Palestine Perspectives

Number 33

January/February 1988

REVOLT IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

Inside . . . BRASS KNUCKLE JUSTICE

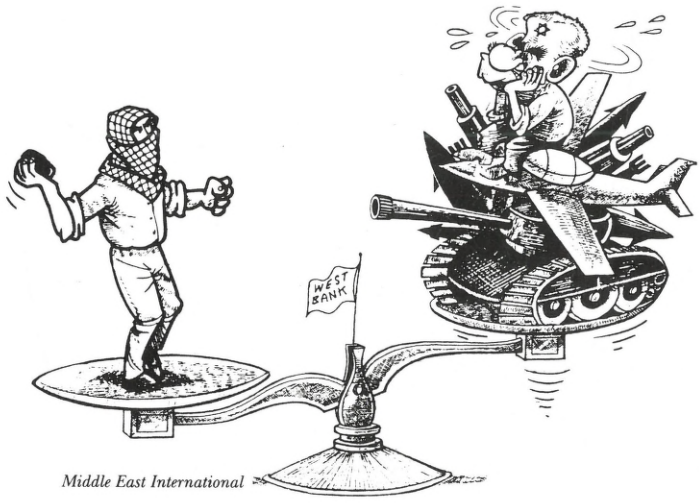
1987: A BLOODY FINALE

As it did in 1986, Israel concluded 1987—the 20th year of occupation—with a bloody finale. In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the parade of Palestinian victims of Israeli occupation grew daily in the month of December and continued to grow as the new year began. At the time of writing, in mid January, at least 35 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli soldiers in the West Bank and Gaza. They paid with their lives for Israel's notion that Palestinians who do not appreciate its occupation do not deserve to live.

Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who is first among equals in the business of repression in the occupied territories, was in Washington signing yet another military collaboration agreement and exploring new sources of American "venture capital" for the Zionist adventure. He explained to his American hosts, when they called his attention to the existence of non-lethal methods to handle unarmed civilian demonstrators, that Israel was determined to use "any means" (i.e. live ammunition) to maintain "public order" (i.e. Israeli occupation).

There is nothing that we can say here that can disabuse the Zionist Reich of the notion that its ambitions are more sacred than Palestinian lives. After all, there could be no Israel without the dispossession and displacement of Palestinians. The Palestinians are the skeleton in the Zionist closet, and Israel cannot reconcile itself to their stubborn refusal to stay dead and buried. So Rabin claims the right to use "any means" to maintain "order," and Palestinians die.

Israel's guilt is clear, because it has its finger on the trigger. What is less clear, but no less real, is the guilt of those who create the hospitable environment for Israeli repression, those who contribute to the myth structure in which Israel lives. They include those who equate Palestinian resistance to injustice with terrorism, who glorify Israeli greed and violence with self-defense, who portray Zionist apartheid as democracy, who call the Israeli albatross a strategic asset, and those who subsidize it all with arms, money, diplomatic protection and disinformation. This is the vast myth structure which has enabled Israel to lead a barbarous existence, secure in the knowledge that it will all be understood and forgiven.



Middle East International

The Reagan administration has expressed disapproval of the use of lethal force against unarmed protesters. It even supported a Security Council resolution against the deportation of Palestinians. But Secretary of State Shultz negated it all by stressing that the U.S.-Israeli relationship is "unshakable." What else is Israel to understand except that it is free to ignore the verbal expressions of disapproval?

We have said many times before that Israeli military occupation is a life-threatening situation for Palestinians. How many more will have to die before it is understood that those who help Israel, in any way, maintain its military occupation put Palestinian life in jeopardy? □

M. Hallaj

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Palestine Perspectives is a bimonthly magazine on Palestinian affairs. *Address:* 9522A Lee Highway, Fairfax, VA 22031. *Telephone:* (703) 352-4168. *Facsimile:* (703) 352-4169.

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Subscription rates: $15/year in the United States and Canada ($10 for students); and $25 elsewhere. Add $10 to checks drawn on banks outside the U.S. Subscribers receive their copies by airmail.

Signed articles express the views of their authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of Palestine Perspectives or its staff.

IT'S OUR HOMELAND TOO!

By Thomas Ellis

In the Oct. 29 issue of the locally published *Jewish World* weekly newspaper, it was reported that four former refuseniks, including Anatoly Shcharansky, who now live in Israel, sent a letter to Secretary of State Shultz urging him to try to make the issue of freedom for Soviet Jews "one of the central topics" at the upcoming summit between President Reagan and Soviet Communist Party Secretary General Gorbachev. The four stated that they would "neither rest nor be silent until every Jew in the Soviet Union who asks to return to Zion is granted his request."

I am opposed to this idea for many reasons. It seems to me that the issue of Soviet Jews has been far too high on the U.S.-Soviet agenda for way too long. Instead of being among the top five issues, as it usually is, it should be much lower on the list. The U.S. and the Soviets have many more important issues to discuss such as reducing the threat of nuclear war and world war, stopping atomic testing, demilitarizing Europe, the strategic defense initiative, grain sales, working together to solve the world's massive environmental problems, the Iraq-Iran war, getting the USSR out of Afghanistan [and] the U.S. out of Central America, convening a Middle East peace conference, etc.

I do agree that Jews and everyone else in the USSR who desires to leave should be allowed to do so. I am aware that Jews who apply to emigrate have been harassed and some are imprisoned. And I think that all people should be allowed to practice their religion freely. However, most of the Jews who live in the USSR desire to remain there and most of the Jews who leave the USSR settle in the United States. Last year 80 percent did.

Earlier this year, the Israeli and the U.S. governments got into a political feud over this issue. Israeli Prime Minister Shamir asked the U.S. to cease giving visas to exiting Soviet Jews. The U.S. refused to go along. Had the U.S. complied with that request, emigrating Soviet Jews would have had little choice but to go to Israel. I find it ironic and extremely hypocritical that people who decry Soviet emigration policies are trying to coerce Jews to settling in Israel. So much for freedom of choice!

While most of the people who support the cause of Soviet Jewry are sincere in their motives, I think that many of the leaders of the movement have ulterior motives. First of all, these people are taking advantage of the fact that many U.S. citizens have a strong dislike for the USSR. Second, constantly harping on this issue serves to perpetuate the myth that Jews are always the victim. Third, complaining loudly about Soviet mistreatment of Jews tends to obscure the reality that the Israelis treat the Palestinians far worse than the USSR treats Jews. The USSR has a long way to go on human rights but the situation is improving. The Soviet Union is a more open society now than at any time since the first year or two after the revolution. On the contrary, the human rights picture in Israel is rapidly deteriorating.

If anyone doubts this, when was the last time the Soviets shot Jewish children? Israeli soldiers and settlers kill a Palestinian a month and seriously injure many more. Do the Soviets bulldoze the homes of Jews? Israelis have destroyed or sealed the homes of thousands of Palestinians. The big courtyard next to the wailing wall in Jerusalem used to contain (before 1967) over 100 Arab homes. Do the Soviets punish whole families or villages for the crime committed by one Jew? Israel frequently punishes hundreds of Palestinians for a single offense. At the beginning of August, in response to the killing of an Israeli soldier in Gaza, Israeli military authorities closed all exits to and from the Gaza Strip, forbade a half-million Palestinians to travel, and beached 2,000 fishermen. Do the Soviets bomb Jewish settlements in other countries? The Israelis have bombed Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon more than 20 times this year. In the Sept. 5 attack at the Ein al-Hilweh camp, 49 persons were killed. Of these, 10 were soldiers, 3 were elderly persons, 7 were women, and 15 were children and babies. A woman carrying her dead daughter cried, "All of them have died. Where shall I go? I don't have a family anymore."

