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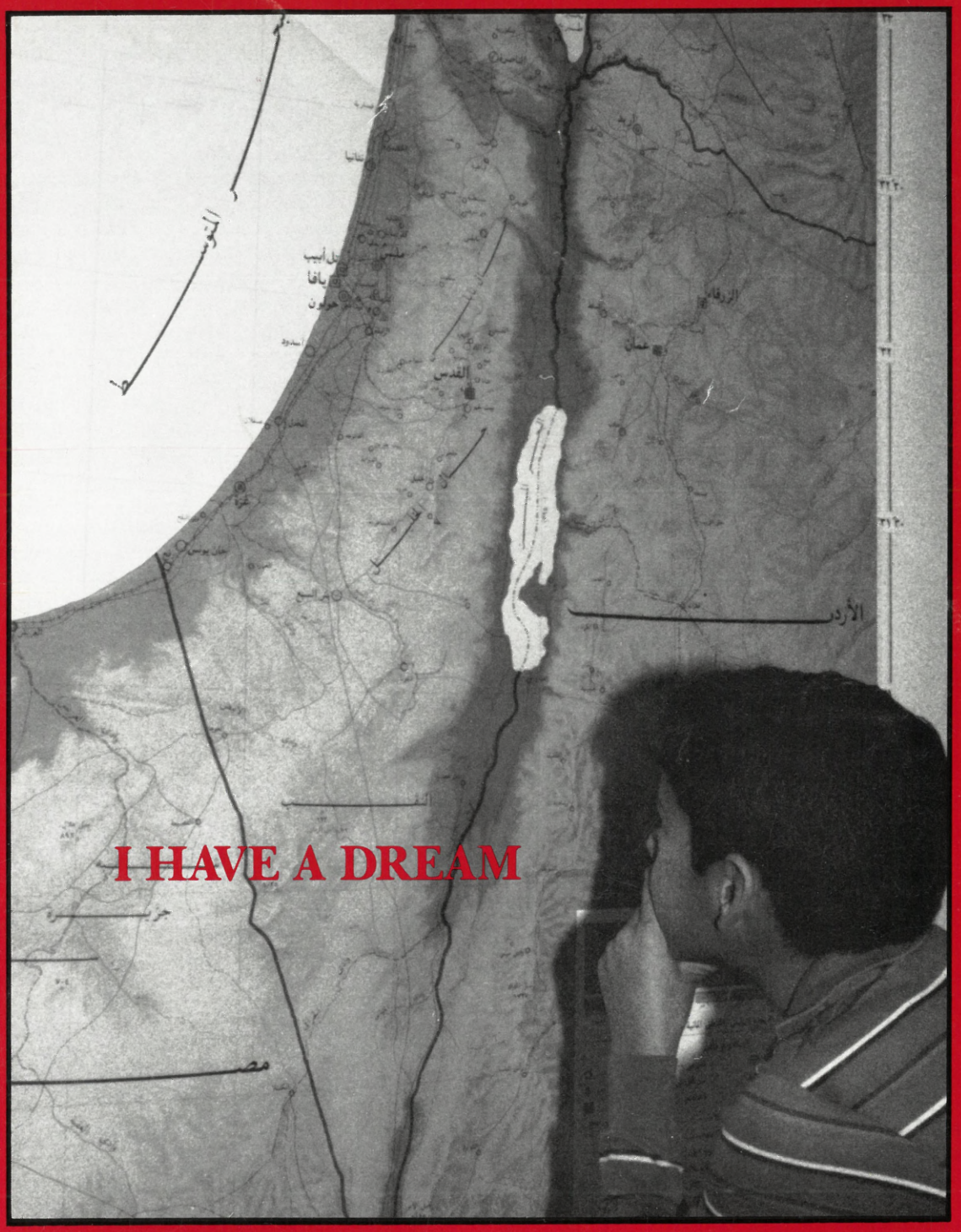

Inside... COURTS WITHOUT JUSTICE

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Editorial Editorial Editorial

THE PLO REPRESENTS A HUMAN TRADITION

At this time when a concerted effort is being made, by Israel and the Reagan administration, to administer what they hope would be the final blow to the Palestine Liberation Organization, it is necessary to stop and think about it. Why do some people (who dissent from the prevailing view in the world) believe that the destruction of the PLO, or weakening it to the degree that it would become irrelevant to events in the Middle East, would be beneficial to the prospects of peace in the Middle East?

To say that the PLO does not recognize Israel and to claim, rightly or wrongly, that it engages in terrorism, or to advance any other argument critical of the PLO's objectives or methods is to beg the question: Why and what needs to be done about it?

First, it should be noted that Israel is more uncompromising in its attitude and behavior toward the PLO than the other way around. Second, the PLO has done more to prepare the Palestinian people for a compromise political settlement with Israel than was possible before it came into being, and certainly more than Israel had done to prepare its own people for peace with the Palestinians.

Without the PLO there would be a Palestinian grievance but no Palestinian interlocutor with whom to discuss it. There would be a lot of angry people without an instrument to channel their anger into a negotiable political demand.

People who believe that peace requires the destruction of the PLO need to be reminded of the fact that even before the PLO came into existence there was no Arab-Israeli peace. And people who believe that peace requires that the PLO be crippled need to ponder the fact that the only case of Arab-Israeli peace (between Egypt and Israel) happened when the PLO was at the peak of its prestige and power in the late 1970s.

It is understandable that Israel wants to destroy the PLO. It is the visible part of the skeleton in the Israeli closet; it is the audible voice of its victims. What is less understandable is that the U.S. allows itself to be conscripted in the Zionist war on the Palestinian people.

The point which needs to be made is that the Palestinian people invented the PLO for a reason, and it is the same reason why countless nations invented their own PLOs throughout history. The PLO is a part of a long and deeply rooted human tradition, the same tradition which gave birth to the Minutemen in the American colonies and the succession of liberation movements which were propelled onto the stage of history to articulate the grievances of oppressed peoples and to lead their struggle against injustice.

The adversaries of liberation movements can try to weaken them, discredit them, and even destroy them. They have always done so. There is nothing new in the ongoing campaign against the PLO. But all that they can achieve is to extend the conflict rather than extinguish it.

Conflicts are caused by injustice, not by those who struggle against it. Anyone who seeks to build a future over the dead bodies of freedom fighters is engaged in a self-defeating effort and is a partisan of an archaic morality.

As long as Palestinian disfranchisement persists, they would have to invent the PLO if it did not exist. Efforts to silence the Palestinians must not be equated with addressing their grievance. That would be futile and most irresponsible. Peace is difficult to achieve as it is, and we do not need to invent new obstacles...unless it is not peace but something else that is being sought. □

M. Hallaj

IN THIS ISSUE

FORUM
- Courts Without Justice — *Marek*
- Government by Humiliation — *David Hirst*

PLO NEWS AND VIEWS
- Arafat Condemns Terrorism
- Spies in Larnaca

LIFE UNDER OCCUPATION
- PHRC Condemns Iron Fist Policy
- Palestinian Education in Israel — *Khalil Jahshan*

WASHINGTON WATCH
- Justice on Trial (Commentary)
- Terrorism, USA
- Congressmen Urge Reagan

WORLD VIEW
- A Whisper from the Canadian Senate
- International Conference of Black Lawyers

BACK COVER
- Settlers Threaten Civil War

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COURTS WITHOUT JUSTICE

Marek

[The following article was taken from ***News From Within****, the newsletter of the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center. The author, an Israeli identified only as "Marek," describes the trial of Palestinian detainees defended by Lea Tsemel]:*

We arrived at the military government building at eight in the morning. The detainees' families had already begun to gather outside. They were holding packages of clothes, medicines, toiletries, cigarettes, etc. Attorney Tsemel exchanged a few words with them and then entered the military government building. A decision was taken to transfer the hearing to the Nablus Central Prison, and all the parties involved in the case, including the waiting families, made their way from the government building to the prison.

Overcrowding in the prisons forced the Israeli authorities to open three new prisons. But rather than relieve the situation, its sole effect has been to permit the authorities to increase the prison population. In Nablus, the authorities chose the municipal hospital for this purpose. They surrounded it with a wall, watchtowers, barbed wire fences, and gunposts. Then they renovated the building and filled it with prisoners.

