

Israeli League For Human And Civil Rights (The Shahak Papers)

Compiled & Edited by Adnan Amad

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NEEBII

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Introduction

Since the end of World War II, the movement for the international protection of human rights has won considerable importance, both at governmental and public opinion levels. This importance grew not only out of the painful experience of the war but also from the realization of the intimate connection between the civilized treatment of the individual by political authorities and international peace. This realization was best reflected in the importance given to human rights in the preamble and articles of the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the Geneva Convention on the protection of war victims.

Although the movement for the protection of human rights has not so far led to effective adherence to its standards on the part of governments, especially in times of wars and crises, the movement represents a significant current in public opinion. A good example of this significance is illustrated by the activities and publications of the «Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights» and its chairman Dr. Israel Shahak.

Reports on conditions of human rights in Israel and the occupied territories are rare and difficult to obtain, due to the strict censorship on the flow of information about these conditions. Nevertheless, the Israeli League of Human and Civil Rights was able, under very difficult circumstances, to investigate and publish a large number of violations of human rights committed by the Israeli government against Arabs. The collection of reports of the League published in this volume contains samples of such violations with a special stress on concrete cases such as the

physical and psychological torture of political prisoners, preventive detention of innocents, expulsion of opponents or collective punishment of whole areas (e. g. Gaza). The cumulative effect of these cases already indicates the Israeli design and strategy vis-à-vis the Palestinians under Israeli control. These cases coming from Israeli sources also indicate that the questions Arabs have been posing concerning the Israeli system and its disturbing role in the area are worrying Israeli citizens as well. Originally, these crimes were prohibited by the formulation of a number of covenants of human rights. They were essentially promulgated for the protection of Jews in Europe. However, since the creation of Israel in 1948, the Israeli government boasts the highest record of condemnations by the international society for its violation of human rights, exceeding the record of the colonial French era in Algeria, the American war of aggression in Vietnam, the fascist dictatorships in Asia and Latin America and even the racist Apartheid regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. In its annual sessions in 1972 and 1973, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights adopted resolutions on Israel's violation in the occupied territories and considered these violations as war crimes and crimes against humanity (see Doc. 22).

Israel's relation to International Law was well analysed by the distinguished Lebanese lawyer Dr. George Dib : « There is a deeprooted aversion between Israel and International Law. which goes back to the establishment of the state itself. This aversion is best confessed in Israel's treatment of civilian Arabs, children, women and old men. It is an irony of history that Israel becomes the first and, maybe, the only state today which was internationally condemned for violating those principles of International Law which were originally issued to protect Jews from such discriminatory measures taken against them in Nazi-Germany, i. e., the Fourth Geneva Convention concerning the protection of civilians which was signed in Geneva in 1949. Since the convention was drafted with the aim of avoiding the repetition of what the Jews had to suffer during the war, Israel was one of the first states to sign the convention without reservation. From then on, and especially after 1967, Israel has continuously violated this con-

vention by practicing mass and individual murder of Arab civilians, torturing political prisoners, expelling opponents and destroying housing facilities. These acts are, according to the convention, acts against peace and humanity. The United Nations condemned Israel in 1969 for these crimes, and has been doing so ever since. The great irony is that Israel is practicing these acts against humanity at a time when the Arab states are abstaining from such actions and are abiding by the divine value of considering human life as the most precious substance in the world. This makes the war one between two unequally balanced powers: humanity and barbarism. It is a war between Palestine, which represents a world determined to be liberated, and Zionist Israel which represents a barbaric world descending towards total decline.» (Translated from the Arabic magazine — *Al-Usbu' Al-Arabi*, 27. Feb. 1973).

The situation of human rights in Israel and the occupied territories is, of course, a matter that involves more than international law. The complexity of strategic and economic interests in the area make it the scene of the historical struggle of the entire Arab peoples against the Zionist—Imperialist pact. But human considerations and the question of human rights, in some way, produce a common platform for the parties of different political and cultural backgrounds to start a dialogue concerning the solution of this problem from within their societies, by affecting the course of the struggle towards the creation of a secular democratic state in Palestine for Arabs and Jews. The activities of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, equivalent to the activities of several Palestinian and Arab groups of similar convictions towards human rights, is a step in this direction.

Adnan Amad

Note on the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights

The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights is one of the very few Jewish organisations working publicly in Israel for a true and creative Jewish-Arab solidarity. The League was founded in 1935 with the original aim of defending the human rights of Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate in Palestine. In the course of time, and due to political and military developments connected with the creation of Israel in 1948 and thereafter, the League took over new aims and tasks within the scope of its activities. Today, the League seems mainly concerned with the human rights of Arabs living under Israeli control. After 1967, when the real aims of Zionist strategy and Israeli policy were most clearly exposed in the newly occupied Arab territories, the League intensified its activities by launching a critical information campaign over Israel's policy and practices against the Palestinians. In 1972, the Israeli government took indirect measures to stop or convert the League's activities. Since then, the situation of the League has become more difficult. Its active members are threatened by suppressive measures and accused of «pro-Arabism» because they accepted «many Arabs as members in the League.»

This organisation has also launched a successful campaign for equal rights for Arabs in public life in Israel. It also proved its effective role in the demonstrations and manifestations last year over the rights of the inhabitants of the villages of Berem and Ikrit to return to their villages which are occupied by the Israeli army since 1943. In hundreds of appeals, memorandums, reports and speeches the League has shown a high degree of efficiency in promoting and defending the human rights in the area.

If the Israeli government's intention to silence the League, to infiltrate or to convert it from its real aims proves to be successful this year or in the future, the documents of the League in this volume might stand as an immense achievement of a group of men and women of courage and willpower in the field of human rights.

NOTE ON DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK

The activities and publications of the Israeli League for Human Rights were in the last three years closely acquainted with the name of Dr. Israel Shahak, chairman of the League in these years.

Israel Shahak was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1933 and spent his childhood in the Warsaw Ghetto and the Nazi concentration camp Belsen-Bergen. In 1945 he came to Palestine and since 1948 he has been a resident of Jerusalem. In 1963 he started teaching at the Hebrew University where he became professor of organic chemistry in 1969.

In 1967, Dr. Shahak—like many other Israelis, was a witness to the third Israeli military campaign against Palestinians and Arabs. This war and its immense psychological and social impact upon Arabs and Jews increased Shahak's awareness of the calamity of the human rights situation in Israel and the occupied territories. In 1971 when his voice started to find an echo in liberal and progressive circles all over the world, he and his League found themselves in a similar situation to that of the rights and peoples they were defending.

When a Swiss newspaper — «La Suisse» — published in 1971 an article questioning «the existence of such a thing as the Israeli League for Human Rights,» Dr. Shahak wrote to the newspaper saying: «Your newspaper has published information from an Israeli source that the Israeli League for Human Rights does not exist and that I personally do not exist and do not teach at the Hebrew University. Both allegations are not true. The Israeli League for Human Rights was founded in 1935 and exists from that time continuously. The present acting chairman is Mr. Ari Shaul, the treasurer is Mrs. Yaffa Garsh. I hope I don't sound too

absurd in trying to prove my own existence....I had the honour of being elected to be chairman of the League in April 1970 and reelected in April 1971 I think all these facts were well known to the source who gave you the totally misleading information about me and the League. I don't blame you but I hope in the future you will be more careful in receiving and publishing information from «sources» which follow the late Goebbels in shameless lying.» This letter might reveal part of Dr. Shahak's character and civil courage. Recently, when Shahak's position in the League was challenged, he started publishing appeals and documents in his own name and in his capacity as a defender of human rights.

NOTE ON THE DOCUMENTATION (*)

The documentary part of the book consists of seven collections of documents on various aspects of human rights violations. The first six parts are a reproduction of original reports of the League during the period 1970 — 1973. The last part (VII) was added for the special purpose of tracing the influence of the League. Documents 18 and 19 of this part contain repetition of cases found in preceding documents, a matter which could not be avoided in order to maintain the integrity of their contents.

The documents are arranged in accordance with their subject and chronological order except when it seemed unavoidable to make displacement or disposition.

Comments and notes of the editor are kept to a minimum in order to display the full informative capacity of the documents and allow them to speak for themselves.

(*) Grammatical and typographical errors in the original English translation have been corrected (ed.).

Documents of the League

Part I

Background and Activities

1

MEMORANDUM of the League on Conditions in the Occupied Territories*

**To : THE UN COMMISSION ON THE ISRAELI PRACTICES IN
THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, N.Y., U.S.A.**

and

**THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF
MAN, N.Y., U.S.A.**

**affiliated to the International League for the Rights of Man,
N.Y., U.S.A.**

In its special meeting on 8th June, 1970, the Executive of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights decided to appoint Mr. Joseph Abileah to testify before the UN Commission on the Israeli Practices in the Occupied Territories.

The attached Memorandum drafted by the Chairman, Dr. Israel Shahak and the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Uriel Davis, was authorised by the Executive to be presented by Executive Member, J. Abileah, who will answer further questions concerning this Memorandum.

Dr. Israel Shahak
Chairman

Mr. Uriel Davis
Vice-Chairman

(*) The memorandum was published under the title «Israelis versus Israel» by the Office of the League of Arab States, London (ed.).

(i) INTRODUCTION

We would like to make a personal note. We, the regular readers of the Israeli press somehow got accustomed to reading titles such as: «Three Houses Blow-Up In Hebron,» «Twelve Hour Curfew On Gaza Will Continue For Several More Days,» «A Man Killed In Nablus During Curfew Hours,» etc.

We are so accustomed that we hardly notice the news; since our mind is finite we do not, and cannot continually register the sum total. It became a daily characteristic of our life in Israel and of the situation in the occupied territories, to the extent that it is barely noticeable.

When we sat over our files and ran over our clippings we were alarmed. Even we, who are acutely conscious of the Israeli overall and daily policy of the day-by-day violation of Human Rights in Israel and the occupied territories. were shocked at the alarming figures. Who would have thought that 7,554 houses were blown and/or razed by 15th November, 1969, in the occupied territories.

We are submitting this memorandum for international publication in the profoundest belief that by so doing we are serving our people and the cause of peace in the best possible way: we hope that this will be a significant contribution to the local and international efforts of solving the Middle-Eastern conflict on basis of securing all and every individual and national human rights of all parties concerned.

(ii) POLITICAL OPPRESSION

The conspicuous feature of the Israeli occupation regime (like every other occupation) is the denial of all rights of political expression and organisation. All organisation, including Mutual Aid Organisation, Pupil Councils, etc., is forbidden. The Muslim Religious (Sharia) Courts have lost their legal legitimation and right of operation, labour union officials are systematically arrested or expelled. In other words the freedom, complete freedom of expression and organisation provided by the Bill of Human Rights

(freedom of political organisation, demonstrations, assemblies and every other form of political non-violent activity) is totally denied to the Palestinians under the Israeli occupation.

(1) *Zo Ha-Derech*, 15th January, 1969. People selling the Israeli bi-weekly *Al-Ittihad* (legal in Israel) in the West Bank were sentenced to various prison terms.

(2) *Ibid*, 21st May, 1969. Five high-school teachers were sentenced to four-five months' imprisonment for belonging to an «illegal organisation.» Their lawyer, F. Langer, has read before the court the constitution of this association, which defined the objectives of the association as: mutual help for secondary school students, co-operation with international students organisation and contribution to the cause of peace.

(3) *Ibid*, 4th January, 1970. High school students in Jericho are administratively imprisoned for the constitution of a pupil mutual help organisation.

(4) *Ha-Aretz*, 7th May, 1970. After a non-violent strike held in Ramallah and al-Bira, the military governor of Ramallah area announced to the notables of the two cities that he has cancelled all permits of Ramallah and al-Bira merchants to import sheep from the East Bank and will not allow the Ramallah Emigrants in U.S.A. Association to pass over to the Ramallah Municipality the \$ 100,000 donation collected abroad.

(iii) LABOUR EXPLOITATION

Many thousands of Palestinian labourers from the occupied territories are employed in Israel. The Palestinian worker does not receive the same payment for the same work as his Israeli counterpart; as a matter of fact they are not receiving payment from their employer at all. The employer pays the Israeli government which deducts about 40% and pays the rest to the Palestinian labourers. These deducted sums are being accumulated in a special fund in the name of the State of Israel and have reached in May, 1970, IL50.000.000. It should be noted that the

official legitimation of the deduction is claimed to be social welfare, organisation and travel tax, while the Palestinian labourers from the occupied territories are denied by legislation all social welfare rights such as health insurance, pension, etc.

During the last half year the transportation of Palestinian labourers from the Gaza Strip to Israel has become increasingly difficult; some factories in Israel have, therefore, established closed camps in the factory area for male and female Palestinian labourers from the occupied territories, where they live in tents and huts.

(1) *Ha-Aretz*, 1st August, 1969. « Manpower engineers contemptuously wave away Minister P. Sapir's statement that we are turning the Arabs into hewers of wood and drawers of water of the state. It is clear, they say, that someone has to execute this sort of labour even in the most technologically developed country.»

(2) *Ibid*, 4th August, 1969. Jewish labourers used to receive IL85 for harvesting one ton of sugar beet. Palestinian workers from the occupied territories receive now IL22-24 for harvesting 3½ tons of sugar beet.

(3) *Ha-Aretz*, 8th August, 1969. According to official statements from November, 1968, to March, 1969, 16,500 labourers from the occupied territories worked in Israel. They were paid (gross) in this period IL2.760.000 from which IL1.180.000 was deducted—i.e. about 40%.

(4) *Maariv*, 17th December, 1969. Out of IL18 which is the daily pay of an Israeli agricultural labourer, IL6-8 are deducted by the Government Employment Services, so that an agricultural labourer from the occupied territories gets IL12-10 (if he works in Israel). It is forbidden that the employer pay him directly. All payment should — by legislation — be done via the government or the military agencies.

(5) *Yediot Aharonot*, 20th January, 1970. About half of agricultural labourers in Ashkelon area and workers in food industry in the same area are labourers from the Gaza Strip.

(6) *Voice of Israel*, 6th April, 1970. 13.00 and *Ha-Aretz* 30th April, 1970, report that several factories in Ashkelon area constructed close tent and hut camps in the factory areas where the Palestinian labourers from the occupied territories, and especially from the Gaza Strip, live for long periods.

(7) *Ha-Aretz*, 13th May, 1970. The General Labour Union of Israeli workers demanded payments from the labourers of the occupied territories. The sum demanded was IL500.000 (that is to say that approximately IL50.000.000 deducted from salaries of labourers from the occupied territories are held by the Israel Treasury).

(iv) THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

Ever since the beginning of the Israeli occupation in 1967, collective punishment was a principle of wide application. Various instances of this will be found in the chapters of this memorandum, e.g.: blowing-up houses, taking hostages, expulsion of Palestinian leaders and notables, curfews, etc. The man personally responsible for the Israeli policies in the occupied territories is Defence Minister Moshe Dayan. It might be revealing to quote his reply to M.P. Uri Avneri's query about the blowing-up of the house where Mrs. Aida Isa Saad lived (in Gaza) although the house was not owned by her, nor by her parents; they only rented a dwelling there. The house was blown-up on the 20th March, 1969 (*Zo Ha-Derech*, 14th May, 1969). Mr. M. Dayan asserted that the authorities indeed blew up the house. When asked again by M.P. Avneri: «Is the Ministry of Defence acting in such cases according to the principles of collective responsibility of the whole family for one of its members?» Minister M. Dayan answered: «Yes.»

(v) BLOWING-UP OF HOUSES

We are herewith submitting the report of a most distinguished man of science and international renown, a Palestinian Arab who has lived under the Israeli occupation since 1967. His name is registered with us, and will be submitted in confidence to the UN

BLOWING-UP OF HOUSES BY THE ISRAELI MILITARY

Location (Area)	1st Inquiry Date	2nd Inquiry Date
	From 11th June, 1967 to 5th April, 1968	From 5th April, 1968 to 10th Sept., 1968
JERUSALEM	145	290
LATROUN	1,830	2,500
IMWAS		
BEIT NUBA		
YALU		
SAMARIA	2,635	3,703
NABLUS-JENIN		
TULKARM-TUBAS		
QALQILYA-JIFTLIK, etc.		
HEBRON	399	427
JEBEL KHALIL—HEBRON		
BEIT AWA AND MERSIM		
HALHOUL		
GAZA-	280	322
GAZA-KHAN YUNIS		
DEIR AL-BALAH-RAFAH		
RAMALLAH-BIREH AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES	33	
BETHLEHEM		36
SURROUNDING VILLAGES AND REFUGEE CAMPS	45	77
TOTALS	<u>5,367</u>	<u>7,355</u>

The last figure of 7,554 does not include any houses in the occupied Golan Heights, because of lack of verification. However, the *Jerusalem Post* printed the following article in the issue of 5th October, 1969, United Nations (Reuter)

« Syria said last week that Israel demolished at least 10 villages* in the occupied Golan Heights within a 10 month period »

THE OCCUPIED AREAS 1969 — AFTER THE CEASEFIRE

3rd Inquiry Date

From
10th Sept., 1969
to 15th Nov., 1969

Remarks (*)

342	}	Please read the name of the owner on Schedule 1 of the attached. The 1st figure is my estimate. The corrected figures were from tax roles submitted by Muktars and village leaders of the totally demolished villages.
2,500		
3,719	}	The 1st figure is from a furnished list. Later other villages in the area were brought to my attention. They are shown in 2nd and 3rd dates. See attached schedule.
519		
352	}	First figure was from the <i>London Times</i> , 23rd March, 1968. Later I was furnished with a completed list by reliable source supplying number and names of owners. See attached schedule.
44		
78	}	See attached schedules
7,554		

(*)The schedule and other specifications can be obtained from the author.

ling in July. It is said the Israel police aimed at eviction of all 4,000 Syrian inhabitants from the area. In a letter to UN Sec. Gen. U-Thant, Syrian Ambassador George Tomeh said the Israelis showed Israel's determination to erase in the most barbaric fashion all traces of Arab life and property in the occupied territories.»

(*Jerusalem Post*, 13th April. 1969)

Committee on the Practices of the Israeli Authorities in the Occupied Territories by our representative at his testimony on 10th June. This report covers the period ending on 15th November, 1969.

The blowing up of houses is a continual practice in the occupied territories,* cases occurring after the above date are mentioned in our first memorandum to the UN Committee dated 20th April, 1970.

(vi) ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTIONS, EXPULSIONS AND TORTURE

According to official Israeli sources, there are 1,000 administrative detainees from the occupied territories in Israeli gaols.** This number does not include the numerous prisoners who have been charged, but not brought to court. Many of this second category are kept for long periods in gaol—but rather than brought before court, they are often simply released. Many of them agree to emigrate, or as it is officially put «agree to be expelled.»

Almost all convictions in the Israeli Military Courts in the occupied territories are based on confession by the accused. In very many cases the prisoners deny their confession in court and complain of being coerced under torture. They describe exactly the various methods of torture applied on them, sometimes even point out the evidence of torture in the courtroom and offer to be submitted to medical investigation to support and prove their complaint of torture under interrogation. In all cases there was no official *judicial* investigation of these complaints. Even in cases where an obviously incapacitated man with physical marks of torture appears before the court, the court of the Appeal Commission refuses investigations into the matter.

(*) Refer to pp. 18-19 for a detailed summary.

(**) This figure is as of the time When Shahak's *Memorandum* was written.

During the last months the situation worsened: now Military Courts refuse even to hear preliminary claims and complaints of torture, unless the accused presents to the court the full names of his torturers. (This should be quite difficult, since tortures do not usually introduce themselves.) It was also decided (*Zo Ha-Derech*, 22nd April, 1970) that Military Courts will not investigate into the behaviour and conduct of interrogators during interrogation, «noting the importance and vitality of their security responsibilities in this area, it is the duty of the court to avoid disturbing them in their task» (from the proceedings of the Ramallah court, *ibid*).

We are referring all interested individuals and organisations to the lawyers : Mrs. F. Langer, Koresh St. No. 14, Jerusalem; Mr. Ali Rafi' *ibid*; Mr. Hanna Nakara, al-Khoury St. No. 23, Haifa, and Mr. Sabri Jaris, Eliyahu ha-Navi St. No. 1, Haifa, for further information on the subject.

The situation in our opinion is very grave and becomes continually worse. We would like to recommend in this form the constitution of an international commission of investigation composed of judges from countries not hostile to Israel which will investigate these allegations of torture, which in our opinion are well substantiated. We would like to bring to your attention that Amnesty International's recommendation of investigations to be carried out by Israeli judges was refused by the government of Israel.

(vii) EXPULSIONS *

(1) *Maariv*, 6th September, 1968, reported that four Palestinians were expelled to Jordan.

(2) *Yediot Aharonot*, 25th October, 1968, reported that four Palestinian notables were expelled to Jordan, amongst which were a doctor, a child doctor, and the vice-mayor of Nablus.

(3) *Maariv*, 30th October, 1968, reported that 10 Palestinian notables were expelled to Jordan included the chairman of the

(*) This is a selection referring only to the period September 1968—March 1970. In many cases expulsion is referred to in the Israeli press as permission to pass over to the Eastern Bank of Jordan.

teachers' association of the West Bank, the chairman of the Red Crescent, three teachers and an education inspector.

(4) *Yediot Aharonot*, 25th November, 1968, reports: Eight Palestinians were expelled to Jordan, mostly teachers, including two women. The expulsion was carried out after a quarter of an hour's notice.

(5) *Ha-Aretz*, 15th December, 1968 : An ex-police sergeant was expelled with all his family.

(6) *Maariv*, 10th February, 1969, reports : Seven youngsters were expelled to Jordan.

(7) *Ha-Aretz*, 28th April, 1969, reports : Two women—a secretary of the women association in Nablus and her daughter—were expelled.

(8) *Ha-Aretz*, 7th May, 1969, reports Doctor Faysal Zanaan, a dentist from Nablus, was reported as expelled to Jordan.

(9) *Ha-Aretz*, 21st May, 1969, reports : A whole bedouin tribe was expelled from the Jordan Valley.

(10) *Maariv*, 8th June, 1969, reports : Nine notables including teachers, a labour leader, and the engineer of the town of Nablus, were expelled to Jordan. They were not permitted to see their families before expulsion.

(11) *Maariv*, 3rd July, 1969, reports: Three Palestinian notables, a doctor and two lawyers, were exiled for three months.

(12) *Ha-Aretz*, 9th March, 1969, reports Seven Palestinians from the Gaza Strip were expelled to Jordan.

(13) *Ha-Aretz*, 31st March, 1969, reports : « The priest Elias Khuri has agreed to sign a request for expulsion to Jordan. »

(14) *Ha-Aretz*, 17th September, 1969, reports : An education inspector and an apothecary were expelled to Jordan.

(15) *Ha-Aretz*, 17th April, 1969, reports: Dr. Muammar from Beit Hanina (near Jerusalem) was expelled to Jordan.

(16) *Maariv*, 16th September, 1969, reports Two Palestinian

notables from Hebron were expelled to Jordan.

(17) *Maariv*, 24th April, 1969, reports: Five of the chief educators of the West Bank were expelled to Jordan.

(18) *Ha-Aretz*, 7th October, 1969, reports : Nadim al-Zaru, the mayor of Ramallah, and nine notables were expelled to Jordan.

(19) *Ha-Aretz*, 24th October, 1969, reports: A student was expelled to Jordan.

(20) *Maariv*, 4th November, 1969, reports: Three mukhtars of the Taamara tribe were expelled to Jordan.

(21) *Ha-Aretz*, 17th December, 1969, reports : Six Palestinian notables from Gaza were exiled to the Sinai desert for an unlimited period.

(22) *Maariv*, 19th March, 1970, reports: Five Palestinians were expelled to Jordan.

We would like to draw your attention to a petition submitted to the occupation authorities by 24 Palestinian notables in protest of the expulsions of several Palestinians leaders, i.e., Lawyer Antun Abdullah from Jerusalem, Ibrahim Dakar and Kamal Nasr from Ramallah and Sheikh Abdallah Hamid al-Saib, the Mufti of Jerusalem. (Reported in *Zo Ha-Derech*, 10th January, 1969.) It said : « This method is against international rules and the fundamental rights of an inhabitant to live in his land and in his house.

Shamefully, the occupation authorities declared openly that the expulsions are punishments for non-collaboration. It is well known that it is the fundamental right of every individual occupation regime not to collaborate with the conqueror so long as he does nothing to endanger the security of the ruling or the ruled.»

(viii) KILLING DURING CURFEW *

(1) *Zo Ha-Derech*, 4th December, 1968: Three were killed and six were wounded in Gaza from the firing of the army into crowd.

(*) A selection covering only the period Dec. 1968—April 1970.

(2) *Ha-Aretz*, 1st January, 1969: A boy and a woman were killed in Hebron. The official explanation: they refused to stop when demanded to do so.

(3) *Ibid*, 21st January, 1969: The army fired on a crowd of women: one was killed, and nine were wounded.

(4) *Yediot Aharonot*, 22nd May, 1969: An Arab who refused to stop at the demand of an army patrol was killed in Gaza.

(5) *Ha-Aretz*, 14th November, 1969: Two inhabitants of Rafah were killed while being in the street during curfew hours.

(6) *Ibid*, 1st May, 1969: A boy was killed in Nablus for similar reasons.

(7) *Ibid*, 3rd April, 1970: An inhabitant of Beit Hanun (Gaza Strip) was killed during curfew hours.

(8) *Ibid*, 13th April, 1970: An inhabitant of Gaza was killed during the curfew.

(9) *Ibid*, 16th March, 1970: An Israel Arab was killed in Gaza when the army fired into a crowd.

(10) *Ibid*, 24th March, 1970: An inhabitant of Nablus was killed during the curfew.

(11) *Maariv*, 24th April, 1970: Two inhabitants of Rafah were killed during the curfew.

(ix) TORTURE (*)

(1) *Zo` Ha-Derech*, 17th January, 1968: Naim al-Ashhab, from East Jerusalem, who was arrested in November 1967, complained of severe beating in the Jerusalem gaol.

(2) *Ibid*, Curfew was imposed and investigations were undertaken in a refugee camp in Gaza (31,000 inhabitants); male population from the age of 17 to 60 was removed into a closed compound and held for 36 hours in pouring rain and severe cold. A considerable number fainted.

(*) The selection covers the period 1968-1970.

(3) *Ibid*, 21st February, 1968: A wave of arbitrary arrests of women and youngsters were made in the West Bank and Gaza. More than 300 women, representatives of all women organisations in the West Bank, signed a petition addressed to Defence Minister M. Dayan, in which they complained: «The authorities are arresting many women with no reason: those women are not charged.... The cruel and terroristic actions of the occupation authorities in Gaza Strip include destruction of huts, houses, citrus orchards, water wells engines, curfews for several days irrespective of the needs of children and old men and prevention of first medical aid and necessary treatment of the sick.»

(4) *Ibid*, 8th May, 1968: After a non-violent strike in Ramallah and al-Bira, travel in and out of the two cities was totally cut off; this was described as an «educational action.»

(5) *Ibid*, 29th May, 1968: Henri Habash, Nabil Diab, Walid al-Dusi, Ziad Hanna Amira, Muhammad Abu Kabir, Ziad Muhammad Abu Mazir from East Jerusalem complained of being tortured at the Jerusalem police station and pointed out in court the policeman who tortured them. They were accused of distributing leaflets calling for a non-violent strike.

(6) *Ibid*, 24th July, 1968: Lawyer Jamil Shalhub submitted a complaint to Defence Minister, Minister of Police and Prime Minister, concerning the pupil Muaid Uthman al-Bahash from the Nablus al-Salahiyya Secondary School. He was arrested on the 9th of December, 1967. No visit whatever were permitted for a period of six months. When finally allowed a visit he was found with his left hand completely paralysed and gave the following declaration of torture in the Sarafand Military prison: «I was hanged by my hands to the ceiling, pulled down by my legs, flogged and beaten on my sexual parts until I lost consciousness. I was chained, hands and feet, and compelled to run under the compulsion of flogging. I was left alone only after I was bleeding in all parts of my body. Urine was poured over me. Electrodes were attached to my body and head and electrical current was sent through. Cigarettes were extinguished on my body and head and scars remained till this very day.» No investigation was carried out.

(7) *Ibid*, 4th September, 1968: The prisoner Aballa Taha

Adama on meeting her lawyer, F. Langer, at the Jerusalem gaol where she was arrested in the presence of Ali Rafi' and inspector Golan, burst into tears and complained of torture; Inspector Golan tried to hush her, yet to no avail. She said that immediately after her arrest she was put into a cell with several Jewish prostitutes, who stripped her naked in the presence of the policemen and beat her brutally. Then, still naked, she was put into a punishment cell, where she was denied elementary sanitation facilities and was forced to relieve herself in the cell for three days. She was left naked eight more days and then brutally kicked by a policeman named Duwayk. She was pregnant and started to bleed. Her request for medical treatment was refused.

(8) *Ibid*, Lutfi al-Huwari met his lawyer, F. Langer, on the 12th August, 1968, and told a similar story.

(9) *Ibid*, 17th October, 1968: A demonstration of school girls in Nablus was broken up by shooting into the crowd, several girls were wounded.

(10) *Ibid*, 4th December, 1968: Yahya Asad Abd al-Rahman al-Jasim, secondary school pupil from Gaza, was arrested in October 1967. He complained of torture, and was charged with subversive activities on 1st January, 1968. For 10 months he was waiting for his trial, and the charge was cancelled. The accused was not released, but remained in gaol by administrative ordinance issued on 30th October, 1968.

(11) *Ibid*, 18th December, 1968: Hassan Isa Hassan al-Batat, aged 15 from school on the charge of not carrying an identity card. He explained that since he is 15 years old, he is not entitled to an identity card; yet he was carried to Hebron jail and was beaten on his head. He died a few hours after he was released. A local doctor identified the cause of his death as brain injury.

(12) *Ibid*, 26th December, 1968 Uthman al-Aaraj from East Jerusalem, was arrested during the demonstration of school girls near the Nablus Gate. He was brought to the Jerusalem police station, put into a cell and stripped naked. Three plain clothes policemen beat him with a stick on his body, especially on his sexual parts, inserted the stick into his rectum, and then pushed

it into his mouth. The prisoner was left naked and beaten again but still refused to confess. He was freed on 28th October, 1968, and cautioned not to speak with anybody about his interrogation. However, he immediately consulted a doctor, who issued a statement asserting grievous bodily injuries. He then forwarded a complaint to the authorities. The next day, 29th October, he was re-arrested and held in an isolation cell until all marks of the torture disappeared, without being interrogated again. He was then freed.

(13) *Ibid*, Rajib Abd al Muati Abu Ras from al-Bira was arrested in October 1967, held six months in prison, charged and acquitted without being brought before court. Re-arrested immediately again by administrative ordinance and held in isolation. His fellow-prisoners reported to his family that he was hanged by his hands, lost several of his finger nails, and he was compelled many times to drink water from the faeces container. He was released on 12th December, 1968; his torn out finger nails were observed by his lawyer and a complaint was submitted to the Minister of Justice. On the next day he was again re-arrested by administrative ordinance for the period of six months.

(14) *Ibid*, 28th January, 1969: In his reply at the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) to a query concerning the killing of three Palestinians and the wounding of seven (including a six year old child), Defence Minister M. Dayan stated that firing into the crowd is legal.

(15) *Ibid*, 26th March, 1969: Qaim Abu Aqar, from East Jerusalem, was arrested and died in the Jerusalem gaol. His death was not investigated, but his body was brought by the police straight to the cemetery and his family was compelled to bury him instantly.

(16) *Ibid*, 7th May, 1969 Dawud Ali Ariqat, from Jericho, arrested on 23rd March, 1969; he was not allowed to see his lawyer for over a month and on meeting him complained of torture in the Jerusalem gaol by plain clothes policemen. A complaint was sent to Minister of Police and Defence Minister.

(17) *Ibid*, 18th June, 1969 : The following are details of the con-

ditions in Hebron gaol: prisoners are permitted to relieve themselves only twice a day, at 7.00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m., each time for one and a half minutes. Washing is allowed only twice a week, and not allowed on other days, even for lustration before daily prayers. There are no daily walks and the cells are terribly overcrowded.

(18) *Ibid*, 23rd July, 1969 Naim al-Ashhab complains in a letter from his prison: «During my imprisonment I finally came to know the meaning of the Israeli democracy. . . . Even in the field of medical treatment in gaol there is racial discrimination between Jews and Arabs. . . . I have come to know Israelis encouraging and promoting the execution of homosexual assault against Arab political prisoners in full knowledge and approval of the prison management.» (The prisons concerned are Ramleh and Jerusalem gaols.)

(19) *Ibid*, 20th August, 1969: In the Military Court of Ramallah a long series of torture carried out in the Jerusalem prison was revealed. Lawyer Bashir al-Khayri, Abu al-Hadi Awda and Abu Hadidha, who were represented by their lawyers Antun Jasir and F. Langer, testified that they were prevented from seeing their lawyers for about a month, and finally, when Mr. Bashir al-Khayri was allowed to see his lawyer in the presence of the police, and began complaining of torture, he was immediately taken away on the claim that he was not speaking to the point. The police doctor was called by the prosecution in rebuttal and was proven in cross-examination not to have examined the accused at all.

(20) *Ibid*, 4th September, 1969: Sami Abu Diyab, Abd al-Latif Id from East Jerusalem, complained during their trial on the following tortures. Abu Diyab gave the following evidence: «I was beaten by a stick and iron wire, I was hanged by my feet upside down and a bullet was inserted into my rectum and I lost consciousness.» Abd al-Latif Id: «I was beaten with a nailed ruler, I was beaten on my eyes, I was hanged down by chained feet, a bullet was inserted into my rectum and I lost consciousness.» When the prosecutor suggested that they were lying Abu Diyab answered: «We have honour and we are speaking the truth. It is the interrogators who lie because they are torturing us and then swearing in court that they never touched us.»

(21) *Ibid*, Prison conditions in the Ashkelon gaol: prisoners are forbidden to address their warders, unless they literally lower their heads, they sleep in shifts on the floor (without mattresses). The prisoners, who by and large are on administrative detention and are mostly educated, are refused books and other reading material. Prisoners are allowed to relieve themselves only twice a day (7.00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m.) for one and a half minutes only.

(22) *Ibid*, 24th September, 1969: Yusuf Abdallah Udwan, prisoner in Tul-Karm by administrative ordinance dated 29th March, 1969. He was refused permission to see his lawyer, F. Langer. On 8th September, 1969, he was brought before the Commission of Appeal and his lawyer had seen him there. He reported that he was roughly beaten by a stick in all parts of his body until he could not move about by himself for long periods. He was tortured by electrical instruments and lighted matches. A favourite torture consisted of burning his lips with lighted matches and asking him to put them out. The representative of the International Red Cross was not allowed to see him. The chairman of the Appeal Commission refused to hear anything on this matter, claiming that it is no business and no concern of the Commission.

(23) *Ibid*, Ishaq al-Marajai, from East Jerusalem, arrested in March 1969, complains of being hanged by the feet and flogged in this position, beaten on his head with a stick and had hot and cold water alternately poured over him. He was also tortured with electrodes. He is incapacitated to this very day and the scars on his head are clearly visible.

(24) *Ibid*, 19th December, 1969: On further sessions of the Ramallah Military Court on the Bashir al-Khayri case the prisoner reported again of torture undergone in the Jerusalem gaol. When cross-examined by the prosecutor on his torture allegations he declared to the court: «The prosecutor says there are no beating and torture in your regime. He tries to show that my evidence is a lie. I ask this court to visit right now the prison of Ramallah which is situated only a few meters away and I will show the scores of people who have undergone torture and are bleeding all over with broken hands. If you truly want to do justice fulfil my

request.» His lawyer, F. Langer, supported his petition, but the reply of the court was: «You must defend yourself and not others, and we are not interested in visiting prisons.»

(25) *Ibid*, 6th May, 1970: In her open letter to the Minister of Police entitled «Where is the Truth, Mr. Police Minister.» Lawyer F. Langer sums up cases of torture reported to her during the past six months:

- (a) Abd al-Mutailib Abu Ramila, from East Jerusalem, was reported as insane three months after his imprisonment.
- (b) Naim al-Ashhab was again beaten, this time by Jewish prisoners in the Shatta prison who were reported to have been instigated to do so.
- (c) Abd al-Hadi Awda and Abu Hadidha (see also item 19) gave evidence in the Ramallah Military Court and reported on the tortures they have undergone during police interrogations in Jerusalem. Abu Hadidha has shown the court the wounds on his head. He also reported on the tortures he had undergone in the Sarafand gaol.

In her open letter to the Minister of Police, Lawyer F. Langer said: «Your Honour is informed of Ishaq Ali al-Marajai's case. Mr. Marajai pointed out the names of the interrogators who have beaten him in the Jerusalem police station, and described his tortures (see item 23). The charges against him were cancelled and he is now an administrative prisoner. He is still incapacitated and the wounds on his head are still open. He was invited by police officers to testify on his complaints of torture, but was not allowed to invite his lawyer to be present during his testimony—and this was the end of the police investigation. The Police Ministry then alleged that he refused to testify and there was no further evidence to support his claims. Can such procedure be called investigation? Why were those who could testify of being eye-witnesses, who have seen the prisoner, not be allowed to testify in the presence of his lawyer?... Is the evidence engraved on the man's body not sufficient testimony?»

2

Civil Rights in Israel Today (*)

When I decided to speak to you tonight, I was motivated by the fact that we have in Israel now a very strong and positive Jewish/Arab movement. Both peoples are struggling together, under the slogan 'Long Live Jewish-Arab Solidarity' for a standard of justice common to every single human being. This has been accentuated by the demonstration made concerning the villages of Bir'im and Ikrit, and the subsequent demonstration in Jerusalem when about five thousand people, Jews and Arabs, marched together in agreement, struggling together and believing in the same task.

However, in view of the Munich affair..., I would like to begin with my utmost condemnation of any act of terrorism against civilians and unarmed human beings. I think every human being has the privilege of saying he is right, but I think that I have even more [right] than most because I have without hesitation condemned the taking of hostages and the killing of civilians carried out by my own Government. I make no distinctions: I say that taking hostages and then causing their death is a dastardly act in itself. Every human being is a world of his own. I would add that it makes much more difficult the task of those people who are struggling together for equal justice for all in the Middle East.

(*) This speech by Dr. Israel Shahak, Chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights was given at The Friends' House in London Sept. 6, 1972. It was published by the Committee for Justice in the Middle East, London.

I want now to talk about the situation of the non-Jewish (which means the Palestinian Arab) minority in Israel; I will speak briefly later on about discrimination against non-Arab groups. But of course, the greatest volume of discrimination is against the Palestinian minority, and I will divide this subject into three of the most important situations in which discrimination is practised.

I will begin with a concept which will be practically unknown to some of you, or to most of you who are dependent on the Western press for your information; this is the concept of Judaisation. I don't know if this word exists in English, but it does in Hebrew, and I will illustrate it with an example.

About fifteen miles north-east of Haifa there is a town called Carmiel, founded in 1965 (actually on confiscated Arab land belonging to a village called Deir el-Asad, but that is another question). This town is reserved, by law and officially, for Jews. Arabs are prohibited by law not only from living there, but even from opening a business there. About a year and a half ago there was the case of a Druse Palestinian (actually an ex-officer of the Israeli Police) who wanted to open a business there — a quarry for building-stone — and was refused. There was an even more shocking case about five months ago near Carmiel. Mr. Mohammad Ma'rouf, a rich man from the village of Deir el-Asad wanted to open a factory in Carmiel; there was an extraordinary discussion over whether he should be given permission or not, and as it stands at present, his permit is refused.

To give you the atmosphere of the situation of the Arabs in Israel, and to make you realise how little you hear about the real situation, I will read you some of the opinions expressed by the notables of Carmiel on this question, it being understood that my source is mainly the Hebrew press.

This is from *Ha'aretz*, the important Hebrew paper, of 18th February of this year (1972). The Secretary of the Workers' Council of by the name of Moshe Prishmore, says: «If the decision is positive and Ma'rouf is allowed to open his business, then his workers, the Arabs, would have to live here. We will not make Carmiel a se-

cond Acre. (Acre is a city where Jews and Arabs live together). We really want Jews to live and work here.» And his Secretary, Mrs. Rahl Tirosch, says: «But if they allow the Arabs to be here, they would defeat the purpose for which Carmiel was built: the Judaisation of Galilee.»

The Deputy Mayor of the local Council, Mr. Shmuel Freider, says: « I am against Arabs living here while Carmiel has a population of 4,500; when we have 15,000 perhaps . . . » «But hundreds of Arab workers are actually working in Carmiel today,» the journalist pointed out. The response was: «Right, but only in Jewish enterprises and in menial jobs.» Any new business which might be founded by Arabs would have to obtain permission based on the condition that Jewish residents should be employed.

In order to understand the situation fully, imagine the same thing happening here in London. Suppose, for example, that a society were founded by the Christians of this city for the Christianization of Whitechapel or of Golders Green, and that this society, helped by the Greater London Council, proceeded to confiscate or even to buy shops and businesses on condition that they should only be rented or given to Christians, and that Jews should only be employed there in very menial jobs. Carmiel is not alone. I quote it only because I have a particularly good article on it. This situation is general in Israel; there is the upper Nazareth, there are very many towns in which this situation occurs.

Not only do I oppose these things as a human being, I must say also that I oppose them as a Jew and as a man who is proud to be a Jew, because I cannot demand any human rights for Jewish People in any place in the world if I am not fighting for exactly the same rights to be given to Palestinians. Secondly, a situation in which there is racial persecution of non-Jews in Israel must ultimately cause anti-semitism throughout the world. You cannot divide justice: either there will be human rights for every people in the Middle East, rights for Arabs to settle and live and open businesses and work in any place in Israel, or the situation will become such that Jews will be segregated here in London too, under the same conditions in which the Arabs are now segregated in Israel.

The main organisation behind this programme of so-called Judaisation, which is also very active here in England, is the Jewish National Fund. I oppose this organisation inside Israel — and of course outside to — because its constitution and regulations stipulate openly that it buys or acquires land in order to rent it only to Jews or to employ only Jews on it. In fact, a very large amount, indeed a majority, of the land of Israel belongs to this organisation and is subject to these conditions.

The second situation in which we may examine discrimination against Arabs concerns their human rights in their own places of residence; we are not talking here about the right to move to Carmiel or anywhere else in Israel, but about the places where they are living now, having been Israeli citizens for twenty-four and a half years. Let me begin by citing as an example my colleague on the executive committee of the Israeli League for Human Rights, an Arab lawyer from Nazareth called Abdul-Hafiz Dorawsha. Although this man is a lawyer, he is administratively restricted to Nazareth. What happens when he wants to attend a session of the district court in Haifa, and what is the procedure if he wants to attend a meeting of the executive committee of the Israeli League for Human Rights in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem? The procedure is as follows: at least two weeks beforehand he has to go to the nearest police station and apply for a permit. The application goes to the military commander of the area and he either grants the permit or he does not. To be fair, I must say that he always gets permission to appear in court but not always for attending meetings of the Israeli League for Human Rights.

