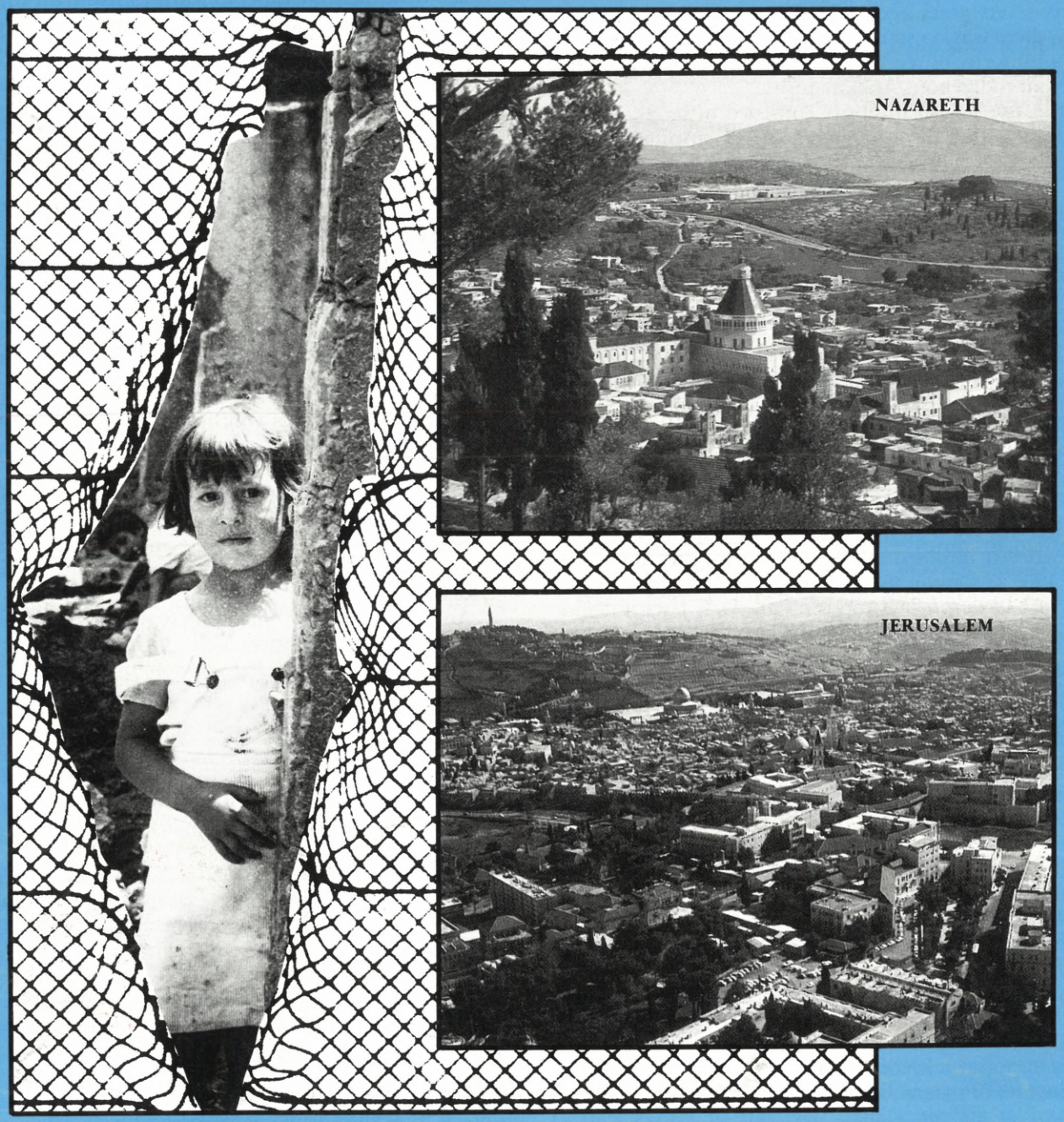
Palestine Perspectives

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PALESTINE: DESTRUCTION AND REBIRTH

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Editorial Editorial Editorial

LESS CORN AND MORE HELL

Thirty-seven years ago, a brief moment in the life of nations, there was no state of Israel. There was Palestine in which a minority of recent Jewish immigrants lived in the midst of an indigenous Arab majority.

Most of the Jewish minority consisted of recent foreign immigrants, and most of them never applied for or acquired Palestinian citizenship. In other countries they would not have been entitled to vote. This minority of recently arrived resident aliens waged war on the indigenous Arab majority and, on 15 May 1948, proclaimed Palestine to be the Jewish state of Israel. This is the first fact which needs to be remembered about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Israel was an act of usurpation; an act of forcible conquest.

The second fact is that the injustice which the state of Israel represents is a continuing injustice. The Palestinian grievance against Israel is not an ancient grudge which the Palestinians refuse to forget. Israel continues until this day to usurp Palestinian land, and to terrorize the Palestinians in their occupied homeland and in the lands of their exile.

The third important fact is that Israel has made it impossible for the Palestinians even to learn to live with the injustice it imposed on them. When the Palestinians, in the 1960's, sought to reconcile their rights with the Zionist *fait accompli* by proposing an Arab-Jewish democratic secular republic in Palestine, the Israelis said the idea was a "euphemism for the destruction of Israel." They urged the Palestinians to show "moderation" by accepting to coexist alongside the Jewish state of Israel. When the Palestinians, in the 1970's, responded by advocating a mini Palestinian state in a fifth of Palestine (the West Bank and Gaza Strip), the Israelis accused them of harboring irredentist designs against Israel. The Palestinians were urged again to show "moderation" by accepting to live "in association with Jordan." When the Palestinians responded by advocating a confederation with Jordan, they were advised to be "more forthcoming."

Thirty-seven years later, it has become apparent that the Palestinians served neither their interests nor the cause of peace with their attempts to learn to live with injustice. It is time for them and the other Arab peoples to rediscover an old truth: that peace requires confrontation with injustice not accommodation to it.

It has become sufficiently clear that the last thing Israel wants is to live with the Palestinians. It wants to live instead of the Palestinians. As long as Israel believes that this objective is attainable it will continue to pursue it. The Palestinians' greatest challenge (and responsibility to themselves and to peace in the Middle East) is to demonstrate that their national demise is not achievable. As they observe the 37th anniversary of the destruction of Palestine, on 15 May, they need to ponder the fact that it was not their resistance to injustice but the illusion that they could live with it which took them down the road to national oblivion.

It is understandable that the Palestinians, who have been the primary victims of conflict in the Middle East, should be eager to ameliorate their suffering by facilitating the advent of a just peace in their region. From that perspective, it was understandable that they gave more than one opportunity to accommodationist politics. But when the experiment yields nothing but another call to be "more forthcoming," it is time to reconsider and to chart a new course.

An American lady once advised American farmers to "raise less corn and more hell" to improve their lot. The time has come for the Palestinians to borrow that advice.

M. Hallaj

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THEY HAVE NOT YET PAID FOR THEIR MISTAKES

Amos Regev

In the rejoicing over the withdrawal from Lebanon, one basic fact seems to have been forgotten: it was not only a political failure for the State of Israel; it was a military failure for the IDF. Even if we now decide to apply a "stronger hand" to the Shi'ites, it won't change the picture.

It wasn't only the government that was deceived by the grandiose plans laid before it; our so-called "professional" army allowed itself to be "had" rather willingly. Warnings were few and far between. Only a small number of people predicted what would actually happen.

"The Shi'ite terror took us by surprise," said Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin. And Arik Sharon retorted angrily: "Bullshit." Sharon was right. Nothing had changed, only Sharon himself had simply ignored the facts, because it was convenient for him at the time. No one should have been surprised. Anyone who had followed the course of the civil war in Lebanon from 1975 on—and it can be assumed that the IDF heads had done so—should have known that the composition of the Lebanese population made for an impossible situation.

Nonetheless, we were "surprised." It took almost three years, more than 600 dead, 3.5 billion dollars and thousands of wounded for us to catch on.

Meanwhile, the political leadership (Begin and then Shamir) declared that the "trauma" of the Yom Kippur War had been healed and a new situation created in which Damascus was "in shooting range of Israeli artillery."

And what did the army do meanwhile? It built bases, paved roads and dug fortifications. On the eastern front—which suddenly became a strategic "springboard" vis-a-vis Damascus (who in hell was interested in marching on Damascus anyway?)—astronomical sums were invested in command posts, maintenance installations and field hospitals. Mountains were turned into hills and hills were levelled to the ground. Countless convoys moved back and forth between the north and the south, exposing themselves continuously to boobytraps, road mines and Kalashnikovs. Our "logistical tail" became overweight, flabby and vulnerable.

The IDF has been uanble to find a military answer to terrorism in general or to Shi'ite terror (*sic*) in particular—because there simply is no military answer to terrorism. The history of guerrilla wars has shown us that a regular army is incapable of dealing with irregulars: they swarm around like fish in the sea, protected by their supportive environment. That is what happened to Napoleon in Spain, to the French and Americans in Vietnam, and now to the Russians in Afghanistan.