Entry into the prison is restricted to the lawyers. As the group from the military government building entered the prison, the families of the prisoners congregated outside. Nineteen years of occupation have familiarized residents of the occupied territories with the standard procedure in such situations. Since 1967 one in every four Palestinians has been arrested by the Israeli occupation forces. Even if we grant that many of them have been arrested more than once, there are few households on the West Bank that haven't experienced the arrest of at least one of its family members.

The occupation authorities rarely release the names of detainees. Moreover, detainees are frequently prevented from notifying their families or lawyers of their arrest. They are thereby cut off from the outside world, at the mercy of the occupation authorities.

Standing in the midday sun, they clutched the parcels they hoped to be able to give their husbands or sons, prepared to wait all day for some information to filter out to them, even if only a rumor.

The prosecutor is a familiar figure around here, and the same holds true for Attorney Tsemel. But one of the prison guards stubbornly demanded her I.D. for inspection. The prosecutor intervened on her behalf and took over from the guard, joking with her and flirtatiously suggesting a body search. During the ensuing banter I slipped unnoticed across the threshold of the prison. There is no point in describing how I felt when the iron doors of the prison banged shut. All the cliches are true.

Everyone wanted to get things over and done with as quickly as possible. The military government officials knew that if the board didn't hold a hearing within 96 hours from the time the detainees were picked up, they'd have to be released—or rather, the authorities would have to come up with a different pretext for holding them. On Sunday, the 97th hour would strike and since the "desecration of the Sabbath" is a no-no in government institutions, there wasn't much time.

FORUM

For some reason I had expected the defendants to look like prisoners I had seen in the movies, something on the order of a hybrid between Yves Montand and the Birdman of Alcatraz. But the prisoners I saw during the hearing were all ordinary-looking people off the street. History, fate or the international situation had taken hold of them by the scruff of the neck and brought them here, to the military court.

The charge sheet was read out. Sheer monotony: incitement...instigation to...rebellion...organization...recruitment. Attorney Tsemel tried to get some concrete information. When did the incitement occur? What was said? To whom? All her queries were brushed off by the prosecutor who, with a barrage of verbiage, tries to hide the fact that he didn't have anything concrete; if he had, the defendant would have been brought to trial in a regular military court. All of Attorney Tsemel's questions ran up the brick wall of "classified information" which cannot be revealed before the accused or his lawyer without jeopardizing the continuation of the interrogation or jeopardizing the security of the public (which public?) etc. etc. etc.

The details of the case are not open to the scrutiny of either the defendant or his lawyer. At some later date, defendants and lawyers will draw up an appeal. But they won't have any more information at their disposal than they had at the hearings. Attorney Tsemel directs her interrogation with her latest appeal in mind. Put two contenders in a boxing ring, blindfold one of them and tie his hands behind his back. Military justice. It's hardly surprising that the defendant keeps winding up on the floor.

Attorney Tsemel didn't give up. "Since when has my client been active?"

"From time immemorial. For ten years."

"What's kept you from arresting him and bringing him to trial till now?"

"There were security considerations."

"What security considerations?"

"That's classified information."

And so on, ad nauseum.

Summing up his case, the prosecutor spoke about "the change in government policy," sloughing off his own responsibility and inviting the judge and all present to do likewise.

Everyone present knew the change to which he referred. Over the past four years, the practice of administrative detention was suspended. But when Yitzhaq Rabin took charge of the Ministry of Defense following the 1984 elections, he reinstated it, along with deportation. The "iron fist" policy used in Lebanon was transplanted to the West Bank after the Israeli army pulled out of southern Lebanon.

Rabin's policies, being the product of the Likud/Labor

(continued on page 3)

COURTS *(continued from page 2)*

coalition, haven't run into any real opposition, the way Sharon's policies did when the Labor Alignment was out in the cold, in the opposition. Moreover, being a member of the Socialist International, Rabin has received the somewhat cold but consistent support from abroad—something Sharon never enjoyed. This has allowed him to change Israeli policy in the occupied territories without an international outcry. The administrative detainees and deportees are part of Rabin's attempt to test the international and domestic water. In the meantime, Peace Now is suffering from laryngitis; the Socialist International doesn't want to make a fuss; and the detentions and deportations have continued at full steam. By the end of September, over 70 people were under administrative detention and more than 20 people had been deported.

For some time now, the settlers and their political allies have been applying pressure on the government to step up repression in the occupied territories. Of course, their ambitions haven't been satisfied by the government's new policy or the reinstatement of administrative detention. The only thing that will satisfy the settlers is wholesale expulsion. Given this state of affairs, it is not difficult to understand why one of the detainees, when asked if he wished to address the court, made do with a flick of the wrist, implying that it was useless. Attorney Tsemel quickly interjected: "My client denies all the accusations against him."

The victims of the government's new policy need not have committed any offense, intended to commit an offense, or dreamed of committing an offense. Indeed, they don't even have to be charged with anything concrete. What is said before the judge won't affect the fate of detainees one iota. No one had even bothered to interrogate the administrative detainees who were brought before the judge on August 30. The network of oppression built up by Israel in the occupied territories is being stripped of any semblance of justice when it comes to the detainees. But what is behind this change of policy?

Military courts, in fact, make no pretense of being independent. The right of pardon and appeal are reserved for the army chief of staff. The judge, the prosecutor, the guards and the soldiers all receive their orders from the state. If one of them strays, he will quickly find himself out of a job. Even if a miracle were to occur and the judge, acting out of some long repressed sense of justice, released one of the detainees, he would be removed from his post in no time flat.

Courts Without Justice

Back in the office-cum-courtroom, one case followed another. The detention orders were contested and the prosecutor started getting irritated. He explained to the court how liberal, how benevolent Israeli policy in the occupied territories is. "Out of one million subversives" [i.e. the entire population of the West Bank], he said, "we have arrested only a few dozen." The judge was in a rush and so were the prison officials. The weekend, which in Israel begins on Friday afternoon, had commenced, and the judge rejected Attorney Tsemel's plea for more information. She explained that a man's fate for the next six months was at stake and that it was not the time to cut things short. The judge impatiently nodded his head: yes, yes. He dictated the statements of the defense and the prosecutor to the stenographer. For a moment, it seemed that he was ready to wrap up the case; the interpreter had left and the presence of the defendant had thereby become purely symbolic. To hell with the defense and the prosecution. What's important is that the stenographer remains.

Summing up the case, the prosecutor repeated what he said earlier: "incitement...organization...subversion... new policy...." Attorney Tsemel didn't have anything really new to say either. She requested the court to take the poor health of one of the detainees into consideration. After his last release from prison, he was paralyzed for half a year. The judge promised to do so. Attorney Tsemel also requested that prior charge sheets against her clients not be submitted in court, but the judge rejected her request.

Concluding her remarks she said that the authorities' policies were pushing the population to violent resistance. All the detainees are members of community organizations whose declared aim is to improve the welfare of their communities; "why had they been the first to be arrested?" she asked.

The detainees were sentenced to six months in prison. In three months, they would be able to appeal.

The prosecutor seemed satisfied. A good day's work. All told, 15 people sentenced to six months each, 90 months in prison. A trial date had to be set for the following week. Attorney Tsemel said that she would not be able to appear on Sunday because she had a case coming up in Hebron. The prosecutor quipped that Attorney Tsemel's Hebron client could be arrested and brought to Nablus. Gallows humor....

At four in the afternoon we left the prison. Standing behind one of the buildings outside, out of the field of vision of the sentry, stood the families of the detainees. They had been there the entire day, waiting. Attorney Tsemel gave them the detainees' greeting. She passed around a piece of paper with the names of the detainees and their lawyers. The families copied out the list in order to notify those families who had yet to learn the whereabouts of their sons or fathers.

Attorney Tsemel parted from the families and we headed for home. On the way she told me that together with Attorney [Felicia] Langer, she had held 20 military government officials captive that afternoon. It is a war of attrition, and in lieu of any chance of obtaining an acquittal, that seems to be the only way to gauge success or failure. □

GOVERNMENT BY HUMILIATION

David Hirst

[The following article was originally published under the title "Humiliated Arabs brood on revenge" in the ***Manchester Guardian*** *of 6 October 1985. The author is a well-known British journalist who had covered the Middle East for many years. He is also the author of an excellent book on the Arab-Israeli conflict,* ***The Gun and the Olive Branch****]:*

On September 5, an Israeli driver of a tanker delivering petrol to a local filling station was stabbed by two Arabs in Palestine Square [Gaza]. After that, the army began its latest security crackdown. In addition to their standard practice of thrusting people, hands up, against a wall with insults, of forcing them face down on the asphalt, troops on stepped-up patrols have developed a technique which can only be intended to humiliate.