I will give another example, again of somebody I know personally. One of my Arab friends in Israel, a man called Uthman Abu Ra's, has been similarly restricted to a village in Israel called Tira for more than fifteen years. In February/March 1971 he had trouble with his teeth and had to visit the dentist in the neighbouring town of Nataniya. He asked for, and in due course, received permission for eight visits to the dentist. After the fourth visit, however, the permit was withdrawn on the official grounds (for I took this matter up myself) that he did not go straight to the dentist's clinic but was seen walking up and down in the street. It took several of

us six or seven weeks of really hard work to obtain for this man another set of permits to visit his dentist.

A further example of what this situation means: another of my Arab friends in Israel is a poet called Sami'ah Al-Qassem. This man is restricted to the town of Haifa. However, he was not born in Haifa, but in the village of Rama, which is about twenty-five miles away from Haifa. This means that he can only visit his family by obtaining a permit. Towards the end of 1970, his mother fell ill, and he asked permission in the usual manner to visit her. Since he has incurred the disfavour of the authorities who grant these permits because he composes poetry which also does not meet with their approval, he heard nothing for some two weeks. Pressure was brought to bear — people phoned the authorities and threatened to make the details known abroad, especially to some French poets who were interested in him — and eventually we extracted a definite promise that he would be granted his permit on the following Friday. We told him this by telephoning Haifa, and on the Friday morning he went along to the police station and waited for the permit. He was given it at 11.30; the permit began at 12 noon and expired at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. With the geographical distance and the bus routes involved (transport in Israel is mainly by bus) this meant that he could take the bus to Rama, run quickly to his mother and perhaps have ten, fifteen or twenty minutes before running back to the bus station to catch the bus back to Haifa in time. He was so angry that he took the permit and threw it in the face of the policeman, and did not visit his mother. I should add that she did, in fact, recover.

I could give you similar examples not by tens but literally by hundreds, because my job is to help those people to struggle with them—not *for* but *with* them. I would ask you finally to put yourself in the place of an Israeli-Arab — and again I emphasise, a Palestinian Arab who is an Israeli citizen. He knows that any morning he may receive an official notification which would say: «I, the Commander of such-and-such district, consider it in the interest of the State of Israel that you should be restricted for such-and-such a time.» He has no recourse to civil law, the only re-

course that he has is to appeal to the Chief of Staff. I can say that when I began to deal with these things I did advise people to appeal to the Chief of Staff, but I no longer do so because it is a waste of time and paper.

The usual excuse given for such treatment is security. As an Israeli citizen resident in Israel I would be ready to some extent to accept that excuse. What I do not accept is that the military authorities should act as judges in their own case. It has very often been proposed, not only by myself but by others such as Mr. Uri Avnery, that there should be an independent board of civilian judges to decide these matters. Rightly or wrongly, I must say that if such a board were set up I would advise people to go to it and fight through it. However, in spite of numerous demands over a long period of time, this proposal has been deliberately ignored.

On this question of security, one can also point to the situation in Carmiel itself. The Israeli-Arab Palestinians are not permitted to open shops in Carmiel or to live in Carmiel — but they are allowed to work in Carmiel, and they are actually building the houses in which they are forbidden to dwell in. So I must say that while there are some situations where the security justification may be valid, I feel very strongly that ninety per cent or more of the discrimination undergone by the Palestinian Arabs in Israel has nothing to do with security at all, but 'Security' is a very important excuse, especially for those who are not receiving the correct details.

The third and final context in which I would like to discuss the Palestinian Arabs in Israel concerns the question of citizenship and in particular the right of return. Now, I could of course begin with the question of the Palestinians who were expelled and begin by questioning (as I often do) what right the State of Israel — my State, of which I am a citizen — has to allow any Jew to come to Haifa from, let us say, Moscow while it forbids people actually born in Haifa to come there. But I am dealing with a more basic question. You know that every country in the world (or most of them at least) allows a citizen who takes a foreign husband or wife the right to decide on the place of domicile. If a

British citizen marries anybody whatsoever and the couple want to live in England, they will do so, and the same right is given everywhere. This right is denied in Israel in both cases, and I have dealt with very many examples where a Palestinian Arab has married his or her chosen partner (such cases were common even before 1967 because people used to meet in Cyprus and on the Easter visit of Jerusalem, and they became more widespread after the 1967 war) and in absolutely every case the couple is given only one choice: if you want to stay married, leave the country. I am talking about cases where a valid marriage ceremony has been gone through.

You probably read in the papers recently about a similar situation occurring in the Soviet Union with a Jewish citizen of the United States, a woman who went to Moscow and married a Russian citizen who was then prohibited from leaving. I must say that such cases occur in Israel in their thousands, especially since 1967, and in practically every case permission to live in Israel is withheld.

Apart from this, a large number of Arabs who live in Israel are denied citizenship. The exact total is unknown but I estimate it to be about 60,000—70,000 out of a total of about 350,000 Israeli-Arabs. These people have been denied citizenship for over twenty-four years now, but what is even worse is that their children are also denied citizenship. What happens to these people? As long as they stay inside Israel their lack of citizenship does not affect them because Israeli Law actually makes very little distinction between the permanent resident and the citizen. However, the distinction appears when they want to leave Israel temporarily; they are not issued with an Israeli passport, but with a travelling card which is valid for exactly one year and one day. If for any reason (and often it is unwittingly) they should stay away longer, they are never allowed back.

I had an especially harrowing case in August 1971 of a young Arab from the village of Arraba in Galilee, near Nazareth, who left Israel at the end of 1965 when there was an acute economic depression. He left alone, because as the breadwinner of the family he was really in a very bad economic position, and he went

to Turkey, where he overstayed his year. For about three years this man tried to return, and finally in great desperation because he was alone in Turkey and all his family was in Arraba, he boarded a Turkish plane and came to Lydda in August 1971. He was not even allowed to communicate with a judge; he was held on what is officially called non-Israeli ground in the international room at the airport, and he was deported on the next plane to Turkey, where he remains to this very day.

As examples of the final category of Arabs who are virtually condemned to leave their homeland I will cite cases of Arabs — again, people known to me personally — who are imprisoned or exiled for very long periods and who again, of course, have no redress. These periods, like the restrictions I mentioned earlier, are administrative; I am talking about administrative imprisonment. As Chairman of the League for Human Rights I do not deal with cases of condemned prisoners, only with case of administrative and arbitrary prisoners. The whole time that they are in prison or in exile in a distant village, they are offered the easy way out: «Leave your country and you will be free today.» I will describe three particularly harrowing cases as examples:

The first concerns a man called Naim al-Ashhab from East Jerusalem — I mention him because he holds the record for administrative and arbitrary imprisonment. He was in prison without any charges whatsoever for 38 months, of which thirteen months were spent in solitary confinement. All this time he had the inducement of instant freedom held out to him should he agree to leave the country. This very courageous man eventually went almost blind in prison — the sight of his left eye is gone, and that of his right eye half gone — and then he succumbed and left, leaving his wife and two small children behind.

The second case is that of an Israeli called Mohammed Yussef Sadiq from the town of Shefar Am. This man was imprisoned — again arbitrarily and without charge — at the end of November 1967 and was held in prison for nearly two years until August 1969; then when he succumbed to what is called the 'invitation' to go to the United States he was taken to the airport and put on

the plane without his parents even being notified. In the final 'farewell' the officer told him: «Stay out — if you come back, you'll be back in prison again.» Two years later, in 1971, Muhammad Yussef Sadiq decided to return; he did so openly, writing an open letter to the League for Human Rights and to the Israeli papers (of which the weekly *Haolim Haze* of Mr. Uri Avneri published it) saying that he had not been charged with anything and that he was a completely innocent man. Then he tried to return to Israel and to his father's house in Shefar Am, because it is his home. On the plane he was immediately arrested; he was kept at Lydda airport for several days, and was then transported to his parents' house in Shefar Am under house arrest, being forbidden to leave his father's house except for three visits to the police station every day at prescribed times. He was told that these conditions would continue until he left the country. This man did leave, and is now in the United States where, by the way, he is studying of Denver.* Again, I emphasise that I am only mentioning cases of people whom I know personally, as I do this man.

The third case again concerns a friend, one of my very best friends. Fawzi el-Asmar is one of the young Arab poets in Israel who was arrested in August 1969 and kept in prison for 17 months. To all the representations on his behalf by myself and other people, we received the official answer, both in writing and in statements, that this man is an extremely dangerous terrorist and that freeing him would threaten the entire existence of the State of Israel. You may or may not be surprised to learn that, when I visited London and managed to get quite a few worthy English people to take an interest in this case to the extent of writing to the Israeli Government asking for an explanation of it, this man was freed five or six weeks after the letters were sent - though not completely free. He was transferred to house arrest at his father's house in Lydda. Again and again attempts to induce him

(*) Muhammad Sadiq graduated *Suma Cum Laude* from Colgate University in the Summer of 1971. After returning to the United States, he taught Hebrew in Washington, D.C. He is presently a Ph.D. candidate at the University of California at Berkeley in Comparative Hebrew/Arabic Literature. (Editor's note).

to leave were made and he was told that the conditions imposed on him would never be changed in any respect. It was no help to him that this man is one of the most courageous and out-spoken proponents of Jewish-Arab solidarity and understanding. He was held under house arrest for another twelve months. He had previously lived in Tel-Aviv for twelve years, and when he applied for permission to return to his home area there because he could earn his living more easily (he is a writer and translator) he was officially told that 'it is easier to watch Arabs in their natural surroundings.' What are these 'natural surroundings' in Lydda? Lydda is mainly a Jewish city of about 15,000 inhabitants, in which there are about 250 Arabs who live in what is officially and openly called an Arab ghetto (like those in the United States, it is behind the railway) and the area is technically called the 'Railway Quarter,' but the name by which it is known to those who want to visit him or his parents is really the 'Arab Ghetto' and this is what everybody calls it.

I will now turn from the question of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel and say a few brief words about those Jews of Israel who are subject to persecution. There is of course the problem of the so-called 'Oriental Jews' whose persecution is more or less social, but I would like to talk about legal persecution, of which there are two official categories. The first that of the Jews who are not Jews. This is not a joke, it is a fact. These are people, for example, whose grandmother was not Jewish. Now according to Israeli law a person is Jewish if his mother or grandmother was Jewish or if he was converted by an Orthodox Rabbi. If it is suddenly discovered, as it often is, that an Israeli man or woman's grandmother was not Jewish, he will be called to the Government office and an attempt will be made to confiscate his identity card and to change the entry from Jew to non-Jew, in most cases. The big joke is that they will write 'German' on his card if his grandmother came from Germany or 'Russian' if she came from Russia. There was a case which I actually dealt with where a man's mother was proved to be of the Tartar people in Russia, and he was officially designated as 'Tartar.' What does this mean? First of all, it means that this man can never marry in Israel, because only religious

the denominations; but the most important thing is that it brings enormous pressure to bear on him, on his wife, on his children, on everybody, to convert to Judaism. He is in fact being asked (and marriages are recognised and this man does not belong to any of here I am quoting my own Prime Minister) to 'make' this great sacrifice for the 'State' and convert to Judaism. New immigrant women are now taken to a hotel called Yalom Ishtikariat, with their expenses paid, and obliged to listen to lectures by rabbis inducing them and their children to convert to Judaism. The quotation about the 'sacrifice of conversion' comes from the speech of Mrs. Golda Meir concerning the Shalit case, in which Mrs. Meir, addressing herself both to Mrs. Shalit and to other women in the same position, asked them to make this sacrifice and to undergo the ceremony of conversion to Judaism.

The second Jewish category is that of the so-called 'Jewish bastards.' Again, this is not a joke, but a legal term which means in Jewish law something rather different from its meaning in colloquial English: it means people born of bigamous marriages. It includes not only these people, but also their children and their descendants for ever; and again, if a marriage is proved bigamous — even that of a grandmother or great grandmother — and the people are declared bastards, they are prohibited from marrying. There is a case going on in Israel now of two people, a major in the Israeli army and his sister, who have been proved to come from a bigamous marriage in that their mother married again without undergoing a religious divorce, and they are prohibited from marrying. How is this enforced? There is a register, officially known as 'People Prohibited from Marriage' but unofficially as the 'Black Book,' against which the name of everybody, and especially every Jew, who wants to get married is checked. The number of people who are thus prohibited from marrying is enormous; the exact number is unknown, but it runs into tens of thousands, and I would say that 20,000 would be a very fair estimate.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that no distinction whatsoever can justify murder, especially the murder of civilians and unarmed hostages. However, I feel very strongly that those who

condemn murder now should also condemn the same sort of terrorist murder carried out not only by Jews but by order of the authorities of the State of Israel. But I would put it to you that human nature, being what it is, in every depressed and oppressed people a band of fanatics would be found — just as among the Jewish people, for example, the Stern Gang also committed very similar acts.

We have before us a positive way of establishing peace and justice in the Middle East, and this is for all of us — and really for all the people in the world — to take up the struggle of Jews and Arabs fighting side by side for justice under the slogan given to all of us by Archbishop Raya: Long Live Arab-Jewish Solidarity!

Questions

After concluding his speech, Dr. Shahak answered questions put to him by members of the audience; also on the platform was Dr. Norton Mezvinsky, Professor of History at Connecticut, a prominent American anti-Zionist Jew who had just returned from a visit to the Middle East, and who also answered some of the questions.

As I understand it, the only form of marriage, valid in Israel is a Jewish marriage ?

No, there are recognised denominations which are not only Jewish but various sects of Muslims, all Christian denominations, in fact every denomination that exists in sufficient numbers will be allowed to perform marriages. What does not exist in Israel is permission for two people of different denominations to marry, so I mentioned therefore the two categories, people who are not Jews and those not of any other denomination.

What do you think is the likelihood of civil marriage coming to Israel in the near future and secondly, is it also not true that although no facilities exist at the moment in Israel for civil marriage, civil marriage contracted outside Israel is recognised as legal within it ?

Taking the second point first, it is very true that any form of

legal marriage contracted outside Israel is recognised in Israel. It has, however, the disadvantage not only that divorce is impossible, but even an order for the care of children is impossible if, say, a couple should split up. I think that at the moment the prospects for civil marriage in Israel are bad; there was a very moderate proposal in the Knesset recently which failed. However, I should say (and this is my personal opinion) that when civil marriage is within sight, peace with justice in Israel will be within sight.

May I say, as one with a little Jewish blood in my veins, that after hearing your speech I have never been as proud of it as I am today. What I want to ask is whether there is any way for people outside Israel who feel sympathy and support for you to express this without meaning to suggest — particularly those of us who are Members of Parliament — that we are a sort of pro-Arab lobby?

Yes, the best way of supporting our organisation is by writing letters, as I outlined in the case of Fawzi el-Asmar. When we have a case which we believe to be of personal oppression, we would like people to write letters (not necessarily supporting us) to the official concerned, asking for the truth about the case. In very many cases, this leads to great alleviation of suffering, and I never forget that civil rights and human rights are not abstract concepts — I work for the sake of the individual human being.

Can one in some way be informed by organisations like yours?

Yes. I will give you my address: P.O.Box 14192, Tel Aviv, Israel; you can also write to me at my address at the Department of Organic Chemistry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

May I say that after hearing your speech I am definitely ashamed of being associated with you? You say that you are a member of the Committee for the Friendship between Arabs and Jews (No — Dr. Shahak). Can you see any prospect of reconciliation between Jews and Arabs in Israel which will meet the approval of the Arab states so that they will tolerate Israel?

Yes, first of all I would say that, if I am proud of the former gentleman's comment, I am proud of your disapproval — your behaviour justifies it. Secondly, I am sure that giving the same

rights to Arabs in Israel as Jews everywhere demand for themselves is the absolute way to peace. It will not follow instantly, but it will follow in a very short time.

What do you think of those hired assassins ?

First of all, as I said, assassins are found on both sides — you need only look at history to see that. Force, or the belief in force alone, never brought peace and if you are not only a Jew but also know something about the Jewish tradition you know that our greatest prophet has cautioned us against depending on force and to believe in justice. In the words of the prophet: «Zion will be redeemed by justice and those who repent by righteousness.» There is no other way.

What is the Israeli law with regard to naturalization — not the people who were born and reside in Israel but of foreigners who are not Jewish? And secondly, does not the system you described — land confiscation law. etc. — that is involved here proceed logically from the concept of an all-Jewish state ?

Naturalization in Israel consists of two steps, which are now in law separate: the law of return which permits settling in Israel, and the law of citizenship which permits the attainment of citizenship. As far as immigrating to Israel and settling there is concerned, not only Jews but also members of Jewish families are eligible. Thus the non-Jewish wife of a Jewish husband, for example, can immigrate, but she is not eligible for citizenship, which is restricted to Jews, i.e., people with a Jewish mother or converting in an orthodox manner, or the offspring of Israeli citizens irrespective of religion. These two categories receive citizenship, which is, in my experience, always denied to those outside these two categories.

Did I understand you to say that Arabs living in Israel who have been there since before 1947 are not regarded as citizens but as residents?

No, I meant that some of them, about 60,000 out of 350,000, are not regarded as citizens. Not all of them, but this minority of about 20 per cent. And I meant to emphasise that, even if they live their whole life in their own village and their children are

born to them in the same place, they still do not receive citizenships.

On what grounds are they not regarded as citizens?

Because they cannot apply for citizenship by right, but only by 'grace,' which means that the Minister has complete right to give a refusal without explanation.

Does it apply to Christian Arabs who have been living there?

Oh yes, to both Christians and Muslims.

On the question of moving from one place to another, is this controlled by marital law, or the law of the land or what?

It is controlled by a special law — Defence Regulations 1945 — which was brought in by the British as a measure against the Jews especially, but which is continued to this day and is used exclusively against the Arabs. The last case of a Jew being arrested under this sort of law was in 1951, and since then it has been applied only to Arabs. This system of law is purely military: the judges and authorities are all military, and there is no possibility whatsoever of appeal to any civil authority.

Is there likely to be any friendship between the Arabs and the Jews so long as the resolution passed by the United Nations in November 1967 for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all territories is not rolled?

(Dr. Mezvinsky)

It seems to me that may not even be the first step, in other words that it is far too optimistic to expect that the Israelis are going to withdraw from the occupied territories. All you have to do is to go to the occupied territories and see the building that has been going on there. When any people spends millions of dollars on building and when they go to the extent of moving out the indigenous population to put in their own population, one cannot be optimistic that these people are going to withdraw from the occupied territories. Furthermore, one of the great problems with that resolution anyway was that it clearly left out mention of the Palestinians *per se*. It did say Israel should withdraw from the occupied territories but it did not really talk about the major

problem of the Palestinian Arabs, both those within pre-1967 Israel, within the post-1967 borders, and those outside the post-1967 borders. The first steps towards peace have to be within the context of the Jews and those Arabs, the Palestinians. One should really focus upon efforts that might be made somehow to move towards the kind of Jewish/Arab solidarity that Israel Shahak was talking about and which will include Jews and Palestinian Arabs first of all.

The Arab refugees were allowed to return to Israel (and this the United Nations resolution of December 10th 1948 expressly said) if they were willing to live in peace with their neighbours. Never have the Arab refugees indicated that they are willing to live at peace with their neighbours.

Well, very many people like myself in Israel are demanding exactly the same thing — let the right to return to Israel be given to any Palestinian who will sign this declaration proposed by you. The demand is completely rejected. I would be very glad if you would write a letter to the *Times* proposing what you have just suggested. Very many individual human beings are ready now to sign this declaration that they are willing to live in peace and they are still denied the right to return.

Secondly I must say that the position of Syrian Jews is bad. However, I would give another example: I would wish that the conditions of Arabs in Israel were half as good as those of Jews in Lebanon and Tunisia and Morocco.

What about the Jews in Iraq? Why were they hanged?

We are on an unequal basis here, because I do condemn every wrong done to every human being, while this gentleman is only condemning particular wrongs and not others. It just shows how partiality can arise; if people only deal with their own, i.e., demanding things in the Jewish interest and not in the interest of all, then obviously not only is there no progress but such people are bringing the whole question of human rights into disrepute. I will say just one thing: I deal with both Arabs and Jews in the Middle East. There is no other way out but to treat each human being separately.

Dr. Shahak, I would like to express my admiration for your stand. On the question of civil liberties, my friend here has hit the nail on the head when he spoke of the plight of the Syrian Jews, which may or may not be so bad, but in Jordan I spoke to a considerable number of Palestinian refugees who would like to enjoy the one basic human right, which the Syrian Jew is permitted and they are not, and this is the right to live in their own country. Secondly, we are talking about what we can do towards helping this situation. I think all British Jews can make a tremendous contribution towards creating some sort of atmosphere in which the subject is discussed realistically and on a human level, and as one who was born of Jewish parents, I would like to make it perfectly clear here, that I think that the contribution we can make is to say publicly that as British citizens within our own country we reject the claim of the Israeli Government to speak on our behalf. We also reject anyone's claim that as British Jews within our own country we have more right to enter Palestine than the Palestinian Arabs.

(Another Questioner):

Are there not 150,000 Arabs from the occupied territories now in pre-1967 Israel. How can this happen if the Arabs are restricted ?

Yes, I will explain again. Not *every* Arab is restricted, every Arab *can* be restricted arbitrarily. Half of those people whom you mention have Israeli military identity cards and are people who were expelled from the West Bank and Gaza between the Six-Day War and August 1968 [interruption: «Quiet right too!»] Well, I must say, as one who condemns, and has suffered from, German Nazism, I feel now the very highest obligation to condemn Jewish Nazism [interruption: «Desecration of the name of God!»] The desecrators of the name of God are those Jews who are following in the footsteps of Adolf Hitler, those Jews who are justifying expulsion and persecution. I would like to say one thing because of those two remarks: that, beyond all the dangers of security that I am conscious of as an Israeli citizen (and by the way, as an Israeli soldier) I am conscious of two things: firstly, that Jews who are living here in London are making merchandise with our blood, they are uttering these racist opinions in order to make *us* suffer and *us* spill our blood. Secondly, I believe that, if the

worst comes to the worst, I believe that the German who was faced by Hitler and his persecution had the duty to die rather than to become a Nazi. I have the same duty, as a Jew living now in Israel; if the opinions expressed by those two gentlemen become more and more influential in Judaism and outside and inside Israel, taking full risk, as one about to go to Israel in nine day's time, I say to you again: better to risk death than to become a Jewish Nazi.

What I wanted to emphasise was that the actual number of Arabs restricted or put in prison varies; it is especially big before elections, for example, and small after elections. What I emphasise is that any Arab is liable to this. I want also to stress that almost every Arab who keeps his mouth shut, or even better, who flatters the military authorities, will not be restricted or imprisoned or expelled—but this is equally true for every Jew who keeps his mouth shut in Moscow today.

How do restrictions work?

First of all, the permission given is to live in their own town or village, on which there is a bail of 2,000 Jordanian dinars; for permission to move in the West Bank, the bail is bigger, and bail for permission to visit Natanya and take a bath is also very high. The bail is on condition that they return the way they came, and bail is increased as freedom of movement is increased.

3

Interview with Israel Shahak on the Activities of the League (*)

When was the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights formed?

The League was founded in 1935. The occasion was a hunger strike by political prisoners, both Jews and Arabs, against the (then) British mandatory regime (in Palestine). It was quite active in the period between 1935 and 1948, but after that it was less active except for some occasions, as in the case of the notorious Qibya massacre (when Israeli troops attacked the Jordanian village on October 14, 1953). It can almost be said that in the 1960s the League was not active at all.

What brought about its present reactivation ?

After the Six-Day War, many people, especially young people, became more politically conscious and more active. Many have joined the League which was until then a very small body but which is now very much larger. One can say the League was reactivated in the winter of 1969.

I myself was elected chairman of a new executive committee in March, 1970, and since then, the League has had an unborken series of activities.

The League's charter is based on the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and our activities deal with all violations of those hu-

* The interview was given to the correspondent of Middle East International in Washington and published in the issue of the magazine of March 1972 (London), pp. 30—34.

man rights both in Israel and in the conquered territories. As an Israeli association which recognizes the principles of the United Nations, we do not recognize any annexation (of territory). For example, the takeover of (Arab) East Jerusalem. We only recognize the borders of Israel as of June 4, 1967.

Our board members are only Israeli citizens or Israeli residents. We do not accept members from or undertake any activities in East Jerusalem, like demonstrations and distribution of leaflets as we do elsewhere.

The majority of our activities deal with cases of Arabs in the conquered territories and in Israel proper, although I would like to point out that we also try to fight for those categories of Jews who are persecuted in Israel.

How do you get in touch with Arabs in the conquered territories if you do not operate there?

We have personal contacts about which I will not speak openly because people in the conquered territories were arrested and sometimes exiled for making contact with us.

I must also say that besides our contacts with Arabs in the conquered territories, there is even a small percentage of persons in the Israeli occupation army who transmit information to us. But for obvious reasons I cannot specify these contacts.

How large is your membership?

Nearly a thousand. There's an executive committee of 13 persons. Elections are held every year.

And when does your term as chairman end?

April, 1972. The League has two vice chairmen, one a Jew and the other an Arab, respectively Mordechay Abi-Shaul and Abdel Malik Dahamsha.

When did you personally start getting involved in the League?

In 1969.

What led you to take an active part?

I can tell you the whole story. I was active in human rights on

an ad hoc basis in various groups. In October, 1969, I convened a meeting in my house in Jerusalem to consider protests against the razing of houses in the (Arab) village of Halhoul near Hebron (for alleged collaboration between the villagers and Palestinian guerrillas) and against the razing of a whole street of houses in Gaza a month earlier. At this meeting, Mordechai Avi-Shaul, a founder-member of the League, was present. He told us, 'I appreciate what you are doing but why don't you do it through the League?'

My reaction was: 'I have not joined the League because it has done nothing in the last 10 years.' But after a short while I thought about it and felt that if I and my friends joined maybe we could re-activate the League. So. I did.

So you were not concerned about this matter before 1967?

Not in a burning and active sort of way. I will make my personal history perfectly clear. I was a completely convinced Zionist until 1956, a follower of Ben-Gurion (the former Israeli Prime Minister). In 1956, the Sinai war precipitated a change in my view but not to the point of an active political commitment. I am an organic chemist and this is quite a demanding profession.

The first subject that caught my attention in 1956 was the pressure and discrimination applied by Jewish religious groups on other Jews. In this, I was a little active between 1964 and 1967. But the war of 1967 compelled me to become more active and come out in the open.

What are the main activities of the League?

I will divide these into three parts: First, the most tedious, is the documentation and dealing with individual cases. Every man in Israel may apply to us — and many do — if his rights are violated or he is oppressed in any way in violation of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. I say tedious because we do not have the power, the legal and financial means to help him. Also, government officials are hostile. So what we do is help

the applicant in writing a letter of protest or in supporting his case.

In the case of documentation, we make sure that all violations of human rights in Israel and the conquered territories are not forgotten.

The second and third aspects of our activities are the most important. They involve the actual work of protest. But we cannot engage in protest every day. Our protests take the form of demonstrations, of letters to the United Nations and other bodies concerned with human rights.

In this respect, I must point out our work in the Gaza Strip. We were the first who protested against the horrors committed there in January and February of 1971. We were the only ones to publish the accounts in the Hebrew press. We were abused for doing this. Even now Zionist publications abroad keep saying that we lied. But that is not true. All the facts and opinions quoted in our leaflets have been proven to be completely true, or at least not proven to be false.

Take the case of Abu Zuneima, a concentration camp to which families, including children and babies are sent. And this fact has now been openly admitted by the Israeli government and Israeli apologists.

What is this camp and for whom is it?

For the families of (Palestinian) guerrillas who were not caught, who were only suspects. If a government blacklists such people and they are still at large, this should not give it power over their (suspects') babies.

Could you explain? Are these, in other words, hostages?

They are worse than hostages! Just imagine their position. If this guerrilla were caught or killed, the whole family would be freed. In other words, the children who are praying for their freedom are actually praying for the death of their father. I know about concentration camps, but I never heard of a country which has concentration camps to which babies are sent.

Where is Abu Zuneima?

In the middle of the Sinai Desert.

How many people do you estimate are there?

I cannot estimate because neither a journalist nor a Red Cross man or member of our organization was ever allowed to visit there. The Israeli Government says they exile the families of the suspected guerrillas (to Abu Zuneima). But the word 'family' is taken in a very extended sense, not just to mean the mother and children but to include cousins and others as well. I know of a family exiled to Abu Zuneima which numbered about 200 people. At one point in March and April (1971) it was admitted officially that nearly some 30 families were exiled to this camp. I do not know if all the families are made up of 200 people, maybe some are just 10.

I would not like to guess the number, but I would like to say that the camp is very large because some of my informants have seen it from a distance. Some of these informants are Israeli soldiers whose conscience prompted them to come to me and to my friends and tell us about the camp. All I can say is that it has many hundreds of people.

Under what laws are these people held in this concentration camp?

Under the 1945 Defence Regulation Act (of the former British mandatory regime). It is now applied both in Israel and in the conquered territories, even in Sinai and the Golan Heights where it never applied before (because they are Egyptian and Syrian territories respectively).

What is so disturbing about this act?

Under those laws a military commander has absolute power to do anything with any person except execution. He can exile him, imprison him, put him under house arrest, etc., etc. I will tell you about one ridiculous case. One Israeli-Arab was ordered some 20 years ago to spend all day, from sunrise to sunset, under a tree.

Under a tree?

Yes, a tree! This is a recorded legal fact.

Have you or your league asked for permission to visit Abu Zuneima?

Yes.

Was your request granted?

The letter was not answered. This is our usual experience. In small matters we receive a deluge of responses but in important ones the letter is never answered. Even the reminder is not answered.

What about the International Red Cross? Have they asked for permission to visit the camp?

I do not know. The Red Cross is under orders from their headquarters in Switzerland to deal with governments only and not with any organization.

To return to the Defense Regulations Act. Did they apply when the Jewish terrorist organizations were active in Palestine?

Yes. Although they were not applied as severely as is the case at present. The house of a Jewish terrorist was never razed. The house of Ya'ir Stern (head of the Stern terrorist organization), where he hid and later was killed by the British, is still standing (in Tel Aviv). In fact, there is a ceremonial plaque on his house which is now devoted to his memory. I do not remember the British having destroyed one house in the years between 1945 and 1948 (when the Jewish underground was active).

These laws were attacked in the strongest terms by the same people (in Israel) who now apply them. For example, the present Minister of Justice, Dr. Yaacov Shimshun Shapiro, described them in 1946 as worse than Nazi laws. He is now enforcing them him-

self. And I continue to attack him inside Israel by quoting his statement. He never answers.

Does the Israeli press publish your findings?

No. Only as paid advertisements. The only article which was sympathetic to our cause appeared in a paper called 'Youth 71' which is a weekly devoted to the pop culture.

Then how do you get your information across to the Israeli people?

By leaflets and demonstrations. If there is a very burning case we can insert an advertisement. We can do this especially in the chief Israeli paper *Haaretz* but, for example, we cannot do this in the English-Language *Jerusalem Post*, which I find a most dishonest paper. It even refuses our paid advertisements.

How do you get your information overseas?

This is one of our problems. We would like to enlist the help of all people of goodwill in this respect. In Israel, we are working with young, courageous, beautiful people who are all volunteers. They give all their time and effort without any charge, even contribute money. We can easily do our work in Hebrew and Arabic but we have the greatest difficulty in translation to English. In this matter, we need money. People can send their donations to our address: P.O.B. 14192, Tel-Aviv.

How big is your budget?

This is an internal problem which I do not like to discuss. It is however very small, we live from hand to mouth.

Do you have any access to the foreign press?

No. Not the permanent (resident) correspondents of the Western press. They are unbelievably corrupt and dishonest and they do not want to publish anything. From bitter experience I have learned that the only thing they will do is to denounce us to the Israeli government. However, we have had some success with the roving

foreign correspondent who comes to Israel for a short period of time. But the residents are horrible.

Why do you think they act this way?

I do not know! They just do not want to speak to people like me. I do not know them personally.

Are they pressured by the government?

No. Israel will not do anything to an American, British or French citizen. But, of course, there can be social pressure, all kinds of threats. But this is to be expected by any correspondent in any country.

What impact does your organization have on the Palestine Arabs in the occupied territories and outside? And what response would you like to see from them?

First, I would like to say that part of the Palestinians living in (pre-1967) Israel, the intellectuals, are members of our League. We are all working together, fighting together. But I really want very much that the Palestinians outside Israel, both in the conquered territories and in all parts of the Arab world, should know about our activities, about our unity of purpose.

Strangely enough, the Palestinians in Western countries or the Arab world are more informed about our activities than those inside the conquered territories, because as I said earlier, there is great difficulty in distributing even the most non-violent material in the occupied areas.

You have talked of 'unity of purpose.' What do you mean by this?

We are all determined to fight for human rights.

Has the impact of the Palestinian liberation movement been helpful to your activities?

Yes.

In what way?

My personal opinion—not the League's—is that the Palestinians are the only people in the Middle East who are struggling, continuously struggling without accepting defeat. Therefore, they are making an impact which is seen in all aspects of Israeli life, both among people whom I regard as political enemies and political friends. All are disturbed, of course. My political enemies' response is that there should be more oppression, but my friends will say, 'give them freedom, justice and their rights.' But still, all my enemies and friends alike are disturbed by the Palestinians' struggle. They are not disturbed by other communities and people in the Middle East who are not struggling. I do not think I have to explain this point further.

Is there a recognition among Israelis of the rights of Palestinians?

Only amongst people who are my friends.

What recourse to law do the Palestinian Arabs have, be they in Israel or in the occupied territories?

In the conquered territories, none whatsoever. In Israel, we have two systems of law. We have the civil laws which were partly inherited from the British and partly from the Ottomans and modified by the Israeli government. And we also have the Defence Regulations Act. There is complete cleavage between the two systems.

How?

A man persecuted or prosecuted by the Defense Regulations Act cannot appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court or to any civilian authority.

In other words, the decisions are final?

Yes, and these are administered only by military judges. One cannot appeal from one military authority to another. I'll give you a concrete example to illustrate.

An Arab living in Nazareth may wake up in the morning to find in his mailbox a piece of paper signed by the commander of the Israeli army in his region that exiles him from Nazareth, or limits him to his own house. What can he do about it? He can only appeal to the army chief of staff, whose decision is final. But he cannot appeal to any civil authority whatsoever.

This man could also be imprisoned without any charge. All the commander has to say is that his decision is being taken in the best interests of the security of the state.

Does this military rule apply in all of Israel or to specific areas?

All over Israel. What I said earlier involves cases where no offence is involved or cited. Now let us say that this Arab who has been exiled from Nazareth to Haifa committed an offence by returning to Nazareth without permission. For this offence, he will be tried by military court, not a civilian one. So you have a whole system, administered purely by the military without any connection whatsoever with civilian law.

The Defence Regulations, pro forma, apply to Jews and Arabs. But, as a matter of fact, they have not been applied to Jews since 1951. That year, a group of Orthodox Jews were suspected of burning cars which travelled on the Sabbath. Immediately, this led to an uproar in the Knesset (parliament) and the detained Jews were freed after three days. The Knesset decided during a two-week session to take some steps towards abolishment of the Defence Regulations Act, but none were taken to date. The government however gave a silent undertaking not to apply these regulations to any Jew whatsoever.

Again, let me illustrate. I stand openly in Tel-Aviv and say that Israeli society is in danger of Nazification but if some of my Arab friends call for justice for the Palestinians over the confiscation of their lands or protest the right of Jews to come (to Israel) while the same right is being denied the Palestinians—all legitimate complaints—they may be arrested. I could say the same thing myself but I would never be arrested.

Hasn't military government been abolished in Israel?

No, it has only been changed. Before 1966, or 1965, the military government functioned on a geographical basis. Which means that all Arabs living in certain areas have to have military passes to go from one area to another. Now it is the same thing but on individual basis. In other words, the military commander can prohibit movement of any Arab whatsoever but the remainder of the Arabs are 'free.' And I say it in inverted commas because they can be prohibited arbitrarily. So military government was not abolished, only the method of operation was changed.

Another example. At a checkpoint between Haifa and Nazareth, the bus stops and all Arabs are ordered to leave the bus. The Jews remain seated. The Arabs' identity cards are checked against a blacklist.

Do identity cards show who is an Arab and who is not?

Of course, clearly written—Jew and Arab.

If one is a non-Arab Israeli-Christian, what will his identity card show?

What do you mean 'Israeli-Christian'? They do not recognize such a thing. If necessary, they will go back to one's forefathers and put a label on him. You see, the word 'Israeli' does not exist in Israel. It is only used to deceive people outside. Israel effectively is a Jewish country. Inside everyone must be marked by religion and nationality.

Isn't the nationality Israeli?

No. There is no such thing as Israeli nationality.

Well, is it then Jewish nationality?

Yes.

What is then Israeli citizenship? How does one qualify? What rights does one have under Israeli citizenship?

The rights under Israeli citizenship are the issuance of Israeli passports which means the right to return when one travels abroad.

There are two categories under which one receives Israeli citizenship. All Jews and converts to Judaism and those born of parents who hold Israeli citizenship. And some can have Israeli citizenship only by the pleasure of the Minister concerned. He is not obliged by law to grant it. As a matter of fact he only does so in very special cases.

In the case of newly born Arabs in Israel, the square (on the identity cards) is left open until the age of 18 when one may apply for citizenship. If this Arab's parents have Israeli citizenship, it will be granted to him. If not, he will be denied. There are tens of thousands of such Arabs living in Israel in this category.

In practice, this means that an Arab who leaves Israel on a trip does so on a travelling document valid for one year. If he fails to return within the year, he will not be permitted re-entry.

What have your major successes been since you took over chairmanship of the League?

The Gaza-Strip case. We called the attention of the world to some specially shocking things which were done in Gaza, such as the employment of whips and clubs to beat the population indiscriminately. Shortly after this was published abroad, this aspect of oppression ceased. We also were instrumental last August in drawing the attention of the world to the razing of houses in Gaza and this also ceased. We have also been successful in educating, though slowly, the younger elements of the Jewish community in Israel. Also the Palestinians abroad started to know about us. And finally we gave a lot of help in individual cases.

But to be frank, I do not believe we can make any fundamental change in the present situation. We do not have strength enough to fight the Defence Regulations of 1945.

You mentioned the case of Israeli youth. From your experience, do you see any change in the attitude between the younger and older generations in Israel toward the whole conflict?

Yes. A minority of the generation under 30 is becoming aware and concerned.

Concerned about what?

About the Palestinians, about human rights and where the present policy of the Israeli government is leading them?

Do you see any hope in this?

Very great hope. In fact, I think that the situation in Israel among this generation has so much changed since 1967 that no comparison can be drawn with the situation earlier. This radical cleavage, mostly among the young generation, will be apparent in the near future.

I will also make an additional point. I do not pretend that the people who have changed in a moral sense are more than a minority. But also the majority has changed because they are cynical and materialistic and they are quite open in having regard only to power. At least before 1967 they had moral pretensions.

I do not have in Israel any antagonism toward people who have made a moral decision. I have only a dispute with people who now worship *raison d'être* and naked power.

What are your worst failures?

Wasting one and a half years, from the summer of 1967 to early 1969.

But, let me stress, that our successes are so partial that from another point of view everything is a failure. If in the Gaza-Strip my influence has resulted in stopping the mass whippings of the people on the street it was not enough to prevent the removal of the barbed wire that circles the Gaza-Strip making it one big concentration camp.

4

A Jewish Duty or Jewish Apostasy ?*

I want to argue against the notion that Jews should be devoted to the State of Israel. I will try to show that such devotion is both immoral and against the mainstream of Jewish tradition. Also, such «devotion» — as preached by Jack Winocour (*The Times*, January 13, 1973) must bring disaster both on Israel and on Jews everywhere.

I am a Jew living in Israel, and consider myself a law-abiding citizen. I serve in the army every year, in spite of being nearly 40 years old. But I am not «devoted» to the State of Israel or to any other state or human organization! I am devoted to my ideals. I believe in speaking the truth and in doing something for securing justice and equality for all human beings. I am devoted to the Hebrew language and poetry, and I like to think that I follow, in my small way some of the values of our ancient prophets.

But to be devoted to the State? I can well imagine Amos or Isaiah splitting their sides with laughter if somebody had demanded of them to be «devoted» to the Kingdom of Israel or the Kingdom of Judah. «Hate evil and love good and establish judgment in the gate,» says Amos (Chapter 4, verse 15), and does not spare a word of devotion to the great, warlike and successful Kingdom of Israel of his times. «Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed,» says Isaiah (Chapter 1, verse 17), and has nothing but scorn for the riches and the power (the «ample style» of Mr. Winocour) of the Kingdom of Judah.

* Letter of Israel Shahak to *The Times* published January 27, 1973.

In fact, this new doctrine preached by Mr Winocour as a Jewish duty, is nothing but Jewish apostasy. All Jews used to believe, and say it three times a day, that a Jew should be devoted to God, and God alone—«And thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might» (Deuteronomy, Chapter 6, verse 5). A small minority still believes it. But it seems to me that the majority of my people has left God, and has substituted an idol in its place, exactly as happened when they were so devoted to the Golden Calf in the desert that they gave away their gold to make it. The name of this modern idol is the «State of Israel.»

The first sign of this idolatry — of any idolatry — is the disappearance of any concern for justice and fairness. It is not the State of Israel — which denies rights to a million human beings in the conquered territories and to many of its non-Jewish citizens —which is in danger of «being sold down the river,» as Mr. Winocour pretends.

Or to take another example: One of the main ways in which the devotion of misguided Jews to the State of Israel expresses itself, is by donations to the so-called «Jewish National Fund» (those white and blue boxes!). Now this is an openly discriminatory organization. It buys land *from non-Jews only* in Israel and the conquered territories, and rents it afterwards to *Jews only*. I can well imagine what Mr. Winocour would say if an «English National Fund» would begin to buy *only* Jewish shops in the Jewish quarters of London, in order to rent them to non-Jews *only*!

The second sign of this idolatry, is the excessive — indeed almost the exclusive — concern with money and the flattery of the rich. This also is something new in Judaism. Without being a socialist, I still believe that money-grabbing does not form over-nice human beings, or, to put it plainly, that a great number of rich people are nasty and brutish; although I admit that there are exceptions to this rule. I find it most repulsive as a Jew that almost all the examples of prominent Jews that Mr. Winocour brings are milionaires, and that in his list of professions, he puts «think-

tank merchants» before scholars and judges. There is no better sign of the degradation of Judaism — always the penalty of idolatry — than this. I do not see the prophet striving for justice and opposing his government and the majority of his own people, or the scholar spending his life in poverty and studying for the sake of learning, but rich conformists!

But we should understand a little more closely what forms this «devotion» of Diaspora Jews to Israel take. The answer is that the main form it takes is money—enormous sums of money, which are given to the government of Israel and to Israel political parties, without any control whatsoever. Two consequences follow: First, the Israeli government has much greater power over its citizens than any other, for a great part of its money does not come from Israeli citizens. Because of this, any democratic attempt to change the government in Israel becomes most difficult, if not impossible, for a great part of the power of the Israeli government is not derived from any sources inside Israel. It is derived from the pockets of Diaspora Jews by means of their idolatrous «devotion» to the State of Israel.