The Likud has paid a certain price for its mistakes in Lebanon. But the top army brass has hardly paid a penny. IDF "professionals" shown to be completely helpless in Lebanon are still there, running the show. There are certain dangers in this situation. The Yom Kippur "trauma" incensed a good many army men against the Syrians who, in June 1982, brought their blood to boiling point. The Lebanese "trauma" might put these men in a fighting mood again, when some other June comes around. □ (*Yedi'ot Aharonot*, 21 February 1985)

FORUM

LEARNING THE HARD WAY

Gideon Sammet

The new wave of incidents in the West Bank has to be understood not only as a disagreeable infringement of law and order but as a pointed reminder. It is a hard lesson to learn but an important one. To put it trenchantly: these seasonable eruptions are a necessary reminder of the nature of our control over the territories. They accentuate—over and over again—the sterility inherent in the conception of both the Alignment and the Likud. We must wake up to the fact that nothing less than a transformation of our fundamental approach can offer any hope of change. It has proved axiomatic in democratic countries that the suppression of one people by another cannot be sustained indefinitely. Moreover, the attempt will almost always lead to bloodshed.

This is the most salient truth about the incidents in the West Bank. All the rest is nothing but ineffectual stopgap tactics, a futile attempt to stem the tide of unrest which has been fermenting for the last eighteen years. Constrained by the exigencies of his national unity government, the Prime Minister said last week that there is no connection between events in the West Bank and the future of the territories. This is nonsense, to be blunt. There is one very definite connection—that between the control of a restive population, even if it is restive only in part, and the manifestations of its disaffection towards those trying to control it.

There is little proof that harsher measures will produce anything but a temporary respite. Improvement in the situation is possible—even now, the disturbances are on a smaller scale than during certain periods in the past; but the coming wave of incidents, the next bloodletting, is always just around the corner. Treating the localized symptoms of a festering violence will change nothing. When the Defense Minister declares that no change is necessary in West Bank policy, merely "more of the same," he is hailed as a moderate. But again, this is to focus only on one aspect of the situation. In the broader view, there is no real difference between the measures demanded by Rabbi Levinger and those proposed by the Minister of Defense. The difference is only one of scope.

Even Rabin is in favor of blowing up houses, expelling instigators, interrogating detainees (and we shall become still more brutalized in the process: if innocent people are maltreated by the police in the Dizengoff Station, what can they expect in the West bank?); we are to improve our information network and recruit a few more quislings. But that will not help. "Reminders" will continue to fall or to burst upon us, until one day, perhaps, it will be brought home to us exactly what the price is of controlling heavily-populated areas in the West Bank.

It may be necessary for the situation to become exacerbated to an extreme before we shed our illusions. But that

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FORUM

SETTLERS URGE TOUGHER MEASURES



[Editor's Note: Studies recently released by the Jerusalem-based West Bank Data Base Project show that Israel has acquired effective control of 52 percent of Palestinian land in the West Bank since 1967. These lands were confiscated through a "dual system" geared to benefit Israeli settlers to the detriment of the 800,000 Palestinian residents of the occupied territory. The Israeli settlers have been allowed to develop their own political and economic infrastructure which exerts undeniable political pressure on the government to annex the territory and deport its population. Jewish settlers have used increased tensions in the occupied territories to dramatize their demands. The following two editorials appeared in the Israeli press in response to such demands by the settlers.]

The Burden of Settlement

The contention of many that the settlements in Judaea and Samaria [the West Bank] are a burden rather than a security asset was given support from an unexpected quarter last week—by precisely those people who had initiated, promoted and financed the settlements. Settlement leaders have accused everyone in sight—the government, the Defense Minister, the Army—of failing to maintain proper security in the West Bank. Mr. Eliakim Ha'etzni [Leader of Jewish settlers] even went so far as to accuse them of responsibility for the growing influence of the PLO: they, and not the "Arab in the street," were guilty of murder. And indeed the West Bank is seething once again. Once again, the demand for "tougher measures" is being heard. Once again, the settlers are threatening to take the law into their own hands.

What is rather obvious is that even a relatively small number of incidents (one of which, unfortunately, ended in the death of an Israeli from Kfar Saba) is enough to highlight the vulnerability of the Jewish presence in the West Bank. Every incident evokes an outcry for increased protection and the most recent demand was dismissed even by that hardest of hardhats, Yitzhaq Shamir, as a "hysterical reaction." But the West Bank reality is such that even the thousands of soldiers serving in the area, reinforced by settlers armed to the teeth, are unable to change it.

It has been pointed out more than once that Israel has become subjugated to the needs of a handful of superannuated settler-mystics. It has also been pointed out more than once that the number of IDF units required to protect the settlers could provide the State of Israel with no less protection than the same number of soldiers and the settlers combined. The end result is that we are investing twice the effort in protecting those who claim to be protecting us. Fortunately, the enemy is weak and divided. Otherwise, the squandering of resources would be impossible to bear.

In any event, it is unnecessary to enforce "tougher measures": If we do so we shall only be encouraging those anxious to get rid of us altogether. Nor should the settlers be given a free hand—or they will soon come crying to Daddy for help. Since the settlers themselves have made their bed in the West Bank (and their patrons insist on maintaining the status quo), let them lie in it. □

(*Ha'aretz*, 3 February 1985)

Expedient Hysteria

In their demand for harsher penalties for the Arabs—ranging from execution to deportation—the settlers and their supporters, notably those from Techiya, are coming more and more to resemble Rabbi Kahane. The roadblocks which held up Arab traffic in Judaea and Samaria [the West Bank] yesterday were not so different from the kind of demonstrations Kahane would like to stage in Arab villages. When the Arabs stoned one of the barriers blocking the road to Nablus yesterday, the settlers responded with fire. This is an example of brutal lawlessness. The security forces believe they are doing their best to protect Israeli vehicles from attack. But their task is being made virtually impossible by the settlers and their friends, who are imposing on them the additional effort of protecting the Arabs from the settlers.

The government should not, under any circumstances, give in to the settlers. All they are trying to do is to create an atmosphere of hysteria which will drive the government into annexing the territories and repressing and deporting as many Arabs as possible. The government must draw a careful distinction between the legitimate security needs of the settlers on the one hand and, on the other, the demands of a vocal and violent minority who consider themselves to be God's representatives on earth and the only responsible Zionists left. They are liable to drag us all into a binational regime characterized by oppressive and discriminatory practices. □

(*Davar*, 4 February 1985)

LEARNING *(continued from page 2)*

is part of a complicated process of national education. The solution is not likely to be initiated either by the leaders in charge of that particular area of our lives, or by public sentiment. It will be imposed on us by force of brute circumstance. Nobody on our side seems prepared to take the first step, now or in the foreseeable future. It is not nice to say so, but there is something educational in the reminders we keep getting from the other side of the Green Line. The comparison with Lebanon, for all the differences, is not entirely fortuitous. Who knows how long we might have stayed on there had the population continued to bombard us with no more than rice. □

(*Ha'aretz*, 11 February 1985)

THE PALESTINE RESEARCH CENTER

Interview with Sabri Jiryis

[The Palestine Research Center was founded in 1965 as a cultural and educational institution for the purpose of documenting different aspects of the Palestine problem. It conducted academic research on all facets of Palestinian and Israeli politics acquiring in the process large amounts of books, documents and publications relevant to the Palestinian question. Subsequently, the Center became the largest research institution specialized in the Palestinian problem. Its library included over 25,000 volumes. The Center published a monthly journal entitled ***Shu'un Filastiniyyah*** *(Palestine Affairs) in addition to over 400 books and other publications.*

On 15 September 1982, as Israeli troops invaded West Beirut, they ransacked the offices of the Palestine Research Center confiscating all its possessions and transporting them to Israel. Despite its official diplomatic status granted by the Lebanese government, the Center was subjected to a series of attacks by Israeli troops and their Lebanese allies aimed at closing the center and ending its activities. During these attacks, several members of the staff were killed, including Hanneh Shahin, the wife of Sabri Jiryis, the Director of the Center.

Recently the Center resumed operation from Nicosia, Cyprus. The following are excerpts from an interview with Mr. Sabri Jiryis conducted by Saleh Qallab of ***Al-Majalla,*** *No. 263, 20-26, February 1985]:*

Q: *Since its establishment, the Center has been targeted by Israel. Tell us what the Center has been through.*

A: We do not have sufficient information about the parties which carried out all these operations against the Research Center. However, I can say that Israel did not execute all these operations. For example, the last bombing, according to our information, was carried out by a fascist Lebanese group known as "The Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners." The group is linked to both the Phalange party and certain official Lebanese security services. So we can safely say that these parties are linked to or coordinated with Israeli intelligence....

After the occupation of West Beirut, the Israeli army overtly invaded and ransacked the Center. At that stage, it seems that the Israelis were content with doing so, even though they subsequently returned the looted possessions when they exchanged prisoners with the PLO on November 24, 1983. However, after the Center resumed operation in Beirut, certain fascist Lebanese parties viewed this as a direct challenge. Thus, they bombed the Center killing and injuring several of its staff. The facility and its environs were severely damaged.

