. He explained that the Israeli armed forces "were never all that good—certainly not nearly as successful as they or we at the Pentagon made them out to be." Israel, he said, always exaggerated its military success and played down its failures, giving rise to the

(continued on page 11)

COMMENTARY... ON POLITICAL PORNOGRAPHY

Reviews of the novel *The Haj* by Leon Uris agree that it is cheap anti-Palestinian racism parading as literature. Even Israeli reviews agree. Here is a sample from *The Jerusalem Post* (September 9-15, 1984) about the latest literary accomplishment of the author of *Exodus*:

"If *Exodus* painted an embarrassingly adoring picture of super-Jews reclaiming their land and overcoming their foes against staggering odds, the new novel depicts Arabs in a manner that would make Meir Kahane blush. Uris's Arabs are all but subhuman... Only one Jew figures in the story, and he is the only admirable character in the book."

Not surprising at all in a racist diatribe. What is surprising, or at least disquieting, is that a Zionist anti-Arab polemic quickly climbs to the best seller list in the United States. S.T. Meravi, the writer of the review quoted above, expressed his puzzlement by saying this of Leon Uris: "He remains among the clumsiest novelists ever to sell a million books a year."

The strange career of Leon Uris as a writer, and his works, raise two questions which need satisfactory answers: How are books marketed in the United States? Is there really a free market or is it a manipulated market which dictates the literary menu presented to the American public? Secondly, why is it that at a time when the American people are increasingly vocal against racist expression, Zionist anti-Arab racism appears to continue to enjoy peculiar immunity?

Arab-Americans have a particular reason to be concerned with these issues. But also they are, or should be, the concern of every American who resents the disfigurement of his society and the prostitution of his values. Bigotry often begins by targeting a specific group of people, but its internal logic impels it to broaden its impact. American Zionists who encourage anti-Arab racism in this country, because of the shortsighted view that Israel's interests require it, need more than any other group to ponder this fact. □

THE ISRAELI MAFIA

One of the more curious aspects of the "special relationship" between Israel and the United States is that they have been exchanging undesirable characters. The more fanatical elements among U.S. Zionists have been emigrating to Israel, and they are making up an increasing percentage of the Israeli right which is the backbone of the Jewish terrorist movement in the occupied West Bank. In exchange, a large number of Israeli criminals have immigrated to the United States and established themselves in the world of organized crime in America.

On May 20 and July 11, 1983, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary held hearings on organized crime in the United States. The following information on the role of Israeli immigrants in organized crime is a part of a report on "Organized

Crime in New York City," prepared by New York's police commissioner and its Organized Crime Control Bureau, submitted to the Senate Committee:

A group of Israeli emigres, residing in the New York Metropolitan Area, is believed to be involved in a myriad of organized criminal activities. Intelligence, to date, indicates there are approximately 1,000 individuals, loosely structured, with several key members, possibly in leadership roles. Approximately 100 legitimate businesses in the New York area have been identified as being operated by this group.

At present, the group's activities in the Northeast appear to be confined to the New York Metropolitan area, but liaison with other law enforcement agencies, both national and international, indicates

the group has been operating on an international level for some time. This group is well entrenched in Southern California, Arizona, and Southern Florida, as well as having extensive contacts in the Near East, Southern Europe, South America, Canada, and Mexico. Several members have served prison sentences in Israel.

California and Arizona authorities have reported this group as being involved in insurance frauds, fictitious billing, bankruptcy fraud, extortion, narcotics trafficking, illegal immigration and homicide.

Although not all these activities have surfaced yet in the New York area, it has been documented that these Israelis are heavily involved in the importation and distribution of narcotics, specifically Cocaine and Heroin through the use of a highly sophisticated syndicate.

A major investigation revealed that Israeli emigre merchants have been actively involved in the counterfeiting of credit cards, fraudulent purchases and false billing. These crimes have cost several major New York banks an estimated multi-million dollar loss.

