

the facts

ABOUT THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

A monthly bulletin produced by «The Arab Women's Information Committee»
P. O. Box 320 - Beirut, Lebanon - **Supplement, June 1971.**

WHAT DOES ISRAEL DO TO ITS PALESTINIANS ?

A Letter from Israel to Jews of the American Left

by
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«Know yourself»

«What is hateful to yourself don't do to others»

The main difficulty in analyzing the situation in Israel is the cloud of false and misleading information that obscures understanding. And it is not only a question of facts. Even words and concepts are used (whether innocently or intentionally) which confuse the people and hide reality. Therefore the first duty of those of you who want to follow me in trying to understand what really happens here now — how the situation grew from the past and what the possibilities of the future are — must first assume that Israel is an Orwellian country where 'double-speak', 'double-think' rule, and where each human concept has double meaning: a liberal and humanistic one in questions of Jewish rights in diaspora, and an illiberal and totalitarian meaning in questions of the rights of Non-Jews in general and Arabs in particular. What is more, the schizoprenia of the 'double-think' has reached such proportions that most of the Israelis here or the so called 'Liberals' and 'Progressives'

among the American Jews over there, don't notice what happens to them.

Let me begin with some concrete examples of the situation of the Arab minority in Israel, as it was even before the 1967 war, and as it continues now. Do you know what the 'Absent-Present' are? (1) Have you read about them in books or articles purporting to describe Israel? Yet I am not quoting Kafka. Such people actually exist in Israel in tens of thousands (the exact number is a well-kept military secret), and it is Israeli law that I am quoting (2). By this law every man who at any period between 29.11.47 and 1.9.48 left his usual place of living for any period of time to visit or live either outside Palestine or in any place in Palestine not under Jewish rule is considered '**Absent**' even if **Present** in Israel — even if he is a citizen and has voting rights. His whole property — lands, house, dwelling — is confiscated by the State of Israel, and given to a special 'Administrator', the same one in fact that administers the properties of the real absent — the refugee (3). Now how is a man made an 'Absent-

● Reprinted from the Arab American University Graduate Bulletin No. 2.

● The 'letter' is written by an Israeli intellectual associated with the Hebrew University. He has been harassed repeatedly by the Israeli police for criticizing the Israeli government's policy toward the Palestinians in captivity. For his personal safety, he chose not to divulge his real name. The 'Letter' is essentially unedited.

Present'? By judicial process? By open proof? No. We are peculiarly democratic in stealing Arab property in Israel. A man is made an 'Absent-Present' by a simple written declaration of the Administrator — declaring the fact that the Administrator (who confiscates the property and so has a direct interest in such 'declaration') declares the man to be an 'Absent-Present'. An especially iniquitous paragraph in this law states that the Administrator is not to be examined for the sources of his knowledge on which such a 'declaration' is based, and in fact he does not reveal them. He simply declares and confiscates. This law already has been in force for 22 years. In towns, houses were confiscated because their owners ran away for some days from one quarter to another - safer - quarter, sometimes from street to street. Fields in villages were taken away because of the owner's absence from his property for some days or weeks or because of secret information that such a man was absent for some days. The entire population of an area (the little triangle which was annexed to Israel by the Rhodes agreement of 3.4.49) were declared 'Absent-Present' since obviously they were not under Jewish rule before 1.9.48, and a great part of their land was confiscated. This was done in spite of a solemn undertaking of Israel in the Rhodes agreement to respect the freedom and the property of the inhabitants. Several important points have to be observed. In the law the word 'Arab' does not appear. A Jew from Iraq or Egypt can be made an 'Absent-Present' just as an Arab. This is the Orwellian tax that Israel pays to the concept of democracy. But it is the 'Administrator' who makes a man an 'Absent-Present' by his declaration, and it is a fact that only Arabs were 'declared' so. This is the 'double-think', **And so under the cover of law Israel has perfected an instrument of extortion which shades the Portuguese Inquisition.** After all, the Inquisition didn't proceed against a heretic without speaking to him, but here everything can be done behind the individual's back. Secondly, think how little this obvious fact is known, how so-called 'scholars' writing about Israel don't mention it. Consider also that inside Israel most of the 'liberals' and the 'socialists' now don't do anything against this law. Some of the Kibbutzim live and profit from lands confiscated under this law, with the 'Absent-Present' Arabs watching this 'experiment in socialism' from the nearby villages. And finally, perhaps you yourself or your friends actually visited Israel, and worked on such stolen land, and thinking to help 'to build the

country' or to participate in a 'socialistic experiment' you have actually participated in robbery, exploitation and hypocrisy.

Let us take another example: You must have seen the blue boxes of the 'Jewish National Fund' (4). Perhaps you have heard the phrase 'Salvation of the Land' (5) employed for its actions. Do you know what its principles are, and what the consequences are of those principles in the Israeli reality? 'Salvation of the Land' means that when the 'Jewish National Fund' buys land from the Non-Jews, this land cannot be sold or rented to Non-Jews. Also Jews who rent it are forbidden to give work on this land to Non-Jews. Now after the establishment of the State of Israel, all the government land, and all the land which the 'Administrator' confiscated from the absent Arab refugees and from the 'Absent-Present' ones was given away to the 'Jewish National Fund'. This represents 92.5% of the land in Israel. Now imagine such a situation to exist let us say in the State of New York. Imagine a 'Christian Fund' devoted to the 'Salvation of Land' from the Jews of New York State. Imagine that by the help of the state it has acquired 92.5% of the land (both agricultural and city land), and that on this land Jews cannot even work legally, and are forbidden to rent it. Moreover imagine that this racial institution is held-up as a symbol of everything good, that children are taught even in kindergarten to regard this striking piece of racialism, as a symbol of the highest national good (including the Arab children) and then you will begin to understand the situation in Israel. For all those things are true now in Israel. Not only is acquiring of the land for this racial organization thought good, but driving off the Arab tenants is thought even better, and being against it is considered a proof of being an enemy of the 'Jewish Nation'. In a process being held now, a lawyer, S. Segal, was accused of being 'an enemy of the Jewish Nation', and as proof it was alleged by some old members of Knesset that in the thirties he was against driving off the Arab tenants from lands purchased by the 'Jewish National Fund'! Consider again, what would all the Jewish Liberals, the Rabbis who prate all the day long about the 'Jewish-Ethic' and the rest of the professional Jewish hypocrites say, if such principles, such 'Funds' were made against them. Consider again how they have kept silent about this matter for a long time and you will know how much they value their professed principles, except of course as an instrument to deceive you and others.

