

Palestine Focus

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NATIONAL NEWSLETTER OF THE NOVEMBER 29th COALITION

Editorial

U.S. Aid to Israel **Our Money Pays for War**

"Demanding an end to U.S. aid to Israel is the most direct way Americans can contribute to peace in the Middle East."

Israel has spent an estimated \$2.5 billion on its invasion of Lebanon. In 1982, U.S. military and economic aid to Israel, not including loans, private grants and other forms of assistance totaled \$2.7 billion. In fact, Israel receives more aid from the United States than any other country in the world. If anything is to be learned from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, this massive aid program must be called into question.

The Israelis employed American-made cluster and phosphorus bombs—lethal, antipersonnel weapons—in violation of U.S. law restricting American military aid to defensive purposes. Yet, rather than raising the issue of lessening or halting aid, the Reagan administration proposed to increase the aid allocation for 1983. The United States government continually pleads powerlessness and neutrality in the face of Israeli crimes such as the massacre at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Yet the flow of weapons and money continues uninterrupted.

According to a report by the U.S. government's Agency for International Development, U.S. military and economic assistance "enables Israel to pay for weaponry, fuel, and other civilian imports... without heavy reliance on high-cost commercial borrowing, depletion of its foreign exchange reserves, or economic depression." In fact, while the rest of the world, including the United States, suffers from a depression, the real wages of Israeli workers rose by 5 percent in 1982 despite an inflation rate of 150 percent. Unemployment at the end of 1982 in Israel was about 5 percent, the same as in 1979.

Many Israeli peace activists are concerned that massive U.S. aid shields Israelis from the consequences of their government's actions. The United States government claims to oppose the expansion of Israeli settlements on the Palestinian West Bank and Reagan said he was against the invasion of Lebanon. But the United States is financing both ventures.

U.S. Aids West Bank Settlements

The settlement program costs about \$300 million a year to settle approximately fifteen thousand settlers a year or about \$20 thousand for each. The Israeli government finances the construction of new housing and industry and offers extremely low-interest loans and other inducements to settle in the areas occupied in 1967. "In effect, we indirectly support the settlement program by the sheer volume of our aid," according to Professor Seth Tillman of Georgetown University, former Middle East expert for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Benefits to Israelis who settle in the West Bank are so attractive that even some Israelis who ideologically oppose settlement are taking up the offer. New cities are growing up only ten or fifteen minutes from Jerusalem. A State Department Middle East expert testified in a congressional hearing, "When we make resources available to support a program, it frees the Israelis to provide funds for settlements. What it means is that they've got millions they can spend any way they want."

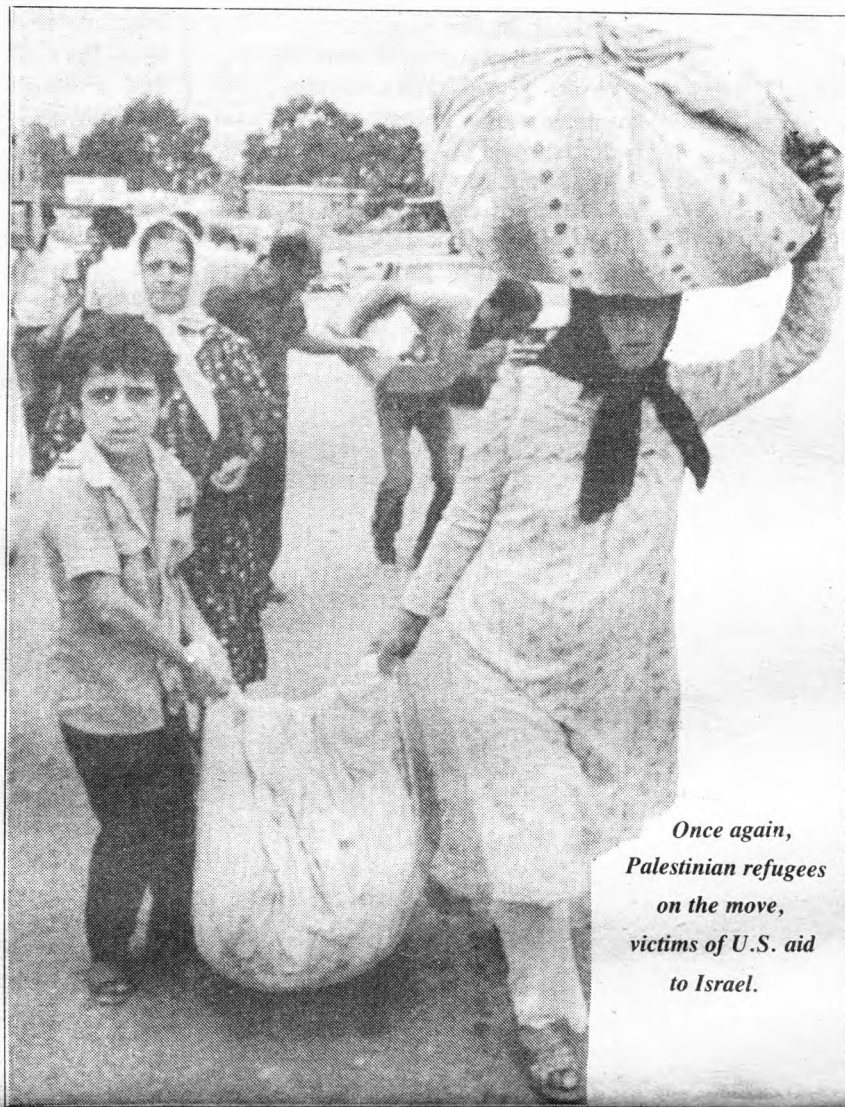
Representative Mervyn Dymally questioned Nicholas Veliotes, Assistant Secretary of State for the Mideast, in a hearing of the House Mideast Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee: "Can we not assume that by giving [Israel] so much aid, their money is freed up to continue settlements on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip?" Veliotes replied, "Yes, that is true, Mr. Dymally."

Between 1974 and 1982 Israel received \$22.5 billion from the United States. For such an amount most investors would expect to receive a return. Our article on Israel's arms sales to Central America, elsewhere in this issue, gives one example of what the U.S. government is getting for its money.

Why Massive Aid to Israel?

But what do the American people—whose tax money is funding military adventures, annexation of Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian land, brutal occupation and settlement in the West Bank—get for this money? What justifies the "special relationship" between our two countries? President Reagan, noting the "geopolitical importance" of Israel, views Israel "as a stabilizing force, as a deterrent to radical hegemony and as a military offset to the Soviet Union."

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*Once again,
Palestinian refugees
on the move,
victims of U.S. aid
to Israel.*

Arms and Advisors to the Juntas

Israel's Role in Central America

By Steve Goldfield

In 1978 Jimmy Carter announced the United States would stop supplying arms to Anastasio Somoza, dictator of Nicaragua. Somoza continued to fight for almost one year. A close U.S. ally supplied 98 percent of Somoza's arms in his last year.

Guatemala received no arms from the United States between 1977 and 1981. Which country provided all Guatemala's arms in that period for a bloody campaign of terror against workers in the cities and Indians in the mountains?

Who trained El Salvador's secret police and sent 83 percent of Salvador's arms between 1972 and 1980? Hint: The same country supplied planes for Salvador's air force and Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault rifles for its soldiers.

Which country did all this? Which one did the United States government use to circumvent congressional and public opinion? The country which supplies and trains Central America's military regimes is Israel.

Israel: Number One Arms Merchant in Central America

Israeli planes have made Honduras the main air power in Central America, threatening the security of Nicaragua along with the Salvadoran guerilla control zones of the FMLN. In December 1982 President Reagan and former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon visited Honduras. Following these visits, a high-ranking Honduran military officer praised Israel to the *Christian Science Monitor*, "Sharon's trip was more

positive. He sold us arms. Reagan only uttered platitudes, explaining that Congress was preventing him from doing more."

Israeli-installed computers monitor personal telephone and electricity usage and record data on people's travel from street checkpoints in Guatemala. If you were a Guatemalan citizen and your telephone or electricity usage were abnormally high, you may be suspected as a member of the opposition. Such suspicion is grounds for execution by a death squad.

In El Salvador, the PLO ambassador to Nicaragua has reported about one hundred Israeli counterinsurgency instructors at a secret base near San Salvador. This is more advisors even than the United States has in El Salvador. And Arnaldo Ramos, a U.S. representative for the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) says an Israeli-installed computer system, similar to the one in Guatemala, is in place in San Salvador.

Costa Rica has never had an army. With Israeli trainers and arms, this depriva-

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A New Stage U.S. Opposition After the Invasion

The June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon produced the largest, most protracted, and geographically most widespread movement concerning the Palestinian issue and the Middle East ever seen in the United States. New organizations formed and old ones reacted with newfound energy. Demonstrations, teach-ins, vigils, sit-ins, newsletters, bulletins—protest in many forms set a new high-water mark for this issue. Yet

reinforce each other's efforts, to find areas of agreement, to work for positive gains rather than to undo each other's efforts. Coordination goes not grow spontaneously; it must be actively and continually built.