In their letter to Secretary Shultz, the four former Soviet citizens said the issue is not family reunification but a "general problem of repatriation of a people." They insist that Jews from all over the world must be allowed to live in Israel if that is what they desire. I am astounded and appalled that Shcharansky and his three friends can be so blind. Justice and freedom for Jews cannot be attained at the expense of injustice against the Palestinian people. I stand opposed to the settlement of more Jews in Israel because it will be used as an excuse to expel more Palestinians. The Israelis often settle incoming Soviet Jews in the West Bank on land stolen from Palestinians.

During the next month, we're going to hear a considerable amount of very emotional talk about the plight of Soviet Jews. Try to keep in mind that there are 2 million Palestinians living in exile—former residents of Palestine and their children who were chased, scared, and forced out of their homes during the wars of the last 40 years. How can people who were born far away from Israel/Palestine have a greater right to live there than the people who were born there? □

[Reprinted from *Albany Student Press*, 13 November 1987]

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THE COSTS OF SLAVEHOLDING

By Garry Wills

The shocking news, reported recently, seems to be that members of the Israeli secret police, Shin Bet, had tortured prisoners and perjured themselves at the prisoners' trials systematically over a period of 16 years.

This was the finding of a distinguished panel of ex-officials appointed to investigate charges against Shin Bet. Eleven high officials of Shin Bet resigned three years ago when it turned out that the agency had concocted falsehoods to cover up the execution of two prisoners without benefit of trial. Then, last May, a prisoner who did reach trial was released when the Supreme Court found that Shin Bet agents had committed perjury.

Now the investigative body finds that perjury was a subtle policy in Shin Bet, a policy that took the form of an "oral testament from father to son"—and one that made a mockery of the whole trial proceedings in the many cases where Shin Bet had extracted confessions from the prisoners.

That was the surface scandal. I find the deeper scandal in the words of the investigating panel itself. While condemning perjury, the panel condones torture, so long as it is mild. In fact, a little mild torture is positively required for recalcitrant cases: "Mild physical pressure should not be avoided."

This is the voice of reason and restraint in Israel—the "liberal" case, if you will. How much restraint is to be expected when the official guidelines—not some "oral testament" from within the secret police itself—say it is one's duty to get the truth by physical "pressure" (after psychological pressure has failed)?

That voice from the very top of Israeli society and respectability brings out the ugly reality of repression. One cannot hold a captive people against its will and be gentle, humane and kind. The captor is not free to act as if he were not a captor. He is captive to that condition. The possessors of an enslaved people must brutalize that people and brutalize themselves—as we did with our slaves when we still held them.

Slaveholding always exacts a toll. That is the highest price Israel has paid and is paying for the possession of the West Bank. It gained land and lost its soul. When we speak of Israel as a democracy, we have to use the word in quotation marks, precisely as George Orwell did when he discussed his own country in its colonizing days.

Orwell, in his scathing 1939 essay "Not Counting the Niggers," said it was ridiculous to call Great Britain a democracy when it held in captivity a country, India, with more people in it than the 15 nominal democracies of that time. When England spoke of itself as a free government, said Orwell, "the unspoken clause is always 'not counting niggers.'"

So Israel is a democracy—not counting the Palestinians. What are people who can be taken in custody at will, held by the thousands in jail without notification, and tortured there? They're slaves, and slaves don't count. Not for the moment, anyway, or so some will always wish. But slaves, in the long run, always do count. □

[From the *Baltimore Sun*, 13 November 1987]

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"In spite of its military preponderance Israel is vulnerable. Human societies are not based on military hardware alone. History is an object lesson in the limits of military power. Middle East archaeology, in particular, is a humbling discipline."

Walid Khalidi
AAUG Convention
20 November 1987

"Some Israelis, including Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, cling to the notion that, given enough time and enough pressure, the Arabs living under occupation will become passive, cooperative and accepting of their fate. The experience of 20 years should long have exposed that fallacy."

Editorial
The Los Angeles Times
16 December 1987

"How long will it take, and how much suffering before Israel finds a way to free itself from its role of suppressor?... South Africa, Poland: The miserable endlessness of trying to hold an armed lid on a people's desire to live under full citizenship should be evident to those who will look... The future promises only more cycles of violence if the Israelis themselves do not reconsider the notion that suppressive force can work in the Holy Land when it has not worked there or elsewhere before."

Editorial
The Christian Science Monitor
22 December 1987

"It seems that when things look bleakest for the Palestinian cause, there is a rising up... Even if Israel quells these pre-Christmas disorders, the Palestinian problem will not go away."

Editorial
Baltimore Sun
22 December 1987

"Israel has attempted to stamp out Palestinian nationalism with a combat boot. It has not worked."

Richard Cohen
The Washington Post
5 January 1988

"The reason why people are dying in the Gaza Strip is that Israel has no right to be there in the first place."

Evening Times
Scotland
17 December 1987

"What Israel is facing is a rebellion of a generation of Palestinian youths who see no future under an endless occupation that denies them civil, political and economic rights... To pretend that an occupation can go on forever without terrible cost to Israeli society, let alone to the Palestinians who endure it, is to march blindly toward far greater tragedy for both."

Editorial
Philadelphia Inquirer
22 December 1987

REVOLT IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

Victims Felled Daily By Israeli Bullets

Massive resistance to the Israeli military occupation erupted in the Gaza Strip in December and quickly spread to the rest of occupied Palestine to become the most intense and sustained popular uprising since Israel seized the West Bank and Gaza in the war of 1967. The Israelis responded with vicious lethal force, and the number of Palestinian victims—including pre-teenage children—grew daily, giving the Holy Land its bloodiest Christmas ever.

Although the clashes subsided for a few days at the end of the year, they flared up again as the new year began and Israel mounted a campaign of massive arrests involving more than a thousand Palestinians and staged mass summary trials for them, and threatened to deport nine Palestinians out of their country. Clashes erupted again, and more victims fell as Palestinian protesters expressed their anger at the hated and seemingly endless occupation.

Israel continued to ignore universal condemnation and widespread international demand that it cease the use of lethal force against unarmed civilian protesters in the occupied territories. Such objections have been voiced by the United Nations, West European governments, the Pope, and the United States. Israel rudely proclaimed its intention to ignore all calls for restraint in the use of force and more Palestinians were killed daily as the uprising in the occupied territories entered its second month.

At the time of writing, the number of those killed by Israeli forces had reached 35, in addition to more than 250 wounded and more than 1,400 detained. When the size of population is taken into account, these figures would be equivalent to more than 5,000 dead in a country the size of the United States, more than 40,000 wounded, and more than a ¼ million imprisoned.

The Spark

Tension had gripped the occupied territories for some time before the massive outbreak on 9 December. Several people had been killed in the occupied territories in the preceding two months. On 8 December, the tension exploded when four Palestinians died and nine others were injured when an Israeli army truck rammed their vans at an army road block in the Gaza Strip. The Palestinians believed that the deaths were deliberately caused and protests flared up. The Israelis beefed up their forces and used live ammunition to subdue the protests. More Palestinians were killed, and the protests became angrier and the clashes more deadly.

Protests quickly spread from the Gaza Strip to Jerusalem and the West Bank, and from there to the rest of occupied Palestine. In an unprecedented show of solidarity, the Palestinians staged the most comprehensive and determined protest against the occupation. The protest became a popular uprising, virtually another Palestinian-Israeli war. Many people saw it as the beginning of an era in the Palestinian struggle against the occupation.