The practice appears to be random, a matter of the soldier's mood that day, but it conforms to a general practice, involving the seizure of identity cards, whose owners have to perform some insane and degrading antic to get them back. Usually, it is dancing. The victims have to keep it up until the soldiers, laughing, sneering, and clapping, are satisfied with their performance.

There are variations. The price of getting back an identity card might be to cite its numbers. "It is a long one," said a British-educated doctor, "but I remembered mine immediately; whatever happens I wasn't going to dance for them."

Once the soldiers assembled some 50 people in a square, and scattered the identity cards all over it, so that everyone had to hunt for his own. This is part of a wider pattern that extends to the West Bank where, according to reports, Arabs have been invited to bark like dogs, bray like donkeys and—in one case in Hebron—kiss their donkey's behind.

Yes, conceded Captain Eli Hurewitz, the military spokesman in Gaza, such things were happening. No, it was not officially ordered or condoned. It was a regrettable consequence of the war in Lebanon. Returning soldiers were apt to forget that they were now in the very different environment of the occupied territories. With regular soldiers replacing reservists, this has become the orthodox explanation for such excesses.

That the Arabs were now having to dance for their identity cards was the only concession to their grievances that Captain Hurewitz would make. According to the Arabs, the stabbing that apparently provoked the crackdown was actually a quarrel between well-known hashish smugglers. The Israeli partner refused to pay up. . . .

The humiliations are new, but the crackdown has its more conventional, more tragic side. According to Captain Hurewitz, when it comes to deaths and injuries, Israeli soldiers have behaved with impeccable discipline, strictly conformed to standing orders. When 18-year-old Munzer Abdul Aziz Awad was killed a fortnight ago, they had first fired two warning rounds in the air, then, as he ran away, at his feet and finally—but unintentionally—at his chest and head.

The family claims otherwise; a soldier pursued Munzer about 150 yards; he was indeed hit in the legs some 20 yards from his home; still managing to advance, he was hit again, and then, collapsing, he was finished off at close range.

"A bullet came in at the top of his head and came out at the neck," said a close relative, one of the few permitted to attend the funeral. It was arranged at short notice, at dead of night with the scantest traditional ceremonial, in a cemetery guarded by four jeeps, two armored cars, and some 50 soldiers.

Two days later, an eight-year-old boy was shot in his father's car. Arab doctors who first operated on him said that his intestines had been ripped apart by an explosive bullet. Captain Hurewitz denied this. But a good 24 hours after the boy's death the Israelis agreed, saying that the father failed to stop when hailed and drove through two roadblocks.

The Arabs are at a loss to explain the crackdown, but, especially given the flimsiness of the ostensible pretext, they tend to see it as just another manifestation of what they have always regarded as Zionism's grand design: to subjugate, pauperize and ultimately drive them out.

Those contemporary standard bearers of militant Zionism, the religious-nationalist pioneers of Gush Emunim, appear to have got the message.

According to local witnesses, they staged two provocative demonstrations. In the smaller of the two, some 15 settlers descended on the Zeitoun district of Gaza city, identifying this as a former "Jewish quarter" and, with shouts of "Death to the Arabs," called for eventual settlement there. Some Jews had indeed rented accommodation there—during the British mandate—natives say.

However, it is the basic doctrine of the Gush and their supporters in the government coalition that Jews have the right to settle not just in open country, but in the heart of Arab towns.

It is easy to imagine what consternation that would cause in Gaza. There are nearly 600,000 people crowded into its 227 square miles, with perhaps a third of that territory, including rich agricultural land, already in Jewish hands.

All things considered, the humiliations and trigger happy exploits of the military, the ambitions of the settlers plus the wretched and deteriorating material conditions of a community that is being reduced, by deliberate policy, to a kind of Soweto, Gazans say that things have never been as bad as they are today.

"They just don't want peace," said the taxi driver who took me out of the Strip into the wide open spaces of southern Israel—a universal sentiment.

Reflecting another sentiment which is gaining ground, he added: "We know that it is them or us. We have no arms, no help from outside. I don't know when the explosion will come, in two years, five or 20, but I know that it will. When it does there will be blood. Much blood." □

PLO News and Views

ARAFAT CONDEMNS TERRORISM

"Violators Will Be Punished"

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee, condemned terrorist acts against innocent unarmed civilians anywhere. The Palestinian leader said in a formal statement which he made in Cairo on 7 November, that Palestinians who commit such acts outside Israeli-held lands would be punished. This is the most explicit condemnation by the PLO of terrorism, as distinguished from legitimate armed struggle against a foreign occupation, that had been made publicly so far.

Mr. Arafat cited a 1974 PLO resolution "to condemn all outside operations and forms of terrorism," and said that he was now reaffirming that commitment of all PLO institutions and factions. His statement, which he read to reporters as Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and some high-ranking PLO officials stood by his side, said that "the PLO denounces and condemns all terrorist acts, whether those involving states or committed by individuals or groups, against unarmed innocent civilians anywhere."

Mr. Arafat called attention to Israeli state terrorism against the Palestinian people and said that since a commitment against terrorism cannot be unilateral, the international community should strive to commit Israel to cease terrorist acts against the Palestinian people.

This important PLO statement against terrorism, referred to as the "Cairo Declaration" by Palestinian officials, was apparently made to facilitate the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, and to open the way to a long-delayed PLO dialogue with the United States.

The Cairo Declaration

The Palestinian people are engaged in a struggle to free their occupied land, to attain their right to self-determination and to establish their own state as essential requirements for a just and lasting peace in the region, a peace in which all the peoples of the region coexist free of terrorism and oppression.

In spite of all the political and military changes witnessed by our region, especially during the last few years, including the Israeli aggression in Lebanon in 1982 and the Israeli raid on Tunis to destroy PLO headquarters in 1985, the Palestinian people continue to strive for peace and to seek a regional and international environment conducive to a just and peaceful settlement.

The PLO had made great strides in this direction and accomplished important stages along this road which include:

1) The Arab Summit at Fez in 1982 in which all Arab parties including the PLO chose peace under Security Council guarantees and within the framework of international legitimacy. This stand was reaffirmed by the Casablanca Summit in 1985.

2) The Geneva Declaration, issued by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine (1983), which affirmed the right of all states in the region to exist within secure and internationally recognized borders, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their state on their land.

3) The Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, signed on 11 February 1985, which translated the special Jordanian-Palestinian relationship into a joint effort and a common objective.

4) The continuing commitment to the framework of an international conference for peace in the Middle East, attended by the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as the other permanent members of the Security Council and the parties to the conflict including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Within this context of seeking the achievement of a just and peaceful settlement, and the struggle in which the PLO is engaged by all legitimate means to regain the inalienable and fundamental rights of the Palestinian people, the PLO condemns all violations of human rights, especially the rights to life and security, without distinction on the basis of religion, race or color.

As a contribution to advance the efforts to convene an international peace conference, the PLO declares its disapproval and condemnation of all terrorist acts, regardless of whether they are perpetrated by states or committed by individuals or groups, against unarmed innocent people anywhere.

The PLO reaffirms its 1974 resolution condemning all external operations and all forms of terrorism, and renews this commitment by all its factions and institutions. The PLO, as of today, will take deterrent measures against violators.

In view of the fact that unilateral commitments cannot be upheld, the international community must commit Israel to cease all terrorist acts inside and outside the occupied territories.

The PLO affirms its adherence to the right of the Palestinian people to resist Israeli occupation of their land by all means available to them for the purpose of achieving withdrawal from these territories, because the right to resist alien occupation is an inalienable legitimate right sanctioned by the Charter of the United Nations which calls for the abandonment of the use of force and the threat of force in the resolution of conflict, and considers the resort to force as a violation of its principles and Charter. The right of the Palestinian people to resist occupation has been affirmed by numerous resolutions of the United Nations and by the Geneva Conventions.