The Palestine movement has grown and has a relative stability, and it has a chance to expand its constituency significantly. These significant gains result from the horrors of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. But our move-

must share resources, whether these be speakers, information, or radio programs. And we must debate our differences in ways which do not undermine our areas of agreement. Only in such an atmosphere can we all grow and test our different approaches about Palestine and the Middle East.

There are important links between the Palestinian question and the principal concerns of other progressive movements. The continual threat of war, including nuclear confrontation over Palestine, affects the peace and anti-intervention movements. The growing involvement of Israel in propping up dictatorships such as those in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, impacts the Central American movement. The repression and abuses suffered by the Palestinian people concerns the human rights and antiracist movements; massive U.S. aid to Israel affects all people concerned about creating jobs and altering Reagan's militarized budget priorities. Yet, long-standing myths concerning Israel mean that Palestine is often ignored by the very movements that should see this issue as a key focus of their work. This fragmentation, isolation, and self-imposed blindness needs to be countered by the Palestine movement and all progressives. We are not interested in creating a small island of enlightenment concerning Palestine; we must overcome these artificial barriers to build a genuinely broad movement.

That the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has awakened public opinion must bring us to a new level of development. To do this, the November 29th Coalition aims to avoid sectarianism and seeks constructive cooperation. We urge other organizations of the Palestine movement and all progressive people to join us in creatively exploring possibilities for cooperation. No matter what our differences, we have far more in common than what divides us from a Likud or Labor government in Israel or from the Reagan administration.

The urgency that we feel cannot be overstated. We must not squander the historic opening which is our legacy from 1982. Week by week Israel seizes more and more Palestinian land on the West Bank and Gaza. If we fight each other, we will all lose. Let us discuss our differences honestly, but let us also find ways to work together around the critical issues that confront us today.

"We must overcome artificial barriers to build a genuinely broad movement."

in 1983 the initial burst of energy has somewhat faded; the waves crested and we find ourselves in a trough. What must we do to ensure that our reaction to the invasion is more than a one-shot statement of outrage, that what we have built does not disappear as though it had never existed?

The time has come to take stock of our movement, to objectively assess its various components, and to chart its course in the immediate future. The different elements in our movement attempted to work together in many places and on many occasions. At times, however, we have been plagued by mutual distrust. As well, we continue to suffer from a low level of knowledge concerning the Palestinian struggle and the Middle East in general—ignorance reinforced over years by the misinformation and myths projected by supporters of Israel. Despite these obstacles, many successful events were held and overall progress resulted.

Although a wide range of people and opinions have been mobilized, there is no need to be insecure about our diversity. Where movements have gone beyond such primitive beginnings, they have learned to network, to

ment lacks channels of communication, consultation and coordination. Consequently, many different elements of our movement remain unable to sort out the political differences that divide us. We have differences over the nature of the Israeli state, the PLO, Zionism, and the role of the United States in the Middle East and globally. We attempt to address these critical concerns in the November 29th Coalition—but we do not expect that others share an identical perspective. Differences remain, yet we must find areas of agreement and shape joint activities with the goal of mobilizing effective public opinion.

We believe that there is broad agreement concerning the following immediate issues, along with others: Stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East; cut U.S. aid to Israel; demand Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon; stop Israeli settlement and brutal repression in the West Bank and Gaza; demand that Israel free the Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners captured during the invasion. Around such issues a broad Palestine movement can develop—conscious of our tasks, our unity and our differences. To do this, we must establish regular relations among all activist groups who work on Palestine-related issues. We



November 29th Coalition

The November 29th Coalition takes its name from the date declared by the United Nations as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. A resolution declaring this solidarity day was passed by the U.N. on December 12, 1979. It resulted from a joint drive by the overwhelming majority of member states to recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The resolution also expressed the international consensus that there cannot be peace in the Middle East without the recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

The November 29th Coalition was founded in 1981 to create a movement of solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people here in the United States. The Coalition includes more than one hundred member groups, progressive individuals, and representatives from other liberation struggles.

In 1981, the Coalition organized demonstrations to celebrate November 29th in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. In July and August 1982, at the height of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Coalition organized a series of teach-ins to inform the American people of the issues involved in the Lebanese crisis. Some of the cities with teach-ins include New York, Austin and Houston, Texas, Chicago, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Seattle.

The principles of unity of the November 29th Coalition include: 1) No U.S. intervention in the Middle East; 2) Cut all U.S. aid to Israel; 3) Condemnation of Zionism as a form of racism; and 4) Support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestine people.

Introducing Palestine Focus

This is the first issue of *Palestine Focus*, the national newsletter of the November 29th Coalition. The task of the November 29th Coalition is to spark and support consistent, far-reaching, and effective activity which brings the issue of Palestine before the American people and builds a growing and deepening base of understanding. In the past, occasional qualms about Israel's dangerous actions quickly diminished once the most recent outrage faded from the public's memory. However, the November 29th Coalition seeks to build a flexible and experienced organizational framework to bring together spontaneous opposition into a sustained movement. Guided by a thorough analysis of the Middle East and the role of the United States, we can direct such opposition into the most effective possible activity.

We realize these are ambitious objectives and that we need the right tools for the job. We have identified *Palestine Focus* as one such necessary tool. This newsletter will counter the barrage of pro-Israel propaganda which Americans find in their newspapers and on their television sets by advancing factual and understandable explanations of all the issues raised by the state of Israel and the dispossession of the Palestinian people.

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

The June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon radically transformed American public opinion, radically in the sense that it tugged at the roots of support for Israel. For the first time many began to question basic assumptions

of U.S. policy toward Israel. Though these questions have not yet been definitely answered, profound significance must be attached to the fact that they are even posed. Outrage over the invasion, the Sabra and Shatila massacres, continued Israeli settlement of the West Bank and Gaza, and other Israeli misdeeds has created a new climate. This climate of outrage challenges us to expose our government's complicity, Israel's overall policy of aggression and expansionism, and conservative Arab collusion. The growing awareness of Israel's international role, such as in shipping arms to right-wing regimes in Central America, focuses a spotlight, and a magnifying glass, on Israeli behavior. The massive U.S. aid which fuels the Israeli war machine demands we link popular concern over budget cuts, unemployment, and other domestic issues to the continuing threat to peace in the Middle East.

We expect *Palestine Focus* to be a key to cohesive growth of the November 29th Coalition as a national organization. But we also expect *Palestine Focus* to become the reliable source of information and informed commentary and analysis for thousands of activists and concerned Americans. The coalition and the newsletter intend to form a hub for a growing network of activities. Our ambitions are bold: we want no less than to make understanding and support for the Palestinian people and for the Lebanese and other Arab peoples a significant reality that cannot be ignored or dismissed as invisible or marginal. We want to move Palestine to the center of American political consciousness, along with Central America today and Vietnam a decade ago, and we want it to arrive with an advanced perspective. *Palestine Focus* will be an essential component in achieving these aims.

This article was written before the Shultz agreement between Israel and the rightist dominated Lebanese government for Israeli withdrawal "in principle." The collaboration between Lebanese rightists and the Israelis, which this article examines, is further highlighted by the Shultz agreement. Despite such "principles," we anticipate that Israel will remain in Lebanon for some time to come.

Israel in Lebanon:

Collaboration and Resistance

By Douglas Franks

One year after its most devastating assault on Lebanon, Israel's every word and deed contradicts its claim made at the beginning of the invasion that it "doesn't covet one inch of Lebanese soil." Along with the expropriation of vast economic, human, and natural resources, and the occupation of more than a third of Lebanon, Israel manipulates Lebanon's politics to its own advantage and to the extreme detriment of Lebanon's people.

But the occupation has generated renewed resistance as well. Whether directed against the occupier itself or against those who collaborate with it, an array of resistance activities in central and south Lebanon is growing: Direct military action, demonstrations, sit-ins, strikes, boycotts, solidarity movements, outcries from religious communities, bold political analyses and perceptions, and cultural resistance. Even the simple act of a child throwing proffered candy back into the face of an Israeli soldier speaks of this spirit of a people determined to take back what is rightfully theirs.

Networks of Collaboration

As Israel continues to dig in, the process of forging new alliances and reaffirming old ones with Lebanese rightists is a major dimension to the overall occupation. These alliances are vital to Israel in its campaign to reduce Lebanon to a "security zone," a compliant "North Bank," a frontier into which unimpeded access is assured. Israel's unreasonable withdrawal demands (marketed as "peace negotiations") guarantee Israel enough time to further the process of strategic "paving." Often overlooked, these demands include full diplomatic relations between Israel and neighboring Arab states and a ban on Lebanese media on criticism of Israel or its occupation.

This "pavement" is composed of various networks of collaboration presided over by Israel and involving the Lebanese government, the Lebanese Army, the Lebanese Forces, Israel's southern mercenary, Saad Haddad, and his army.

