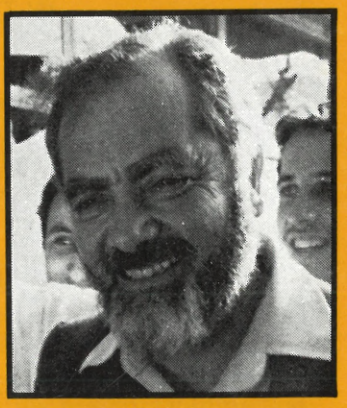
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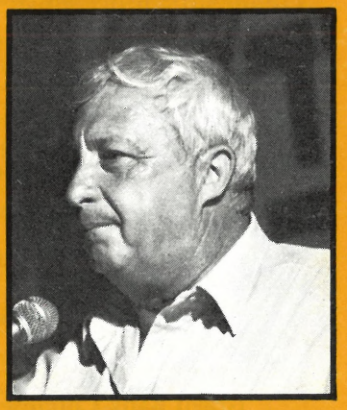
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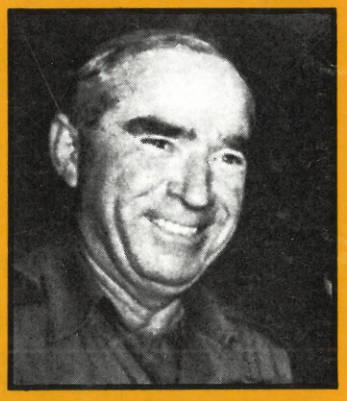



Kahane



Sharon

## ISRAEL: THE ROOTS OF RACISM



Eitan

# Editorial Editorial Editorial

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## ZIONIST RACISM REVISITED

The degree to which the media in this country allows itself to be manipulated, for whatever reason, by Israel and its mouthpieces in America is shown by the media's reaction to the recent removal of 10,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel. An orchestrated campaign was unleashed to picture the event as a remarkable humanitarian effort and, less understandably, as proof of the unfairness of equating Zionism with racism and racial discrimination, as the world community did ten years ago in a resolution of the UN General Assembly.

*The Detroit News*, for example, editorialized on January 9 saying that the event "should silence forever those who equate Zionism with racism." *The New York Times* published, on January 18, a letter from Irving Louis Horowitz, Rutgers University professor, saying that it was "the ultimate answer to the UN resolution that charged Israel is a racist society." Neither writer, nor the many others who parrot such views, bothered to ask themselves this simple question: "Why did Israel, from among 200,000 wretched Ethiopian refugees in the Sudan, single out *Jews* for its publicized mission of mercy?" Are these people saying that discrimination against Jews is racist but discrimination against "non-Jews" is not? What is the difference between the two?

What would *The Detroit News* and all those who subscribe to its peculiar view say if the United States were to hang a sign around the neck of the Statue of Liberty reading: "Non-Jews Only Allowed?" Israel's "humanitarianism" is precisely of that caliber. Its ideology, its practice, *and its laws* (Law of the Return) all loudly proclaim the "Jews Only" principle of discrimination. The admission of 10,000 Ethiopian Jews is not "the ultimate answer" to those who accuse Zionism and Israel of discrimination but its latest *confirmation*.

Furthermore, the Falasha Jews left behind them hunger and deprivation largely caused by nature and shared by all, to the humiliations of second-class citizenship which await them in Israel with the rest of its non-European population. They may be more lucky than the non-European Jews who preceded them to Israel, because they, at least, have an already existing Israeli Black Panther movement to join.

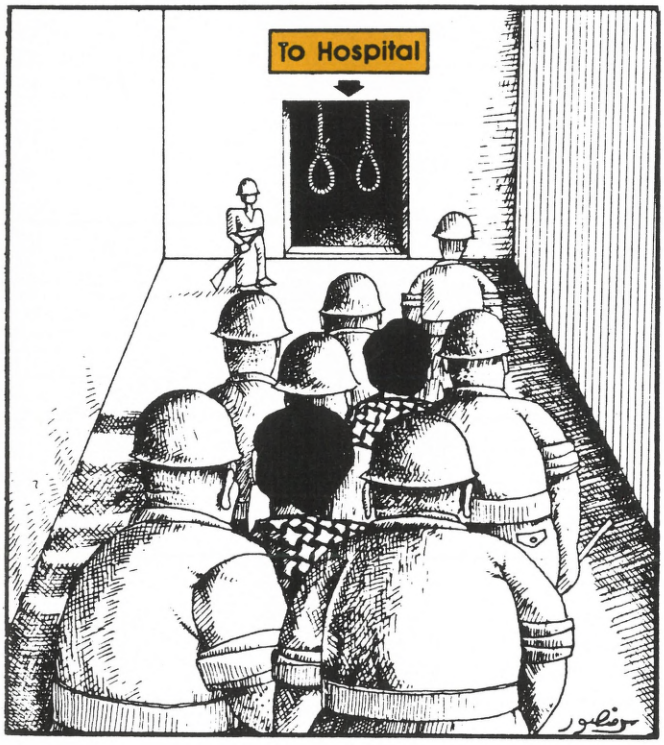
The Sudan sinned against the Palestinian Arabs by allowing Israel to airlift Ethiopian Jews to be settled in Palestine, while the Palestinians themselves are made to languish in their refugee camps because they do not qualify for mercy under Israel's "Jews Only" racism. But even so, Sudan did not escape the wrath of *The Detroit News* which admonished "Islamic nations like the Sudan . . . to behave humanely." It is a sufficient comment on this warped logic to point out that while Israel used a religious test for its "mission of mercy," Sudan did not do so when it received 200,000 Ethiopian refugees, Jews and non-Jews, in its territory. Sudan asked only if they were hungry and persecuted. Israel asked if they were Jewish.

Finally, if the airlift of 10,000 Ethiopian Jews and their resettlement is indeed a worthy cause, the "credit" should go largely to the American taxpayer and the Palestinians, not to Israel. The operation was financed by U.S. money and the Ethiopians are being settled on Palestinian land. The State Department acknowledged that the operation was paid for by a $15 million "grant" to the United Israel Appeal, and the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv reported that the "refugees" are being settled in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. To Zionist Israel, even Ethiopian Jews are better than no Jews at all to displace the Palestinians from the remnants of their homeland. And if some publicity is gained in the process, so much the better.

The Zionists, to show that they were not insensitive to the plight of the Palestinians, never tire of repeating Chaim Weizmann's statement that Israel will be judged by what it does *to the Arabs*. But it is continually judged on the basis of what it does *for the Jews*. This is the same as judging South Africa on the basis of what it does for whites. Only under this type of logic would Zionism and Israel be found innocent of racism and racial discrimination.

Humanitarianism is concern for humanity, not a self-proclaimed elite tribe. Otherwise, every movement becomes humanitarian by definition, because every movement, even the most bigoted, has its own chosen people and favored constituency. □

M. Hallaj




FORUM

## WEST BANK BY MOONLIGHT

***Dr. A. Clare Brandabur***

The first time they took him to prison, ignorance was bliss. I had known him for only a few weeks, we were casual friends. I was not even sufficiently certain of the spelling of his name to look it up on lists of arrested Palestinians. And I had not yet learned what happened to them in prison.

Now I knew far too much and cared a great deal more. During the day I taught as usual, though the University was closed, travelling all over the West Bank, my books hidden in a grocery sack to fit under the floormat of the taxi at checkpoints. When I went to Gaza I didn't take books at all: even without books my western clothing and light hair made me highly visible, and we had been forced to change our meeting place repeatedly. During the night I wrote frantic letters to attorneys, looked up precedents for Ahmed's legal situation, and sometimes walked to the prison to stand under an old fig tree and watch the lights in the guard tower. I was tortured with images of sadism from countless prison records, none of them as brutally personal as his own reluctant account of the first imprisonment, punctuated by little shrugs of deprecation to minimize my alarm.

On the night of July 19, his fifth day, I stood under the fig tree calculating the number of days until I could see him. He had been arrested on the fourteenth, and no one would be able to see him for eighteen days—not his family, his attorney, even the Red Cross. And though I knew the Red Cross people were ineffectual bastards, I had stood in line for hours and begged them to try. I was afraid they would move him to the Muscobia or some other prison and that he might be "missing" like one of his colleagues whose whereabouts were still a mystery though he had been arrested at the same time as Ahmed and we had assumed he would be released at the same time.