It is worth noting that these parties continue to pursue and attack Palestinians in Lebanon, which indicates that the Center itself is not the target. Instead, the Palestinians themselves are the target.

Q: *Did you recover all the books and documents which the Israelis looted after their occupation of West Beirut?*

A: Yes. We have reclaimed most of these books. As a matter of fact, I would like to clarify an important matter here. The Center does not have secrets. What have been described as documents are simply academic books available at many research institutes and centers in addition to books found at any normal library thoughout the world, including Israeli books. These number about 3,000 books dealing with the Zionist entity and society.

The value of the books stems from the efforts spent at collecting these sources and from the fact that they are specialized in the Palestine problem. Even the documents do not contain any secrets pertaining either to the activities of the PLO or to the activities of friendly or adversary forces. They simply include valuable collections of old British, Ottoman, Israeli and Arab documents pertaining to the Arab-Israeli conflict dating from the last several decades. These documents are purely for academic research aimed at writing the history of the Palestine problem and the Middle East.

In addition, there are large collections of regular publications such as newspapers and magazines pertaining to the Palestine question in some form or another. These are briefly the possessions of the Research Center.

Q: *But were there any irreplaceable rare documents there?*

A: I would like to state for the first time ever, that rare and very valuable documents were shipped out of Lebanon prior to the Israeli invasion. We also transferred all files including sensitive information such as personnel files.

Q: *Israeli officials made frequent antagonistic statements against the Center. Why are they so interested in the Center if, as you indicated, there are no secrets there?*

A: Let me answer your question this way: If I were in their place I would not have placed so much emphasis on the Center and would not have targeted it. The Center is one of a few Arab institutions which attempt to study the Arab-Israeli conflict in a comprehensive, academic, rational and practical way. In my view, such endeavors must not scare anyone. However, it seems that the childish Israeli mind behaves in an unpredictable manner. Imagine, they even ransacked books published in Israel which are available in Israeli bookstores and shops. This is a senseless and unjustified form of sensitivity. They prefer to further a policy of ignorance whereby nothing is known about the Zionist entity in order to facilitate the realization of their objectives.

Q: *After your departure from Beirut, there was contradictory information about the fate of the Center. Some say it has been based in Cyprus while others claim that it will be transferred to Cairo. What can you tell us about your contacts with Egyptian officials in this regard.*

A: The Center is currently and partially operating from Cyprus. We expect to transfer the headquarters to Cairo after our application is approved by the Egyptian authorities. After our departure from Beirut, we discussed the issue

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PLO News and Views

ARAFAT MEETS U.S. CONGRESSMEN

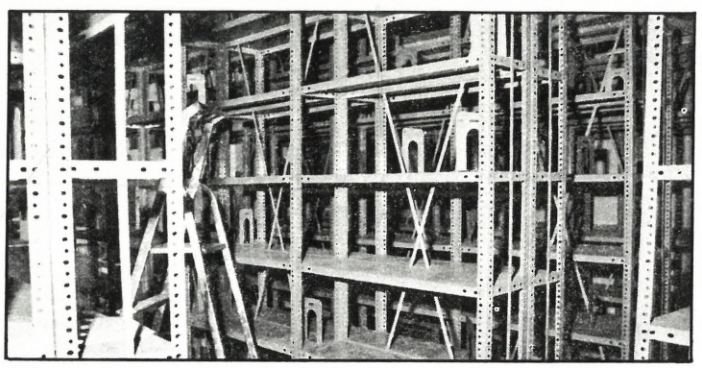
On April 11, while on a three-day visit to Amman, PLO Chairman Arafat met with a group of U.S. Congressmen to discuss Palestinian views on Mideast peace. Nabil Amr, an aide to Arafat, confirmed the meeting which he described as part of "continued contacts between the PLO and the U.S. government." Mr. Amr added, "Our channels are always open with the Americans."

PLO sources revealed that five congressmen and three aides held a two-hour meeting with Mr. Arafat. Only Rep. David Obey (D-WI), the head of the seven-member delegation, was identified by name. A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Amman declined to confirm or deny the meeting. The Congressmen avoided reporters at the end of their meeting with Arafat.

Travelling with Obey were Congressmen Matthew McHugh (D-NY), Robert Mrazek (D-NY), Robert Kastenmeier (D-WI), Martin Sabo (D-MN), Steny Hoyer (D-MD) and Thomas Petri (R-WI). The identity of the two legislators who did not attend the meeting was not revealed.

After holding talks with King Hussein and senior Jordanian officials in Amman, the U.S. Congressmen continued their fact-finding tour of the Middle East by visiting Israel and Syria. In Jerusalem, the U.S. delegation met Prime Minister Shimon Peres and several members of his cabinet. Peres told his American guests that while there is a solution to the Palestinian problem, "there is no solution to the PLO problem because Yasser Arafat is incapable of taking decisions." Peres praised King Hussein saying: "I admire him and respect him...I believe he is interested in peace, but I differ with him over his conviction that he needs the legitimation of the PLO. He should take up the leadership of the Palestinians himself."

Representative Thomas Petri, who met with Arafat in Amman, told reporters in Jerusalem that Arafat is ready to negotiate peace. According to *The Jerusalem Post* (27 April 1985), Petri said that Arafat "did definitely give us the impression that they are now interested in working towards some sort of a formula for negotiations with Israel and for recognition of Israel as part of a package deal." □



The Center's library after Israeli raid

RESEARCH CENTER *(continued from page 4)*

of relocation and chose to settle in one of the confrontation states. Subsequent contacts were established with one such state, but to no avail. Therefore, we approached Egypt and our dialogue is currently at its final stage. So, if everything goes as expected, the Center might soon resume its operation from Cairo....

Q: *The Israeli government decided recently to pull out of southern Lebanon. As a specialist in Israeli affairs, do you believe Israel will withdraw completely from Lebanese territory?*

A: First of all, I would like to point out that Israel will maintain some direct or indirect presence and influence in southern Lebanon. The Israelis sought similar influence even prior to the 1982 invasion. However, I believe that an Israeli pullout of southern Lebanon will take place sooner or later...for two fundamental reasons:

One, the continuous, growing, and effective resistance in southern Lebanon.... I wish the Palestinians were capable of waging a similar level of resistance. In fact, they never achieved such a level of resistance.... I believe that the Lebanese National Resistance, in which the Palestinians are a party, has succeeded in hitting the Israeli occupier in its most vulnerable spot. This is an important factor in driving the Israelis out of Lebanon.

Two, Israel suffers from a deteriorating economic situation.... I am not an expert on economics, however, simply stated, the situation is the product of overspending. The resulting deficit was remedied through stopgap measures and loans from different sources. Over a long period of time, the situation deteriorated to such an extent that these measures became ineffective, thus requiring decisive action.... Therefore, two external measures were adopted: first, withdrawal from southern Lebanon to save millions of dollars; second, imposing a freeze on settlement activities in the occupied territories.

In addition, the ideologues of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon realized two years later that their invasion failed to eliminate the PLO, both militarily and politically.... Furthermore, the Israelis failed to make Lebanon the second Arab country to enter a peace alliance with Israel.... All these factors combined made Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon inevitable....

Q: *Stalemate in the last Israeli elections led to the formation of a national unity government. In your assessment, how long could this formula last?*

A: The current balance of power inside Israel is a reflection of the actual social structure there.... Zionist society is divided politically into two camps: one camp seems more moderate vis-a-vis the Palestine question even though it does not differ fundamentally from the other. The second camp is fascist and advocates overtly what the first camp is incapable of expressing in public.

I believe that due to prevailing social, economic, and political conditions, this division will remain for a long time.... And here, I must emphasize that this government is incapable of reaching any clear-cut decisions. Thus, any serious discussion about a Middle East solution or about changes pertaining to the Palestine problem is apt to bring down the government of national unity, which was basically formed to deal with domestic matters.... □

ANALYSIS...
TO MURPHY...WITH CLARITY

On his recent "fact-finding" tour of several countries in the Middle East, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy met with 38 Palestinian personalities from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Palestinians, who represent a broad political spectrum, demonstrated for the nth time that in spite of everything a basic Palestinian consensus is indestructible. In a written memorandum which they handed to Mr. Murphy, the Palestinians clearly and forcefully stated the essential elements of that consensus. They affirmed the unity of the Palestinian people and, thus, the indivisibility of the Palestine question; they stressed the fact that the Palestine question is a political and national question which cannot be resolved except within the context of self-determination and independent statehood. And they affirmed that the Palestinian people, exercising an inalienable right, have chosen the PLO to be their sole and legitimate representative.

We assume that these are not new revelations to Mr. Murphy. He would have to be pathetically uninformed not to be familiar with the feelings of the Palestinians. As the Palestinians told Mr. Murphy, they have been saying the same things to American delegations for a long time. Then why this unending "fact-finding" charade?

The people of the occupied territories are being told, in effect, that we will hear you only when you begin to say what Israel wants you to say: that there is no national Palestinian question, that there is no national Palestinian leadership, and that there are no national Palestinian rights. After every tragedy which the Palestinians suffer, and after every ordeal they are made to endure, a new "fact-finding" effort is undertaken to see if the Palestinians despaired enough to sing as they are told to sing.