The role of the United States government in this network of collaboration is hard to discern at first. Yet, its massive aid program to Israel is one of the single biggest factors in the crisis. U.S. Marines deployed in Lebanon and apparent government willingness to augment their numbers, add an

ominous note to the occupation. (Recall the U.S. response in July 1958 to the revolutionary pan-Arab stirrings in Lebanon. U.S. Marines landed in Beirut to preserve the shaky, pro-Western government of Camille Chamoun. Once again, the U.S. is increasingly prepared to intervene in the Middle East.) The U.S. desires a strong central government willing and able to provide an atmosphere conducive to U.S. economic and military build-up in Lebanon and the region as a whole. In an ironic twist, the U.S. government is somewhat dismayed with Israel's perseverance in factionalizing and fragmenting Lebanon. A country cannot be "sovereign" and carved up at the same time. Either way—as Israel's enslaved "North Bank" or as another U.S. "Camp David" satellite, along with Egypt, the people of Lebanon would be the real losers.

In the south, Saad Haddad's army has extended its sphere of influence to Sidon, Nabatiyeh, and Joub Jannine, a town near the Beqa'a Valley, and now operates in territory roughly corresponding to Israel's pending "security zone." Technically renegades, Haddad's troops will either be integrated into the regular Lebanese Army or, more likely, officially assigned to monitor the south as a "territorial brigade."

In either case, "Haddadland" is to be linked with the Israeli-initiated "United South Assembly" (the new name given to a program put forward last February under the name of "Organization for a Unified South"). Derived from the Village-League system in the West Bank, this is a plan whereby Israel oversees the appointment of some two hundred town councils in the south, each with its own militia. So far, about forty councils and almost as many militias have materialized (e.g., "Social and Humanitarian Committee for the People of Ain-Helweh," "Druze Security Guard," "Jibsheet National Guard," and "National Guard for the Villages of the South")—Israeli proxies all. Noncompliance with the United South Assembly would incur the threat of military intervention and punishment.

The Lebanese government, though fond of words like "sovereignty" and "independence" is showing no real aversion to the Israeli occupation if its relationships with the Lebanese Army and the Lebanese Forces (and Saad Haddad) are any indication. When Israel invaded last June, the government of then president Elias Sarkis stood mutely by. When the Lebanese finally did act, it was to disarm and punish the very

ones who braved the onslaught. It was to enforce the "Greater Beirut Plan" launched in mid-February, the goals of which closely resemble certain Israeli "security" demands, i.e., prohibition of criticism or opposition in any form. It was to arrest and detain scores of Lebanese and Palestinian citizens. It did not even pretend to disarm the right-wing militias until it was certain that

at the PLO's Fatah security headquarters in Shtaura.

The message the government is sending the Palestinians in Lebanon echoes the Phalangists' and Israelis' perennial warning: Leave or else. Etienne Saqa, leader of a Phalangist faction and unabashed defender of the Sabra-Shatila massacres seemed to confirm this when he said, "Amin Gemayel

Lebanon



the weapons of the latter were safely cached outside Beirut.

The Lebanese Forces themselves have thus been able to count on at least the consent of the Gemayel government. Far from being disarmed or dismantled, the right-wing militias at worst can anticipate incorporation into the Lebanese Army; the implementation of their program and bloodthirsty practice is assured. Toward that end, the government's "new image" for the Army is in reality a theatrical but meaningless shuffling of top posts which leaves "Christian" hegemony intact and undiminished.

Recently appointed to the post of army commander was General Ibrahim Tannous, long-time friend of the Phalangists. In addition, top government positions are going to the Phalangists themselves. For example, Zahi Boustany, former lieutenant under Bashir Gemayel, is the new director of security. Key positions in the Lebanese University, the Central Bank, and in television and radio, are going to members of the Phalangist party. In addition, the Phalangists are to be "compensated" by the government which will continue to reimburse income lost when they were forced to relinquish control of several Beirut ports. Revenue generated from their illicit taxation of goods processed through these ports amounted to some \$250 million a year.

Cooperative Harassment of Palestinians

The current wave of harassment, terror, and murder against Palestinians, most notably in the south, is another consequence of government cooperation with the Lebanese Forces and Israel. Not only is the government again doing nothing to curb the near pogrom against Palestinians at the hands of Phalangists (using the cover name "Revolutionaries of the Cedars"), it is actively lending a hand.

Red Crescent hospitals have been raided and supplies confiscated by the Lebanese Army. Water and electricity service in the camps have yet to be delivered. PLO offices in Beirut are still impounded by the Army despite PLO diplomatic status guaranteed by the Habib agreement. West Beirut's Samed offices (the PLO's industrial and agricultural cooperative employing some 4,500 Palestinians) were bombed April 1. Two months earlier, a car bomb killed thirty

is... a Kataeb leader [Arabic for "Phalangist"]—he is one of our friends and fellows."

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The Power Structure of Lebanon:

Confessionalism

Lebanon employs a "confessional" system of parliamentary government. The National Pact of 1943 (a verbally agreed upon "constitution") distributed 99 seats according to religious affiliations. Based on a 1932 census when 55 percent of the population was Christian, mainly Maronite, the parliament must be composed of:

- 30 Maronite Christians
- 20 Sunni Muslims
- 19 Shi'ite Muslims
- 11 Greek Orthodox
- 6 Druze
- 6 Roman Catholic
- 4 Armenian Orthodox
- 1 Armenian Catholic
- 1 Protestant Christian
- 1 other Christian

Today, various Muslim sects make up two thirds of Lebanon's population but the outdated arrangement is still enforced and prevails not only in government and the army but in all public sectors.

Confessionalism has entrenched lopsided social and economic development in Lebanon. A small percentage of ardently pro-Western, Christian "haves" enjoy the greatest concentration of power, wealth, and opportunity. The majority of Lebanon's people—non-Christian—are "have-nots." The Shi'ites, largest Islamic sect in Lebanon, are on the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Conflict in Lebanon is usually portrayed as "religious," as "Christian" versus "Muslim." In reality, it stems from the gross inequities confessionalism perpetuates. Those who advocate reform and secularism of Lebanon's woefully corrupt and unjust system face violent confrontation with the militias of nominally "Christian" ruling powers. These progressive forces actually include all religious affiliations. The "Front of Patriotic Christians" (founded during the civil war) is one such progressive group. One of the major suppliers of arms to "Christian" rightists during the civil war was Saudi Arabia, bastion of Islamic orthodoxy.



A Scandal of Silence

By Richard Falk

A scandal of silence has, up to very recently, been the American response, even the progressive American response, to the tragic fate of the Palestinian people in the period since the end of the second world war. To redeem any prospect of a genuine progressive politics in this country rests on moral credibility as much as anything else. And there is no possibility of moral credibility unless the Palestinian issue is put at the top of our agenda.

Whatever George Schultz is doing in the Middle East, he is not wasting any sleep or any tears over the circumstances of the detained people. He is there for geopolitical reasons, he is there for domestic political reasons, to make Reagan, despite everything, appear like some kind of peacemaker to the American people and to the world as a whole.

All the evidence is very clear that the United States government, even at the most minimal level of honoring its own agreements, has turned its back on the fate of those Palestinians who were taken into detention illegally and who were left exposed in September after the United States and the European forces left Lebanon. An explicit provision of the agreement was that the United States would provide protection to those Palestinians who were left behind. That was part of the agreement under which the PLO fighters left the country. I've seen the text of it. It is even referred to in the Israeli Kahan Commission report on the massacres. It has been completely ignored by the United States, and I think it is completely appropriate to insist that our government, our elected representatives, take this minimal obligation absolutely seriously.

But any kind of important political results will depend on a popular movement in this country. We cannot wait for official institutions. The only thing that can possibly change the American role is the action of the people.

High-Technology Atrocities

Someone who has, like myself, been to Lebanon since the June war cannot be detached in treating this subject matter. The extraordinary suffering that the war brought to men, women, and children—Palestinian and Lebanese—even aside from the much-publicized massacres in mid-September, is something that inevitably scars one's imagination and consciousness. To have visited the refugee camps, as I have, in southern Lebanon and Beirut was to see a picture of devastation and desolation that has to be viewed as an atrocity equivalent in its severity to what was done in a much more primitive way at Sabra and Shatila in mid-September.

We've developed an incredible tolerance for high-technology atrocities. So long as the devastation of civilians and refugees living in these camps was accomplished by long-range artillery, by bombs, and by naval guns it was quite acceptable, or at least tolerable, to a large segment of public opinion. And it was certainly tolerable to official elites, as part of the way in which wars against national revolutions are fought these days. High-technology atrocities do not create political difficulties.