The Brutality

To subdue the occupied territories, Israeli forces dealt with the protests in a most brutal way. Not only was live ammunition used against the protesters, but people were often prevented from transporting the wounded to hospitals. The hospitals themselves came under attack. Al Shifa Hospital in Gaza was more than once invaded, the wounded were seized by soldiers from their hospital beds, and doctors and nurses were beaten as they tried to protect their patients. Helicopters hovered above and sprayed the hospital with tear gas.

Homes were invaded in the dead of night and people were taken away. Sometimes all the male members of families were arrested. Summary trials were staged, and lawyers went on strike protesting their inability to defend their clients. In one of the most brutal acts, Israeli soldiers tied a Palestinian youth to their vehicle to use him as a human shield against rocks hurled at them by angry protesters. Nine Palestinians were chosen for expulsion from the country, although they had not been accused of involvement in the protests.

The streets and alleys of the West Bank and Gaza towns and refugee camps were strewn with rocks and pieces of metal, burning tires blackened the sky, and the whole place acquired the appearance of a war zone. But it was a one-sided affair, the

(continued on page 6)

Victims of repression

The Palestinian civilians shot, or who died from injuries, during the December 1987 uprising.

DATE	NAME	AGE	PLACE
December			
8	*Issam Hamudi*	*29*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
8	*Talib Abu Zid*	*46*	*Mughazi Camp, Gaza*
8	*Kamal Hamudi*	*23*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
8	*Sha'ban Nabhan*	*26*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
	The above were killed when an Israeli army lorry drove into their truck		
9	*Hatim al-Sini*	*17*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
10	*Wahid Abu Salim*	*18*	*Khan Yunis, Gaza*
11	*Ibrahim Kulaik*	*17*	*Nablus*
11	*Sahar Jirmi*	*17*	*Balata Camp, Nablus*
11	*Ali Musa'id*	*11*	*Balata Camp, Nablus*
11	*Suhaila Ka'bi*	*57*	*Balata Camp, Nablus*
12	*Hassan Jarhun*	*23*	*Khan Yunis, Gaza*
15	*Abdullah Abu Hussein*	*23*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
15	*Khalid Taqia*	*20*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
15	*Muhammad Abu Sakhla*	*23*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
15	*Talal Hawaisi*	*17*	*Beit Hanun, Gaza*
15	*Nafiz Iktafan*	*15*	*Deir al-Balah, Gaza*
15	*Najwa Masri*	*17*	*Beit Hanun, Gaza*
16	*Atwa Abu Samhadan*	*21*	*Rafah, Gaza*
18	*Abd al-Salam Shatihi*	*29*	*Buraij Camp, Gaza*
18	*Misari Albatanji*	*26*	*Shaja'iya, Gaza*
21	*Khalil Mansiri*	*70*	*al-Bira, Ramallah*
21	*Raid Shihadi*	*20*	*Gaza*
21	*Nazig Suwafti*	*23*	*Tubas, Jenin*
21	*Bassam Suwafti*		*Tubas, Jenin*
21	*Yusuf Arawi*	*25*	*Jenin*
22	*Khalid Humayyid*	*17*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
22	*Mahmud Abu Aziza*	*17*	*Jenin*
31	*Mustafa Birk*	*21*	*Jabaliya Camp, Gaza*
January			
1	*Haniya Ghazuna*	*25*	*al-Ram, Jerusalem*
5	*Muhammad Dahlan*	*25*	*Khan Yunis, Gaza*

Source: Palestinian Human Rights Information Centre, Jerusalem

Reprinted from Middle East International (London), 9 January 1988

REVOLT *(continued from page 5)*

Israelis had all the murderous weapons, and the Palestinians had a monopoly on death. There was not a single Israeli fatality throughout the confrontation. Yet, Israel continued to defend the killings with the unconvincing argument that its soldiers used live ammunition only in life-threatening situations.

The Causes

One of the most curious products of the Palestinian uprising is the plethora of "explanations" for it, most of which were intended to cover up the fact that it was a most natural rejection of alien military rule. Some tried to explain it as a desperate effort on the part of the PLO to call attention to itself, others said it was caused by the poor living conditions in the refugee camps, and some said it was provoked by the daring hang-glider attack by a Palestinian commando on an Israeli army camp.

The fact remains that Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, so far twenty years with no end in sight, is sufficient provocation for the sort of uprising witnessed in the occupied territories since early December. It is an occupation that is not only repressive, but one that also plans to perpetuate itself. It is an occupation that considers itself the only legitimate presence. It is based on daily hardship and permanent injustice. In brief, it is a condition that no people would accept, and the Palestinians are no exception.

The rebellion against such condition is the most natural occurrence, and it is misleading to look for hidden causes for it. To believe otherwise, is to stigmatize the Palestinians as a people who are inclined to the unnatural condition of captivity. In this day and age, liberty is a sufficient incentive for rebellion against imposed foreign rule.

The Palestinians are reminding Israel, and the rest of the world, that perpetual occupation—by whatever name—is an impossibility and a continuing cause of conflict.

Amnesty International Calls For Investigation

Amnesty International urged the Israeli government to investigate the killing of Palestinians protesters in the occupied territories. The human rights organization expressed concern that "unreasonable force" was used

against unarmed civilians.

In a statement issued on 17 December by the Washington office of AI, the organization, which monitors human rights violations throughout the world, said that it had sent a message to Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin asking for an inquiry into the killings. In its message, AI also cited eyewitness reports of Israeli soldiers "severely and often indiscriminately beating demonstrators, with clubs and rifle butts." AI's statement said that "Many of those beaten had been women and children. Many had been hospitalized with broken limbs and extensive bruising. One youth was reported to have been beaten unconscious. Members of the armed forces were reportedly seen dragging wounded Palestinians out of Al Shifa Hospital in Gaza, beating them and taking them into custody." □

REVOLT AND REVULSION

"The scenes of young Palestinians being bloodied and killed as they hurl rocks at the Israeli army in the occupied Arab land of Gaza inspires the deepest sense of revulsion. When will Israel go home and leave these poor people alone?

"On the 20th anniversary of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinian teenagers suddenly have had enough. Taking up rocks, knives, hatchets, they attack Israeli soldiers who shoot back. The Palestinians show no fear. They are ready to die, as 11 have so far.

"What is wrong with Israel that it refuses to come to terms with this terrible situation? The Soviets understand after only seven years that they must get out of Afghanistan, but 20 years after occupying the West Bank and Gaza, Israel still hasn't a clue." □

From an editorial in *San Jose Mercury News*, 17 December 1987.

BRASS KNUCKLE JUSTICE

The Use of Torture in Israeli Prisons

Finally it came out. For sixteen years, Israeli courts have been convicting Palestinian political prisoners on the basis of confessions extracted by the use of torture and on false testimony by the Israeli secret police, the Shin Bet. Finally it was admitted that what the Palestinians had maintained for years—that Israeli justice was a travesty—is true.

At the end of October 1987, an Israeli commission reported that since 1971 the Shin Bet had systematically used "physical pressure" to extract confessions from suspects and has perjured itself in testimony before the courts to get convictions. "The great majority" of Palestinian political prisoners, the report said, "were convicted on the basis of their confessions." And the confessions were beaten out of them.

The use of torture by Israeli interrogators has not been exactly a well-kept secret. Too many Palestinians had been victimized by it over the years to remain a secret. The Palestinians knew about it, and some reports even appeared in the international press, especially in Western Europe. The best known report on Israeli torture appeared in *The Times* of London in 1977.