The second necessary consequence is that since as a matter of proven experience, Diaspora Jews give more money when the danger of war is greater; therefore, the Israeli Government has a great financial interest in not making peace: it would receive so much less «easy» money. Some figures are appropriate here: the debt of the State of Israel not only increases tremendously, but the rate of increase also goes up, year by year. The total debt was If10,127m in 1968; in 1969, 12,142 (increase of 20 per cent); in 1970, 16,429 (increase of 35 per cent); in 1971—21,570 (increase of 31 per cent; in 1972, 30,661 (increase of 42 per cent). Obviously, a new doctrine of indulgence is operating here: the force of Jewish devotion in assembling money is thought to be infinite.

In order to help the infinite potential, Jewish donors are taken to Israel and made to watch fights on the Syrian border, and a special school for people who will gather money from rich Jews for Israel operates now in Israel. This school teaches how to assemble information about rich Jews and «efficient persuasion me-

thods which are good to employ on such people.» This school belongs to the «United Jewish Appeal» and the «Zionist Federation,» but had I not been told this by the Hebrew press, I would say that the idea comes from some group of antisemites!

Ask a Jew in the Diaspora, who proclaims his devotion to the State of Israel, who usually knows no Hebrew, is ignorant about Jewish culture and history, participates only in some religious Jewish ceremonies which he does not understand, to what exactly he is devoted; and he will answer that without Israel, or strong Israel, he will not be able to carry his head high, that he will feel low or insulted, or similar answers.

Nevertheless this situation where, for all practical purposes, the Diaspora Jews think that they can buy our blood with their money and feel good and devoted, cannot last. It cannot last, for it has a corrupting effect on both the giver and the receiver. (As an Israeli, I would say that the Diaspora Jews are being corrupted much more than we. In the Middle East, it promotes perpetual state of war, and outside, it promotes Antisemitism). After all, Mr. Winocour sees something strange that Messrs. Schumann and Debré act in what they see as the French interest, and not according to their «Jewish origin.» This is not a new theory. The late Adolf Hitler held similar opinions. According to him, once a Jew, always a Jew. Conversion, conviction, free choice, does not matter, for a Jew will always follow only «Jewish interest.» I am very glad that Messrs. Schuman and Debre prove this theory to be false, at the grave risk of appearing paradoxical to Mr. Winocour.

Similarly, Mr. Winocour appears to expect that President Pompidou, because he was an employee of the Rotschilds, owes «them» or all the Jews a debt of always working in Jewish interest. Again, Mr. Winocour should acknowledge priorities : Hitler had it before, and for that reason he insisted that Jews should not employ non-Jews. This is but a small example of what the doctrine of devotion to the State of Israel has done already to Jews and what it can do further.

Israel Shahak

Documents of the League

Part II

**Cases on Imprisonment,
«Limitation», and
Collective Punishment**

5

The Cases *

- (i) **The Cases of :** 1) Elias Ibrahim Rabya
2) Muhammad Ali Hassan Haddad
3) Abdallah Rabya Zakut

Mr. Rabya, Mr. Haddad and Mr. Zakut are all Israeli citizens. They are inhabitants of the town of Ramleh. Mr. Haddad is the elected official of the Ramleh Council of Trade-Unions (Histadrut). Without any trial, or even charge, they were ordered by the Military Commander of the «Central Area» to be *limited* in their movements. Mr. Zakut and Mr. Rabya are confined to the town of Ramleh and Mr. Haddad can move throughout the department of Ramleh.

In the case of Mr. Haddad, this is a «softening» of the official attitude, for, during the past five years, he was similarly *limited* to the area of the town of Ramleh.

This purely arbitrary punishment is supposed to be inflicted on Messrs. Zakut, Rabya and Haddad for the crime of being active in politics, and expressing opinions of their own. It was intimated to them many times that they will be freed from such arbitrary limitation if they will keep their mouths shut.

The Israelis have willingly aggravated the issue by extending the scope of such a policy to include the «punishment» of the families of Israel's prime suspects. Mr. Fahed Rabya, the brother of Mr. Elias Ibrahim Rabya, *who is not active politically in any way*, received an order of «limitation» for the «sins» of his brother. Fahed Rabya's «limitation» is not as serious as that of the other

* All documents relating to the specific cases in this part of the book have been published by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, P.O.B. 14192, Tel Aviv, on October 17, 1972, except where otherwise stated.

three because the prohibition applies only to Jerusalem and the newly occupied territories.

(ii) The Case of Uthman Abu-Ras

Mr. Uthman Abu-Ras, of Teibeh (Israel), has been persecuted by the police and the military authorities of Israel for at least 16 years. During most of this period, he has been forbidden to leave his village without obtaining each time *an express permission from the police*. To give some examples :

- a. Recently, when his wife fell ill, he asked for a permit to accompany her to the nearest clinic. The permit was refused.
- b. When he is invited to a wedding held outside of Teibeh, he must ask permission of the police. Most of the time he is refused, *especially* when he is invited by his Jewish friends to Jewish weddings. The last time he was refused a permit to participate in a wedding in Tel-Aviv was on September 20, 1972.
- c. He is continually refused permits to participate in *open and legal* political meetings as well as assemblies in Israeli cities.

Mr. Uthman Abu-Ras was never charged (much less convicted) for any offence.

(iii) The Case of Darwish Kashua

Mr. Darwish Kashua, an Israeli citizen from the village of Tirah, was arrested on March 3, 1969, and kept under administrative arrest for more than *two years* without being charged with anything. In April 1971, the Association of Arab Students in Jerusalem and many other organizations, including pressures from outside, organized demonstrations and meetings for the purpose of freeing him. The Israeli Defence Minister, Mr. Moshe Dayan, declared in a letter to the President of the Student Union that Mr. Kashua is a very dangerous individual as «he confessed in his interrogation» of membership in a terrorist organization and that

he should not be freed. (Mr. Kashua violently denied that he ever confessed to any such membership). Nevertheless, since the pressure from abroad was powerful, Darwish Kashua was freed on the very day that Mr. Dayan's letter was published.

However, Mr. Darwish Kashua was not freed absolutely, in spite of the fact that he was never charged with anything before a court. He was transferred to his village of Tirah and forbidden, once again, administratively, from leaving for a year. At the end of this year (1969), when he approached the so-called «security authorities» he was told that if he would be quiet and not speak to anyone about his condition, his «limitation order» will be lifted. He complied, but shortly before its termination, he was visited by the secret police with a new «limitation order» for another year.

Mr. Darwish Kashua lives under the following conditions in his village of Tirah, Israel:

- 1) He is absolutely forbidden to leave his village. Even permission to visit a dentist in the neighbouring town of Kefar-Saba was denied.
- 2) He must be at the local police-station everyday at six o'clock in the evening punctually. After this he must return straight to his home and not leave it until next morning.
- 3) Every fourteen days, he must visit a secret police «investigator» who questions him about all the people whom he had met, about conversations between strangers that he might have heard, and about the political opinions of all his friends, relatives and acquaintances.

(iv) The Case of Naif Salim

Naif Salim is a member of the local council of Pe'kiyin (Galilee). He served three years in the Israeli Army and another five years in the Border Guards. He is well known among the Druze community and the Arab people in Israel as a resolute fighter for the rights of the Druze community, and for his determined opposition to the attempt of the Israeli government to separate his community from the other parts of the Arab population in Israel.

He was limited in his movements to the so-called «area No. 9» for a long time. From September 10, 1971, he was forbidden by the order of the military commander *to leave his house* from sunrise to sunset and *to leave his village* without a special permit, each time, from the district police commander.

The inhabitants of Pe'kiyin are submitting a petition to abolish the arbitrary act.

we regard this act against the elected representative of his community as an appropriate example of the persecution of the Arabs in Israel and as a violation of all human rights.

(v) The Case of Salama Hamad Uda Abu-Adra

Salama Hamad Uda Abu-Adra is an Israeli citizen, a Beduin from the tribe of Abu-Rageik (near Beersheba). He was accused before the Military Court of Lydda on September 9, 1972, of being a member of an illegal organization and of holding weapons. A full confession signed by Mr. Abu-Adra was produced after he had been imprisoned in the notorious police station of Gaza. Mr. Abu-Adra denied the facts and described the conditions under which he was «induced» to sign his «confession.» His «interrogation» included long periods of hanging by his feet, being soaked in cold water and left in this position, having to hold a chair in his hands above his head for long periods and being beaten by various means and in various places especially on his head and face. On his photos, taken after this «interrogation,» signs of beatings on his face can very clearly be seen.

(vi) The Case of Abdallah Ali Muhammad Ajabrin of the Village of Dahariye

(South of El-Khalil-Hebron)

On August 19, 1972, when Abdallah A.M. Ajabrin was tending his sheep in the company of two other villagers, an Israeli Army car with soldiers passed on the neighbouring road. Without any provocation, one of the soldiers fired and Abdallah Ajabrin was seriously wounded. The car went on its way to Arad, Israel, where

the assailant was briefly checked by the police and then freed, without, apparently, any investigation to determine the facts. The family, through its lawyer, Mrs. F. Langer, 14 Koresh Str. Jerusalem, asked in a letter (dated September 14, 1972) addressed to the police of Arad, if any investigation is in progress. No answer was received.

(vii) The Case of Miss Lutfia Ibrahim El-Khauari

Miss Lutfia I. El-Khauari was arrested on August 7, 1969. She was held under the most difficult conditions in the Beth-Shemesh police station, which serves as an «interrogation camp» for Arabs from the newly occupied territories and for Israeli criminals, until she «confessed» to an attempt to poison the whisky of an Israeli agent-provocateur in Ramallah. She was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Her house, in which a large family had been living, was blown up, even before her «conviction» was declared. Her family was turned out into the street.

Miss El-Khauari, an intelligent young woman, a poetress and of resolute character, refused to give-up in prison. She also refused to play the role of the «today» especially for the display of foreign visitors — a role Arab prisoners are expected to play in Israeli prisons. As a result, she was constantly maltreated.

Some months ago, she fell ill in prison, apparently from an injury to her spine. The illness has left the lower part of her body paralyzed. The prison authorities attributed this to «malingering» even when she was clearly unable to rise from her bed and suffered intense pains. After a long time she was transferred to the «Tzrifia» hospital. Suddenly, on August 9, 1972, she was taken out of the hospital while still in a very bad condition and unable to walk. She was returned to the Nve-Tirza prison. She was not given proper medical treatment. Her cries for a pill or an injection to relieve her pains could be heard by all the prisoners. The attempt of her lawyer to visit her on August 15, 1972 (in her cell, since she is unable to come to the «visiting room») was not allowed.

(viii) The Cases of the BANKI :

- 1) Muhammad Abu Etsba, of Teibeh
- 2) Muhammad Na'afa, of Beit Jan
- 3) Omar Sa'adi, of Arabeh
- 4) Wagi Sima'an, of Haifa
- 5) Murid Farid, of Um-el-Fahem
- 6) Abdul Kader Haj Ihil, of Teibeh
- 7) Muhammad Abdul Karim, of Tirah
- 8) Zaiad Musa, of Akko (Acre)
- 9) Jassin Bakri, of Ba'ane
- 10) Sammi Ratas, of Iafia
- 11) Nabil Aweida, of Haifa

All the above-mentioned are Israeli citizens who have been limited to their villages or their cities, *arbitrarily*, without any offence, merely by the order of the military commander of their area. If they do want to go out of their village or city, they must ask, each time, for a special permit from the police, which is usually denied.

They are all young members of BANKI the youth movement of the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah). BANKI has *both* Jewish and Arab members, but it is a fact that, *while no Jewish member has ever been limited or arbitrarily persecuted, most of the Arab members have been*. Since BANKI (like Rakah itself) is a completely legal movement, it is very clear that the persecution of its *Arab members* is motivated by racism. *

* League document published on October 29, 1972.

(ix) Pressure on Arabs to become Agents-Provocateurs of the Israeli Police: The Case of Ibrahim Soleiman *

One of the worst forms of the oppression of Arabs in Israel is the cruel and relentless pressure on the young Arabs by the Israeli police to reveal *the political opinions* of their friends, acquaintances and even families. Those who refuse are either persecuted by administrative limitations or harassed by continual arrests.

Such is the case of Ibrahim Soleiman, 21 years old, of Um-El-Fahem (Israel), working in Tel-Aviv.

He was arrested several times, without being charged with any offence, for refusal to become an agent-provocateur. Especially active in this respect are two policemen, one called Vakanan and the second called Peretz, who, during the numerous arrests of Mr. Soleiman, had beaten him grievously and told him: «Either you will work with us or we will expel you from this land!»

They were true to their word, for they not only used to arrest him continually, but to follow him to his work-places and to pressurize his employers to fire him.

Mr. Ibrahim Soleiman then became a daily worker seeking employment with other Arab workers at the Tel-Aviv «Central Station.» Even there he was harassed, arrested and beaten. He was «advised» not to seek work in Tel-Aviv.

(x) The Persecution of the Arab Youth in Ramleh (Israel) **

During September 1972, many of the young Arabs of Ramleh (usually below the age of twenty) were «invited» to appear in the police station of Ramleh. They were threatened by the «interrogating» policemen not to be active politically and to report to the police the political opinions of their friends, acquaintances and even families.

* League document published on October 29, 1972.

** The League document was published on October 29, 1972.

In case of refusal, the police notifies the director or the owner of the business in which the young people work and applies pressure through him. As in Ramleh, Arabs constitute a small minority, live in a quarter popularly known as «The Ghetto» (which looks as such) and in a great majority of the cases work for Jews. This method is very successful, and the Arab who does not submit to the combined pressure of his boss and of the policeman is fired on the spot.

In other cases, in which the young men are not working, or in the rare cases when their boss refuses to cooperate with the police, the young man receives an order of limitation of his movements. Such was the case of Mr. Nasser Zakut (19 years old) who, after several «talks» with the police, did not agree to «cooperate.» Many other cases are known to us in Ramleh, but we have abstained from giving additional names because of fear of physical harm from the police and of dismissal from work by their employers.

6

Conditions in Prisons

(i) The Conditions of Prisoners Condemned to Death

A special row of cells for prisoners condemned to death was prepared in the Ramleh prison. For the moment they have one occupant, Mr. Yusuf Mansur of Kefar-Tirah (Israel).

The conditions of his imprisonment are as follows:

1) **He is chained permanently by his legs.** The irons have never been taken off for a single moment from the date of his condemnation on 13 September 1972, except during his daily walk when his hands are cuffed.

2) His cell is 2.5 meters long and 1.5 meters broad. His lavatory is included in this area.

3) The cell has no window, but has an electric light shining for 24 hours a day.

According to the latest declaration of the Israeli Minister of Justice, Mr. Y. Sh. Shapiro, there will be no executions in Israel for the time being. Yet, we believe that such conditions of imprisonment, and for such long periods of time, are no better or perhaps worse than death punishment. Specifically, we object very much to the permanent chaining — a medieval atrocity — not used, so far as we know, by any civilized state.

This information is based on the report of Mr. Y. Lev, a journalist of *Ma'ariv* who has witnessed those facts and has related them (approvingly) in *Ma'ariv* on 13 September, 1972 (pages 1 and 18).

(ii) The Situation in Israeli Prisons for Arabs *

- 1) The prisoners in Beersheba prison, which is *only* for Arabs, were collectively punished, by depriving them of their undergarments.
- 2) The prison of Kefer-Yona (also restricted to Arabs) is considered to be the «tough» prison for those Arabs who «make trouble.» During the last months, a new method has been employed there: starvation. The food rations of prisoners *were severely cut down* — much below the food rations in all other Israeli official prisons.

From the accounts we have received from prisoners' families, we hear that the prisoners are in a continual state of hunger.

(iii) Conditions in the Prison of Gaza

The following facts about the conditions of prisoners in the prison of Gaza came to our attention :

- 1) The prisoners are beaten constantly by their wardens. No complaints or requests to see the director of the prison are allowed, these requests being an offence in themselves.
- 2) The prisoners are allowed a walk of only 15 minutes, every second or third day only!
- 3) Absolute rule of silence is imposed on the prisoners *in their cells*, and any attempt of prisoners seen talking to each other is heavily punished.
- 4) The most common punishment consists, apart from beating, of the «punishment cell» (Tsinok in Hebrew). This is a cell of about six feet long and four feet wide, whose floor is kept continually wet so that the prisoner cannot lie easily even at night. Lying or sleeping during the day is, in any case, stricly

* League document published on October 29, 1972.

forbidden. Sometimes up to four people are packed into such cells, sometimes it is used as a «solitary.» As an additional punishment, cold water is poured on the prisoner's clothes in the evening, and he is left in this condition. This punishment is also used on prisoners not in the «punishment cell.»

- 6) The common opinion of the prisoners of Gaza prison is that the prison officers are even more cruel, and worse in all respects than the Shin-Beth interrogating officers, whom they well remember.
- 7) During the rare visits of the Red Cross officials in Gaza prison, the situation improves to some extent. The walk is lengthened into one hour per day, and the beating subsides to some extent.

However, once the visits are over, the situation becomes worse than before.

This information is based in part on the testimony of the prisoner Muhammad Yussuf Hussein Dakhman, as given to his lawyer Mrs. F. Langer (19 Koresh Str.) in Jerusalem and also on evidence of other prisoners and ex-prisoners given to their relatives.

Treatment of Prisoners

(i) Treatment of Prisoners in the Gaza-Strip

Almost all prisoners indicted by the Israeli military courts in the Gaza-Strip, are convicted by their own confession, which is produced and signed in the court. In all cases, the prisoners deny their confession and testify on oath (and are prepared to bring witnesses in some cases) that the confession was obtained by torture, beating and ill-treatment. In no case has the Israeli Military Court in the Gaza-Strip even ordered an investigation. All complaints of this kind are routinely dismissed, even when they appear to be well-founded. The nature of the «interrogation» of the prisoners appears to be as follows:

1) All male prisoners are stripped naked and left for long periods of time in this condition. Many of the interrogations are carried when the prisoner is nude, specially when he is an educated man.

2) As a standing rule, *no one* can visit or even see a prisoner for one month. In many cases, this period of isolation is lengthened into three or four months. There are cases of complete isolation of seven and even nine months.

3) The methods of torture in routine use at the present time in the Gaza-Strip include, according to reliable information submitted to us, the following:

- a) Falaka (beating with sticks or leather straps on soles of the feet).
- b) Suspension by hands for long periods. This is carried both with the hands bound before the body and behind the back-

which is much more cruel. The interrogators are careful to bind the hands with elastic straps (and not with ropes or handcuffs) so as to leave less traces and prevent rapid fainting of the prisoner.

- c) Ordering the prisoner, during the interrogation, to hold a chair with his hands, or sometimes with one hand, above his head, for long periods.
- d) Beating, with flat sticks, the hands and especially the fingers, of the prisoner.
- e) Leaving the prisoner soaked in cold water during the night.
- f) «Ordinary» beating, and kicking with the boots. This appears to be limited to the first stage after the arrest, and not to be employed by the «real» interrogators.
- g) Slapping on the cheek. This is used very much during the interrogation itself.

Remark : Torture with electricity which was used in Gaza has apparently disappeared in the last year.

4) The prisoners who do not «confess,» are not freed in many cases, but expelled to Jordan. Expulsion is also employed against many intellectuals of Gaza without being arrested. They are brought to a deserted part of the Israeli-Jordanian border south of the Dead Sea (The area of Wadi Arab or Arava), where the escort fires over their heads, and orders them to go to Jordan. The order of expulsion is given by the military commander without any possibility of appeal.

Of course no opportunity is given for a last farewell even by the closest family relations. *Only those people who were not condemned are expelled.*

5) The prison of Gaza (see the previous communication) is very crowded and has no beds. Even on the floor there is no place for people to lie «extended.» All requests for beds, even folding beds, are denied and the reason given is that Arabs are «primitive people» who do not sleep on beds even in their houses. This is lie, as

anyone who visits either the towns or the refugee camps of the Gaza-Strip can testify for himself.

6) Because of the great danger to our informants, not only of arrest and torture, but even more so of summary expulsion *forever* from their fatherland, we cannot reveal their names. They are all inhabitants of Gaza whom we trust. We will be prepared to reveal them if an impartial and international inquiry shall be taken. We ask every man of good will in the whole word to help to constitute such an inquiry.

(ii) Persecutions of Israeli-Arabs *

During the last month, the arbitrary administrative limitations placed on the movements of non-Jewish citizens of Israel have increased tremendously. The people picked for these limitations are mainly the intellectuals: writers, poets, laweyrs, civic leaders. We must reiterate again that all those people are completely innocent both in fact and in law. They have not been charged or accused of any offence whatsoever in any court. (They cannot therefore defend themselves!). All what happens is that each of them received a piece of paper — signed by the appropriate military commander — prohibiting their movements *inside the State of Israel*.

The prohibitions are of various kinds: some are prohibited to leave their villages or their towns. Some are permitted graciously to move inside a sub-district, but not to leave it. To make life more difficult, the notorious «Military District No. 9» which included most of Galilee, and within which the movement of Arabs used to be limited, was divided into several sub-districts, which are very small. Most of the limitations and prohibitions now taking place are within the narrow limits of those sub-districts. Only a minority of those limited are now allowed to move around a whole district, but of course they are still forbidden to visit Tel-Aviv.

* Documents published by the League on January 31, 1973.

We are bringing before you an *incomplete* list of *Israeli-Arabs*, who are denied free movement by the arbitrary order of the military commander, based on the notorious «Defence Regulations 1945.» The list will be made by areas and towns:

Haifa

1. Dr Emile Touma (orientalist).
2. Saliba Khamis (editor of the monthly «Al-Jadeed»).
3. Ali A'shour (deputy chief-editor of the bi-weekly «Al-Ittihad»).
4. Mohammad Me'ari (lawyer).
5. Ali Rafea (lawyer).
6. A'ssam El-Abbasi (editor of the bi-weekly «Al-Ittihad»).
7. Zahi Karkabi.
8. Abbas Zein El-Deen.
9. Wajih Sem'an.
10. Nabil Aweida.

* * *

Nazareth

1. Salim El-Qassem (elected member of the Histadrut executive).
2. Tawfik Zahad (poet, member of the Nazareth Municipal Council).
3. Gassan Habib.
4. Muna'em Gargura.
5. Suheil Nassar.
6. Yussef Sabbagh.
7. Salim Goubrun, poet.
8. Nabil Oudeh.

Towns and Villages in Galilee

1. Shafiq Khourieh, Shafa-Amer (member of the Municipal Council).
2. Fadel Na'amneh, Arabeh (member of the village local Council).
3. Omar Sa'adi, Arabeh.
4. Ibrahim Shukri Shamshoum, Arabeh.
5. Naim Salim, Peki'yn poet, member of the local Council of his village).
6. Raje El-Najame, Iblin.
7. Nasri El-Mur, Iblin.
8. Murshed Salim, Iblin.
9. Muhammad Abu-Nimer, Al-Mughar.
10. Yussef Esleikh, Eilaboun.
11. Nader Loubani, Yafet El-Nassera.
12. Assad Yussef Kanane, Yafet El-Nassera (Deputy-Mayor).
13. Muhammad Abdel-Hadi, Eksal.
14. Hassan Mahmoud Khateeb, Reneh.
15. Adel Abu-Yehyeh, Tamra.
16. Daif Zbeidut, Sakhnin.
17. Said Bader, Tur-an.
18. Tawfik Daghash, Deir-Hana.
19. Mahmoud Mara'e, El-Mashhad.
20. Khaled Saleh, A'elot.
21. Saleh Abdel-Kader Taha, Kafr-Kana.

Acre

1. Jamil Musa (member of Histadrut executive).
2. Ramzi Khuri (member of the Municipal Council of Acre).
3. Sakhi Jeries.
4. Fiad Musa.
4. Ahmed Abu-Shanab.
6. Mahmud Abu-Shanab.

* * *

Villages in the District of Acre

1. Nimer Murkos, Kafr Yassef (lawyer, member of the local Council).
2. Muhammad El-Haj, Kafr Yassef (member of the local Council, lawyer).
3. Yussef Shehadeh, Kafr Yassef (member of the local Council).
4. Jamil Shehadeh, Kafr Yassef.
5. Ibrahim Mograby, Kafr Yassef.
6. Gabriel Beshara, Tarshiha.
7. Muhammad Nafa, Beit Jan.

* * *

Village of « The Triangle »

1. Uthman Abu-Ras, Teibeh.
2. Abdel-Rahim A'zem, Teibeh, (member of the local Council)
3. Abdel-Hamid Abu-Aita, Teibeh (member of the local Council).
4. Shaker A'zem, Teibeh.

5. Abdel-Fatah Abu-Ras, Teibeh.
6. Muhammad Abu-Esba, Teibeh.
7. Muhammad Awad, Teibeh.
8. Abdel-Kader Taher, Teibeh.
9. Darwish Kashua, Tira (Univesity student, not allowed to study because of the arbitrary limitation of his movements !).
10. Muhammad Abdel-Karem Mansur, Tira.
11. Ghazi Shbeita, Tira.
12. Omar Asfour, Kafr-Kassem.
13. Ibrahim Bayadse, Baka El-Garbyeh.
14. Abdel-Khalim Ghazawi, Kalanwa.
15. Ahmad Nasrallah, Um El-Fahem (member of the local Council).
16. Mahmud Hussein Agbariyeh, Um El-Fahem.
17. Mahmud Muhammad Kassem, Um El-Fahem.
18. Murad Fared, Um El-Fahem.

* * *

Town of Ramleh

1. Muhammad Haddad (member of the Municipality).
2. Abdallah Zakout.
3. Elias Rabya.

* * *

Remarks:

1. Some of the names were already mentioned in our publications .

2. This list is incomplete. We will publish additional list at a later date.

3. Apart from the obvious persecution and denial of the freedom of those people, we want to draw your attention to the following facts:

- a) The greater part of those whose movements have been limited, are people who work outside their villages. Their livelihood is thus arbitrarily cut-off and, without any compensation.
- b) Many Israeli-Arabs are threatened constantly by *both* the secret-police and the official police (in the Arab areas there is but little distinction between the two) that if they do not collaborate with the police, by turning in spies and agents-provocateurs, they will be «put on the list» of those whose freedom of movement has been denied.

4. In all the history of the State of Israel, there has not been one single Jew whose freedom of movement was denied in this manner. This arbitrary persecution has been applied only against non-Jews.

(iii) Collective Punishment at the Village of Dura (West-Bank) *

The village of Dura was (and is) «punished» by the military government in the following manner:

- a. For three days, there was a general curfew without anyone (including children and old people) being allowed to go out of their houses.
- b. After this, the curfew—which still continues—was changed for the time being from 7.00 in the evening until 7.00 in the morning. Since the peasants usually start work at 5.00 in the morning, and hired workers must be at their place of work (most of them in the distant Jewish city), by 6.00 in the morning, the livelihood of the whole village is thus ruined.
- c. Should this cruel curfew continue, the village will be threatened with starvation.

* Document published by the League on October 29, 1972.

(iv) Appeal against the Use of Torture on Detainees *

Dear Friend,

We, the undersigned, appeal to you in order to denounce, with us, the torture that is being used by the Israeli authorities on people detained in Israeli prisons. Those tortured are being «induced» to «confess.» Recently, the atrocities reached a new peak of intensity.

Those methods of torture have been used extensively in the conquered territories for the last six years, and it was inevitable for them to spread into the Israeli society itself.

According to our knowledge, a group of political prisoners — accused by the authorities of participating in a 'spy ring' — have been recently tortured. We present to you three testimonies by those alleged to be in this group. The reason we cannot disclose to you more detailed testimonies is due to the objective obstacles put by the authorities to prevent free meetings between the detained and their lawyers; even after the termination of any sort of investigation. As you will see from the testimony given by Shauki Khatib, the prisoners are warned, according to the best tradition of the Inquisition, not to complain or they will suffer more.

According to our experience, we have found out that the best methods to achieve practical results in the struggle for the alleviation of human suffering under the rule of the Israeli government is to publicize the facts abroad. Not only is the Israeli public becoming less and less sensitive to human suffering as the conquest continues; but also it tends to believe any nonsense that the authorities decide to feed it. However, the Israeli authorities who do not give a damn about anything said in Israel by 'marginal groups,' are very sensitive to the publication of the true facts outside Israel.

* Addressed to the friends of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights on February 9, 1973.

We appeal to you, wherever you may be to try and give maximum publicity to the enclosed documents.

Our struggle against the Israeli establishment and the growing chauvinistic and racist atmosphere inside Israel, is very hard and we urgently need any help you can give us.

Yours,
Aryeh Bober
Izzy Cohen
Marius Schattner
Israel Shahak

*Complaint about Interrogation of Shauki Khatib**

On the 25th January 1973, I had interviewed in the Yagur prison Shauki Khatib who is imprisoned there. After he had signed the necessary papers allowing me to be his attorney, a thing which he wanted to do for a long time, I was allowed to see him.

He made severe complaints about the tortures which he had undergone: on the fourth day of his imprisonment, around the 8th of December 1972, the interrogators had brought into the room, where my client was interrogated, a white electric cable, and a racket similar to the one employed in tennis. The interrogators, whose names my client does not know, then stripped him naked and began to poke his testicles with the cable. The cable was not connected to an electrical outlet. They told him «we will castrate you and somebody else will sleep with your wife.» (I would like to point out that the word «sleep» was written by me, since the interrogators used a dirty, unprintable word).

After this, they allowed him to dress and began to hit him with the racket. My client states that he had received at least thirty blows. The interrogators also began pulling his hair when he was

* This complaint and the following one are addressed by Felicia Langer (Advocate, Jerusalem) to Superintendent Sasson, Department of Special Assignments (Police), Nazareth, 8th and 26th of January 1973.

sitting on a chair. This went on for a while and then he was ordered to strip again, during which one of the interrogators said to another: «Go on and connect the electrical cable, this son of a whore should be castrated, for we have found somebody to sleep with his wife in his place.» The cable was not connected this time either and Shauki Khatib was permitted to dress. At that point, the interrogators started to rain fist-blows on all the parts of his body. This was carried on by several interrogators simultaneously, all of whom were dressed in muftis. They used aliases, like «Abu Jamil» and «Abu-Assam» interchangeably in order to confuse the client as to their identities.

On 26th December 1972, or around this date, after Rami Livneh was arrested, my client claims that another period of brutal treatment began. . . .

On one occasion. (my client does not remember the date), the interrogators beat him with a club on his head till he fainted. They had to keep holding him so he would not fall down. After the arrest of Rami Livneh, my client, who was imprisoned in Acre, was brought to Yagur prison, so that he would persuade Rami Livneh to give a confession to his investigators. Since he did not accomplish what they wanted of him, they brought him back to Acre. During this period, my client was hit by fist-blows and was kicked regularly.

In the first week of January of 1973, my client was put into the same cell as Rami Livneh. On one of the evenings, between the hours 19.00-20.00, he was taken to interrogation. His interrogators stripped him, put him under a shower, and cold water was poured on my client. After this, he was taken to a room where he was blindfolded and something like a plaster was attached to his leg. Suddenly, from the place of attachment, all his body was convulsed, his mouth fell open as if he wanted to cry but could not, for his mouth was painfully convulsed. My client considers that this shock was caused by electricity. This torture, including cold-water shower, was repeated, according to my client, three times during the same evening. The interrogators told my client that this treatment would be continued until Rami Livneh would

agree to talk. During the interrogation, when my client tried to protest before his interrogators, they answered him: «We are the Knesset, the judges and your God too.» One of them took a piece of paper, crushed it and threw it into a basket as a demonstration, saying to my client at the same time: «This is the law for me.»

Also my client was subjected to threats that he must keep his mouth shut and not complain about what happened to him, otherwise he would suffer more.

I address your honor, as one in charge of the interrogation of my client, and ask you to check this grave complaint without postponement.

It is needless to point out, that the cruel manner of interrogation, which my client describes, is a severe infraction of basic human rights, and puts to scorn every law and custom of interrogating a suspect by the police, where he is without help or succour.

I am awaiting your early answer.

Respectfully. Felicia Langer, Lawyer.

* * *

8th January 1973

Superintendent Sasson,
Department of Special Assignments (Police)
Nazareth.

Complaint Concerning the Beating of My Client Meli Lerman.

In the name of my client, Mr. Meli Lerman, I address your honor as follows:

On 8th January 1973, I visited my client in Yagur prison. During our talk, my client complained that near the date of 30th

December 1972, two men came to him in prison (it seems in the prison of Acre), of whom one was dressed in mufti and the second was in army uniform. They told him: «This is military interrogation,» and they began to slap him on his cheeks and then ordered him to lie on the floor. After he did so, both of them kicked him and beat him.

During our talk, my client suddenly pointed at a man who was walking in the prison courtyard, accompanied by two other men, all dressed in mufti, and said: «This is the man that beat me.» I went to this man, told him my name and asked him to identify himself. He strongly refused to do so, and also his companions refused to tell his name. Instead of which they asked the policemen present to take me away from them. The man looks as follows; average height, black and curly hair, dressed in a sweater with brown stripes, brown overcoat, oblong face and looks about 27 years old.

Since it is known that your honor is in charge of the interrogation of my client (who, by the way, did not complain about his treatment by the police, neither in Acre nor in Yagur), I ask you to check this complaint of my client, which in my opinion is very grave. It is needless to point out, that the refusal of the man who was pointed out by my client to tell his name, adds seriousness to this case. It is clear that injuring a helpless detainee is a severe violation of basic human rights.

Therefore, I ask the investigation of this complaint of my client as soon as possible, because of the urgency and the implications of the case.

Respectfully, Felicia Langer, Lawyer.

The investigation of the police was carried out on the 1st of February 1973, and Meli Lerman was asked questions by the investigators. During the investigation, he saw in the prison courtyard his tormentor. He pointed him out to the police investigators, but they refused either to call him or to take his name.

* * *

Complaint about beatings of Rami Livneh

(Felicia Langer, *Ha'aretz* Supplement 2nd February 1973)

Rami claimed before me, in a meeting we had in Yagur (Jalamy) prison, that they (the interrogators) had beaten him with fist-blows on his face, spat in his face, beaten him all over the parts of his body. His head was knocked to the wall. He was stripped naked. His friend Shauki Khatib was brought to his cell. Rami was told that his friend would be tortured until he, Rami, would speak. This was done three times. At the end, Rami spoke, and gave a declaration under (this) pressure. He wanted to keep silent until the beginning of the case in court, and this is the legal right of every citizen, but when he had heard how they tortured his friend Shauki Khatib, he broke down and spoke.

* * *

Documents of the League

Part III

Destruction of Villages

Name of the District	Number of villages before 1948	Number of villages now	Number of destroyed villages
a) Jerusalem	33	4	29
b) Bethlehem	7	0	7
c) Hebron	16	0	16
d) Jaffa	23	0	23
e) Ramleh	31	0	31
f) Lydda	28	0	28
g) Jenin	8	4	4
h) Tul-Karem	33	12	21
i) Haifa	43	8	35
j) Aka	52	32	20
k) Nazareth	26	20	6
l) Safad	75	7	68
m) Tiberias	26	3	23
n) Beisan	28	0	28
o) Gaza	46	0	46
Total	475	90	385

8

Report on Arab Villages Destroyed in Israel*

Preface

The truth about Arab settlements which used to exist in the area of the State of Israel before 1948 is one of the most guarded secrets of Israeli life. No publication, book or pamphlet, gives either their number or their location. This of course, is done on purpose in order that the accepted official myth of «an empty country» can be taught and accepted in the Israeli schools and told to visitors.

I believe that falsifying facts in this manner is a most grave offence in itself, and also one of the most important causes for prevention of any meaningful peace (not one based on force and oppression). This falsification is especially grave in my opinion, as it is accepted almost universally outside the Middle East, and because the villages were — in almost all cases — destroyed *completely*, with their houses, garden-walls, and even cemeteries and tomb-stones, so that literally a stone does not remain standing, and visitors are passing and being told that «it was all desert.»

I believe, therefore, that the first duty of any honest man in Israel and outside it is to try to learn the truth as much as he can

* Published by Dr. Israel Shahak, February 15, 1973.

and in this spirit I offer the following report, which gives a *complete list* of all the Arab villages and tribes, which used to exist *in the area of the State of Israel* (borders of 5 June 1967), and the ones which exist now (marked by (X)).

The list of settlements before 1948 is based on the work of Mr. Aref El-Aref of Ramallah, the world famous Palestinian historian and geographer. The existing villages were marked with the help of several Israeli-Arabs.

Summary

The report is arranged according to the old Palestinian districts. A summary of the numbers of Arab villages that existed and that have been destroyed is given below. It was impossible to track down the Arab tribes and while it is known that most of them were expelled, no summary will be attempted here.

A) DISTRICT OF JERUSALEM

Existed before 1948	—	33 villages
Exist now	—	4 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	—	29 villages

B) DISTRICT OF BETHLEHEM

Existed before 1948	—	7 villages
Exist now	—	0
<i>Destroyed</i>	—	7 villages

C) DISTRICT OF HEBRON — EL-KHALIL

Existed before 1948	—	16 villages
Exist now	—	0
<i>Destroyed</i>	—	16 villages

D) DISTRICT OF JAFFA

Existed before 1948	—	23 villages and one city — <i>Jaffa</i>
Exist now	—	<i>Jaffa</i> (1)
<i>Destroyed</i>	—	23 villages

(1) — Jaffa is now mainly a Jewish city in which a few thousands Arabs live.

E) DISTRICT OF RAMLEH

Existed before 1948	— 31 villages and one city — <i>Ramleh</i>
Exist now	— Ramleh(1)
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 31 villages

(1) — See remark (1) in paragraph D) above.

F) DISTRICT OF LYDDA (LOD)

Existed before 1948	— 28 villages and one city — <i>Lydda</i>
Exist now	— <i>Lydda (1)</i>
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 28 villages

(1) — See remark (1) in paragraph D) above.

G) DISTRICT OF JENIN

Existed before 1948	— 8 villages
Exist now	— 4 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 4 villages

H) DISTRICT OF TUL-KAREM

Existed before 1948	— 33 villages
Exist now	— 12 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 21 villages

I) DISTRICT OF HAIFA

Existed before 1948	— 43 villages
Exist now	— 8 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 35 villages

Also 10 tribes used to live there, most of them cannot be traced now.

J) DISTRICT OF AKO (ACRE)

Existed before 1948	— 52 villages
Exist now	— 32 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 20 villages

Also 8 tribes used to live there, most of them cannot be traced now.

K) DISTRICT OF NAZARETH

Existed before 1948	— 26 villages
Exist now	— 20 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 6 villages

Also one tribe used to live there, which cannot be traced now.

L) DISTRICT OF SAFAD

Existed before 1948	— 75 villages
Exist now	— 7 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 68 villages

Also three tribes used to live there, which cannot be traced now.

M) DISTRICT OF TIBERIAS

Existed before 1948	— 26 villages
Exist now	— 3 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 23 villages

N) DISTRICT OF BEISAN (BETH-SHEAN)

Existed before 1948	— 28 villages
Exist now	— 0
<i>Destroyed</i>	— 28 villages

Also four tribes used to live there which cannot be traced now.

O) DISTRICT OF GAZA

Existed before 1948	— 46 villages
---------------------	---------------

Exist now	—	0
<i>Destroyed</i>	—	46 villages

p) DISTRICT OF BE'ER-SHEBA

In this district there were no villages. It was inhabited by five major tribes:

1. **Tarabeen** — with 20 sub-tribes.
2. **El-Azazmeh** — with 10 sub-tribes.
3. **Tayaha** — with 26 sub-tribes.
4. **Jubavat** — with 13 sub-tribes.
5. **Saidiyeen** — with 4 sub-tribes.

I estimate that about three-quarters of the sub-tribes were expelled.

Some of the **El-Azazmeh** sub-tribes were expelled as late as 1953-1954, after a murderous massacre of their women and children carried out by the notorious «Unit 101» of the Israeli army.