Events prove the PLO's belief that terrorist acts committed outside the occupied territories harm the cause of the Palestinian people and tarnish their just struggle for freedom. On the other hand, they confirm our belief that terminating the occupation and its policies is the only path to peace and security in the region. The PLO appeals to all peace-loving forces in the world to stand by its side as it takes this step to help rid the world of the phenomenon of terrorism, and to free people from fear and to protect them from danger, because our ultimate goal is to achieve a just, comprehensive and enduring peace which secures the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and establishes security everywhere. □

SPIES IN LARNACA: THE DEATH OF AN ASSASSIN

[The killing of three Israelis in Larnaca, Cyprus, on 30 September was a smaller replica of the attempted assassination of Israel's ambassador in London which Israel used as a pretext to launch its aggression in Lebanon in the summer of 1982. Although the PLO disclaimed responsibility for the killing, Israel used it to launch an air attack on Tunis with the declared intention of destroying PLO headquarters there, unleashing a tragic chain of events reaching all the way to California, where Alex Odeh, the Palestinian-American director of ADC office was murdered.

As the American media in 1982 largely ignored the fact that the PLO was not responsible for the shooting of the Israeli ambassador in London, it ignored a very important fact about the event in Larnaca. Nothing like the following article, written by ***John Bulloch,*** *the diplomatic correspondent of the* ***Daily Telegraph,*** *appeared in this country. The article, which was published on 3 October 1985, appeared under the title "PLO victims were Mossad agents"]:*

The reason for the unprecedented strength of Tuesday's Israeli attack on the Tunis offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization became apparent yesterday. It was because the three Israelis killed by the PLO aboard a yacht in Larnaca, Cyprus, on Monday were agents of the Mossad, the Israeli secret service. And the woman leader of the team was one of Mossad's most successful operatives.

According to intelligence sources, the woman, whose name was given as Esther Palzur, was in fact Sylvia Rafael. She also used the name Patricia Roxburgh while pretending to work as a photographer.

Two Palestinians and an Englishman who had been fighting with the PLO gave themselves up to Cyprus police after the killings. All three have been charged with murder and an Israeli request for their extradition has been refused.

The day after the murders, Israeli planes hit targets in East Lebanon in what was taken as routine revenge for an attack on Israeli citizens. Then on Monday came the elaborate, long range strike against the PLO in Tunis.

The murder of Sylvia Rafael—who was tracking down Palestinian agents in Cyprus—sent shock waves through the Mossad and the whole Israeli intelligence community, where she had become something of a legend, not least because she was not herself Jewish.

She was born of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother in South Africa, and was taken to Israel in her youth. Under Jewish religious law, "Jewishness" can only be passed on through the maternal line.

A strikingly tall, dark-haired girl, she was recruited for the Mossad, and one of her first jobs was to go to Jordan in 1969 and 1970, when extremist Palestinian groups were in virtual control of Amman. Her task was to forecast events in Jordan, assess the mood and inclinations of the King and Jordanian Government, and thus enable Israel to do what it could to encourage those intent on throwing the Palestinians out of the country. Sylvia Rafael pretended to be a freelance photographer and took the name of Patricia Roxburgh.

Through her charm, hard work, and through contacts already in place, she soon gained entry to the ruling groups in Amman. On one occasion she was invited to a party at which King Hussein was the guest of honor.

She once showed me her engagement book, crammed with dates for lunches, drinks and dinner parties with the elite of Amman. So busy with her real job was she that she forgot to maintain her cover, and it was noticed she rarely took the pictures on which her living was supposed to depend.

Taxed with this, Rafael fell back on her second cover story: Mummy was very rich and lived in Paris, she said with an embarrassed blush. It was true she rarely had pictures published, but Mummy gave her an allowance while she tried to make her way as a photographer. In 1970 "Black September" came to Amman, the PLO was beaten and dispersed, and a few months later Sylvia turned up in Beirut.

But by this time suspicions had been aroused. Her room in the Excelsior Hotel was broken into one night and all her possessions examined. Nothing was stolen. It was a clear warning which Sylvia Rafael took. She disappeared as suddenly as she had arrived. But not for long.

In 1974, Ahmed Bouchiki, a Moroccan waiter, was gunned down on a street in Lillehammer, Norway. Six Israelis, including Sylvia Rafael, now claiming to be a Canadian, were charged with murder. The Mossad hit team had made a mistake. They were hunting Abu Hassan Salameh, the young head of the PLO intelligence apparatus, and had mistaken the unfortunate waiter for the legendary director of the Palestinian underground. Rafael and several others were sentenced to five years in prison for what the judge said he accepted was an Israeli intelligence operation.

But in little more than 18 months they were free. Rafael returned to Paris where she had organized a flat used as a "safe house" by Israeli intelligence. Then again she dropped from sight. This time there was no firm news of where she went.

But in 1979, as Salameh was driving along Rue Verdun in Beirut, on his way from his office to his home, a Volkswagen car loaded with explosives was detonated by remote control. "Abu Hassan," as he was known, was killed instantly.

That evening neighbors noted that a "quiet Englishwoman" who had been living just across the road from the point of the detonation appeared to have abandoned her flat.

Nothing was proved, but security men believed Sylvia Rafael had accomplished the job which was bungled in Norway. Since that time Sylvia Rafael has kept her flat in Paris, and another in Tel Aviv. But she has rarely been in Israel. And discrete inquiries among those who should have known elicited only the vague response that she was "out of the country."

Sylvia Rafael went on working to the end and died in action, according to the intelligence sources. She also died disappointed. Her one complaint was that she was never accepted in Israel as Jewish. And despite all she did for her adopted country, the unbending rabbis would not relax their rules. □

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Life Under Occupation

PHRC CONDEMNS "IRON FIST" POLICY

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) urged all persons and organizations concerned with human rights to protest intensified Israeli repression in the occupied territories, especially the "iron fist policy" which has been used to deport and illegally imprison Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. In an "action alert" issued on 31 October, the Chicago-based human rights organization specifically urged protest on behalf of four Palestinians threatened with deportation. This act, the statement said, is "an obstacle to peace" as well as "a clear violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949." The statement continued to say that the deportation policy "reveals a sinister strategy of weakening Palestinian institutions (such as universities, trade unions, newspapers, human rights organizations, etc.), with the consequential elimination of leadership in those institutions."

The PHRC statement said that "since 4 August 1985, when the Israeli Knesset adopted its latest Iron Fist Policy in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, repression has intensified against Palestinian leadership and their institutions. There are currently over 100 Palestinians illegally imprisoned under administrative detention orders." The detainees went on a hunger strike to protest their illegal imprisonment and harsh prison conditions including torture, humiliation and inadequate food.

"While international pressure mounts on South Africa," the PHRC statement said, "there is little attention paid to Israel's brutal practice of apartheid. We believe that people of conscience...must unite to bring the same pressures on Israel as are being brought on South Africa, until the occupation, repression, politicide, and apartheid against Palestinians are terminated." □

ANALYSIS...
"CLENCHED FISTS WILL STILL REMAIN"

A few months ago, Israel transferred its "iron fist" policy from Lebanon to the West Bank and Gaza. Among other things, it decided to return to the policy of deportation and administrative detention where the accused is presumed guilty, which makes such formalities as charges and trials unnecessary.

It had been tried before, of course. The return to this policy after its temporary abandonment indicates its futility. Where there is oppression there is resistance. It is almost a law of nature. It would be a giant step for mankind—to borrow a phrase from the moon—when oppressors and would-be oppressors understand this simple fact. Israelis, or at least some of them, understand it but for some reason they are unable to live by it. *Davar*, an establishment Israeli newspaper, recently editorialized on the subject. Here is what it had to say in its 12 August 1985 issue:

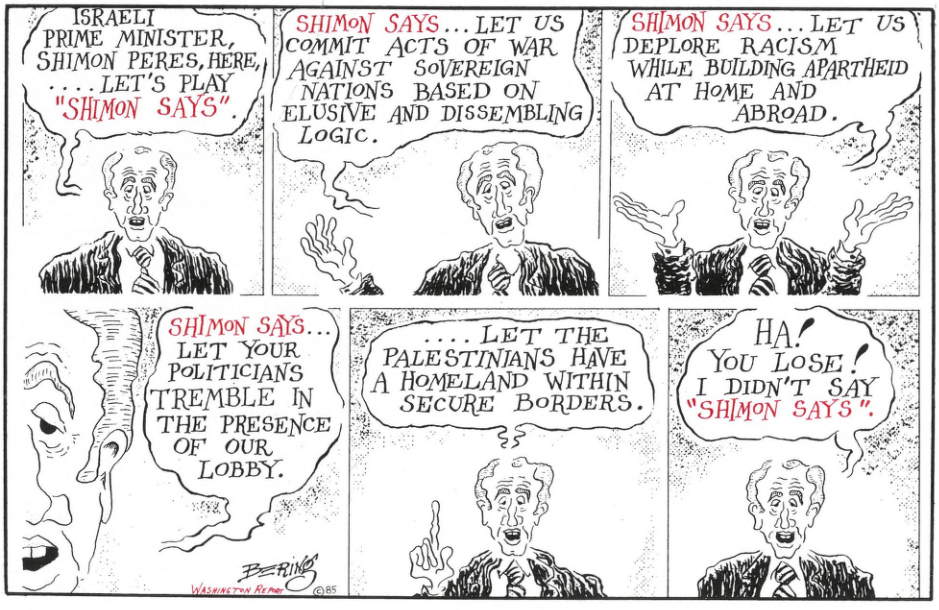
More than a year ago, when stone-throwing on the West Bank had reached a new high, a discussion of the problem was held in some security forum. Numerous suggestions were made as to how to overcome the problem, but everyone felt that there was no absolute solution. Until one of those present said: Let's remove all the stones from the West Bank. Then they won't have anything to throw at us. Not everyone present understood the irony....