Let us proceed to more general aspects of the situation in Israel. A democracy we are called, and of liberty we boast. The perfect chorus of our intellectuals sings our own praises all the year around (6) and the Jews abroad answer even more loudly. However, here we have again the perfect example of the 'double-think'. For most of the Jews there is democracy, for all the Arabs there are the 'Defence Regulations, 1945'.

These 'Defence Regulations' were actually inherited from the British. When the British issued them against the Jews, there was a great scandal both in the U.S.A. and here. I skip the screams of the American Rabbis, but it is worthwhile to quote the actual words of Dr. Yaacov Shimshon Shapira, who is now the Israeli Minister of Justice: «The regime instated with the enactment of the Defence Regulations in Palestine has no equivalent in any civilized country. Even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws... Only one type of regime is conceivable in such circumstances — that of an occupied country. They console us and underline that these Regulations ought to serve against criminals, and not all citizens. The Nazi governor of occupied Oslo had also assumed that no harm would be done to the lawabiding citizen... we must declare to the face of the world: the Defence Regulations of the Palestinian government threaten the very foundation of law!» (7) And he was not alone: Dr. Dov Yossef (then called Joseph Bernard), a former Israeli minister of justice, was of a similar opinion: «The question raised (by these regulations) is as follows: shall we all be the victims of legal terrorism? Or shall we be able to preserve the freedom of the individual?... The citizen is helpless before the eventuality of life imprisonment without a trial, he has no guarantee of individual right... The authorities are entrusted to deport a citizen whenever they please.»

Well, Dr. Shapira and Dr. Yossef were perfectly right in their description of the Defence Regulations. Only, in fairness to the British I must confess that they never used those 'Nazi regulations' (Dr. Shapira's description — with which I heartily agree) as much as the Israeli Government. What are the 'Defence Regulations' and what powers do they give to the government? The answer is: Everything. So a military commander can order a man to remain in his house, quarter, village or town, without leaving except by permission of the police. He can prohibit his work or limit it, he can forbid him to use 'any declared things'. He can put him under police control and compel him to visit the police station several

times a day (9). He can imprison him without any cause, without any trial for an unlimited period of time (10). He can prohibit movement inside Israel or outside it, but he can also expel permanently, without cause, without reason, without seeing the family, people who were born in this country and who are its citizens (11). This can be done in mass without particulating people in their names (11). He can confiscate or destroy whatever property he thinks fit (12). He can proclaim unlimited curfew (13) or declare some areas as 'closed areas' from which and to which it is forbidden to enter or to leave (14) and he does not ever need to publish this declaration! All those regulations are fully used now and were used the whole time that the State of Israel existed, but (with very few exceptions) only against Arabs — again the nauseating hypocrisy and pretence. 'A man' it says in the Law, an Arab it means in practice. For example for many years Jerusalem and Tiberias were 'closed areas'. Thousands of Jews (and foreign tourists) went up and down and 'broke the law' with impunity. No one charged them. But if the police saw an Arab face (and they are as good in recognizing Arabs as some people were good in recognizing Jews in the Nazi-Europe) they would immediately demand his identification card, where this fact is plainly stated (15), and arrest him. If they (very rarely) made a mistake and saw that in the identification card the word 'Jew' was written, they used to apologize. And this was before 1967, without bombs and terrorism or conquered territories; the situation remains to this day.

Again, destroying houses. Not only houses of absent refugees were destroyed. Many villages were moved from their place — that is the inhabitants were forcibly removed and their houses blown-up (16) (No house was blown-up by the British in 1944-1948). Many Arabs were expelled **after the war of 1948**, after the truce agreements, by the force of those 'Regulations'. It is as simple as that: the Arabs were rounded up, taken in trucks to the nearest border and expelled. For this reason the military commander does not have to bother with names. He simply expels everybody that he can catch **and this is legal**. So the town of Ashkelon was still an Arab village in the summer of 1950 — after the war. One morning the Israeli Army of Defence came, put all the inhabitants on trucks, took them to the then border of Gaza-Strip and said 'Uhrub!' (flee) (17). With the help of some shooting in the air — because you know we are very, very humane, and never kill when **it is possible merely to expel — the Arabs were indeed gone**, and

some thousands more refugees were added to Gaza-Strip, and the very nice city of Ashkelon could be built without Arabs. The last expulsions according to this procedure were as late as 1959 (!), when some hundreds of Bedouins from Negev were expelled to Jordan and to Egypt — without any of our liberals or socialists being bothered about it (16).

Many hundreds of Israeli-Arabs were and are held in prison without any accusation for long periods of time. Now there are some who have been held for nearly three years! Since they are technically not 'sentenced' prisoners, but detainees, the authorities make use of this fact to make their conditions in prison even worse. Visits of families are extremely few. Lawyers are as good as forbidden — if the military commander does not relent. They do not work; thus do not leave their cells except for a short period daily and in many cases they are thrown alone into cells full of Jewish short-time offenders who are encouraged to beat them. After some days when they get used to each other the Arab-detainee is transferred into another cell and the game begins again. The young Arabs have the most cruel lot. There is a prison in Israel reserved for young prisoners — but only Jews. Young Arabs, especially those who are arrested according to 'Defence Regulations' are thrown into cells full of homosexuals, who torture them with full knowledge and encouragement of the authorities until they too become homosexuals.