Eighty years ago, George Bernard Shaw wrote: "If you break a nation's nationality it will think of nothing else but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until the demand of the nationalist is granted. It will attend to no business, however vital, except the business of unification and liberation."

Shaw was not speaking about the Palestinians, but about a universal human condition. What he was telling Mr. Murphy and all the other fact-finders is that nations should not be expected to self-destruct. And this is what the Palestinians said in Jerusalem on April 16.

The Palestinian people can be easily engaged in a dialogue on how best to achieve their national rights. They cannot, and should not be expected, to discuss with anyone whether or not they ought to have such rights. No fact-finding missions are needed to understand such a simple truth. □

SIX PALESTINIANS BEHEADED

Continued violence throughout the last six weeks around the city of Sidon in southern Lebanon has claimed the lives of more than 80 people and left more than 40,000 homeless. According to *The New York Times* (16 April 1985), more than half of those displaced are Palestinians, residents of the two refugee camps, Ein El-Hilweh and Miyeh Miyeh.

The fighting erupted when Israeli-allied Phalangist militias occupied the hills east of Sidon and began firing at Lebanese Muslim areas and at Palestinian refugee camps in the Sidon area. The latest outburst of violence between warring Lebanese factions has inflicted heavy casualties on the Palestinians residing in the neighboring refugee camps.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) unit working with the refugees reported on April 15, that "the bodies of six Palestinian refugees, beheaded and with their hands tied behind their backs, were found in the Sidon area." The agency, according to the *Times*, made the statement at its headquarters in Vienna.

A spokesman for the agency said it was not known whether the refugees had been beheaded after they died. There was no comment from the Lebanese authorities on the report. □

Life Under Occupation

U.S. ACCUSES ISRAEL OF VIOLATING LAW

The Reagan Administration accused Israel of violating international law by transferring about 1,200 Lebanese detainees in early April from Ansar in southern Lebanon to Israeli jails.

The U.S. State Department confirmed that the Israeli transfer of prisoners from occupied Lebanese territory to the territory of the occupying power—Israel—"is prohibited regardless of motive" under the terms of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. Similar charges against the Israeli move were voiced by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva and UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

According to *The New York Times*, the Israelis began dismantling the Ansar camp on April 2, releasing 750 prisoners and transferring 1,200 prisoners to a detention camp in Israel. The Israeli army justified the measure as a temporary move aimed at facilitating Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon.

The U.S. statement said that, "We've consistently taken the position that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to areas of Lebanon under Israeli occupation.... According to the convention, protected persons are to be detained only within the occupied territory. Their transfer to the territory of the occupying power is prohibited regardless of motive." The statement continued: "It appears that Israel's actions are inconsistent with the pertinent provisions of the Geneva Convention."

A State Department spokesman said the Israelis had apparently violated Articles 49, 76 and 77 of the convention. **Article 49** states unambiguously that: *"Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportation of protected persons from occupied territory to the terri-*

(continued on page 10)

From the Occupied Territories to Richard Murphy:

THE PLO IS OUR ONLY NATIONAL ADDRESS

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy was informed in no uncertain terms of the views of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation. During his April tour of the Middle East, Murphy met at his own request with a large number of Palestinian personalities from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, representing a broad spectrum of public opinion, at the U.S. Consulate in occupied east Jerusalem. The meeting took place on 16 April 1985.

Following is the complete text of the written statement handed to Mr. Murphy by the 38 Palestinian personalities who met with him, and their names:

"American administrations have in the past sent official and non-official delegates to the Middle East on fact-finding missions as well as on missions aimed at giving momentum to the peace process, or at appraising peace prospects.

These administrations were in the habit of asking their government representatives in the Middle East, and in particular in the occupied Arab territories, to arrange meetings for these delegates with Palestinian personalities from Jerusalem, the rest of the West Bank, and Gaza, in order to hear their points of view, inasmuch as these points of view were considered representative of Palestinian public opinion in the occupied Arab territories.

In most cases, we met with these American delegates and explained our people's point of view. We also requested that this point of view be conveyed to the American administration in Washington, whether at the White House or State Department or at whichever official destination. In spite of these numerous meetings we have not until now sensed any change in the official U.S. position.

The American administration still refuses to recognize the right of our people to self-determination, and still refuses to engage in a dialogue with the PLO which our people have confirmed on every occasion to be their sole legitimate representative and which alone possesses the right to represent them and to speak on their behalf on every issue.

The continuation of this U.S. position will not serve the interest of peace in the Middle East. It will have a negative effect not only on the future of the peoples of this area, but also on American and Western interests in the Middle East. We believe the time has come for the American administration to reappraise its present policy and commitments to Israel, especially those commitments which no longer have any practical value.

We thus present you on paper the following facts, and we request that they be conveyed to your country's officials, especially to President Ronald Reagan:

1) The Palestinian people in the occupied territories are only part of the entire Palestinian people. A third of our people resides in its homeland while two-thirds are in exile. Therefore, any settlement of the Palestinian problem must address the entire problem and not simply the people under occupation.

2) The Palestinian problem is a national and political problem. It is reflected in the insistence of the Palestinian people on attaining their national rights including above all the right to self-determination, the establishment of their independent state on their national soil, as well as their integral right to choose representatives of their own volition without external pressure or guardianship.

3) Our people have affirmed on more than one occasion, inside and outside the occupied territories, that they have chosen the PLO as their sole legitimate representative. Our people view this act of volition as an expression of one of their inalienable basic rights.

4) Direct dialogue with the PLO is a necessary condition for moving in the right direction and for opening up the possibility of attaining peace.

5) Our support for the PLO under the leadership of Yasser Arafat is unshakeable. We demand that the PLO be addressed in every matter concerning the Palestinian problem.

6) We request that the American administration immediately address the problem of trying to put an end to Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories especially those practices which are connected with settlements, land expropriation, violation of human rights, and attempts to suffocate the national spirit of our Palestinian youth.

We hope that you will convey our point of view to your administration."

(signed)

Rashad Shawwa, Anwar Khatib, Anwar Nuseibeh, Hikmat Masri, Zafer Masri, Mustafa Natshe, Elias Freij, Ibrahim Tawil, Amin Nasir, Amin Majaj, Zuheir Rayyes, Oudeh Rantisi, Hanna Atrash, Fayez Qawasmi, Amin Khatib, Nabil Ja'bari, Adib Qaisi, Ibrahim Abdul-Hadi, Muhammad Milhem, Fayez Abu Rahmeh, Ibrahim Saqqa, Izziddin Aryan, Hanna Seniora, Ziyad Abu Ziyad, Mansour Shawwa, Basel Hamdi Kan'an, Said Kan'an, Issam Shawwa, Khaled Usaili, Othman Hallaq, Issam Anani, Farah A'raj, Akram Matar, Jamil Sabri Khalaf, Hashem Saleh, Wasef Shkukani, Mahmoud Qawwas and Gabi Baramki. □

SIX POINTS IN STATEMENT TO MURPHY

1. ***The Palestinians inside and outside occupied Palestine are one people.***
2. ***The Palestinian problem is a national and political problem.***
3. ***The Palestinian people have chosen the PLO as their sole and legitimate representative.***
4. ***Direct dialogue with the PLO is a necessary condition for any peace process.***
5. ***Palestinian support for the PLO under the leadership of Yasser Arafat is unshakeable.***
6. ***Israeli oppressive practices in the occupied territories must be stopped.***

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CONCERNED FOR PRISONERS

Amnesty International has been seeking assurances from the Israeli government regarding the fate of some 2,000 political prisoners detained by the Israeli occupation forces in Lebanon. The international human rights organization said in a news release that it sought assurances that these prisoners would not be held indefinitely, in violation of internationally accepted human rights standards. It said that it was concerned for the rights and physical security of about 1,800 inmates of the Ansar detention camp in southern Lebanon and others known to have been transferred to prisons in Israel.

The legal status of the prisoners, most of whom are Lebanese, has never been clarified. The Israeli government, according to Amnesty International, does not regard them as prisoners of war, and furthermore denies them the right to know the evidence or specific charges against them. "All but a few have been barred from access to lawyers. Many have spent long periods in incommunicado detention."

Amnesty International said it had written to the Israeli authorities repeatedly since 1982 about the violation of these prisoners' human rights. In its latest letter to Prime Minister Peres, on 22 March 1985, the organization, in addition to urging the government to define its intentions for the prisoners, stressed that nothing should be done to jeopardize their lives or security.

It asked for assurances that the release or movement of any of the detainees would be carried out according to the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention concerning protection of civilians in wartime. None, it said, should be handed over to any group or organization if there might be a risk of their being imprisoned for their beliefs or origins, ill-treated, executed, or held in prolonged incommunicado detention.

Amnesty International also asked for assurances that an impartial observer or international humanitarian organization would be present at the movement and release of prisoners. □

KARIM H. KHALAF
(1934-1985)

Karim Khalaf, a prominent Palestinian leader and former mayor of Ramallah, died of heart failure on March 30. He was 51.