The siege of Beirut was really, in its essence, a prolonged exposure for many people for the first time to the realities of the Israeli/Palestinian struggle. Not for hours but for days and weeks, Israel had complete

"For the American public the war is over; the war ended with the Kahan Commission report... There is no longer any interest in the victims. What there is interest in now is the rehabilitation of the victors."

control through its weaponry and chose the time and place where it would inflict suffering. It was literally a public experiment in torture carried out under the name of war.

And the Palestinian resistance, for the first time I believe, conveyed to many people the heroic character of this movement that has been so often and so unjustly defined. The PLO fought much more as a civilized, armed force than did the Israeli Defense Forces in the course of the Lebanon war. And that reality will be acknowledged increasingly by those who view the conflict with any degree of impartiality and objectivity.

The massacres are very important, however, in addition to the siege of Beirut, because they shattered briefly the illusion that the Israeli policies were somehow, despite everything, an outgrowth of a normal enterprise against national revolutionary movements, for which I have said there is this extraordinary toleration. What there is no toleration for, and why the massacres produced a temporary crisis, was a sense that western democracies and their means of struggle do not extend their direct hand-to-hand killing apparatus to women and children. In the Israeli commission report, a remarkable document because it embodies the liberal Israeli mindset to such a de-

gree, so long as the victims of the massacres were male, it did not matter. They were not civilians. The moral concern was focused exclusively on the idea that Israel has nothing to do with the deliberate killing of women and children. That is hypocrisy of the first order.

For one thing, the attacks on the other refugee camps throughout Lebanon and the high-technology attacks with precision weaponry aimed at civilians, including hospitals and shelters, were no accident. The pattern of bombing that we found in Lebanon suggested deliberate targeting of civilian centers at a time when very few Palestinian fighters were in those areas. What the massacres represented was the idea that the chivalry of the West does not do this in a hand-to-hand primitive way.

Expunging Israeli Guilt

The Kahan Commission report never refers to the PLO in its entire text. It only refers to the "terrorists." And in the American edition of the report, there is an extraordinary introduction by former foreign minister Abba Eban, again speaking with the liberal dove's voice, in which he literally shifts the blame to the Palestinians for the massacre.

"The basic justification of Israel's right to protect itself against PLO terrorism is strongly endorsed by the report. If Lebanon had been left alone by the PLO and if the PLO had not made the Palestinian refugees the instruments of an aggressive design, the tragic chain of events that reached its climax in mid-September 1982 would never have begun." What is so remarkable here and is so important in understanding the present political environment, is that by way of what amounts to black magic, the atrocity generated a commission of inquiry which had the principal effect of revalidating Israel's claim to be a democracy and a moral state among morally inferior Arab peoples and nations. It also had the effect of making the Palestinian victims disappear and be responsible for the fate that befell them.

The people who are being detained under cruel conditions are part of the legacy of this extraordinary shift of emphasis that has been accomplished. There is no longer any interest in the victims. What there is interest in now is the rehabilitation of the victors. Because they have the fortitude to inquire into the conduct of their leaders, they must be praised for this initiative. Let it be acknowledged that it was an imaginary initiative, one that was more effective because it was done over the opposition of the Begin/Sharon leadership. And it was done, so as to completely reconcile so-called Israeli moderates, American

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U.S. Aid...



A victim of the siege of Beirut with wounds from phosphorus bombs supplied by the U.S.

Israel does not play much of a role in protecting the investments of the U.S. oil companies in Saudi Arabia and its neighbors. But the Israeli threat does help stabilize the rightwing governments in the area—themselves dependent on U.S. aid for their existence—and thus opens the door to the Rapid Deployment Force now numbering 222,000 and expected to grow to half a million. Israeli actions have brought U.S.

[Reagan] administration, there has been a recognition, right from the start of the operation, that Israel's strategic objectives in the war closely paralleled American interests."

In whose interest is the Israeli annexation of southern Lebanon and the theft of the water from the Litani River? In whose interest is the further dispersal of the Palestinian people and their representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization? In whose in-

"...facing large scale unemployment and severe cuts in social services, can Americans afford to fund Israel's military aggression and illegal occupation and annexation of Arab land?"

"peace keeping" troops to Lebanon and the Egyptian Sinai. So it's nice to know that the oil companies, at least, are benefiting from the massive aid to Israel. They can use some help boosting their huge profits.

If anyone still retains doubts about the "special relationship," consider the American Marines placed in "life threatening" situations by Beirut by stray Israeli bullets. When Americans were held captive in Iran, the entire nation was whipped into a frenzy, but it seems that no one minds when an ally shoots at American soldiers.

Though there are occasional tactical disagreements and misunderstandings like the confrontations in Beirut, the uninterrupted flow of U.S. aid to Israel demonstrates that the Israeli and American governments are in fundamental agreement when it counts. As retired Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, former Chief of Naval Operations, explained about the invasion of Lebanon, "Within the

interest is the imposition of an openly fascist regime in Lebanon? In whose interest were the Sabra-Shatila and the many other unreported massacres?

Stop All U.S. Aid to Israel

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon one year ago spurred many Americans to rethink their attitudes toward U.S. aid to Israel. With the threat of war—looming over the Middle East, can the current policies of the U.S. achieve peace? And facing large-scale unemployment and severe cuts in social services, can Americans afford to fund Israel's military aggression and illegal occupation and annexation of Arab land? Are Americans willing to pay for the dispossession and discrimination against the Palestinian people—and the racist suppression of their national identity—at a time when our own country is plagued by rising racist attacks?

We hear deep rumblings of discontent

over U.S. aid to Israel. Of course, massive U.S. aid to Israel is not the only problem in the Middle East. But demanding an end to this aid is the most direct way Americans can contribute to peace in the Middle East.

Despite the hard economic times, opposition to aid to Israel does not stem from an unwillingness to assist other peoples. At a recent town meeting in New England, a citizen told the Salvadoran Ambassador to the U.S. that if his country needed food or medicine, we would be glad to send it. But the townpeople were opposed to sending military aid. We oppose U.S. aid to Israel because it is a major barrier to peace and a major cause of warfare and oppression.

Stopping U.S. aid to Israel is one of the major ways Americans can call Israel to account for what it has done and continues to do with the connivance and unconditional support of our own government. Stopping U.S. aid to Israel is a condition which could allow a genuine debate over solutions which could allow peace to become real. So long as the Israeli government enjoys total and unquestioning support for its actions, Begin, Sharon, and their cohorts have no incentive to change course.

Calling for an end of all U.S. aid to Israel—including tax breaks, low-interest loans, etc.—should unite all the people in the United States working for peace, nuclear disarmament, nonintervention in Central America, and many other issues. The time is ripe. We must join together to stop all U.S. aid to Israel now.

"When the prisoners are called 'terrorists' that is a code word for the complete stripping away, not only of human rights, but human identity. When you are described as a 'terrorist,' you are nominated for execution."

officialdom, and mainstream American Jewish support for the state of Israel with what happened in the war in Lebanon.

For the American public the war is over; the war ended with the publication of the Kahan Commission report. It's very hard to grasp the full political significance of this. It may help to recall what the United States government did during the Vietnam war when the Mylai massacre was disclosed. It also appointed a commission. It also issued a report. And it also helped to make the American people, temporarily morally aroused, politically indifferent to the fate of the Vietnamese. "Liberal democracies" have a strange way of achieving their terror. The politics of dispossession, which is the essence of what has happened to the Palestinians, what has happened to the American Indians here in the United States, always has to be reconciled with a certain moral and legal facade.

The Terrorist Epithet

So there's a special style with which these policies are carried out. Very little can be said about the specific circumstances of the thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese who are still held. Israel has systematically tried to prevent adequate disclosure, access to the realities. Numerous eyewitness reports confirm the allegations of brutality. They confirm, among other things, a systematic unwillingness to allow those detained to list their identifying nationality as Palestinian. In Israel and the occupied territories, Palestinians must identify themselves as Arabs. Under conditions of detention since the Lebanon war, they have generally been compelled to identify themselves as "terrorists." We received, while in Lebanon, several direct testimonies of individuals who tried to put "Palestinian" on their forms. The forms were torn up and they were forced to keep writing them until they wrote "terrorist."

That is extremely illuminating in relation to why these thousands of people are kept in this cruel circumstance. The Israelis, in my judgment, are not primarily acting out of depraved motives. They are acting out of a rational policy, which is what I would call the basic finding of our mission. The underlying objectives in invading Lebanon, in maintaining the siege of Beirut, and in rounding up and terrorizing the Palestinian community was to so overwhelm Palestinian political consciousness that it would lose the will to resist; it would lose its national will and that the people trapped, especially in the West Bank, would become passive and accept the Israeli view that they will do much better by making some kind



Palestinian prisoners

of accommodation. Let it be firmly said that these Israeli hopes have been overwhelmingly disappointed.

But let it also be understood that the Israeli intention was nothing less than what we in the report call "ethnocide." That is, it was not genocide in the basic sense of trying to kill as many Palestinians as possible. It was not in our judgment a repetition in a literal sense of the Nazi holocaust. What it was and remains is an attempt to extinguish Palestinian national identity, including the will to struggle for a homeland and a state and for political dignity and self-determination. Ethnocide is a type of genocide and must be perceived as the worst form of crime that a state can perform against its rivals and enemies.