Violence, in the form of homicides and kidnappings, has been utilized by this group. A young mother, her son, and her nephew, all Israeli immigrants, were murdered, execution style, in the New York area. Her husband, at the time of the homicides, was in custody, relative to a credit card indictment.

The group appears to be growing, and becoming increasingly more violent. Furthermore, the group seems to be able to generate large sums of revenue from illicit activities, and, in turn, reinvests these monies in additional businesses. The group will remain relatively unknown and insulated, because of their low key lifestyle, ethnicity, and the sophisticated nature of their crimes. They will utilize the services of other organized crime groups, if their expertise or conduits are needed. Apparently, this group will pose a significant problem for law enforcement authorities in the coming years. □

ISRAELIS COUNTERFEIT \$

Law enforcement agents uncovered an Israeli ring, operating in New York and Tel Aviv, to counterfeit American currency. The ring included Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union living in the U.S. and Israel.

The *Christian Science Monitor* said that the ring was about to market \$13 million in \$10, \$20, and \$100 bills when it was uncovered. It had plans to print and distribute another \$87 million of forged currency. The *Monitor* said that this operation, if it had succeeded, would have been the largest of its kind in U.S. history. □

U.S. SHELTERS ISRAEL

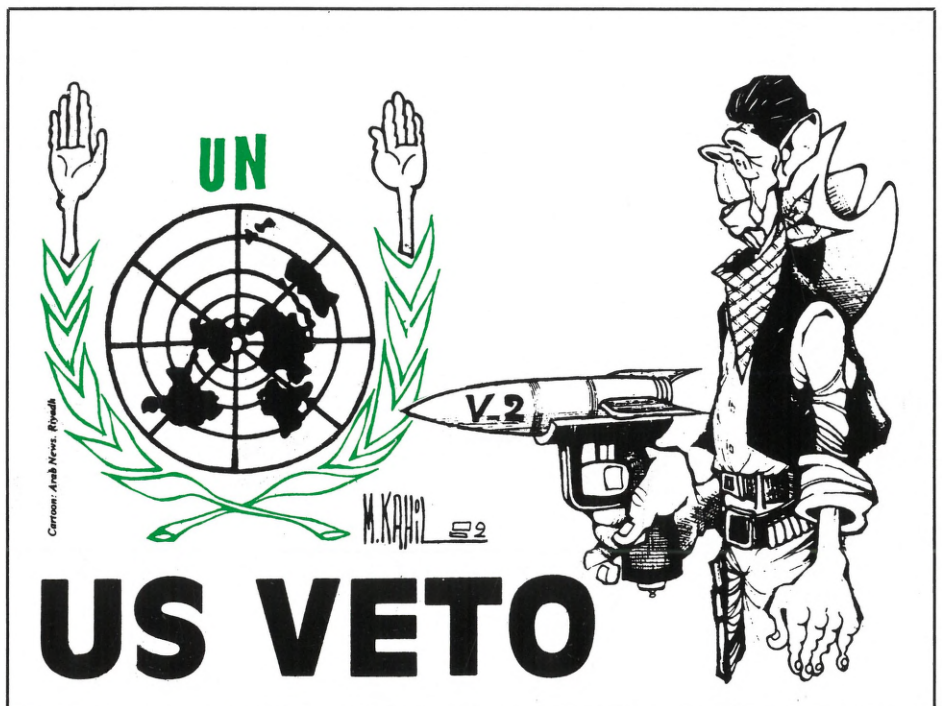
The U.S. vetoed a Security Council resolution calling on Israel to refrain from violating the human rights of people in the Israeli-occupied south of Lebanon. The resolution was mildly-worded to ensure its passage, and all members of the Security Council voted for it, with the exception of the United States.