But the cases are those in which the detainees are not held in proper prisons, but in various police-station and concentration-camps (officially known as 'camps of inquiry', each government having its own slang). For example near the Kibbutz Yagur, there is a particularly horrible place of imprisonment, which does not belong officially to the prison system. Its name is Gabaliya. There the subterranean cells, without windows, are about 3 × 6 feet. The cement walls are specially-made with sharp empoisements so the prisoner cannot lean on the wall. The bed which takes most of the room is fitted with a transverse iron bar so that he can never stretch, but must lie 'curled like a dog' on half of it, and a solid iron door closes the cell so that in the summer he nearly chokes from the lack of air, and often faints from humidity induced by his own respiration (18). And I have not yet spoken of torture. I am in the chapter of Defence Regulation 1945; and I am describing a perfectly normal procedure. Perhaps some of you even visited the Kibbutz Yagur and enjoyed yourselves, while all that went on just under your very

noses, for in the land of 'double-think' surely no one in the Kibbutz ever mentioned his charming neighbours.

Well I could go on like this for pages and pages. So let me pass to another subject: The Arab workers in Israel. Here I can quote the very recent anthropological work on this subject (19) by Dr. Rosenfeld. Dr. Rosenfeld begins by admitting that under British Mandate the Arab agriculture was more developed than now. «In the time of the Mandate there used to be Arab citrus-orchards, fruit-trees etc. — those have disappeared.» (A typical Israeli 'double-talk'. They didn't disappear — they were confiscated and given to Jews). «Now» — continues our scientist — «the Arab agriculture is a part of Jewish agriculture — the non-developed part. In the Jewish village about 45% of the land is irrigated, in the Arab one about 3-4%.» I can add to this a specific example: The Arab village Um-El-Fahm of about 6000 inhabitants receives all its water from the residus of the neighbouring Kibbutz Tzur-Nathan of about 200 inhabitants (this Kibbutz is situated on the lands confiscated from inhabitants of Um-el-Fahm all of whom are 'Absent-Present'). But let us return to Dr. Rosenfeld, therefore the Arab agriculture as it is now gives work for no more than 4% of the village dwellers. The rest must go and work in the Jewish towns for there is no urbanisation — the Arabs remain living in their villages (Dr. Rosenfeld does not mention that this is because of Defence Regulation!). When a Jewish village is built (on confiscated Arab land) it is the Arab workers who build the road, who build the houses and the factory; and then the Jews dwell in the modern houses and take the 'clean' jobs in the factory, the Arab remains the dish-washer, the rubbish-cleaner. (20). He takes the heavy jobs of the building trade, and in short the most dirty and heavy jobs in Israel are the lot of the Arab. He begins working at the age of 14-15 at those jobs. Even there he almost never gets steady work (with some help from Defence Regulations, of course). Either he returns every day from the distant town to his village, or as a great mercy he is permitted to sleep in unfinished houses — open on all four sides. Some improvise sleeping places from big boxes (this is not a joke — some years ago there were in Tel-Aviv hundreds of those), many sleep on benches in public parks but the police now strictly forbid it. The dishwashers sleep usually on a folding bed in the kitchen, others in the toil room. Under such conditions Dr. Rosenfeld finds that Arabs age quickly. «At the age of 45-45 he is already tired. The hard work, the impermanency,

the constant travelling (from village to town), absence of proper family life. . . . all of those make him 'old' at a very young age.» And Dr. Rosenfeld is right. Many times one can see an Arab of 45 looking older than one of 65. The reason is clear, the process of dehumanization which the younger one has undergone at the crucial age.

Another factor helps in this dehumanization process and this is the type of Arab-education given by the State of Israel. First of all special care is taken that the number of Arabs receiving high school education will remain constant (after all who will then be the dishwasher?). About 3% finish their high school and the final examination (21). But it is the quality of the education which is more important. First of all while the Jewish teacher have rights of tenure, the Arab teacher trembles his whole life. He can (and is) expelled for the slightest sign of what is called 'nationalistic opinions' that is not being keen enough in the process of national castration which the Arab education in Israel is. The Arab children are compelled to learn (in Arabic) that their fathers were only and always bandits, robbers and murderers. The history of their land begins from 1877, before this – vacuum. The Moslem religion is merely neglected, but the Christian Arabs suffer double discrimination, as Arabs and as Christians since they are compelled to learn the most anti-Christian stories of modern Hebrew literature.

So we can read the complaint of the Arab teacher Ibrahim Shabaat (22). He visited the Catholic school in Nazareth called 'Holy Mary'. After the pupils prayed to the Holy Mary, the Arab teacher began to teach the Christian children the story of Peretz 'Three Gifts'. But the main idea in this beautiful story is that Mary and the whole Christian religion are the most abominable and impure phenomenon in human life — as against the three fundamentals of Judaism which are the love of the land (of Israel), sacrifice of the holy name, and the modesty of the rabbi's daughter who was punished by the cruel Christians! And I must add, not only is the teacher required to teach this, but the children are required to know this in the proper way, for they will be examined on it, and the slightest mark of disaffection and they will be written down in the files of the secret police and then of course the Defence Regulations will be employed! Of course if so much translated Hebrew literature. Hebrew (and Yiddish) folklore, and the actual ritual laws of Jewish holidays are taught there is no time for any Arab literature (22). But with Arab history the situation is even

worse. As usual, the Arab child begins exclusively with Jewish history (taught in the most offensive way—the Bible is quoted constantly as a 'proof' of exclusively Jewish rights) but in the last year of high school, the small minority which reaches it is taught a special course in Arab History too. But it is a special sort of history. All the internal quarrels, treasons, defeats (and in whose history are they absent?) are especially exaggerated. All the glorious periods are either mostly eliminated, or the time is taken by teaching about prominent Jews in those periods. So when teaching about Saladin (a dangerous subject!) most of the time is taken in teaching about Mainmonides who was Saladin's doctor of medicine! (23). But of course the Israeli liberals are so busy with complaints about Anti-Semitism in Russia, that they see nothing or refuse to see anything in their own home. The whole situation could be best summarized by the official source, Mr. Uri Lubrani, the late special counselor for Arab affairs to the Prime-Minister (24). Speaking officially he stated. «Perhaps it would be better if there were not Arab students. If they would remain hewers of wood, it would be easier to rule them. But there are matters which are independent of will. There is no escape from this, and we have to take counsel and to know how to minimize the problems». So far I have been speaking about the Arabs in Israel, citizens, with voting rights, a situation which hasn't improved in 22 years, perhaps has even gotten worse. However I would like to pass to the situation in the conquered territories, where everything is so much worse that no comparison can be made.