But anyone who thinks that the government, any government, can eliminate insurgence in the territories altogether is deluding himself. No occupying power, no matter how tough, can put an end to resistance. It's almost a law of nature: whenever a ruling power is illegitimate, it will encounter civil resistance.

We have two choices: either to continue our rule in the territories because we believe that they are rightfully ours or necessary to us and be prepared for the continuation of civil unrest; or to create a legitimate political situation there by a political accommodation.

What is abundantly clear is that reprisals by the settlers, similar to tough measures by the military, will not solve the problem. They may result in a momentary calm but the next wave of resistance will be right around the corner.

The time has come for our political leaders to stop flexing muscles and promising that Jewish blood will not be spilt again. They have to tell the truth: there can be no secure and normal life for Jews in the West Bank as long as there are over a million people there who see us as their conquerors. Even if we manage to get rid of all the knives and stones, clenched fists will still remain. □



PALESTINIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN ISRAEL: *PATTERNS OF INEQUALITY*

Khalil Jahshan

The establishment of the state of Israel on Palestinian soil on 14 May 1948, resulted in the dismemberment of Palestine and the forceful exile of most of its indigenous people. Only 156,000 Palestinians remained in the territory which became Israel. Today, the Palestinian community in Israel numbers in excess of 650,000 people or 16 percent of the total population of the country.

Throughout the last thirty-seven years, the Palestinians in Israel have been subjected to policies of benign neglect, institutionalized discrimination and internal colonialism. Their land has been arbitrarily confiscated, their economy kept underdeveloped and dependent, their political activity heavily restricted, and even their educational system has been kept inferior, lacking adequate facilities and resources, and subject to governmental control aimed at keeping the Arabs living under Israeli control as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for Jewish society.

Arab "citizens" of the Jewish state accuse the government of discriminating against them in all aspects of economic, political and social life including education, health, agricultural development, housing, industrialization, municipal subsidies, national insurance benefits, social services...etc. In the sphere of higher education, they specifically point out to the adamant Israeli refusal to allow the establishment in Nazareth of an Arab university geared to meet the needs of the Palestinian community, in addition to discriminatory practices involving all stages of university education, from culturally biased admission tests to the lack of employment opportunities after graduation.

The number of Palestinian students in Israeli universities has reached an estimated 3,000 in 1984. This constitutes only 4.5 percent of the total number of university students in Israel. This percentage is conspicuously low in light of the fact that the Arab minority in Israel constitutes 16 percent of the total population. In addition to being underrepresented among Israeli university students, Palestinians face peculiar problems emanating from institutionalized discrimination in Israeli society. These problems include inadequate preparation throughout primary and secondary education, culturally biased admission criteria, lack of sufficient financial aid, housing problems, arbitrary restrictions on student activities and organizations, limitations on the freedom to choose academic fields of specialization, and lack of employment opportunities after graduation.

Inadequate Preparation

Palestinian university students are at a disadvantage by virtue of their educational upbringing in a deficient Arab educational system controlled and manipulated by the Israeli Ministry of Education whose objective is to control and neutralize Arab students and de-Palestinianize them by distorting Arab history and undermining all forms of nationalist identification or expression on their part. The whole system, based on the premise of separate and unequal, has been devised and operated in a manner totally oblivious to the cultural, economic, political and social needs of the Arab population.

The result is a public educational system of inferior quality suffering from severe overcrowding, a shortage in qualified teaching staff, lack of modern educational facilities and tools, and insufficient funds to meet the basic educational needs of the community. Therefore, after graduating from high school, Arab students find it extremely difficult to compete with their Jewish counterparts for admission to Israeli universities, particularly in scientific fields. A large number of Arab students are deemed unfit to begin their regular freshman year course of study, instead, they are required to spend a preparatory year making up for their deficient elementary and secondary education. Charges have been made that the admission process, specifically the psychometric exam used to screen applicants, is culturally biased favoring members of the dominant Jewish culture to the detriment of the Arab minority.

Institutional Discrimination

Palestinian students who manage to gain admission to Israeli universities face a pattern of institutionalized discriminatory practices which severely limit their educational attainment. First of all, they are not given freedom to choose an academic major of their choice. The bulk of Arab students (75 percent) are channelled into the humanities and social sciences away from scientific and technical fields which are arbitrarily viewed by the Israeli authorities as "security related." As a result, several academic subjects remain beyond the reach of most Palestinian students. These include such subjects as electronics, aeronautics, chemical engineering, nuclear physics...etc. Other subjects require security clearance thus placing them beyond the reach of most politically active students.

Second, Palestinian students face serious financial difficulties considering the fact that many among them belong to economically underprivileged and large size families. The cost of higher education in Israel has been rising at an alarming rate due to the triple digit inflation characterizing the Israeli economy in recent years. Tuition has more than doubled between academic year 1983-84 and 1984-85, making university education beyond the reach of many otherwise qualified Palestinians with limited family income.

In addition, Arab students face a serious problem in securing adequate and affordable housing. Only a few Palestinian students are admitted to campus dormitories leaving the rest scurrying for space for rent in areas surrounding campus, otherwise, they have to commute home which adds another financial burden to their limited budget. Rampant racism and rigid housing segregation in Israeli society make it extremely difficult for Arab students to find housing space in pre-

(continued on page 9)

Life Under Occupation

PALESTINIAN EDUCATION

(continued from page 8)

dominantly Jewish areas where the universities are located.

Palestinian students are also faced with limited financial assistance from official and private sources. Most scholarship funds available to Israeli students are not available to Arab students. Preference is given to Jewish students who also qualify for additional reduction in fees because they or their parents serve in the Israeli armed forces. Most Arabs are not subject to compulsory military service and consequently are ineligible for such benefits.

Restriction on Activities

In their attempt to control the activities of Arab students, Israeli authorities resort to different forms of harassment and cooptation. Arab student organizations remain officially unrecognized after twenty years of existence, in certain cases, to deny them legitimacy and free access to campus facilities and privileges. According to Ian Lustick, author of *Arabs in the Jewish State*, "harassment of Arab university student organizations has been an important element in the government's overall campaign to prevent the emergence of Arab political groups or leaders that could effectively appeal to the minority on a countrywide basis." Student organizations are continuously subjected to police state tactics such as infiltration, surveillance and cooptation of student council members through bribery, blackmail or threat of violence.

Student leaders and activists are frequently harassed and detained on the basis of fabricated charges to intimidate them and discourage them from carrying out political activities. Some have been denied physical access to campus, often in collusion with the university administrators, costing them the loss of a semester or even a full year of academic credit.

The Israeli rationale for such arbitrary and discriminatory practices is security. The protracted state of war between Israel and its Arab neighbors, we are told, prevents the Jewish state from treating its Arab citizens with complete equality. Until peace is achieved, according to the Israeli argument, Arab demands for equality with Jews will not be possible.