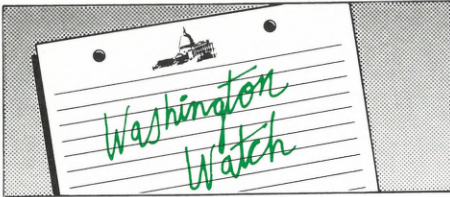
Presenting Lebanon's case to the Security Council, the Lebanese ambassador to the U.N. said Israel is engaged in "repression and torture" in the occupied south. He

said Israeli occupation forces conduct arbitrary searches and arrests, hinder the movement of people, food, and fuel, divert water resources, interfere with education, and plunder archaeological sites in Lebanon. He said Israel's aim is "to empty the occupied territories...so it can carry out its expansionist ambitions."

The Lebanese prime minister, who described Israel's violations of human rights as "inhuman, fascist and Nazi practices," said he was shocked by the U.S. veto of a resolution calling for an end to such practices. He said: "We are shocked by the largest democratic country in the world which claims to support peoples' rights and to defend the destiny of humanity. We were shocked by the veto of our draft resolution in which we did not accuse or condemn but only asked for an end to these practices which violate international charters and laws."

The United States has been systematically vetoing every Security Council resolution and voting against every General Assembly resolution opposed by Israel. In most cases, the U.S. stood alone on Israel's side. "Israel right or wrong" has obviously become official U.S. policy. □





MADE IN ISRAEL U.S. MIDEAST POLICY

David Aaron, the chief foreign policy adviser of Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale, gets *his* advice on the Middle East from Israel and American Zionist sources. He recently told Wolf Blitzer (*Washington Jewish Week*, 23 August 1984), that he has been relying on Morris Amitay, former executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and David Ifshin, Mondale campaign liaison with the Jewish community, for helping in drafting Mondale's foreign policy statements.

Aaron does not lack credentials as an important Zionist access point in the establishment. When he was the number two man in the National Security Council in the late 1970s, he was very helpful in giving the Israeli lobby access to the administration. Amitay said that when he was AIPAC's executive director, "I found that the only way that I could have access to the foreign policy-making level in the White House was because of my friendship with David [Aaron]."

Now Aaron, who is most likely to become White House National Security Adviser if Mondale wins the election, is going to Israel to consult with Shamir, Arens, Rabin, and Peres. The degree to which the Zionists monopolize his perceptions is indicated by his statement prior to his departure in late August that he is going to the Middle East "because I want to get an assessment of the current situation in the Mideast from the standpoint of the leading people there." Israel is the only country on his itinerary.

Stephen Green did say in his recent book, *Taking Sides*, that U.S. policy on the Middle East is made in Israel. □

"SENATOR" KAHANE

The Jerusalem Post quoted "a highly placed American source" saying that the U.S. government will move to strip Rabbi Meir Kahane of his American citizenship as soon as he takes the oath of office as a member of the Israeli Knesset. Rabbi Kahane was elected to the Knesset during the July 23 elections in Israel.

Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League in the U.S. and leader of the rightist "Kach" movement in Israel is characterized as a fascist by many people in Israel. His group preaches and practices terrorism against Palestinians in Israel and the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

Rabbi Kahane has taken the oath Israel requires of Knesset members. He is still a U.S. citizen. □

WOMEN FOR WOMEN



A new newsletter called "Our Voice" has been published by "Women for Women in Lebanon." The newsletter focuses on the condition of women in the Israeli occupied Palestinian and Lebanese territories.

"Women for Women in Lebanon" is a Boston-based group of Arab, Arab-American and American women which was formed in October 1982 following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The group's formation, according to its newsletter, "was a response to the immediate needs of Palestinian and Lebanese women whose lives had been so cruelly disrupted by the crisis." Through fundraising and informational activities, the group supports the efforts of Palestinian and Lebanese women to overcome the personal tragedies they suffered as a result of Israel's invasion and continued occupation of Lebanon. □

\$5 BILLION TO ISRAEL

Israel, tottering on the edge of bankruptcy, will ask the United States to rescue its economy with \$5 billion in American aid for the coming year. *The Jerusalem Post* (August 12-18) reported that Yigal Cohen-Orgad, Israel's Finance Minister, and Moshe Mandelbaum, the governor of the Bank of Israel, will visit Washington at the end of September to submit the request to U.S. officials.