* * *

TOTAL (not including tribes):

Existed before 1948	—	475 villages
Exist now	—	90 villages
<i>Destroyed</i>	—	385 villages

ANNEX I TO THE REPORT ON ARAB VILLAGES

**A COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF ARAB VILLAGES
AND TRIBES WHICH EXISTED IN THE COUNTRY
BEFORE 1948**

VILLAGES WHICH EXIST NOW ARE MARKED (X)

**TRIBES ARE IMPOSSIBLE TO TRACE WITH
ACCURACY, BUT MOST OF THEM WERE
EXPELLED**

A) DISTRICT OF JERUSALEM

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Ashoa'a | 18. Saries |
| 2. Braije | 19. Sataf |
| 3. Beit Jmal (X) | 20. Sara'a |
| 4. Beit Nakoba (X) | 21. Soba |
| 5. Beit Mahsir | 22. Artoof |
| 6. Beit Thool | 23. Aslin |
| 7. Beit Um Elmies | 24. Akoor |
| 8. Jarash | 25. Ein Karem |
| 9. El Jorah | 26. Kariet El Inab (X) |
| 10. Kheirbit Ism Allah | (Abu Ghosh) |
| 11. Khirbit Elloze | 27. Kalonia |
| 12. Khirbit El-Umoor | 28. El Kastal |
| 13. Deir Aban | 29. Kasla |
| 14. Deir Amar | 30. Lifta |
| 15. Deir Yassin | 31. El Malha |
| 16. Deir El Sheikh | 32. Nitaf |
| 17. Ra'afat | 33. Beit Sufaffa (X) |

B) DISTRICT OF BETHLEHEM

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Beit E'atab | 5. Allar |
| 2. Deir El Hawa | 6. Alkabou |
| 3. Ras Abi Amar | 7. Al Walageh |
| 4. Saflah | |

C) DISTRICT OF HEBRON

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Barkosia | 9. Deir Nakhas |
| 2. Beit Nattif | 10. Deir Ed-Dubban |
| 3. Ra'ana | 11. El Dawaimeh |
| 4. Zakariah | 12. Ajooze |
| 5. Zakarein | 13. Beit Jebrein |
| 6. Zeita | 14. El Kebiah |
| 7. Tal El Safi | 15. Kadna |
| 8. Khirbit Umburje | 16. Maflas |

D) DISTRICT OF JAFFA

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Abu Kishik | 13. Es-Sawalmeh |
| 2. Beit Dajan | 14. Es-Safrieh |
| 3. Bayar Adas | 15. Sarona |
| 4. Jaleel Esh-Shamalieh | 16. Esh-Sheikh Mowannes |
| 5. Um-Kalkha | 17. El Abaseyeh (El-Yahoodiyeh) |
| 6. Jamasen Es-Sharki | 18. Fajjeh |
| 7. Jamasen El-Gharbi | 19. Kofor Ana |
| 8. El Haram | 20. Mahmudieh (Al-Mur) |
| 9. El Kheriyeh | 21. El Mowaileh |
| 10. Ranteyeh | 22. Wilhelma |
| 11. Sakyeh | 23. Yazoor |
| 12. Salameh | 24. Yaffa (Jaffa) (X) |

E) DISTRICT OF RAMLEH

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Bao Shusheh | 9. Beit Jeez |
| 2. Abu-l-Fadel (Al Satarieh) | 10. Beer Salem |
| 3. Ednibbeh | 11. Beit Far |
| 4. Al Naby Rubin | 12. Al Tineb |
| 5. Um-Kalkh | 13. Jiliah |
| 6. Al Barieh | 14. Al Khemeh |
| 7. Bshit | 15. Khuldah |
| 8. Beit Suseen | 16. Deir Muheisen |

17. Al Ramleh (X)
18. Zarnuka
19. Sajad
20. Shahmeh
21. Sarafand Elamar
22. Sarafand Elkharab
23. Saidoon
24. Aker

25. Kazazeh
26. Katarah
27. Alkebieh
28. Almagar
29. Almansorah
30. Almkheizen
31. Na'anah
32. Yabneh

F) DISTRICT OF LYDDA

1. Barfiliah
2. Beer Um Me'ain
3. El Burje
4. Beit Nebalah
5. Beit Shana
6. Jamzo
7. Jendas
8. Khirbit El Bewaireh
9. Khirbit El Zaheirah
10. Khirbit El Qubeibeh
11. Khirbit Zakareyah
12. Kharroobeh
13. El Khalayel
14. Deir Ayub
15. Danyal

16. Deir Abu Salameh
17. Deir Tarief
18. El Hakitheh
19. Salbeet
20. Shalnah
21. El Tireh
22. Kolah
23. El Kbab
24. El Kaniseh
25. Elled (Lod) (X)
26. El Latroon
27. El Mzera'ah
28. Majdal Esadek (or Majdal Baba)
29. Enabeh

G) DISTRICT OF JENIN

1. Um El Fahem (Including Ellajon Mo'awekah, Musherfeh and Mosmos) (X)
2. Zalfa (X)
3. Zerein

4. Sandalah (X)
5. El Mazar
6. Mokeibleh
7. Noras
8. Ein El Mansi

H) DISTRICT OF TUL-KAREM

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Um Khaled | 19. Ghabet Etaibeh Esha- |
| 2. Baka El Gharbieyah(X) | maleyeh |
| 3. Birkit Ramadan | 20. Ghabet Etaibeh El- |
| 4. Tasbar | kibleyeh |
| 5. Jat (X) | 21. Fardisyah |
| 6. Jaljookia (X) | 22. Kakaon |
| 7. Khirbit El Manshiyah | 23. Kalansawa(X) |
| 8. Khirbit El Zalfeh | 24. Kofer Yara (X) |
| 9. Khirbit Ureish | 25. Kofer Kasem (X) |
| 10. Khribit Ez-Zababdeh | 26. Kofer Saba |
| 11. Khirbit Beit Leed | 27. Maska |
| 12. Ramel Zeita | 28. Wadi El Kabbani |
| 13. Et-Taibeh (X) | 29. Wadi El Hawareeth |
| 14. Et-Teereh (X) | Esh-Shamali |
| 15. Ghabet Meskah | 30. Bartah (X) |
| 16. Ghabet Jayooze | 31. Zbooba (X) |
| 17. Ghabet Abaysheh | 32. Ta'ank (X) |
| 18. Ghabet Kofer Soor | 33. Roamanih (X) |

I) DISTRICT OF HAIFA

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Abu Shosheh | 16. Daleyat El Carmel (X) |
| 2. Abu Zreik | 17. Daleyat Erooheyeh |
| 3. Um Esharaff | 18. Esendyaneh |
| 4. Um Ez-Zinat | 19. Sabbareen |
| 5. Um Elamad | 20. Sarafand |
| 6. Igzim | 21. Ettireh |
| 7. Breka | 22. Et-Tireh |
| 8. Balad Esh-Sheikh | 23. Ebileen (X) |
| 9. Lebtehat | 24. Atleet |
| 10. Jaba'a | 25. Ararah (X) |
| 11. Jedar El Ghawanmeh | 26. Asfeyah (X) |
| 12. Khobeze | 27. Ein Gazal |
| 13. Khirbit Ed-Damoon | 28. Ein Houd |
| 14. Khirbit Leed | 29. El Kibyat |
| 15. Elkhreibeh | 30. Fridees (X) |

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 31. Kaneer | 38. El Mazar |
| 32. Kisaryah | 39. El Mansi |
| 33. Kabbarah | 40. Wadi Ara (Ara) (X) |
| 34. Kofor Lam | 41. El Yajo'or |
| 35. Elkafrain | 42. Jisr El-Zarqa (X) |
| 36. Kofor Kare'e | 43. Shfara'am |
| 37. El Rihaneyeh | |

TRIBES

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Arab Abu Jneh | 6. Arab El Awadeen |
| 2. Arab El Khawaled | 7. Arab El Gawarneh |
| 3. Arab Ezbeidat | 8. Arab El Fokara |
| 4. Arab Es-Sufsaf | 9. Arab El Ku'eibnieh |
| 5. Arab Elomareyeh | 10. Arab Enfaia'at |

J) DISTRICT OF AKO (ACRE) : VILLAGES

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Abu Snan (X) | 21. Ez-Zeeb |
| 2. Elbassa | 22. Sahoor (X) |
| 3. Elbirweh (X) | 23. Sakhneen (X) |
| 4. Um El Faraj | 24. Esmeriyeh |
| 5. Ikrit | 25. Sha'ab (X) |
| 6. El Be'eneh (X) | 26. Esh-Sheikh Dahood (X) |
| 7. El Beke'ah | 27. Sahmata |
| 8. Beit Dajan (X) | 28. Arrabeh (X) |
| 9. Tarbikha | 29. Amka |
| 10. Tarshiha (X) | 30. Tamra (X) |
| 11. Jat (X) | 31. El Gabseyeh |
| 12. Joulis (X) | 32. Fasoota (X) |
| 13. Jdaydeh (X) | 33. Kofor E'enen |
| 14. Khirit Jideen | 34. Kofor Ismia'a |
| 15. Deir El Asad (X) | 35. Kofor Yasseef (X) |
| 16. Deir Hanna (X) | 36. Kabool (X) |
| 17. Ad-Damon | 37. Kisra (X) |
| 18. Deir El Kasy | 38. Kweikat (X) |
| 19. Erramleh (X) | 39. Me'ar |
| 20. Erwiass | 40. Me'elyah (X) |

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 41. El Maker (X) | 47. El Mansoorah |
| 42. Majd El Kuroom (X) | 48. El Kabri |
| 43. El Mazra'ah (X) | 49. Yarka (X) |
| 44. El Manshiyeh | 50. Yanooh (X) |
| 45. Nehaf (X) | 51. Ein El Asad (X) |
| 46. En-Naher | 52. Shefa Ami (X) |

TRIBES

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Arab El Hejerat | 5. Arab El Tookeyeh |
| 2. Arab El Samneyeh | 6. Arab El Armsheh |
| 3. Arab El Sawa'ed | 7. Arab El Kelitat |
| 4. Arab El Swetat | 8. Arab El Mresat |

K) DISTRICT OF NAZARETH

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Andour | 14. Kokab (X) |
| 2. Um El Ghanam «Ta-
bour Mnt.» (X) | 15. El Mjeiadel |
| 3. Iksal (X) | 16. Na'orah (X) |
| 4. B'enneh (X) | 17. Eraineh (X) |
| 5. Eloot (X) | 18. Solam (X) |
| 6. Ein Mahel (X) | 19. Safooreh |
| 7. Aziz | 20. Tamra (X) |
| 8. Kofor Manda (X) | 21. Neen (X) |
| 9. Tor'an (X) | 22. Ma'alool |
| 10. Dabbooryeh (X) | 23. Mash'had (X) |
| 11. Edekhi (X) | 24. Yafa (X) |
| 12. Rommaneh | 25. Taibeh (X) |
| 13. Kofor Kanna (X) | 26. Yafat-Anashda
(Yafia) (X) |

Also one tribe called ARAB EL BIAH

L) DISTRICT OF SAFAD : VILLAGES

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Abel El Kameh | 7. Jeb Yousef |
| 2. Baisamoon | 8. Jaz Ayer El Henda |
| 3. Bereyeh | 9. Horfaish (X) |
| 4. Alyoozaweyeh | 10. El Hasneyeh |
| 5. El Ja'ooneh | 11. Khasas |
| 6. Jesh (X) | 12. Khiyam El Waleed |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 13. El Khalsah | 45. Ein Ezaytoon |
| 14. Khirbit El Hakab | 46. El Maneyeh |
| 15. Deezeveh | 47. Ghabatyah |
| 16. Dallatah | 48. Arraba |
| 18. Dowarah | 49. Faram |
| 19. Dayshoom | 50. Ber'em (Ferem) * |
| 20. Dardara | 51. Kiteyeh |
| 21. Rehaneyeh (X) | 52. Kadas |
| 22. Al-Ras El-Ahmar | 53. Kedeta |
| 23. Ezaweyeh | 54. Elkedeireyeh |
| 24. Zangareyeh «Zahlak» (X) | 55. Kaba'a |
| 25. Ezok El Fokani | 56. Karrad El Bakarah |
| 26. Ezok Etahtani | 57. Karrad El Ghannameh |
| 27. Sabalan | 58. Lazazeh |
| 28. Sa'asa' | 59. Marous |
| 29. Es-Sammo'i | 60. El Manarah |
| 30. Eshooneh | 61. Mallaha |
| 31. Eshoke etahta | 62. Mazare'e Eddarajeh |
| 32. Safsaf | 63. El Malkeyeh |
| 33. Esanbareyeh | 64. Meroon |
| 34. Salha | 65. El Mutelleh |
| 35. Esalheyeh | 66. El Hooleh |
| 36. Edahriyeh El-Foka | 67. El Mansurah (X) |
| 37. Edahrieh Etahta | 68. El Meftekhreh |
| 38. Tooba (X) | 69. Faradeh |
| 39. Zaleel | 70. Enabi Yousha'a' |
| 40. Titaba | 71. Ena'ameh |
| 41. El Abbaseyeh | 72. Honain |
| 42. Alma | 73. Yaritha |
| 43. Akbara (X) | 74. Mafarr El Khait |
| 44. Amooka | 75. Mansoor El Khait |

* It is an Arab village which is situated in the furthest northern point of Palestine, just five km. from the Lebanese border. In 1945 its population was 710 persons. 700 persons were Christians and the other 10 were Moslems. Its lands were 12250 Dunums. The Jews occupied it at the end of October 1948 while the second ceasefire was still in effect. They transported its inhabitants to El Jesh Village which was close to it. After that they obliged them to deport to Baroon Village in Lebanon. On the 16th of September of 1953 the Jews destroyed it by using Napalm Bombs. This was done also on the 17th of September until the village was completely annihilated. The protesting of its inhabitants to the Pope of Rome and to the Ambassadors of Britain, U.S.A. & France and to U.N. had no impact on the Jews.

Its present Name is Kofor Ber'em.

TRIBES

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| 1. Arab Ezbeid | 3. Arab Elhaib |
| 2. Arab Eshamalneh | |

M) DISTRICT OF TIBERIAS

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. El-Himme | 14. Esh-Shajarah |
| 2. El Hadatheh | 15. Kofor Kama (X) |
| 3. Hitteen | 16. Kofor Sabt |
| 4. Khirbit El Wa'ara | 17. Loobyeh |
| Essoda | 18. El Manarah |
| 5. Eddalrameyeh | 19. El Mansourah |
| 6. Samakh | 20. Ma'azar |
| 7. Essamrah | 21. Majdal |
| 8. Essamakheyeh | 22. Maghar (X) |
| 9. El-Ubeideyeh | 23. En-Nakeib |
| 10. Tabgha | 24. Nasreddin |
| 11. Elaboon (X) | 25. Namreen |
| 12. Olam | 26. Yakook |
| 13. Ghwair Abu Shousheh | |

N) DISTRICT OF BEISAN (BETH-SHAN) : VILLAGES

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. El Ashrafiyeh | 15. Essafa |
| 2. Um Ajrah | 16. Et-Taibeh |
| 3. El Bireh | 17. Et-Tireh |
| 4. Tal Esh-Shoke | 18. El-Aredah |
| 5. Jabool | 19. El-Fatoor |
| 6. Jeser El Majame'e | 20. Krooneh |
| 7. El Hamra | 21. Kazameyeh |
| 8. El Hamedeyeh | 22. Kafra |
| 9. El Khneizeer | 23. Kofor Masser |
| 10. Daneth | 24. Kokab El Hawa |
| 11. Zaba'a | 25. El-Murassas |
| 12. Essakhneh | 26. Massel El Jazal |
| 13. Essamriyeh | 27. Wadi El Bireh |
| 14. Sereen | 28. Yabbla |

TRIBES

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. El Bashatweh | 3. Es-Saker |
| 2. El Bawati | 4. El Ghazaweyeh |

O) DISTRICT OF GAZA : VILLAGES

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Barbara | 25. El Jorah |
| 2. Borka | 26. Jouless |
| 3. Creir | 27. Hata |
| 4. Batani Sharki | 28. Al-Muharraka |
| 5. Batani Gharbi | 29. El Msamayeh El Ka-beereh |
| 6. Ba'aleen | 30. El Msamayeh El Sa-Gheereh |
| 7. Iraq Es-Weidan | 31. Najo |
| 8. Beit Jarja | 32. Na'alya |
| 9. Beit Hanoonq | 33. Hirbiah |
| 10. Beit Dras | 34. Hooje |
| 11. Swafeer Gharbi | 35. Yascor |
| 12. Summeil | 36. Helekat |
| 13. Ibdes | 37. Hamameh |
| 14. Iraq El Mansheyeh | 38. Khassas |
| 15. Elkastina | 39. Kamrah |
| 16. Karatia | 40. Deir Snaid |
| 17. El Kofakha | 41. Isdood |
| 18. Kokaba | 42. Sukreir |
| 19. Beit Teema | 43. Semsem |
| 20. Beit Affa | 44. Sawafeer Shamali |
| 21. Beit Lahya | 45. Sawafeer Sharki |
| 22. Tal Et-Tormos | |
| 23. Jsair | |
| 24. Jaladeyeh | |

P) DISTRICT OF BEERSHEBA

1) TARABEEN

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Najamat Es-Sane'e | 3. Najamat Abu Adra |
| 2. Najamat Essoufi | 4. Najamat Abu Sousein |

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 5. Najamat El Kasar | 13. Ghawali Ezre'ei |
| 6. Najamat Abu Suheiban | 14. Ghawali El Moor |
| 7. Ghawali Abu Sittah | 15. Ghawali Naba'at |
| 8. Ghawali Abu El Husain | 16. Waheidat Tarabeen |
| 9. Ghawali Abu Shalhooob | 17. Hassanat Abu Ma'aleeq |
| 10. Ghawali Abu Bakhra | 18. Jaraween Abu Ghaliioni |
| 11. Ghawali Abu Khatla | 19. Jaraween Abu Sa'aleek |
| 12. Ghawali Abu Amra | |

2) EL AZAZMEH TRIBE

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Muhamadiyeen | 6. Maso'Odeyeen |
| 2. Sobheyeen | 7. Eseyat |
| 3. Sbaihat | 8. Sawakhneh |
| 4. Zarabah | 9. Mre'at |
| 5. Faraheen | 10. Saraheen |

3) TAYAHA TRIBE

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Hakook El Hozaiil | 15. Zullam Abu Rabe'ah |
| 2. Hakook Abu Abdoon | 16. Zullam Abu Jwai'ed |
| 4. Hakook El Buriki | 17. Zullam Abu Krenat |
| 5. Bili | 18. Ramadeen Masamreh |
| 6. Shallaleen | 19. Ramadeen Shu'ur |
| 7. Banu Ukba | 20. N'toosh |
| 8. Alamat Abu Lubbeh | 21. Rawashdeh |
| 9. Alamat Abu J'keim | 22. Bdenat |
| 10. Alamat Abu Shunnar | 23. Aroor |
| 11. Kdeirat Abu Rakeek | 24. Kalazeen Tayaha |
| 12. Kdeirat Es-Sane'e | 25. Jana Beeb |
| 13. Kdeirat Abu Kaf | 26. Katatweh |
| 14. Kdeirat El-Atham | |

4) JUBARAT TRIBE

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Abu Jaber | 4. Atareen Ben Ajlan |
| 2. Ertaimat Abu Al-Udus | 5. Jubarat El Wahedeh |
| 3. Ertaimat El Fokara
«Masharfeh» | 6. Sa'adneh An-Nuweiri |
| | 7. Sawarkeh Ben Rafe'e |

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 8. Walaydeh | 11. Hasanat Ben Sabah |
| 9. Rawaw'a | 12. Sa'adnef Abu Jreiban |
| 10. Kalazeen Jubarat | 13. Jubarat El Digs |

E SAIDIYEEN TRIBE

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| 1. Hamaita | 3. Ramamneh |
| 2. Rawaida | 4. Mazakeer |

When referring to the Beduin tribes, we must draw attention to the fact that there used to live in Beersheba before 1848 seven main tribes containing seventy-seven sub-tribes, with some 120,000 individuals free to travel all over Palestine.

Now after the Israeli occupation, only 25,000 have remained in Beersheba and these Bedu are confined to live in an area composed of some 20,000 dunums and they are not allowed to leave their area without a permit from the Military Governors.

ANNEX II TO THE REPORT ON ARAB VILLAGES

THE LAND PROBLEM OF THE VILLAGE OF UM EL-FAHEM (THE TRIANGLE, ISRAEL)

Um El-Fahem is a village of 14,000 inhabitants which was transferred to Israel from Jordan under the Rhodes Agreements on 4 April, 1949. The State of Israel had promised in those agreements to honor the freedom and the property of the inhabitants.

Nevertheless, all the inhabitants of Um El-Fahem became «absent-present,» and almost all their lands were confiscated.

The situation is as follows :

The inhabitants of Um El-Fahem used to own 146,000 dunums of land inside Israel.

Of this: 100,000 dunums of the best agricultural land were confiscated and given to the «National Jewish Fund» (a discriminatory Jewish organization) which rented them to Jewish settlements. 17,000 dunums were made «fire-zones» of the Israeli army to which the entrance of Arabs is prohibited; 12,000 dunums, near the entrance to the village, which used to be the «commons» of Um El-Fahem—and as such were «written down» in the name of the Ottoman Sultan, and then in the name of the British High Commissioner—were also confiscated by the Israeli Land Authority and given to the «Jewish National Fund,» which promptly began to plant a forest over them.

The remaining 17,000 dunums comprise the area of the village itself, and scattered mountain areas unfit for agriculture. Apart from kitchen-gardens, there is no place for agriculture in Um El-Fahem, and the majority of its inhabitants work as labourers in the Jewish towns — mainly in Tel-Aviv and Haifa.

However the confiscated lands hem the village so closely that there is *literally no place to build new buildings*, either for the new families or for public use.

* Published by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, January 31, 1973.

1. The request of the local council for the return of fifteen(!) dunums of its own land for building schools and a clinic was denied.
2. Permissions for building new houses are denied systematically.
3. The request for land (which was championed by the «Advisor on Arab Affairs» to the Prime Minister) for industrial buildings was denied.
4. The request for some water from wells in the stolen lands, in order to better cultivate the plots between the village houses, was denied.

Documents of the League

Part IV

Attitudes toward Arabs in the Conquered Territories

The Affair of the Jewish Defense League (JDL)

According to *Ma'ariv* (22.9.72), the Jewish Defence League had already succeeded in sending from Israel four boxes of ammunition and weapons before the fifth box (disguised as a box of biscuits) was discovered in the Lydda airport. The leader of the JDL, Rabbi Meir Kahane admitted publicly his responsibility for the sending (and obtaining) of the weapons, which is of course a crime both according to the Israeli Civil Law and to the Defence Regulations of 1945 which are still in force in Israel. Nevertheless he was set free, and was neither charged nor arrested. He deals with the Israeli Government more as an independent potentate than as a citizen.

This was very apparent in an official meeting of Rabbi Kahane with Mr. Y. Sh. Shapiro, the Israeli Minister of Justice, which was held «in good spirit» (*Ma'ariv* and *Yediot*, 25. 9. 72). Rabbi Kahane demanded from the Minister of Justice a promise not to persecute «anybody» concerned with the illegal obtaining and sending abroad of weapons. Mr. Shapiro praised the members of the JDL as «warm Jews,» but professed himself unable to help as «a man of law.» Instead, he proposed that the JDL «come clean» to the police and «tell them all.» He promised them «an open ear from the Government» since, in his opinion, their aims (indiscriminate terror against Arabs and the Soviet Union) «are not immoral but perhaps unconstitutional.»

In the course of the police investigation against Mr. A. Paglin—in whose plant the weapon-countaining «biscuit machine» was ap-

* Published by Israel Shahak, September 26, 1972.

parently prepared—revealed the strength of the support of the JDL in the Government and military circles. Mr. Paglin was very quickly transferred from Abu-Kabir prison—where the «ordinary» Israelis, remanded without bail, are held—to the luxurious Basel hotel in Tel-Aviv, where he triumphantly held court. Among his visitors were a «general on active service» (in the Israeli Army) who was reported to have given Mr. Paglin «a full basket of his blessings.» Among the ministers who were approached on his behalf were the Minister of the Police and the vice-Prime Minister Mr. Yigal Allon. Mrs. Golda Meir was also approached by Mr. Menachim Begin with a demand «to do something for Paglin.» Another, and a more intimate message to the same effect, was received by Mrs. Golda Meir from one of her most intimate friends, Mrs. Baba Idelson who is in the Israeli Labour Party. Mr. Paglin is Mrs. Idelson's nephew (*Yediot*, 24.5.72).

All this caused Rabbi Kahane to increase his demands. He declared: «If the Government wants to have a battle with the JDL, it will have a battle.» He also attacked «the Bolsheviks inside the (Israeli) government,» and added: «I am not afraid of those Bolsheviks.» Apparently one of the «Bolsheviks» is no other than Mr. Moshe Dayan, for Rabbi Kahane added that «Dayanism and Democracy are not in accord.» (*Ha'aretz*, 26.9.72).

Nevertheless it is clear that Rabbi Kahane is in a very strong position, for the following reasons:

- a) He was not arrested after confessing publicly to a serious criticism of obtaining weapons illegally and attempting to send them abroad.
- b) He is supported by the Gahal party, at least tacitly.
- c) No other Government party has yet condemned his activities.
- d) Generally, even the papers and the ministers who condemn his means, express sympathy, with his avowed terroristic aims. *Ha'aretz* commented (25.9.72) in these terms: «If Jews — whether organizations or individuals — in the Diaspora want to fight the Arab terror outside the area of the State of Israel, it is sure that their war will be blessed

by us.» Another useful summary of what can be expected, was made by Mr. A. Golan in *Yediot* (24.9.72) who proposed a double course: First, «an experienced organization, with full capacities of the state behind it, even if it shall be disguised as 'underground' for the purpose of diplomatic necessities; and, secondly, a real underground as «a political weapon, to use it against governments in order to say to them: 'If you will not act against the Arab terrorists, we will be unable to withhold our youth and the Jewish youth in the Diaspora, and to prevent making your country into a battleground, for this, even a real and naive underground can be used'.»

The Affair of the Jewish Defence League (JDL) and Related Matters (continuation)

The accumulated evidence revealed that the JDL was quite active, even before the ammunition and weapons «biscuit box» was found in Lydda. According to the Israeli police, some other boxes were sent before from Israel abroad (*Ha'arets*, 27.9.72). It was also declared that the weapons were stolen from the Israeli Army (*Yediot*, 27.9.72). However the police treatment was rather lenient. With the exception of Rabbi Kahane, who was arrested on December 2, 1972, all the accused were freed (*Ma'ariv*, 4.10.72). Kahane's arrest was said by the police authorities to be motivated by a danger of his communicating «with his friends,» but he was nevertheless allowed to meet with them and even to give interviews to newspapers.

Meanwhile some interesting facts about Rabbi Kahane came to light. It was made clear that he is not an Israeli citizen (*Ma'ariv*, 3.10.72), and that in the United States, his activities included a close «cooperation» with the F.B.I. in «investigating» left-wing and right-wing organizations under the assumed name of Martin King (*Ha'olam Haze*, 4.10.72). Further, investigations disclosed that the JDL is being used as a weapon for achieving important political changes in Israel itself: the transference of the «security service,» the so-called Shin-Beth, from the Prime Minister's office to Mr. Moshe Dayan's office (which is also called the Ministry of Secu-

rity but *deals* with the Army only. The confusion dates from Ben-Gurion's time, who was of course *both* Prime Minister and the Minister of Security). As *Ha'olam Haze* (27.9.72) put it, «the security services and other arms of the intelligence congregation are today under the authority of the Prime Minister's office, and the Minister of Security has neither authority nor even a close contact with them.» Dayan, who for a long time desired to include those services in the area under his control, is trying to use the Munchen calamity, in order to take away the security services from the authority of the Prime Minister and vice-Prime Minister and transfer them to the Ministry of Security.»

However his demand was repulsed by Mrs. Golda Meir, who was even reported to have expressed «her revulsion» from this attempt of «politization» of the Munchen tragedy. Meanwhile, it was leaked out that Dayan never participated personally on the Israeli government committee for security of Israeli subjects abroad, whose chairman is Mr. Allon. It was also revealed that the only opportunity for Mr. Dayan and Mr. Allon to meet together are the cabinet meetings and this, only if Mrs. Meir is chairing them personally. If she is abroad or ill and her Vice-Premier is the chairman «it so happens that the Minister of Security has arranged a visit outside of Jerusalem.»

The great antipathy felt in wide circles in Israel towards Mr. Dayan made itself also felt at this opportunity. A popular Hebrew poet and journalist, Mr. Chaim Chefer, has expressed his fear that transferring the security service to Mr. Dayan «would be a danger to democracy and could bring a dictatorial rule of Moshe Dayan.» To show «the fear that the Minister of Security inspires,» Mr. Chefer recounts the story of his treatment by the officials of the Ministry of Security.

When he was interested in the archeological activities of Dayan, which contravene the Israeli law, and wanted to write about them; his paper *Yediot* was threatened by the Ministry officials that it would be punished by giving all the «scoops» to the competing paper. After further pressure, Mr. Chefer and two members of the editorial office of *Yediot* were invited to meet two representatives of the Minister of Security in the meeting hall of Hilton Ho-

tel (Tel-Aviv) for a two hours meeting. Mr. Chefer complained in this meeting about «the fact that Mr. Dayan arrived to the antiquities area of Sebbit El-Khadam in Sinai, and four colonels had to carry for him in a stretcher a statue of the moon-goddess.» A week after this complaint, the poems of Mr. Chefer, that were to be declaimed and sung in a meeting of parents of dead soldiers, were «taken-off» at the last moment.

Connected with this were the future political activities of General A. Yariv, the retired boss of the «intelligence wing» of the Israeli Army. He was reputed on his retirement from the Army to have joined the *civilian* staff of the Ministry of Security and to have been nominated the coordinator of the war against the terror, supposedly because this war needs «one man in charge» (*Yediot* , 29.9.72 and *Ha'olam Haze* , 4.10.72). However, this plan caused an outburst of fury from Mrs. Golda Meir, and General Yariv had to leave his new post. Instead, he was nominated to be a special adviser to Mrs. Meir and a candidate of the Israeli Labour Party to the next Knesset. (*Ma'ariv*, 2.10.72).

The reason that influenced General Yariv to become «advisor of Golda» rather than «a helper of Dayan» are summarized by (*Ha'olam Haze* 4.10.72) as follows : «This is a terrific-power job, with enormous authority and decision-making influence.» The job of advisor is for A. Yariv a much better spring-board to a political career than the job as a helper.» Apparently this development is supposed to be a blow to Dayan.

«Administration» of the Conquered Territories

(i) Some Figures about the Conquered Territories

According to Mr. David Kokhav, the economic advisor of the Israeli Ministry of Security, Israel 'earned' from its occupation of the conquered territories 98 million Israeli pounds in 1972. The yield of taxation and other income was 236 million, 110 million were obtained from the sale of the Egyptian oil of Sinai, and the expenses were 248 million Israeli pounds. The 'expenses' included the so-called 'development' which means *Jewish settlement*, and 'strategic development' (i.e. military roads). (*Ma'ariv*, *Yediot*, 31.10.72). To understand better the nature of Israeli rule in the conquered territories, the details of the expenses should be considered. (They were not published, but can be obtained). The amount of money spent on the health of the inhabitants of the conquered territories was 9 million Israeli pounds in 1971. Of this, 1.5 million were deducted for Israeli hospitals caring for the people of the conquered territories. The remaining sum of 7.5 million Israeli pounds, per year, were to be earmarked for health purposes on approximately one million inhabitants. Therefore; the Israeli regime in the conquered territories spends 7.5 Israeli pounds (75 British pence, 1.7 dollars) per inhabitant, per year.

Mr. Dayan expressed the opinion that the situation of the Arabs of the conquered territories is good. Mr. Richard Crossman said that the Israeli Army cares for the conquered territories better than the British do for their own people (*Ma'ariv*, 31.10.72). Of course, they both do not quote how much is spent for the health of a human being.

Personal addition : The above is based *strictly* on official Israeli figures.

(ii) Mrs. Golda Meir's Troubled Sleep

Mrs. Meir confessed (not for the first time) that her sleep is troubled, for she asks herself each morning how many Arab children were born during the last night. From that assumption, in her opinion, the Israeli borders must be drawn. (*Yediot , Ha'a-retz, Maariv*, 25.10.72). Mr. Ezer Weitzman, the Gahal leader — alone of all Israeli politicians — condemned this statement as racism. «The declaration of the Prime-Minister, Mrs. Meir, that she does not want many Arabs in the State of Israel is a characteristic racial declaration. Had I been an Arab-Israeli citizen of Tira and of Kalansua (Arab villages in Israel), I would feel myself very insulted by it.» (*Ma'ariv*, 25.10.72).

Personal comment : 1. On this point, Mr. Weitzman is very right. I should add that many people outside Israel err *completely* when they identify the attitude towards Arabs with Right or Left opinions. As this example shows, the most extreme and racist anti-Arabs are found in the Israeli Labour Party. This is not a new development. The old plan called «Transfer» in the late thirties and early forties to expel *all the Arabs without exception* from Palestine and Jordan, was invented by such leaders of the Israeli Labour Party, as B. Ketzenelson and J. Weiz.

2. The Israeli Labour Party is an officially racist party, which does not admit non-Jews on principle. No doubt that one of the reasons is to make the social life easy for Mrs. Meir. For one can imagine how she would feel if an Arab *colleague* would announce to her that a child was born to him!

In a further speech, Mrs. Meir announced that Israel is a super-power in the Middle-East and will deal accordingly. She also said that the U.S. president recognizes this fact (*Ma'ariv*, 29.10.72).

(iii) The Policy of Mr. Dayan toward the West-Bank

On November, 1972, Mr. Dayan made a speech in the Working Mothers Association of Tel-Aviv. (His coming to this place was rather a surprise for the audience). His main theme was that one should learn to live together with Arabs. This is possible, in his

opinion, only under the rule of the Israeli Army, because of the Arab «mentality.» He said that he was aware that this rule will cause problems «for us» and that those problems would have to be dealt with by «our inner force.» As an example of the problems involved, he read a letter he had received from a Jewish peasant's wife of the Moshav Kefar-Vitkin. She had written: «Until the Six Day's War, we had lived in peace, we worked hard and were relatively prosperous. From that time, the situation has changed, since my husband, an able man, has become a contractor for agricultural work. Before, we did not have any problems. We acquired a cheap source of labour and a big market. Today we have five Arab workers that do all the work on our farm. My eldest son refuses now even to cut the grass: 'Let Muhammed do it.' And of course about any other 'hard work' it is useless to speak. All the children of the moshav, and also my children, are becoming similar to rich children for whom the servants do everything. Nobody knows how to drive a tractor which stands in the yard. No one is interested in agriculture Until about a week ago, the Arab workers lived in the houses reserved for citrus work. Now as it seems, more work is needed in hot-houses; therefore, additional labourers were brought. The citrus houses are more than full. My husband has build them a hut in our yard. When I protested, he sent me to look around the village. I saw that every able man became a contractor and that it is full of hot houses, in which only Arab workers are employed. The Arabs live mostly in mud-houses, some yards from the improved villas of the Jewish 'peasant' whose style is that of Effendis Another detail: The bad attitude toward our workers is even worse than the conditions and the attitude toward the Fateh prisoners.»

Therefore she requested that Arab workers from the conquered territories should be prohibited from work in Israel. Mr. Dayan opposed this proposal. (*Ma'ariv*, 5.10.72 and *Yediot*, 6.10.72). Mr. Dayan's plans for the West-Bank were made more clear in other well informed articles. The commentator, Joseph Charif (the most informed Israeli commentator) wrote about Dayan's opinions:

1) About the West-Bank, «it must be changed from a 'Palestinian entity' into 'an Israeli entity.' However, «by no means

should King Hussein receive even a space of a foothold in the West-Bank.»

2) The so-called «Demographic problem» (meaning simply the problem of too many Arabs in a «Jewish State») will be solved by Mr. Dayan in the following manner: he wants Israel to behave as a permanent government of the West-Bank, but he does not want to change the inhabitants of the West-Bank into Israeli citizens.

3) Sinai must be divided between Israel and Egypt, not necessarily into equal portions.

Mr. Dayan is going to force this plan on the Israeli Labour Party. According to Mr. Charif, Mrs. Golda Meir is closer to Mr. Dayan than to any other minister (*Ma'ariv*, 6.10.72).

A summary and a protest of those proposals was given by Mr. Chanoch Bertov (who was Israeli attache in London, a writer and a journalist) in *Ma'ariv* (9.12.72). In his opinion, Mr. Dayan's proposals are worse than the straightforward annexation demands of the Gahal party, for Gahal «cannot even imagine the situation where a million and a half human beings, living in areas which will be a part of Israel, to be citizens of a foreign country. Not because they wanted it, but because we have denied them the most fundamental democratic right.»

(iv) Gaza Affairs

Under the pressure of the Military Authorities of the Gaza-Strip, so-called «elections» of representatives of refugee camps were held. Of course, the people themselves did not participate in the «elections.» The «electors» were «Mukhtars» (tribal, family or local chiefs) *nominated by the authorities*, and «representatives of professions» *similarly nominated*. Each of them received with his nomination *an official order to participate in the elections*. In the largest camp of all, Shatti, near Gaza which has about 25,000 inhabitants, the number of the *nominated* electors was 250, who were ordered by the military commander, Colonel I. Eyni to attend a *compulsory meeting with him* in the hall of a school. While the authorities «arranged the meeting and the technical

arrangements of the elections,» and while all the elections were held in their presence and *under compulsion*, they claimed that they did not participate in the elections. By some mysterious chance, the «elected» committee immediately decided to echo the military authorities' demand — to join the Shatti refugee camp to the town of Gaza. (*Davar, Yediot*, 17.10.72).

Personal comment : There is nothing new under the sun; The so-called «Tribal council» of Rhodesia is «elected» under the same system. Moreover, the Nazi-nominated «Jewish councils» (Juden-rate in the ghettos of Hitler's Europe) were nominated by *exactly* the same method.

Armed with the «elections» and the «representatives», the military authorities of the Gaza-Strip demanded of the towns of Gaza to annex the refugee-camps to their areas. All the towns, with the exception of Gaza itself, agreed. The Gaza Council refused. The reason for the demand is part of the plan of the military authorities to expel the U.N. agencies from the refugee camps, and ultimately from the whole Gaza-Strip, as «not needed anymore.» *Davar* (22.10.72). The military authorities have prepared detailed plans for the Gaza-Strip up to the year 1985. Allowing for the estimated emigration, which is small, the «working force» of the Gaza-Strip in 1985 is estimated to be then 106,000 males, 15,000 females and 19,000 Beduins (sex not specified). Of those, according to the staff-officer for statistics, Zvi Ganot, 90,000 at least, «will be directed to work in Israel.»

The military authorities are now proceeding with their plans for «complete integration» of refugees in the Gaza-Strip. Rumours of any further elections in the Gaza-Strip were officially denied. «If, at any future date, any elections were to be held under Israeli rule, they would be held only when those plans would be completed.» (*Davar*, 22.10.72).

Personal comment : See South Africa.

When Mr. El-Shawa, the mayor of Gaza, refused to carry those orders of the military authorities, he was deposed and Mr. Uri Tshetshik, an employee of the military authorities, was nominated to be the mayor of Gaza (*Ma'ariv, Yediot, Davar*, 23.10.72).

Mr. U. Tshetshik has an interesting history and character, which no doubt qualify him for his job. He was an officer of the military government in Israel, commanding the town of Mejdal (now Ashkelon) in 1948-1950. When all the ten-thousands of Arab inhabitants of Mejdal were expelled by the Israeli Army in August 1950 to Gaza (in peace-time and without any provocation!), he became an employee of the town council of Ashkelon, established *on the same spot* on which Mejdal once existed. He is now an employee of the military authorities in the Gaza-Strip two and half years ago. His brutality, cruelty, arrogance and racist opinions, with a particular hatred towards Arabs, are notorious (*Ma'ariv*, *Yediot*, 23.10.72, and personal sources).

Workers from the Conquered Territories

(i) Arab Workers in Israel

The increase of the Arab workers—both from the conquered territories and from Israel itself—disturbs many people in the Israeli Labour Party. In *Davar* (22.9.72) Mr. T. Proyes, called for the «Dearabization of Jewish work» meaning very simply the removal of Arabs from work in Israel. Mr. Z. Tzur (*Davar*, 4.10.72) quoted «unofficial figure» for Arabs working in Israel, i.e., those obtaining work not through the official government agency. According to those figures, about 50% of all the wage earners in the conquered territories work in Israel. Their wages are about 250 million Israeli pounds a year, while the total G.N.P. of the conquered territories was only 728 I.P. in 1970.

According to the same authority, Arabs from the conquered territories are 13% of all agricultural workers and 25% of construction workers. If Israeli Arabs are added, Mr. Tzur concluded, then more than a third of those employed in agriculture and construction are Arabs. This causes problems. Mr. Proyes described the temporary closure of the Israeli export of oranges at the end of 1971, as an example of their potential power when the Arab workers awaited the end of the Year of Decision of President Sadat of Egypt. Some of the leaders of the Israeli Labour Party have been concerned about this problem. At a meeting, Mr. Ofer described the situation of Arab workers and Jews in the conquered territories as those of «Master and Slave.» Mr. J. Eliav attacked the whole Jewish attitude toward Arabs, especially the custom of calling each Arab «Ahmad» and Arabs collectively as «Ahmad»

(Hebrew equivalent of the «boy» in English colonies), and of forcing Arab workers to sleep in stables with horses. Mrs. Golda Meir, who was present, was attacked sharply by Mr. Eliav and Mr. Ofer for using the word «Ahmads» for Arabs Many other members called for increasing Jewish settlement in the conquered areas. Summarizing the situation, Mr. Almogi (the Minister of Labour) said: «If the number of Arabs working in Israel increases we will be preparing a time-bomb for ourselves.»

Davar (22.10.72) reported some of the conditions under which Arabs from the conquered territories work. 36 «workers,» most of them children 10-12 years old, were «caught» working illegally in the olive groves near Dimona. In the citrus groves of Shuva and Zimra, «tens of children, 8-10 years old, were «caught.» In the Ashur, Brosh and Tidhar Moshavim, «tens» of Arab workers (many of them children) were discovered working for the (Jewish) moshav people «without permit.» When the control came, «about half of the workers escaped, but 25 were caught.»

(According to Mr. Dayan, reported in *Davar* (18.10.72) the rule of the Israeli Army «raises the Arab worker from the feudal conditions»).

Davar (19.10.72) described the activities of the «control teams» searching for «illegal Arab workers» near Petah-Tikva. In the first place, 12 Arab children «about 10-12 years old» were discovered loading a truck with olive conserves for the Israeli Army. (The olives are strictly «kosher» under the supervision of the Petah-Tikva Rabbinate). The employer justified himself: «What can I do? I have no other workers and I work for the Army.»

Many other similar cases are described. The illegal workers «caught» are expelled from work (losing their pay, of course). Their identification cards are confiscated, and they will be judged for their offence by the (military) authorities in their villages or cities in the conquered territories. (Also, so long as they do not have their identification cards, they are forbidden to go out of their homes, and can be arrested by every policeman anywhere).

Davar (20.10.72) described the «open markets» for Arab workers from the conquered territories in Haifa and Nazareth. One

such market for the Gaza-Strip workers is in Nazareth. A second, for the Samaria area, is near the «check-post» close to the Nazareth-Haifa road. The third, near the railway station in Haifa, «markets» the Arabs from Galilee who cannot (are forbidden by law) to enroll in the Haifa Work-Exchange. A fourth «market» — specially «for Arab boys» — is situated in the centre of the Carmel quarter of Haifa. «The employers like those markets because no procedure is involved.» They come in the morning with their trucks and tenders and choose from them enough workers for construction, cleaning of house-yards, gardening and other jobs.

(ii) Treatment of Arab Workers from the Conquered Territories

Ma'ariv (27.10.72) described the past and the present situation of the Arab workers in the Lachish area. It was found that one of the important reasons for the control-teams looking for 'illegal' Arab workers is financial. From the 'legal' Arab worker coming from the conquered territories, a tax is demanded. The employer has to pay 7-9 Israeli pounds as tax to the work-office (of the Israeli Ministry of Labour) each day for a legal-worker. The worker himself receives 15, or sometimes 10, Israeli pounds, per day. However, the necessity to pay tax, and the *enforced rule* that the workers should return to the conquered territories at night, have brought about other changes. The Jewish peasants of the moshavim described logingly the former situation: «When I needed workers, I used to borrow the workers of my neighbour in accordance with my needs. If one needs twenty workers for one afternoon, for three hours, then 'one takes them for three hours.' Before, when they slept in our moshav, they worked for 12 Israeli pounds a day. My workers slept in the yard. I used to tell them in the evening to go next morning to work in such and such a place, and they went and worked there the whole day. All I needed is to wake them in the morning, to make sure that they go to work. I could even continue to sleep afterwards for the rest of the day.» The peasants of the moshavim have complained that the prohibition falls only on them, and that the control teams do not check the kibbutzim or the industrial plants. (They are right especially about the kibbutzim—I. Shahak). They proposed, for

the sake of justice, that in the Lachish area «a centre, surrounded by a fence, with tents, like an army camp» should be erected for Gaza workers, to sleep there, and to be picked by the employers every morning.

Personal comment: It is clear now that the whole business of 'control team' is a temporary measure, arising from disputes between Dayan and other ministers, over the tax question. Presently, the biggest employers (not noted for their admirable conduct), the kibbutzim and the industry, are no longer touched. In addition the situation in the moshavim shows signs of returning to 'normal.' The reason is not far to seek: the people of moshavim are voters, and the Arabs are not. Elections will be held in Israel in 1973.