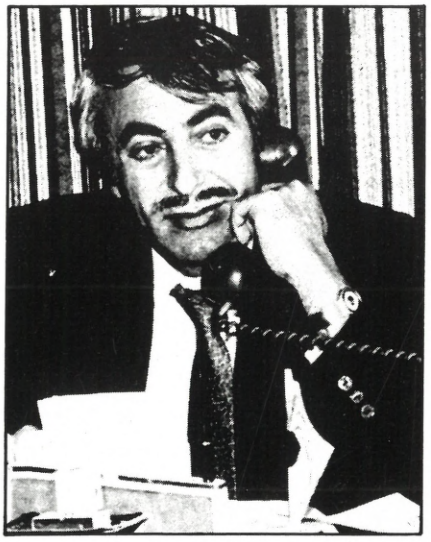
Khalaf was severely injured on June 2, 1980, when an explosive device planted in his car by Jewish terrorists exploded, severing his left foot and causing serious injury to his legs. Similar attacks took place on the same day against two other Palestinian mayors, Bassam Shak'a and Ibrahim Tawil. Mayor Shak'a of Nablus lost both legs in the attack.

A lawyer by training, Karim was educated in Egypt and worked as a public prosecutor in the Jericho and Hebron districts. In 1972 he left the legal profession and ran successfully for mayor of Ramallah. Subsequently, he emerged as one of the most prominent Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories. He was reelected for a second term in 1976 on a pro-PLO platform.

Karim Khalaf became known for his unwaivering commitment to the realization of Palestinian human, civil and political rights. He opposed the Camp David Agreements and the "autonomy scheme" in 1979, and played a leading role in organizing the National Guidance Committee which the Israeli authorities outlawed in 1982. He was a strong advocate of Palestinian and Arab unity. His frequent clashes with the Israeli military government and his unambiguous support for the PLO leadership prompted the Israeli occupation authorities to dismiss him from office in 1982—thus ending his 10-year term in office. Khalaf was banished to Jericho for two years.

Khalaf was buried on April 3, in the West Bank city of Ramallah. His funeral was attended by 1,500-2,000 Palestinians who defied an Israeli curfew intended to prevent the funeral from developing into a national political event. Israeli army roadblocks prevented thousands of participants from reaching Ramallah to join the funeral procession.

Karim was a member of the Palestine National Council in addition



to serving on the Board of Directors of several educational, social and financial institutions in occupied Palestine. He is survived by his mother, his wife, Therese, and two daughters, Vivian and Daniella. He has three brothers, Shawqi, Issa and Tareq. □

ISRAEL ADMITS FAR'A ABUSES

In an attempt to discredit a recently released report accusing Israel of abusing Palestinian prisoners at Far'a prison, the Israeli occupation authorities hastily renovated the infamous facility and held an "open house" for four Western journalists. However, during the 3 1/2 hour tour of the prison, the Israeli military commander of the occupied West Bank conceded that Palestinian youth held at Far'a have been mistreated by interrogators in the past, but he quickly added that procedures have been changed in the last 15 months to minimize such incidents.

The Israeli officer, identified only as Col. Yaacov, denied the charges made by the International Commission of Jurists that Far'a is "an intimidation center" where widespread physical torture and psychological intimidation are common practice. He accused the PLO of fabricating the charges in order "to focus political pressure on Far'a and minimize its success."

According to *The Los Angeles Times,* there are more than 300 political prisoners currently de-

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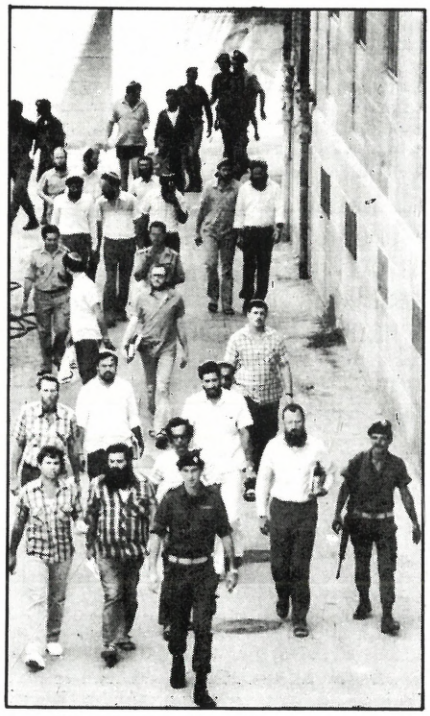
Life Under Occupation

ISRAELI TERRORISTS SENTENCED

The Associated Press reported from Jerusalem that an Israeli soldier was convicted of killing one Palestinian and wounding 10 others in a missile attack on a civilian bus last October. David Ben-Shimol, 19, was sentenced to life in prison.

Ben-Shimol was convicted of murder and attempted murder in the October 28, 1984, ambush of a bus transporting Palestinian workers from Jerusalem to Bethlehem in the occupied West Bank. The Israeli terrorist who attacked the bus with a U.S.-made LAW antitank rocket, was also convicted of throwing a hand grenade into a Palestinian coffee shop in Arab East Jerusalem on September 22, 1984.

In his statement before the Jerusalem District Court, Ben-Shimol said he attacked the Palestinians to avenge a girlfriend who died in a bomb explosion on an Israeli bus.



Members of Jewish terrorist underground in Israeli "custody"

The Jewish terrorist added, "The sentence I am being given is harsh .... What I did was for the nation."

Meanwhile, three members of the Jewish terrorist underground were convicted on April 18 on charges ranging from illegal possession of weapons to plotting to blow up the Dome of the Rock, one of the most sacred Muslim shrines. The ruling brought to eight the number of Jewish terrorists convicted of crimes committed against Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories.

It remains to be seen whether these sentences would be carried out in full. In the past, Israelis convicted of similar crimes against Palestinians were eventually pardoned after spending a short period of time in "special" prison facilities. As a matter of fact, according of *The Jerusalem Post*, all but five of the held members of the Jewish terrorist underground were recently given 48-hour furloughs from "prison" to celebrate Pessah (Easter) with their families. □

ISRAELIS TORTURE PRISONERS

International relief officials based in Lebanon accused Israel and its Lebanese allies of maintaining a secret detention camp in southern Lebanon where prisoners are exposed to appalling conditions and inhumane treatment including systematic torture, beatings, electric-shock, and denial of basic health and food needs.

Jim Muir of the *Christian Science Monitor*, revealed that 70 or 80 prisoners are held in underground cells beneath what used to be Lebanese army barracks at Khiam, just north of the Lebanese-Israeli border. The former Lebanese camp is now used as local military headquarters by the Israelis and the South Lebanese Army (SLA) led by General Antoine Lahad. The SLA militia is funded, trained and directly controlled by the Israeli army.

Former inmates testified that they were regularly tortured and beaten "without even any interrogation." They said that they "were crammed into tiny cells measuring only one meter by half a meter." An ex-prisoner described to the *Monitor* how he was tortured by attaching electrodes to his fingers with wires linked to a field telephone. He emphasized that "the torture was carried out by Lahad's men, but Israeli intelligence officers were present."

A spokesman for the Israeli armed forces in Jerusalem acknowledged the existence of the jail, but insisted that the facility is run solely by the SLA. In response to the torture allegations, the Israeli military spokesman said, "we cannot deny something to which we have no connection." International relief officials in the area, however, insist that under international law, Israel—as the occupying power—is responsible for the inhumane activities at Khiam, regardless of whether they are actually carried out by Israeli soldiers or by Lebanese militias allied with Israel. According to Michelle Mercier of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, "the ICRC has applied many times to the South Lebanon Army and the Israeli armed forces to visit the center to check conditions, but this access has not been received." □

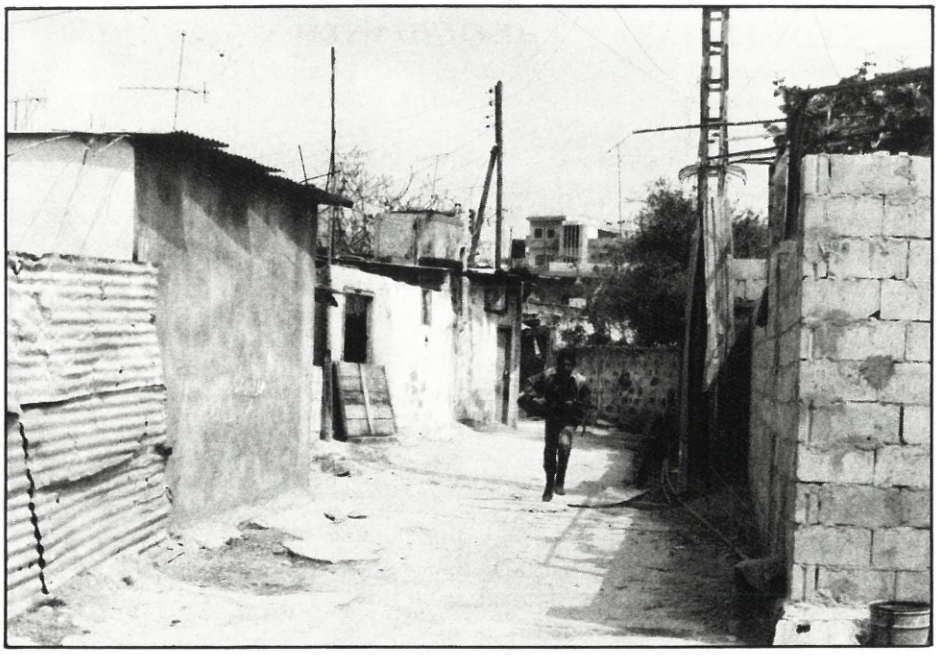
FAR'A ABUSES

(continued from page 8)

tained at Far'a. The facility was built to accommodate 200. About 60% of the prisoners are between 15 and 17 years old. The great majority were arrested for throwing stones or for some other violation of public order against the occupation. The youngest prisoners in custody are 14 years old.