The Israeli paper also reported that the Reagan administration is preparing plans to rescue the collapsing Israeli economy, including long-term funding to avoid the need for annual appropriations. The *Post* commented that the Reagan plan will be announced soon because it "will be useful for President Reagan's reelection campaign."

\$2.6 billion in U.S. aid for Israel for 1985 have already been approved. The aid includes \$1.4 billion for military aid, and all of it is to be in the form of nonrepayable grants rather than loans. It seems that when Mr. Reagan pledged to balance the budget, he was not referring to the U.S. budget. □

PENTAGON

(continued from page 9)

myth of Israeli military competence.

What has emerged publicly from these classified reports did not indicate the degree to which fierce Palestinian-Lebanese resistance contributed to the confusion and demoralization which afflicted the Israeli invaders.

Israel was always concerned with its image in the U.S. as a superb military power for two reasons. One, to reassure the American public that U.S. support for its policies and wars would not drag America into a military confrontation in the Middle East. Two, that Israel is one of the best and most effective allies America can possibly find for its global strategy. That is why revelations about Israel's military incompetence in its most recent war is highly disturbing to its military leaders. □

SETTLEMENTS CONDEMNED BY INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION

The Second International Conference on Population, held in Mexico City from 6-14 August, condemned the policy of deporting persons from territories occupied by force and called the establishment of settlements in such territories illegal and condemned by the international community. The conference, attended by delegations representing 149 states and organizations, approved a World Population Plan of Action and a Mexico City Declaration on population and development.

The resolution on the establishment of settlements (Recommendation 34 in the Plan of Action) was fiercely opposed by the U.S. and Israeli delegations, but it was approved by a roll call vote of 83 against 2 with 15 abstentions. The U.S. delegation sought to delete the resolution on settlements from the Plan of Action, and when it failed in this effort it sought to delete the reference to settlements. It not only failed to do so, but it isolated itself to such a degree that only Israel, which it was seeking to shelter from international condemnation, voted with it.

The Mexico conference was a follow-up to the First International Conference on Population, held in Bucharest in 1974.

The PLO delegation was headed by Dr. Ahmad Sobeh, the Representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Mexico. Dr. Sobeh, in his address to the plenary session of the conference, said that depriving the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination makes it impossible for the Palestinians to share the international community's concern for a proper population and social development policy. Following is an excerpt from the PLO statement to the conference:

Mr. President:

Our people aspire to participate actively and positively in the application of the recommendations of this Conference. But we are forced to live under conditions which we did not choose and do not wish to see perpetuated.

Half of our people live under military occupation, and are daily subjected to measures which violate international laws, and which frustrate any effective population policy.

The deportation of persons, the establishment of illegal settlements, the fragmentation of families, the military intervention in educational institutions and operations (closing universities), they all violate the spirit and the letter of the Bucharest recommendations and contradict the deliberations of this conference.

Depriving us of our right to independence not only violates our natural right to self-determination, but it also impedes our capacity for population planning and social development.

Individual and collective deportation, the transfer of the population of the occupying power to our confiscated land, the obstruction of the functioning of our cultural, educational, health, economic, and municipal institutions . . . impede our social development and, in turn, our population policy.



In spite of all these difficulties, our people and their sole and legitimate representative—the P.L.O.—and their social and cultural institutions have done much to alleviate the difficult conditions under which our people live.

For more than 36 years our people have been struggling on behalf of their right to return to their homes and properties in order to live like other nations.

Any effective populations policy must depend on liberty, justice and peace, conditions of which our people have been deprived by the increasing intransigence of the occupying power.