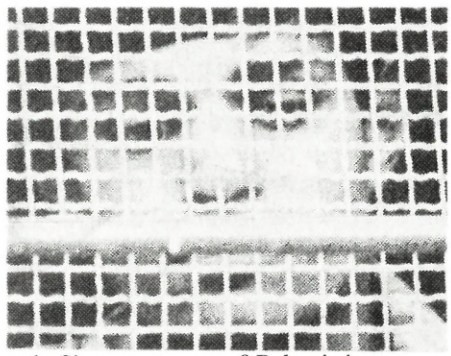
The Landau Commission, named after its chairman Moshe Landau, a former president of the Israeli High Court, finally resolved the debate by reporting that psychological and physical torture had been routinely used by Israeli interrogators who had tried to cover up by perjuring themselves in courts for sixteen years.

The enormity of this mockery of justice can be understood only when it is realized that forcibly extracted confessions have been the only basis for conviction in the large majority of cases, and that the Israeli courts have consistently and blindly accepted the perjured testimony of the interrogators and automatically rejected pleas of the accused Palestinians that their confessions were invalid because they were forcibly obtained.

Israeli civil rights attorney Avigdor Feldman said that many of his clients had complained of Shin Bet interrogation methods, but "their claims had been rejected by the courts which had chosen to believe the Shin Bet." Other Israeli lawyers involved in the defense of political prisoners had similar experiences. "The [Landau] report," said attorney Felicia Langer, "raises questions about the military courts who for 20 years have placed blind faith in testimony by the Shin Bet, and where my clients have never been successful in convincing the courts that their testimony is true."

Reform Not Likely

The revelations of the Landau Commission do not signal the end of Israel's brand of state vigilantism. The genesis of the Landau Commission, its recommendations, and subsequent events all indicate that Israel is too mired in its anti-Palestinian obsession to halt the diverse forms of injustice it practices against them. Its admission of Shin Bet violence and perjury is attenuated by several considerations which promise that justice for all will continue to be an alien concept in the Zionist state:



1. Sixteen years of Palestinian complaints against torture and perjury by Israeli secret police fell on deaf ears. It took a complaint by an officer of the Israeli army who had been sentenced 18 years on a false charge of treason and convicted on the basis of a confession extracted by torture to get Israel interested in investigating Shin Bet practices.

2. The Landau Commission, although it exposed Shin Bet use of torture, also laid the ground for its continuation. It sanctioned the continued use of torture when other means fail to produce the desired confession. In fact, in a secret section of its report, it sought to institutionalize and "legalize" torture by recommending guidelines for its use. It also assured the continued use of torture by recommending that no one be penalized for its use during the past sixteen years, and by going out of its way to "explain" why the Shin Bet had resorted to torture. No wonder, as the *Jerusalem Post* (int'l ed., week ending 7 November 1987) put it, the Landau report was received with an "enormous sigh of relief" by the Shin Bet, which now could "get back to business."

3. The Shin Bet got back to business with surprising speed. Almost immediately after the release of the Landau report, it lied about the murder of Palestinian prisoner Awad Hamdan by Israeli interrogators. His death in prison, explained by the Shin Bet at various times as the result of heart attack, snake bite, pneumonia, and "a sting by a rare insect," turned out to be murder by torture.

Inherited Legacy

The most disturbing fact about this sordid Israeli affair is that the Landau Commission used more space in its report to "explain" Shin Bet behavior than to rectify it. In a way, the commission concluded, no one was to blame for the systematic use of torture and perjury. It wrote: "None of the senior service executives who testified before us was able to point to a specific moment when the interrogators began to act this way, or to an order, instruction or document that directed them to act this way. The system was, as it were, born of itself and the investigators were sucked into or slid into it as a matter of course. One of the senior executives of the investigation unit defined it as 'the unwritten word, passed down from father to son.'"

The Landau Commission also found logic in the use of torture and perjury, the same logic Israel finds for all of its misdeeds: state security. Explaining why Shin Bet interrogators lied to the courts, the report said: "Truthful testimony could have forced him [the interrogator] to reveal what was happening in the interrogation facilities, including the methods of interrogation and, as a result, to render these methods ineffectual in the future when they became known to the enemy. We are speaking of many and varied methods, including means of pressure used against those interrogated... From the start, the interrogators chose to hide from the court their use of physical pressure." □

HANDBOOK FOR TORTURERS

Israel Codifies Torture Rules

Even the Israeli media found the Landau report on torture and perjury by the Israeli secret police (Shin Bet or GSS) less than reassuring. The following are samples of commentaries from the Israeli press. From English translations by *Al Fajr* of 15 November 1987:

Ha'im Baram
Kol Ha'ir, 6 Nov. 87

"The findings of the Landau Commission should convince anyone who still needs convincing that the corruption which is part and parcel of the occupation cannot be altered... The commission's findings are nothing less than a legitimization of torture.

"I am convinced that these findings constitute a dire national catastrophe. They prove that all the bleak prophesies of Prof. Yishayahu Leibowitz have come true. The GSS [secret police] state, which he has been talking about since 1967, has become a fact. Whoever thinks that permission to employ moderate physical pressure will be restricted to cases involving Arabs is bitterly mistaken."

B. Micha'el
Ha'aretz, 6 Nov. 87

"It is perhaps the saddest document to be written in the state of Israel since it has been cursed by the [occupied] territories. Sad not because of the revelations contained therein—there is nothing surprising or new in any of the facts related—but on its own account. Sad because it makes another level of descent. And it is not even a warning sign but rather a marking showing the way we have come and pointing toward the road ahead.

[The Landau Commission report can be summed up as follows:] "In the past, over the last 16 years, the GSS [Shin Bet] made it a habit to torture interrogees and lie in court. In the future, the GSS will refrain from lying, and torture will be carried out in accordance with guidelines."

Nahum Barnea
Koteret Rashit, 4 Nov. 87

"An Israeli legal expert correctly stated this week that in the annals of the state there has never been a document with worse implications for human rights [than the Landau report]... Now there is a classified chapter which details what is permitted and what is not in the treatment of suspects, but the use of violence has been given a seal of approval. Jurists could not answer my question about whether there was another enlightened state which had clearly given such an authorization for the use of physical force in interrogations...."

Avigdor Feldman
Hadashot, 6 Nov. 87

"Is that nice? A Supreme Court judge, state comptroller and general put together a handbook on permitted beatings... [But] there is the problem of description. Hebrew is not very rich when it comes to describing blows... In my heart I believe that the classified section of the report is written in Yiddish. For it has the ability to draw distinctions and classify blows according to the force with which they are delivered...." □

Torture and perjury revealed as the twin pillars of Israeli "justice" in the occupied Palestinian territories

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ISRAEL DETAINS PALESTINIAN EDITOR

No Charges Filed, No Trial Planned

Another Palestinian journalist has fallen victim to Israel's "iron fist" policy in the occupied territories. Radwan Abu Ayyash, managing editor of the Jerusalem *Al Awdah* magazine and president of the Arab Journalists Association in the occupied territories, was placed under 6-month administrative detention on 8 December 1987. As it is the case in all administrative detentions, no charges were made against him.

The Jerusalem-based Palestine Press Service, the publisher of *Al Awdah* magazine, said in a statement issued the following day that Abu Ayyash's arrest "is another link in the chain of the current iron fist policy, which aims at suppressing freedom of expression and thought of Palestinians under occupation." It described the arrest as "a manifestation of the bankruptcy of the policy of the occupying power." The authorities have no evidence against the Palestinian journalist, the statement explained, otherwise he would have been charged and brought before a court.