Under this tree I could see the hoofprints of countless sheep and goats, among the footprints of people who stood here for so many hours during the day. In March, Abu Walid had stood here. Was that his footprint, I thought, seeing a large bootmark in the loose dirt beside a gnarled tree root. I had passed by the day they came to this spot and told him that Walid was dead. Someone was translating to him over and over, thinking he was deaf because his face had not changed when they told him, only his eyes changed slightly in the dark face under the immaculate koufiyyeh. He had turned away, walking proudly though with difficulty, his cane emphasizing every step like a judgment, going home to tell Um Walid before returning to the prison to demand his son's body.

In this weird, almost preternatural light, the earth looked like spilled cocoa. The soil is red here, I thought,

*(continued on page 3)*

**WEST BANK** *(continued from page 2)*

like Kansas and Georgia. The footprints were obscured by the recent passage of flocks of sheep and goats, their little black turds round and definite against the vague brick color of the earth. They told Abu Walid that his son had died of a ruptured aneurysm, then ordered him buried at once, without ceremony. Even his brothers had been forbidden to attend the furtive nocturnal funeral. Just as well. The old father had demanded, standing in the glare of headlights from the Israeli jeep, proud and stiff on his cane beside the black opening in the ground, that they open the sealed casket. His expression did not alter even when he saw his son's bruised and swollen face. Like a general, he had ordered the coffin closed. At least he knew for certain now that his son was dead.

Ahmed is a dancer, his body alive with a kind of inner fire, a consciousness of grace and balance, a headlong leaping into the next moment which at first made me slightly dizzy. Then I wanted to leap with him, when he vaulted over stone walls or jumped up into the already moving bus, pulling me after him with such energy and poise that I could not refuse. His beauty is like the light from inside the hills of Palestine, I always thought, watching him dance the Dabke.

Walid had been buried almost six months ago, March 1982, but on the West Bank we had lived light-years since then. The dismissal of the mayors, the demonstrations, the tanks, the mutilated bodies of children left along the road from Shiloh to Silwan, Kahane raging through Birzeit village, furious that his commanding officer would not allow him to storm the buildings and "beat the students mercilessly," the settlers firing on funeral processions, the IDF dogs hunting out the body hidden in a village mosque.

The moon disappeared below the western horizon over a slight effulgence which was perhaps the lights of Tel Aviv. I wondered whether the moon had set with the same pale radiance in Ballineen the night my grandmother waited beside the road for the Black and Tans to bring her father's body back from the ship in Courtmacsherry Bay. "The Banshee gave us no rest," she used to say, telling the story over and over in those last weeks before she died, as though it had happened only recently. "The Banshees gave us no rest until they brought his dear body home. Sure my mother knew the moment they shot him though the ship was well out to sea and word not coming for days and days"...poor bloody Ireland, I thought. Poor bloody Palestine.

Several times I saw the military jeep make its rounds of the prison, surprised that my hatred seemed localized, frozen somewhere in the region of my liver. Then I saw the ambulance. It followed an officer's car, both moving slowly, the ambulance showing no headlights. I stood in a small lane opposite the prison, careful to wear only dark clothing, careful not to move when the searchlights swept past. The ambulance turned and moved along the prison road, a sentry lifting the barricade promptly as though he had been alerted. My curse of an imagination saw Ahmed hanging limp from a meat hook. Had they beaten him once too often? Had he died of shock in the refrigeration cell, because they were enraged at his refusal to implicate his colleagues? The earth is red here. Even by moonlight the stones have a rosy glow. Not just at sunset. No doubt from too much blood.

This new wave of arrests had been expected. It was part of "Peace for the West Bank" following hard upon "Peace for Galilee," I thought bitterly. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon may have passed quickly to viewers watching from a distance. Here it passed before our eyes in slow motion like frames from a jammed camera, a newsreel enlarged and in color, the footage bleeding onto the darkroom floor. We watched buildings rise in the air, disintegrate, then gracefully pirouette into clouds. Next we watched the ambulances, the rescue workers, the frantic search among the rubble for bodies that had been living persons before the vacuum bomb went down. We watched, mesmerized, in an agony of suspense to see whether any nation in the supposedly civilized world would intervene. If you were an American in those days you watched in disbelief as American and Israeli politicians filled the *Jerusalem Post* with words about "opportunities" arising from this unfortunate but evidently necessary murder of thousands of people. Now the full fury of Begin and Sharon is being unleashed against the Palestinians of the West Bank. They had long since confiscated 90% of its arable land, now they were racing to build eleven new settlements. And they will silence anyone who protests. Powerful men in air-conditioned offices far away are gambling, picking up telephones, putting them down, in a deadly game. And for this reason Ahmed is in this prison, stripped of everything, even his clothes. "And for his vestment they cast lots."

The stars wheeled on in their indifferent way, and I decided to go home, afraid to see the ambulance leave again. If they were trying to save someone's life, surely they would speed down the road with lights flashing and sirens screaming. The silence was like doom.

I turned away like a child unwilling to watch the ending of a movie which seemed certain to turn out badly, with the ghastly realization that I was taking comfort in images of Ahmed dead, the signs of struggle stopped, unable to bear the screams, the thuds, the silent trickle of blood through his beautiful black curls. I felt cowardly and unworthy, as though I had betrayed him, acquiescing in his death. He had no right to appear so mutilated, I thought indignantly. I wanted to escape. But the sound of tires on gravel, slowly, slowly, came to me and I froze where I stood. The ambulance came toward me down the prison lane, still showing no lights, its black military license plates showing plainly as it rounded the curve. With the certainty of death, I knew that Ahmed was inside. Goodbye, my darling. It is for your garment they are casting lots.

"I'm sorry," said the uniformed woman, barely glancing up from her papers. "We have no one here by that name."

"He was arrested and taken here on July 14," I said for the hundredth time, "and they told me at Bet El and at the Muscobia that he was here."

"They must be mistaken," she said indifferently.

"Will you see...whether he could have been taken away, last night...," I hesitated, afraid that I would begin to sob,... "by ambulance?" □

*[**Dr. Brandabur** received her Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from the University of Illinois. She lived in the occupied West Bank and taught at Birzeit University from 1981-1984.]*

## PSYCHOLOGY FOR MINORITIES

***Yehonathan Gefen***

*[Translated from Hebrew by Prof. Yisrael Shahak. The article appeared in* ***Ma'ariv****, 14 September 1984.]*

A sound soul in a sound body, and the noble aspirations of our young generation which is moving heavily toward the Right, find their expression in the periodicals of the youth. There you find them, the confused children, *who were born in an Empire* and get accustomed to Kahane. The part I like best in the various youth papers is the pseudo-psychological column, where the psychologist answers the problems of boys and girls in the adolescent age and prescribes with characteristic journalistic speed, a remedy for each disease. The power of psychology at its best lies in the deep connection between the person who provides the treatment and the persons treated, and I shall never understand how people believe that they will recover by letters to the editor. The good psychologist is exactly the opposite of a robot, but instead psychology exists all over the world and now we, too, have it.

I have before me (actually behind me) a copy of *"Ma'ariv Lanoar"* (Ma'ariv for Youth) of August 28th, which includes the column: "The Psychologist at Your Service." Here, too, like in all Israeli youth periodicals, the main subjects are: Adolescent pimples, onanism, problems with teachers and, worst of all, falling in love with the group leader. You ask and the psychologist Uriel Akavia answers. So much for the introduction. Now let us discuss the subject itself.

"Sarina" (she writes her name in inverted commas), 17 years old, seeks the advice of the youth psychologist *because she has a problem with minorities.* Indeed, Israeli youth has not only to bother about onanism and pimples, but also about minorities, in the age of adolescence.

The subject of the letter is what to do about these disgusting minorities. A few days ago, the girl writes, she listened to a conversation of her parents' guests on the subject: The behavior of the minorities in Tel Aviv. This too, is a subject for conversation. Apparently they have already finished with the stock market and politics. A few nuts have still remained to be cracked. So what could they talk about? There are only the minorities left. The stories, "Sarina" writes, were really shocking! And like a chamber theater play, the microphone passes from one to the other, and each of the guests tells how terrible the Arabs are in Tel Aviv.