We ask the international community to assist us in restoring the smile to the Palestinian child and in restoring to our people their complete rights. □

WORLD POPULATION PLAN OF ACTION

Recommendation 34

Population distribution policies must be consistent with such international instruments as the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949), wherein article 49 prohibits individual or mass forcible transfers from an occupied territory and forbids the occupier from transferring parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies. Furthermore, the establishment of settlements in territories occupied by force is illegal and condemned by the international community. □

FROM ENGLAND

The Palestine Post

The Palestine Post is a monthly newspaper. Distributed nationally, it was launched to represent the views of the Palestinian community in Britain, and to provide them with a voice to publicise their struggle. If you support the views of this newspaper, we would ask you to take out a subscription which costs £5 for the next 12 issues. Please send completed forms to:

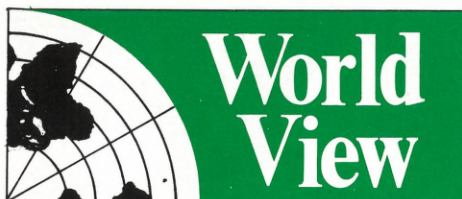
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NGO MEETING ON PALESTINE

The First International Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Meeting on the Question of Palestine was held at U.N. offices in Geneva from August 20-22, 1984. The meeting, sponsored by the U.N. Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Division for Palestinian Rights, was attended by representatives of 96 NGO's, in addition to a number of experts and observers from several countries including the United States.

The participants were welcomed by Ambassador Mas-samba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, who praised the NGO's for their unwavering commitment to just and lasting peace in the Middle East and the persistent efforts they make in their respective communities by mobilizing public support toward that end. He briefed his audience on recent U.N. attempts to renew international negotiations aimed at achieving peace in Palestine, and

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"Until Begin's election victory in 1977, most pro-Zionist historians dismissed Revisionism as the fanatic fringe of Zionism; certainly the more extreme 'Stern Gang'... were looked upon as of more interest to the psychiatrist than the political scientist. However, opinion toward Begin had to change when he came to power, and when he eventually appointed Yitzhak Shamir as his Foreign Minister it was quietly received, although Shamir had been operations commander of the Stern Gang."

Lenni Brenner
Zionism in the Age of Dictators

"Among the most disturbing political phenomena of our time is the emergence in the newly created state of Israel of the 'Freedom Party' (*Tnuat HaHerut*), a political party closely akin in its organization, methods, political philosophy and social appeal to the Nazi and Fascist parties... They have preached an admixture of ultranationalism, religious mysticism and racial superiority... they have proposed corporate unions on the Italian fascist model... In the light of the foregoing considerations, it is imperative that the truth about Mr. Begin and his movement be made known in this country."

Albert Einstein (and others)
New York Times
4 December 1984

said that these efforts have been hampered by "the only obstacle encountered thus far, which is the negative response of the Israeli government." Mr. Sarré concluded his remarks by expressing confidence that the NGO deliberations "would contribute to the restoration of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian People as well as the heralding of a new era of justice, peace, fraternity and cooperation in the Middle East."

The PLO was represented by several officials at this gathering including Mr. Shafik Al-Hout, PLO representative in Lebanon, and Mr. Zehdi L. Terzi, the Permanent Observer of the PLO to the United Nations in New York. In his statement at the opening session of the NGO meeting, Mr. Terzi emphasized that a "just solution of the question of Palestine is the *sine qua non* for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict." Mr. Terzi urged the participants to focus on increasing the awareness of their communities, particularly in the U.S. and Canada, that the Palestinian people have the right to self-determination. He urged those in attendance to act immediately in order to prevent further Israeli abuses of Palestinian human and political rights. He concluded by saying: "Let us not wait for another Sabra and Shatila ... Deir Yassin and Kufr Qasim—not another 1948, 1967 and 1982. Let us act now."