These terrible continuing conditions in the camps are one expression, one central dimension, of the continuing commitment to the crimes and

policies of ethnocide by the leadership of Israel. It's an unchallenged commitment, which is why the Kahan Commission report is so revealing. It writes from the perspective of criticism of the Begin/Sharon government, but remains within this ethnocidal mindset that consigns the Palestinians to being "terrorists." When you are called a "terrorist" that is a code expression for the complete stripping away, not only of human rights, but of human identity. When you are described as a "terrorist," you are nominated for execution. It's nothing less than that. If you read the report, you will see not a single sentence of concern about the male victims of the massacres. Not a single sentence questions why all males that happened to be there should be perceived, whether armed or unarmed, as members of the PLO. Not a word mentioning the elementary duties of an occupying power. It's not only supposed to protect women and children. Men have always been included in the definition of civilians until this Israeli commission report was issued.

This mindset, which is shared by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, didn't see anything wrong, so long as the victims were not women and children. That is important beyond itself because what it basically expresses is that the Palestinian national movement has no legitimacy. That's really what's being said by this report. Israel is a great democracy because it investigates its own leaders and its Palestinian adversary has no reality that is worthy of human recognition and deference. So people continue being confined without any protection, which is a travesty of international law. Israel is guilty of a massive and continuing violation of the laws of war which were declared at the Nuremberg Judgment and elsewhere as a crime of state. And to the extent that the United States endorses this crime of state, it too is an accomplice of a continuing pattern of criminal behavior by Israel as the occupying power.

At this stage, the most important thing that we can do is to insist that the United States government live up to its human and legal obligations toward the Palestinian people and that it undertake to question and alter its economic and military relationship to the state of Israel. This can only be done, it seems to me, by the most dramatic insistence that at this stage no peace can be had for the region until the Palestine Liberation Organization is affirmed as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the aspirations for a Palestinian homeland become official U.S. policy on the most clear and unambiguous basis. Nothing less than that can deal with the issues that have been symbolized and embodied by the horrible circumstances of those Palestinian fighters and civilians who are being held today under cruel conditions of detention.

Richard Falk, professor of International Law at Princeton University, was Vice Chairman of the Sean MacBride "International Commission to enquire into reported violations of International Law by Israel during its invasion of Lebanon." This speech was presented at a program on Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners organized by the November 29th Coalition in San Francisco on April 29.

Update: Coalition Activities on Prisoners

The November 29th Coalition focused attention on the Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners during April. A national petition was circulated among human rights, church, labor, student and other groups. (For information packet on prisoners, write to the Coalition office in New York: PO Box 115, New York, NY 10113.)

New York: A teach-in and solidarity evening on April 29th with Ralph Schoenman, who presented the U.N. International Report on Prisoners; Gerald Horne of the National Lawyers Guild; Hatem Hussein, Deputy Representative of the PLO at the UN; Maya Schone, filmmaker, presenting West Beirut and prisoners slide program. Solidarity messages by the ANC, FDR, and a special message from Long Kesh prisoners in Northern Ireland.

New Brunswick, NJ: Week-long conference on the Middle East with Rutgers Student Association and Princeton Comm. on the Middle East. Speakers included Prof. Shayeb and Danny Amit.

San Francisco, CA: Program with Richard Falk of the Sean MacBride Commission; Ur Shlonsky, former correspondent for Al Fajr; Howard De Nike of the National Lawyers Guild. Also, Hilton Obenzinger appeared with Iskandar Zalami of PCNA and Randa Baramki of

GUPS on a one-hour local TV show. Picket of Philip Habib on May 23.

Edmonton, Canada: A week of activities between April 17-25 with the Arab Student Association at the University of Alberta.

Chicago, IL: Program on April 22. Speakers include Lenni Brenner.

Milwaukee, WI: Program with film and speakers, including representative of FDR.

Seattle, WA: Week of Palestine programs, including "Women in the Resistance," "Arab Education in Israel," "Israeli Land Policies," and a night on Israel's foreign policy and the issue of the prisoners with Steve Goldfield speaking on May 20th.

Events were also held in Austin, Texas, Washington, D.C., and Madison, WI.

With the news of the Shultz-engineered agreement between Israel and Lebanon, fears of renewed war have been heightened. Local coalitions are keeping on alert in case there is a need to launch emergency demonstrations. Contact your local coalition.

For more information, or if you or your group are interested in affiliating with the Coalition, contact the **Nov. 29th Coalition, PO Box 115, New York, NY 10113.**



Press conference on Palestinian prisoners, (left to right) Dr. Hatem Hussein, Dep. Dir. of PLO at the UN; Maya Schone, filmmaker; Ralph Schoenman, UN Conference on Palestine. Photo: Akram Zadeh.

The Real Antisemitism in America
by Nathan Perlmutter and Ruth Ann Perlmutter. Arbor House, New York, 1982.

By Steve Goldfield

If you're feeling a bit hazy about Zionism or if you question its fundamentally reactionary and racist character, read Nathan Perlmutter's book, *The Real Anti-Semitism in America*. The text is in the first person and entirely about Mr. Perlmutter's experiences, philosophy, and analysis (these are the most charitable terms I can conceive).

On racism, Mr. Perlmutter castigates the concept of affirmative action, always referred to as "the quota system," as blatantly unfair. "Free of the quota system, Jews have done well. In universities, both as students and faculty, in professional schools and as practitioners we number many times our 2.7 percent of the population." In other words, selective admission procedures are seen as directly aimed at reducing the disproportionate number of Jews. If 10 percent of admission openings are reserved for underprivileged candidates, then the other 90 percent will still be subject to the same rules of division as previously. Perlmutter's racism obscures the basic difference between a quota limiting numbers by religion and a quota promoting admission of victims of poverty or the effects of chauvinism in any form.

Do you have trouble understanding why leaders of official Zionist movements in Europe collaborated with

the Nazis and their surrogates to promote the settlement of Palestine? Consider that Perlmutter—following the same logic—prefers the company of admitted anti-Semites who support Israel to the support of the World Council of Churches and the Vatican in fighting anti-Jewish sentiment because they speak to the PLO, criticize Israel, or simply recognize Palestinian rights.

If you are still not convinced, consider Perlmutter's fundamental order of priorities, invoked as the ideological underpinning of his advocacy of the close alliance with Christian fundamentalists, particularly the Moral Majority. Mr. Perlmutter favors abortion and the ERA and opposes prayer in the public schools and censorship—all issues where the fundamentalists find themselves on the other side. But, returns Perlmutter, "When these issues on which we differ, singly or together, are weighed against our agreement on the prerequisites for the physical security of Israel, they simply do not balance the scale."

Perlmutter continues, "Jews can live with restricted abortions. Indeed societies have through the centuries." Back to the coat hanger in exchange for the West Bank.

"ERA is an important issue, but Jews can live without ERA. Since its inception, this nation has, and the women's liberation movement has

The Real Anti-Semitism in America

"Perlmutter says the 'real' anti-Semites are U.N. delegates, peace activists, advocates of affirmative action, opponents of U.S. intervention abroad, and the National Council of Churches, when it listens to Palestinian grievances."

made and is making dramatic progress without it." Thanks, Nathan. Corporations get to continue to discriminate against women, and Israel gets to keep Lebanon south of the Litani. A fair trade.

For Perlmutter, because he sees oil as an Arab commodity, "the Reagan administration's commitment to the development of nuclear power is

a de facto Jewish issue." And in a broadside against "liberals," Perlmutter observes, "To the extent that in their sympathy for those who do not enjoy self-rule they are indifferent to the military-strategic implications for the United States and Israel of a self-rule that is dictatorial or faces towards the Soviets, they are our and democracy's trappers." (Emphasis added.)

On war and peace, Perlmutter opposes detente, first of all, because trade helps the Soviet Union. He criticizes former Senator Frank Church, "a good friend" of Israel, because Church opposed Reagan's military buildup. But Perlmutter goes all the way in defending the February 1980 B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League call for "President Carter and the Congress to adopt a sharply increased military budget so as to more credibly deny expansionist threats to world peace." Perlmutter argues, "that the political consequences of an American military capacity which is inadequate to deterring the Soviet Union's...saps American influence."

Perlmutter is right to see Israel as a key component in U.S. strategy to confront the Soviet Union and frustrate national liberation movements. He calls on Jews to support Reagan's war build-up because this means continued massive aid to Israel.

At one point, Perlmutter speculates whether liberals and the left have not moved away from Jews

(Perlmutter shares the anti-Semitic offense of speaking of Jews when he means Zionists) rather than Jews becoming more conservative as they moved up in class and wealth. A friend of mine used to say, "The capacity of human beings for self-deception is without limit."