In fact, most Israeli restrictions and violations of Arab human and political rights are not security related. Some are based on purely economic considerations while others are the direct outcome of a racist ideology, namely, Zionism. Palestinian Arabs residing in Israel will always suffer from serious inequalities in all spheres of life as long as Israel remains a Jewish state. As is, Israel is the state of the Jewish people and not of all its citizens, Arab or otherwise. According to Dr. Sami Mar'i, "Arabs will always occupy a lower position in the order of priorities of Israel as a Zionist-Jewish State." □

MORE DEPORTATIONS

The Israeli occupation authorities issued deportation orders against four Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza. The four threatened with deportation are: Dr. Azmi Shu'aibi, a dentist who had been elected to Bireh municipal council in 1976, Hassan Abd al-Jawad, a journalist from Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem, Ali Abu Hilal, a laborer and trade unionist, and Zaki Statieh, a former political prisoner who was released last May during the prisoner exchange between Israel and the Palestinians.

The four Palestinians were arrested on 27 October in preparation for their deportation, subsequently they have been trying to secure court orders against their deportation. They accused the occupation authorities of punishing them for their political beliefs. The deportation of the four individuals would bring to 25 the number of Palestinians deported since Israel reinstituted its "iron fist" policy in the occupied territories three months ago. □

MAGAZINE BANNED

The Palestinian weekly magazine *Al-Bayader Assiyasi* was banned for two weeks in October by the Israeli censor. The ban prohibited the magazine from distribution in its principal markets, the West Bank and Gaza.

The Arab Journalists Association in Jerusalem said in a press conference on 14 October that the ban against the magazine was part of the Israeli campaign against the Palestinian press. Since the reinstitution of the oppressive 1945 "Emergency Regulations" by the Israeli authorities, the press has come under increasing restrictions. *Al-Manar* press office and *Al-Darb* newspaper were closed down. Five Palestinian journalists have been placed under administrative detention, and three others under town arrest.

Palestinian sources in the occupied territories believe that the heavy-handed Israeli treament of the press and other institutions in the occupied territories is partly due to pressure from Jewish settlers who want to make life unbearable in the occupied territories to encourage Arab emigration. □

LET THEM CRUMBLE

The Israeli police is preventing the people of Bir'im, a Palestinian village in Upper Galilee, from doing necessary renovation on the village school and church. The villagers fear that if the work is not done the structures would collapse.

In 1948, when the Zionist forces occupied Bir'im, they forced its residents to evacuate "temporarily" for alleged security reasons. They have never been allowed to return to their homes although they became "Israeli citizens." They became "internal refugees," meaning Palestinians who never left their country but are not permitted to live in their villages.

The people of Bir'im have been seeking recognition of their right to return to their village, but the Israeli authorities have consistently refused to do so. The recent action of the Israeli police indicates that Israel persists in its refusal to allow the people of Bir'im to reclaim their village. □

COMMENTARY...
JUSTICE ON TRIAL

During the past two months, the American media—with invaluable assistance from the President of the United States and various spokesmen of his administration—managed to hypnotize itself with repeated monotonous chants about the triumph over terrorism. In its self-induced trance, the media neglected to notice that the events of the past two months prove the opposite.

When Israel, and its domestic agents, succeed in recruiting the government of the United States into its cult of violence, it cannot be truly said that terrorism had been struck a blow. When the president of the United States is prevailed upon to call "an act of legitimate self-defense" the bombing of a country most friendly to the United States, it cannot be said that the practice of violence has received a setback. And when terrorism rears its ugly head on American soil and murders an American citizen in the name of anti-terrorism, it cannot be said that we have gained credibility as "good guys."

The United States faces numerous obstacles in its effort to disseminate its values in the world. The last thing its needs are self-defeating efforts. It cannot help bring peace to the Middle East by behaving as if it were a partisan in the conflict there. And it cannot gain credibility for its crusade against violence by placing less value on one human life than another.

Arab-Americans do not ask for a congressional medal of honor for Alex Odeh. He had plenty of honor in the way he lived and in the cause for which he died. But they and all other Americans expect their country and have the right to expect their country, not to dishonor them in the way it administers justice.

Many parties, including the PLO, grieved for the tragedy of the Achille Lauro and its victims, and participated in the effort to secure the safety of its passengers. But the responsibility of the apprehension and punishment of the perpetrators of the murder of Alex Odeh, an American citizen murdered on American soil, is solely the responsibility of American justice. It is a greater test of American resolve to fight terrorism than any other thing that it can possibly do. □

CONGRESSMEN URGE REAGAN

Investigate Israeli Violation of Arms Control Act

Six members of the United States Congress expressed outrage at the Israeli bombing of Tunisia on 1 October 1985 and urged President Ronald Reagan to investigate Israeli violations of the Arms Export Control Act. Following is the text of the letter, which was transmitted to the president on 4 October 1985:

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President
The White House

We write to express our outrage at the Israeli bombing of Tunisian territory on Tuesday, October 1, and at the position the U.S. has taken in response to that bombing. In addition, we request that you initiate an investigation to ascertain whether U.S.-made and supplied military equipment was used in the raid, directly or indirectly, in violation of agreements with the United States pursuant to Sections 3 and 4 of the Arms Export Control Act, or to Sections 502 and 505 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.

The reported Israeli use of American-made F15 bombers in the raid, the allegations that American-made tankers were used to refuel these aircraft in mid-air, and the reported Pentagon speculation that U.S.-built E2C Hawkeye command and control aircraft may have been used to guide the bombers and watch for opposing aircraft, all would appear to clearly violate agreements pursuant to U.S. law, as cited above, which forbid the use of U.S.-made and supplied military equipment for other than strictly defensive purposes.

It is equally unconscionable to condone this raid on the territory

(continued on page 12)

TERRORISM, USA

ADC California Office Bombed, Director Alex Odeh Murdered

The regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), Alex Odeh, was murdered and seven other people in a neighboring office were wounded when a bomb exploded in the ADC office in Santa Ana, California, on the morning of Friday, 11 October 1985. In a press release issued on 13 October, the ADC accused certain public officials and the media of using the Achille Lauro incident to create a "lynch mob atmosphere" and anti-Arab racism in the United States, which encouraged the terrorist attack on the ADC and the murder of Mr. Odeh. The national chairman of ADC, former Senator James G. Abourezk, issued a statement on 11 October, calling on the President and the members of his administration as well as the press "to take a public position against the racist atmosphere being created against people of Arab descent here in America." Following is the text of Senator Abourezk's statement:

Statement of
Senator James Abourezk

On behalf of the members of the ADC, I am first of all denouncing the bombing of ADC's regional headquarters in Santa Ana, California, in which our regional director, Alex Odeh, was murdered. I am saddened and outraged by this senseless act of terrorism. Further I demand that the authorities pursue the criminals responsible for this cowardly act and punish them to the full extent of the law.

Secondly, I am calling upon President Reagan, all members of his administration, the Congress, and members of the press media to take a public position against the racist atmosphere being created against people of Arab descent here in

(continued on page 12)

In Brief

COURT BACKS KAHANE

Israel's High Court ruled that discriminatory legislation can be introduced in the Israeli Knesset. The court said in a ruling on 31 October that Rabbi Me'ir Kahane was entitled under Israeli law to propose anti-Arab legislation to strip "non-Jews" of Israeli citizenship and to make marriage and sexual intercourse between Arabs and Jews illegal.

UNCLE SAM FOOTS BILL

The Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations approved a proposal to reduce Israel's debt to the United States by $531 million by reducing the interest rate on previous debts from 12 to 5 percent. The sponsors of the proposal, Senators Daniel Inouye (D-HI) and Robert Kasten (R-WI) are heavily subsidized by Zionist political action committees.

ISRAELI FASCISTS GAIN

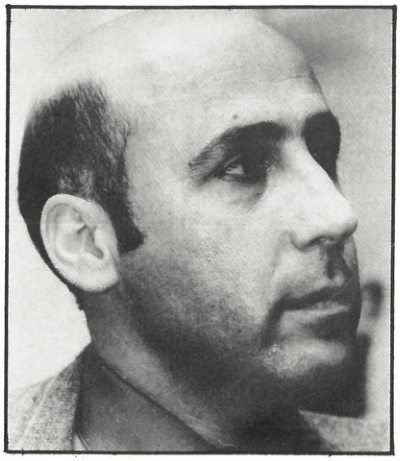
A public opinion poll conducted in August 1985 in Israel by Modi'in Ezrahi shows that, if parliamentary elections were held in Israel now, Rabbi Kahane's group (Kach) would increase its representation from one to eleven seats.