First, however bad the situation of Arabs in Israel is, there is no mass hunger. In Gaza-Strip there is. I can give the best of witness on this point — the one in charge: Moshe Dayan. After nearly two years of rule he confessed: «I saw a situation of hunger in Gaza and that is not a picture which gives us a good image in the world» (25). This of course is typical for Israel 'double-think'; hunger of Arabs is important (or not) only so far as it affects the Israeli image in the world, perhaps if this image will be affected the United Jewish Appeal would raise less money! On the hunger of Arabs as a human evil, you will not hear anything not only from Moshe Dayan, but from Israeli scholars, intellectuals or liberals. No humane organization in Israel tries to alleviate this hunger. The situation in Gaza-Strip is well reported in Hebrew and other papers. First of all from the beginning of the conquest the Israeli rule was attended by indiscriminate massacres. For example

at the end of June 1967 a whole section of a refugee camp of about 60 houses in Rafah was destroyed — houses with their inhabitants, men, women and children together, by tossing hand grenades and explosives into the occupied houses 'during the early hours of the morning.' No less of an authority than John Reddaway, the Deputy Commissioner-General of UNRWA, reported this openly in a letter to the London 'Times' (26). He also reported seeing several communal graves in the resulting rubble, one of them when opened afterwards in the presence of UNRWA staff members in Gaza contained 23 bodies. This was not denied by the Israeli government, neither was there any attempt at inquiry, or even a demand for one from any public figure in Israel or among the Diaspora Jews. But this is not an isolated occurrence. Such massacres — great and small — occurred all the time, most of them are not even reported. From time to time one can hear even now (February-March 70) about women and children killed or wounded 'because they refuse to stop when called' or 'because they ran away'. Never is there the smallest public inquiry.

Apart from the killing, there is a whole series of punitive measures. There is curfew or what is called by this name (again — in Israel the words have special meaning when applied to Arabs). This is held in the following manner. The whole male population — from the age of about 12-14 is taken out and driven to some deserted place, usually in the sands. There it is divided into two parts, roughly by age, younger and older than 25-30, so that the children and the fathers should not be together. Both groups are made to kneel or to squat on their haunches or to adopt another humiliating posture for a long time without change. They are kept so for two or three days surrounded always by soldiers who continuously fire in the air just above the heads of the Arabs. Sometimes for improvement the Arabs are taken into a 'stretch of marshy ground' or into a place where tidal sea water overflows and are held there, partially submerged in the water (27). Meanwhile the female population remains closed in the houses. The houses of the refugees are very small and lack water and sanitation. Usually only an hour (sometimes half an hour) a day is allowed to the distracted mother (husbandless) for bringing food and water and to relieve herself. Also you can imagine that the public latrines were not built on an assumption that half of the population will have to use them only during half an hour! Nevertheless no alleviations are allowed, and some of the women killed or wounded by the

army are simply those who after some days of this curfew couldn't contain themselves and made a dash to the latrine.

The hunger in Gaza-Strip was induced on purpose by the Israeli government. The Strip was joined economically to Israel and everybody was encouraged to buy there. The wages however, remained exactly as they were during Egyptian times (28). Of course the prices of food rose disastrously, and the wage which during Egyptian times sufficed for living is now under Israeli conditions ridiculous. Under these conditions the population which does not receive food from UNRWA actually starves. One can observe children crazed from hunger willing to do anything for a piece of bread. It is a general observation that Arab mothers who are visiting their children in hospitals cannot contain themselves and steal some food from their children (29). Of course the Jewish officers of Gaza have another explanation. They allege that Arab mothers lack maternal feelings! (and I am willing to predict that most of the American Rabbis whom you will ask will say the same). In short, the situation in Gaza-Strip is terrible and has changed strongly for the worse from the time of the Israeli conquest (30). Of course the inevitable result is that as the Hebrew papers boast: «The Gaza-Strip — reservoir of cheap work-power which flows into Israeli economy» (31). Another proudly reported result (32) is that since the pay of the chief breadwinner is not sufficient to keep up with the rising prices, his wife and his boys or girls must joint him. Therefore — so boasts our paper — the confection industry in Gaza which works for Israeli capitalists — succeeds mightily in giving work for hundreds of girls. Factories of carpets and straw chairs are « 'stuffed' with boys.» The citrus plantations are proudly reported to give work for boys and girls ten years old (!) «with wages nearing zero.» This is the real meaning of our 'socialism'. Therefore we are so praised by some visiting 'socialists' for our own special way to socialism (for example Mr. L. Kolakowski, the Polish Philosopher who visited us some months ago). But even more wonderful and sweet than the praises of 'socialists' who rule us, are the praises of American capitalists who give us money (so our government hopes), and the same paper was proud to report that the 'Wall Street' specialists approve of the economic situation in Gaza-Strip. No doubt about it!

Another source of dehumanization in Gaza-Strip are hundreds of Israeli workers there, both civil and military. They receive high wages even on Israeli

standards, which are enormous by comparison with the Arabs. The daily wage of a Jewish worker is about 68-85 I.P. a day and may rise to 125-140 (in the case of tractorists). Also those workers (even civil ones) live and eat in Army camps which makes their real wages even bigger, but are free to move (going always armed) whenever they want. The result is one of the worst cases of prostitution in the world. Sometimes girls and boys cannot obtain work even in the citrus plantations «with wages nearly zero.» There is no place for all the children in carpet-making. Hunger takes its toll and the revolver helps to remove such scruples that the stomach does not remove. Young children male and female sometimes of the same age as in the citrus-plantation, that is 10 years old — for some people have a superstition that cohabitation with the very young invigorates sexually — are auctioned, bargained and boasted about openly. If the saying that the conquerors are more degraded by the conquest than the conquered is right in any place, it is as it is seen in Gaza-Strip.