Statements and speeches were also delivered by several experts on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, in addition to reports submitted by several Arab and Israeli delegates from Palestine who depicted the agony of Palestinian suffering under Israeli occupation.

At the conclusion of the 3-day conference, the NGO's adopted a resolution calling upon all peoples and governments to take definitive steps to secure a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine. The NGOs expressed their support for U.N. efforts to convene an International Peace Conference on the Middle East and undertook to promote the idea within their own countries and to raise it before their respective governments. □

SYRIA SUPPORTS PEACE CONFERENCE

Syria has formally informed the U.N. Secretary-General of its support for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, as proposed by the General Assembly in December 1983. The Secretary-General had written to all members of the Security Council and other states directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict to clarify their position regarding such a peace conference. All Arab parties, including the PLO, have signified their support for convening the conference. Israel and the United States rejected the proposal [see story in *Palestine Perspectives*, June/July 1984].

In its response to the Secretary-General, Syria said that it supported the international peace conference because events had shown that partial and piecemeal solutions pursued so far could not lead to a just and durable peace in the Middle East. The Syrian letter added that the policy of force and fait accompli pursued by Israel and supported without limit by the U.S. government is the main obstacle to peace in the region. □

BOOK REVIEW

Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of Dictators*. Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill (and London: Croom Helm), 1983.

It is a widely-known fact that the Zionist movement turned out to be the primary beneficiary of the Holocaust. It gained converts to Zionism in the Jewish communities, it gained greater international sympathy for its demand for a Jewish state in Palestine, and when that state was established in 1948 it raised billions of dollars in indemnities from Germany. What is less known, is that Zionism not only benefited from the Holocaust, but also collaborated with its fascist perpetrators.

Lenni Brenner's book, *Zionism in the Age of Dictators*, is a documented record of Zionist collaboration with the principal enemies of humanity in the twentieth century. It is a story of betrayal of the Jewish people by their self-styled "national liberation movement."

To be sure, Brenner's book is not the first revelation of Zionist-Nazi collaboration. But so far it is the most comprehensive account of that sordid story.

The Zionists, who in the face of irrefutable evidence could no longer deny that they made deals with the fascists and Nazis before and during the Holocaust, deals which cost many Jewish lives, try to justify their betrayal of Europe's Jews by arguing that compelling circumstances forced them to sacrifice the many in order to save the few. This justification for Zionist perfidy does not stand in the face of the powerful evidence presented by Lenni Brenner.

First, he demonstrates that Zionist collaboration with the fascist dictators began before there was any physical threat to the Jews of Europe. It first began in Fascist Italy, before Hitler rose to power in Germany, and long before anti-Semitism became Italian policy.

Second, he shows that Zionism was not a part of the anti-fascist struggle anywhere. In fact Zionists frequently worked to abort that struggle as they did when non-Zionists tried to use economic boycott against Germany as an instrument of struggle against Nazism. They also failed to join anti-fascist political forces in Europe, and were noted by their conspicuous absence from Republican ranks during the Spanish Civil War. Even where it was safe to be in the opposition to fascism, such as in England, the Zionists failed to stand up and be counted.

Third, Brenner's evidence leaves no room for doubt that the Zionists saw fascism and Nazism not as an enemy to be fought, but as an ally in their power grab for Palestine. In fact, the most persistent theme which emerges from the evidence is that the Zionists saw in fascist and Nazi ascendancy in Europe a unique opportunity for the advancement of their overriding goal to transform Palestine into a Jewish state. All other considerations were subordinated to this goal, including the humanitarian task of saving Jews from the Holocaust. For this reason, they gave legitimacy to the fascist drive to rid Europe of its Jewry by agreeing with the fascists that Jews were aliens in their homelands; they failed to lobby actively for the liberalization of immigration laws in western countries because they wanted Jewish immigration to be directed only to Palestine; and

ZIONISM IN THE AGE OF THE DICTATORS

they showed no interest in saving Jews other than Zionist youth who would be future soldiers for the coming war to usurp Palestine from its people.