And the girl is sitting aloof, listening. Maybe she already knows that she will need a psychologist someday in the wake of this conversation. And in the letter to the "Psychologist at your service" she describes the stories of the adults, one by one.

The first guest opened the discussion and said: "I was walking in the street, and suddenly a branch fell on me from a tree and almost hit me. It turned out that one day earlier the branch had been cut by a worker from outside" (because it is not nice to use the word "Arabs" when the girl is listening). The guest claims that they did it on purpose. They wanted to kill an important Jew.

The second guest got up and contributed his own part: "I was passing through the municipal park and one of the workers, from the minorities, splashed water from the pipe on women, children and old people." This was his story. Interesting to know what the punishment for splashing water on an old man is.

And then the third guest told the audience that he witnessed a waiter, "who arrives every morning from the Gaza Strip, scratching his nose and ear in a most vulgar manner and then taking in his hand a piece of cake, without a napkin, and putting it on a plate. . . ." It is hard to understand where else he scratched and also if the napkin would have been of any help.

The trio finished their tales. The girl was depressed. She was afraid that every time she goes out, three Arabs would be waiting for her, one would drop a tree branch on her head, the second one would splash water on her and the third one would scratch her nose. This is an intolerable situation, especially for a girl in the age when you fall in love with the group leader.

Now there is only one thing that is more disgusting than this letter, the answer of the psychologist of *"Ma'ariv Lanoar"*. It is worthwhile to quote the answer in full. The psycholgoist at your service writes:

"Maybe the persons you have described are not educated and their manners are rude. But it may also be, that this is a disguised form of hatred and hostility toward the employers and their customers. Maybe these uneducated people believe they are doing something patriotic. The problem is widespread and rather painful. *In our opinion, every person who sees a disturbance of this kind should report it to the people in charge. . . .*"

No, I cannot quote the whole letter. You have certainly noticed that they are now called "uneducated," because it is not nice to write "backward" or "maniacs" in a newspaper for the youth. It would ruin the education of the children. And the idea of reporting is a psychological innovation indeed! Imagine a police patrol reporting from the area: "An Arab scratches his nose in Hayarkon Street. Send a mobile unit immediately. He is going to put it into the cake without a napkin!!!!" Really, they have come in time, Kahane and the "psychologist at your service." And I need not be the editor of a psychological column in a newspaper to give poor "Sarina" the following answer:

Dear Sarina,

I know boys in your age and they work twenty hours a day in restaurants and in construction and in other hard jobs. Afterwards they sleep in a place like a pigsty. One may arrest them any time, at any place, because they are uneducated. One may raise against them every beastly accusation. Because they are workers from outside. And may you have a dollar for every Jewish waiter who scratches his ear near a cake, and I too, like sometimes to splash water on people. Every child does. But that is not the important thing, dear Sarina. Important is only that you shall know the following:

*If you or anybody in your class has a Jewish grandfather who had lived in Germany a while back and was a worker or a waiter or a physician or a poet, that is exactly how they wrote about him in letters to the editor.* In a place where a man is treated like a dog that went astray, the day is not far off when they will shoot him like a mad dog. And no psychologist will help a people who were once the people of the Lord and now they become gradually a people of landlords.

*And the psychologist who has fallen in love with the leader, is always at your service.* □

## KAHANE'S SPAWNING GROUND

*Avraham Burg*

*[The writer, a Peace Now activist, is the son of Israel's former Minister of Interior Yosef Burg. The original Hebrew version of this article appeared in* ***Davar,*** *16 September 1984]:*

There is broad national agreement that Kahane and his followers represent an acute danger, but few of us have considered the question of root causes of the phenomenon. Is there perhaps something in the soul of Israeli society that serves as a hothouse, as fertile ground for the growth of these power-oriented ideas? I do not wish to apportion blame or indulge in name-calling for its own sake. True, it is not difficult to discern a connecting thread between the Likud government, in the matter of Lebanon, and Kahane; but a deeper probe will reveal an inexorable progression from the final days of the Golda Meir government to the inception of the first Begin government; hence it would be evasive and dishonest to impute sole responsibility for the new Jewish fascism to the Likud.

It would be more to the point for all of us to undertake some rigorous soul searching. A self-criticism that pins the blame on others is not genuine. Let us first examine ourselves, since it is from us that the poison has spread. Kahane is but the latest symptom of a deadly disease which has long afflicted us.

We have always accepted the IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) as a given fact, one that has at times assumed the character of a sacred cow, above criticism. Yet never, I believe, have we seriously addressed ourselves to an examination of the Spartan influences of the military on our Athenian identity. Every democracy must ultimately be whittled away under the pressure of large military body, and this is particularly true of Israeli society, whose very existence depends on the power of its army. Because we have always dismissed the possibility of a military coup in Israel as unthinkable, we have paid insufficient attention to the cumulative effect of the filtering of retired army personnel into the civilian sector and the blurring of boundaries between the political and military spheres. Thus, in an inevitable if gradual and protracted process, the ranks of the civilian leadership are now replete with former senior officers. The Lebanon war provides a vivid and frightening illustration of how military power combines with ex-army politicians to deceive the gullible civilian sector, to a point where it sometimes seems that there is no need in Israel for a military coup—the effect is already there. . . .

But there is another aspect of the phenomenon, one that tends to be suppressed or concealed and on which light is rarely thrown: the effect of the military on Israeli society as a whole. We have referred above to individuals of senior rank who upon retirement from the army become part of the civilian elite. But what about the cumulative effect on the attitudes and values of every household in Israel?

Everyone in Israeli society [i.e. the Jewish sector] serves in the army. For three years, every young man is wrenched out of his normal pattern of existence and exposed intensively to a radically different way of life. It is during these years that the mature personality of the Israeli citizen is formed. The young soldier loses his innocence along with his 'puppy fat' and learns the stratagems of war and the craft of killing, which were hitherto alien to him. The army matrix through which the entire [Jewish] population passes leaves its stamp on the individual and on the commonalty. The Israeli army is characterized, above all, by two features: the image of the commander and the image of the invincible nation that can accomplish whatever it sets out to do.

How is all this relevant to our subject? In the army, democracy is subordinated to obedience. We must obey all the commander's orders: he is the supreme authority, not to be questioned. In times of crisis or emergency, dependence on the leader becomes absolute, all-embracing. Each of us is marked by that experience, whether we loved or loathed it. In times of civilian crisis or political emergency, there are many who would like to see those absolute powers of the military commander applied to the community as a whole. There is a fairly widespread belief that the ongoing crisis in Israel, the lack of personal security, the ruined economy and the ruinous war, justify the appointment of a civilian supreme commander: a strong and aggressive figure, a person of untrammelled authority who would be able to deal with the situation in the well-known military manner. . . .

So it is hardly surprising that Kahane's ideas, which have for some time been seeping through the substrata of Israeli society, have found fertile ground. The process is not new to us: the most farfetched ideas become taken for granted—just like in the army. So the terrible interplay comes about. The deep national crisis invites radical and unconventional solutions, to be implemented by an authoritarian civilian commander with a powerful personality. This political solution, which is already pounding on our door, will meet with an eager response from many Israelis who are crying out for hlep.

Kahane is the synthesis of these elements. His authoritarian personality is thrown into relief by the gallery of cowering nonentities who make up the national leadership, and his mad solutions are taken as reasonable lunacy, like other crazy solutions that have been with us for many years. It is possible that we shall wake up one day to find ourselves living in a civilian system which is an exact replica of the military one. After all, the dividing line between civilian Israel and military Israel is rapidly disappearing; indeed, the two already overlap. Kahane is but the first glaring symptom of the problematic reality that we are all still attempting to repress. □


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## ANTI-SEMITISM IN REVERSE

*Amnon Rubinstein*

No one with any knowledge of human nature and a passing acquaintance with history will be surprised to discover that a high degree of mutual suspicion exists in Israel between Jew and Arab. All the conditions for ethnic tension and racist generalizations are to be found in this country, where the primary, instinctive hatred of the stranger is compounded by hatred of the enemy.