While the situation in Gaza-Strip is the worst, the West-Bank differs from it in degree and not in principle. There are 'curfews' in the West-Bank too and people are compelled to squat on their haunches — but only for nine hours not for days (34). There are some other instances of long curfews — one in Beth Sahur (near Bethlehem) went for 26 days — but two hours a day are given for bringing food and water, and children are sometimes excepted from curfew and allowed to go to school. Of course the reason is plain. Gaza-Strip is far away from the road of foreign journalists and visitors. Most of them, if they visit it at all, do so under military escort and speak only with the Israeli officials, or in their presence. But Jerusalem and Bethlehem are full of foreign residents and visitors. It wouldn't do to lose the Israeli image abroad as Moshe Dayan said (25). one has to go slowly, but in the same direction.

First, the agriculture of the West-Bank was changed and adapted to a colonial pattern. The West-Bank which before the '67 war was partly self-supporting and partly an exporter of vegetables and fruit, now produces basic stuffs for the Israelis industry— (like cotton, sugarbeets, etc.). In the words of the official 'five year plan' of the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture (35) : « All the capital — and skill-intensive production will be situated in Israel, and all the manual-labor rich production will be situated in the West-Bank as it is now.» The result as the Ministry of Agriculture boasts will be the complete dependence of the West-Bank on Israel. Seeds will be

supplied by Israeli exclusively. But even more, the Arab producers have to sell to a monopolistic combination of Jewish industry (36) exclusively. This simply repeats on a large scale the situation which was already usual with Israeli Arabs. They were (and are) compelled to sell their main agricultural produce, olives and tobacco, to a combination of Jewish factories (37). Jewish tobacco and Jewish olives are sold separately to the same combination of factories at bigger prices for the same product. The same well-tried method is employed in the West-Bank and already has caused enormous decreases in the profits of Arab peasants there (38). How were the peasants compelled to switch their crops? There are several methods. First the Arabs in the conquered territories are dependent on official permits for everything. To go from village to town, from one town to another, from village to distant fields, for selling, for buying, for travelling in a truck — for everything one needs an official permit. A village which does not cooperate will receive no permits (39). Secondly, some army unit can always come and impose 'curfews'. But the best method is really very simple. If some peasants are obstinate enough to wish to cultivate their fruit trees, then they find quickly enough that any army unit, preferably tanks or cannons, comes to exercise on those fruit trees. After the exercise is finished, there are no trees, and so they have to do what they are told by the officials of the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture, who officially are only 'counsellors' and whom the peasants are supposed to obey of their own free will! Of course, the whole atmosphere of oppression greatly helps in this, as in other matters. First the blowing up of houses. The number of houses blown-up in the West-Bank area alone is reliably estimated as more than 7,000 in May 1970, (40), and it increases every week. As usual in Israel the word 'house', when applied to an Arab house, takes a special meaning. Houses connected by a commonwall are regarded as one 'house'; so that a 'house' in official Israeli parlance is really a 'block'. It is very common to blow in such manner 30 one floor houses, which turn out to contain in a miraculous manner 200 families, more than half a village, as happened in a village of Uga near Jericho (41). The houses are supposed to contain 'suspects of being terrorists or helping them' but the house is blown when the suspect is arrested, and it is enough that a girl of 16 is suspected, to blow a block of buildings up and throw several families into the street. Then of course there are administrative arrests. The same

'Defense Regulations 1945' are in force on the West-Bank as in Israel, but they are used much more ruthlessly. If Israeli Arabs are arrested in hundreds then Arabs of the West-Bank are arrested in the thousands and tens of thousands. To break the civil disobedience (non-violent) of the town of Nablus, ten per cent of the male inhabitants were arrested at one time and held in prison for weeks until the strictly non-violent community action (strikes, meetings, demonstrations, etc.) were broken. Of course no Israeli 'liberal' raised his voice, and no rabbinical hypocrite, of those who act so hotly for Jewish rights in U.S.S.R. raised his voice against the much worse persecution of Palestinian Arabs.

But not only is the frequency of arrests much greater in the West-Bank, but also the condition of prisoners is much worse. In Israeli prisons at least there is a place to sleep (whether on a bed or more commonly on the floor) for all the prisoners. The prisons of the West-Bank are so crowded that in many of them — for example the Hebron prison — the prisoners have to sleep in shifts (two or sometimes three) for there is no place on the floor for all of them to lie upon! (42). Families' and lawyers' visits are sometimes forbidden for many months especially to administrative prisoners; clothes are withheld so that the prisoners have to spend the winter in the same thin cotton shirts in which they have been arrested in the summer. In short, no refinement of bureaucratic cruelty is lacking and no restraint is applied to make the prisoners' life less miserable.

But the lot of the prisoners in ordinary prison, especially in big towns, is easy compared to those who are held in camps of inquiry, in far away police cells, or in special compounds in Army Camps. There is the realm of torture, where the methods of the Gestapo are employed freely for obtaining confessions — for, like the Inquisition in the past and some regimes of the present, the whole Israeli judicial system as applied to accused Arabs stands on obtaining confessions.

How are the confessions obtained? There is a whole range of methods of which some will be described: There is the case of Muhammed Hassan Diaf, a teacher from Jerusalem (43). This man was arrested on 16.11.69 and taken to the infamous 'office of inquiry' on the Russian compound in Jerusalem (44). He was beaten with leather straps and wooden paddles in his hands and feet, tortured with electricity and (for psychological effect) compelled to watch the torture of other Arabs. After some time he was taken for more elaborate torture to the Tzerifin (Sarafand) inquiry camp, which is situated in the

middle of an enormous Army camp. There the Gestapo-methods were employed in earnest. He was hanged several times, naked, by his hands, and when nearly fainting, water was poured on him — in the cold of Israeli winter — and left to freeze! For 47 days he was left completely alone, subject to continual torture, without allowing anyone, including his lawyer to speak with him!