The Activities of Moshe Dayan

(i) Activities of Mr. Dayan *

Some of the antiquities which Mr. Dayan excavates (without official permission) mainly in the conquered territories, are being exported (also without official permission) to the United States by officials of the United Jewish Appeal and the «Maskit» company (founded and directed by Mr. Dayan's ex-wife, Mrs. Ruth Dayan). This was established by a private inquiry of Mr. Chaim Cohen, member of the Supreme Court of Justice of Israel. Mr. Cohen made this inquiry since it was established that some of those valuable antiquities ended in the house of the America-Israel Foundation in New York and were sold there, with Mr. Dayan's signatures. This is forbidden by the Israeli antiquities law which prohibits export or trade in antiquities (or even digging for antiquities) without permission. Mr. Dayan did not receive any permit for such activities. When this illegal trade was noticed by Mr. Virchovsky, a lawyer connected with the America-Israel Foundation, he asked Mr. Raphael Molcho, one of the directors of the America-Israel Foundation, for an inquiry. Mr. Molcho responded that the matter was not serious. (Mr. Molcho is also a director of the Israeli Discount Bank, which is known to make a great deal of profitable business with the Israeli Government). Mr. Virshuvsky then appealed to Mr. Cohen, who is also the chairman of the America-Israel Foundation. The latter's inquiry has established the following facts: 1) Antiquities from Mr. Dayan's

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collection, and bearing his signature, had arrived in the America-Israel Foundation house in New York through Mr. Berenstein, under the name of United Jewish Appeal or of «Maskit.» 2) Mr. Cohen could not obtain in the Antiquities Department of Israel any information about any official permits of export for those antiquities, and assumes that they were not issued. 3) Mr. Berenstein claimed that Mr. Dayan made him a present of those antiquities for the United Jewish Appeal. 4) When the antiquities were sold in the house of the America-Israel Foundation in New York, their price was not paid to the Foundation, but the buyers paid in cheques to the United Jewish Appeal, or to «Maskit.» (*Ha'aretz*, 23.10.72).

Personal remark: It is still not clear where the money from those sales really is, as neither «Maskit» nor the U.J.A. have said anything about this subject. At this stage, it is possible to assume that the U.J.A. and «Maskit» are only sales-agents for Mr. Dayan's private benefit. Mr. Dayan sells antiquities, without official permit, quite openly in Tel-Aviv for enormous sums of money. It was established by Mr. Dan Ben-Amots (a writer and journalist) that his secretary in the Ministry of Security is connected with those sales.

When the officials of the Israeli Radio wanted to describe the above mentioned facts, they were forbidden by Mr. A. Gordon, the director of the news-department. His reason was that this is «an old thing without any news-importance.» (*Ha'aretz*, 24.10.72). Mr. Dayan himself refused to comment.

Mr. Dayan was also reported by Mr. Chaim Chefer (*Ha'aretz*, 24.10.72) to have used the military censorship to attack his political enemies inside the Israeli Labour Party. When replied to on this point, according to Mr. Chefer, he took refuge in plain lies.

Meanwhile, another dispute arose about activities of Mr. Dayan, which concerns plans of building a town to be called Yamit in the Egyptian Sinai, near El-Arish. The *detailed* plans for this city were prepared by the Ministry of Security, apparently without any authorization from the Israeli Government. (In this connection, Mr. Eliav commented that it is not the business of the Mi-

nistry of Security to plan cities ...). When Mr. Dayan was challenged in the cabinet meeting on August 8, 1972, he answered that «he does not have any operative plans for establishing such a city, and he does not mean to propose such a plan in the near future.»

It is presently known that such a plan not only existed, but was actually printed in great detail (including electricity, roads, sewage, many maps) in several hundred copies. The printing was not done by the government printer, as is usual, but by private printers (Malan, 6 Hillel the Elder Str., Tel-Aviv). After Mr. Dayan's denial in cabinet, «steps were taken to destroy the evidence that plans were issued. Malan printers were told to give back all the plans in their possession.» Also, the editors of the plan — A.A.A. Publicity Publishers, Ltd. — were told «to forget about everything.»

The question of the plans of the city of Yamit was raised again in a «senior ministers meeting» in which Mrs. Golda Meir, Messrs. Dayan, A. Eban, P. Sapir and others, participated. Mrs. Meir asked Mr. Dayan about the plans for the new city. Mr. Dayan answered that he had ideas, but no actual actions were taken to implement them.

It appears that, apart from the printed plans, the commission for the planning of the city of Yamit *still exists*, and it is composed *exclusively* of people working or connected with the Ministry. The chief members are: Colonel Sh. Gazit, coordinator of activities in the conquered territories, Ministry of Security; Colonel. Y. Pundak, commander of the Gaza-Strip and Northern Sinai areas; Engineer E. Klein, head of the Building and Property Department, Ministry of Security; and others. The plans were drawn by the architects Raphael and Edna Lerhman, «who do much of the work for the Ministry of Security» (*Ha'aretz*, 24.10.72).

In another speech, Dayan reemphasized his idea that the Israeli Army must rule the Arabs of the conquered territories, for their own benefit of course, and asked Israelis «not to be afraid of the realization of Zionism» in the conquered territories. (*Davar*, *Yedioth*, and *Ma'ariv*, 18.10.72).

(ii) Mr. Dayan's Antiquities Business (continuation)

Ha'olam Haze (25.10.72) gave further details about Mr. Dayan's antiquities business in the U.S.A., and the way in which Mr. Virshuvky's revelations brought to light «how Mr. Dayan had smuggled the antiquities outside Israel.» *Ha'olam Haze* noted that the director of the America-Israel Foundation in New-York is Mrs. Meira Gera, «who was for many years the close associate of Mrs. Ruth Dayan. She knows everything about the antiquities business of Moshe Dayan. It seems that she used the protection of the Foundation to bring the antiquities into the U.S.A.» *Ha'olam Haze* asked how can the America-Israel Foundation, which is recognized by the U.S. government as a tax-exempt body, make business in antiquities.

Ha'olam Haze further said: «It is clear that the scandal does not end with the use of a philanthropic foundation for smuggling antiquities into the U.S.A. All the questions that accompany the robbery of antiquities by Dayan need answers: 1) What does Dayan do with the money which he gets for his antiquities? 2) Does he notify the income-tax about his profits from his illegal trade in antiquities, and also the laws which govern the trade in foreign currencies?

Ha'olam Haze also noted that, apart from *Ha'aretz*, not a single paper in Israel made any comment about the above revelations, with the exception of *Yediot* which only printed a dishonest comment of the Ministry of Security spokesman, Mr. N. Lavi, «which was of course an open lie.» (So it was—I. Shahak).

(iii) Mr. Dayan's Antiquities Officer

Ha'olam Haze (20.9.72) reported about the circumstances which caused the Israeli Army to receive the resignation of Colonel Joseph Yephet, officially known as «the officer for public opinion» in the Gaza-Strip. Colonel Yephet, a known amateur archaeologist, was a taxi driver in Beersheba until the Six-Day war and a lieutenant in the reserves. He rose to be a colonel in 1970.

Many said, according to *Ha'olam Haze*, that his great devotion for discovering antiquities for Moshe Dayan was the main reason of his rank. He used to report immediately about a discovery «and then the area was closed and was given for undivided possession of the Minister of Security. One incident is known, for example, in which Yephet discovered an ancient inscribed stone fixed above the door of an old Arab woman's house near Gaza. A special bulldozer was sent to destroy her house, in order that the stone could be removed and sent to the private collection of Dayan. The old woman of course received compensation in order to enable her to build her house again.» The suspicion was also that Colonel Yephet used some of the money given to him to extract opinions from the inhabitants, and for some other purposes. However, the investigation could not go far, since the very possibility that inhabitants of the Gaza-Strip should give evidence against an Israeli colonel was thought to have «negative consequences.»

Documents of the League

Part V

The «Image» of Israel in the Israeli Press

Discussion on Discrimination and Chauvinism

(i) Discrimination in Israel

Under the title «Apartheid-Israeli Style,» Mrs. Shulamit Aloni describes some of the discrimination habitual in Israel. (Mrs. Aloni is a member of the Israeli Labour Party and a previous deputy in the Knesset). The most evident of these practices are those connected with land. «Today, large areas of land are prohibited for sale to non-Jews because the land and everything on it belongs to the Jewish National Fund. Both this land and everything on it is rented only to Jews.»

The concentration of Mrs. Aloni's study, however, deals with discrimination against non-religious Jews in the area of housing. Posing the question «what would the Jewish reaction be if a company supported by subsidies from the United States announces that it is building houses in the suburbs only for Protestants?» Further, «what would we say» if in present-day England «flats are built on public land and with government money for British Anglicans only? Would we not shout with others that this is racism, discrimination, anti-Semitism and breaches of elemental human rights?» The answer is in the affirmative and equally true of what is taking place in Israel.

Mrs. Aloni expands on this point by describing a company called «Mashhab» belonging to the National Religious Party of Israel and supported by the money of the Israeli government and the Jewish population «with the full knowledge and agreement of the Jewish Agency, the government and the Knesset.» It is building new houses in Bilium and Aharonson streets of Ramat-Gan «for

religious Jews only.» The prospective buyer must first sign a contract in which he declares that he is an Orthodox Jew and that only on this condition is the contract valid. If he is labeled «not known,» he must bring an appraisal from a rabbi certifying «the intensity of his religious behaviour» and a further *affidavit* from his former neighbours. With these two documents, and after giving a compulsory donation to the National Religious Party, he is then allowed to buy a flat. He is also compelled to promise not to sell or to rent his flat to any one who does not have the same religious opinion or behaviour, as determined by the Rabbi, the neighbours, and the local secretary of the Party.

Mrs. Aloni also gives a description of the atmosphere in those flats where neighbours and their children continually spy on each other. For example, opening the radio on the Sabbath by a child may be a serious matter. She reminds the readers in this connection that, in many religious institutions in Israel, the pupils are required to spy and denounce each other for any non-religious behaviour. Also another system of spying is being employed against the teachers. Attempts of Mrs. Aloni to interest the office of the Attorney-General of Israel in these discriminatory enactments and practices have failed completely. (*Yediot* , 29.9.72).

(ii) The Image of Israel

The Jewish day of Atonement, on September 18, 1972, was a fitting occasion for discussing the problems of Jewish values in Israel. The best article by far was written by Professor Amnon Rubinstein, the Dean of the Law School of the Tel-Aviv University (*Ha'aretz*, 17.9.72) under the ironic title «Be a Jew When You Are Out and a Gentile (Goy) When You Are In.» The title refers to the prevalent custom of Israeli delegations going abroad to help in the United Jewish Appeal to take a hurried course in Jewish religious ceremonies and in how to behave in a synagogue. (The great majority of the young Israelis were never inside a synagogue after their thirteenth year, but for a successful yield of money in the Jewish Appeal, it is necessary that they appear in the local synagogue). Professor Rubinstein laments the fact that the traditional

Jewish values «are dying before our eyes» in Israel. Israel is becoming more and more a violent and corrupt society. He especially decries the lack of honesty in the establishment and illustrates it as follows: «This is the lack of honesty of one of the highest ministers of the [Labour] Alignment, one of the greatest supporters of the religions intolerance, who is nevertheless proud that pork is ever present at his table, and who does not see any conflict between this fact and his support of the law prohibiting the sale of this meat. This is the lack of honesty of the Israeli Army officers who are travelling in cars on Sabbath and Holidays, but compel the privates to hitch-hike. (There is no public transport in Israel on the Sabbath-I. Shahak).

«This is the lack of honesty of ministers and mayors, who use the services of their Jewish chauffeurs on the Sabbath, but force the citizens of Israel to go to the sea on foot....Those men, all of them honourable and important, symbolize the crisis of Judaism in contemporary Israel. They have turned Judaism into an export product, an affair for public ceremony, for microphones and television, while inside them, in their houses, in their souls, there does not remain one Jewish thing.» The conclusion that Professor Rubinstein draws from this situation is that «the real Jewish test [for us] is our meeting with the Arabs of the Land of Israel, for it shows us the choice between two contradictory teachings [of Judaism]: the Humanistic and the Fascistic.» In this context he especially emphasizes the cause of the Bir'im and Ikrit villages.

(iii) The «Double-Standard» in Morality

Amnon Rubinstein asserts that Israel must accept the same moral norms that she demands from others (*Ha'aretz*, 13.10.72).

On the other hand, Eliezer Livneh—an old member of the Israeli Labour Party and also one of the leaders of the Greater Israel Movement — replied (*Ha'aretz*, 18.10.72) that only Jewish morality has not changed, but that other moralities especially that of the «decaying West,» can be dismissed. As an example of «Jewish morality,» Mr. Livneh ascertained that the condemnation of ho-

mosexuality, has been made only by Jews, while approval of it is a characteristic of Gentiles (Goyim). As a practical illustration of what is Jewish morality (which reveals the double standard), he insists that the villagers of Bir'im and Ikrit should not be returned to their villages — out of which they were expelled by fraud and force — because this can retard the Jewish settlement in other places, and because they are supported by «leftists.»

Mr. Amnon Rubinstein retorted (*Ha'aretz*, 25.10.72) that other religions also condemn homosexuality, that the Nazi attitude to it was especially severe and asked if «they should be regarded on this point, as having fulfilled one of the principles of Jewish morality.» Mr. Rubinstein also pointed out that people should be judged by the right of *their claims*, (such as the people of Bir'im and Ikrit), and not by the associations they have, if indeed they do have, for as Mr. Rubinstein maintained, many people of the Israeli Right supported the villagers of Bir'im and Ikrit.

Personal comment: This includes Mr. M. Begin who supported the people of Bir'im - although rather coldly but not the people of Ikrit. The argument was continued by Mr. Zvi Shiloah, also an old Israeli Labour Party member, and a leader of the Greater Israel Movement. (*Ha'aretz*, 30.10.72). In his opinion, universal morality does not exist, and the only morality is national interest, taken in «normative proportion.» As an example, Mr. Shiloah brings the Talmudic saying, «the best Gentile is a dead Gentile,» which, while in his opinion is contrary to a universal morality, yet, it cannot be all that bad, «for it is contained in the Talmud, which is considered holy to many decent men, who are considered to be moral people.» Another 'proof' constitutes the Jewish prayer «Thou hast chosen us from all the Nations» which Mr. Shiloah admits is not moral, but which «even Reform Rabbis do not propose to omit from the Prayer Book.»

(Mr. Shiloah is wrong here. Many Reform Rabbis *did* omit it from their Prayer Books — I Shahak). Mr. Zvi Shiloah recommends «a collective egoistical morality» for Jews.

Personal comment: Mr. Shiloah is an author of a book, published in 1969, called *A Great Country for a Great Nation*, in which he recommends that Israel should conquer Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Kuwait, and rule it in the same manner as the Great Russians rule the U.S.S.R. (Mr. Shiloah is, however, extremely anti-communist). Nobody, of course, objects that Mr. Shiloah will continue as a member of the Israeli Labour Party with his opinions. After all, his children being Jewish, he will not cause Mrs. Meir any trouble-some nights!

(iv) From «The Black Panther» No. 3 (9.11.72)

Whom Does the «Right» Defend?

The number of rightist groups in the country is not smaller than the number of the leftist groups. The strongholds of the Right are generally located in the poor neighbourhoods, who regard the Right as the only possible way for a change of government in the country.

Nevertheless, the Right should not be viewed as the group that really represents the poor neighbourhoods. And in the presentation of its claims we have not seen up to now a single case of serious struggle on behalf of the poor and the workers, for it should be obvious that it is impossible to defend both the rich and the poor. Let us ask ourselves actually whom does the right defend.

Herut Movement

The central personalities of the movement emerged from the ranks of the Etzel (Irgun Tzvaï Leumi — National Military Organization). The movement has been capitalizing on the «glory» of the Etzel. It is very clear, however, that there is no political connection between the Etzel and the Herut movement. The Etzel was a Jewish national liberation organization. Its members were not necessarily counted among those who had rightist opinions. The true character of the Herut movement can be drawn out from the following case:

Mr. Arie Kotzer, President of the White and Blue faction of the Histadrut (General Workers Federation), was compelled to resign after he dared to ask for higher wages for the workers during the talks on minimal wages. At the Histadrut meeting, Mr. Kotzer demanded the minimal wage to be elevated to 465 IL, while the Alignment demanded only 425 IL. Snapped Yoram Aridor at the Movement's center: «This does not correspond to the ideological lines of the Movement.»

Liberals (from Gahal)

This is the name today of what used to be the General Zionist Party. It represents clearly the interest of the industrialists, citrus-growers and other rich sectors. A swift glance over the party's list of nominees reveals immediately the status of its members, who belong to the East European school.

Independent Liberals

Originally, the Independent Liberals were called the Progressive Party. It was one of the partners in the Unified Liberal Party, and has had similar views as the Liberals. It took part in almost every Government irrespective of the latter's stands.

The Free Center

The Free Center has a public opinion-conditioned ideology. Its members have the habit of jumping at every issue that public opinion stands for. It is not by chance that they remained dumb on the poverty problem.

The State List

It is the party of David Ben-Gurion (remember him?), and with his withdrawal, the Party shifted from the ideological line represented by Ben-Gurion when he was Prime Minister. There is no substantial difference between it and the Liberal Party.

The Movement for a Greater Israel

It is not clear whether the Movement also wants Iran, or whether they would be satisfied with having only Iraq.

What is certain, however is that if we were to adhere to the program of this movement, we would cause our on physical extinction.

DOV Organization

Its full name is Dikui Bogdim (the suppression of traitors). Its members send death-sentences to different personalities. (Abba Eban is one of those who received this kind of letter).

Why don't they condemn to death the traitors who do not want to solve the poverty problem?

The Jewish Defence League

The League started its operations in the United States, with the aim of defending the property and the life of the Jews there. It is not clear whom they want to defend in Israel.

Most of the League members are not Israeli, and even its chief, Rabbi Meir Kahane, is an American citizen. After the «weapons affair,» Kahane requested an immigration visa. One should hope that, like Meir Lansky, Kahane, who had Mafia connections, would have his immigration visa request rejected. It is incredible that he has not yet been expelled from the country.

These rightist groups have a third of the seats of the Knesset. They have not made a single coordinated movement for the elimination of poverty; and it would be gratuitous to explain why. The profile of the Right as given here reveals the true character of these organizations.

Besides its strength in the Knesset, the Right dominates a powerful economic force in the private economy of the country and in the property of the parties. All those stories about their not being able to act on behalf of the elimination of the socio-economic gap are unacceptable. They are too busy with amassing capital, which, of necessity, is at the expense of the poor of the State of Israel.

We brought to the reader this report, hoping he will make his reckoning, since we are before an election year. In this election, it will be possible to reach a bigger audience than in past occa-

sions. The poor must take it seriously and not repeat the errors that recurred in past elections.

You have been warned !

* * *

Students and Poverty

There are three kinds of students at the higher institutions of learning:

1. Right
2. Left
3. The silent majority

The ties connecting the rightist student to the poor neighbourhoods are very weak. The approach of the Right to the inhabitants of poor neighbourhoods is generally a very hostile one, and most of the expressions of racism and discrimination come from the rightist field.

The extreme Right frequently employs force as a tool, since its persuasion power among the intellectuals is very weak. It is able to easily gain the support of the poor because the latter tend to be easily convinced and are ready to believe in illusions. Illusions do prevent despair.

In 1967, the Right organized a demonstration at the Hebrew University against wage raises for the workers! The other demonstrations of the Right were for settlement in the Administered Areas

Rightist circles use the following expressions when referring to poverty:

1. They should go to work.
2. They spend their money on Arak (alcoholic drink popular in the Middle-East).

3. There are a lot of TV sets in poor neighbourhoods.
4. What do they want? After all, they are just primitive people.

There are many other slogans that the Right draws out of its sleeve without giving anybody a chance to answer.

The student leftist groups are involved most of the time in their struggle against the conquest — though it must be noted that the «Yesh» group of Haifa was ready to help «Autocars» workers and did a lot for the Kiryat Hayim strikers.

The Left is growing constantly among the students. Yet it is a very slow one, and it does not represent a political danger to the continuity of the present government system. Parallel to the growth of the Left, it has been possible to observe a certain estrangement growing between it and the workers and poor neighbourhoods. The ideology they speak for is not understood by the general public and causes violent reactions to it amongst the workers.

In practice, most of the leftist organizations turn from activities into theories. (They attract a few young people bored with sewing, cooking and other hobbies).

Most of the students are to be counted among the silent. They are interested only in their personal problems. Their own worries cut them off the Israeli society, in spite of the fact that their problems are also those of the society.

We should not forget that the absolute majority of the students come from «good» families and not from poor neighbourhoods.

Thus it becomes clear and understandable — though not justified — in what direction the thoughts of the majority of the Israeli students are tending.

Each one of us should have it clear in his mind that, were we to have conditions of equal possibilities as to education, most of today's students would find themselves outside the university walls.

We could draw many conclusions, but we will be satisfied with the following:

1. It will not be the students who will save us.
2. Most of the poor neighbourhoods' students forget their origins.
3. We must strengthen our ties with the few students ready to act.
4. The Right is fascist, and it is not concerned with the poverty problems.
5. The Left is too busy with its games.
6. The students should understand that a solution to their problems will come only as a result of the struggles in common with the rest of the citizenry.

We should not forget however, the American and other students who have been coming to study in Israel. These students are more conscious of the social problems than the Israeli student is.

With the opening of the academic year, the Black Panthers will stress particularly their rapprochement with the immigrant students, with the intention of making them join the war against poverty. It should be assumed that the cooperation with the new students will solve the problem of their social absorption and will add an important force to the fight against this corrupt government.

* * *

Toward Dictatorship

On October 1972, detectives from the Israel Police Force broke into our printing-house and stole the minutes of our conversation with the Prime Minister. At the beginning, we intended to remain silent about it, but the police detectives still keep watch on our printing-house, intent on confiscating more material. The publishing of our magazine has become an underground operation.

Deeds of this and other sorts, as well as all the talk about elevating the minimum percentage of votes, have only one goal: to lay down a dictatorship in Israel.

All those who hold democracy dear, do not remain indifferent! Prepare yourselves for demonstrations against this!

(v) The Day of Democracy in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

About this you have been protesting! But what about this?

You protested when the right of emigration of Jews born in the U.S.S.R. was limited, and they were not allowed to «return to their fatherland.» You did this in the name of democratic principles.

But why not protest when the right of numerous Palestinian Arabs — born in Haifa, Jaffa and Mejdal (now Askelon) — to return to their fatherland is denied?

You protested in the name of democracy and the right of self-determination of all nations when Prague was occupied by the Soviet forces.

But why not protest when Nablus and Hebron are occupied?

You protested when the «Black Hebrews» were claiming that they have the right to live in this country in the Name of History, Divine Promise and the Bible.

But why not protest when the Zionists are driving out another nation using the same explanation?

You protested when you heard about the desecration of Jewish cemeteries in various places.

But why not protest when you hear that the Agron Street in Jerusalem and the Hilton Hotel in Tel-Aviv are standing on destroyed Muslim cemeteries?

You protested when it was announced that some tens of Jews were imprisoned in Iraq and Syria.

Why not protest when hundreds of Palestinians are suffering in prisons in Israel and the conquered territories, many of them without trial?

You protested when American young men had to emigrate or be jailed for refusing to serve in an army which oppresses the Vietnamese people.

But why not protest when Israeli young men are jailed for refusing to serve in an army which oppresses the Palestinian people?

You protested when you heard that on the identification cards of the Iraqi-Jews there appears the designation «Jew» to facilitate identification.

But why not protest when the designation «Arab» appears on the identification card of the Israeli-Arabs to facilitate identification?

You protested when a brutal police force is employing sticks against any progressive force, as in the film «Z.»

But why not protest when a brutal police force is employing sticks against demonstrations of «Black Panthers,» «Siah» and «Matzpen» in the streets of Jerusalem in the Israeli «democracy?»

You protested when a riot by American prisoners in the prison at Attica was brutally suppressed by force.

But why not protest when Arab prisoners in the prison at Ashkelon rioted because they couldn't endure their conditions and their degradations?

Therefore you will have to choose between honesty and hypocrisy, universal ethics or nationalistic ethics, independent thinking or goose-step marching, impotent silence or your own protesting and fighting voice.

A «Day of Democracy» has been arranged at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to discuss the continuing disregard by the Israeli Government of the most basic principles of democracy. If you too are concerned about this, please let your voice be heard. The Student cell of the Israeli Socialist Organization «Matzpen,» P.O.B. 2234, Jerusalem.

(vi) The Next War Will Be Fought in Defence of — What?

The spotlight is now on the scandal over the Sinai oilfields.

At the same time another scandal, involving corruption on a very large scale, has been exposed in the Israeli Land Directorate, which is responsible for the lands confiscated from Arabs in the occupied territories.

Why is it that no one asks himself whether the real scandal does not consist in our holding these oilfields, in lands which do not belong to us, and in our confiscating Arab lands in order to «create facts» in the conquered territories?

It is in Defence of these things that the next war will be fought !

- * The Government has sabotaged Jarring talks by refusing to answer Dr. Jarring's questionnaire.
- * The Government has disregarded, since March 1971, President Sadat's desire to sign a peace treaty with the State of Israel, provided that the Israeli Army withdraws to the international border of Palestine.
- * The Government is obstructing the achievement of a partial settlement, by refusing to see it as part of a general settlement in fulfilment of Security Council Resolution No. 242.
- * The Government is proceeding with the de facto annexation of the occupied territories by building permanent settlements and expropriating lands belonging to the local population.
- * The Government has prevented, for the last four and a half years, the free expression of the political will of the Palestinian-Arab nation in the occupied territories.

All this will lead to war !

- * In the Six-Day war we were called on to fight a defensive war to prevent the threat to our security.

- * We shall do everything we can now to avoid a situation where we shall be called on to fight a defensive war for the purpose of conquering territories belonging to other people!

We shall act to prevent the next war !

SIAH, The Israeli New Left,
P.O.Box 4216, Tel-Aviv,
December, 1971

(vii) Arab Students' Committee Handout

Students !!!

Lately the expropriation policy of the Israeli government has adopted new dimensions: Five families (63 persons) living on French Hill near Mt. Scopus are about to receive eviction notices by the Israeli Lands Authority.

This eviction is being carried out on the basis of the government decision of January 1968 to expropriate these lands. The Hebrew University is a third party in this plot since on the ruins of the houses of the five families, the University will build student dormitories. These families, as a result of their eviction and the destruction of their homes, *are about to become refugees for the second time*. They lived in Lifta village at the entry to Jerusalem until 1948; and the Knesset was built on land belonging to one of them.

Students !

This criminal activity intended to evict these Arab residents from their homes a second time contradicts the basic rules of human morality and does not bring peace or mutual understanding between the two peoples any closer. On the contrary, it proves, for all those who needed additional proof, that the policies of the Israeli government do not encourage peace.

When the Arab Students' Committee found out about this matter it joined the struggle against the expropriation and eviction of

these families from their homes, and the committee approached the Maintenance Department of the Hebrew University and requested a hall to hold a protest meeting. But our requests were met with postponements and procrastinations and the contention that the Arab students were liable to create a 'pogrom' (according to Tzivion from the Dean's Office).

The Arab Students' Committee stood firm for its right to receive a hall just like any other student group in the University; and so it continued to request a hall. But by Friday, December 8, the answer of the Maintenance authorities was: 'More details must be discussed with certain parties.' A reply was promised at a later date.

In order to end the foot-dragging and to act before the decision is handed down in the trial of these families (which will begin on Dec. 11, 1972, in the District Court in Jerusalem), the Committee has decided to hold the meeting in the University Administration Building Plaza at Givat Ram if Canada Hall will not be given to us by then.

Students !

DON'T BE APATHETIC !! DON'T STAND BY IDLY !

Come to the protest meeting on Tuesday, Dec. 12, 1972, at 8:30 p.m.

Arab Students' Committee
Hebrew University — Jerusalem

Dec. 10, 1972

Discussion on Education

(i) NIMROD — a Group of Young Israelis

Nimrod is a recently established group of young teachers, students and high school pupils who argue that most of the objectionable characteristics of Israeli society are derived from the nature of Israeli Jewish education. They propose to change it in a radical manner. (In Hebrew, «Nimrod» means «we will rebel.» Their beliefs were published in two interviews with Mrs. A. Ushpiz in *Ha'arets* (20.10.72), (22.10.72).

At the outset, they maintain that it must be understood that all primary and high schools in Israel *must teach* according to an extremely rigid «plan» formulated by the officials of the Ministry of Education. Apart from kibbutz schools, no local school can modify this plan at all.

Nimrod has charged that this system of education is the application of an ideology «which the establishment wants to compel us to accept.» It is based *exclusively* on the literature of the Jews of Eastern Europe and on various Jewish ceremonies.

In the schools, for example, the history of Palestine, during the «two thousand years of the diaspora,» is not mentioned in the textbooks or taught in the classrooms. In addition, the pupils know nothing about the geography and the history of the lands around Israel. They are taught *nothing* about Israel's non-Jewish communities. «Is this the manner in which a new generation is being prepared to solve the problems of peace in 1972?» Teaching of East European Hebrew literature, particularly the poet Bialik,

is not only «building a wall around us,» but is also creating «a myth of a chosen people and a persecuted race.» The very summit of racism is the teaching of the *Book of Kuzari*, «a theological book which preaches that Jews are a superior race.»

Nimrod has also attacked the continual teaching of «exaggerated myths,» which are no longer accepted by the students. Nimrod points to the fact that when the school authorities compelled their students to attend the «Holocaust» memorials, the latter treated the ceremonies with «waves of laughter.» As one of the members of Nimrod put it: «I can be shocked by the fact that my grandfather was murdered in Treblinka, but as an Israeli, my connection with Deir-Yassin or with Biafra must be stronger because of the impact of the time.»

Nimrod is also opposed to the perpetuation of the myth of Zionism and its propagation in the classroom. They believe that it was not the Zionist movement that created the State of Israel. Jews did not come for ideological motives. 90% of the immigrants of the Second Aliya (1906-1914) were Yemenite Jews, and they came because they were sent for to fill up the place of the Arabs as manual workers. (This is true — I. Shahak). All ideas in connection with «Jewish work» are extreme racism. The culmination of such nonsense—especially with what is termed «Jewish blood»—is the high number of those awarded the Nobel Prize. This is racism, which is no better than the Laws of Nuremberg promulgated by Hitler against the Jews in 1935.

Nimrod has demanded that the Israeli schools teach something about the cultures of China, Japan, Africa, the Indian and Black cultures of America. They deplore the fact that the ancient cultures of the Middle East (the Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian) are only taught on a superficial level. Instead, «a foreign ideology is being substituted for us by force» by means of references to the Bible (the Old Testament) «which is taught in the same manner as Mao Tse-Tung's Red Book.» They protest that the teaching of the Bible in such a manner can be most harmful. For example, stress is placed on «the miserable Book of Joshua which justifies the cruel extermination of whole peoples. The teaching of the Bible as a historical document can have the most unhappy conse-

quences, and, therefore, they prevent us from considering facts objectively. Nimrod also objects to ideas of racial purity: «All the talk about the 'purity of the Jewish Race,' 'Israel for Jews only,' and the whole wish to be homogeneous, are typical for places like the centre of Sahara, the centre of Australia and the Northern Pole. Only there can one find a pure race. Every part of civilization pulls people from all over the world to it. They deny that Palestine has ever had a role for Jews - apart from a mystical religious role - 'and this is a fact without an ideological coating.' It was not meant to be realized. All the calamities and persecutions (of the Jews) caused movements of emigration, whose aim was not Palestine. Also, we are today living on the myth of the persecuted Jew who really feels himself to be first of all a Frenchman, an American, etc. Further, the Jews are not the only ones who have a love for Palestine, so let them desist from ingraining this fact into our heads. Before Zionism nobody had spoken about a Jewish Nation. The concept of the Jewish Nation is an invention of the Zionist politicians, who thought that Zionism could unite all the Jewish sects and transform them into a nation.»

Nimrod also has expressed its opposition to the myth of anti-Semitism. «This is a myth which you (Mrs. A. Ushpiz) acquired from the education plan in Israel. There were persecutions of Jews, exactly as other minorities were persecuted. Yet, in spite of their legal standing, the Jews were never at the bottom of the social ladder. Even in the feudal society of the Middle-Ages, Jews were never serfs or slaves, but in the bourgeois class. I am sorry that I am harming your very soul, but one should not play with facts.»

In their opinion, the Jewish communities, in different countries, were not members of the same nation. The same situation is true today. If someone in Israel has a brother in Brooklyn, then «my brother in Brooklyn is my brother, but not of my nationality.»

Furthermore, they assert, that while the founders of Zionism were motivated by religious superstitions, in which they themselves did not believe, there is now in Israel a new nation, and «not a community of persecuted Jews. We are a nation, not a religious community.»

On a governmental level, they oppose the present theocratic regime in Israel. When asked about «our moral right to the ownership of the country and whether the Arab refugees are to be allowed to return, they answered: 'Those people who committed the crime of the expulsion of the Arabs from this land had originally argued from the premise that every human being can settle wherever he wants. Presently, however, they are denying that very assumption to others. This is absurd.'» They propose that since twenty-five years had passed, one should deal with each individual case as it arises on the assumption that «we want an open society.»

The reaction to these opinions were rather extreme. In *Ma'ariv* (23.10.72), Mrs. Batsheba Sherif proposed to send Nimrod members to prison «Russian, or Chinese style,» and attributed the fact that they were not in prison to «the lack of concern for spiritual security of the state.» She regretted very much that various teachers and writers tell all the truth to young people, for this would corrupt their moral attitudes. Asserting that if she were a teacher herself, she would teach positive values rather than nonsense, as propagated by Nimrod. She proposed that they emigrate, learn and receive their diplomas «in France, Russia, China, the devil knows where—for they are not worthy of the Israeli diploma.» She especially opposed their proposal of teaching something about Chinese civilization, saying that it could not be compared with the more worthy and esteemed doctrines of the Talmudic Rabbis. She threatened them with «a war of extermination,» and regretted very much that they have grown-up sympathizers.

Another opinion, expressed by a Mr. Dor., was that since this group is small, one should not exaggerate its importance because those who oppose the Israeli establishment are mental cases....

Personal comment: 1) Mrs. Sherif's opinions (and also her style which rather fades in the translation) are a very good imitation of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and are the best argument for the people of Nimrod. 2) The critique of the Bible teaching (especially of the Book of Joshua) and its possible consequences, is extremely pertinent in my opinion. It is very characteristic that in the same month, a Mr. Moshkovitz, member of the «Zionist-Socialist

Covenant» (also called the Riftin group, the most leftist Zionistic group) had seen fit to defend the *rightness* of the extermination of the Ca'ananites by the ancient Jews at «Turey Smoll» (*Left Columns* of October 1972) as described in the Bible, using the argument that the Ca'ananites were corrupt nations» - a similar argument employed by Hitler to justify, first the expulsion and oppression, and then the extermination of the Jews. I do not know of any question which so reveals man's basic attitude to the *present* problems of the Middle East, as this question: «Is extermination of whole peoples, including babies, justified when carried out by Jews, or should we also condemn it?»

(ii) Arabs in Israeli Universities *

The two following articles describe and comment on an incident which happened in the University of Haifa. During elections to the Students' Council held there at the beginning of March 1973, a candidate of the «United Zionist List»-«Yahdav» (composed of an alliance of the Israeli Labour Party and Gahal), Amnon Angel, insulted a group of Arab students participating in the election, saying in public to one of them: «Why is every dirty Arab here given a voting paper? I killed so many Arabs like you, that I wish I had as many pennies in my pocket!» His colleagues offered only a half-hearted apology, and in consequence the elections were suspended.

The two following articles describe the rest. The «Yahdav» people tried to prevent the publication of the second article by threatening the editor, and when they could not prevent it, they suspended the funds for the next issues of the University of Haifa students' papers.

* * *

SO WHAT ? **

by Shlomo Frenkel

So what if he said «dirty Arab?» Just between you and me and

* Published by Israel Shahak, March 26, 1973.

** Appeared in *Post Mortem* (Haifa University Students' Organ), 14.3.73.

the gatepost, isn't it true? Have you ever been at an Arab village? It really stinks there. It's true that also at the Yemenites' it stinks sometimes — but there, it's just a matter of temporary cultural backwardness. For the Arabs, being dirty is a way of life.

I want to tell you that when I see a Jewish girl together with an Arab, my blood starts boiling. What does it mean, racist incitement? If you say the truth about a people, is that incitement? Were he to say that they change B for P, would that also be incitement? It is evident that Arabs, for instance, are dark skinned, with black and curly hair, brown and sly eyes. They are stupid and backward too; otherwise we wouldn't have beaten them so easily at war. What a slaughter! It wasn't even a war, it was almost a pogrom. They can't even hold a gun properly!

What I want to say is that such a small matter should not have been blown up so much. All things considered, he only said what he thought. So what? Wasn't the same thing done to us? So why the rage? He said it and there is nothing you can do about it now.

And then those Arabs swelled with rage, wow, their national pride was hurt. Imagine.

I admit that there might have been a tactical mistake in saying it just now. Elections and all that, you know. But how could he know? But how could he know that that Arab-lover would make such a noise out of that? Isn't she a Jew, just like us?

So we will apologize and bring this question to a quiet end. We will show them after the elections. I'm not saying that after the elections one will be able to say «dirty Arab» all the time. Not at all. It is well known, from a sociological point of view, that if you approach children with a certain respect and fairness, they'll stay quiet and won't rebel. We don't need a second Algeria here. But we'll show them their place. They have to know that honour is conditional — for as long as they remain quiet and do what they are told to.

So that's it. I call you to kill the affair, to go back to normal studies, to go on with the elections. Let us just forget all this. All that noise for such a small matter, it isn't worth it. Incitement, imagine. And wasn't the same thing done to us?

* * *

THE SPIRIT OF GOEBBELS HOVERS OVER THE FACE OF THE CAMPUS *

by Gideon Sapiro

The headline is repulsive, yet the reality is even more outrageous.

The electoral campaign for the Students Union brought openly to the surface the anti-democratic poison that pervades the circles of the Right. The electoral propaganda of the Gahal-Labour union, «Yahdavi» and «Together,» was endowed with all the recognizable signs of fascist propaganda. When using the term fascist, my intention is not to put labels.

If the «Together» people get offended, or see themselves hurt by the use of the term fascism, it is only because of the negative connotations this awakens in the mind of most people. The Jews are particularly sensitive to this word, because Fascism is a synonym of Nazism, and there is no Jew ready to accept upon himself this epithet. Yet Fascism is a political expression, and a proper political use of it should be made. Fascism has clear recognizable signs as to mental attitudes, thinking processes and propaganda means. These, especially the latter, could be abundantly found in the «Together» people.

Fascist propaganda is characterized by wild instinct-oriented incitement; it plays on prejudices and heightens them to the degree of ideological missions. Fascist propaganda is simple and is essentially simplistic. «Everybody» can understand it. The rival, any rival, is presented as a dangerous enemy. Its image is distorted and falsified to the point that it nauseates the masses.

These are some of the patterns of Fascist propaganda. When the political and social soil is fertile to this kind of propaganda, it rides its foul waves and succeeds. It reached the crest of sophistication in the Germany of the '30s. The German society did not succeed in creating the necessary antibodies and was dragged into Goebbels' arms — the wizard of Fascist propaganda.

* Appeared in *Post Mortem*, 14.3.73.

I do not suspect the «Together» leadders of going to the sources and studying zealously Goebbels' methods. Not at all. If only because they do not have the skill or the depth required for such a research job. Yet minds that work alike quite naturally use similar principles, that is, instinct approach, wild incitement, etc.

The propagandistic principle of «Together» was: «Hit the Left» just as in Germany it was «Hit the Jews.» Whoever looks at the propaganda publications and leaflets brought out by «Together,» will immediately see that the «Hit the Left» slogan repeats itself in a number of variations. There was not a single leaflet, including ideological contents or any political thesis, arguing with the ideas of the opponent. They thought that the Israeli public of 1973 is loaded with anti-leftist instincts, and that they had to play along with that without any hesitation.

The fact that they thought that this method would also work with the students is disturbing, and enhances some fears. As in Germany, where any opponent was viewed as either a Communist or a Jew, so here too, the «Together» people developed delusions of a «leftist conspiracy» emerging everywhere. Not only is «Yesh»(1) in the extreme left, but also «Tzavta»(2), «Oded»(3), and — your attention, please — «Lamed Ayin» («New Door»)(4).

As in Germany, where the Jew was viewed as a «foreign» element, a minority wanting to «take over» so that it had to be expelled, so did «Together» prostitute the public with false propaganda about a minority wanting to take over, «advising» it at the same time to fly and get out of here. As in Germany, where the Jew was portrayed in caricatures as a crooked creature, as a leech and a parasite, so the «Together» people drew caricatures where the Left was portrayed as a whore, and a member of the «Yesh» faction as a crooked creature taken out of the «Sturmer.»

The «Together» people didn't run by themselves to the elections. Behind them there were not only the two big parties, with their

(1) «Yesh» — the left group (Zionist) at Haifa University.

(2) «Tzavta» — a group of kibbutzim people.

(3) «Oded» — a group of French speaking Oriental Jews.

(4) «Lamed Ayin» — Progressive party.

powerful resources, but also the press, particularly those of mass distribution. This was a brainwashing operation based on falsified information, the spreading of lies and falsehoods. The principle was: repeat the lie, it will end by being believed. The two first violins were played by the two noon papers.

For instance: *Ma'ariv* published, for the who-knows-how-many-times, the lie that during the «Yesh» period of government, the decision to condemn the Israeli bombings of Lebanon was taken, while the Munich assassination was not condemned. The truth of course is the opposite. The Munich murder *was condemned*, while the Lebanon bombing was not. The sorrow for the civilian victims bombed by mistake was expressed, exactly as the Vice-Prime Minister did in his announcement to the Knesset.

The other noon paper, *Yediot Aharonot*, consecrated to the elections to the Students Union a forwarning article, «the Danger of the 'Yesh' Movement,» by a reporter that has been gathering credits for press pollution. Moreover, two editorial articles were dedicated to us, in which the «Yesh» faction got a dose of such abuse and insults as anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist, anti-Jewish, subversive element, and what-not. It goes without saying that those articles were printed by «Together» in thousands of copies as propaganda material. Again, as in Germany, where the Jews were presented as anti-national elements serving foreign interests, the Left was presented in Haifa as an unreliable element yielding to foreign interests.

All this propaganda was directed mainly to the politically ignorant, who have strong anti-Leftist instincts.

The comparison with Germany is not brought here in order to incite fear of an eventual Fascist takeover in Israel. Thank God, not yet. Yet opposite the «red danger» myth cultivated and being cultivated at Haifa University, we should pay attention to the wild emanations of «brown danger,» some of whose perturbing results we witnessed these past few days in Haifa. The fact that all this has happened at the University - supposedly a fortress of freedom, open-mindedness and tolerance - must not be allowed to pass by without informing all those who fear for the democratic character of Israel.

In view of the wild incitement which took place during the elections campaign, as described above, one should not be surprised at all at the incident that brought about the interruption of the elections. The racist expressions of one of the «Together» candidates vis-à-vis the Arab students are just the natural and logical follow-up of the elections propaganda. What is frightening is the mild reaction and the attempts to deny any importance to the question, among many students and, by the University administration. The insensibility shown by the Union committee and the «Together» people has increased the credibility of those who have placed reservations on certain values that are infiltrating our society.