The Israeli Arabs are not simply a minority; they are a minority belonging to a people with whom Israel is engaged in a fierce war of survival. From that point of view, at least, logic is on the side of those who maintain that the situation of the Arabs in Israel is not analogous to that of the Jews among the gentiles, but is better compared with the position of the German minorities in the countries bordering Germany or that of the Turkish minority in the Balkans during the Ottoman period. There is a dual attitude towards such minorities, composed of both hatred of the stranger and what is different, and fear of the enemy who threatens the country from without. The complex and difficult relationship between Jews and Arabs in Israel is not simply that between a majority and a minority, but between a majority which views itself as a minority in a hostile sea surrounding it, and a minority which, for the most part, sees itself as part of a great nation that rules in the Middle East. Relations of hatred intermingled with fear, of condescension laced with anxiety, are typical of such a situation....

It is easy to show that the new Jewish racism is unrelated to any security danger or to the fact that the Arabs are the enemy. The "wonderful boys" who plotted to blow up the mosques on Temple Mount and who allowed a Druse soldier to be blinded are not concerned about state security; those who, in the best tradition of anti-Semitic rioters, went into Nablus, killed a small girl and tried to kill her sister, are moved by the same dark passions that have been the motivating force of anti-Jewish pogroms since time immemorial; the members of the Tehiya party branch in Tel Aviv who threatened to beat up with spade handles any Arab who tried to rent a flat in the building housing their offices were not worried about their own personal security; MK Waldman (Tehiya) would like to expel all the Christians from Jerusalem, too; the halachic literature of the Gush Emunim rabbis does not deal with security dangers but concerns itself with a legal analysis of the standing of the Children of Ishmael (Arabs) and the children of Esau (the other Gentiles)....

If there is any lesson to be learnt from the terrible tragedy of our people, it is the polar opposite of what the new racists are saying today. Not even against one's enemy—real or imagined—is everything permitted. Every racist generalization, every attempt to deprive others of their rights, is to be deplored and condemned. When Kahane trumpets in Acre: "Shalom to the dogs!" and "Even a dead Arab is scum!" and his followers in Gush Emunim remain silent and by that silence show their support, they are helping to keep alive the universal phenomenon of hatred of the stranger, a phenomenon of which we have been the chief victims.... □

*(**Ha'aretz**, 2 September 1984)*

FORUM

## "QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"Many Irgun and Haganah veterans who today belong to the "national camp" in Israel fail to recognize that the Palestinian inhabitants of Judea-Samaria and Gaza constitute a genuine national community that is fighting foreign rule and striving to establish its own identity."

Prof. Moshe Ma'oz
*Koteret Rashit*
19 September 1984

"All those who deplore manifestations of Jewish terrorism against Arabs but in the same breath advance justification of such acts are encouraging the self-styled "avengers." There is virtually no difference between them and MK Meir Kahane, who openly congratulated the perpetrators of the murderous attack on the Arab bus."

Editorial
*Ha'aretz*
30 October 1984

"I think the Israelis are deceiving themselves if they think the Arabs will tire of the situation and accept it."

George Ball
*The Washington Times*
15 January 1985

"Establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East has basic requirements represented in withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, abandonment of the policies of the hostile status quo, and recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. Israel must meet these requirements if it really wants to establish peace."

Editorial
*Al-Jumhuriyyah* (Egypt)
14 January 1985

"I have often said that our problem is not with the United Nations but with its members.... I certainly don't have a prejudice against Arabs. Some of my best friends are Arabs!!!"

Jeane Kirkpatrick
U.S. Ambassador to the UN
*Washington Times*
23 January 1985



# PLO News and Views

## ARAFAT'S ADDRESS ON 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION

**(Excerpts)**

*[On January 1, 1985, which marks the 20th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser Arafat delivered the following message to the Palestinian people]:*

We are celebrating the 20th anniversary of our revolution only a few days after the conclusion of the 17th PNC session in Amman which was called the martyrs session. This name was not picked at random; we chose to call it that because it embodied the most precise meanings of the battle to convene the PNC—the battle whose difficult and complicated chapters were followed by the Palestinian masses for more than 1 and 1/2 years. It was a period that was full of major events and challenges. But the most violent of these events was the battle for Palestinian existence on the region's political map....

While it is true that the PNC session constituted a landmark in our struggle, our success in holding it led to averting the paralysis and dissipation which had been threatening us; it proved our identity; it protected our independent national decision making against the plots of usurpation, circumvention, or liquidation; and it restored life, activity, and efficiency to our structures and institutions. This does not mean that the US-Zionist plot has ended, or that the plotters and their agents have laid down their arms and stopped their grinding war against our people, cause, and revolution. This is because our fate, which we have lived and willingly accepted, is to continue struggling and suffering, to guarantee the revolution's survival and to ensure its effectiveness and achievements.

Out of our profound understanding of this fact and historic inevitability, and out of our long experience, our conviction is strengthened in the fact that our survival and strength stem from bolstering our capabilities and resources inherent in the consciences of millions of Palestinians and Arabs who created the noblest phenomenon in the contemporary history of the Arab nation on 1 January 1965—namely, the phenomenon of armed struggle, which restored to the Palestinian people their identity, created this great revolutionary asset in the history of the Arab nation, and restored the important and leading position of the Palestinian issue among the political issues of the contemporary world....

The position of our revolution and cause in our wider Arab environment and in the broader world arena necessitates that we examine our situation closely. We have a great cause which has a central place in the character and life of the Arab nation. Its ramifications and influences affect the whole world. It is no longer a secret that our Arab nation is regrettably experiencing a stage of horrendous fragmentation and lacks even a minimum degree of solidarity, coordination, and joint action. This deteriorating situation provides the right atmosphere for all the US-Zionist schemes that seek to impose control over our region and to create a situation whereby the Zionist enemy would gain the upper hand to impose its liquidatory solutions aimed at achieving its expansionist ambitions at the expense of the rights of our Palestinian people and Arab nation....

Within this framework, we can understand the objective behind the Camp David conspiracy which aimed at excluding Egypt from the arena, and the objective of the plot taking place in Arab Lebanon aimed at its confessional partitioning. We can also understand the seriousness of continuing the Iraq-Iran war, its consequences and potential escalation. All this is directly connected to the Arab-Zionist conflict whose crux is the Palestine question. In this dangerous atmosphere, the Zionists invaded Lebanon in 1982, and a plot was forged to deal a blow to the Palestinian revolution and expel its forces from Lebanon leaving that country victim for suspect deals and to pave the way for a hateful factional balkanization to be imposed on the entire Arab region and its one people. Within this framework, the U.S. Administration is setting traps in the form of ideas and peace initiatives, while the real objective is consolidating the results of the aggression which caused a disastrous situation that contravenes the basic rights and legitimate aspirations of the peoples of this area. It was no coincidence that U.S. President Ronald Reagan presented his dangerous initiative while our forces were leaving Beirut. It is also no coincidence that the U.S. Administration is trying through its envoy Richard Murphy to peddle a new deal in Lebanon that is no less dangerous than the Camp David accords....

From my position within the command of this revolution, and according to my assessment of the international situation and its facts, I can say with confidence that our international position has become stronger and more consolidated than before in a manner that would make our people and revolutionaries proud. We greet and thank the Arab countries which are hosting our forces. We also extend our greetings and appreciation to our Arab brothers who are backing our people's just struggle and who are sharing with us our struggle, destiny, hope, and future.

We also take pride in our position in the Islamic group of states, the Nonaligned Movement, the African states, the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, and other friendly countries. We are proud of our relations with them and of the support they are extending to us. We are also proud of the continuous friendly relationship with all struggling forces and peoples—a relationship which has continued to grow despite the difficulties that we faced in the past. We are determined to develop and bolster this relationship....