Or I could mention the case of Abdul Muttaleb Abu-Ramila (45), a shoe merchant of Jerusalem. He was arrested on 8.3.69 and until 20.6.69 was yet a normal man. He was tortured during this whole period, by electricity, by putting a bullet into his rectum (a fara Israeli method) and being burned with cigarettes. The burns were seen by his fellow prisoners. After 20.6.69 he was taken for further tortures but it is impossible to describe them adequately, as when the man was made available again, he was mad. After a statement by the district psychologist of Petah-Tikva, Dr. Streich, the Israeli military court in Lydda officially admitted on 4.11.69 «that it is impossible to judge the accused because of his psychological situation.» This jargon being translated to reality means: Abu-Ramila lost his sanity and cannot contain himself, he does not recognize his friends or relatives, refuses food, has a special phobia of the color red, and is mortally afraid of any human being. Of course, neither the psychologist nor the so-called 'judges' of the Israeli military court did inquire **what and who** caused Abu-Ramila to lose his reason! Of course, letters to ministers of police and security (our Moshe Dayan who thinks about the Israeli world image!) demanding an inquiry are simply left unanswered.

But why should I multiply instances and examples? They are easily available for such as want to find them. This, of course, excludes the hypocrites whose idea of inquiry is to ask the government representatives, and solemnly to accept their word! Of course the government officials deny the torture; did you ever hear of any government that admits it? Does the Greek government? The South African one? And do you believe their denials? But I am afraid that some of you do believe the Israeli government on this (or other) points, without any important inquiry. And by inquiry I don't mean some such comedy in which some English visitors (46) ask the government to inspect the prisons. They are always brought to the same prison — Damun — near Haifa, which is much better than the others. There they are allowed to 'inspect' as much as they like, and even to speak 'freely' with prisoners that know that

one word from their mouth will bring them out of this relative ease back to veritable hell! (47) Then, of course, his 'conscience' at rest, the hypocrite is free to give 'personal' evidence about the liberalism of Israeli prisons.

My evidence is not personal. I have not been inside a prison. But for more than two years I have conducted a patient personal inquiry, both among Arab ex-prisoners and among those few Jews who know and are prepared to talk even privately. And now I shall summarize this evidence and describe generally the Israeli methods of torture. There are different approaches, each headtorturer having his own system, short or long.

One of the simplest systems used especially on young women, is to strip the prisoner and shackle the wrists and the ankles together so that the prisoner cannot move, and must continue to sit in the same position. In this situation she is locked into a very small cell and left for 15-20 days, without being allowed any article of sanitation. The result of course — in plain language — is that after a day or two she finds herself sitting in her own urine and feces. And this treatment while being very effective in summer, has the additional advantage that no signs remain. Once the woman has 'confessed' and allowed to wash, what can one see? She may be safely then shown to the lawyer, on a visitor who is probably convinced that all Arabs are liars, and that they tell stories out of '**A Thousand and One Nights**' (48). However this treatment is both slow and less effective on men, so that actual tortures are also freely used. They include: Hanging by hands and feet for long periods (elastic bands are used for the actual attachment of the limbs to minimize signs), twisting the arms behind the back, breaking fingers joint by joint, making superficial wounds on the skin and putting salt-solutions on them, binding the arms and feet with electrical wire which hinders the blood circulation and may cause gangrene after some hours, repeated jabbing with fist or finger in the solar plexus, beating the soles of the feet with leather straps, twisting the penis and crushing the testicles, burying in the sand up to the armpits or the neck for long periods, simulated executions. Of course, I omit the usual beatings, lack of sleep, third degree with strong lights as not worthy of serious mention.

And after all this, you can hear visitors to Israel declaim about the liberal conquest regime, even 'the most liberal in history'! Of course, in Israel this song has almost ceased. Now we have official admissions

that this Nazi-like regime which only hypocrites ever called liberal, changed most or all the population into inveterate haters of Israel and supporters of the Guerilla organizations, which they were not at the beginning (49).

But even this is not the worst. Beyond the conquered areas — lay the 'Israeli free-fire zones' — the land of Napalm. Exactly the same method which is employed by America in Viet-Nam against the Viet is employed by my government against the Arabs; indiscriminate bombardment, and driving-out of the population, or burning, shooting or otherwise exterminating it. Napalm is used freely in Jordan and Egypt on every kind of 'target'. Delayed action bombs, lazy dogs, phosphorus bombs, shooting of peasants peacefully working on their fields, destroying whole cities (like the city of Suez) — these things were done. Now I am not astonished that the majority of my own people here do nothing about it. Why, they even consider that if a European paper or television station publishes a picture of an Arab or child burned with Jewish Napalm, an evidence of anti-Semitism! But what happened to you American Jews of the Left? You fighters for Viet-Nam Moratorium? You are shocked by Napalm in Viet-Nam, is Napalm here any different? Does it burn less, or perhaps Arab children are less sensible to pain? Or perhaps all Jewish Napalm is Kosher? Perhaps the same rule that religious Jews observe in regard to non-Kosher wine (50) most of you observe in regard to 'kosher' and 'non-kosher' napalm. For if a non-Jew has touched an open bottle of wine, or even passed his hand above it religious Jews will not drink it; it becomes an abomination, an idolatrous offering. But when only Jewish hands handle the wine, it is drunk, enjoyed and used for holy purposes. So is Napalm regarded by the great majority of Jews. When a non-Jew has a part in it is an abomination, but it seems not because of the pain it causes to innocent people as your hypocrites pretend; for when it is wholly Jewish and no 'goy' touches it, behold it becomes strictly kosher. No Rabbi will say anything about it or even mention it. No laudator of the 'Jewish-ethics' so much as considers the burned children, and even your left-leaders are rather soft about it. Perhaps you will decide once and for all — **and try** as human beings — what is Napalm: A sign of salvation or an ultimate abomination? You cannot have both of them for long. Not for much longer can you continue to be against Napalm in Viet-Nam and support it when used by Israel. For I know full well that the first

responsibility on the use of Napalm rests with us, the citizens of Israel, but the second rests with you, the American Jews, because without your money and your political support we could never use it. Part of every dollar (and not a negligible one) that the United Jewish appeal collects in the U.S.A. goes to Israeli Napalm.