So what is the "Real Anti-Semitism in America" according to Perlmutter? Real anti-Semitism is opposition or any criticism of Zionism or support for anything that could conceivably harm Israel. Despite Perlmutter's documentation that anti-Jewish discrimination in housing, education, and employment and anti-Jewish violence have steadily declined in recent decades, he says "real" anti-Semites are U.N. delegates, peace activists, liberals and radicals, advocates of affirmative action, opponents of U.S. intervention abroad, and the National Council of Churches, when it listens to Palestinian grievances.

If you are still wondering why you should read this book, note that the racist, reactionary, opportunist, and anti-Semitic Nathan Perlmutter is the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, former Associate National Director of the American Jewish Committee, and former vice-president of development at Brandeis University. If this man does not come from the bastions of orthodox and supposedly enlightened American Zionism, I don't know who does. Stop listening to leftists and United Nations delegates explaining to you that Zionism is a form of racism. Let Nathan Perlmutter do it for you. He's much better at it.

Collaboration...

Continued from page 3

But another message is in the air. While the occupier occupies and the friends of occupation abet, the people of Lebanon are not sitting idly by. Not a day passes without members of the newly formed "Front of the Lebanese National Resistance" or "Patriotic Resistance Front" dramatically reminding the Israeli forces and their allies who the real "foreigner" is.

Resistance to the Occupation

The first week of the New Year brought at least thirteen incidents of armed resistance, eliciting an admission from the Israeli Defense Ministry that its front lines were experiencing great difficulty. In the first month of the New Year, there were at least fifty Israeli casualties. The steady increase in retaliation against the forces of occupation reveals the effectiveness of the Front's underground apparatus and accounts for the mid-April statistic of eighteen Israeli casualties in one day. In the latter half of April, major network news filed a typical report: Two Israeli soldiers killed along the Damascus highway. Another report, a day later: Three Israelis killed in the Beqa'a. The Lebanese newspaper, *An Nida'*, described another one-day toll in April of twenty Israelis killed at Ras al-Ain near Tyre. Shortly thereafter, Israel reiterated its alarm over the trend, its frustration compounded by its inability to apprehend the commandos.

Other forms of militant resistance are on the rise as well. A recent demonstration in Shieh around the prisoner issue was followed by the release of hundreds of prisoners held by the Lebanese Army. At Ansar, in south Lebanon, site of the largest Israeli prison camp, women and children have initiated a series of demonstrations. In the southern suburbs of Beirut in late March, the arrest of twenty-eight persons in connection with an action against the multinational troops in and around Beirut was protested.

A particularly significant resistance movement originated in Jibsheets, a Shi'ite village in the south. Activity centered at first around the arrest of Shi'ite Sheikh Raghieb Harb for refusing to cooperate with the Israeli occupation authorities. Starting

as a sit-in at Jibsheets's main mosque, El-Husseiniyeh, the protest spread to Nabatiyeh and surrounding areas. Widespread demonstrations resulted in Sheikh Harb's release. Storekeepers and students went on strike on his behalf and held daily public rallies.

Israeli goods are being boycotted (as Sheikh Harb urges). Moreover, the Higher Shi'ite Council in Beirut expressed solidarity with the protest movement. Sermons by the Sheikh and others throughout the south and in Beirut condemned the occupation and those who collaborate with it. Local "village leaguers"—coerced by Israeli threats to harm imprisoned relatives to play such roles—even joined in the protest when Sheikh Harb was first arrested. In late March the president of the Sidon Chamber of Commerce compiled a blacklist of all Lebanese merchants and traders knowingly doing business with Israel. (Its issuance was blocked by Israeli military authorities.)

Finally, spontaneous acts of protest, no matter how small, serve to emphasize the mounting intensity and scope of human involvement with which the occupation is being challenged. The fear of annexation and confessional dictatorship—added to the atrocities, hardships, and injustices endured—motivate the people of Lebanon as never before.

Furthermore, Druze leaders meeting in

Saad Haddad

Saad Haddad was a major in the regular Lebanese Army until it disbanded during the 1975-76 civil war. Originally from the north, he defected (hence his status as a "renegade") and consolidated various ultra-right militias. Following its withdrawal after the March 1978 invasion, Israel handed over vacated positions in the south to Haddad's army. To this day, Haddad's men are equipped, trained, and aided logistically by Israel and are notorious for their atrocities committed in service of a virulently racist and exclusive brand of Lebanese "patriotism."

Aley asserted that Israel provides arms for and is egging on sectarian fighting to neutralize broader, more coherent opposition, all the while appearing to stand outside the fighting. After the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens said that Israel is needed as a policeman in Lebanon more than ever. Israel does want Lebanon's "soil," never lacking stratagems or pretexts to obtain it.

Fruits of Israeli Strategy

Official Israeli policy, set forth in 1954, called for the creation of a "Christian" state in Lebanon. Israel began actively implementing that policy in March 1965 with

"...spontaneous acts of protest emphasize the mounting intensity and human involvement that challenge the occupation...."

the first Israeli military strike inside Lebanon. That initial bombing inaugurated ten years of sporadic aggression across the border, assassinations included. Frequency and intensity of the assaults increased from 1972 until the outset of the civil war in early 1975. With the collapse of the Lebanese government at that time, Israel seized the opportunity to step in and call itself the "protector" of several Christian enclaves in the south.

This began uninterrupted *de facto* Israeli occupation. Israel blocked all political solutions to tensions in the south with a defiance articulated by ever more destructive military penetration over the ensuing eight

The Phalangists

The Phalangists are a Lebanese political party founded in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel, a Maronite Christian and father of Amin and Bashir. The term "Phalangist" is directly inspired by Franco's fascist party which governed Spain after the 1936-39 civil war. The Phalangist army numbers more than 20,000 and is the leading component of the Lebanese Forces. The elitist and sectarian character of the party is reflected by its membership: 96 percent Christian, mostly Maronite.



years. Israel installed Saad Haddad in areas from which it ostensibly withdrew in June 1978, after occupying Lebanon for three months. Thereafter Haddad attended to Israel's northern "security needs"—along with the Israelis themselves since they never fully withdrew.

Edmond Rizk, a leading Phalangist, spoke of the Lebanese Forces' readiness for any "sudden threat" in much the same way Israel disguises its aggressions with proclamations of "self defense" or "state security." Resonating in Rizk's words were the readiness and willingness of Lebanese rightists to follow Israel's cues.

The lines have now been sharply drawn in Lebanon. On one side, Israel and its Lebanese rightist allies, supported by the United States, are set on preventing the Lebanese people from determining the future of their homeland. On the other side, the Lebanese resistance and its Palestinian allies remain committed to achieving a free and democratic Lebanon.

Palestine, "democratic secular state," an "independent Palestinian state," Camp David accords, Zionism... on and on. For most of us it is no easy task finding out what is really going on. With so many distortions in the press, with too few reliable books and other sources available, learning the truth about the Middle East can be frustrating.

And that explains why "Getting It All In Focus" will become a regular feature of *Palestine Focus*. In this column we will recommend books, periodicals, films, and other resources that portray the situation in the Middle East accurately. As well, we hope to examine various *inaccurate* and pro-Israeli books, periodicals, films, etc. to sort out fact from fiction... We also hope to focus attention on activities by various groups in the Palestine movement, anecdotes and actions of various U.S. opinion-makers—pro and con—and other newsworthy tidbits...

"How do I learn about the Palestinian people's struggle—as quickly and as thoroughly as possible?" No compendium in a nutshell is available, but there is *Our Roots Are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People*. This fully documented book, written by a People's Press study project several years ago, still serves as an excellent "primer" for anyone trying to learn about Palestine. Tracing the history of Palestine... Zionism... the development of the PLO... and other important as-

Getting It All in Focus

pects of Palestinian history, this book remains invaluable. Orders can be placed by sending \$5.45 to: IISJ Publications, 33 W. 17th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

With the recent interest in the life of Ghandi, resulting from the Academy-award winning movie, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign published a short compilation of statements by Ghandi on Palestine in a recent PHRC Newsletter. Here's an excerpt written in 1938: "Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the British or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct..."

Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews... And now a word to the Jews in Palestine. I have no doubt that they are going about it in the wrong way... If they must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the

bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the good will of the Arabs...

As it is they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them..." Thanks to the PHRC for this important contribution!

And in the same issue, the "Quote of the Month" features none other than Jane Fonda, erstwhile progressive, who says, "I love Israel and I think it represents to the United States what a true ally should be." Jane Fonda is truly more astonishing day by day. If a "true ally" requires massive aid, invades neighboring countries, illegally settles on occupied lands, etc., then the fewer such "friends" the better!

These, and other important topics, are covered regularly in the Palestine Human Rights Campaign Newsletter. Write: 20 E. Jackson Blvd., Suite 1111, Chicago, IL 60604.