* * *

There are today, in American Universities, «Galutic» (Diaspora) Jews completely different from those we know from Shalom Aleichom stories. They have an open pride in being Jews and many of them have «Jew is beautiful» buttons. If someone dared to call a Jew a «dirty Jew,» there would follow stormy demonstrations, sit-ins, and condemnation meetings. In the worse case, some heads would get broken. In Israel, the response would probably be: «that's how it should be. The Gentiles should know that if a Jew is offended, he will react. The era of humiliations is gone forever.» Yet, Israeli Jews take the liberty of insulting a neighbouring people and hurting their feelings of self-respect as if the Jewish people had never suffered from such treatment.

If the insensibility of the Jewish students irks, a similar indifference among the top echelons of the University irritates. An instance of this lack of concern could be seen in the diluted reaction of the University, which was satisfied with just a public statement that did not say anything more than a few general, uncommitted, formulations. Best of all was the acting President, Eliezer Rephaeli. As one who was present during the meeting between an Arab students' delegation and the Union's committee, I cannot but state: the King is naked. Instead of publicly condemning the incident, or of protesting against its significance, he evaded the subject through all kinds of linguistic blarneys, attempting at the same time to appear to be «above the matter.»

Mr. Rephaeli did not understand, or did not want to comprehend the seriousness of the matter. He showed this by telling those present the story of how a student once told him he would «sock it to him» and how he, Rephaeli, had not gone immediately to complain.

Eliezer Rephaeli is remembered as the one who brought into the University the «Shin Bet» (Security Service) as a «partner» in academic appointments. (The Arab who was about to be appointed assistant and was not, because of the «Shin Bet» intromission, is serving today as an assistant at the Jerusalem University). The departure of Prof. Aktzin, the former Rector, was accompanied by some more liberal gusts of wind. Eliezer Rephaeli adjusted himself to the new reality and lately he has even voiced some liberal declarations, so that there were some who were persuaded that the man had really changed his skin. Yet, it was only a liberal mask — the need of the hour. His reaction to the racist expression revealed his values and concepts. And it's better like this. It is important for the Jewish and Arab students to know the moral level of the one who stands at the head of the institution.

Yet, unlike Rephaeli, we witnessed another instance of unequivocal moral standing by lecturers who were not ready to overlook the matter and considered that it was their duty to let their voices be heard. Mati Meged was one of them. At the spontaneous meeting that took place last Thursday at the Auditorium, he emphasized the seriousness of the matter. He was then the representative of the intellectuals as we would like to see them: standing at the gates facing injustice.

The difference that day between Meged and Rephaeli was the one between the independent intellectual and the party bureaucrat or, if you want, between the acting President and the President that should be.

15

Discussion on Terror

(i) The Dispute Concerning Palestinians and «Terror»

Dr. Amnon Kapliok (one of the Israeli journalists) wrote an important article to argue against those people who identified the whole Palestinian nation with the acts of Black September and used it to deny any rights to Palestinians. He quoted Y. Ben Porat (*Yediot*, 8.9.72) who proposed and prophesied a war in which the areas up to the Jordan River shall become empty, and settled by Jews. He also quoted others who proposed «to smash the viper's head in its hole» — meaning by this expression, the destruction of the whole Palestinian nation. He warns: «The experience of Israel and of all the nations of the world proved that organizations which use terror, even the most horrible, cannot be extinguished by merely using force, but also by taking away the base on which they stand.» He summarized the situation of the Palestinian nation as an unhappy nation, which does not cease to give an offering of its blood for a quarter of a century. This is the only Arab nation which does not enjoy independence (and let us not forget that this is the most educated nation in the whole Arab world); this is a divided nation whose sons are separated; some live under the Israeli conquest, some under the rule of King Hussein and others in the various Arab countries — most of them being in refugee camps. This is a nation which does not have an authoritative spokesman, or more accurately, has several spokesmen who fight each other (Hussein, Arafat, etc....).

«However, one thing is clear to the Palestinian nation, to every one who sees the dispute in this area and to those who compre-

hend the roots of the problem: so long as the national desires of the Palestinian nation shall not be satisfied there will not be a true peace in the area.» (*Al-Hamishmar*, 15.9.72).

(ii) Further Discussions of Ways to Fight Arab «Terror»

The proposals of General Ezer Weizman (*Ha'aretz*, 25.9.72) are still being discussed. One of the chief commentators of *Ha'aretz*, Poles, is of the opinion there is no «difference in principle» between the opinions of General Weizman and those of the Israeli government. He asks why the Israeli government is directing all its military activities only against Syria and Lebanon, while accusing all the time «the government of Cairo of responsibility for Arab terror in Europe? He doubts if it is possible to find a way to force the Arab governments to be the executors of the Israeli policy, without a grave risk of full war.»

Mr. Amnon Rubinstein deals also with the same problem. He does not want any action against «terrorists» in Europe being done by «Israelis having Israeli passports. In such actions as should be done inside European States, Israel or Israelis should not take part.» His belief is that the chief activity should be done in the Middle East. «A street in which there is a command of one of the 'gangs,' (The official Israeli term for all Palestinian Organizations) or an information office, should be a street in which it is dangerous to dwell in. A car in which a commander of one the 'gang' is travelling in should become a car whom danger awaits. More than this, Lebanon, Egypt and Syria and every state which gives home to terrorists, should be made to suffer the economical and psychological burden of the destruction of roads, electric generators, bridges and other objects which are connected with civilian deaths. The normal life in states which are hospitable to murderers must be disrupted, and their citizens must experience serious every-day difficulties. With some imagination it is possible to translate those general suggestions to the language of acts» (*Ha'aretz*, 29.9.72).

(iii) Other Guidelines for Fighting «Black September»

Prof. Ze'ev Laqueur proposed (*Ma'ariv* 22.9.72) to condemn a

number of Arabs (in Israel and the conquered territories) to death. However, they should not be executed immediately, but held in readiness for the next «terrorist attempt,» and then to execute them.

General E. Weitzman proposed (*Ma'ariv*, 25.9.72) to issue an Israeli ultimatum to Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Libya, saying that if the terror actions will not cease immediately, Israel will «hit them severely.» This ultimatum should be acted upon immediately: «The Israeli Army and its Air-Force can do unexpected things....». «The extermination of the terrorists in Jordan was not caused only because (King) Hussein was afraid for his rule, but because we have given him a harsh beating. Therefore, I would send this picture of (King) Hussein to all Arab States.» Mr. Weizman criticized the air-bombardment of Syria saying: «Instead of hitting the terrorists, one should hit in such places that would cause pain to the Syrian Government, so that it will retaliate against the terrorists rather than us. President Nixon withdrew 400,000 soldiers from Vietnam, because he decided to bombard Hanoi. We should use the Air-Force in a similar manner. He also said that it was a mistake to leave South-Lebanon before «there was a return to order in Beirut.... One should not react of the murder of five Jews by killing fifty Arabs, because there are too many of them.»

(iv) Further Discussion of Arab «Terror»

Mr. Shabtai Tevet (the official biographer of Moshe Dayan) describes the future of the Arab «Terror» in (*Ha'aretz*, 6.10.72) under the title «Terror forever.» In his opinion, Israel should accept the «Arab terror as it accepts the climatic conditions of the Land of Israel,» and try to learn to live with it by concentrating the action against «Arab terrorists» themselves. He believes that the popular demand for Israeli terror is mistaken. He questions the image of «Arab terrorists» in Israel as criminals saying that the same sort of crimes were committed not only before 1948, but even after by special units of the Israeli Army, i.e. paratroopers of the famous «Unit no. 101.» Until 1954 almost all the retaliatory actions of the Israeli Army were directed against innocent civilians and

their property. He reminds his readers that «killing of civilians by Israeli Army units was considered by us as a legitimate policy and was not thought of as an abominable crime.» He cites some horrifying details of such massacres of Arab civilians which were considered as «national heroism.» He maintains that such a policy of terror is a sure sign of weakness, whether applied by the Arabs or, previously, by the Israeli Army.

Notes on the Treatment of Various Subjects by the Israeli Press

(i) Persecution of Christians in Israel

The persecution of Christians, and especially *«mixed families,» is increasing* in Israel. Social and governmental pressure has been employed to have them «convert» to Judaism or to separate. Further, the Israeli police has been for the last months *consistently refusing to protect such families from the attacks of the mob*. Two examples will be given:

Mr. Abraham Borkovsky, who has been for fifty years an adherent of Judaism, was declared to be a Gentile («Goy») by the Chief-Rabbi Shlomo Goren. He has been subjected, in his (poor) quarter of Tel-Aviv, to systematic persecution of the mob. Children were incited by their teachers (and the local rabbis) to assemble several times a day in front of his flat, and to chant «Borkovsky Goy! Goy Borkovsky!» — with other unprintable insults. His windows were smashed so many times, that he had to board them with planks, and consequently; he has had to live without sunlight. He cannot leave his dwelling — apart from early morning or late evening, because of hooligans who throw stones. All appeals to the police were useless and *no local rabbi, teacher, etc., could be persuaded to utter one word of condemnation of such behavior*.

Personnal comment: 1) The sufferings of this family are not exceptional, but typical. 2) The two chief causes for this situation are the speeches of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, against

the danger of mixed marriages and assimilation, and the fact that when such persecutions occur, not many people *outside Israel* will raise their voices against it.

Another example of the current persecutions is given by *Yediot* (26.3.73). A family of five persons — a Jewish father, a non-Jewish mother, two sons and a daughter came to Israel from Poland. First, they tried a kibbutz. When the «horrible» fact that the woman was a «Goya» had leaked out, the members began to insult her and in the end «suggested to the husband that he divorce his wife.» When he refused, he had to leave. The family then tried a moshav. There, when he again refused the «demand» to divorce his wife, an attempt was made to assassinate him by shooting at him in the night. (The police of course did not pursue this matter very closely!). The family escaped again to the town of Beth-Shemesh. There, the persecutions were the worst. The family could not come out of their house, for they were beaten up constantly and stones were thrown at them on the streets. Mobs used to assemble in front of their dwelling and chant: «You have to be exterminated! You are «Goyim!» Rubbish was thrown constantly into their flat, and at the end, their neighbours filled up their apartment's canalization outlets with sewage. «All appeals to the police were of no avail. The end of their stay in Beth-Shemesh came when the headmaster of the school expelled the children (after they were beaten many times by the other pupils without any intervention by him) declaring: «Christians never studied in our place and will never study in the future.» Sons of a 'Gentile' woman are of course regarded in Israel as having *automatically* the religion of their mother whether they profess it or not! The family escaped to Yaffa. After a period, the terrible secret again «leaked out,» and again the mother and the children were beaten and insulted by their neighbours and at school; and the police refused to protect them.

Eventually they decided to emigrate from Israel. But here another problem presented itself: The Israeli Ministry of Internal Affairs would not recognize «the children of the Goya» as Israeli citizens, «for the Law of Return does not apply to them,» and re-

fused to grant them Israeli passports. They had lost their Polish citizenship when they left Poland. No country will accept even their preliminary application without a passport and a citizenship, so they cannot leave Israel. Only the father, being a Jew, *can* leave Israel; his wife and his children, being officially «Goyim» cannot.

In the midst of those troubles, one of the children, a son, was called for his military service. He refused to conscript, saying that «he cannot serve in the army, for he was persecuted, discriminated against and oppressed in the State of Israel, and the authorities did not help him in anything.» He was arrested and sentenced to two months in prison, with another three months conditional prison sentence. (The name of the family was not given by *Yediot*)...

(ii) The New Immigrants from Georgia (Soviet-Union)

A movement of Jewish immigrants from Georgia to return to the Soviet Union is progressing rather quickly. Twenty-three left on September 18, 1972, and further groups left before or will leave in the near future. (*Yediot*, 20.9.72). The reasons include the various complaints of the Georgia Jews (who are quite similar to oriental Jews) against discrimination. In Kiryat-Ata 50 families are living in very bad conditions of «nearly ten people to a room» and the police had to persuade two families to evacuate to a synagogue. In Ashdod a big fight broke out between the police and the Georgian families. The police wanted to evict three families from flats they had taken by force. (*Davar* 24.9.72) (also *Ma'ariv* and *Yediot* of the same date).

(iii) The New Immigrants from the Soviet-Union

Mrs. Golda Meir called the Israeli public to change its attitude toward new immigrants and to receive them warmly. «The new immigrants should not feel cold, even on a very hot day, because of the attitude (of the Israeli public) toward them.» (*Davar*, 22.10.72). The present attitude of the public can be illustrated by an incident in Jerusalem. Some new immigrants from Georgia,

who live (in luxury flats) in the Romema quarter, had decided to prevent trucks from passing through a road near their flats, because they disturbed their sleep at night. Therefore (during the night of October 21, 1972), they took huge pieces of stones and rocks and built a barricade on the road. The police, who came to open the road, were attacked and (since they are strictly forbidden to harm Russian Jews) some of them were wounded — one had a concussion from a heavy stone thrown on his head, one had a broken leg and another one had a broken lower jaw (with most of his teeth lost). The policemen were saved by the neighbours (mostly Oriental Jews) who came out and attacked «the Georgians» until they fled. Then, the police were able to remove the barricade with a bulldozer (*Yediot*, 22.10.72).

The following typical incident happened in Ashdod: Some new immigrants from the U.S.S.R., who worked in the Ashdod port, were fired. They then took chains, went to the building of the Ashdod Workers Council, and locked the doors with chains. The locked-in officials phoned the police. They arrived. The 'Russians,' without taking the chains off, or saying one word about them to the police, accompanied them to the Ashdod port, leaving the poor officials still locked in. The Ashdod port authorities then relented and accepted the fired workers back. They returned to the building and took the chains off. The new immigrants declared that «the police will not dare do anything to us.» (*Ma'ariv*, 26.10.72).

(iv) Condition for Marriage

Some of the young Jews who arrived from the East-European countries have not been circumcised. A few Israeli Rabbis have decided to compel them to undergo this operation by demanding an inspection of the bridegroom's penis before permitting a marriage. *Ha'olam Haze* (4.10.72) described a current incident in the Tel-Aviv Rabbinate offices where a «young Rabbi» demanded from a young Jew, who came to Israel from Poland ten years ago, to strip before him in order that the Rabbi should be able to inspect his penis. The candidate refused saying that the Nazis used to strip Jews for a similar purpose. The Rabbi refused to allow him to get married (there are no civil marriages in Israel —

I. Shahak). However the demand for circumcision is not compulsory, as of yet. With advice from others who had undergone a similar experience, the candidate applied to a Rabbinate in another area and there «he was able to marry without being compelled to produce his penis for inspection.» His name is being protected by *Ha'olam Haze*, in case his marriage is declared retrospectively invalid.

(v) The Hebrew Writers Association

Three young members of the Hebrew Writers Association Committee retired, and the 'old guard' returned to rule.

Personal comment: This association, in spite of its name, is a *racist association* open only to Jews, even if they write in languages other than Hebrew, but is closed to Arabs, even if they write in Hebrew. The young members tried — not very strongly — to change this situation. The 'old guard' who are for the existing situation are greatly supported by many Jewish writers outside Israel, who no matter how 'liberal' they may be in the Diaspora, yet they support racism in Israel. Since racism should not be fought by racism, I do not propose to expel Jewish members of P.E.N. from their organizations. However, the racist hypocrites should be warned. If they will not change from their hypocritical attitude, similar discriminatory practices will be applied against them in the U.S.A., Britain or France.

(vi) History Repeats Itself

Under the title «Arab Nazis,» Mr. Eliezer Livneh published an article in *Ha'arets* (22.3.73), which deals with Palestinians. Mr. Livneh was an old member of the Israeli Labour Party. Presently, he is one of the leaders of the «Greater Israel Movement.» For him, Palestinians do not really exist, and he defines them as «*cosmopolitan rubbish.*» According to Mr. Livneh, the aim of those «Palestinians» is not only to assassinate all Jews of the world, but also to cause «*the collapse of modern society, for (they are) an instrument of world-barbarization*» (All emphases mine).

Personal comment: 1) Would it be possible for a reputable paper

in any country of the world to use the expression «cosmopolitan rubbish» about any other people, except in Israel in regard to the Palestinians? *Ha'aretz* did not comment on those expressions. 2) Such expressions were used in Nazi Germany about the Jews (and also in the U.S.S.R. under Stalin) in order to prepare their extermination or expulsion. The aims and means of the «Greater Israel Movement» seem to follow the same lines.

(vii) Is Peace Needed?

Mrs. Yael Lutan (*Davar*, 18.10.72) argues against a rather common opinion *inside* Israel that, apart from any security problem, the very fact of peace is a danger for Israel. Mrs. Lutan was responding to Mr. Michael Asaf of the Israeli Labour Party. He is a very influential «specialist on Arab problems,» and the doyen of the Israeli school of «Experts for dealing with Arabs.» Mr. Asaf's opinion is that Israel should not even wish for peace, for such peace would be harmful «for the Jews.» In his opinion, the slowness of the Arab agreement to Zionism is extremely helpful for the creation of a «renovated nationalism.» His belief is that any doubt of «the morality of realization» is madness. «Realization» is defined by him as «the renaissance of our national existence in the land of our fathers.» Mrs. Lutan expressed doubt on the morality of employing the concept of «realization» because it includes «expropriation of Beduins from the Rafah area, other doubtful settlements, and the Bir'im and Ikrit affair.» She warns the Israeli public of employing the same arguments which were employed in the U.S.A., for «enslavement of the Blacks, extermination of the Red Indians and the conquest of parts of Mexico.»

(viii) Israel-Haiti Relations

Ma'ariv (supplement 20.10.72) reports on the excellent relations established between Haiti and Israel *three years ago* and which have continued with a flourishing Haiti-Israel agricultural project. The Israeli coordinator of the project, Mr. Elie Turgeman, of the kibbutz Hanita (who is a messenger both of the Israeli government and the kibbutz movement) has the greatest praises for the Haitian government. He claims that the stories about its

cruelties «were extremely exaggerated and, anyhow, even if there were any, it is no longer true, for now the situation is much better.»... Israeli investors should invest in Haiti.... He is on the best of terms with Haitian ministers and considers them excellent people. He asked Jewish merchants in the U.S.A. to buy Haitian agricultural produce «for the sake of Jewish solidarity. This is an Israeli project. Buy this produce as if you would buy Israeli produce.» He appealed to their «Jewish soul.» Nevertheless, his appeals failed (in spite of the support of the Jewish Agency, the United Jewish Appeal and the World Bank) because those «Jewish merchants» to whom he appealed, told him — in racist terms — that Haitians and «all the people of Central and South America» are not to be trusted. However, Mr. Turgeman had found a non-Jewish merchant of Atlanta, who «for his love of Jews,» agreed to buy Haitian produce from him. Mr. Turgeman's «project» is called a «cooperative,» but the Haitian Minister of Agriculture is reported to be paying personally the wages of the peasants of the «cooperative» who are strictly under the autocratic rule of Mr. Turgeman.

Personal comment: Other states in Latin America where Israel has «projects» are: Guatemala, Nicaragua, Brazil (the North-West area) and Bolivia. In all those countries the aim of the Israeli «help» is to circumvent a real agrarian reform, by helping to establish government controlled agricultural «projects» which in effect, would make the peasant a slave (but efficient) of the dictatorial government. The name of Israel is very useful in this connection, both to disguise the nature of the «project» from foolish liberals in the U.S.A., and for obtaining funds *which do not all come from Israel itself, but from various sources in the U.S.A.* It was found by experience that various pseudo-liberals in the U.S.A. will not object to any project, *however reactionary*, if it is labelled «Israeli project.»

(ix) Histadrut in the Conquered Territories

A debate was held recently in the Histadrut headquarters about its attitude toward the workers of the conquered territories. Two proposals were submitted: to begin at once to enroll Arab work-

ers from the conquered territories, and to found Arab trade unions there under Histadrut leadership. Both suggestions were refused, but it was decided to start establishing 'worker-clubs' under Histadrut direction. (*Ma'ariv*, 27.10.72).

(x) Nixon's Voters in Israel

There are approximately 50,000 American citizens in Israel who have the right to vote. An election meeting in favour of Mr. Nixon was assembled in Savion (a most luxurious suburb of Tel-Aviv, famous both for the riches of its inhabitants and for their discrimination against Oriental Jews). The assembly was held in «Berny's Steak House» and chaired by Mr. M. Kani'el, the chairman of the committee of Nixon's supporters in Israel. His main reason (apart from the financial and military support given to Israel by Mr. Nixon's administration) was that *95% of Israelis support Mr. Nixon*.

Personal remark : Like the majority of the American Jews in Israel, who are racists, Mr. Kani'el apparently does not consider Israeli Arabs (13% of the population) to exist, and treats only the Jews of Israel as human beings worthy of consideration.

Some of the supporters of Mr. McGovern also participated in the meeting. Their spokesman, Mr. David Gribel, said that his reason for voting against Nixon is that «Nixon would be able to change his relations with Israel, because he will be freed from the pressure of the elections.» It seems likely that the great majority of the Americans in Israel — apart from some young people and students — will be for Nixon (*Ma'ariv and Yediot*, 18.10.72).

(xi) A New Prayer

In a meeting of the «Alignment» (Israeli Labour Party plus Mapam), Mr. Shalom Levin, a member of the Knesset for the Israeli Labour Party and the President of the Israeli Teachers' Association, has proposed that each session of the Knesset be opened by the President of Israel with a prayer to the «Supreme God» (El Elyon). The «Supreme God» will be asked (among other

things) in this prayer «to annihilate our enemies and those who wish us harm.» There was no objection by the «Alignment» members of the Knesset to the «annihilation wish,» but Mapam members objected to a prayer to a «Supreme God.» Mr. Moshe Bar'am, the chairman of the «Alignment» in the Knesset, retorted that «there is no decent ceremony held without a prayer.» A special commission of the «Alignment» will attempt to resolve the conflict over the inclusion of the «annihilation of our enemies» clause in the «Supreme God» prayer. (*Yediot* and *Ma'ariv*, 27.3.1973).

(xii) International Racism

According to new regulations, buying of land in the West Bank will be permitted in the future to *Jews living outside Israel*. It will not be permitted to British or American citizens per se, but only to those who can bring a proof of their «Jewishness.» (Jews from Israel are forbidden to *privately* buy land in the West-Bank; however, the National Jewish Fund and the Israeli Land Authority do buy big areas of land in the West Bank).

Personal comment: 1) By this regulation, the racist discrimination employed inside Israel is given a world-wide validity. The government of Israel presumes to discriminate between the citizens of foreign countries. 2) Of course, Palestinians who happen to be citizens of foreign countries — the United States, for example — are, by this regulation, forbidden to buy land in their country of origin. 3) One could imagine the shout of «anti-Semitism» if a country would discriminate against Jews in this way! *Davar*, *Ma'ariv*, of 25.3.73).

Documents of the League

Part VI

**Attempted
«Coup» Against the Shahak
Group**

17

Attempted Coup Against the Shahak Group from within the League

On the 16th of November 1972, the annual meeting of the League was interrupted by a group of Young Israeli Labour Party members who tried, by undemocratic methods, to overthrow Dr. Shahak and his group from the chairmanship of the League. The «coup» was publicly encouraged by rightist radical circles in government, parties and press with the aim of bringing the League under control. The meeting was postponed, and Dr. Shahak, defending his position and convictions, raised the case in the High Court which upheld his rights and those of the League. The following documentation published by the League tells the story of the «coup.» (Editor).

(i) A Public Statement*

On Thursday, the 16th of November, 1972, at 19.30, a general meeting of the members of The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights was to be held in the «Bnai-Brith» House in Tel-Aviv. The agenda was to include: 1) reading of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and a short lecture on the Situation of Human Rights in Israel; 2) the reporting on the League's activities from the time of the last general meeting; 3) elections of the League's committee.

At 19.30, before the opening of the meeting, the members of the League found themselves surrounded by some hundreds of persons, who were not members of the League, but who demanded to join on the spot and to take part in the meeting.

* Published by the Committee of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights (Tel-Aviv, 17.11.72).

We should make it clear that in the whole history of the League (37 years) not once was membership ever refused to anyone. Everyone who wanted to become a member and declared so in writing was gladly accepted. But it never happened that somebody asked to join at the very moment of the opening of the general meeting, much less hundreds of people coming in organized groups and threatening violence.

Some of the organized groups had taken by force the blanks bearing the League stamp which were prepared for the members of the League for the purpose of entering the hall and participating in the elections.

The organized groups seized the entrance of the hall and pestered the members of the committee. The obvious spokesmen of these groups were Uzi Bar'am, Yehiel Leket, Gyora Rozen, Nathan Ra'anani and Amnon Golan — active members of the Labour Party Youth Division. Because of the danger of violent riots, the League's committee decided to accept the unreasonable demand to register all the hundreds of the new «candidates» — an activity which took nearly half of the time fixed for the meeting. But since the disturbances did not cease, the chairman of the League, acting on decision of the League's committee, had to cancel the meeting.

We note that on the 17th of November, the day after the planned meeting, *The Jerusalem Post* had a notice saying that the chairman of the League had refused to accept any new members into the League. It will be seen that this notice is wholly incorrect.

Members of the League will receive an invitation to a general meeting to be held on another date.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE KEEPS LABOUR MEN OUT

(ii) Document Published by Dr. Israel Shahak

The following typical falsification made by *The Jerusalem Post*, and the answer of Mr. M. Avi-Shaul, are given below without comment:

(Jerusalem Post Political Reporter)

Tel-Aviv — A meeting of the «Israeli Committee for Human Rights» held at the Bnai Brith hall here last night was broken up after the chairman, Dr. Israel Shahak, refused to admit people outside his own leftist group as members.

«About two years ago the founding members of the Committee complained at being pushed out by Dr. Shahak and elements close to Matzpen. Since then, this Committee has been a platform for complaints against Israel's treatment of the Arab population in the territories.

«Last night, it was understood, members of the Labour Party Youth Division sought to join the Committee's activities, but Dr. Shahak refused to let them in — although, according to regulations, the Committee is open to everyone.»

The Jerusalem Post, Nov. 17, 1972.

* * *

November 19, 1972.

To the Editor
The Jerusalem Post
Tel-Aviv
44, Rehov Yehuda Halevy

Dear Sir,

In your paper's issue of November 17, 1972, I found a report under the headline «'Human Rights C'ttee' keeps Labour men out.»

I wish to ask you to publish my following remarks regarding the contents of the report:

1. To the best of my knowledge, there is no 'Human Rights Committee' in Israel. However, on November 16, 1972, at 19.30, a General Meeting was scheduled to be held at Bnai Brith Hall in Tel-Aviv by The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, in which I have the honour to serve as Vice Chairman.
2. While it is true that the scheduled meeting «was broken up,» the real reason for its eventual cancellation by the League's

Chairman, Mr. Israel Shahak, was that organized groups of hundreds of *persons who had never taken any interest in the League's activities* aggressively interfered with orderly proceedings, thus preventing the League's General Meeting from being held.

3. Obviously a general members' meeting, which had on its agenda a report by the League's Committee and Committee elections, was not meant or timed for registration of new members. New members have always been welcome to join the League on the basis of individual regular application considered by the committee following the signing of a statement by the applicant accepting the aims of the League. However I cannot remember a single case when such an individual application has ever been rejected by the Committee. Clearly, attempts of collective joining by mob pressure and violence for the obvious purpose of breaking up a general membership meeting cannot be possibly tolerated by any democratic body. In view of these facts, the statement by your political reporter that Dr. Shahak refused to let members of the Labour Party Youth Division in, «although, according to regulations, the Committee is open to everyone,» constitutes a misrepresentation of the truth.
4. Also your reporter's remarks that allegedly «about two years ago the founding members of the Committee complained at being pushed out by Dr. Shahak and elements close to Matzpen» is astounding in view of the fact that, to my utmost regret, I am the only surviving founding member of the League who has remained in the League Committee throughout the past 37 years of the existence of the League, and I have never been pushed out. Incidentally it was I who prepared the first draft of the League's statutes. In this connection may I suggest that your reporter read the British Mandatory District Commissioners letter to the League as published in the *Palestine Post* and *Davar* on May 27, 1937. Incidentally, the League was founded in 1935, but applied for registration in 1937.
5. The only correct portion of your reporter's account is his remark that the League «has been a platform for complaints

against Israel's treatment of the Arab population in the territories but we must add, for truth's sake, that the League has also been dealing with very many complaints in the Human & Civil Rights field on a much broader scale, especially of course within the territory of Israel proper, concerning Jews and Arabs alike, and by no means only in the occupied territories.

6. I find it an alarming and shocking symptom that leaders of the Youth Division of the ruling Labour Party in Israel have been misguided to such an extent as to disrupt, with the help of hundreds of their organized membership, a General Meeting of the League for Human & Civil Rights which is the most veteran local society active in this field.

Yours very truly,
Mordechai Avi-Shaul
founding member and vice chairman,
The Israeli League for Human and
Civil Rights

TEL-AVIV, P.O.B. 14192

* * *

(iii) Document Published by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights on the Israeli Labour Party *

We are bringing to your attention the translation of the following document distributed by the Israeli Labour Party, with our comments. (All emphases in the original):

* * *

The Israeli Labour Party/District of Tel-Aviv

The Department of Youth (HAMISHMERET-HATZ'IRA)
Internal, not for publication

Greetings,

For the purpose of enabling our party to have a predominant influence in The League for Human Rights, we are making a national operation of registration of new members.

(*) Dec. 14, 1972.

This association is now under the rule of the people of the Israel Communist Party (Rakah), and we see it as a duty of the State to change this characteristic.

You are asked to fill up the questionnaire attached here and to bring it to the Club «Bustan,» Frug Str. No. 1, Tel-Aviv, not later than 14 of December 1972, which is the latest date for admitting new members, according to the decision of the Court.

The members who will register will be invited to a meeting for the election of representatives.

I hope that you will help in the success of this operation.

PLEASE FILL THE ENCLOSED QUESTIONNAIRE AND SEND IT IMMEDIATELY.

THE EXPENSES OF THE MEMBERSHIP DUES WILL BE COVERED BY US.

THANKS.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE YOUTH DEPARTMENT, TEL-AVIV.

* * *

Before we comment on the whole of this extraordinary document, let us deal with five specific points:

(1) The Israeli Labour Party does not even pretend that it is concerned with Human and Civil Rights per se, neither does it expect from its members to be interested in this topic. Its main interest lies in having «a predominant influence.»

(2) It is a complete lie that The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights is ruled by people of the Rakah Party. As a proof, the present chairman (since March, 1970), Dr. Israel Shahak, is neither a communist nor a socialist. While the League accepts people of all parties, it is our belief that the majority of the members of the League's Committee are not members of Rakah. We did not, nor will we ever, ask the individual members about their

political beliefs, so long as they express commitment to the cause of Human Rights, as expressed in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights (1949). In this, we do not behave like the Israeli Labour Party, which is interested in having «a predominant influence» only !

(3) Since the Israeli Labour Party declares itself that it sees in this «operation» (a revealing word from the military lexicon, rather unsuitable to Human Rights!) «a duty of the State» — a strong suspicion arises, that some authorities of the State of Israel had decided on this operation and had used the Israeli Labour Party only as a docile instrument. The most probable «authority» for deciding and ordering such an operation is the notorious «Shin-Bet» (the Israeli secret police).

(4) The decision of the Court was exactly the reverse. The judge, Mr. Lowenthal, had reiterated again and again that organized and fabricated «mass-joinings» are to be condemned.

(5) The bosses of the Israeli Labour Party have such small faith in their members, that they have to pay their expenses of membership dues. The whole dues are 10 Israeli Pounds a year! (less than two and a half dollars, a little less than one English pound).

Apart from this, some comment on the document as a whole is needed:

We have here a shocking case of political corruption. Money of the Israeli Labour Party, which comes *from donations free from income-tax*, both inside Israeli and outside it, is used simply to pay for people to join an organization.

Secondly, we have here a complete subversion of the principle of free organization. People devoted to some principles have a complete right to associate together in order to propagate and support those principles, by all legal means. But if the ruling party of the State is allowed to hire people — with public money — in order to subvert and swamp each organization by a hired mob which is not interested at all, even pro-forma, in the principles of this organization, then the principle of free organization becomes nullified.

Thirdly, it is natural that people devoted to the struggle for Human and Civil Rights would struggle mainly, or perhaps only, against their own government. The Israel government, specially in those areas which affect the cause of Human Rights, is ruled completely, and, to all appearances, permanently by the Israeli Labour Party. To make a shameless claim for «a predominant influence» in the League for Human and Civil Rights, is tantamount to making a claim for a completely totalitarian rule, which would not be affected by the least voice of opposition and critique. It would mean that the same body will rule, judge, criticize, all in one. It will mean that the last feeble sparks of freedom and democracy in Israel will be extinguished.

We do not know how the situation will develop. We are determined to resist the commissaire of the Israeli Labour Party, with his thousands of hired and dishonest questionnaires. (The Israeli Labour Party has also falsified the questionnaire of membership of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights). We are determined, in any case, to continue in our work, to uphold the cause of Human Rights in Israel and the conquered territories, and to fight for each human being there who is persecuted and who suffers unjustly.

We ask all those who receive this publication to uphold our just cause, and to help us as much as they can — and specially in the publication of the above document.



(iv) Clarification *

Since various conflicting and misleading reports had appeared in newspapers both inside and outside of Israel (*Jerusalem Post* being the most mendacious) about the recent events in the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, we would like to clarify the situation:

- 1) The attempt of a hired and violent mob, organized by the

* Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, December 14, 1972.

Israeli Labour Party, to take over the general assembly of the League on the 16th of November 1972, *failed*. Judge Lovenberg, of the District-Court of Tel-Aviv, had pronounced the events of that night to be null and void, and that the former committee of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights could continue with their duties as the only lawful officers of the League.

2) Some of the members of this committee are :

Dr. Israel Shahak, Chairman.

Mordechay Avi-Shaul, Vice-Chairman.

Yaffa Gavish, Treasurer.

Lea Tzemel, Secretary.

3) According to the decision of the judge, Mr. Lovenberg, new elections and a new general assembly will be held in the beginning of 1973. The applications to join the League can be made to the existing committee of the League until the 15th of December.

4) In view of what had happened already, and of the known plans of the Israeli Labour Party (see the attached communication) the committee of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights had decided to accept *only individual applications*.

5) In the meantime, to the best of our abilities, we will continue with the usual work of the League.

(v) Personal Comment by Dr. Shahak on the Preceding Document*

I wish to make an additional, personal comment, to the document of The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights of the 14th of December, about the plan of the Israeli Labour Party to use its money for an organized «operation» in order to obtain a predominant influence in The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

I wish to raise two *political issues* which will not be obvious for those who are ignorant about the Israeli situation, or for those who have been brainwashed by the official Israeli propaganda.

* Released on December 15, 1972.

1) The first issue is: *Where does the money of the Israeli Labour Party come from ?* How can this party be so lavish with it, so that it can subsidize membership dues in The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights for people who are not interested at all in questions of Human Rights? Can a party, whose money comes from membership dues or from individual donations, be so lavish?

The answer is that the Israeli Labour Party's big money does not come from the above sources. Some of the big money comes from inside Israel, mainly from rich industrialists and monopolistic concerns, *which constitutes the smaller part*. The chief part of the money, which the Israeli Labour Party acquires, has come *from outside Israel* various so-called «charity» appeals, *deductible from the income-tax of their respective countries*. The main source is the United Jewish Appeal of the U.S.A., through its contributions the Zionist Federation and the Jewish Agency, which are both controlled by a coalition of parties, of which the Israeli Labour Party is the chief. They are used by those parties, and specially by the Israeli Labour Party, in the same manner that a farmer uses his cow for milking.

Therefore, what the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights fights now is not only a local case of political gangsterism, but a case of political gangsterism financed by the faked «charity» organizations through all the western world *directly* and indirectly (and no doubt unwittingly) by the treasuries of those countries, and therefore by their citizens.

To put it in plain terms: The majority of the money (doled out this week by the treasurer of the Israeli Labour Party to pay for the membership dues of the people he wants to put by fraud inside the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights) came from income-tax fake «charity» deductions from the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and various other countries. Therefore, and indirectly, it came *from the pockets of all and every citizen of those countries* whose taxes are so much higher that they can make payments to fake «charities» which corrupt and subvert free associations in Israel.

* December 15, 1972.

I said that this is political gangsterism. But I should make it plain that it is *unprecedented* gangsterism. Al Capone subverted and corrupted a whole town (Cicero, Illinois) in the twenties. The corruption of Tammany Hall is notorious. But what is noteworthy is that the money that has been used for corrupting a free organization should *officially* come from funds described as «charity» and, as such, deductible from the income-tax. Even Al Capone did not claim this privilege.

I do not make this point for the sole reason that this is the truth as I see it, even though the first step in every situation is for everybody to try to learn the true facts and not allow himself to be deceived. There is an additional pragmatic point: as a citizen of Israel, I am committed to use all legal and democratic means at my disposal to convince people about my ideas. But the financial power of my enemies, those who try by means of corruption and fraud to fight me, is not based mainly or chiefly on Israeli sources. In fact, it is based chiefly *on you* — you who will read this outside Israel — for without your unwitting complicity in faked «charities» used for corruption, the Israeli Labour Party would not have the money available to corrupt the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, and to rule, by fraud and corruption, the whole Israeli society.

2) The second issue is the question of racism. Should institutions and organizations be open to members of all races, to all human beings agreeing on a principle, believing in an idea, irrespective of race or nationality, or should they not? For, while The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights is open to every adult human being who accepts its principles, the Israeli Labour Party is not. It is a party which, *on principle, openly and officially, accepts only Jews*, and rejects Gentiles (Goyim). This includes especially the Palestinian-Arab minority—400,000 people—13% of the Israeli population.

A minor exception in this *official racism* is the treatment of the Druze minority. (Druze are a small, secret, peculiar sect).

They number about 30,000 people. As a special favour (and as

means of dividing them from other Arabs) those of the Druzes *who served in the Israeli Army, and only those*, are allowed to become members of the Israeli Labour Party. You can imagine the situation: a son is allowed to become a member of Israeli Labour Party and his father is not, for he was too old to serve. Perhaps his brother would also be excluded, because he broke his leg and could not serve!

The saying that it is the exception that proves the rule has never been better justified than here: this *apparent* exception in the official racism shows the true character of the Israeli Labour Party even better.

Of course, there are no such limitations on Jews. A Jew can be a cripple, can come to Israel as an old man, or can be a female (all Druze women are automatically excluded by this limitation), and still be eligible for membership in the Israeli Labour Party. An Arab, an American non-Jew (Goy), a Druze woman, are not eligible, solely for racist reasons. This, in my opinion, is one of the reasons why the Israeli Labour Party had decided, by fraud and corruption, to obtain «a predominating influence» in The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. A racist society, party, or establishment, is bound, by its very nature, to try to increase the limits and influence of its racist doctrines and extinguish all free and non-racist bodies.

There is here an additional point about the future fate of Jewish communities in countries outside Israel. Like slavery in the U.S.A. before 1860, racism, by its very nature, cannot be divided. As Abraham Lincoln said rightly about the situation of the U.S.A. before 1860: «A house divided against itself cannot stand;» and the «Union could not stand half-slave and half-free.» Exactly the same is true about the situation of Jews in Israel and outside it. They cannot apply racist principles much longer, in what is falsely called the «Jewish interests» (falsely, for the interest of each community is first truth and justice) and claim, at the same time full rights as citizens on the principles of democracy and liberalism in other countries! Either racism will be eradicated from the Israeli society and, for example, every human being will be *equally eligible* for membership in the ruling party and all parties, or

it must follow that the same racist rules will be employed against Jews in all the other countries. For, after all, why should it be that what is good in Israel should not also be good in England, in the U.S.A., or any where else? If the racist principles of the Israeli Labour Party are «good,» why should not, for example, the Democratic Party in the U.S.A. expel all Jews? (Perhaps a partial example on the Druze model will be applied for those Jews who served in the U.S. Army, but Jewish cripples, old men and women must surely be expelled). Why should not the British Labour Party do the same?

If racism in Israel is not eradicated, and if the «double standard» of racism and pluralism is continued to be employed, then a similar pattern of racism against the Jews will certainly take place.

In closing I would like to address myself to those of my readers who are Jews, like myself. It pains me very much that the majority of my people are, in what I can only describe, in a state of apostasy. Instead of worshipping God, instead of following and being true to the idea of Justice, instead of remembering the saying of Hillel the Elder: «Do not do to others what is hateful to yourself,» they are not only doing the reverse, not only taking refuge in the most crude tribalism and worship of force, but literally they are cutting the branch on which they are sitting. I should make it clear that for me this last consideration is not the most important. I do what I do for I consider it my duty to say the truth and to strive for equal justice for all human beings. But since, obviously, for the majority of my fellow-Jews, who worship the material State of Israel like our ancestors worshipped the Golden Calf and Baal, this consideration is not important, I will say to them: by your hypocrisy and double-thinking, by your condoning and supporting racism and oppression, you are bringing a calamity on your own heads. Everything that is done to Palestinian-Arabs, with your encouragement and support *today*, will be done to you *tomorrow*.

Documents of the League

Part VII

**The Influence of the League
on Civil Rights Activities
and their Disclosures**

The following part is intended to show the influence of the League on the work of different groups in the field of human rights. Two of these groups, namely, the «Union of Liberal Students» in Britain and the «Israel and Palestine» group in France, have used the documentation of the League to produce reports on the treatment of political prisoners in Israel. The other group, SIACH (Israeli New Left), has taken political action in Israel itself to defend the rights of Palestinians. The fourth group, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, adopted resolutions condemning Israel for its attitude toward the human rights of Palestinians. The selection of a variety of politically and ideologically different groups was deliberate in order to illustrate the wide scope of the activities of human rights movements and their impact on local and international issues. (Editor).

Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Israel

Introduction

The conflict in the Middle East has been in the world's headlines for a quarter of a century. Yet public debate has been stifled by the overwhelmingly one-dimensional view presented. The Zionist case has gone virtually unchallenged as the Palestinian cause has been almost completely ignored.

This pamphlet is a small but important attempt to redress the imbalance, but those expecting a propaganda tract will be disappointed: all the evidence that follows has been taken from the Jerusalem-based Israeli League for Human Rights, Amnesty International, the United Nations and the British Press.

The blatant political repression which exists under Israeli rule in the occupied territories is documented with case histories of Palestinian Arabs who have come up against the true face of Zionism.

There is also clear evidence of restrictions on the rights of Arabs within Israel itself, and it is ironic that these restrictions should have roused more opposition from liberal and other radicals *inside* Israel than from those within Britain's Jewish community known for their opposition to injustice.

* Report of the «Union of Liberal Students» in Britain written by Louis Eaks, Vice-President of the Union, published in 1972. Mr. Eaks made several visits to the Middle East. His attempt to visit Israel in 1971 was halted by Israeli police as he arrived at Tel-Aviv-Lod Airport. After being detained, he was forced to leave the country. Much of the information in the report is due to work of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and their Chairman, Dr. Israel Shahak (Editor).