The Palestine Press Service statement said that Israel had stepped up repressive measures in the occupied territories, "including the shooting of unarmed civilians, administrative detentions, deportations, curfews, house demolitions and land confiscation." It said that such behavior can only increase tension and hostility and block the path of peace in the region.

The Palestinian news organization appealed to President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev, who had been meeting in Washington at the time, to intervene to stop Israeli repression. In its appeal to the two leaders, the Palestine Press Service said: "With deep appreciation of your dedicated efforts to bring about peace to the world, we urge both of you...to pay attention to the blatant violation of Palestinian human rights in the occupied territories and to exert as much pressure as you can to put an end to the Israeli occupation of our land."

Arrest Protested

Abu Ayyash's arrest has been protested by the Arab Journalists Association in the occupied territories.

(continued on page 12)

Photo: G. Bishara

QADDOUMI ADDRESSES THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Difficult, Painful and Bitter Memories

Top-ranking Palestinian diplomat, Farouk Qaddoumi, told the U.N. General Assembly that without justice for the Palestinians there cannot be peace in the Middle East. Qaddoumi, the head of the PLO's Political Department, was addressing the world body during debate on the question of Palestine on 23 November 1987.

Many Painful Memories

The General Assembly, the PLO diplomat said, "is returning once again to its debate on the question of Palestine at a time that reminds us of many painful occasions. This year, 1987, marks the seventieth anniversary of the fateful Balfour Declaration of 1917; the fortieth anniversary of the 1947 General Assembly resolution on the partition of Palestine; the twentieth anniversary of the June 1967 aggression leading to the Israeli occupation of the entire territory of our Palestinian homeland; the fifth anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the Sabra and Shatila massacres of 1982. Those are difficult, painful and bitter memories; no people has ever suffered so many forced migrations, expulsions and attempts at liquidation."

Reign of Terror

In the occupied territories, Qaddoumi told the General Assembly, Israel maintains a reign of terror. Israel keeps 5,000 Palestinian political prisoners incarcerated. "The number of people who have been through Israeli prisons over these [20 occupation] years stands at approximately 500,000, or more than 25 percent of the population and more than 50 percent of the adult population." Qaddoumi also spoke of the demolition of houses, administrative arrests, deportations, the closure of schools and universities, settler terrorism, shooting unarmed demonstrators, the confiscation of land and water resources, building illegal settlements, and economic strangulation. "In brief," he said, "Israeli policies in the occupied territories are based on efforts to undermine the economic, political, social, and even human structure of our people."

Qaddoumi reminded the world body that Israel still occupies the south of Lebanon, and continues to attack refugee camps. "Israel," he summed up, "is an occupying power, practicing indiscriminate terrorism against the civilian population. It is a state that has brought to itself and the region war and destruction; sectarian, racial and religious strife. Israel is a state that has allied itself with all the forces of evil in the world—for example, South Africa—as well as with fallen and falling dictatorships."

Resistance

Israel has failed in its campaign to vanquish and subdue the Palestinians. "Our people, in the face of it all," Qaddoumi said, "has persevered in its struggle in the occupied territories, in the refugee camps and in the diaspora. Our people stood fast in the face of oppression, killing, dispersion and assimilation, putting up all forms of resistance, including armed struggle against the Israeli occupation, and adhered to its national Palestinian identity and its inalienable right to self-determination and to establish its state on its own land under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Palestinian national rights, Qaddoumi said, are legitimate, recognized by the world community and "cannot be evaded or bypassed. Otherwise there will be no peace or security in the entire region."

He noted the existence of a small peace camp in Israel. "While the racist government of Israel enacts legislation prohibiting those forces from exercising their legitimate right to seek peace, the PLO seeks to provide support and encouragement" to them. "In fact," he said, "we look forward with hope to the day when those forces will become widespread and more influential in Israeli society."

Other Issues

The Palestinian diplomat criticized U.S. government support for Israeli intransigence. He said: "The position of the United States has unfortunately reached the point of dependence on the Israeli position without paying due regard to the professed ideals and principles of the United States. He spoke of the recent closure of the Palestine Information Office in Washington and pending anti-Palestinian legislation, calling them hostile to the Palestinian people and an infringement of the right of the American public to be informed. "It is sad indeed," Qaddoumi said, "that the legislative body of a superpower subjects logic and a balanced political position in its entirety to blind bias and political blackmail, making its constitution and laws subject to the demands of Zionist pressure groups."

He also spoke about the peace process and said that the PLO "is ready to work seriously for the achievement of a just and lasting peace" through an international peace conference. "We are prepared to seek a just settlement within the framework of an effective international conference, to be attended by all parties to the conflict including the PLO." He criticized Israel's opposition to the peace conference and its policy of territorial expansion and denial of the right of the Palestinians to choose their own leadership.

Qaddoumi also called for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 598(1987) on the Iran-Iraq war and for measures to contain the conflict as efforts continue to put an end to it. He declared PLO solidarity with Iraq and Kuwait and other Arab Gulf states threatened by the war. He also associated the PLO with the hope that the Reagan-Gorbachev summit would succeed in achieving nuclear arms limitations. "In this regard," he said, "we would like to warn against the dangers of Israel's nuclear policy and the horrors, disasters and complications that it might bring to the region and the peace of the world."

Realizing that peace and freedom in the world are indivisible, the PLO official called for intensified international efforts to bring independence to Namibia, and to support the struggle of the people of South Africa against racism. □

GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is reported to be considering the establishment of a Palestinian government in exile, a move usually made by national liberation movements in preparation for peace talks with their adversaries. In an interview reported by *The Washington Post* (4 January 1988), PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat said that the move would be accompanied with "a major new political platform" designed to overcome American and Israeli opposition to talks with the PLO. According to the *Post*, Arafat did not rule out recognition of Israel within its pre-1967 borders as a part of such platform.

Arafat said that if the Israelis are worried about a small Palestinian state, "I accept in the name of my people the presence of United Nations forces for any period" on the Palestinian side of the borders. He said that the PLO was still discussing the issue and consulting with Arab and friendly governments.

The idea of setting up a Palestinian government in exile is not new. It has been proposed before, but many Palestinians feel that it is premature since Israel and the United State still do not accept Palestinian national self-determination and refuse to deal with the national leadership of the Palestinian people. □

PALESTINIAN PORTRAITS

The United Nations Information Center in Washington has announced the release of "Palestinian Portraits," a new film on the Palestinians. The 22-minute 16 mm film was produced in compliance with a General Assembly resolution calling on the U.N. Department of Public Information to continue its information program on the question of Palestine.

"All too often," said the director of the U.N. Information Center, "the Palestinians are typecast as refugees in crowded camps, or guerrilla fighters. But there is a broader picture." The film presents the broader picture by portraying a number of Palestinian professionals and their families, successfully contributing to the well-being of the societies where they live, in the Middle East and elsewhere. For information, contact Phyllis Kaminsky, Director, U.N. Information Center, 1889 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006; telephone (202)289-8670. □

ONE HUNDRED NATIONS LATER

Justice Delayed Is Justice Denied

The Palestinians normally base their right to independence on the universally conceded and generally applied right of peoples to self-determination. What is less recognized is that the Palestinians—more than any of the previously non-self-governing peoples—have equipped and qualified themselves for political independence.

1. The Palestinians are among the most highly educated and skilled societies in the world. During the past few decades, they have experienced an unparalleled educational revolution. Today, they have the third highest level of higher education, relative to their numbers. Palestinian professionals (doctors, engineers, teachers, journalists and business managers) have been contributing to the welfare of many Middle East societies and are found in smaller numbers almost everywhere else in the world.