Journalists were permitted to speak to a few prisoners whose interrogations have been completed. Such prisoners who are awaiting trial are generally treated better than prisoners in the interrogation wing known as "the stables." Most abuses tend to take place in "the stables" in order to extract confessions from political detainees.

In the ICJ Report twenty Palestinian prisoners who had been held at Far'a claimed that they were exposed to beatings, forced exposure to cold and water, inadequate food and medical care, and other forms of inhumane treatment. □



Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon: the target

PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON

The PLO accused Israel of planning to eliminate the Palestinian community in southern Lebanon through continuous attacks on refugee camps in the Sidon and Tyre areas. In a statement issued on 17 April the PLO said that under the pretext of "retaliatory measures against the resurgence of Palestinian operations," Israel and its local Lebanese allies have been engaged in "incessant shelling assaults and attacks" against Palestinian refugee camps in the south of Lebanon. Such attacks have so far resulted in the following:

- The murder of 200 civilians.
- The injury of over 400 civilians, mostly women and children.
- Heavy material damage to camp shelters.
- Daily abuse and maltreatment of camp residents.
- The detention of 700 young people whose fate and whereabouts remain unknown.
- The displacement of 55 thousand Palestinians from the refugee camps of Ein El-Hilweh and Miyeh Miyeh in the Sidon area.

The PLO statement said that Israel and its allies have been obstructing an extraordinary meeting of the U.N. Security Council, requested by the PLO, to study the condition of Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon. It concluded by saying that Israel seeks to uproot the Palestinian community in the area, because it stands by the Lebanese patriotic forces against Israel's plan to partition and balkanize Lebanon. □

U.S. *(continued from page 6)*

tory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive."

Article 76 says: *"Protected persons accused of offenses shall be detained in the occupied country, and if convicted they shall serve their sentences therein."*

Article 77 also states that, *"Protected persons who have been accused of offenses or convicted by the courts in occupied territory, shall be handed over at the close of occupation, with the relevant records, to the authorities of the liberated territory."*

However, despite the accusation, U.S. officials seem quite sympathetic to Israel and have not taken any steps to penalize Israel or to pressure the Israeli government to abide by the above provisions of international law. Although, at the writing of these lines, several dozen prisoners have been released, the majority remain held in Israeli jails. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

With regard to the Arabs of Israel, all our governments to date have behaved like ostriches. The Arabs have been treated as some sort of irksome security problem rather than as a recognized community within the population. This, despite the fact that the State, from its very inception, has accorded them the legal status of equal citizens—at least, on the books.

Ora Namir
Knesset Member
Davar
10 February 1985

There is nothing at all 'Jewish,' insofar as I understand Judaism, about settlements which not only ignore the native Arab population of the West Bank, but which, at best, wave the banner of nationalistic extremism and view the indigenous Palestinian Arab community as a mistake which can be corrected.

Mark A. Raider
Letters to the Editor
The Jerusalem Post
17 Feburary 1985

Israel has also declared that no matter what the PLO does or says, Israel will not recognize it. Nor will mutual recognition be considered. The reason for this was disclosed by former prime minister Rabin. It had nothing to do with terrorism or the PLO Charter. Israel rejects the PLO because accepting it means negotiating for the return of part of Palestine, the West Bank and Gaza to form a Palestinian State.

Norman Rothfield (Editor
Paths to Peace (Australia)
October 1984

When, in 50 years' time, a scholar sits down to study all the documentation on the Lebanon War, its causes and results, he or she will be astounded by its stupidity.

Hirsh Goodman
The Jerusalem Post
13 April 1985



NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The National Lawyers Guild has adopted a resolution that "calls on the United States to cease all aid to Israel that is used by Israel for ends that violate the rights of the peoples of Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria under international law," and supports "the convening of an international conference on the Middle East." The National Lawyers Guild, a member of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, is a national progressive organization of lawyers, legal workers and law students with 7,500 members in 75 chapters throughout the United States. The Guild adopted the resolution at its 50th annual convention, held in Atlanta, Georgia from March 14 to 17, 1985.

The National Lawyers Guild sent fact-finding delegations to the Middle East in 1978 and in December 1984, which conducted an in-depth examination of conditions in that part of the world. The Guild's initial study on human rights violations in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip was published in 1978.

In the text of its resolution, the Guild points out that the "attainment of the rights of the Palestinian people has been impeded by policies of Israel that violate the national and human rights of the Palestinian people...including Israel's refusal to permit return of Palestinians displaced in 1948 and 1967, its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and its confiscation of land and construction thereon of settlements for its citizens...." The search for peace, it states, "has been further thwarted by Israel's illegal annexation of... the Golan Heights...by Israel's aggression against Lebanon...and by its continuing illegal occupation of southern Lebanon." The resolution goes on to note that "Israel has expended considerable

(continued on page 13)

COMMENTARY...THE *QUID* WITHOUT A *QUO*

It is often said that politics is a *quid pro quo* proposition. When it comes to the Palestinian question however, the U.S. wants the Palestinians to *quid* but it does not want to *quo*. This fact is concealed by a deceptive formula which conveys the illusion of U.S. readiness to reciprocate Palestinian moves to advance the prospects of peace in the Middle East.

What the U.S. is saying to the Palestinians is that it is prepared to enter into a dialogue with the PLO if the PLO would explicitly recognize Israel and Security Council Resolution 242. This is the position transmitted by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy to the PLO leadership during their recent meeting in Baghdad, and the policy which has been repeatedly expressed by the U.S. government during the past few years.

What does this policy really mean? It means the following:

1) The Palestinians, by recognizing Israel, should give up all claims to at least 80 percent of Palestine, the territory which became Israel in 1948. We say "at least 80 percent" because we are using the 1967 definition of Israel.

2) The Palestinians, by recognizing Resolution 242, are being asked to concede that they are not a nation, that their problem is not a national question and, consequently, that they do not deserve national rights.

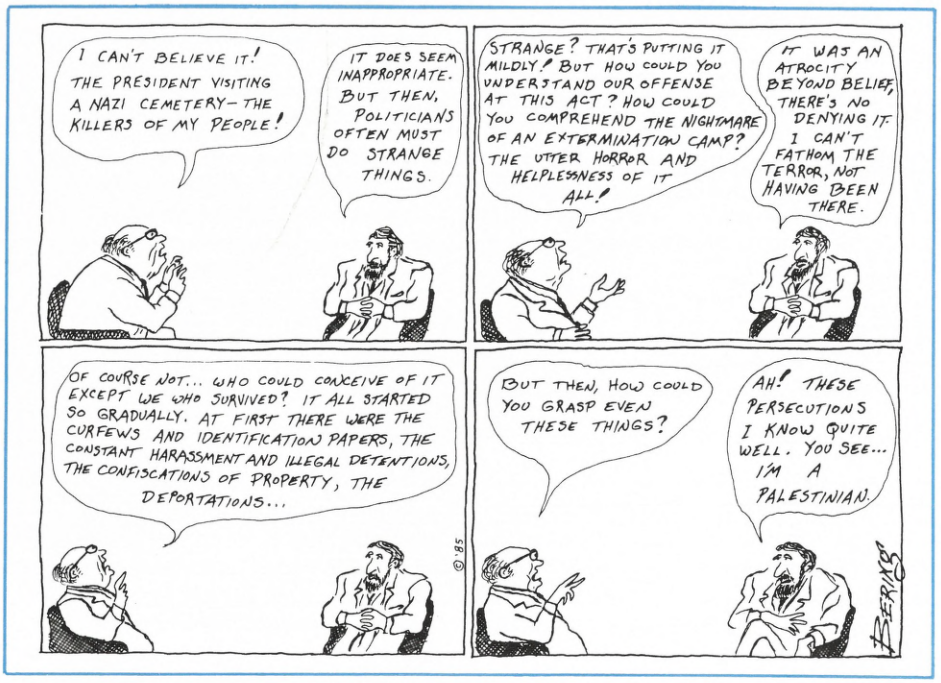
3) The PLO is being asked to abdicate and to allow other parties to determine the fate of the Palestinian people.

4) In exchange for all of that, the U.S. promises to have a *dialogue* with the PLO. It does not commit itself to a substantive policy compatible with Palestinian rights. It will simply *talk* to the Palestinians.