Finally, we extend greetings of pride, love, and brotherhood to our steadfast people inside the occupied territory and elsewhere in the diaspora. I greet every man and woman, every child and youth and tell them that a pledge is a pledge and an oath is an oath. We all have a date to meet in Holy Jerusalem where one of my country's children will hoist the revolution's banner high above Jerusalem's walls, mosques, and churches. □

# FAHED QAWASMI: A PALESTINIAN EXPERIENCE

The Palestinian people throughout the world were shocked by the senseless murder of Fahed Qawasmi. His assassination in Amman, on December 29, 1985, deeply saddened the many people, Palestinians and non-Palestinians, who had the privilege of knowing "Abu Khalid" as he traversed the world during the past few years pleading the cause of his people and the cause of just peace in the Middle East.

Fahed was an agricultural engineer, and his wife was a teacher. Together they symbolized the Palestinian people's yearning for a better life. But the increasing repressiveness of Israeli rule in the occupied territories convinced Fahed that he could not share the dreams of his people without sharing the burdens of their plight. So in 1976, he committed himself to the political struggle of the Palestinians under occupation by successfully competing for the office of mayor of Hebron, his hometown.

In 1980, he was expelled from his country. He fell victim to Israel's drive to depopulate the occupied West Bank and to deprive it of community leaders. The world stood by his side and demanded that he be allowed to return to his country. The United Nations passed formal resolutions on his behalf, but Israel was determined to broaden his Palestinian experience and decreed for him eternal exile.

During the most recent session of the Palestine National Council, Fahed was elected a member of the new Executive Committee of the PLO. A month later, unknown assailants gunned him down in front of his home.

To perpetuate his exile, the Israeli occupation authorities turned down the request of his family to bring in his body for burial in his hometown.

Qawasmi's assassination sparked a wave of protest demonstrations in the occupied territories. A general strike was observed the following day in many cities and towns in the West Bank; symbolic funerals were organized in several localities; and thousands of people streamed into Hebron to express their sympathy and to offer condolences to the Qawasmi family. In Hebron and Ramallah, the Israeli occupation forces clashed with demonstrators.

Palestinian newspapers in the West Bank carried hundreds of statements from community leaders and associations eulogizing the assassinated mayor of Hebron. Many of them saw his assassination as another attempt to destroy the PLO and disrupt Palestinian struggle and vowed to foil such attempts.

The PLO Executive Committee, which has just selected Mayor Qawasmi as its director of occupied territories affairs, issued a statement accusing "Syria's rulers" of responsibility for the murder, and said that "they will fail in their attempts to break the will of our people and to stop the march of our revolution." Fateh Central Committee's statement vowed that the Palestinian people's struggle will triumph over the conspiracies against it, and that the crime will not go unpunished.

Several persons have been arrested and are being interrogated in connection with Qawasmi's assassination.

Palestinians throughout the world held memorial services for Fahed Qawasmi. In Washington, a large memorial service was addressed by Palestinian and American friends of Fahed, and by representatives of all Arab and several non-Arab groups in the Washington area who knew Fahed as a friend as well as a tireless crusader for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and a just peace in the Middle East. □



**Fahed Qawasmi and Muhammad Milhem facing the press after their deportation by the Israelis on May 2, 1980**

## PLO: NO CHANGE ON 242

A senior political adviser to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat told the French News Agency (AFP) that the PLO will continue to reject UN Security Council Resolution 242 which King Hussein of Jordan has recently proposed as a basis for peace negotiations aimed at solving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Mr. Hani al-Hassan explained that the PLO does not accept Resolution 242 because it reduced the Palestinian question to a mere refugee problem. The resolution calls for Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 in return for a termination of all claims or states of belligerancy and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area.

Palestinian sources have consistently argued that certain provisions included in Resolution 242, such as the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, are not objectionable. However, the text of the resolution remains insufficient in so far as it fails to deal with the political apsect of the problem, which Palestinians interpret as a denial of their right to national self-determination. The PLO has actually supported repeated attempts by Egypt and France to rewrite the resolution in order to rectify its shortcomings. These attempts have been foiled by vehement U.S. opposition.

In his address before the 17th session of the Palestine National Council held last November in Amman, Jordan, King Hussein called on the PLO to accept Resolution 242 and work with Jordan on a common strategy within the context of an international peace conference. □

## Life Under Occupation

### IMPROVED CONDITIONS = NORMALIZED OCCUPATION

*[Interview by Michal Sela with* ***Anwar Nusseibeh,*** *Kol Ha'ir, 26 October 1984. Anwar Nusseibeh, who held senior cabinet posts in the Jordanian government prior to 1967, is today the director of the East Jerusalem Electricity Corporation].*

**Q:** *What do you think of the idea of using American and European business capital to promote public and industrial projects in the West Bank, within the framework of the program to improve the quality of life here?*

**A:** I don't like the idea—it is even offensive. It is yet another indirect means of avoiding dealing with the real problems that face us, which are essentially political in nature. I cannot feel any sympathy for such programs.... Everyone calls it an improvement of living conditions, but in fact it sets out to achieve normalization of day-to-day life—in other words, normalization of the occupation.

**Q:** *In the continued absence of any political solution, is it not natural to wish to improve day-to-day life?*

**A:** Every one of us aspires to and hopes for a better standard of living. But that in itself will not produce answers to the problems we face—which are not economic or social problems but basically political.

**Q:** *The possibility has been mooted of the reappointment of Arab mayors in the five towns where military government officers are now in charge. There has even been talk of holding elections.*

**A:** I was against municipal elections on the two previous occasions, in 1972 and 1976, and I am still against the idea. Here, too, as in the matter of economic development, there is a conflict of principles: between the concept of free elections on the one hand and the significance of the occupation on the other. In the present state of affairs, there is no difference between the appointment of an Arab mayor and an Israeli mayor.

**Q:** *What do you think of the idea of Arab representatives in the Jerusalem municipality?*

**A:** I think that's a fine idea—in a municipality of Arab Jerusalem. To me, Jerusalem is also occupied territory.

**Q:** *During the British Mandate period there was coexistence in the municipality.*

**A:** True, and my father was a member of the municipal council. But things were different then. We all fought against the British occupation. Today, when the Jews are in power and the Arabs have no standing, any pretence of recreating the Mandate situation is an illusion. It is possible only in the context of an acceptable political solution. Look, you must distinguish here between two entirely different types of human rights to which everyone is entitled: civil rights and political rights. To enjoy civil rights and liberties at a time when one's political rights are denied is to place the whole concept of human rights in the most ludicrous light. □

### ANALYSIS...
### OCCUPATION AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE

One of the most unconvincing sideshows of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which recently played not far from Broadway in New York City, was a farcical play called "Improving the Quality of Life in the West Bank and Gaza." This play, reportedly produced in the State Department, is directed by Stephen Cohen, professor of social psychology and director of the Institute for Middle East Peace and Development at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and stars a number of wealthy American Jewish and Arab-American businessmen. The plot consists of channeling funds, raised by this group of businessmen, to the occupied territories for their economic development and the improvement of the "quality of life" of their Palestinian population.

Although this scheme is advertised as a private charitable impulse, there is no doubt that it is sponsored by the State Department, as is indicated by the fact that U.S. government funds were made available to professor Cohen to organize the scheme, as well as by the fact that the involved group reports to the State Department on its activities.

There is nothing wrong, of course, with charitable work or with State Department encouragement of it. The problem we have with this affair is the obvious incongruities implied in the idea. America, which gave the world the slogan "give me liberty or given me death," should be the least likely sponsor of this futile and deceptive pursuit of happiness under the yoke of foreign military occupation.

We believe that it is more worthy of America's name and traditions to advocate the improvement of the quality of life of a people under foreign military rule by granting them their freedom. In fact, to be more modest in our expectations, we would be more convinced and reassured if the State Department had sought the improvement of the quality of life in the occupied territories by objecting to the continuing Israeli confiscation of land and water resources in the areas. You cannot improve the quality of life of any people by a small handout while condoning the robbery of its resources. After all, what good is the money unless it is used to develop these resources?