2. The Palestinians have acquired experience normally denied or highly restricted to non-self-governing peoples. Through their involvement in other Arab societies, they have served as cabinet ministers, legislators, judges, ambassadors and other high level public service.

3. The Palestinians have created for themselves a democratic political culture (institutions and traditions) rarely equaled in the Third World. Their leadership is chosen by a representative body, their press is diverse and uninhibited, and their parties are numerous and contentious.

In fact, the fitness of the Palestinian people for self-government was recognized by the world community a long time ago, when the world was still made up largely of non-self-governing peoples. When the League of Nations invented the "mandates system" after WWI, the Palestinians were classified with the peoples most ready for self-government (Class A Mandates). Since WWII, Class A, Class B, and Class C Mandates have become independent states. But the Palestinians, seventy years and one hundred "new nations" later are still denied the right to be free. And some people still want an explanation why the Palestinians are an angry people.

When the U.N. General Assembly was debating the partition of Palestine in 1947, the U.S. delegate lobbied for the dismemberment of Palestine by admonishing his colleagues to "act now and work out the iniquities later." So the iniquity was committed and Palestine was destroyed. Forty years later, the iniquities continued to multiply. Israel conquered the rest of Palestine, and Palestinian struggle for denied freedom is stigmatized as lawless terrorism. "Peace initiatives" proliferate to legitimize the iniquities, old and new.

As the world hopes for a new era of greater sanity in international relations, is it not time to understand that iniquities are a self-destructive way to build a future?

It is truly said that justice delayed is justice denied. Many years and wars later, has time not come yet to deal with the iniquities? Is it not time to understand that iniquities are a self-destructive way to build a future? □

EGYPT-PLO RELATIONS RESTORED

The Palestinian-Egyptian rift has been healed. Using the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People (29 November) as the occasion, the Egyptian government officially allowed the PLO to reopen its offices in Egypt. Relations between the PLO and Egypt were strained after criticism of Egyptian policy was voiced by some Palestinian leaders during the last session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers last April.

Although PLO personnel continued to function in Egypt, PLO offices were ordered closed. Egypt, however, continued contacts with the PLO leadership, and Egypt's President Mubarak met with PLO Chairman Arafat last summer. The official reopening of PLO offices and the raising of the Palestinian flag over them signal the formal end of the crisis.

Furthermore, the Egyptian press reflected Egypt's annoyance with Israel's continued intransigence toward the peace process and gave prominence to news of Palestinian resistance to Israel. President Mubarak also marked the Day of Solidarity with a strong message to the United Nations stressing the need to pursue peace based on the attainment of the national rights of Palestinians. □

SPOILS OF WAR

Occupation For profit

Different people stress different motives for Israeli refusal to withdraw from the occupied West Bank and Gaza. The security motive and the ideological-religious motive are the most familiar. What most people do not realize is that Israel makes money out of its occupation of Arab territories.

The economic profitability of the occupation is concealed by the fact that it is almost never mentioned, and by the myth that Israel (being an advanced western society) and the Arabs (being a backward non-European people) means that the Arabs profit from Israeli rule rather than the other way around. The Zionists—since they began their colonization of Palestine—encouraged the myth that a Jewish state in the Middle East would benefit the whole area.

Let us look at some figures. The West Bank and Gaza, as captive Israeli markets, have a large negative trade balance with Israel. In 1986, the deficit was $491.2 million in Israel's favor, according to a recently-released study by the Jerusalem-based West Bank Data Base Project. "The export of Israeli goods to the West Bank/Gaza Strip," the 1987 report says, "is second only to the U.S. market and exceeds total exports to the rest of Asia and Oceana." And this has nothing to do with the competitiveness of Israeli products. It is the result of restrictive trade imposed by Israel on the occupied territories.

On a per capita basis, the occupied territories (with 1.5 million population) are a much more profitable market for Israel than the lucrative American market.

When one takes into consideration Israel's use of West Bank water resources, the fact that it has confiscated half of the total area of the West Bank and Gaza, and its exploitation of about 100,000 Arab workers from the occupied territories, the extent of Israel's profit motive in holding on to the occupied territories becomes apparent.

It is said that the Arabs owe the Israelis peace of mind. Do they also owe them opportunities to line their pockets? □

STUDENT LOCKOUT

A study by the Council for Higher Education in the West Bank and Gaza says that Palestinian universities in the occupied territories were closed for a total of 423 school days during the first ten months of 1987. The study, released in Jerusalem on 16 November, said that Birzeit University was closed for 137 days, Bethlehem University for 123 days, Najah National University for 49 days, Gaza University for 44 days, Hebron University for 42 days, the Arab College for Medical Technologies for 14 days, and Abu Dees College of Science and Technology in Jerusalem for 14 days.

The Council's study, quoted by WAFA, the Palestine News Agency, said that 4 students were also killed and 75 students wounded by the Israeli occupation forces and armed Israeli settlers. □

ISRAEL ATTACKS OLIVE TREES

A substantial Israeli force descended on the northern Negev village of Laqiya in mid-November 1987. Its mission: to uproot thousands of olive trees.

The operation, according to *The Jerusalem Post* (international edition, week ending 21 November), "involved over 500 people in a military-style operation with long convoys of emergency and riot-control vehicles and a helicopter." The victims of the Israeli campaign also included a dozen people wounded and six women arrested.

The Israelis began uprooting the trees in October, when 1,500 fruit-bearing olive trees were pulled out of a 20-acre orchard. Then they came back to finish the job, and the Arab residents of the village decided to resist. A group of women "pelted police with stones and other objects," the *Post* reported. A 70-year-old man said "They think there are a thousand terrorists hiding under every tree here."

This incident is a part of an ongoing process to take over beduin lands in the Negev area of Palestine. The Israelis have been harassing the population of the Negev for years, confiscating their lands, destroying their crops and herding them into confined areas. □

DEMOGRAPHIC DEFICIT

The Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics expects 3,000 people to migrate out of Israel more than immigrate to it in 1987. Bureau Director Moshe Sicron told a news conference that Israel's population growth has slowed down to 1.2 percent in 1987, compared with 1.8 percent a year during the earlier part of the decade.

The decline in the rate of population growth in Israel has increased the popularity of calls to "encourage" the Palestinians to leave their country. Such calls are no longer confined to the rightist fringe, represented by Knesset member Meir Kahane. Recently, Israeli Deputy Defense Minister Michael Dekel proposed that the Palestinians should be "transferred to Jordan." [See Palestine Perspectives, No. 31, September/October 1987]. He has been followed by Minister-without-Portfolio Yosef Shapira who proposes that the Israeli government should offer $20,000 to every Palestinian from the occupied territories "prepared to leave peaceably." Presumably, the stubborn ones can be later thrown out forcefully. □

EDITOR *(continued from page 9)*

Israeli repression of the Palestinians under occupation, the Association said in a 9 December statement issued in Jerusalem, "aims at suppressing journalistic freedom and the Palestinians' right to express their suffering over the last twenty years."

The General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists also condemned the detention of the Palestinian editor and called it "imprisonment of the freedom of expression." In a statement issued in Tunis, the Union called on groups concerned with human rights to protest the Israeli act.

In New York, the Committee to Protect Journalists released the text of a telex to Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin in which it said: "As a nonpartisan organization dedicated to upholding the rights of journalists worldwide, we are very distressed that Mr. Abu Ayyash was placed under a six-month detention order without formal charges being filed." The Committee urged his "immediate release if he is not to be charged with an offense that is recognizably criminal by international standards and granted a trial in which his due process rights are assured." □

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INOUYE'S NEAT IDEA

American taxpayers do not know it, but they are contributing $8 million to build a Jewish school in Paris. This "neat idea" is the brain child of Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI).