Given the U.S. government's position on the Palestinian question, the U.S. would want to talk the Palestinians into legitimizing the usurpation of their homeland and national rights. The U.S. government wants to reconcile Israel and its Arab neighbors at the expense of the Palestinian people. All of its "peace initiatives" are blueprints for a Middle East without Palestine.

Why should the Palestinians cooperate with a scheme designed to ensure their demise as a nation? True, U.S. recognition of the PLO is important to the Palestinians, primarily because it is Israel's underwriter. But such recognition would be meaningless and even counterproductive as long as the U.S. does not accept Palestinian nationhood.

People who believe that the PLO is missing an opportunity by not responding to U.S. conditions for a U.S.-PLO dialogue are misreading these conditions. They are looking at only one side of the formula. They are ignoring the fact that in exchange for a Palestinian fulfillment of U.S. conditions, the U.S. is promising nothing. □



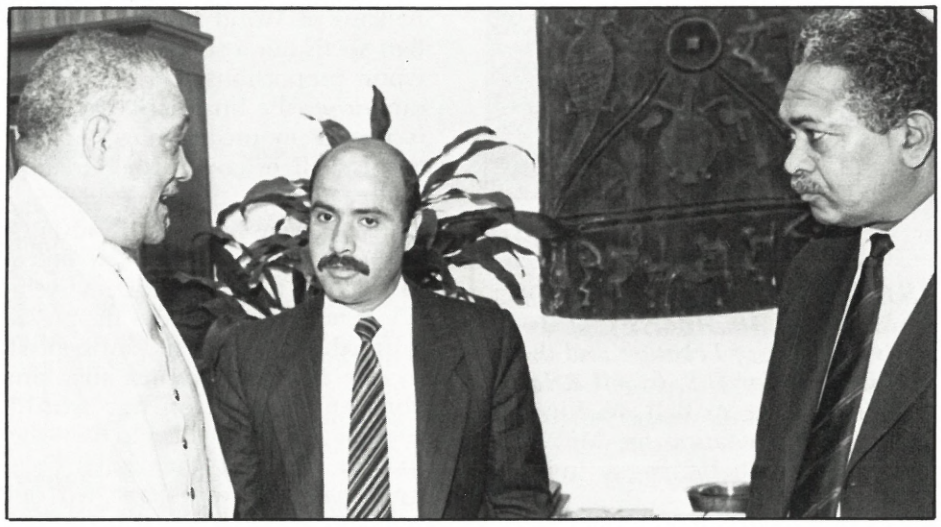
SYMPOSIUM ON SETTLEMENTS

A three-day symposium on Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories was held in Washington under the auspices of the League of Arab States. In a succession of panels, the symposium addressed such issues as the goals, means, and patterns of settlements; Israel's policies and practices in Jerusalem; Palestinian resistance to settlements; the settlements in international forums; the impact of settlements on peace prospects, and others.

The symposium was addressed by a number of experts as well as public figures including Arab League Secretary-General Chedli Klibi, Rev. Jesse Jackson, former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Lord Caradon, and Vanessa Redgrave. U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz declined an invitation to address the conference.

Rev. Jesse Jackson focused on the need to "end the cycle of pain" in the Middle East. He pointed out that as the world remembers the victory over fascism and its victims in Europe, it must also remember the other victims of oppression especially in South Africa and Palestine. The pain of one people, he said, must not be used to inflict pain on another.

Lord Caradon said that the great powers have mistreated and abandoned the Palestinians, and they must work through the Security Council to lift the injustice inflicted on the Palestinian people. □



Rahman with Congressmen Dymally and Hayes

CONGRESSMEN MEET PLO REPRESENTATIVE

Michigan Congressmen George W. Crockett, Jr. (D-MI) and John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI) hosted several Members of the U.S. House of Representatives who met on April 4, 1985, with Mr. Hasan Abdel Rahman, Director of the Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., to discuss the chances for real peace in the Middle East.

According to a press release issued by Mr. Crockett's office, the two-hour breakfast meeting was initiated by the Michigan congressman to "provide our colleagues with a free and open dialogue on the PLO's view on the recent peace initiatives." Congressman Crockett praised the meeting, saying that it had more than met its objectives by allowing a free and open discussion of the PLO, the current talks on Middle East peace, and prospects for long-range settlement of the outstanding issues in the area.

"I'm very pleased that we were able to meet with Mr. Rahman," said Congressman Crockett. "He gave Members a clear and concise picture of the PLO's position at this time, and offered them the opportunity to learn first-hand what the PLO considers the major opportunities and obstructions to peace."

In addition to Congressman Crockett, the meeting with Rahman was also attended by the following Members of Congress:

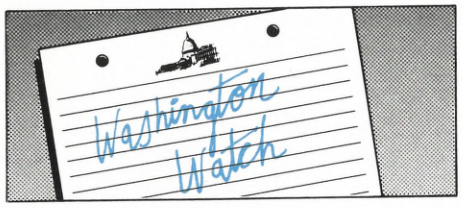
John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI), Parren J. Mitchell (D-MD), Edwin V.W. Zschau (R-CA), Robert W. Kastenmeier (D-WI), Nick Joe Rahall, II (D-WV), Mervyn M. Dymally (D-CA) and Charles A. Hayes (D-IL).

U.S. PALESTINIAN POLICY REFLECTS MINORITY OPINION

A recent public opinion survey revealed that U.S. opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state reflects the opinion of a minority of the American public. According to the poll, conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research on behalf of the International Center for Research and Public Policy in Washington, ***55 percent of the American people believe that peace in the Middle East requires the establishment of a Palestinian state*** in the Israeli occupied territories, and that such a state does not pose a threat to Israel's security. Only 27 percent took the opposing view.

Another important finding which reveals a contradiction between public opinion and official policy is that ***70 percent of the American people support an even-handed policy*** which does not favor one side in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Only 20 percent supported a policy which favors Israel.

A third major policy issue which reveals that the American public disagrees with U.S. policy in the Middle East is that ***a majority feels that U.S. aid to Israel is too high and supports the view that the U.S. should use its assistance to Israel to pressure it to comply with U.S. policy in the Middle East.*** Those who support this view favor reducing aid to Israel (rather than terminating it or suspending it temporarily) to exert pressure on Israel. □



BOOK REVIEW

ERROR AND BETRAYAL IN LEBANON: ***An Analysis of Israel's Invasion of Lebanon and the Implications for U.S.-Israeli Relations,*** by George W. Ball. Washington, D.C.: Foundation for Middle East Peace, 1984. 152 pages. Index to p. 158. $9.95 paper.

Reviewed by
Dr. A. Clare Brandabur

The Undersecretary of State under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, ***George W. Ball,*** argues in ***Error and Betrayal in Lebanon*** that U.S. policy in the Middle East is (and has been since the Eisenhower era) mistaken. The U.S. has allied itself exclusively with Israel, thus risking the alienation of the entire Arab world, Ball contends, in the mistaken belief that Israeli interests are identical with ours. Ball points out that the basic international interests of the two countries are in fact not merely diverse but even mutually exclusive: whereas U.S. interests concern the containment of soviet influence worldwide and especially in the oil-producing Gulf region, Israel's interest concerns the steady encroachment on land and power among its immediate neighbors in the Arab world. The Israeli-U.S. alliance creates the opposite of the effect intended by the U.S. primarily because, in the face of this powerful alliance, the Arab world will be forced to turn to Russia for arms, increasing Soviet influence in direct proportion to the increase of military power of Israel's neighbors.

The seriousness of the crisis in international affairs produced by this mistaken alliance cannot be underestimated according to the author, and it is to Ball's credit that he draws conclusions in unmistakable terms: U.S. intervention in support of Israel against its Arab neighbors, particularly against the Palestinians, is quickly creating the Balkans of World War III (p. 90). Ball spells out a scenario of apocalyptic proportions and admits he cannot see the final act because he is unable to predict how various agents will behave in the circumstance:

"If Israel were harassed by advancing Arab armies and the U.S. failed to respond to its call for intervention, one cannot rule out the possibility that the Israelis, influenced by the Masada complex they are constantly mentioning, would use—or at least threaten to use—the nuclear weapons they have been building for more than two decades" (p. 115).

This scenario is rendered all the more likely if we accept Ball's assertion that the present relative advantage of Israel over its Arab neighbors in manpower and technology is diminishing and will soon disappear.

Ball expresses indignation at the inconsistency in U.S. enforcement of contractual agreements under which we supply arms to various client states. Against Turkey on the occasion of Turkey's invasion of Cyprus in 1974, the supply of arms was interrupted because the contract stipulated that U.S. arms were to be used in solely defensive measures (p. 24). In the case of Israel, however, the U.S. has chosen to make an exception, even in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon which was clearly not defensive by any known standard. When reports from the International Red Cross as well as from journalists of many nations clearly indicated that cluster bombs were being used against the civilian population of Lebanese villages, refugee camps, and Beirut itself, the feeble stricture against sending more cluster bombs (which should have lasted at least five months) was fumbled so that no interruption in fact occurred.