The Israeli researcher, Meron Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, studied the effect of the existing small U.S. program of aid to the West Bank and Gaza (totaling $51.6 million between 1975 and 1985 compared with $14.3 *billion* given to Israel during the same period), and concluded that Israel used it to "pacify" the occupied territories rather than to develop them, a conclusion supported by the experience of all U.S. voluntary agencies who have been working in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Palestinians in the occupied territories want and deserve to be given a "break." But the way to do it is certainly not to subsidize Israel's effort to tame them. □

# 100 UNDER HOUSE ARREST

The Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights issued a report on house and town arrests imposed by the Israeli authorities against Palestinian political activists and leaders residing under Israeli occupation. The report was prepared by Dr. Youssef al-Ghazi, Secretary General of the League.

The report documents 148 cases of arbitrary house arrests since 1980. The victims include 24 political activists who hold Israeli citizenship. Among them are members of the Israeli Communist Party (RAKAH), the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (HADASH), Abna' al-Balad, and the Progressive Movement. The remaining 124 orders were issued against Palestinian residents of the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

The ILCHR Report shows that there are currently 100 Palestinians affected by arbitrary house arrest orders. These victims of human rights abuses by the Israeli government are forbidden from leaving their towns or villages during daytime hours. At night, they are confined to their own places of residence. The military orders are usually issued for periods of 3-6 months but can be repeatedly renewed. Victims are rarely charged with any offense and thus are physically restricted without charge or trial. Some are forced to report once or twice daily to the nearest police station in order to prove their compliance with the order. Security officers are also used to pay "surprise" visits to the homes of victims in order to verify their whereabouts.

Data presented by Dr. al-Ghazi have been corroborated by Amnesty International documents which confirmed that 148 Palestinians have been subjected to "administrative detention." According to Amnesty International, 24 were Israeli citizens, 93 were residents of the West Bank, 9 residents of East Jerusalem, 13 from Gaza and 9 from the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

The victims include political figures, journalists, physicians, lawyers, trade unionists, teachers, writers and activist students. The main objective of these arbitrary measures is to disrupt the lives of these individuals and their families to the point of rendering them politically ineffective if not totally inactive.

The arbitrary and undemocratic nature of these "administrative measures" is underlined by the fact that they are legally based on Articles 108-110 of the British Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945 and Security Provisions Order 378 applicable in the occupied territories, which offer the victims no opportunity for judicial proceedings. In its 1984 Report, Amnesty International confirmed that many Palestinians "were restricted for the non-violent expression of their political opinions." Furthermore, AI opposed these Israeli measures "since those restricted were not charged or tried and had no effective right to refute the evidence against them." □



## WHO IS A JEW?

The latest campaign by the four Orthodox political parties in Israel to amend the Law of Return to bring it in conformity with Orthodox Judaism was voted down on the floor of the Israeli Knesset by a 62-to-51 vote after Prime Minister Shimon Peres managed to muster enough votes to block the move. The stormy debate, characterized by angry shouts and name-calling, reflected the depth of this emotional controversy within Israeli society and among world Jewry in general.

The Law of Return stipulates that any person born of a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism has the right to immigrate to Israel and to receive Israeli citizenship immediately upon arrival. Orthodox Jews interpret this to mean that only Jews converted according to Orthodox ritual qualify for citizenship. Thus, the proposed amendment stated that all conversions must be "according to Halacha."

Such an interpretation disqualifies Conservative and Reform Jews who make up 80-85% of American Jews affiliated with a synagogue. This fact explains why American Jewish groups vigorously opposed the Israeli bill from its inception. A coalition of 21 major American Jewish groups was formed to coordinate opposition to the bill which they deemed "morally and religiously offensive." The coalition was joined by the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and B'nai B'rith. The intensity of the opposition to the bill was reflected in the words of Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, who said: "We categorically reject the distinction that some Jews are more Jewish than others...We will not be beggars at Jerusalem's gate."

The issue of who is a Jew has been a permanent feature in Israeli politics. Small Orthodox parties, which often play a key role in the formation of coalition governments, have repeatedly attempted to amend the Law of Return in return for their participation in new governments. Experts believe that the issue will remain unresolved until a common conversion method becomes acceptable to all Jews or Israel ceases to be an exclusively Jewish state. The chances for such developments are slim indeed.

The inability of Israelis and Jews in generals to agree on the legal definition of a Jew is ironic since Zionist propagandists have continuously used the identity issue to deny the Palestinians their basic human and political rights. Zionists have always argued that based on their inability to reconcile the terms Palestinian, Jordanian and Arab, there is no such thing as a distinct Palestinian identity or a Palestinian people entitled to self-determination and independence. Instead, Palestinians are advised to assimilate in Arab society or to take over Jordan. □

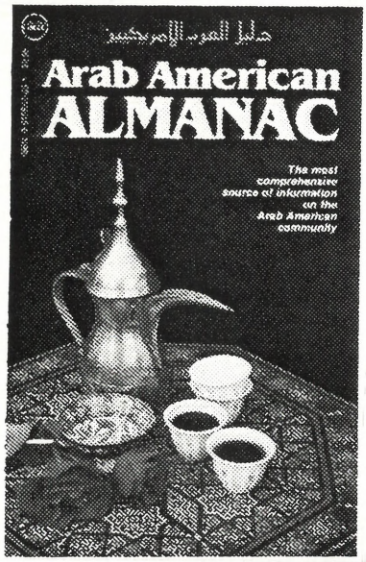
## Life Under Occupation

### VILLAGE LEAGUES EXPOSED

The Israeli occupation authorities have been encouraging their Palestinian quislings known as the "Village Leagues" to attack and intimidate civilians in several localities on the West Bank. This was revealed by Muhammad Jadallah Shawkat, member of the Israeli-sponsored Bethlehem Village League, who was captured by the residents of Deheisheh Refugee Camp after attacking several residents in the area.

Shawkat admitted that his group, "organized and led by sources connected with a branch of the Israeli military government," carried out several attacks against Palestinian nationalist institutions and personalities throughout the occupied areas. He further admitted participating in specific recent attacks involving firebombings, house invasions, and assaults aimed at intimidating local residents who engage in resisting Israeli occupation. The Palestinian thug also admitted carrying out orders to burn the Press Office in Bethlehem two months ago in addition to recent break-ins into the offices of several social, political and labor union organizations in the area. He also claimed that his gang carried out some of these attacks in the presence of units from the Israeli Border Police who are in charge of law and order in the occupied territories.

Residents of Deheisheh, who were fed up with the intimidation and violence practiced by these hoodlums, attacked the Village League's hangout in the camp and turned in the criminals and their captured weapons to the Bethlehem police. □


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### WEIZMAN REPLACES PM ADVISER

Israeli sources confirmed that the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs, Benyamin Gur-Arye, has been dismissed. Dr. Yossef Ginat, an anthropologist at Haifa University, was chosen to replace him.

The Israeli press reported that Guy-Arye's dismissal was part of the reorganization of "Arab affairs" being led by Ezer Weizman, minister without portfolio in the Israeli cabinet. Gur-Arye, who served in this capacity for eleven years, allegedly refused to acknowledge his dismissal as legally binding and threatened to resume his post once Yitzhaq Shamir becomes prime minister. Knesset Member Rafael Eitan of the racist Techiya party protested the dismissal of Gur-Arye who held hard-line views on the treatment of Arabs under Israeli rule.

In an editorial comment on the subject, the Arabic daily *al-Ittihad,* published in Haifa, discounted the value of this shift as far as the Palestinians are concerned. The problem, according to *al-Ittihad,* lies in the very existence of the office itself, which implies an official discriminatory and racist attitude toward Arab citizens. Some local Arab leaders actually view this move as a retreat by Prime Minister Peres and Ezer Weizman who promised them on November 20, 1984, to close the office down and deal with Arab citizens directly and on equal footing with Jewish citizens. □

### ISRAELI GROUP "HONORS" TERRORIST

The Israeli rightist group, Gush Emunim, which specializes in erecting Jewish settlements in the occupied territory and terrorist activities against its Palestinian inhabitants, "honored" Natan Natanzon, who is currently on trial for terrorism, by electing him to its Secretariat. The Gush Emunim also expressed satisfaction with the Israeli government's decision to establish six new settlements in the occupied territories. □

### STRANGE CONSCIENCE

When it comes to dealing with Arabs, Israel has a peculiar conscience. A recent article in an Israeli newspaper illustrates how it works.