ANSAR CENTER

A center has been established in Seattle to collect testimonies and other forms of documentation on the Ansar concentration camp in which thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese were incarcerated by the Israelis in South Lebanon. The Ansar Resource Center has also produced a thirty-minute documentary video (VHS) as well as slides, cassettes and other material.

LIKUD: NO, NO, NO, NO

The Likud partner in the Israeli governing coalition agreed unanimously on four "noes" regarding the peace process in the Middle East: No to negotiations under international auspices; no to any territorial adjustments; no to interim agreements with Jordan; and no to negotiations with the PLO.



Alex M. Odeh

Alex Odeh, ADC's regional director for Southern California, was born in the Palestinian village of Jifna, near Jerusalem. He studied at Birzeit and al-Najah universities on the West Bank. He later studied economics at the University of Cairo, Egypt, and completed his education at California State—Fullerton. He also taught Political Science at Coastline Community College. Mr. Odeh came to the United States in 1972. At the time of his death he was a member of the Human Relations Commission of the County of Los Angeles and served as president of the Council of Arab-American Organizations of Southern California. He is survived by his wife and three young daughters, aged 2, 5 and 7. □

"ONLY SILENCE SPOKE"

The Santa Ana winds blew ominously last week. Though they didn't cause any great changes in the weather, they did leave in their wake a deadly and contaminated atmosphere. One clouded by hate, bigotry and extremism and darkened by death.

Few noticed. Most were too caught up in celebrating the "victory" over terrorism and besides, there was another murder, also tragic and regrettable, which seemed to be of greater concern. But if few noticed, even less seemed to care that a terrorist bombing in Santa Ana, California had claimed the life of an American and injured seven others.

It wasn't decried in the Halls of Congress. Nor was it deemed newsworthy enough to command sustained national media attention. No tributes. Absent also were the now-customary public pledges to "track down the terrorists." Stepping back, I couldn't help but sense that something was wrong with this entire spectacle. Certain inconsistencies emerged. It was as though there were two different barometers at work here, each designed to measure the acceptability of terrorism, yet each registering drastically different results.

Political terrorism had just dealt a damaging blow to one of America's most fundamental rights, freedom of expression. Extremists had sought to silence through intimidation while some very serious efforts were being made to deny some a right which belongs to us all. Who would be next? No answer, as only scant attention was paid.

As before, only silence spoke when the cycle of violence and hatred struck home, claiming yet another victim. He was the father of three young daughters, a husband and college instructor and a truly upstanding community member. He was also one who recognized full well the moral imperative to seek peace through promoting a better understanding. For that he was slain.

Murdered for what he said and somehow forgotten because of who he was. Few cared—but I did. And his memory will long live with me. He was my friend and fellow Arab-American, Alex Odeh. □

Omar K. Abdoe
New Castle, PA

TERRORISM, USA
(continued from page 10)

America. We are being treated to continuous reruns of Reagan on the television networks and radio news shows trying to act the part of Rambo, an act which is creating a sense of permissiveness and encouragement to unbalanced terrorists here in this country. If he is so determined to search out terrorists, as he has been trumpeting, he can begin right here at home. But if the President continues to ignore the killings and murders of people of Arab descent, he is simply adding to that racist atmosphere which is, in part, behind the murder of Alex Odeh. Throughout the crisis of the *Achille Lauro* this week public pronouncements from government spokespersons calling for blind vengeance and retaliation have exacerbated this threatening atmosphere.

Those people injured in the bombing in Santa Ana, including the fatal injury of Alex Odeh, ADC's regional director there, are innocent people. They are being made scapegoats for an act committed by four people in the Middle East with whom they have no connection.

For this administration to endorse Israeli terrorism, such as that committed against the people of Tunis last week, while maintaining silence about the killing of Alex Odeh, can only be considered the rankest form of hypocrisy and racism. If Reagan really means what he says about seeking out the terrorists wherever they are hiding, he should begin with those terrorists who have been trying to intimidate Arab-Americans into political silence. It is time for this administration, congressional leaders and the news media to take a stand against inflammatory rhetoric in order to discourage further acts of racist violence directed against Americans of Arab descent.

In such a lawless atmosphere we all are victims. It is imperative that the criminals responsible for this latest act of political terror—this time against an American on American soil—be apprehended and punished.

We also call upon the President and the Congress to immediately reexamine America's Middle East policy, which to this date has done nothing more than cause immense suffering among people of Arab descent, has encouraged violence and terrorism from all sides, and has hurt more than it has helped the cause of peace.

The United States government cannot continue to provide planes, bombs, bullets and guns for Israel to kill Arabs and expect desperate people not to retaliate against Americans. We are all targets. We are all victims of this policy, which, for the good of the people of the United States, as well as for the people of the Middle East, must be changed. For the government to continue to obscure the root causes of the violence in the Middle East as a way to cover up its flawed policies there is a violation of its trust to the American people, who are made to pay for the foreign policy mistakes of their government.

Alex Odeh was a peaceful, nonviolent man who was a good citizen, and who tried to do his best for the United States by peacefully debating the issues of the Middle East. His murder was unnecessary and tragic. □

CONGRESSMEN
(continued from page 10)

and people of Tunisia. Your administration's response to that unprovoked attack was to immediately term it a "legitimate response" and an "expression of self-defense." Not a shred of evidence has been offered that the bombing was in response to any hostile act against Israel by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Your response to the Israeli attack does a deep injustice to the people of Tunisia and their President, Habib Bourguiba, who has been a good friend to the United States and a strong advocate for a peaceful solution to the Middle East crisis. Indeed, it was the United States which urged Tunisia to allow members of the Palestine Liberation Organization to settle in its territory in 1982.

Moreover, your response to this outrage, in which more than 60 persons were killed, including both

Palestinians and Tunisians, serves to further sabotage the present peace initiative put forward by King Hussein of Jordan and the PLO, and to reinforce the widely-held belief that the United States will "rubber-stamp" any aggression Israel undertakes in the name of its "security," no matter how far-fetched or implausible it is.

Mr. President, we urge you to conduct a full investigation into this matter and present to the Congress your findings as to:

1) whether Israel has in fact violated any agreement entered into with the United States pursuant to the Arms Control Act or the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. We draw your particular attention to the July 23, 1952 Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement between the United States and Israel in which it is stated:

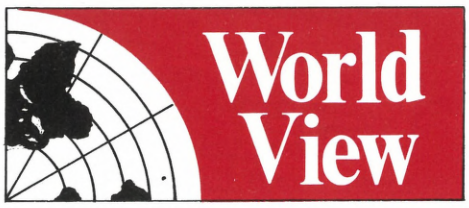
"The Government of Israel assures the United States Government that such equipment, materials or services as may be acquired from the United States...are requested for, and will be used solely to, maintain its internal security, its legitimate self defense, or to permit it to participate in the defense of the area of which it is a part, or in the United Nations collective security arrangements and measures, and that it will not undertake any act of aggression against any other state.

2) what measures you will take in response to such violation.

The United States must seek to end the escalating cycle of violence in the Middle East, which threatens not only the peoples and nations of that region, but the entire world. We must condemn the use of violence by any party to the Middle East conflict, and work instead to bring the peace process to fruition.

We look forward to your early response,

(Signed): Marvyn Dymally, Geo. W. Crockett, Jr., Ronald V. Dellums, John Conyers, Jr., Walter E. Fauntroy, and Parren J. Mitchell.



A WHISPER FROM THE CANADIAN SENATE

A Canadian Senate committee endorsed a report on the Middle East which has Canadian Zionists up in arms. The report, which includes factual information on the Arab-Israeli conflict as well as policy recommendations, does not signal a departure from traditional Canadian policy, but its factual contents are relatively objective, which explains Zionist anger. For example, the report states that the PLO "speaks for most Palestinians" and it describes some of Israel's repressive policies in the occupied territories.

The Zionist press in Canada complained that some Canadian senators "have been taken in by some very effective lobbying." On the other hand, the Palestine Information Office in Canada issued a statement in which it praised the objectivity of the factual information in the report but criticized its policy recommendations which, it said, contradicted the report's own findings. Following is the text of the statement by the Palestine Information Office on the report:

PIO Statement

The three-year study of the Middle East and North Africa by the Canadian Senate was thorough in its analysis, factual in its findings. The Senate Committee has to be commended for its efforts and sincerity.

However, the recommendations of the Senate Report are not consistent either with the spirit or with the findings of the Report itself.