The Zionists and the fascists agreed that Europe ought to be rid of Jews. That was one common interest which motivated Zionist-Nazi collaboration. But there was also the "ideological similarities" between them, including "their contempt for liberalism, their common volkish racism and, of course, their mutual conviction that Germany could never be the homeland of its Jews" [p. 45].

The story Brenner tells is a terrifying account of what men would do when driven by power. In the case of the Zionists, they drove Jews to their death to make it possible for other Jews to drive Arabs to their death.

Brenner's account ends with World War Two. It would have been useful to add a chapter on the post-war period, because Zionist propensity to use diaspora Jews for the enhancement of its power continues to be manifested to this day. In the years following the establishment of Israel, Zionist agents were sent to Arab countries to liquidate their ancient Jewish communities by terrorizing them into emigrating to Israel. And in more recent times, Israel's alliance with today's dictatorships around the world has driven a wedge between Jewish communities and their erstwhile allies in the struggle for justice and democracy.

History does not inevitably repeat itself; but it often does. There is a lesson somewhere here to be learned. □



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ISRAEL FACES INSOLVENCY

In spite of the fact that much of the substantial aid Israel gets from the United States is in the form of nonrepayable grants, and in spite of the fact that the United States has frequently written off Israel's debts, Israel's external debt has exceeded \$22 billion (of which about \$9 billion is owed to Uncle Sam). This is more than \$5000 for every Israeli man, woman and child, making Israel one of the most heavily indebted countries in the world.

Next year, about \$1 billion of Israel's debts to the United States is due for repayment, and Israel cannot repay it. Thus Israel is asking the United States for a five-year extension of the grace period on the repayment of its debts. But if Israel's economic history is an indicator, five years from now it will be more rather than less difficult for Israel to repay its financial obligations to the United States.

Israel is now taking advantage of the U.S. presidential elections to extract further economic and financial concessions from the United States to delay its impending bankruptcy. It has already received several major commitments. U.S. aid to Israel (\$1.4 billion in military and \$1.2 billion in economic aid in

1985) is to be in the form of grants rather than repayable loans. The U.S. is to give Israel unparalleled trade privileges by making the U.S. a free trade area for Israeli products. Contributions to U.S. Zionist fundraising agencies are still tax-deductible and therefore subsidized by American tax payers. And now, Israel wants a moratorium on the repayment of its debts. Vice President George Bush, speaking to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee last April, already promised that the United States will not only continue to satisfy Israel's insatiable appetite for guns, but it will also continue to shoulder the economic burden of Israeli militarism [*Palestine Perspectives*, May 1984].

The Jerusalem Post said that to bail out his insolvent ally, President Reagan is considering giving Israel an additional \$1 billion in aid, above and beyond the already approved package. Israel and its American supporters are using the U.S. election season, according to *USA Today*, to have a law passed in Congress which would make it mandatory that U.S. aid to Israel would always exceed the money Israel repays the U.S. on previous loans.

But Israel's enormous economic problems cannot be solved, not even by cancelling its debts, because the causes which created the debts in the first place would remain. To attract more Jewish settlers, its proclaimed central mission, Israel must continue to live beyond its meager means. And to be able to pursue its imperial ambitions in the Middle East and its pretentious global role as a would-be superpower or the "strategic ally" of a superpower, Israel must continue to be a bottomless pit for American treasure. □

UNEMPLOYMENT IN ISRAEL

Israeli trade union sources say that unemployment in Israel, now 5.7 percent of the labor force, is increasing, and it is expected that the number of unemployed Israelis would rise by 50 percent by the end of the year.

Arab trade unionists say that, as expected in discriminatory societies, unemployment among Arabs is much higher than it is among Jews. In Nazareth, the largest Arab city in Israel, unemployment stands at 17 percent of the labor force. □



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