For regular information on what's happening in Palestine today—especially the West Bank and Gaza—read *Al Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly*, the only English language newsweekly published in the occupied territories. Filled with feature

articles, translations from the Hebrew and Arabic press, short reports on the resistance, poetry, short fiction, and more, this newspaper is an exciting grab-bag of information, reflecting a Palestinian point of view. One amusing part is the weekly censorship report, where readers can track the Israeli government's heavy hand... and then there are those tell-tale ellipsis dots denoting that a slice was found unpalatable by the censor. Despite this, much valuable material gets through—and *Al Fajr* presents a consistent and broad picture of life under occupation. For a subscription, write to *Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly*, 2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925 Washington, DC 20006.

The Palestine Liberation Organization: Its Institutional Infrastructure by Dr. Cheryl Rubenberg describes the network of social institutions and services established and operated by the PLO to provide health care, education, employment, vocational training, and other services to the Palestinian people. This is the "infrastructure" that Begin and Sharon so very much sought to destroy during the invasion of Lebanon. Published by the Institute of Arab

Studies...with such outstanding Arab-American intellectuals as Edward Said, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, and Abdeen Jabara...this initial effort by the Institute is available for \$3.50 a copy. Write: Institute of Arab Studies, 556 Trapelo Road, Belmont, MA 02178.

If you want to learn more about the PLO—ask the PLO yourself! The PLO operates the Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C. offering a wide selection of books, pamphlets and periodicals to the public. For more information, write: 2233 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20007.

Finally, *Al Fajr* reports that "members of the anti-Zionist Jewish orthodox movement Neturei Karta celebrated the 34th anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel by raising black flags... in Jerusalem. Israeli flags were burned in protest... Protest activities concluded with a service and the reading of the portions of the Bible that are normally read on days of fast. Many... were seen wearing sackcloth and ash on their heads as a sign of lamentation and disaster." With almost two hundred thousand members in Israel, it's quite clear that there are a number of Jews willing to live in peace with the Palestinians. Along with many of the activists in the Israeli anti-war movement, this fact undercuts the attempt by the Zionist movement to equate Zionism with all of Judaism or all Jews.

Palestine Focus is the national newsletter of the November 29th Coalition. Signed articles are not necessarily the opinions of the Coalition.

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Israeli Arms...

Continued from page 1

tion will end. Furthermore, columnist Jack Anderson reported in February that the U.S. Agency for International Development would ask Congress for \$10 million for a settlement project along the Nicaragua-Costa Rica border. Anderson speculated that Israel was chosen to build the project because of "its experience with settlements in the West Bank area." Anderson went on to say that "the Costa Rican border settlement, combined with the military buildup in Honduras, would create a giant strategic pincers physically isolating Nicaragua by land."

Of course, Israel does not only sell arms to Central American dictatorships. Every South American country, except arms-exporting Brazil, buys arms from Israel, including Paraguay, notorious as a haven for Nazi war criminals. During the border war between Argentina (Israel's number two customer) and Chile, Israel sold guns and planes to both sides just as they did during an earlier border conflict between Honduras and El Salvador.

In Africa, Israel sells to Zaire, Malawi (where Israelis organize death squads made up of young boys), Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, and South Africa, Israel's number one arms customer. Israel, Taiwan, and South Africa have jointly developed nuclear weapons and are working on a 1,500-mile range cruise missile.

In Asia, Israel began selling arms to Thailand only after the military dictatorship took control. Israel's other Asian clients include Singapore, Taiwan, Indonesia, and the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines.

How did a country of three and a half

million people become fifth (according to the CIA in 1982) in the world in arms exports? How could a country with about \$5 billion in exports sell \$2 billion in arms (or about 40 percent) in 1982? The answer is with U.S. military and economic aid and U.S. corporate investment. From 1974 to 1982 Israel received \$22.5 billion in military and economic assistance in addition to loans, the latter now totaling \$8 billion and expected to be forgiven before repayment becomes due. With this aid Israel was able to double its arms exports about every two years. This growth has now leveled off and concerned Israeli economists have suggested that arms exports be limited to 25 percent of total exports to prevent a dangerous dependence on arms income.

U.S. companies such as Control Data, Motorola, and General Telephone and Electronics have invested heavily in Israeli arms production. Some U.S. defense firms have contracted with Israeli arms manufacturers to produce parts for U.S. weapons.

According to the *Financial Times*, three hundred thousand workers, or 25 percent of Israel's labor force, work in military-related production. This number includes the armed forces, yet it is still staggering. Israel's labor federation, the Histadrut, owns several of the larger arms producers, though the two largest are government-owned. Israel has become a garrison state.

Israel's international role in U.S. plans to preserve American control over Asia, Africa, and Latin America goes a long way toward explaining why Israel receives more U.S. aid than any other country. It also explains why Israel is given a free

hand, or at least a very long leash, to operate in Lebanon and the West Bank. No other United States ally works so willingly for U.S. interests when even the United States itself is embarrassed to do so openly.

A minister in the Begin cabinet, Ya'akov Meridor, summed up Israel's role in *Ha'aretz*, "We shall say to the Americans: Don't compete with us in Taiwan, don't compete with us in South Africa, don't compete with us in the Caribbean area, or in any other country where you can't operate in the open. Let us do it. Give us the opportunity to do this and trust us with sales of ammunition and military hardware. Let Israel act as your agent."


The U.S. responded with its full trust and cooperation in a special clause of the secret November 1981 Memorandum of Understanding on Strategic Cooperation between Israel and the United States. State Department spokesperson Dean Fischer explained that Article II, section 2D of that agreement paves the way for "the possible use by third countries of American foreign military sales credits to purchase Israeli de-

fense items and service." Only Israel enjoys such a special arrangement.

Israeli intervention then is just another form of U.S. intervention. If the peace and nonintervention movements grow to the point where we are strong enough to block U.S. military assistance to the juntas in El Salvador and Guatemala, Israel is more than willing to fill the vacuum and turn a nice profit as well. And the only force capable of stopping Israel from playing this role is the anger of the American people.

Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, an Israeli psychologist, wrote in the *New York Times* this year that "there is virtually no Israeli opposition to this global adventurism...no 'human rights lobby.'" The only lever we have to stop Israeli arms sales to Central America, South Africa, the Philippines... is U.S. aid. We must cut off U.S. aid to Israel not only because of what Israel does to the Palestinian and Lebanese people. We have to cut off U.S. aid to Israel to get our own country out of wars in Central and South America, Africa, and Asia.

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Can the Israeli Peace Movement Meet the Challenge?

By Ur Shlonsky

On February 8, 1983, the Israeli (Kahan) Commission of Inquiry issued its report on the September 1982 massacres at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut. The reaction to the report—including demonstrations for and against both the report and the Begin government—underscores the degree of polarization in Israeli public opinion. This polarization highlights social and political processes developing in the year since Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

The Israeli peace camp has been pitted against the mass of government supporters in a conflict marked with class and ethnic overtones. The peace movement is made up mostly of secular Jews of Ashkenazi (European and American) origin, many of them from the upper middle class, sons and daughters of the traditional political elite historically represented by the Labor Party.

The peace movement includes Peace Now as well as smaller groups and coalitions. Some of the latter include Committee Against the War in Lebanon, uniting the radical left on a program of total withdrawal from all of the occupied territories; Committee of Solidarity with Bir-Zeit University, dedicated to actions in support of the Palestinians in the occupied territories and against rampant acts of oppression perpetrated by Israeli authorities; and There is a Limit (*Yesh Gevul*), military reservists opposed to the invasion and occupation of Lebanon.

The base of support for the government, on the other hand, comes from lower middle-class Sephardic Jews (of Arab, African, or Asian origin) who have been bearing the brunt of economic exploitation and social discrimination since their arrival as immigrants in the early fifties. Their grudge against the Labor establishment, borne silently for many years, found expression in their massive support for the Likud, which Begin could count on for his electoral victories. (The Israeli electorate is 60 percent Sephardic. Two thirds voted for Likud in 1981. *Haaretz* of June 8, 1981 also reported that the average per capita income of the

new settlements coupled with the expansion of already existing ones. Many of these were, until quite recently, small trailer camps inhabited by the ideologically motivated zealots of Gush Emunim. The Israeli government permits free trade in land in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as on the Golan Heights, in stark violation of the Geneva convention. Enormous financial backing is also given to land entrepreneurs and construction contractors to build exclusively Jewish towns. Together, these have led to a dramatic growth in the readiness of Israelis to move into these newly-created towns in search of improved standards of living, housing conditions, and so forth.