The Report finds that the PLO "clearly speaks for most Palestinians" and that "the PLO's political institutions function in a relatively democratic manner." To recommend that Palestinians should be represented in negotiations by non-PLO members is incompatible with these findings and undemocratic.

By taking this position the Committee aligns itself with extremist elements in Israel at a time when a former Israeli foreign minister, Abba Eban, acknowledged that "in order to solve a conflict, you must negotiate with your enemy."

The Report concludes elsewhere that Israel's military occupation is "relatively benign and generally humanitarian." Yet the report compiles a long list of oppressive measures by the Israeli occupation. These measures include: confiscation of more than half of Palestinian land; frequent closure of academic institutions; resort to collective punishment of whole villages for individual offences; demolition of houses; deportation of notables; illegal detention of Palestinians; dismissal of democratically elected mayors and municipal councils, replacing them with Israeli military personnel.

Failure of the Report to come to logical conclusions on the basis of its own findings results from the direct influence of a small group who managed to put their selfish concerns ahead of the national interest. The CLC President, for example, issued a statement echoing the sentiments of the Canada-Israel Committee before taking the time to read the Report.

. . .(such) statements should be dismissed as Zionist propaganda designed on the one hand to reinforce a deliberately distorted image of the PLO and the Palestinian people, and on the other to dissuade Canadians from reading the Senate Report.

According to the Report, "failure to resolve the Palestinian problem remains a destabilizing factor in the Middle East." We urge the Canadian government to recognize the PLO as a full party to negotiations for a settlement of the Palestine Question. Canada was one of the main palyers in the creation of the Palestinian problem in 1947. Canada should be a principal actor in the search for a solution today. □

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BLACK LAWYERS AND JURISTS

Condemns Israeli Apartheid and Calls for U.S. Recognition of the PLO

An International Conference of Black Lawyers and Jurists was held in Toronto from 11-14 October 1985. Participants included the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) U.S.A. and the Delos Davis Law Guild of Toronto. The conference endorsed the following resolution on the Middle East:

Resolution

WHEREAS, the issue of International Liberation struggles has been of ongoing concern for our organizations;

RECOGNIZING, that the U.N. General Assembly, during the Decade on Racism, condemned the rule of apartheid in South Africa as a most virile form of racism;

RECOGNIZING, that the U.N. General Assembly, in 1975, condemned and equated Zionism as a form of such racism;

RECALLING, that the National Conference of Black Lawyers, in 1979, called for the United States government to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people;

RECOGNIZING and *ENDORSING* the current international demand for the immediate end to apartheid in South Africa;

WHEREAS, in March, 1985, the National Conference of Black Lawyers sent a fact-finding delegation to Israel and the Occupied Territories, which has reported its observations of the institutionalized conditions of discrimination and apartheid-like rule of the Palestinian people;

WHEREAS, we note with grave alarm the escalation of violence upon the supporters of the Palestinian cause, such as the bombing and murder of Alex Odeh, on October 11, 1985, in Santa Ana, CA;

RECALLING, the bomb threats and other attacks upon the National Conference of Black Lawyers, its officers and representatives, in November 1984, because of its show of solidarity for the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people;

WHEREAS, the United States government and news media only selectively recognize the foregoing conditions

and events;

WHEREAS, on October 1, 1985, the State of Israel, in yet another act of state-sponsored terrorism and in violation of international law, bombed the sovereign African Arab State of Tunis causing the death of 72 Palestinians and Tunisians;

WHEREAS, the government of the United States openly condoned, if not assisted in, this act of state terrorism;

IT IS HEREBY RESOLVED, by the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the Delos Davis Law Guild at the International Conference of Black Lawyers and Jurists:

1. To reaffirm the 1979 National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) Resolution calling for the immediate recognition by the United States government of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
2. To endorse a U.N. sponsored, international peace conference on Palestine and the Middle East, which should include all permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all parties to the conflict.
3. To work for increased alliances of understanding and solidarity between Black and Arab Americans and to establish joint programs to educate their communities of the situations in and parallels of South Africa and Palestine.
4. To condemn the attack upon Tunis by Israel and the support of this act of state-sponsored terrorism by the United States, as a blatant violation of international law.

CRAXI SUPPORTS PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi defied pressures on him to water down his support for the right of the Palestinian people to struggle by all means to regain their national rights and affirmed the legitimacy of armed struggle by the PLO to free Palestinian lands occupied by Israel. In a statement he issued on 6 November, Mr. Craxi said that although he believed that Palestinian struggle may be counterproductive, "I don't contest the legitimacy of it."

Mr. Craxi has been under pressure from rightist parties in Italy, as well as from Israel and the United States, to change Italy's policy which has been sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. "To contest, to a movement wanting to liberate its own country from a foreign occupation," he said referring to armed struggle by the PLO, "the legitimacy of the resort to arms means to go against the laws of history." □

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"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"It is almost a law of nature: whenever a ruling power is illegitimate, it will encounter civil resistance."

Editorial
Davar (Israel)
12 August 1985

"Israel today rejects the Jordanian-Palestinian option not because it endangers its existence but because it doesn't suit its grandiose ambition, born of the 1967 war. Official Israel prefers messianic delusions over a realistic policy and is ready to gamble on them rather than seek a real peace. Thus the present security conception is grounded in historical misconception, namely, that military power will make all dreams come true."

Matti Peled
Ha'aretz (Israel)
13 August 1985

"Two tales of terror against American citizens—one a Jew, the other a Palestinian Arab born to Catholic parents on what is now the West Bank. Two equally heinous crimes—'it ought to go without saying.' And yet *The New Republic* saw a need to say it. The point is that, with some notable exceptions, nobody had."

Philip Geyelin
The Washington Post
1 November 1985

"One Israeli in ten is a fascist, judging by the last poll by *Modi'in Ezrahi* which estimates the Kach movement's electoral strength at 11 Knesset seats."

Editorial
Al-Hamishmar (Israel)
28 August 1985

"Israel is an oppressive, aggressive, militaristic country whose foreign policy won't lead to peace.... The Israeli lobby in the USA pretty much creates U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East."

Rev. Benjamin Weir
USA Today
23 September 1985

"Retaliation, like wetting our pants, may leave a warm feeling but it won't do much good."

William Ringle
USA Today
9 October 1985

"One of the best kept secrets in America's ostensibly liberal Jewish community is the tremendous support it has given to Gush Emunim and Rabbi Kahane."

Robert I. Friedman
The Village Voice
12 November 1985

SETTLERS THREATEN CIVIL WAR

Jewish settlers in the occupied West Bank threatened the Israeli government with armed insurrection if it went ahead and negotiated an exchange of peace for land agreement with Jordan. Spokesmen for settlers in the occupied territories said that they would consider any Israeli government which agrees to give up an inch of territory to be illegal and that they would urge disobedience to it. This view has been expressed in a document prepared by the Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank. One Council member explained the settlers' position by warning the Israeli government that if it makes peace with the Arabs which would involve any territorial concessions, it better be prepared for war with the Jews.

The New York Times (6 November) quoted an anonymous article which appeared in *Alef Yod*, a settler publication, saying that the government would face civil war and not just civil disobedience if it agreed to territorial compromise with Jordan. "In this hour of emergency," the article said, "all means will be legitimate. We might witness a most frightful scene—mutiny in the Israeli Defense Forces, an armed uprising in Judea and Samaria [West Bank] and finally Jews fighting against Jews. This is not the threat of a madman," the writer concluded, "I wish it were."

It had been previously reported that the Israeli fanatics in public office, such as minsiter Ariel Sharon, have been encouraging the settlers to arm themselves, not only to fight Palestinians in the occupied territories, but also to prepare for the possibility of civil war in Israel. □

TO SAFEGUARD APARTHEID

In Israel, apartheid is not the work of fringe groups, it is a state-administered system. One of the latest moves to safeguard the system of apartheid which exists in Israel is a directive intended to prevent Jewish and Arab students from mixing in the schools, something of which there is very little anyway because places of residence are largely segregated.

The Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* reported on 7 August 1985 that the director of the Department for Religious Education of the Israeli Ministry of Education distributed a circular to all religious schools specifically prohibiting meetings between Arab and Jewish students. The newspaper said that the circular was motivated by fear of mixed marriages. □

November 29
International Solidarity with the Palestinian People

November 29 of every year, by a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, is **International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people.** It symbolizes the solidarity of the peoples of the world with the Palestinian people's struggle against colonization and oppression. □

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