In its December 1984 issue, *Eretz Hagolan,* the official publication of the Israeli settlers on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, explained why Menachem Begin's government decided to annex the Golan to Israel in 1981. It explained that Begin felt guilty for having agreed to return the occupied Sinai Peninsula as a part of the peace treaty with Egypt. To placate his conscience for what he had done to the Jewish settlers in Sinai, the article said, Begin took the Golan from Syria.

The writer of the article continued: "It is to be regretted that we [the settlers] in the Golan won our independence [sic] at the cost of the destruction of another region. But that's life." Syria and the Syrians in the Golan, apparently, do not matter. □

## COMMENTARY . . .
## THE IRRATIONALITY OF U.S. AID TO ISRAEL

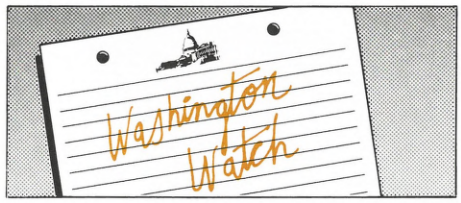
Since World War II, the U.S. government has been administering a massive foreign aid program, one of whose declared objectives is to induce other countries to pursue policies compatible with U.S. interests around the world. Israel is by far the largest beneficiary of this program, and receives about $1,000 a year for every man, woman, and child. In fact, this assistance to Israel is much greater than it appears, because it is given as grants, which means that it carries no interest and does not get paid back. When this is added to the fact that Israel is the least needy of all recipients of U.S. aid, due to its massive worldwide fund-raising network of Zionist and Jewish organizations, which is tax deductible in the U.S., it becomes obvious that U.S. aid to Israel, unlike its aid to other countries, is icing on the cake, designed to ensure affluence rather than survival. It enables Israel to subsidize its standard of living, which is already one of the highest in the world, as well as to finance its military adventures in the Middle East.

Yet, Israel has been the primary obstacle to the conduct of U.S. policy in the area. By using U.S. funds and weapons to oppress the Palestinians under its occupation and by committing atrocities against neighboring states and peoples, it has stigmatized U.S. policy as an instrument of aggression. By sheltering Israel from the wrath of the world community, in the UN and other international forums, the U.S. has been dragged into the isolation that Israel put itself into. And by opposing all U.S. efforts to develop friendly or even working relationships with the Arab world, it jeopardized the position of the United States in one of the most important regions in the world, a fact temporarily hidden from view by the subservience of some Arab rulers whose tenure cannot be ensured for long.

Most recently, Israel used U.S. money to implant new settlers in the occupied territories, in explicit violation of long-standing U.S. policy that such an act is illegal and detrimental to peace. Even the Reagan administration, which toned down this traditional U.S. policy on the occupied territories, judged this Israeli behavior "unhelpful" in the search for peace in the Middle East. The statement, made by a spokesman of the State Department on January 22, was based on a report from the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv, to the effect that Ethiopian Jews brought to Israel are being settled in the occupied West Bank, using a $15 million "grant" given by the Department, in violation of the conditions of that grant.

U.S. opposition to Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories is intended to keep Israel from torpedoing U.S. policy, which requires that the future of the territories remains open to future determination. This is the heart of the Reagan peace proposal. It is understandable that Israel, which has shown preference for territorial expansion to peace, pursues such a policy. What is difficult to understand is why the U.S. government pays Israel to torpedo its policy in the Middle East. If Israel is to blame, U.S. policymakers are responsible for this subversion of U.S. policy. Their repeated refusal to link their aid to Israel to the policy it pursues, which they often declared that they would do, is the reason why Israel behaves the way it does. Even if we leave aside Palestinian rights and Arab interests, which Israel has been trampling for decades, this U.S. policy makes no sense from the view of America's own interests.

U.S. aid to every country in the world that receives such aid has been conditional on some specified performance. The Alliance for Progress Program, for example, was conditional on the institution of a land reform program by Latin American states. U.S. aid and trade policies have always been evaluated and modified in light of the performance of recipient states. Israel is, and has always been, the exception to this rule. The whole situation again raises the question of who really makes U.S. policy toward the Middle East, and in whose interest. The only issue being discussed today on the subject of aid to Israel, is how much to increase it next year. □




### BALL RAPS U.S. POLICY

In a recent interview with the *Washington Times*, former Under Secretary of State George Ball expressed his doubts about President Reagan's willingness to seize the opportunities that now present themselves for advancing a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Mr. Ball criticized U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East for abandoning basic principles applied everywhere else by U.S. policymakers. He said: "We've abandoned the principle of self-determination, which we fought for, long and hard.... We have continued a self-denying ordinance not to talk to or negotiate with the PLO, the only representatives recognized by the Palestinians." Mr. Ball, while recognizing Reagan's strong position to change U.S. policy, emphasized that the President would not be taking any bold initiatives due to potential opposition from Congress.

In assessing the chances for peace in the Middle East, the long-time Democrat pointed to the lack of "any American strong will to use the leverage that America has... and, second, the unwillingness and perhaps even the inability of the current Israeli government to act effectively...."

When asked about the possibility of educating the American political process on the Middle East, Mr. Ball stated that "some day, the changes will come from Israel overreaching. But I dread it because, if the pendulum ever swings in this country, it could swing too far the other way." □






***BOOK REVIEW***

## FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

Joan Peters, ***From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Over Palestine*** (New York: Harper & Row, 1984. 601 pages. $24.95)

*From Time Immemorial* is a voluminous anthology of familiar and discredited Zionist mythology regarding the Palestinians and the Arab-Israeli conflict. One reviewer of this book, Norman G. Finkelstein, appropriately titled his excellent analysis of it "The Immemorial Hoax" (*In These Times*, 5-11 September 1984). Another reviewer, Bill Farrell, aptly said of it: "In the future, it will only be remembered by those who already believed its fraudulent assertions before its publication, who desired pulp instead of fact," (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Fall 1984).

The book, whose dust jacket immodestly claims that it "will forever change the terms of the debate about the conflicting claims of the Arabs and the Jews in the Middle East," is a rehash and an amplification of familiar Zionist allegations that the Palestinian people do not exist. By ignoring and distorting the considerable evidence against her case, Peters reaches the conclusion that the Palestinians are largely recent immigrants from other areas who were attracted to Palestine by the Zionist miracle. They went to Palestine to work for the Jewish colonists and settlers who converged on Palestine from around the world and made the desert bloom. She misquotes the Qur'an, she distorts Ottoman population statistics, and she falsifies the records and reports of the British Mandatory government to make her point.

Joan Peters' "facts" are totally one-sided and faulty, but what is really appalling is her "logic." To indicate the quality of her scholarship, what her publishers call "brilliant" analysis, it is sufficient to point out that she believes that current Arab objections to Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza are proof of Arab adherence to "racial purity," and "apartheid" (p. 405). This is the kind of logic and analysis which illuminate her path for nearly 600 pages of bigotry and seven years (according to her) of misspent labor. □

## ARABS UNDER EVERY BED

The *Washington Post* alerted its readers to an apparently wicked Arab plot to get American youth "to learn firsthand about the Middle East." In an article entitled "Arabs Offer To Send Youths To Middle East," the *Psot* reported (November 30) that "An Arab-American lobbying group has offered to pay the way for 10 teenagers participating in [District of Columbia] Mayor Marion Barry's Youth Leadership Institute to visit Jordan and Israel next year to learn firsthand about the Middle East." To indicate the possibility of foul play, the article, written by *Post* staff writer Eric Pianin, informed its readers that "D.C. government officials... are nervous about offending Jewish organizations by sanctioning a trip designed [God forbid] to gain sympathy for the Arab viewpoint." The article suggests that Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, is somehow connected with this Arab group.

The group in question, the Washington-based National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations, is not an Arab group. In a letter to the *Post*, dated December 17, the group explained the facts to the editors hoping that they would correct the erroneous impressions created by their article. The letter pointed out that "The Council is not an Arab organization—it is American. On the Council's six-man Board of Directors, there is only one member of Arab ancestry. There are none on the staff and only one on the 27 member National Advisory Committee. All are American citizens." The letter continued to explain that the Council is not a "lobbying group," as the *Post* article stated, but "an educational and cultural organization devoted to improved understanding between the United States and the Arab world. Mr. Louis Farrakhan has no relationship of any kind to the organization."