It is time for an end to the double standards which we have been expected to swallow on the Middle East situation. The shocking treatment of the Palestinian Arabs must be fully exposed. They have already been dispossessed of their homeland and forced into the misery of refugee camps. How much more suffering of the kind revealed in this pamphlet must they be expected to undergo before the world takes notice and acts?

The answer could well depend on those who are prepared to face up to the realities of the Middle East conflict and to actively press for full human rights for all Palestinian Arabs; for their inalienable rights to return to their homeland; and for the creation of a secular democratic Palestinian state where all Palestinians—both Arabs and Jews— can live in peace.

Peter Hain

Chairman, Young Liberals

Andrew Ellis

Chairman, Union of Liberal Students

Preface

In 1948 the state of Israel was established in the greater part of Palestine. On the eve of the 1967 June War, the United Nations reported that some one and a half million Palestinians were 'refugees.' Israel refused to allow them to return to their homes.

Israel is respected as a liberal democracy. With the assistance of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights this report shows:

4,000 Palestinians have been condemned to imprisonment since 1967.

10,000 Palestinians have been held in administrative detention (without trial).

16,000 Palestinian homes have been destroyed by the Israelis since 1967.

800 Palestinians have been arbitrarily deported by the Israelis since 1967.

11,000 Palestinians have been displaced or evicted from their homes since 1967.

The report details the methods of torture used by the Israelis, and condemned by Amnesty International, the United Nations Commission of Human Rights and the International Red Cross.

On April 3rd, 1972, David Steel, MP and Liberal Whip, signed a petition to the Israeli Premier, Mrs. Golda Meir urging:

1. The release of all political detainees.
2. The end of neighbourhood punishment and destruction of Arab homes.
3. The end of arbitrary deportation.
4. The end of torture of detainees.
5. The release of Jewish conscientious objectors.

ACTION : Use this information—human lives and human rights are at stake in Palestine today.

1. Organise a campaign and meetings.
2. Write to your MP.
3. Write to your local newspapers.

(i) Political Prisoners

There are conflicting figures for the total number of 'political prisoners' in Israel. Palestinians (Christian and Muslim Arabs) have been imprisoned for resistance activities, or detained without trial or charges. During the past year a number of Jewish Israelis have been detained and sentenced for opposition to Government policy, namely, objection to conscription, while many Jewish Black Panthers have alleged severe treatment by the Israeli police, and a number have been arrested.

The true figure for Palestinian prisoners is often distorted by the Israelis, who fail to list administrative detainees. The Palestinians account for the vast majority of political prisoners. Nor do these figures take into account the Palestinians who are «restric-
ted» to their village or their home.

1. The Israeli League for Human Rights quoted the following approximate figures on April 4th 1972:

Condemned Prisoners: 4,000

Under arbitrary detention: 10,000

The 10,000 political prisoners fall into the following categories according to ILHR:

- a. Accused/charged, but-held indefinitely before trial. Eventually (after a year in prison) they may be deported or put under administrative detention. A few are freed.
 - b. Administrative detention: This is arbitrary and at the will of the military authorities. See Defence Regulations.
 - c. Exiled to «concentration camps» in Sinai. These include women and children. No journalists or international agency representatives have been permitted to enter these camps.
2. «Israel has about 3,000 Arab commandos (i.e. convicted) locked up behind bars — double the number of Israeli criminal convicts, according to the 'Prison Commission — *Associated Press Report from Jerusalem, March 27th, 1972.*

3. In September 1970 the International Red Cross Reported:

«In 1968 the number of prisoners rose from 1,500 to 2,000. It rose to 3,000 in 1969. At present the Israeli authorities are holding about 3,500 people in detention.

4. «5,620 Arabs have been sentenced in the Gaza-Strip alone for life imprisonment and hard labour; fines exceeded I£300,000; among prisoners there are men over 80 years old and children between 12-14 years of age, according to the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv*, May 3rd 1971.
5. «1,298 persons, almost all Arabs, were the victims of administrative arrest in the occupied territories by the end of May 1970. Most of them declared during their trials that they had been tortured» — Joseph Ebiliah, a member of an unofficial Israeli organisation for the defence of Human and Civil Rights, testifying to the UN Commission on the violation of Human Rights in Israeli occupied territory.»

6. Statistics of prisoners

1969

Total sentenced by military courts	689
Life imprisonment with hard labour	71
5-30 years' imprisonment	185

1970

Total sentenced by military courts	587
Life imprisonment with hard labour	89
5-30 years' imprisonment	238

1971 (Jan-June)

Total sentenced by military courts	277
Life imprisonment with hard labour	14
15-30 years' imprisonment	31
1-14 years' imprisonment	165

Research documented from Israeli newspaper reports shows that 63 life sentences were imposed by the military authorities during January-August inclusive 1971.

The threat of administrative detention, therefore, is used by Israel to intimidate the Palestinians living under military occupation. Any opposition to this occupation, whether vocal and passive, active and armed, takes tremendous courage, against the background of a world which remains silent, almost without exception.

(ii) Torture of Palestinians

«From interrogating rooms I heard prisoners shrieking and sobbing. Captured «territories» must expect torture, but it was horrible to hear.» — George de Carville, Life Magazine, April, 1968.

«No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.»—Article 5, Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Reports of torture have been amply documented in the reports of Amnesty International, the United Nations, the International Red Cross, and the Israeli League for Human Rights.

Two recent reports have been issued by the Israeli League for Human Rights (ILHR) which state that despite international

protest the Israeli authorities are continuing with torture of prisoners:

1. Treatment of Prisoners in the Gaza-Strip (refer to chapter 7, (i), p. 71, for the details).

2. The Israeli League for Human Rights reports these recent cases: (reported in *Zohadar*, 9.2.72).

Names:

Ahmed Suleiman Musa Katmash

Mahmud Salah Dajani

Mahmud Nabil Isaak Salhab

Ata Kamari (aged 16)

Nabil el Masr

Muhammed Ahmed Uda

«They were arrested in the second half of December 1971. Their families were not notified for a long time about their arrest—they simply ‘disappeared’ and only now have they been allowed to meet a lay lawyer, Mrs. Felicia Langer of 14 Koresh Street, Jerusalem.

«They were accused of being members of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and of distributing leaflets against the Iranian occupation islands in the Persian Gulf. Their stories are:

Ahmed Suleiman Musa Katimash was arrested in a street in East Jerusalem. After he was brought to the «interrogation room,» several investigators began to beat him. Since he refused to confess, he was stripped naked and beaten again by a stick, especially on his genitals. He was left naked for several days and the interrogation and beatings continued in several sessions. When near to fainting, he was forced to take a cold shower. During intervals between beating, he was interrogated — while naked — standing and holding a chair with his hands above his head. Refusal to hold the chair brought immediately further beating with a stick on the whole of his body and especially on his genitals.

Muhammed Ahmed Uda was shown, at the beginning of his

interrogation, Suleiman Musa Katmash, who, after one session, had broken down and was full of obvious signs of torture. M.A. Uda was threatened that he would be made to look like him When he still refused to confess, he was beaten with sticks and batons, kicked repeatedly, and then stripped down to his underpants and flogged with a paddle of leather, and again beaten with sticks.

Mahmud Salah Dajani was NOT stripped and was only moderately beaten without a stick being used. (I attribute this difference of treatment to the fact that the Dajani clan is one of the most aristocratic and influential in East Jerusalem—Dr. Shahak.)

Mahmud Nabil Isaak Salhab (Graduate of the University of Amman) reported similar treatment. There is no evidence yet available from the remaining detainees, since at the time of this report they have not yet been allowed to see a lawyer. They are held in the prisons of Ramleh, Kafar Yona and Ramallah.

3. The following is from the International Committee of the Red Cross Report on Nablus Prison, 28th February 1968:

«A number of detainees have undergone torture during interrogation by military police. According to the evidence the torture took the following forms:

I. Suspension of the detainee by the hands and simultaneous traction of his other members for hours at a time until he lost consciousness.

II. Burns with cigarette stubs.

III. Blows by rods on the genitals.

IV. Tying up and blind-folding for days (in one case for seven days).

V. Bites by dogs.

VI. Electric shocks at the temples, the mouth, the chest and testicles.

In April 1970 Amnesty International published a report «*containing prima facie evidence of serious maltreatment of Arab prisoners under interrogation in Israel.*»

Below we reprint two cases from this Amnesty International Report, which satisfied the impartial (vis-à-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict) and authoritative investigators, as genuine:

Mr. B, a taxi driver from Nablus aged 40, was arrested on 19th September 1967. Charges and/or trial: Nil.

Nature of allegations. Arrested at 23.00 hrs. in his house and taken immediately to Nablus police station, whereupon he was beaten up by six officers and subjected to electric shocks to various parts of the body until he lost consciousness at about 4.00. On coming round he was given a glass of urine to drink; when he refused to do so he was again beaten until he became unconscious. Complainant was later transferred to Sarafand where he was subjected to intensive interrogation concerning guerillas which, on occasions, entailed the following treatment:

- a. being handcuffed with hands behind his back and having his feet shackled, then suspended naked by the wrists from a window bar. In this position he was whipped all over his body, a small rubber stick being used exclusively on the genitals.
- b. being placed in the centre of a small room into which opened two doors opposite to each other. One arm was tied to one open door, and the other to the opposite door. Four soldiers would then rapidly shut and open the doors many times in succession.

Mr. C., a motor mechanic from el Bireh, Ramallah, aged 26, was arrested on 12th July 1968. Charges and/or trial : Nil.

Nature of allegations: Arrested in his house at 3.00 in the morning and taken to Ramallah HQ where he was beaten into unconsciousness. This interrogation continued for three weeks. He was later transferred to Sarafand where interrogation entailed the following treatment:

- a. his hands were handcuffed behind his back and his feet were shackled. In this position he was whipped and one of the interrogators would stand on his foot shackles, thus greatly increasing the strain;

- b. alligator clips were attached to his ears and genitals and an electric current was passed through them;
- c. a biro type refill was inserted into the penis until it bled;
- d. water was poured on the weals produced by whipping and sulphur was puffed on them;
- e. finger tips were crushed between door hinges and frame;
- f. a water hose was inserted into his mouth and the tap turned on. An interrogator would then stand on his stomach, forcing the water out of his mouth.

4. Other methods of torture which have been reported include:

- a. police dogs are let loose on the prisoner who is usually handcuffed with hands behind his back. The dogs are trained to throw the prisoner on the ground. The prisoner is then ordered by an interrogator to get on his feet, and so on;
- b. fingers are placed on the end of an open door, and the door is slammed on them;
- c. finger nails are pulled out with ordinary pincers;
- d. the prisoner is injected with pepper solutions;
- e. the prisoner is injected with solutions which, he is told, induce instant insanity. He is shown, what he is told is an antidote which would be given to him only if he would confess in time;
- f. a large metal container is fitted over the head and neck and held firm to the body by extensions. The container is then hit with sticks on the outside, at first slowly and in routine fashion, and then with increasing tempo. The more battered the container, the more difficult it is to remove;
- g. match sticks are inserted into the penis. Sometimes they are lit;
- h. a certain chemical substance (possibly a nerve irritant) is put in the hands of the prisoner who is ordered to clench it. The substance gives the effect of an electric shock.

5. The International Red Cross Committee has also made the following comments:

Report on Gaza Prison (25.9.67): «Red Cross delegates requested permission to visit the solitary confinement cells, but their request was refused by the Governor of the prison who told them that new orders had arrived from Tel-Aviv forbidding him to allow them to visit these cells. This new limitation is on contravention of the terms of the agreement which the Minister of Defence had forwarded to the President of the International Red Cross Committee in Israel on 22.2.68.»

Report of Jericho Prison (12.5.68): «On a visit which was carried out without the presence of an observer, 81 prisoners were found huddled in one cell. The prisoners all declared that they were not allowed to leave their cells, even to use the toilets or washing facilities. They had to use the cell tap which was situated only 15 centimetres from the level of the floor.»

Report on Nablus Prison (26.2.68) «One of the arrested became completely paralysed in the left arm, and had bruises and scars around his wrists. Another lost all sensation in the palm of one of his hands.»

6. The Israeli League for Human Rights reports the case of Salama Hamad Uda Abu-Adra, an Israeli-Arab citizen (refer to chapter 5, (v), p. 70).

7. During the Autumn of 1972 the Israeli League for Human Rights released a report on conditions in the Gaza Prison (refer to chapter 6, (iii), p. 76).

8. Torture at Kefar-Yona Prison (refer to chapter 6, (ii), p. 76).

9. Prisoners condemned to death (refer to chapter 6, (i), p. 75).

(iii) Collective Punishment

Although news of Israeli activities in the 1967 occupied Arab territories are rarely reported in the British press, the Palestinians continue to be subjected to curfews and mass arrests.

1. Mass arrests in Gaza: In early 1971 the Israeli League for

Human and Civil Rights reported on Israeli methods in Gaza, and detailed: «A concentration camp for families of 'wanted persons' was opened in the Central Sinai Desert, at Nahl. Women and children, whose only crime is that they are relatives of 'wanted persons' are confined in this desert place.»

The existence of such camps is not denied by the Israelis, although they are silently ignored in the British press. In February 1971, Israeli radio (Hebrew service) reported that a new detention camp had been opened in Sinai, as the Green Berets of the Israeli Border Police arrested every suspect element. Israeli radio stated: «The interpretation of 'suspect element' was broadened considerably and included curfew breakers, regardless of age or sex, residents who showed any kind of hesitation or opposition about body searches, or complained in one way or another about orders given to them by police and soldiers.»

2. **Curfews:** An Israeli recounted to the *Sunday Times* (23.11.69) the Israeli policy in Gaza: «The first approach involved arbitrary curfews of the kind recently used as a reprisal against terrorism in the village of Beit Sahor, near Bethlehem, among other places. The inhabitants are forbidden to leave their homes for almost the whole 24 hours; they can go out to get food and water perhaps 2 hours a day. As Arab homes are usually tiny, have no sanitation or running water, and sometimes shared with livestock, this is a severe punishment.»

During the early part of 1971, the Shatti Refugee camp was under continuous 24 hour curfew imposed by the Israeli military authorities during four consecutive weeks. Almost half of the year 1970 in Gaza was spent under curfew, and curfew laws are still in operation in Gaza (November 1972).

The Times (28.10.69) reporting the curfew at Beit Shahor, noted: «This is a community of settled tribesmen, each family living in a small box-like stone house. For a week nobody was allowed to leave his house or to open a window. As the latrines are outside the houses, and it is very hot in Palestine in August, the result was not pleasant. Outside, the livestock of the villages died, or were requisitioned. A modified curfew persisted for some weeks.»

The Guardian (19.2.68) reported: «Yet the repressive measures taken in response to the smallest incident are violent in the extreme: villages or refugee camps are cordoned off and subjected to curfews, during which it is normal for the Israelis to dynamite houses and round up a 'number of suspects' usually to the accompaniment of a great deal of apparently aimless shooting in the air.»

Time Magazine (6.10.67) reported: «In Nablus, the Israeli police imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew, in retaliation for a strike of shops and bus services.»

3. Curfew at Dura: A recent report from the ILHR (29th October, 1972) shows that the practice of «curfew» is still operated by the Israelis (as it is also in Gaza), and also underlines the suffering it creates: «The village of Dura was (and is) 'punished' by the military government» (refer to chapter 7, (iii), p. 86).

These «collective punishments» are often imposed for passive non-violent resistance to the Israeli occupation. During March 1972 Israeli authorities stopped goods destined from Mediterranean ports to the West Bank town of Nablus in order to block a planned boycott of municipal elections. *The Guardian* described this act as «a hostage of good behaviour.»

4. Destruction of Crops: Not only have the Israelis destroyed the homes in which the Palestinian families live. On July 8th, it was admitted in the Israeli Parliament that Arab crops had been deliberately destroyed by the Israelis using chemical sprays, on the orders of the military government in the occupied West Bank. The incident occurred in the village of Akraba near Nablus. Reports from the village say that Israeli troops sprayed 1,250 acres, and that the villagers are now faced with hunger and permanent loss of their land. Israeli Defence Minister, Moshe Dayan claims that the crops were planted illegally by Palestinian villagers, who are prohibited from using the 1,250 acres of their land, as a reprisal for resistance activities in 1968.

Shaikh Sa'ada of the village of Akraba told the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* (July 6th 1972): «We know we live in the place which is defined as the line of drought on the West Bank. Now, when

our crops have been destroyed, by spraying planes, we fear we may be on the verge of hunger.»

On March «8th, 1972, the *Economist* drew attention to the Israeli colonisation on the West Bank, on land the Palestinians have been forced to leave. Reporting on the seizure of Arab land, the *Economist* said, : «The Israeli Army commandeered 2,500 acres of agricultural land near Hebron for Israeli settlers. Between Hebron and Bethlehem is a block of three Israeli settlements. This was the region of Jordan's most luxuriant farms, but only a few Arab cultivators are allowed to work there now. On much of the land that the Israeli army holds, but is not using, orchards and market gardens have been allowed to wither away.»

(iv) Destruction of Arab Homes

1. Israel's Five Year Record: 16,312 Palestinian Arab homes were destroyed by the Israeli Defence Forces during the period 11th June 1967 and 31st August 1971. (Source: Aref el-Aref, the Arab-Israeli historian). 6,360 of these dwellings were under the control of the United Nations Agency, and were reported to the Secretary-General of the UN on September 17, 1971. During this period the destruction of Arab homes was as follows:

Jerusalem	460	
Latroun Region, Yalo, Beit Numa, Emmuas		1464. These three villages were totally destroyed by the Israelis between 11th June and 13th August 1967.
Hebron district	605	
Samaria district	3000	
Ramallah town, Birch and surrounding villages	53	
Bethlehem town, Beit Jala, and Beit Sahour	131	
Jericho	7	
Gaza-Strip	10592	
TOTAL	16312	

These figures do not include the Arab homes destroyed by the Israelis in the occupied Golan Heights. John Cooley, giving an eye-

witness report in the international newspaper *Christian Science Monitor* stated (3.31.71): «Tractors and bulldozers are still working over the rubble of what was once Fiq, a Syrian village of about 600 persons. It was one of 35 Syrian villages totally demolished by the Israeli army after its final conquest of the Golan Plateau on June 10th 1967.»

2. The Village of Halhul: *The Times* (28.10.69) said that their Foreign Editor, E.C. Hodgkin, was visiting the occupied West Bank. «Among the places he saw was the village of Halhul, between Bethlehem and Hebron, which is now reported to have been completely demolished by the Israeli Army.» Hodgkin wrote in his report: «On the latest pre-Halhul tally, 7,140 Arab houses have been blown up. This includes entire villages which have been destroyed 'for security reasons' but in the majority of cases the houses were blown up because somebody suspected of connection with guerilla activity was living in them. What particularly angers Arabs is that destruction often takes place as soon as a suspect is carried off. There is no waiting for him to be charged, let alone convicted.»

The Times reported (27.10.69): «Sixty or seventy families have been homeless in the village of Halhul since the Israeli army blew up their houses on Friday. During the day they dig among the ruins for their possessions. Many of them spend the nights in the open.»

The Israelis claimed that the total of the Halhul demolition was 18 buildings. *The Times* reporter, however, stated: «The operation was probably carried out so quickly that no exact count was possible. But every building contained a number of dwellings, and taking the Arab, not the Israeli definition of a house, there were 60 or 70 houses destroyed in Halhul. I counted them.»

The Times report continued: «This morning, the people were digging for their clothes, their food, their furniture. They were not given time to clear their houses before they were blown up. One man was digging for the carcasses of his sheep.»

3. Israel's Motives: The Israeli League for Human and Civil

Rights denies that «neighbourhood punishment» is solely for «security purposes.» Dr. Shahak says it is also part of a «thinning out» policy of the Arab population, a term used in government circles. He also states that even the rubble does not belong to the house-owners. Solel-Boneh, a company owned by the Histadrut (Israeli TUC) and the Israeli Labour Party was given a government contract to remove the rubble.

The policy of making Palestinian families homeless in the most inhuman way is the deliberate policy of the Israeli Government. On November 15th, 1969, the total of destroyed homes (excluding the Golan Heights) had reached 7,554. On December 2nd, 1969, the Israeli newspaper *Jerusalem Post* reported: «The Knesset (Parliament) voted on 1st December by an overwhelming majority not to discuss the Military Government's policy of 'neighbourhood punishment' in the occupied areas. Defence Minister Moshe Dayan reiterated a number of times during his speech before the Knesset that 'neighbourhood punishment' had been approved specifically in each case by the Cabinet.»

4. **Recent Case:** Although after the initial phase of house destruction the Israelis have eased these activities, a recent incident took place on October 31st, 1972, in Hebron, an Arab town on the Israeli occupied West Bank. *Reuter* reported that the houses of Ouda Talab Gabri, arrested six weeks earlier on *suspicion* of being involved in resistance activity, had been demolished. His family was given time to remove their belongings before Israeli army sappers brought the house down.

The more recent incidents of mass destruction of Arab homes—thinning out—are documented in the section of this report on Gaza.

(v) Gaza under Occupation

«I have been to many countries in the throes of revolution and war, but I have not seen so much mass misery for many years. Something has to be done to relieve this massive injustice.»

Bob Edwards, Labour MP, October 1971, reporting on Israeli activities in Gaza.

1. Israel versus the U.N.: The Gaza-Strip is a long narrow stretch of Palestine which runs along the Mediterranean coastline. In 1967 this was occupied by the Israelis. Of the 400,000 population over a quarter of a million are refugees forced to leave their homes in 1948, and never allowed to return by the Israelis.

During 1971 the Israelis took a series of drastic measures allegedly for security purposes which are likely to drastically change the area. Arabs have been forced to leave, while a series of settlements for Jews only have been established. On September 17, 1971, Sir John Rennie, the Chief representative of UNRWA, reported to the UN Secretary General that 6,360 Arab homes, supplied and maintained by the UN had been destroyed by the Israelis in Jabalya, Rafah and Al Shatti camps between 20th July, and 26th August, 1971.

In his 1969-70 Annual Report to the UN General Assembly, Sir John said Israel had been asked to cease the practice and pay compensation. Rennie said the Israelis had not agreed to stop the practice or to pay compensation.

2. Gaza Report: First news of Israeli atrocities in Gaza came in early 1971 from the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. The report detailed brutality, maltreatment during searches, detention, family prisons and deportations.

On February 2nd, Israeli spokesman General Shlomo Jazet stated that, during January, occupation troops had killed 161 Palestinians and wounded a further 642. By July it was reported that in Gaza the Fever hospital had been closed by the Israelis and is now being used as a prison. Jaffa School for Girls had been closed and converted into an army camp for occupation forces.

During January and February 1971 the camps came under a 50 day constant curfew. During the siege the International Red Cross officials were prevented by the Israelis from entering the camps, and UNRWA activities were suspended. Concern about the situation in Gaza was expressed by the International Red Cross chief official, Mr. Neville, during January 1971.

By mid-summer 1971 the curfews, mass arrests, and Israeli ter-

ror suddenly changed direction, presenting for the Palestinian families a far greater terror. They were about to lose their homes.

On August 1st, 1971, the *Observer* report stated: «A little over a week ago at eight in the morning a giant bulldozer nosed its way into Jabalya camp in the Gaza-Strip and methodically began to reduce to rubble houses that Palestinian refugees had lived in for almost 20 years. The operation was watched by senior Israeli Army officers and protected by an unusual display of force.

«The occupants of the houses had been warned beforehand, but many refused to leave their homes. In order to avoid burying them alive, the Israeli soldiers went into the houses and drove them out — the women and children proved especially obdurate — with blows from sticks and batons.

«Within a few days a swathe, 30 yards wide and 100 yards long, had been cut along one edge of the camp. Fifty houses had crumbled into dust and 500 people, half of them young children were homeless.

«On Thursday, the Israeli authorities sealed off Jabalya and Gaza Beach Camps from the outside world by declaring them military areas. It was explained in Jerusalem that the camps were closed 'to prevent people from demonstrating for the benefit of foreign journalists.' We went back to Jabalya. Another 20 houses had vanished; another 200 people were homeless.»

The Observer report spoke of the homes being destroyed: «We were invited to have a look at some of the condemned houses in Jabalya. All were clean and neat, though invariably overcrowded. Nearly all had several extra rooms built on at the owners' expense. How do you rate compensation for a vine that has taken fifteen years to grow? And how do you restore the pride and dignity of a man who has put two decades of his life into making a decent home for himself and his family?»

The Israelis claimed that they were providing new and better homes. *The Observer* stated: «We later went to Bureij. The new accommodations consisted of half a dozen tumbledown and derelict houses, most of them without roofs.» *The Guardian* (19th August)

also said that not all the new accommodations were an improvement: «But other people are being put into hovels far worse than the huts they left behind. I saw an old man almost incoherent with indignation and despair, who had been put into a filthy room without even a window — less inviting than a prison cell.»

A *Reuter* report (August 7th) said: «The campaign measurers — military, security and psychological — range from military raids and demolition of houses for 'security road' construction, to appeals for commandos to surrender.»

In an editorial on August 1st, 1971, *The Observer* said: «It was Israel's intention to break up the large camps as quickly as possible before opposition, either external or internal, mounted to dangerous proportions.»

Even passive civilian protest was suppressed by the Israeli occupation troops. The *International Herald Tribune* reported on August 16th that to break the total strike taking place in Gaza, the Defence Minister, General Dayan, took the decision to send in troops to seal permanently those shops taking part in the strike. *The Guardian* reported: «The authorities also stripped licence plates off about 20 taxis whose owners joined the strike.»

Meanwhile, land is now being fenced off to keep Palestinians from their homes, while Jewish settlements are constructed. About 1,000 acres according to Israeli radio have been fenced off «to prevent local residents from taking control of these areas.»

The families, deported to El Arish in Israeli occupied Egypt, have started to return. By November, Israeli radio reported: «Just under 100 of the 400 families moved from the refugee camps have built houses on the northern coast of Gaza with materials salvaged from the houses destroyed.»

3. Israel's Plan: The journal *Israel and Palestine*, published by a Jewish journalist Maxim Ghilan, has revealed the facts about Israeli activities in Gaza. The article said, «In February and March 1972 General Ariel (Arik) Sharon, Commander of the Southern Front, took out of the Army files contingency plans for the elimination of the Bedouin population on the southern Gaza-Strip

and the area immediately bordering upon the Strip. These plans called for the evacuation of all wandering tribes, for the destruction of their pastures, the stopping of their water holes and wells, and the fencing in of the new empty lands.»

Listing eight areas seized by the Israelis, the article continues, «From this area alone, 4,800 Bedouins were evicted forcefully. At first no compensation was paid for this vast territory, only four kilograms of flour were given to each kicked-out desert Arab. Later, under pressure, some \$86,000 were paid out to them. Even later the Israeli Government declared its willingness to pay some £15m indemnity to the evicted Bedouins of the evacuated Pithat Rafiah area, this being some \$3,500,000 for 66,000 dunams of land.» (4 dunams equals one acre).

4. No Homes: The Head of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency said on 4th November 1972, according to *Reuter*, that no housing had yet been constructed for Palestinian refugees whose homes in the Gaza-Strip were demolished by the Israelis last year.

(vi) Jewish Political Prisoners

Resistance to Israeli policies comes not only from Palestinian Arabs. Recently, a small number of young Israeli Jews have refused conscription, while the Oriental Jews have organised themselves into the Black Panther movement to protest against discrimination in Israel against the dark skinned Jews by the European settler Jews.

Five recent cases of Jewish political prisoners are given below.

Giyora Neuman: 19 years old. Imprisoned for draft resistance in early 1972, Neuman's case has come frequently before the Israeli courts. Refusing his draft, he told Defence Minister Dayan: «I refuse to serve in an occupation army.»

When Neuman appeared in court on July 1st, 1972, he had already served 190 days' detention, after five times refusing to begin basic military training. Brought to court in handcuffs, he is now being tried by court martial. The result of his trial in July 1972

was an eight months sentence. The court rejected his plea that he refused to swear allegiance to an army he considers to be an army of occupation. He told the military court that he would do hospital work or other non-combatant military service, but his trial centred on his refusal to swear allegiance to the defence forces. On 4 November 1972, *Associated News* reported that Neuman had been released from prison to join the hospital corps.

Eytan Grosfeld: A boy of 16. Brutally assaulted by Jerusalem police on February 10th, while demonstrating with Black Panthers outside the Zionist Congress. He was sentenced to «Psychological observation» in Israel's worst borstal. *The Times* (March 11th) suggests a parallel between the treatment of Grosfeld and the treatment meted out to political dissenters in the Soviet Union. At Mitzpeh-Yam, Grosfeld had his hair shaved off, and was told not to express any political opinion. When he refused, he was locked in solitary confinement for 23 hours a day. On February 20th, Grosfeld was transferred to the closed psychiatric ward of the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem where he is now undergoing «treatment.»

Irith Yacob: A girl aged 19 years old. Imprisoned on February 4th, 1972, for draft resistance. She declared: «I refuse to inflict on the Palestinians what others inflicted upon the Jews.»

Roger Deerhy: 31 years old, a kibbutz carpenter, was sentenced on July 7th, 1972, to six months' imprisonment. Deerhy, who came to Israel from Morocco, told the Beersheba court that he would serve his prison sentence and «then refuse again to enlist.» He said that he had refused to report to a recruiting centre for a medical examination because he opposed war and would not serve in an army occupying Arab territory. He told the court, «my case should be dismissed so I can work and live according to my conscience.» In addition to his six month sentence, he was given a nine month suspended sentence.

Alan Rubin: Condemned in August, 1972, to 35 days in gaol for refusing to serve as a reserve soldier. An Israeli student and artist, Rubin, who came from South Africa, served in the regular army for three years before deciding to disagree with the occupation

and with military life. He is a member of the War Resisters International. In addition to his sentence, Rubin has to serve an extra 70 days in jail, for a former suspended sentence. On October 19th, 1972, Rubin was released after serving 63 days in prison, to do non-military work.

Asylum Sought: Fearing imprisonment in Israel, two young Israeli Jews sought political asylum in Sweden, *Associated Press* (on October 16th) reported. They are Harry Ostfeld and Jakob Gobolov, both aged 18 years. Ostfeld told the Swedish newspaper *Afrombladet*: «I regard our Arab neighbours as my friends, so I won't run the risk of becoming involved in fighting against them.» Golobov said: «I refuse to have anything to do with this dirty war. As a soldier I could be forced to take part in cruel reprisals against Arabs, like the Israeli killing of elderly people, women and children as happened after the Munich drama.»

The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights estimates that there are about 30 political conscientious objectors — as opposed to religious objectors, who serve on kibbutzim. Dr. Shahak, (ILHR) says that each gets 30 days' detention, then a day free to think about his decision. Objectors are then re-arrested. «Most people will break after three periods,» says Dr. Shahak.

The Black Panther movement is a response to human rights and equality denied to the Sephardic Jews (those from Asia and African countries). The Sephardis are 60% of the electorate, but have only 17 out of 120 elected MPs, and only two out of 18 Cabinet Ministers. In housing, like the coloured immigrant communities in Britain, the Sephardis are condemned to the twilight zones of Israel. In education, statistics illustrate the discrimination suffered by the Oriental Jews. Sephardis are 60% of all children entering primary schools, but are only 25% of secondary school entrants, and provide only 8% of students at Universities.

(vii) Deportation of Palestinians

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency announced on

June 8th, 1971, that a total of 22,000 Palestinians have been expelled from the occupied Gaza-Strip and have crossed to East Jordan since June 1967.

Radio Amman stated on February 23rd, 1972, that the number of citizens deported by Israeli authorities during the first three weeks of February totalled 32.

Since 1967, at least a thousand Palestinians have been deported from the Gaza-Strip, and an average of 10 a week from the West Bank, according to the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. Dr. Shahak, the League's President, says that the arrests take place during the early morning (4-6 a.m.), and people are given half an hour to pack. They are then taken to the Jordan border, south of the Dead Sea. They have no right to return. «This is done all the time.» He continued «this is used against the intellectuals, to deny Palestinian society its natural leadership.»

This point is confirmed in *The Times* (28.11.69) which on existing evidence under-estimates the number deported: «About 90 Palestinians, as far as I could calculate, have so far been pushed over the border into Jordan. Most are people who were prominent in West Bank life—the former Mayor of Jerusalem and the present Mayor of Ramallah, for example: judges, lawyers, doctors, teachers and so on.»

Dr. Shahak points out that between 1948-56 whole Arab villages were deported. The 8,000 Arab population of Ashkelon was deported in August 1950, making Ashkelon a Jewish town today. Even the Muslim cemetery was desecrated, he adds.

A partial list of deportees during 1969, compiled by the PLO Research Centre, showed some 131 Palestinians exiled from their homes, although this did not include «100 persons among whom were poets, members of parliament, former ministers, doctors, school principles, school teachers and journalists» whose deportation was reported in the *Christian Science Monitor* (21.5.69).

If the head of a family is deported in this arbitrary fashion, it is almost certain that the man's wife and children will follow, reluctantly, but voluntarily.

(viii) Military Law in Israel

«The System established in Palestine, since the issue of the Defence Laws, is unparalleled in any civilised country : there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany... There is indeed only one form of government which resembles the system in force here now... the case of an occupied country» — Mr. Ya'acov Shapiro, the present Minister of Justice in Israel, referring to the basis of Israeli Law, the Defence Laws, of 1949.

Israel's Defence Laws, inherited from the British occupation of Palestine, provide the basis for the incidents of Administrative detention, arbitrary deportation etc. detailed in this report. This section of the report deals with other aspects of the Defence Laws, and how they are used to infringe on human and civil rights.

1. Military Courts: All Palestinian political prisoners are held under the Defence Regulations, which empower the military authorities with arbitrary arrest. All power is held by the military commander. A man persecuted by the Defence Regulations Act cannot appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court, or to any civilian authority.

2. Restriction: Under the Defence Laws, the movements of Arabs can be restricted. Arbitrarily, the Military authorities can restrict indefinitely an Arab's movements. The length of time for permits to leave restriction is also arbitrary. Dr. Shahak says that some Arab students at the Hebrew University are on ten day permits, and then have to return home to renew their permits. Here are some cases confirmed during October 1972:

The Case of Naif Salim (refer to chapter 7, (iv), p. 87).

The Case of Uthman Abu-Ras (refer to chapter 5, (ii), p. 68).

Mr. Abu-Ras was never charged (much less convicted) of any offence. (Dr. Shahak told the author of this report: «The actual reason is that he is a Communist. People who don't keep their mouths shut are limited.»)

The cases of:

1. Muhammad Abu Etsba of Teibeh
2. Muhammad Na'afa of Beit Jan
3. Omar Sa'adi of Arabeh
4. Wagi Sima'an of Haifa
5. Murid Farid of Um-el-Fahem
6. Abdul Kader Haj Ihil of Teibeh
7. Zaiad Musa of Akko (Acre)
8. Jassin Bakri of Ba'ane
9. Sami Ratas of Haifa
10. Nabil Aweida of Haifa
11. Muhammad Abdul Karim of Tirah

On 29th October 1972, the Israeli League for Human Rights said, «All these are Israeli citizens who are limited to their villages or their cities, *arbitrarily*, without any offence, merely by the order of the military commander of their area. If they do want to go out of their village or city, they must ask each time, for a special permit from the police, which is usually denied.

«All these people are young, and are members of BANKI, the youth movement of the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah). BANKI has both Jewish and Arab members, but it is a fact that, while no Jewish member has ever been limited or arbitrarily persecuted, most of the Arab members are. Since BANKI (like Rakah itself) is a completely legal movement, it is very clear that the persecution of its Arab members is motivated by racism.»

The following cases have also been reported recently by the ILHR: *Darwish Kaskua*, limited to the village of Tirah since 1972; *Elias Ibrahim Rabya*, *Muhammed Ali Hassan Haddad*, *Abdallah Rabya Zakut*, all restricted to the area of Ramleh, according to an ILHR report of 17th October, 1972; *Fahed Rabya* was prohibited from visiting Jerusalem or the 1967 occupied territories, apparently for the crime of being related to Elias Ibrahim Rabya.

3. Censorship: Under the Defence regulations, all printed material written by Arabs in Arabic (but not Jews in Arabic, or Arabs in Hebrew) has to pass the military censor, including poetry, leaflets, advertisements, even Arabic translated from Hebrew.

During the Israeli Gaza campaign last year (1971), the Palestinian poet Tawfic Al Zayad published, in leaflet form, poems of his which had been passed by the military authorities for publication. However, permission had not been given for publication as leaflets, and Al Zayad was arrested. After intervention by the ILHR, who published the leaflets in their own name, Al Zayad was freed, but the charges have been postponed indefinitely.

(ix) Israel's Arab Citizens

1. Discrimination: In Israel there is no law which makes discrimination illegal. Israel is a Jewish state. The implication of this fact is that the majority of the population must be Jewish which is maintained by denying Palestinians (Muslims and Christians) the inalienable right to return to their homes and land.

To maintain a Jewish majority in Israel, the Palestinians must remain refugees. The anti-Arab theme underlying Zionist thinking in the Israeli Government is well expressed in a statement (23rd Oct. 1972) by Mrs. Meir, referred in *The Times* as a «Powellite» remark: «After we have signed peace treaties with our neighbours and agreed to borders, the nature of the State of Israel will be Jewish with a large Jewish majority, so that we don't have to get up every morning, being afraid to ask, 'Who was born during the night. Was it a Jew or an Arab?»

2. Israeli citizenship: When Israel was declared a state in 1948, Palestinians became second class citizens in their own land. Not only in the laws regarding lands shown below, but on the basic issue of citizenship.

Jewish people are given automatic and unconditional rights of Israeli citizenship, and recently this has been extended to Jews who do not live in Israel who may adopt Israeli citizenship (primarily for Soviet Jewry). Citizenship is also available for non-Jews whose parents lived under Jewish rule in 1948. This naturally excludes Palestinians in villages annexed by Israel after 1948, including East Jerusalem annexed in 1967.

The ILHR says that «about 60,000-70,000 Palestinian Arabs are not Israeli citizens although they live in Israel, so neither are their children.»

The implications for non-citizens under these terms mean that instead of a passport, they are given a «travelling card» valid for one year. «If he fails to return within the year, he will not be permitted re-entry.» Thus the so-called Law of Return, which allows all Jews living outside Israel to take up residence in Israel, does not apply to Palestinians born in Israel.

3. Land Rights: In Israel 90% of agricultural land is owned by the Jewish National Fund. On this land, under the constitution of the JNF, no Arab is permitted to dwell, or rent, or be employed. These rules on all tenants is upheld in Israeli Civil Courts by the Law of Contract.

The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* (5.11.71) reported: «The Ministry of Agriculture has issued about ten legal actions against settlers in moshavim, who have rented their land to others ('others' is a common euphemism for Arabs in Israel — trans) contravening by this the law which forbids renting to non-nationals ('national' in Israel means to belong to the Jewish nation, not belonging to Israeli citizenship—trans). In some cases it was even discovered that the settlers had rented land to Arabs who used to dwell on it before the War of Independence and a process began to operate in which Arabs had began to return indirectly to their lands.»

The Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* (26.10.71) reported: «The Ministry of Agriculture (and the department of colonisation of the Jewish Agency) will confiscate the land of a settler in Moshav Nitzarei-Oz, who has rented his land to Arabs. The spokesman of the Ministry of Agriculture, Mr. Yia'al Broker, has confirmed this morning that there exists a phenomenon in which farmers rent land to Arabs, and this causes formation of a new class of Arab farmers, who cultivate land belonging to Jewish owners. The Ministry of Agriculture has decided to fight this phenomenon, and a legal action was also taken against Moshav Etorim which had rented 300 dunams of its land to Arabs. Some more legal actions are being prepared.» (See «New Laws in Israel» in this report).

4. **Deprived of land:** Two laws exist in Israel which are used to deprive Arabs of their land. The first, Civil Law, gives the right to the Government to confiscate land not being farmed. The second, Military Law, prohibits landowners to go to their land. The ILHCR cites cases where after several years of Military Law forbidding an owner to visit his farm, the civil court confiscates it, with compensation. However, under these circumstances (see Land Rights above) where is there land that an Arab Palestinian can buy?

According to the ILHCR, the Israelis have been seizing land in the 1967 occupied territories, which contravenes not only the morals of human rights, but also international law. A report from Jerusalem dated 6th November, 1972, says, «The attempts of various Israeli Government bodies to remove Arabs in the conquered territories from their land have intensified. For the last two weeks a pressure-wave of confiscation and forced land sales have been passing over the northern part of the West Bank (Samaria). The means employed are as follows: a) Outright confiscation of «government land,» even if it was for generations in permanent rental of the villages. b) Destroying crops by means of army exercises, followed by offers to «buy» the destroyed land. c) Opening of «forbidden fire zones,» which are then used as a counter for a forced sale. For example: 5,000 dunams (1,250 acres) of the village of Akraba (see separate item on this village earlier in the report) were made a «firing zone» and forbidden to cultivate. After starving villagers had «agreed» to sell 800 dunams to the Jewish National Fund (see item on the JNF) for the use of the existing settlement Nahal-Gitit (Nahals are paramilitary settlements), the remaining 4,200 dunams were returned to their use. d) Calling on the villagers to «negotiate» sales in the actual presence of the military governor who has life and death power over them and who *actually and actively threatens* them during the «sale.» e) Arresting the families — usually boys of high-school age — and keeping them in jail until the sales are completed. It is always found that «by chance» the boys are liberated when their parents agree to sell part of the land.

5. **Olive Oil:** The ILHCR cites the example of discrimination in

the olive oil industry. The Government has a monopoly and farmers are required to sell produce to the Government. The Government price per kilogram is IL 3.50 for an Arab and IL 5.00 for Jewish farmers. Druzes, even though they have served in the Israeli Army (which Palestinian Arabs are not permitted to do) also get the same rates as Arab farmers.

6. Arab Murdered: The apparent disregard by the Israeli authorities for the Arab citizens is illustrated by the following report from the Israeli League for Human Rights: «On August 18th, 1972, when Abdullah Ajabrin was tending his sheep in the company of two other villagers, an Israeli Army car with soldiers passed on the neighbouring road. Without any provocation one of the soldiers fired, and Ajabrin was seriously wounded. The car went on its way to Arad, where the murderer was briefly checked by the police and then freed, without apparently any interrogation being taken. The family, through its lawyer, asked, in a letter dated 14th September, 1972, the police of Arad, if any investigation is in progress. No answer has been received.»

(x) Three Towns : Bir'im, Ikrit, Carmiel

1. Bir'im and Ikrit : Two Arab villages have been the subject, during the summer of 1972, of further Israeli «apartheid» attitudes, concerning land and villages from which non-Jews are banned. *Newsweek* (August 21, 1972) referred to the villages of Bir'im and Ikrit as «men without a country.» The article points out: «As the Christian Arabs in the tiny villages of Bir'im and Ikrit understood it, the Israeli Government promise was explicit. 'We were asked to evacuate our homes for fifteen days,' recalled Auni Sbait, a former Ikrit resident, 'and were promised that we would then be allowed to go back.' The pledge was in 1948, as independence dawned on the state of Israel. But today, despite 24 years of unswerving loyalty to the Jewish state, the villagers are still displaced persons. And when they tried to return home last week, the Jerusalem Government responded by arresting fourteen of them, and rejecting a series of appeals on their behalf.»