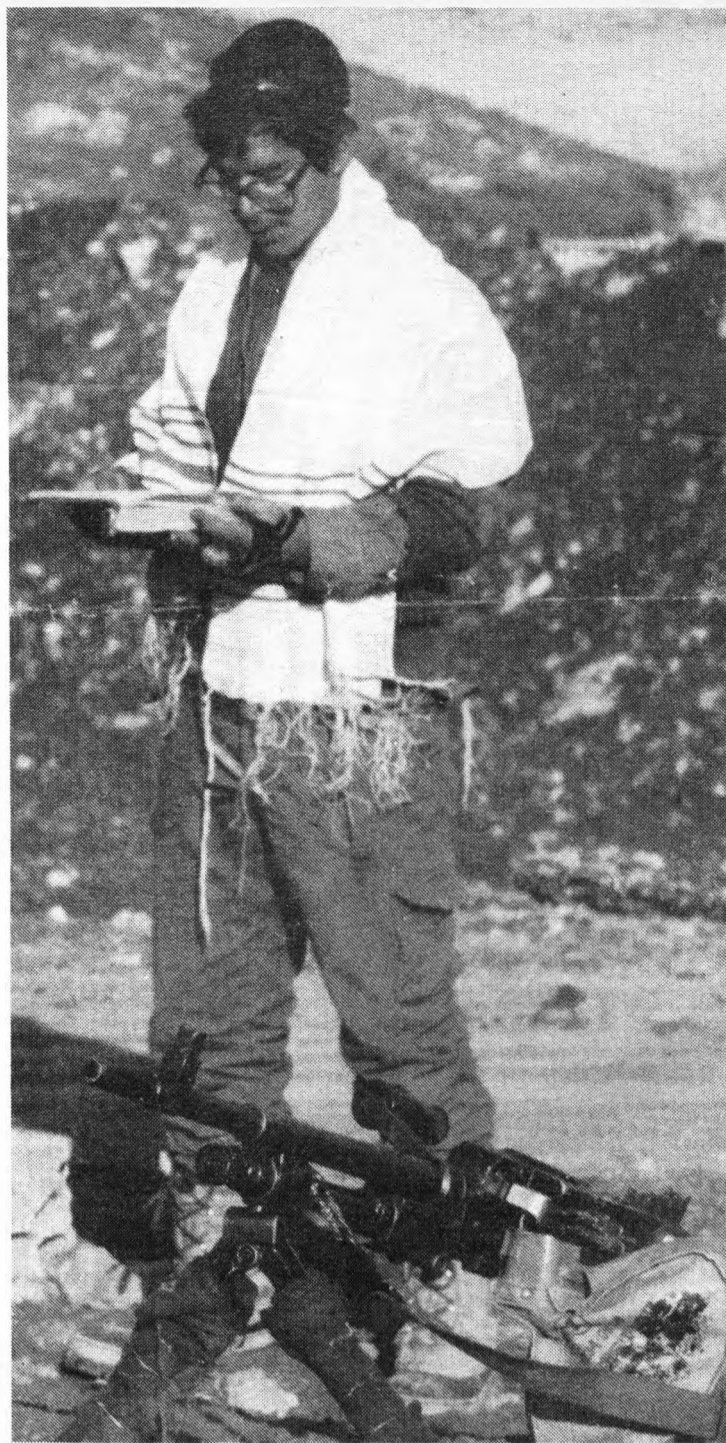
This colonization drive seeks to establish Arab-free areas for Jews and Bantustan-like zones for the indigenous Palestinian. This plan is supported by the institutionalization of brute racism both in word and in deed. Far from being the views of a fanatic minority, the doctrine that the Palestinians should be forcibly expelled from the occupied territories has become a popular position, publicly debated in the media.

Thus, former Chief of Staff Eitan could issue orders to harass Palestinians and drive home to them that they are undesirable aliens. These orders were made public in the course of the court martial of several border guardsmen accused of mistreating civilians. The defendants pleaded innocent on the grounds that they were merely following Eitan's orders.

During a March 17 hearing of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, Knesset Deputy-Speaker Meir Cohen of the Likud lamented that Israel made a fatal mistake when it did not drive out more Palestinians from the West Bank during the 1967 war. Cohen said, "We had the means in 1967 to make sure that two or three hundred thousand would move to the other side, as was done in Lydda, Ramle, and Galilee in 1948 but we made a calamitous mistake. Things would have been simpler today: no Palestine problem, no stones,

"When we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do is scuttle around like doped cockroaches in a bottle."

—former Israeli Chief of Staff Eitan



Front cover of Israeli army magazine: Orthodox soldier prays by his Galil in Lebanon.

ten new Jewish settlements for every such incident. When we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do is scuttle around like doped cockroaches in a bottle."

Israeli Attitudes

How much support do these policies have among the Jewish citizens of Israel? Despite the Commission of Inquiry's findings imputing responsibility to former Minister of Defense Sharon for "having disregarded the danger of acts of vengeance against the population of the refugee camps" and the partial responsibility cast on Prime Minister Begin, both figures continue to dominate Israeli politics, enjoying enormous mass support.

One could conclude that repression in the occupied territories is acceptable to most Israelis so long as it is less bloody than Sabra and Shatila, even when it is more systematic. A March 1983 poll by the highly respected Dr. Mina Tzemach of the Dahaf Institute revealed that a solid 58 percent of those questioned oppose open criticism of government policy in the occupied territories. Thus, government policy in the occupied territories is not only viewed favorably, but any criticism of it is considered undesirable or even hazardous to security.

The extent of popular anti-Arab racism has also reached striking proportions, evidenced by such frequently heard phrases as "Arab Labor" (*Avoda Aravit*—low-quality labor); "Arab Mentality" (*Mentaliyoot Aravit*—obsequiousness, stupidity); "A good Arab is a dead Arab" (*Aravi tov ze Aravi Met*—a popular saying during the war in Lebanon).

Perpetuated by a discriminatory system of employment and wages which relegates low-level service jobs and menial labor to Palestinians thereby permitting Jewish workers to be more upwardly mobile, racism has come to dominate popular culture in Israel. This mindset recognizes a sharp dividing line between Jews and non-Jews and in that sense reflects the social reality. It is therefore not surprising that the Sephardic poor, whom the Palestinians are inadvertently pushing upward on the social ladder, frequently are the most vociferous agents of popular racism and the

strongest opponents of withdrawal.

Since the Sephardic Jews are two or three rungs above Palestinian workers, they fear that any improvements for Palestinians would return them, the Sephardim, to these low-status jobs. According to the *New York Times* of April 15, 1983, a Sephardic resident of Beit Shemesh told an Ashkenazi Israeli writer, "If they return the [occupied] territories, the Arabs will no longer turn up for work, and right away you'll make us once more the unskilled workers we used to be. Even only because of that, we won't let you return the territories."

Challenge for the Peace Movement

These issues have generated a lively debate within the Israeli peace camp. If indeed the majority of Israeli Jews is opposed to withdrawal from the occupied territories and backs the expansionist vision of the Prime Minister, should the peace camp tone down its demands to conciliate the rising tide of chauvinism? Would it thereby risk making the movement distinguishable from the government only on minor issues (as has often been the case with the Israeli Labor Party)? Or should it state its demands and principles as clearly as possible so as to point to real alternatives even at the price of remaining a minority, as its more radical fringe contends?

The peace camp, although still a minority, has gained much political experience in recent months. There is a growing realization that the Israeli army is likely to remain in Lebanon for many months to come. At the same time, many soldiers (reservists as well as those on active duty) are dissatisfied with long tours of duty in occupied Lebanon. Therefore, many Israelis perceive the urgency of getting Israeli troops out of Lebanon. Thus the peace camp has a unique task in organizing and directing this sentiment into a movement. To what extent this movement can be broadened to demand the withdrawal of troops and settlers from the territories occupied in 1967 as well remains to be seen.

Ur Shlonsky, former correspondent for *Al Fajr* in Jerusalem, has been active in the Israeli peace movement.



Carrying signs saying "No More War," Israelis demonstrate in Tel Aviv.

Sephardic population is 40 percent lower than that of the Ashkenazim.)

This contempt for the Ashkenazi elite, regarded as the still-powerful establishment, has been projected onto the new peace movement with its liberal and secular leanings.

The massive popular support enjoyed by the government has allowed it to step up its annexation plans for the occupied territories and to stiffen its position on Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. To be sure, the influx of U.S. capital into Israel has removed much of the economic burden of the Lebanese invasion from the shoulders of the Israelis. This "proved" once again that the militant policies pursued by Begin and Sharon are not only politically viable but also bear economic fruits. Naturally, this has served to increase support of and trust in the government.

West Bank Settlement Policy

The settlement program for the occupied territories includes the creation of

no demonstrations. We could have brought in 100 thousand settlers and there would have been no trouble."

This year the arm of repression was wielded more forcibly than ever in the West Bank. Almost one thousand young stone throwers were arrested; three hundred people were sentenced to jail terms of three to nine months. Many complained of beatings and torture during interrogations. Heavy fines were imposed on many families whose (often adult) sons and daughters were found guilty of stone throwing. Nine refugee camps have been under total curfew at various times in recent weeks forcing hundreds of residents to remain in their homes without food or other supplies. Twenty Arab schools have been closed this year, many for long periods, and one or another of the West Bank's four universities have been shut down periodically by military decree.

Testifying before the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, former Chief of Staff Eitan said on April 12, 1983 that the answer to stone throwing "should be