The Council's letter continued to say: "As doubtless you know, each year thousands of Americans, including public officials, visit Israel on all-expense-paid tours. These tours are underwritten by the state of Israel or by non-profit, tax-exempt groups in the United States. The National Council is engaged in the planning of a tour which, unlike most others, offers the participants an opportunity to visit both Israel and Jordan—an even-handed approach."

The National Council's letter, signed by three of its National Advisors all of whom had been U.S. ambassadors, one of whom had served as Assistant Secretary of State and another as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, concluded by saying: "Relations between the United States and the Arab world have, in the past, been seriously distorted by misinformation and prejudice. We hope that in the future the *Post* will play a more responsible role in its reporting on efforts made by organizations such as ours to overcome these biases and improve our understanding of this important area of the world."

The *Post*, in a subsequent "correction" which did not correct any of the distortions of its article, printed the following text: "A headline on a Metro Section article yesterday about an offer to the D.C. government by the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations stated that the offer had been made by 'Arabs.' The directors, staff and financial backers of the nonprofit foundation include Americans as well as Arab-Americans and Arabs." Who was it that said: "My mind is made up; don't confuse me with facts"? □

## CALL FOR MIDEAST CONFERENCE RENEWED

The U.N. General Assembly, on December 11, 1984, renewed its call for an international conference on the Middle East. The Assembly asked Israel and the United States to reconsider their negative positions toward such a conference. Voting on the resolution (document A/39/L.40), was 121 in favor, 3 against (Canada, Israel and the United States), and 23 abstaining.

The proposal to hold an international conference aimed at ending the Arab-Israeli conflict, was originally advanced by the Soviet Union on July 29, 1984. The Soviet peace proposal was based on the assumption of Israeli withdrawal from Arab lands occupied in 1967, the creation of an independent Palestinian state, and guarantees of peace and security for all nations in the region. It called for the participation of *all concerned parties* in the negotiations including Israel and the PLO under the chairmanship of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Israel and the United States have adamantly rejectd the Soviet proposal despite growing international support for the idea. The PLO and several Arab countries have welcomed the idea of an international peace conference in which all parties to the conflict are included. The PLO approval was evident in political resolutions adopted at the 17th session of the Palestine National Council held in Amman on 22-29 November, 1984.

During the four-day debate at the U.N., Ambassador Abdallah Salah of Jordan said that "the United States, being exploited by its friendship with Israel, was losing credibility and influence in the Middle East." Salah added that "Assembly resolutions expressed the international desire for peace in the world and in the Middle East, and if Israel wanted peace it could stop its expansionism and aggression."

In other resolutions adopted on December 11, the Assembly endorsed the recommendations of its Palestinian Rights Committee, and reminded the Security Council that "action on those longstanding recommendations was still awaited." The Assembly further called on the U.N. Secretariat to continue its work on the question of Palestinian rights and the dissemination of information relating to the question of Palestine. Israel, Canada and the United States opposed both resolutions. Jeane Kirkpatrick, Permanent Representative of the United States at the U.N., described the resolution as "unfair, unbalanced and dysfunctional." □

## PLO SUPPORTS PEACE PROPOSALS

PLO officials have expressed their unequivocal support for the Soviet proposals to hold an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all concerned parties. Fateh Central Committee member Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) described the Soviet proposals as "the clearest international proposals advocated so far." He said that these peace proposals "constitute a practical reply to all the hostile U.S. proposals, which are based on total support for the expansionist and hostile Zionist policy against the Palestinians." Abu Iyad emphasized that the Soviet proposals "are in harmony with international resolutions calling for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

In another interview with TASS, the Soviet News Agency, Farouq Qaddoumi, head of the PLO Political Department, has also expressed Palestinian support for the new Soviet peace proposals. Qaddoumi said that "the new Soviet proposal reflects a sincere desire and determination to reach a just settlement of the Palestinian cause." He also criticized the United States and Israel for their rejection of "international initiatives seeking to establish peace and to reach a just settlement of the Middle East crisis." The PLO official concluded that "holding an international conference in which *all parties* will participate is the most ideal means of reaching a just and comprehensive solution." □




## UNRWA CUTS BACK STAFF

UN sources revealed that nineteen posts at the Vienna headquarters of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) were abolished on 1 January to help bridge a $60 million gap between expected income and planned expenditures in 1985. Twelve other posts at the UNRWA Vienna headquarters and seven posts at the Agency's Amman headquarters are to be abolished later this year. In addition, a pay increase of 12,000 field staff has been deferred as part of the economy measures being undertaken.

UNRWA provides education, health, and relief services to 2 million eligible Palestinian refugees registered with the Agency. Palestinian sources fear that the level of services in these crucial areas will be affected by the announced cuts. As a result, the PLO formed an ad hoc committee to investigate UNRWA's decision to reduce its services and initiated contacts with several Arab governments in order to take prompt and unified action at the UN to alleviate the current deficit in UNRWA's budget.

In a statement to Reuter made on January 12, Mr. Hani al-Hassan, political advisor to Yasser Arafat, said that "UNRWA's measures will reduce educational, medical, and social services. These measures will have serious consequences since their aim is to gradually remove the Palestinian refugee question from the UN agenda." □

## ISRAELI GUNS FOR HUNGRY ETHIOPIA

While the world community has been busy shipping food to famine-stricken Ethiopia, Israel has been busy selling it guns. The syndicated columnist, Jack Anderson, relying on a secret CIA report seen by two of his reporters, said that Israel has recently sold the Ethiopian government at least $20 million worth of weapons and ammunition to fight the rebellion in the northern part of the country where the famine has been most severe.

## REPORT: ISRAELI BANK COLLAPSE

An official report by the Israeli state comptroller blamed the 1983 collapse of Israeli bank stocks on "the mass pursuit of the golden gods of easy profit" by the Israeli public, as well as on mismanagement. The report, released on New Year's Day, showed how Israeli banks, in order to raise capital, sold shares yielding dividends averaging 21 percent a year, at a time when the Israeli gross national product (including substantial foreign aid) increased by only 3 percent. Widespread speculation in bank stocks ensued, which inflated their prices to levels which bore no resemblance to their real value. As the comptroller's report indicated, the market value of the stocks just before the crash in October 1983 reached three times the value of the bank's capital.

When the bubble burst in October, "it had the force and dimensions of a catastrophe for the economy," the report said. When the selling began, Israeli banks tried to shore up the collapsing prices of their shares by buying back more than $1 billion worth of these shares, thus exhausting their reserves without being able to stem the tide. The Israeli government intervened to stop the panic by offering to buy bank shares from the public at a fixed price during the next six years. This promise burdened the government budget with $7 billion in new obligations in interest payments to shareholders and redemption of artificially inflated stocks. A recent U.S. Senate report on the Israeli economy said that the stock market crash in Israeli bank shares wiped out $10 billion worth of assets, equivalent to 3.5 percent of the total wealth in Israel (see previous issue of *Palestine Perspectives*). A report by the *Wall Street Journal* ( January 2) said the collapse wiped out the investment of half a million Israelis, about a third of the adult population.

The comptroller's report blamed the collapse not only on mismanagement by Israeli bankers, but also on government agencies which failed to supervise them. In the period preceding the crash, the report said, the Finance Ministry, the Bank of Israel, and the Securities Authority (which supervises the Tel Aviv stock exchange) were aware of the manipulation and speculation in bank stocks but did nothing about it. The former finance minister had called bank stock manipulation a "time bomb" in the Israeli economy but did not intervenue to stop it, perhaps because Israelis saw it as the only way to cope with three-digit inflation, and the government did not have the courage to deny them that illusion.

The Israeli government was also comforted by the fact that American taxpayers end up footing Israel's bills, whether they come from its wars or the get-rich schemes of its bankers. Israel is now asking the U.S. government for an additional $5 billion in economic aid to save its economy. The American public are being sold on the idea of shouldering the Israeli burden by the idea that they are supporting a "strategic ally" of great value to the U.S. In the meantime, Israel's government, bankers, and investors need not worry about the cost of military and financial adventurism.



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