The *Newsweek* story continued, «most of the land once owned

by the Christian Arabs has been handed over to Jewish farmers, and it seems unlikely that if the villagers are ever allowed back to their houses, they — and the other displaced Arabs — might be able to make a case for the return of their fields.»

Four years after the Arabs of Bir'im and Ikrit were evicted, they watched their houses being blown up by Israeli troops. The Reverend Elias Shakur told *Newsweek*: «It was Easter Sunday. Since then we have called the hill our Wailing Wall.»

Ha'aretz has produced a list of some twenty other Arab villages in the Galilee district alone which suffered a similar fate in 1948. The total population involved is estimated at over 7,000 Arabs, both Christian and Muslim.

The civil rights campaign for Bir'im and Ikrit has been led by Archbishop Joseph Raya, with the support of thousands of Israeli Jews, including Members of Parliament, who oppose the policy of Mrs. Meir's Government.

The *Guardian* (16th August, 1972) condemned the Israeli Government's decision: «The decision of the Israeli Government to refuse permission to the Christian villagers to return to Bir'im and Ikrit on the border with Lebanon is harsh. It also reflects shortsightedness, and underlines the problems at the heart of future relations between Israelis and Arabs under Israeli jurisdiction.»

The editorial continued, «Mrs. Meir, on August 10th, said there were 22 similar villages on the northern border alone. She realises that the Arabs not only in the northern part of Israel but elsewhere might ask to return. Within the occupied territories, Arabs have been expelled from Rafah, the Gaza-Strip, from Quneitra on the Golan Heights, and from areas where Jewish settlements have been established. In addition there are the Palestinians dispersed in the Arab world. What if they asked to come back?»

After a meeting with Premier Meir, Archbishop Raya declared: «There is not enough justice in this country. There is neither democracy nor liberty.» In a letter to Mrs. Meir, he said: «No end justifies injustice, whether the end appears to be the good of the state or of a nation. If you base security on the denial of justice,

there is no accumulation of money which will guarantee that security; not even an army as strong as the Roman's will ensure it.»

2. Carmiel: In Israel, the rights of land and residence resemble those of Africans living in South Africa, as can be seen above. However, there are many towns in which Arabs are not permitted to live. A recent example is reported in *Ha'aretz* (18.2.72). It concerns the town of Carmiel.

«The whole thing began when Muhammed Marouf applied to the local council suggesting the foundation of a factory making bricks which would employ 50-60 workers, in which he would invest 1,500,000 Israeli pounds. Little by little rumours began to spread in the town: the Arabs are coming, the Arabs are coming. Workers, leaders, functionaries and ordinary civil servants raised the banner of revolt, accusing local personalities of sabotaging the plan for Judaizing Galilee.

«The Secretary of the Workers Council, Moshe Primoshore (of Rumania), one of the most powerful men in Carmiel... warns... 'Would Marouf establish an enterprise here, then his workers, the Arabs, would ask to live here. We will not make Carmiel a second Acre. We really want Jews to live and work here.'»

Shmnel Freider, Secretary of the Local Council told *Ha'aretz*: «I am against Arabs living here while Carmiel has a population of 4,500. I am not against Arab investments in such branches as electronics, tourism or hotel services, provided that the dominant working factor would remain Jewish.»

When the *Ha'aretz* reporter pointed out that Arabs are already working in Carmiel, Freider said: «Right, but only in Jewish enterprises and simple jobs. In new enterprises, which would be founded by Arabs, they should obtain permission — first of all the Jewish residents should be employed.»

The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights points out that Carmiel was founded in 1965, on land confiscated from the Arabs. The town of Upper Nazareth is «completely free of Arabs.»

(xi) New Laws in Israel

Two recent laws passed by the Knesset (Parliament) in Israel have alarmed not only opponents to Zionist Israel, but also some Israeli liberals.

1. Land Rights: The first concerned the right of Arabs to lease land or to work on land which is owned by the Jewish National Fund. The constitution of the JNF says (Article 3) «... land is to be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people.» The provision goes on to stipulate: «The Agency shall promote agricultural colonisation based on Jewish labour, and in all works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Jewish Agency it shall be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed.»

Thus the Arab Palestinians not only lost their land, but also the right to work 90% of agricultural land in Israel.

However, many Jewish settlers were not farmers, and began to lease or employ Arab labourers. On August 1st, 1967, the Israeli Government passed a law to enforce the racial clauses of the JNF constitution - The Agricultural Settlement Law. Its main effect is to deny Palestinian Arabs any kind of share in the agricultural land owned by the JNF. It also prohibits the sub-leasing of JNF land to Arabs, and the JNF already prohibits the direct leasing of land to Arabs.

This law was condemned by a few Israeli MPs. Uri Avnery told the Knesset: «If we are going to expel Arab cultivators from their land that was formerly theirs, and was handed over to the Jews, we shall be acting in accordance with the verse which says: 'Hast thou killed and also inherited?' The Jews took the land from them; somehow or other they got back as cultivators, and now they are being driven out again.»

Another Member, Tewfiq Toubi, stated: «The bitter truth that many are trying to evade or conceal is that this law is really intended to prevent Arab labourers from working on land that is called 'land of the nation,' or 'redeemed land,' to use the terminology of experts in the eviction of Arab farmers from their land.»

2. Hungry Children: In 1970 a more alarming piece of legisla-

tion was passed by the Israeli Government, which directly sought to deny Israeli-Arab children from child benefits. Uri Avnery declared in the Knesset: «The intention is to encourage births among one part of the population of Israel, and to effect the opposite among the other part, to pay grants to hungry children of one part of the population, and to withhold them from the hungry children of another part. 00.1 per cent of Arabs and 99.9 per cent of the Jews will receive the grants. Therefore, this is not a racist law. We shall hear of this law for many years to come from public tribunals just as we hear about certain laws in certain other countries.»

Avnery was referring to the «Discharged Soldiers (Reinstatement in Employment, Amd. No. 4) Law,» which provides families with numerous children with granted cash subsidies. However, since Arab families tend to be large and Jewish families small, this law was passed to cut off the money from the Arabs, by providing payments of grants to soldiers or members of their families, thus preventing the overwhelming majority of Arab families who do not serve in the Army from obtaining subsidies. The new Law replaced the earlier system which was not based on racial discrimination.

(xii) Israel Accused

On October 19th, 1972, the United Nations Special Committee on the Occupied Lands said in a report that Israeli policy included settling the territories in violation of the inhabitants' rights. The goal is «the deliberate eradication of a distinct Palestinian identity.» The report said that Israel had displaced 11,000 Palestinians to establish Jewish settlements in Arab territory.

The Committee, which was set up by the General Assembly of the UN in December 1968, has always been refused entry to the occupied territories by the Israeli Government.

The Committee added: «The practice of deportation and the policy of demolition of houses, of establishment of Israeli settlements, of exportation of Arab property and of denial of the right to return of the civilians who had fled those territories during and

after the 1967 hostilities are not only confirmed, but are accentuated by the developments, pronouncements and actions that have come to the notice of the special committee since its last report was adopted.»

It also said that during the past year, «there has been some relaxation in security measures» which it previously found to be «inordinately severe and in excess of the permissible limits under the law, and therefore to be in violation of the human rights of the civilian population of the occupied territories.»

The Committee added: «Despite reported efforts at improvements, (general prison conditions), it still leaves much to be desired, mainly due to overcrowding, and to interrogation procedures which very frequently involve physical violence.»

19

The «Israel and Palestine» Report*

(i) Monthly Horrors

The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights charged that:

Almost all prisoners convicted by military courts in the Gaza-Strip «confess» before sentence is passed. Their signed confessions are produced in court. In all cases, the accused withdrew confessions and testified under oath that these were obtained under torture and duress. At times they asked to produce witnesses that this is so. In no instance has the Israeli Military Tribunal of Gaza ordered an investigation of such complaints. All protests are dismissed as a matter of routine, whether they seem to be substantiated by fact or not. Many seem to be.

«Interrogation» of Arab prisoners in Gaza and the surrounding area appears to happen as follows:

All male prisoners are stripped naked and left thus for a long while. Many interrogations are carried out while the prisoner is in the nude—especially when he is a well-educated man.

It is a standing rule that no one can see or visit the prisoner for one month from the day of his arrest. Some cases are isolated for three or four months. There are several cases of total isolation for seven or even nine months.

* *Israel and Palestine* is a monthly report published in Paris. In its October 1972 number, it issued a report of the League on Palestinian Prisoners under the title, «Monthly Terror,» which is reprinted here (Ed.).

The following methods of torture and duress are used in the Gaza-Strip as of this date, 17 October, 1972.

«Falaka» or bastinado: the feet-soles are whipped with leather straps or sticks.

The prisoner is suspended by his arms for long periods of time. The hands are either bound in front of the body or, worse, behind the man's back. The interrogators are careful to bind the man's hands with elastic straps, rather than with ropes or through handcuffing, as the former method leaves less traces, and prevents rapid fainting of the prisoner.

The prisoner is ordered to stand and to hold a chair above his head during interrogation. At times he is forced to hold the chair with one single hand....This goes on for long periods.

The victim is beaten with flat boards on his hands, especially on his fingers.

The prisoner is soaked in cold water and left in this condition, all night long.

Before «interrogation proper.» in the first stage just after arrest, prisoners are often kicked by booted policemen and soldiers (This does not usually happen during interrogation). They are then only slapped repeatedly in the face.

Electric torture, which was widely used in Gaza in 1970 and before that date, has been dispensed with by the Israeli interrogators.

Prisoners who refuse to confess, after being subjected to such treatment, are not usually freed. Rather, they are deported to Jordan. This has also been done to many intellectuals of Gaza town, who were not even arrested: just taken to the deserted Wadi Araba area, south of the Dead Sea. The soldiers then fire over the deported man's head, thus forcing him to cross into Jordan. Expulsion orders are given by the Israeli military area commander, without any legal proceedings whatsoever. No possibility to appeal is granted. No last farewell is allowed to the deported man's family.

CONDITIONS IN JAILS:

Gaza city gaol: this prison is very crowded. It has no beds. Even on the floor there is no sufficient space for a prisoner or a condemned man to lie straight. Requests for folding-beds are not granted. Reasons given: «*Arabs are primitive and do not sleep on beds, even in their own houses.*» This is a lie, but a typical one.

Beersheba gaol: only Arabs are held there. In October they were collectively punished—by being forced to remove all their underclothes.

Kefar Yona gaol: only Arabs are held there. This is a «tough» jail, for «untreatable» prisoners. A new system of punishment has been instituted in Kefar Yona gaol in the last few months: starvation. Food rations have been greatly reduced, considerably below the level of rations meted out in other Israeli prisons. Prisoners' families charge that the inmates are continuously hungry.

Ramleh Central prison: a large number of special death-cells was installed in Ramleh last month. Only one man is held there, at this time, Mr. Yusuf Mansur of Tira, Israel. He is chained permanently by his legs. The leg irons have not been taken off since his conviction on September 13, 1972. When he is allowed to walk in the courtyard he is chained by his hands. His cell is two and a half meters long by one and a half meters wide. This includes the lavatory facilities. It has no window, but a bulb burns overhead, 24 hours a day. Mr. Y.S. Shapiro, Minister of Justice, has stated there will be no executions, for a while, in Israel. We believe that such conditions, for longer periods, are no better than death sentences. Permanent chaining, in particular, is a medieval atrocity.

Sources: Gaza, Beersheba, Kefar Yona, and Ramleh dwellers, whose stories have been checked. Their names are known to League members. In Ramleh, Mr. Lev, a journalist, related these things approvingly in *Ma'ariv*, (13.9.72).

I & P adds: many of the details dovetail with testimonies gathered by us from Arabs who were held in Israeli jails, and then deported abroad. Although it is possible that some exaggeration are present, in individual testimonies, the repetitive and precise character

of the charges made by prisoners' families and former inmates confirm fully the above facts.

(ii) Treason and Witch-Hunt

Six Jewish Israelis and several dozen Arabs were arrested last month, and charged with espionage and treason. Four of the Jews detained, Ehud Adiv, 26, Dan Vered, 28, Uri Cohen, 30, and David Cooper, 28, are members of a Maoist splinter-group, the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST ALLIANCE, or RCA, which is also called RED FRONT. Two more, Rami Livneh (son of a Communist Knesset member) and Mali Lehrman, are members of another splint, the MAAVAK (or «Struggle»). The first four named are charged with contacting Syrian intelligence in Damascus, and being trained in Palestinian camps; the two latter—of knowing of the deeds of Adiv and Vered and not reporting them to Security.

Following these arrests, an unprecedented campaign of defamations, falsehoods and witch-hunting was unleashed; not only against the two groups mentioned (which, at most, number twenty members each), but against all of the Left, up to and including the MAPAM Kibbutz movement. A concerted effort was made by the extreme Right, and abetted by almost all the Israeli press, to present the left as having committed «treason as the result of left education and ideology.» Demands that leftwing lecturers should be removed from the universities, that no left-oriented journalist be allowed to teach, that legal political organizations such as MATZPEN, or the Communist Party Rakah be outlawed—these are some of the *mildest* things written and said, nowadays, in Tel-Aviv.

It is obviously useless to tell the bloodthirsty and fanatical mob that treason is, if treason is the case, a matter of ideological choice; that for some, Palestinians working with Israel are traitors; and that a Jewish Maoist has more feelings of kinship with the commune-dwellers of Yunan than with the leadership in Jerusalem. The mob is out to taste blood; and the Israeli Intelligence MOSSAD, smarting after a series of mishaps which culminated in the Munich mass-murder débacle, is happy to give the public

proof of its efficiency, by making the few caught extremists look so much more dangerous. As for the leadership—the campaign mounted in Israel makes the public forget any doubts it might have about the savage bombing of both military and civilian targets in Syria and Lebanon, which resulted, over three short months, in more than a thousand victims.

There are, however, some in Israel and abroad who are not blinded by simple hate and pure fear. For the consideration of those few, we offer the following thoughts:

Although the concept of treason is a subjective thing, and a senseless one in terms of opposing ideologies, one must remember that a young Israeli who goes over to a political outfit fighting, arms in hand, with the Palestinian Resistance against the Israeli armed forces *does* take an irrevocable step. He makes a choice. He is not any more one of «us,» he is now one of the «others.» The fact that a native-born Sabra, a German Jew, an Oriental Jew, a South American Jew did this — if the warped news released is true — fills Zionist leaders with horror and public opinion with fear. For us, it is only another political fact, but one which certainly puts those who might take this step in a category by themselves.

Frenchmen cooperated with the Algerian Resistance during the Algerian war. Americans have carried Vietnams flags in demonstrations and destroyed US draft offices. Jane Fonda and Joan Baez are in Hanoi. Now Israelis join the ranks of anti-Israelis.

However, there the similarity ends. The Zionist regime fights against the *existence* of a Palestinian entity. The Palestinian Resistance fights against the *existence* of the State of Israel.

This Monthly, which is called *Israel and Palestine*, and which struggles for the existence of Israel and the rise of a free Palestine, cannot sympathize with anyone who, leaving the ranks of his own entity, adheres to the opposite one. We believe that the way to a united front of Palestinians and Israelis goes neither through the creation of an Israeli movement with Palestinian campfollowers nor, needless to say, through the adhesion of Israelis to the Palestinian fighters.

The RCA case illustrates better than a thousand words why a common political movement of both peoples is, as yet, a utopia; why each of them has to struggle, for the time being, in the framework of its own logic. This will be hard, bitterly hard; but the dialectics of national identification would make any alternative worse than hard; it would make it fatal.

No Palestinian or Arab Revolution, even one which gives rights to Jews, can solve, alone the Middle East dilemma. No Israeli movement can liberate the Palestinians. The solution must come through parallel efforts and through a dialogue. As long as this dialogue does not yet concern the majority of both peoples, cases such as that of the RCA will go on serving the enemies of freedom and the servants of occupation and tyranny.

20

SIACH (Israel New Left)

The Case of a Village (Akrabeh) in the Occupied Territories *

(i) SIACH Principles

(as approved by the third national conference, July 1972)

This document does not claim to be the basis of a programme, or any kind of ideological platform. It reflects the decisions of a wide-ranging political debate held during the summer of 1972.

SIACH (Israel New Left) is an Israeli movement of Left Socialists who have agreed on the following points:

The National conflict and the right to self-determination in Eretz Israel/Palestine. (Further sections are to be discussed and resolved at the forthcoming conference).

Eretz Israel/Palestine is the territorial basis for the self-determination of two peoples:

- a) The Jewish people living there, and those living outside and possessing national consciousness, who regard the state of Israel as their homeland and aspire to achieve their national aspirations by immigration (aliya).

* This report constitutes the *declaration* of SIACH principles, published in *Israel and Palestine*, and two communications published by SIACH itself in the case of the village of Akrabeh (Editor).

- b) Equally—the Palestinian Arab people living there, and those abroad possessing national consciousness, who wish to return.

The right to self-determination of the Jewish people living in the country was realised with the creation of the State of Israel.

The Palestinian Arab people were deprived of this right. Today the Israeli policy of continuing the occupation (of Arab territory) is responsible for the further denial of this right.

The origin of the Israel-Arab conflict is in the clash of two national movements: Jewish and Palestine-Arab. The conflict is now being waged on two planes: the dispute between Israel and the Arab states, and that between the Jewish people living in the country and the Palestinians. This national conflict is being exploited for imperialist and Great Power intervention.

The main conditions for peace between Israel and the Arab states are an Israel-Arab peace treaty based on the evacuation of the territories conquered in the Six Day War, and the recognition of Israel by the Arab states — as set out in Security Council resolution 242.

A solution of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict depends on the mutual recognition, by Jews and Palestinians, of each others' rights. This will permit them to struggle together for independence from any kind of Great Power politics, and towards the creation of a future Mideast Socialist Union.

The basic contents of such recognition are the following:

1) Israeli recognition of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination within Eretz Israel/Palestine—beside the state of Israel—on the basis of the June 4 boundaries. Any plan for realising this right must be based on the recognition in principle of the right of the Palestinian refugees to choose between return or compensation, this right to be achieved in the framework of a peace agreement. At the same time, the Arab national minority within the State of Israel must be assured of its full national and social rights.

2) Palestinian recognition of the right of the State of Israel to

exist as a sovereign Jewish state, within borders to be agreed upon, which are to be based on the June 4 borders.

Recognition of the rights of the Palestinian refugees, and of the right of Jewish immigration into the country, do not contradict each other. Similarly, the mutual links between Israel and Jewish communities in the world, and those between the Palestinian Arab people and the other Arab peoples—do not conflict.

The main problem facing Israeli society today, its chief obstacle to progress and development, is the absence of peace between Israel and her neighbours.

For its part, the Israeli government bears responsibility for the absence of peace and the continued occupation (of Arab territories) but SIACH cannot overlook the responsibility of Arab chauvinism in the history of the conflict.

The occupation (of Arab territories) is characterised by annexation in practice, colonialist settlement accompanied by systematic expropriation of the Arab population, increased exploitation of cheap Arab labour in the Israeli economy, war profiteering, extension of social and inter-communal gaps (in Israeli society), militarisation of education and culture in Israel, increasing blows at the democratic freedoms of oppositional groups, religious and secular chauvinism, and a dangerous erosion of the moral values of the individual in Israel.

By its policy, the Israeli government is sowing the seeds of the next war. Such a war, should it in fact break out as a result of this policy, will be in defence of conquests, and for the continued oppression of the Palestinian Arab people.

On this background, while standing by the role of the Israeli Defence Forces as any army of defence and being prepared to serve in it as such—we consider that the continued occupation (of Arab territories) and the role of the IDF in maintaining it, creates a moral and conscientious dilemma concerning army service in the conquered territories.

Accordingly, SIACH wages its struggle for ending this conquest, with all its destructive manifestations, as part of an Israel-Arab

and Israel-Palestinian peace treaty, based on the principle of mutual recognition.

SIACH favours steps and initiatives for peace which bring the achievement of this aim nearer, even if only partially.

SIACH.

Tel-Aviv, 15.7.72.

The above resolutions were passed in the wake of a discussion between SIACH-Jerusalem members and those of SIACH-Tel-Aviv, who include Kibbutz-members, and are the group's majority. The Jerusalem members tend «to reject any kind of Zionist formulas.» However, as the above statements do not claim to be the basis of a programme, no minority resolutions were adopted by the more radical elements of SIACH.

(ii) Political Action of Israelis Against Oppression of Palestinians:

*Communication No. 1**

The village of Akraheh is situated in the Israeli-occupied Nablus area. In the summer of 1972, part of the villagers' crops were destroyed by aerial spraying with defoliants (Defence Minister Moshe Dayan admitted that this was «an act of vandalism» - but no one was ever punished, nor, as far as is known, even reprimanded for it). Part of the village's land was enclosed, on the pretext that it was needed as a military training area, but, within a short time, it was confiscated and handed over to a new Israeli settlement, Gittit.

This whole affair caused great indignation within Israel, and many public figures protested against these acts. On November 25, 1972, some 80 members of SIACH (Israeli New Left) set out for Akraheh to express their solidarity with its inhabitants. They carried leaflets in which SIACH protested against the spraying and the confiscation of land, and also repeated its call for recognition

* Stated on March 14, 1973.

of the Palestinians' right to self-determination in a state of their own to coexist with the State of Israel.

The police and army closed access to Akrabeh. When the SIACH members insisted on proceeding to the village, all 80 were arrested. Five of the leading participants were put on trial before an Israeli military tribunal on various charges, such as 'incitement.' The trial showed clear signs of bias. For example, the accused were not permitted to bring witnesses and evidence relating to those illegal acts committed at Akrabeh, which had aroused the protest.

On March 11, 1973, the accused were found guilty on all counts, and sentenced to pay fines totalling IL.15,000 (IL.3000 each) with the alternative of 6 months imprisonment for failure to pay. In addition, each was given a 6 months' suspended sentence, should he repeat his 'crime.' The fines are to be paid by March 21, 1973. There is no right of appeal.

Such penalties, in a case of this nature, are unprecedented in Israel. The use of military courts in an attempt to silence dissent within Israel is a further infringement of civil liberties by the government. It is a most disturbing development.

SIACH (Israel New Left)

P.O.B. 4216 Tel-Aviv

*Communication No. 2**

As the first of our letters was sent out to friends and sympathisers abroad, SIACH stepped up its struggle inside Israel too. When the Nablus sentences were made public, they caused shock and amazement among circles and individuals, many of whom had little in common with SIACH except a concern for democracy and freedom of expression. An *ad hoc* public committee published an appeal for the annulment of the verdict, signed by over fifty prominent intellectuals, artists and political leaders of different parties.

* Stated on March 22, 1973.

We also organized an appeal for money to pay the fines, and within a few days, contributions began to come in. Especially noteworthy was the effort in the universities. Stalls manned by SIACH members handed out leaflets and collected contributions, which soon came to hundreds of liras as dozens of students and lecturers gave their support. Money was raised in kibbutzim too — in one, members donated IL. 600 from their modest personal allowances. In the streets of the main cities, we leafletted and collected contributions, and our members found an unusually sympathetic response, although two of the participants were arrested and are to go on trial for illegal fund-raising

As articles critical of the sentences began to appear, both in Israeli papers and abroad, the public committee called for a protest demonstration on March 20, 1973, the day that the five were due to begin their prison sentences (the money collected was still far short of the total needed).

Tactical Withdrawal

With protests building up, the government decided on a tactical retreat. The evening before the demonstration, the seven o'clock news carried an announcement from the military governor of Nablus that he had reduced the sentences to IL. 500, or one month in prison, on each of the accused. Time for payment of the fines was extended by a week. The aim was clear — the last-minute announcement, together with the postponement of the prison sentences, were intended to take the wind out of our sails, and to reduce the size and impact of the demonstration, which promised to be an unusually large one.

The demonstration nevertheless took place — in part, in celebration of this partial victory. Hundreds, including SIACH members and sympathisers, as well as prominent members of the public committee, marched through the rain from the Jerusalem University to the Knesset. A meeting was then held, which was addressed, among others, by two young Palestinian leaders who expressed their appreciation for the struggle that SIACH was waging against injustice and oppression of the Palestinian people.

A Partial Gain

Five SIACH activists were saved from imprisonment — the reduced fines could be paid. The money left over in the defence fund will be used in the trial of other SIACH members now facing a military tribunal in Hebron for similar offences, and for the continued struggle against land confiscations in the occupied territories. The outcome of this campaign has proved that concerted public effort by SIACH, while insisting on our own political line, can produce results. The fact that the five were prepared to go to jail, rather than give humiliating 'promises of future good behaviour,' played an important role in alerting public opinion.

The victory was only partial: the authorities still adhere to the anti-democratic principle of trial of political dissenters by military courts. While this system was often applied to Arabs, both within Israel and the occupied territories, its extension to Jewish opponents of the regime is a cause for further concern.

IN CONCLUSION, WE WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND OUR THANKS TO ALL THOSE, IN ISRAEL OR ABROAD, WHO LENT THEIR POLITICAL, MORAL, AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO OUR CAMPAIGN. WE ARE SURE THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THIS SUPPORT WHENEVER CIRCUMSTANCES DEMAND IT.

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON !!!

SIACH

«Israel, Human Rights and World Opinion»:
An Essay by Michael Adams*

Five years after the war of June 1967 the wretched situation in the Middle East persists. None of the many initiatives for a settlement have produced any result and meanwhile the Israeli occupation of Arab lands continues, with its inevitable accompaniment of repression, resistance and reprisals. For both sides — and for the outside world which allows it to continue — the pattern is a degrading one, involving the open denial of principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

There is a Russian proverb which says 'God sees the truth but waits.' Where the Palestine question is concerned, it is not only God who has waited. With the evidence before their eyes, with the Palestinians oppressed and victimised in the land of their birth or else uprooted and dispersed into exile, men who in any other context would at once have expressed their concern, have instead remained silent. The same politicians, churchmen, journalists who have sprung to the defence of elementary human rights in Africa, in Pakistan, in Greece and in Vietnam, have been content to ignore, in the context of Palestine, the open refusal of the Israelis to grant to others the rights which they have so vehemently claimed for themselves.

Because this is so, it is all the more significant that slowly — so slowly! — but surely this conspiracy of silence is breaking

* Text of an article by Michael Adams, published in *Middle East International*, London, July, 1972.

down. In Britain and France, in Switzerland and Scandinavia, in Africa, even in the United States of America — where this conspiracy is at its closest and most contemptible — voices which have too long been silent are being raised in support of Arnold Toynbee's dictum that 'right and wrong are the same in Palestine as anywhere else in the world.' The idea that the Israeli occupation is in some mysterious way different from any other occupation which has subjected one people to the arbitrary will of another, a fiction so often exposed in the reports of United Nations commissions, of Amnesty International and of lonely and courageous voices in the world press, is at last being seen for what it is.

For this improvement it is right to give credit first of all to the tiny band of Israelis who have consistently protested against the crimes of their leaders: to the members of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, who have done more than anyone else to draw attention to the violations of human rights and of the Geneva Conventions in the occupied territories, and to young Israeli dissidents like those who demonstrated outside the Israeli Embassy in London earlier this year, in protest against the imprisonment of conscientious objectors and other political prisoners in Israel.

One of these conscientious objectors has spoken for the growing number of Israelis who are appalled by what is going on in their midst, by the cruel stratagems to which the Israeli authorities resort to reinforce their mastery over the Palestinians. Nineteen years old Gyora Neumann was interviewed by an Israeli journalist, Haim Hanegbi, before he went into Military prison No. 6 at Atlit on February 18, to start his third term of imprisonment for refusing to serve in the Israeli Army. In the interview, published in *Seven Days* on March 8th, 1972, Neumann said:

"The political atmosphere in Israel is really shocking. People live a carefree life. They eat, drink, sleep, make love, tell jokes and go to concerts without sparing even a tiny thought for what is happening a few miles from their homes: conquest, oppression, deportation of the inhabitants, turning refugees into refugees twice over, «thinning out» of the civilian population and similar

violations of the most elementary human rights. The very fact that in this society there is someone who does not accept these things blindly will perhaps make people think of these things.'

It is largely thanks to the courage of individuals like Gyora Neumann, and especially through the efforts of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, that some of the popular misconceptions about Israeli occupation methods have been dispelled abroad. At a recent press conference in Geneva, the President of the Swiss League for the Human Rights, M. Jacques Muhlethaler, read out a copy of this letter, which he had addressed in the name of the League to Mrs. Golda Meir in January, 1972:

Your Excellency,

After taking into account the reports of the United Nations, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and after hearing various witnesses, among them one of our own members returning from Israel, our committee formed of people of all shades of opinion, Jews and non-Jews, has come to the reluctant conclusion that your military authorities think it right to employ methods of intimidation and reprisals unworthy of a people against which — and how tragic is the memory of it — precisely these same methods were used in the past!

Acts of brutality, of arbitrary administrative detention, of expulsion, of separation of families, of dynamiting houses, etc. can only arouse among the population which suffers them a spirit of hatred and revenge, which produces a vicious circle of violence.

The blowing-up of houses, which is at present practised in the occupied territories, constitutes a collective punishment, which is contrary to justice as well as to the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It produces in thousands of children a state of shock which may endure for the rest of their lives.

That is why we ask you, Your Excellency, to put an immediate stop to these demolitions, which are having a growing effect on public opinion both inside Israel and abroad.

While we await your reply, we shall treat this letter as confidential. Wishing in no way to do harm to the State of Israel, we shall give no publicity to our approach if your reply is a favourable one. We have decided on the 15th of February as the date on which we shall confirm or rescind our decision. Meanwhile, we give you notice that if the demolitions should continue, we have decided to bring the attention of the world press to the violations of human rights at present practised in Israel.

We beg Your Excellency to rest assured of our highest respect.

On behalf of the Swiss League of Human Rights
Jacques Muhlethaler, President.

P.S. A copy of this letter has been sent, marked 'strictly confidential,' to General Moshe Dayan, Minister of Defence.

Receiving no reply to this letter from either the Israeli Prime Minister or her Minister of Defence, the Swiss League of Human Rights called a press conference on February 16. Emphasizing that the League pursued its objective of defending justice and human rights in a spirit of absolute neutrality, M. Muhlethaler introduced M. Edmond Kaiser, President of the organization 'Terre des Hommes,' who had recently returned from a visit to Israel and whose report on his findings there had prompted the initiative of the Swiss League of Human Rights. M. Kaiser's evidence had confirmed other information received by the League from Amnesty International, from the special commissions of inquiry appointed by the United Nations, from the International Committee of the Red Cross and from other sources. In the light of all this evidence and recalling that almost a year earlier, on March 15, 1971, the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations had voted a resolution severely condemning Israeli practices in the occupied territories, M. Muhlethaler appealed to his hearers to do all in their power to put a stop to such practices, which he described as 'worthy of Nazis but unworthy, in my opinion, of Jews.'

Of the evidence accumulated by the Swiss League of Human Rights, only that of M. Kaiser was new. The facts about the arbitrary arrest, torture and deportation of Palestinian 'suspects.'

and about the repressive measures, including the demolition of houses specifically authorised by General Dayan's policy of 'neighbourhood (i.e. collective) punishment,' have long been known, if only to a restricted public. These facts have been detailed in two reports by the Special Commission of Inquiry appointed by the United Nations and confirmed in the resolution of the U.N. Human Rights Commission mentioned above.

Even the International Committee of the Red Cross, whose normal practice it is never to give publicity to its findings, felt it necessary as long ago as the end of 1970 to release an outspoken report accusing the Israelis of repeated violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention by blowing up houses and even whole villages in a deliberate policy of 'collective reprisals.' The report listed ten villages and camps which had been totally destroyed by the Israelis. A spokesman for the Red Cross justified the International Committee's decision to publish the report by saying that, after two years of protests, 'we have not been able to obtain from the Israeli Government a satisfactory response on its attitude towards the Fourth Convention.'

It is American support that has enabled Israel to maintain its occupation; yet in the United States too, the voice of protest is gaining strength. American churchmen especially are disturbed by the actions of the Israeli Government, actions which flout repeated United Nations resolutions, (notably over the annexation of Arab Jerusalem, the eviction of many of its citizens and the expropriation of their lands and property) but which are committed behind the shield of American protection.

On March 27, Washington newspapers reported that in their sermons on Palm Sunday three leading clergymen in the American capital had denounced Zionist policies in Jerusalem and the Israeli attempt to assert an exclusive claim to the Holy City. Under the headline 'Israel Called Oppressor of Jerusalem,' the *Washington Post* quoted the Dean of Washington, the Very Rev. Francis Sayre, as saying that contemporary events in Jerusalem were one example of 'the moral tragedy of mankind.' Modern Israel, he said, was 'a mirror of that fatal flaw in the human

breast that forever leaps to the acclaim of God, only to turn the next instant to the suborning of his will for us.'

The Dean recalled that when Israeli forces surged across the old border to occupy Arab Jerusalem, many people around the world had cheered. 'But now,' he said, 'oppressed became oppressors. Arabs are deported; Arabs are imprisoned without charge; Arabs are deprived of the patrimony of their lands and their homes; their relatives may not come to settle in Jerusalem.'

The *Washington Star* called Dean Sayre's denunciation of Israeli policy in Jerusalem 'some of the strongest language used by a Western clergyman on the subject, aside from a statement by Pope Paul within the past month denouncing the Israeli annexation of the Arab section of the city.' English readers may recall that Canon Herbert Waddams, preaching in Canterbury Cathedral on August 8, 1971, described Israel's politically-motivated building programme in the Arab sector of Jerusalem as 'plainly and undisguisedly an act which flies in the face of legal, moral and political principles and which must be universally condemned by International authority.' The truth is, said Canon Waddams, that 'not a single group of independent experts, Jewish or non-Jewish, can be found to put up a convincing case for this disgraceful move.'

These too were strong words, as forthright and as unusual as those of Dean Sayre in Washington Cathedral. Anyone who cares about the freedom of the press in Britain is likely to ask himself why they were not reported by the British press, as Dean Sayre's words were reported by the *Post* and the *Star* in Washington. He may also ask why the statement which the Archbishop of Canterbury himself issued to the press just before Christmas was totally ignored by every British newspaper until it was challenged some days later by the Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, it is worth recalling, had spoken of the Israeli building programme (which is being carried out on land expropriated from its Arab owners) as 'disfiguring the city and its surroundings in ways which wound the feelings of those who care for its historic beauty and suggest an insensitive attempt

to proclaim as an Israeli city one which can never be other than the city of three great religions and their peoples.' Christians must be concerned, said the Archbishop, at the fact that unless the city retains this universal character, 'the prospects for peace are severely damaged.'

Whether it is a question of Israel's annexation of Arab Jerusalem or of her treatment of the Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories, the prospects for peace are plainly not improved by policies which intensify bitterness and compound the injury already done to the Palestinian people. Nor is it easy to see how the Israelis can expect to retain any measure of international sympathy if they continue to defy rulings which have the overwhelming support of International opinion.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has voted by 99 votes to 0 for a resolution condemning the Israeli annexation of Arab Jerusalem. The Security Council, by a unanimous vote, has declared the annexation illegal, branding as invalid all administrative measures (including specifically the expropriation of Arab land and the transfer of populations) taken by Israel to change the city's status. Israeli methods in the occupied territories have been condemned by the U.N. Human Rights Commission as contrary to the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Repeated U.N. resolutions have called on Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab territory and to allow the return of the Palestinian refugees.

Wrong with impunity

These facts are not unknown — but they are very seldom discussed with any degree of frankness. The pressures which operate in this field of human affairs are never publicly debated. For a politician, a newspaper editor, a church leader to adopt a position critical of Israel is to court the charge of anti-semitism. The charge is absurd, carrying with it the corollary that Israel, alone among the nations, can do no wrong — or rather, must be allowed to do wrong with impunity — but the threat of it constitutes a form of pressure which few public figures feel able to withstand.

These pressures have indeed been confronted and challenged by men of the stature of Arnold Toynbee and Bertrand Russell, though their remarks have not generally been reported by the press. Now that men like Gyora Neumann in Israel and Jacques Muhlethaler in Switzerland, as well as the Dean of Washington Cathedral and the Archbishop of Canterbury, have found it possible to speak out about abuses which all of us know are taking place, surely it is time for the press to find its voice? If the Western press were to devote to protests like these listed above one tenth of the attention it gives to the question of the Jews in the Soviet Union, it would be possible not only to protect the Palestinians from further victimisation, but to defuse a situation which at present threatens the peace of the Middle East and possibly of the whole world.

«All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing.»

United Nations Commission on Human Rights

(Resolutions on human rights in Arab territories occupied by Israel).

(i) Resolution of 23 March, 1972

The Commission on Human Rights adopted the following resolution on 23 March, 1972:

«The Commission on Human Rights»

« Guided by the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

«Bearing in mind the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949,

«Recalling all the relevant resolutions adopted by the various United Nations organs on the subject of the protection of the hu-

* The United Nation Commission on Human Rights has been raising the question of human rights in the occupied territories in almost all its annual sessions since 1967. After intensive investigations, the Commission adopted in 1972 and 1973 two resolutions on the question. The terminology and seriousness of these two resolutions reflect exactly the perplexity of international opinion over Israel's attitude towards human rights. For example, the resolution of 1973 described Israeli practices as «war crimes.» This indicates where the causes of war and terror in the Middle East are to found, and makes the protection and promotion of the rights of the Palestinian people (political, economical social and human) the only possible way to reach peace and stability inside and around Palestine (ed.).

man rights of the inhabitants of the Arab territories occupied by Israel,

«*Recalling also* that in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and those of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Member States bear a special responsibility to ensure the protection of human rights and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person,

«*Recalling further* that in accordance with article 1 of the said Geneva Convention, States Parties have undertaken not only to respect but also to ensure respect for the Convention in all circumstances,

«*Taking note* of the reports submitted to and/or discussed in the different competent organs of the United Nations on the aforementioned subject,

«*Gravely concerned* with all acts and policies that affect the status or the character of those occupied territories and the basic rights of the inhabitants thereof, such as:

- «a. The declared intention to annex certain parts of the occupied Arab territories,
- «b. The establishment of Israeli settlements on those territories and the transfer of parts of its civilian population into the occupied territories,
- «c. The evacuation, transfer, deportation and expulsion of the inhabitants of occupied territories,
- «d. The destruction and demolition of villages, quarters and houses and the confiscation and expropriation of property,
- «e. The denial of the right of the refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes,
- «f. Collective punishment and ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees,
- «g. Administrative detention and holding prisoners incommunicado,

Noting with regret that the aforementioned acts have not been rescinded in spite of the numerous resolutions adopted on the subject,

«*Deploring* the persistent defiance and disregard by Israel of all United Nations resolutions on the protection of human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and on the preservation of the demographic composition and geographic character thereof,

«*Taking note* of the fact that article 147 of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 has considered unlawful deportation or transfer, unlawful confinement, deprivation of the rights of fair and regular trial, taking of hostages and extensive destruction and appropriation of property as grave breaches of the Convention,

«*Noting* that the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg as confirmed by General Assembly resolutions 3 (1) of 13 February 1946 and 95 (1) of 11 December 1946, has considered as war crimes the «grave breaches» later enumerated in the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949,

«*Recalling* its resolution 5 B (XXVI) adopted at its twenty-sixth session which considered violations of the Geneva Conventions as war crimes and an affront to humanity,

«1. *Strongly calls upon* Israel to rescind forthwith all measures and to desist from all policies and practices affecting the demographic structure or the physical character of the occupied Arab territories and the human rights of their inhabitants;

«2. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel to permit all persons who have fled the occupied territories or who have been deported or expelled therefrom to return to their homes without conditions;

«3. *Reaffirms* that all measures taken by Israel to annex or settle the occupied territories are null and void;

«4. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel—once more—to comply fully with its obligations under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War;

«5. *Also calls upon* Israel once more to respect and implement

the resolutions adopted by the Commission and other competent organs on the question of the protection of human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories;

«6. *Requests* all States Members of the United Nations and all States parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 to do their utmost to ensure that Israel respects the principles of human rights and fulfils its obligations under that Convention;

«7. *Considers* that grave breaches of the Fourth Geneva Convention committed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories constitute war crimes and an affront to humanity;

8. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of its twenty-ninth session (in 1973) as a matter of high priority the item entitled «Question of the violation of human rights in the territories occupied as a result of hostilities in the Middle East.»

(ii) Resolution of 13 March, 1973 :

QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED AS A RESULT OF HOSTILITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Commission of Human Rights,

Guided by the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war,

Recalling the pertinent United Nations resolutions on the protection of human rights and the fundamental freedoms of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories,

Further recalling that the General Assembly in its resolution 2949 (XXVII) declared «that changes carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories in contravention of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 are null and void» and called «upon all States not to

recognize any such changes and measures carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories»,

Taking note of the reports of the United Nations and other international humanitarian organizations on the situation of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories,

Greatly alarmed by the continuation of the violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, by Israel, in the occupied Arab territories, in particular the destruction of houses, expropriation of Arab territories, ill treatment of prisoners, pillaging of the archeological and cultural heritage and the exploitation of natural resources,

Deeply concerned by the fact that Israel continues to establish Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, encourages massive immigration to that end, continues to deport and transfer the indigenous Arab population and refuses the return of the refugees and displaced persons to their homes,

Convinced that Israel's deliberate policy of annexation and of settlement in the occupied Arab territories is in cotravention of the Charter of the United Nations, the International Humanitarian Law, and with the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Deploing Israel's persistent defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and its continued policy of violating the basic human rights of the population in the occupied Arab territories,

1. *Deplores* Israel's continued grave breaches of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied Arab territories which were considered by the Commission on Human Rights as war crimes and affront to humanity;
2. *Reaffirms that* all measures taken by Israel to change the the demographic structure and status of the occupied Arab territories, including occupied Jerusalem, are null and void;
3. *Calls upon* Israel to comply with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Principles of International Human-

tarian Law, to abide by its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention and to respect and implement the relevant United Nations resolutions;

4. *Further calls upon* Israel to immediately stop the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories and to rescind all policies and measures affecting the physical character and demographic composition of those territories;
5. *Calls upon* all States to do their utmost to ensure that Israel respects the principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms and that it desists from all acts and policies aimed at changing the physical character and demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories particularly through the establishment of settlements, the deportation and transfer of the Arab populaion;
6. *Considers* that Israel's policy of settling parts of its population including immigrants in the occupied Arab territories, is a flagrant violation of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, as well as the relevant United Nations resolutions and calls upon all States and organizations not to help nor assist Israel in any way to enable it to pursue its policy of colonizing the occupied Arab territories;
7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to bring this resolution to the attention of all governments, the competent United Nations organs, specialized agencies, regional inter-governmental organizations, and to give it the widest possible publicity and to report to the next session of the Commission on Human Rights;
8. *Decides to* place on the provisional agenda of its thirtieth session as a matter of high priority, the item entitled, «Questions of the Violation of Human Rights in the Territories Occupied as a Result of Hostilities in the Middle East.»