This seems the appropriate place to deal with the whole problem of terrorism. Let me give first my own opinion. I am completely opposed to terrorism and to attacks on civilians. I consider blowing up a house in Haifa a murder, and blowing up a plane murder, and I grieve about those of my people killed in such acts no less than anybody. But truth must be faced: Terrorism has been always employed by the State of Israel whenever convenient even more than by the Arabs. For example, you have the so called 'Lavon Affair' of 1954. A group of Egyptian Jews were organized by employers of Israel to throw bombs into public libraries, cinemas and other crowded places. They did it, and people were killed. After 1967, Israel openly, admitted responsibility. The head of the gang, Dr. Marzuk, was made posthumously a major in the Israeli Army, proclaimed a hero, and streets were named after him. While many intellectuals in Israel in Israel used to debate 'who gave the order' to go ahead with this 'affair', nobody has yet discussed the moral significance of it. To kill Egyptians indiscriminately is not considered worthy of discussion, whether in Israel or by the Jewish leaders and Rabbis in the U.S.A.

But this is not an isolated act. I will omit the murders and terror acts continued by the Jewish terror organizations before 1948, even though those actions are now publicly sanctified in Israel; but I will limit myself to those actions made by orders of the Israeli government and publicly admitted in Hebrew papers. (If you didn't hear about them it is not my fault).

For example, for some time in the early fifties, the Israeli Army employed civilians (just as Americans in Laos) 'for making actions of revenge at so much per piece'. (52). This, being translated into human language, means that Israel employed professional murderers (described as 'from Palmach and others') who went across the borders to kill Arabs and were paid at so much a head. The paper describing this is not shocked by any means, and he comments only that those 'actions' had to be discontinued because of 'not accurate reports' which being again translated into human language means that the professional head-hunters employed by the Israeli Army

used to claim more killings than actually committed. Of course, since they were paid 'per-piece' in our money and yours this would never do! What, to throw away good Jewish money on fakes! We demand real Arab dead and not false reports! So this unit was discontinued. Others followed..no more paid 'per piece' but murderers none the less. Ha'aretz describes actions against civil Arab transportation in various places, mining the roads (indiscriminate) shooting: He mentions the murder of Beth Galla on 7.1.52 in which 'a number of houses chosen indiscriminately were blown-up together with their inhabitants. In those blowings up women and children were also killed'. The truth is much worse. Not only were all the houses chosen indiscriminately, but a school was chosen on purpose because a meeting of Arab teachers was held there, and they slept in the school after the meeting. About 30 Arab teachers (in addition to about 30 simple families perished). Ha'aretz also mentions the notorious indiscriminate bombardment of a refugee camp in Gaza on 5.4.56 in which 61 people (mostly women and children) were killed and 91 were wounded. Such examples could be multiplied (Ha'aretz gives more) but the same method continues. Ha'aretz itself compares the Kibya massacre of 1953 in which houses were blown-up with their inhabitants, with the murderous bombardment of Irbid in 1968. I could add the Napalm bombing of Es-Salt (both cities in Western Jordan) in summer of 1968 where about 200 people perished, and the whole policy of bombardment on Israeli borders. I should add that one of the most active Israeli terrorists, Meir Mar-Zion, a man who claims that it is not enough to kill an Arab with a gun, to feel a man one has to kill him with a knife, and who describes in his memories with loathsome glory, knifing of innocent Arab shepherds, is a recognized Israeli hero (53). He was given a big piece of confiscated Arab land (by the Jewish National Fund of course) in Kaukav el-Haua (Kochav Haruchot), a mountain overseeing the lake of Galilee, and a lot of money to play a cowboy there, and be admired by the Israeli youth, who use to come on pilgrimages to worship this murderer and 'be educated' by him. But let me finish with the principles enunciated by Ha'aretz, and approved many times by the Israeli government, about the Israeli terror. There are three 1) The Arabs understand only one language - power. 2) It is forbidden to 'remain owing' if one disturbs us, 3) It is not enough to punish, but we have to first of all remember that those 'principles' are employed

by Israel now, and all during the time of its existence. From the 1967 war, the use of those 'principles' has meant indiscriminate killing of tens of thousands of Arab civilians, and the driving of hundreds of thousands from their homes. Those are **exactly** the American principles in Viet-Nam. How can you support the one and be against the other? Again try to look on those principles from the Arab side. Try to substitute the word 'Jew' for the word 'Arab': The Jews understand only the language of power. This is exactly what the Guerilla organisations say, and so long as Israel acts on those principles they are right. Again try to remember who held exactly those principles, especially about Jews, who justified his abominations by the principle of double or higher retaliation, who said again and again that only the naked power is important and justified murder if it is for purpose of state? If you forget I shall remind you: Hitler. The acceptance of those 'principles' shows Israel undergoing a process of Nazification. To summarize those like me who are against any terror must consider first the terror of their own side. The Israelis and the Jews must first answer some questions like these: Who was Dr. Marzuk — a murderer or a hero? How should killing 'Arabs' at so much price a head be considered? If they refuse to answer those questions, or even to discuss them, they have no rights at all to complain about Arab acts of terrorism, and if they do they are simply bloody hypocrites, for many more human lives perished because of Israeli acts of terror than from Arab ones.