Briefly, this is the story: There is a small Jewish organization in this country which specializes in aiding Sephardic Jews in France. It is called Ozar Hatorah. A member of its board, Zev Wolfson, is a supporter of Senator Inouye and a contributor to his political campaigns. Inouye decided to show his appreciation, at taxpayers expense, by including in the new budget an item for $8 million to build a Jewish school in Paris.

Inouye's colleagues in congress, said to be privately embarrassed by the senator's misplaced and possibly unconstitutional gesture of generosity, obliged him nevertheless. The absurd notion that a politician can repay his financial backers with public funds for their pet projects passed congress without a hassle. The Hawaii senator is known for his dependence on Zionist sources of funding and for his slavish support of their causes.

The use of public funds to build a Jewish school in Paris—an act which probably violates the constitutional separation of church and state as well as the public interest—shows how slavish some members of congress have become to special interests. The epithet about "the best congress money can buy" has apparently deteriorated from a joke to a scandal. □

THE ASSASSINS OF ALEX ODEH

Israel Impedes FBI Investigation of Terrorist Crimes

The FBI investigation of domestic terrorism, which among other things resulted in the murder of Arab-American Alex Odeh two years ago, "is being impeded by the government of Israel," according to a *Village Voice* article by Robert I. Friedman. The article which appeared in the 24 November 1987 issue of the *Voice,* based on a Justice Department document, says that the FBI suspects Jewish Defense League members of being responsible for a series of bombings which caused the death of two Americans, including Alex Odeh who was regional director of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in southern California.

The Friedman article said that the Justice Department document "states that the FBI's efforts to prosecute the JDL have been hamstrung because of the reluctance of Israeli authorities to assist the United States in following up investigative leads that point to JDL founder Rabbi Meir Kahane's followers in Israel and the Occupied Territories." It quotes assistant FBI director Floyd I. Clarke saying in a memo to Oliver Revell, executive assistant director of the Bureau, that Israeli government responses to repeated FBI requests about JDL murder suspects now residing in Israel "have been untimely, incomplete and in certain cases no response was rendered."

According to sources familiar with the FBI investigation, Friedman wrote, "the primary murder suspects came from a group of about 35 hard-core JDL members, primarily from the New York area, who routinely ferry back and forth between the U.S. and Israel where they are involved in Rabbi Kahane's violently anti-Arab Kach party."

Commenting on this Israeli protection of terrorist suspects, Friedman wrote: "Israel, the largest recipient of U.S. aid, advertises itself as a bulwark against terrorism in the Middle East, and has often chastised America for not combating Arab terrorism vigorously enough. But Israel's apparent lack of cooperation with the FBI in the JDL investigation calls into question its sincerity in prosecuting the war against terrorism when the terrorism emanates from Israel itself."

The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, which has been a frequent target of anti-Arab terrorism in America, has issued an "Action Alert" urging U.S. government action to apprehend and prosecute the murderers of Alex Odeh. It has asked supporters to send the following telegram to President Ronald Reagan and Attorney General Edwin Meese:

"Outraged to learn Israel has impeded FBI's criminal investigation into murder of Alex Odeh. Seek your urgent intervention to secure Israeli cooperation in investigation and apprehension of murder suspect(s) and immediate extradition to U.S." □

TERRORISM IN AMERICA

The FBI reported 17 acts of domestic terrorism in 1986. Three groups of terrorists were responsible for them: Puerto Rican terrorist groups, Jewish terrorist elements, and affiliates of the Aryan Nations. The 17 incidents of terrorism in 1986 resulted in injury to 19 persons, 17 of whom were injured in acts of violence by Jewish terrorist elements.

For information on terrorism in America, see U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, FBI Analysis of Terrorist Incidents in the United States in 1986.

1986 TERRORIST INCIDENTS BY TERRORIST GROUP NUMBER AND TYPE OF INCIDENT

Type of Incident	Actual Bombings	Attempted Bombings	Actual Firebombings	Tear Gas Bombings	Shooting	Total Incidents	Injured	Killed
Jewish Terrorist Elements			1	1		2	17	
*Puerto Rican Terrorist Groups	3	6			1	10	2	1
**Right Wing Terrorist Groups	4	1				5		
Totals	7	7	1	1	1	17	19	1

*Joint credit for seven of these incidents were claimed by the EPB - Macheteros, OVRP and the FARP on October 28, 1986.

**Affiliates of the Aryan Nations

RAHALL CALLS FOR CLOSING JDL OFFICES

Congressman Nick Rahall (D-WV) has urged the Reagan administration to close down the U.S. offices of the Jewish Defense League in light of the recent conviction of JDL members for terrorist activities committed in the New York area.

In his letter to Secretary of State George Shultz, Congressman Rahall reiterated his strong opposition to the recent closure of the Palestine Information Office in Washington. He described the State Department's decision as "a very unwise precedent," particularly since the department concedes that the P.I.O. has not been suspected of any illegal activity.

Rahall urged Secretary Shultz "to begin proceedings to shut down the JDL offices here on American soil." According to FBI reports, referred to by Rep. Rahall, 17 incidents of domestic terrorism have been attributed to JDL members in the United States between 1981 and 1986.

The West Virginia Democrat, one of three Arab-American members of the U.S. Congress, told Mr. Shultz that should the administration be unwilling to close down JDL offices, the congress would take legislative steps in that direction. He also revealed in his letter his willingness to introduce such legislation and urged the administration to support such a move. □

ISRAEL, INC.

The U.S. government has signed a military cooperation agreement with Israel which gives Israel greater access to the U.S. defense market. The 10-year agreement, signed by Frank Carlucci and Yitzhak Rabin on 14 December, allows Israel to compete for U.S. defense contracts equally with American companies. This way Israel will sell to the U.S. government military technology that it has stolen from the U.S. or developed with the assistance of the U.S.

The Israeli lobby has been pushing for this privilege for Israel for years. In 1984, AIPAC published a pamphlet titled "U.S. Procurement of Israeli Defense Goods and Services" in which it made the case for this linkage between the military-industrial establishments in Israel and the United States. □

ADC CONTINUES CAMPAIGN AGAINST YARON

Posters Displayed in the DC Metro System

The Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) continued its campaign for the expulsion of Israel's military attache in Washington with a Metro ad campaign. The 17,000-member Arab American civil rights organization placed posters calling for General Amos Yaron's expulsion from the United States in 107 cars of the Washington Metro system. The posters will remain on display for one month.

In a press release issued on 24 November 1987, the ADC said that it "has taken this extraordinary measure as part of its continuing efforts to inform the American public about a diplomatic appointment that is a moral outrage and an affront to the principles of human rights so cherished by our nation."

General Yaron was one of several senior military officials found by an Israeli commission in 1983 to be responsible for the massacres of Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. As a result, he was denied field command for a period of three years. In 1986, the Israeli government appointed him military attache in the United States and Canada. Washington accredited him, but Canada rejected his appointment.

The ADC and other Arab-American organizations have called upon the administration to revoke the general's diplomatic status. A civil lawsuit by survivors of the massacre against Yaron is currently on appeal in U.S. federal courts. □

RECENT BOOKS

- Geoffrey Aronson, *Creating Facts: Israel, Palestinians and the West Bank.* Washington, DC: Institute For Palestine Studies, 1987.
- Meron Benvenisti, *1987 Report: Demographic, Economic, Legal, Social and Political Developments in the West Bank.* Jerusalem: West Bank Data Base Project, 1987.
- David Kahan, *Agriculture and Water Resources in the West Bank and Gaza, 1967-1987.* Jerusalem: West Bank Data Base Project, 1987.
- Adam Keller, *Terrible Days: Social Divisions and Political Paradoxes in Israel.* Amstelveen, Holland: Cypres, 1987.