With astonishing candor Ball supplies the reader with a clue to this moral duplicity through the revelation that the Pentagon admitted that U.S. planes were using cluster bombs against Syrian positions in East Lebanon in 1983. This moral complicity with Israeli aggression on the part of the U.S., though it is implicit in George Ball's book, is never quite addressed directly. Ball chooses to see U.S. cooperation in the appalling slaughter which is still going on in Lebanon as a "lapse" or an "error" in what is presumably an otherwise righteous foreign policy. And this constitutes the primary weakness of the book.

The likelihood that this "error" in foreign policy will be perceived and corrected is rendered far less likely by the very fact that Ball's analysis (valuable and revealing though it is) places U.S. cooperation with Israel in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon and the massive assault on the thousands of civilians who had been rounded up and herded into the alleys and camps of West Beirut, as a regrettable exception to the presumably otherwise moral and ethical U.S. foreign policy. Whether this position is sincerely held by the author or merely intended as a sugar-coating to render his message more palatable to his countrymen, I have no idea. In any case it should be said that, George Ball notwithstanding, U.S. cooperation with Israel represents the essence, not the exception, in U.S. foreign policy. In fact this unholy alliance allows a continuation of the flow of arms to dictatorships in Latin America and South Africa through Israel, even in cases where U.S. Congressional strictures have halted direct aid by the U.S.

This important caveat aside, ***Error and Betrayal in Lebanon*** offers some valuable insights—many of which, though they may be common knowledge even in Israel, have been carefully withheld from the U.S. public. □

LAWYERS GUILD

(continued from page 11)

resources in carrying out these violations," resources that Israel has "only because of extensive aid received from the government of the United States," which is "fully aware that much of this assistance will be used by Israel to continue the aforementioned illegal policies.... Provision of resources for such purposes," the resolution states, "constitutes complicity and encouragement by the United States in the aforementioned violations by Israel of international obligations." □

In Brief

REFUGEE CAMP THREATENED

Israel is planning to tear down the homes of 42,000 Palestinian refugees in the Jabalia camp, northeast of Gaza, according to UNRWA sources. UNRWA, which cares for 350,000 Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip, said similar measures have been taken by Israel since 1967, leaving 55,000 people homeless. Previous demolitions were justified by the Israelis on security grounds. UNRWA sources insist that the demolitions are politically motivated acts of retaliation against Palestinians engaged in resisting Israeli occupation.

PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE GROWS

Israeli military officials are disturbed by the sharp increase last year in the number of "Israeli Arabs" [Palestinians living under Israeli occupation since 1948] who participated in guerrilla operations against Israeli targets. A senior military source told *Ma'ariv* that since the beginning of 1984, 100 "Israeli Arabs" have been detained and charged with illegal possession of arms for hostile purposes. In 1983, only 62 Arabs were detained on similar charges.

RESTRICTION ORDER RENEWED

The Israeli military government in the occupied West Bank has extended the restriction order against George Hazboun, a Palestinian labor leader residing in Bethlehem, for another 6 months. The military order confines Hazboun to house arrest during the night and prohibits him from leaving town.

UN EFFORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The Commission on Human Rights, which held its forty-first session from 4 February to 15 March in Geneva, adopted a number of resolutions on such matters as the ill-treatment of detainees in Palestine and Lebanon, detention without charge or trial, freedom of expression, and the application of the UN Convention Against Torture.

The 43-member Commission, which provides overall policy guidance for UN human rights programs and activities, decided to appoint a Special Rapporteur to monitor developments and to seek and receive "credible and reliable information" on alleged cases of torture worldwide.

The Commission strongly condemned Israel for policies of ill-treatment and torture of Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons. All partners to the Middle East conflict were asked to provide the International Committee of the Red Cross with information concerning such persons.

During its six-week session the Commission examined situations of human rights violations which had been of concern to it over past years, and agreed on specific arrangements for continued monitoring of developments in the regions and countries concerned. These include the Middle East, South Africa, Namibia, Afghanistan, El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, southern Lebanon, Iran, Kampuchea and Western Sahara. □

World View

SPANISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS

While acknowledging that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Spain and Israel is an internal Spanish matter, Farouq Qaddoumi, head of the PLO Political Department, voiced Palestinian opposition to the rumored move on the part of Spain. Qaddoumi expressed confidence that Spain will continue to promote Middle East peace within the European Community. He told a Madrid daily that Spain's entry into the Common Market could have a positive effect on Palestinian interests in Europe.

Spain is the only West European country that lacks formal diplomatic relations with Israel. The Spanish decision is traced back to the Israeli role in blocking Spanish admission to the UN. However, since the Socialists have assumed power in Madrid in 1982, the normalization of diplomatic relations with Israel seemed more probable. Recent commercial, cultural and diplomatic exchanges between Madrid and Tel Aviv point in that direction.

Spanish domestic opposition to diplomatic relations with Israel appears to stem from a historic commitment to the Arab cause in addition to strong relationships with several Arab countries. *The Christian Science Monitor* (8 April 1985) quoted Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran saying that diplomatic relations with Israel must come "through a true diplomatic process in which there would be counterconcessions." Moran was apparently referring to a political gesture by Israel toward the PLO.

Recently, as members of the European Community discussed the ratification of Spain's admission to the Community, Madrid was pressured to establish relations with Israel before entry is approved. The Spanish government, however, has thus far resisted European pressure. A Spanish Foreign Ministry spokesman explained: "If by establishing relations with Israel, Spain would contribute to the peace process, it would not hesitate to do so." Fernando Schwartz added, "At present, it's difficult to establish relations with the country of Sabra and Shatila."

YUGOSLAVIA REAFFIRMS SUPPORT

Yugoslavia reiterated its support for the Palestinian people and their inalienable right to self-determination. A Yugoslav official spokesman said that attempts are being made to exclude the PLO from international efforts aimed at dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict. He called on the international community, especially the Nonaligned Movement, to intensify its support of the PLO to help it surmount such pressures.

The Yugoslav statement was issued during the recent visit of Farouq Qaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department to Yugoslavia by invitation of its foreign minister. □

POLICE BRUTALITY IN ISRAEL

Report by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights

[Israel's constant and increasing reliance on force against Arabs in Palestine and Lebanon has made it into a violent society. The brutalization of Israeli society is manifested in the increasing incidence of police brutality not only against Arabs but also against Jews. A recent report by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, dated 5 February 1985, said that official Israeli statistics show that the number of complaints against police brutality have been steadily growing, although not all incidents are reported.

The report includes a number of accounts, published in the Israeli press, by victims of police brutality in Israel. The following account is by Menashe Ezra, who was arrested for the nonpayment of alimony to his divorced wife. The story was published in the Israeli newspaper ***Ha'aretz*** *of 15 January 1985, and was reported by* ***Ma'ariv*** *of 16 January 1985]:*

Menashe Ezra was brought to the debt enforcement office for nonpayment of alimony to his divorced wife. There, he was ordered by a policeman in civilian clothes to get off the bench so he could use the telephone, and the policeman pulled him by his shirt. Ezra protested and one of the detectives took his address. Two hours later, two detectives arrived at his grocery store, handcuffed him and told him that he was under arrest for assaulting a policeman. "I was put into a police mobile car," Ezra said. "The drive started and then Detective Noam, whom I had met in the corridor, slapped my face terribly. They brought me to the Dizengoff police station. Noam put me in a room and locked the door. Suddenly he started to slap my face, indiscriminately. He beat me for about an hour, till my mouth started bleeding. Then he asked where my wound was. I opened my mouth and showed him where I was bleeding. He took a needle and pricked the wound. I started crying and I asked him to stop, but he continued."

"Then his colleague came into the room and kicked me. After five minutes Noam returned and the other one left. He told me to get up and stand in the corner. I got up and he started beating me in the face. Suddenly he asked me how much I weighed. I said '155 kg.' He asked me: 'Do you know how to make 155 kg jump?' and proceeded to kick me in my testicles. I fell down and saliva flowed from my mouth. The second policeman came in, pulled my trousers down and spat on my buttocks."

"I felt humiliated. I wept like a little child. They ordered me to apologize. I apologized. Then they took me to the third floor. There were some ten detectives there, one of them an officer or pretending to be an officer. They sneered at me and told me: 'You are the son of a bitch, threatening policemen, you are a maniac, behaving like a snake.' All this time I was sitting in a corner, crying. Noam told me 'apologize in front of everybody, and when you see me in the street, salute me.' I asked them to forgive me, and the officer threw me my identity card and told me to go home. He said: 'You have bad luck that you met the worst man in the central unit. When you see him in the street, salute him.' "

"I left the room. I was dizzy. I vomited on the stairs of the police building. The policeman at the entrance told me 'clean up the mess you have made.' I took my shirt off and swept the stairs." □

ISRAEL PLAYS IN STAR WARS

The Reagan administration invited Israel, among other countries, to participate in its "Star Wars" program. Israel is reported to be enthusiastic about the prospect, which offers it access to new military technology as well as a slice of the budget which would be allocated for the project. U.S. Secretary of the Navy, John F. Lehman, also disclosed that the U.S. and Israel will jointly produce new missiles, submarines and patrol boats in a program slated to cost more than 1 billion dollars.

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