Again it is worthwhile to consider by what means the public in Israel is brainwashed and its sense lulled to sleep, so that the most abominable acts against Arabs can be freely discussed in the most reputable papers (54), and the public does not perceive the similarity between those acts and the Arab terrorism? The answer is very simple and can be summarized in a rule which I shall call : **The Doctrine of Proper Names**. This doctrine says that you employ different names for similar actions, as performed by Jews and by Arabs. In the case of killings, the name adopted for Arab killings will be strong (murder, terror, abomination etc.) and in case of Jewish killings it will be neutral and the language will be always indirect. So bombs in Cairo libraries are an 'affair', Arabs killed across the border are called 'action' or 'action of revenge', head-hunting is 'making actions of revenge at so much per piece.' Man has to make a real intellectual effort just to understand this jargon and to **translate it into human language**, and there are no real intel-

lectuals in Israel free to do this effort for him! As a particular example — a masterpiece of the 'Doctrine of Proper Names' I could say ? I will bring you an example of how in Israel you can safely recommend the murder of guerilla fighters who surrendered in a 'reputable' way. A distinguished Israeli journalist proposes (55): 'We have to limit the possibilities of surrender of guerilla fighters and to recognize it only if the surrender is made in the first stage of the entrance (to Israeli territories, my explanations) or of the fight.' A comfortable doctrine! Read it again and think what those rather obscure words mean. You will see that they mean what I said before but without using the 'Proper Names'. For example by this doctrine (used so far as I know), an Arab fighter who was wounded and therefore surrendered not in the first stage of the fight' is to be killed — or rather murdered but the word 'kill' or murder does not appear — merely there is talk about 'recognizing surrender' or 'limiting surrender' Of course the people who write it or who read it and accept it are already in an advanced stage of schizophrenia, and the worst is that being mad, they think themselves sane and the rest of the world as mad.

NOTES

A general remark; All Hebrew terms will be translated to English to point out their meaning. A transcription will be supplied in the footnotes.

1. Nifkadim Nokh'him.
2. See S. Jiryis, **The Arabs in Israel**, 1969, p. 63-5 (in Hebrew) and A. Cohen, **Israel and the Arab World**, 1964, p. 514-5 (in Hebrew).
3. By the strict law even the clothes or household-pots of one who is 'Absent-Present' do not belong to him. However they didn't go so far. Only the real property was confiscated.
4. Keren Kayemet Le'Israel.
5. Ge'ulat Karka.
6. See for example the dithyrambic lies of Y. Talmon in 'The Victory of six-days War in Historic perspective' **Bitfuzoi Hagold** No. 50-51 p. 15 (1969) of course the 'Absent-Present' are absent in his article!
7. Speech in conference of Jewish lawyers, Tel-Aviv, 7.2.1946.
8. *ibid*.
9. Regulations No. 109, 110
10. Regulations No. 111
11. Regulations No. 112.
12. Regulations No. 119, 120.

13. Regulations No. 124.
14. Regulations No. 125.
15. This is the purpose of the furore around the problem 'Who is a Jew'.
16. S. Jiryis, *ibid* p. 61-62.
17. '60' in Arabic.
18. Personal information from a prisoner.
19. Dr. H. Rosenfeld, 'The moving Arab worker', weekly of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, 1970.
20. Here the fact that Arabs can be made to clean Jewish towns on the Sabbath is of enormous advantage to the Orthodox Jews.
21. The corresponding percentage of Jews is about 30%.
22. *Yediot Aharonot*, 6.3.1970.
23. S. Jiryis, p. 137-139, and personal information, also 22.
24. S. Jiryis, p. 139.
25. *Yediot Aharonot* 30.4.1969.
26. *Times* 3.11.1969.
27. See partial report of M. Adams 'Chaos or birth: The Arab Outlook' p. 26-28 (1968), based on *Guardian* 26.1.68. Mr. Adams' facts were denied.
28. Until August '69 The wage was 2.4 I.P., about 65 cents.
29. *The Sunday Times* 23.11.1969. This phenomenon confirmed by several neutral health workers, who witnessed it so often that they found it 'quite normal'.
30. This is openly admitted in Hebrew press. See *Ha'aretz* 10.2.1969.
31. *Ma'arive* 14.1.70. Headline.
32. *ibid*, in the article itself.
33. *Ma'arive* 10.3.70.
34. *Newsweek* 21.4.1969, report of Stewart Alsop, denied by Israeli authorities.
35. *Ha'aretz* 2.1.1969, The article says 'Judea and Samaria' instead of 'West-Bank'.
36. Most of it owned by 'Histadruth' — the organization of trade-union which appears as the main exploiter of Arabs.
37. S. Jiryis, *ibid* p. 144-145.
38. See the admission made this point at the end of Tevet's very misleading book '**The Curse of the Blessing**' (Killat Habracha) 1969. Apart of the admissions that revealed by—the way and unvoluntarily, this is a disgusting mixture of official lies.
39. As General Gazit said openly (12.1.70) in a meeting for Jewish youth from English-speaking countries in Jerusalem: 'They need a permit for everything and we use this fact!'
40. The diary of an Arab from Jerusalem «**Underground publication**» 1969.
41. *Ha'aretz* 12.2.70. Of course *Ha'aretz* reports only the rare number of houses. The rest comes from private information.
42. *Zo Haderech* 7.1.70.
43. *Zo Haderech* 4.2.70.
44. The curious tourist can see hundreds of Arab women sitting patiently on the ground before the police in the 'Russian Compound' waiting for whole days for one word about their sons and husbands tortured inside. Most of the Jewish tourists to Jerusalem are not curious and prefer to gape on stones of the 'Wailing Wall' then on the wailing Arab women.
45. *Zo Haderech* 4.2.70.
46. Specially some Jewish M.P.'s of the Labour Party, the most bloody hypocrites on earth. See letters to the '*Times*' 2-4. 11.69, specially of Shinwell, Weitzman and others.
47. It reminds me of a 'sharashka' described by A. Solzhenitsyn in his '**First Circle**', chapter 54, Buddha's Smile. The same simple descriptions are forever put for the same stupid type!
48. Even the sympathetic *Sunday Times* reporter (see above) believes and say it!
49. For example the military commander of the West-Bank General R. Ze'evi in *Ma'arive* 30.11.69.
50. Called 'Nesech' wine, that is an idolatrous wine. Any Non-Jew is regarded 'idolatrous' for this purpose, even an atheist.
51. All the following examples from *Ha'aretz* 22.9.68, an article by the military correspondent Z. Shif.
52. In Hebrew 'Be'kablanut'.
53. Nazis also used to sing about the joys 'when Jewish blood drops from a knife'. It seems that scoundrels cannot be original.
54. *Ha'aretz* is the Israeli equivalent of *New York Times*.
55. Sh. Tevet in *Ha'aretz* 6.1.69.