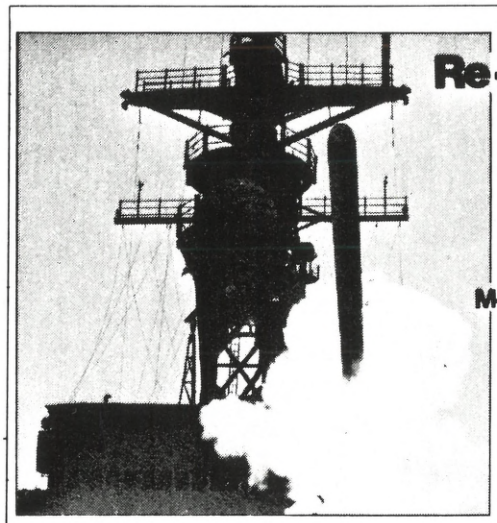
GREECE REAFFIRMS SUPPORT OF PALESTINE

The Foreign Minister of Greece, Karolos Popoulias, said that his country recognizes the Palestine Liberation Organization as "the expression of the Palestinian people's wish to establish its own independent state." During a trip to Israel in December, the Greek official clarified his country's disagreement with the Israeli view on the PLO. "Greece," he said, "differentiates between terrorism which it condemns and the struggle of national liberation movements which struggle against dictatorships and colonialism."

Popoulias added that the establishment of a Palestinian state is viewed by Greece as an important requirement in the search for peace in the Middle East. He pointed out that the European Community, of which Greece is a member, supports the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and to an independent state.

On the question of Greek recognition of Israel, Popoulias said that his country will make a decision next summer, when Greece assumes the leadership of the European Economic Community. Greece has never recognized the state of Israel, and it was the only non-communist European country which voted against the U.N. resolution to partition Palestine in 1947.

The Greek minister met with a number of Palestinian community leaders in Jerusalem during his visit. They briefed him on the situation in the occupied territories, and he assured them that Greece continues to support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence. □



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EUROPEAN COMMUNITY CRITICIZES ISRAEL

Israeli Security Tied to Palestinian Rights

Speaking on behalf of the 12-member European Community, Danish representative Ole Bierring told the United Nations General Assembly that "Israel will obtain the security and recognition to which it has a right only by seeking a negotiated settlement and by satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people." Mr. Bierring made his remarks during the general debate of the 42nd session of the General Assembly on 27 November 1987.

The Danish representative criticized Israel's settlement policy in the occupied territories. He said it was illegal and "constitutes a serious obstacle to peace efforts." He also criticized Israeli repression in the occupied West Bank and Gaza and its "consequences for the human rights situation in the occupied territories." The following are excerpts from Mr. Bierring's remarks:

"The solution of the problems between Israel and its neighbors should be based on the principles, enshrined in the [U.N.] Charter and in international law, of non-recourse to the use of force and of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. This implies that Israel must put an end to the territorial occupation it has maintained since the conflict of 1967 and give up its illegal policy of settlements. We reaffirm our position that any change in the status and demographic structure of the occupied territories is illegal under international law and constitutes a serious obstacle to peace efforts. Moreover, the Twelve [European states] reiterate that the Israeli policy concerning East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights is contrary to international law and therefore invalid.

"The Twelve are deeply concerned over the excessively severe application of some Israeli policies in the area and the consequences for the human rights situation in the occupied territories. The provisions of Hague Convention IV of 1907 and of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 are applicable to all those territories until such time as the territorial occupation which Israel has maintained since 1967 is ended, within the framework of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement. The Twelve renew their call on Israel to fulfill its obligations as the occupying power, pending its withdrawal, to lift restrictions on political and economic activities and, as we reiterated recently in our declaration of 14 September this year, to put an end to the illegal policy of settlements." □

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ISRAEL-SOUTH AFRICA MILITARY CONSORTIUM

Israeli arms and technicians to South Africa

The South African government is undertaking a massive effort to recruit engineers and technicians from Israel's armament industry. People who have worked on the development of Israel's Lavi fighter project are reported to be prime target of the South African effort to bolster its weapons industry.

The Jerusalem Post (int'l edition, week ending 21 November 1987) said that it had learned "from reliable sources" that 600 employees of Israel Aircraft Industries who have worked on the Lavi have been made tempting offers by South Africa. The Israeli newspaper reported that "The South Africans are offering salaries of $40 an hour and $7,000 a month that will be deposited in a European account." In addition, South Africa is offering substantial benefits, including "generous housing and transportation allowances."

The newsletter *Israel Foreign Affairs* said in its December 1987 issue that the recruitment of Israeli arms technicians by South Africa supports the belief that Tel Aviv and Pretoria have a secret agreement to manufacture the "abandoned" Israeli Lavi fighter in South Africa. The existence of such an agreement had been reported by the Italian daily *Il Goornale,* which based its report on information from Jewish and Israeli sources in South Africa.

Israel is also reported to be collaborating militarily with South Africa in other ways. *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (16 November 1987) reported that South African warplanes are using Israeli electronic anti-missile systems, and Israel has helped South Africa convert a Boeing airliner into an airborne electronic warfare center to guide air strikes against Angola. *Israel Foreign Affairs,* quoting the *Sunday Telegraph,* said that South Africa has reciprocated Israel's military support by supplying it with G5 155mm Howitzers, guns capable of firing nuclear shells. □

WHEN KAHANE COMES TO POWER

"When Kahane comes to power, he may kill all journalists, all gentiles, all Arabs." That was the way an Israeli expressed his opinion of NBC documentary "A Dream Is Dying," a report about Israeli occupation broadcast in this country last July.

Joost R. Hiltermann tells the story in a column published by the London biweekly *Middle East International* (5 December 1987). Hiltermann visited Israel to attend a meeting about how unfair the international media is to Israel. At the end of the meeting, he had a strange encounter with an Israeli who had attended the meeting. Hiltermann wrote:

The man sitting to my right began to glare at me, and barked: "Who do you work for?!" After the discussion had ended, he came over, putting his arm around my shoulder like a father may do to his son who in his youthful innocence has strayed from the path bulldozed by his elders, and said in a confidential tone of voice: "You journalists have to watch what you write. When Kahane comes to power, he may kill all journalists, all gentiles, all Arabs."

I was slightly taken aback by this; he had somehow seemed reasonable as he walked through the hallway with his 6-year-old son on his hand. "Are you with Kahane?" I asked curiously.

He broke out in nervous laughter. "Kahane?" he hiccuped. "Kahane not enough! I am to the right of Kahane! You know, we have the A-bomb. If that's the only way to keep peace, we'll use it!"

"You'll kill yourself as well?"

"We have to risk it," he said. "We'll kill all Gentiles, all Arabs and all niggers." Warped, I thought. "There are a lot of people like me," he yelled across the street as I walked away. "You don't believe me?"

"I believe you," I yelled back, and I meant it. He was only then getting into the swing of things: "You journalists, you keep writing like this, you are going to get it!"

Well, there you have it. I had to attend a showing of NBC's film about 20 years of occupation to discover that Meir Kahane is a moderate in Israel's political spectrum. Quite warped, wouldn't you say? □

Excerpted from Middle East International, 5 December 1987. Article by Joost R. Hiltermann.

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