Palestine Perspectives

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Editorial Editorial Editorial

ADDING INSULT TO INJURY

Although it is not widely known in this country, the Palestinians are better prepared for self-government than any of the previously non-self-governing peoples who attained independence since the second world war. In fact, Palestine was one of the first non-self-governing countries judged by the international community, through the League of Nations, to be ready for self-government. When the League set up the "Mandate" system after the first world war, Palestine was among the few countries included in Class A Mandates, meaning countries ready for self-government with some "administrative advice and assistance."

That was sixty-five years ago. Now, all the peoples who were deemed equally or less prepared for self-government than the Palestinians (with the exception of Namibia) have become independent. Even Namibian independence is debated in terms of how and when; only Palestinian independence is being debated in terms of whether or not. Palestine, one of the most ancient countries of the world and one of the most prepared for independence, has been singled out for denial of that right.

Let there be no mistake about it. This unique miscarriage of justice has nothing to do with the Palestinians themselves. It is not punishment for their sins. They had not sinned against anyone when in 1947 the United Nations saw fit to dismember Palestine and turn most of it to recent Jewish immigrants from Europe. It has to do with Hitler, with European pogroms and holocausts, and with European Jews not wanting to live among gentiles. The Palestinians got trampled in the ensuing shuffle, and were sacrificed to satisfy Zionism and to soothe Europe's conscience.

That is why the Palestinians are denied what nearly every society has been granted: self-government. And that is why the usual criteria for judging a people's fitness for self-government are not applied to the Palestinians. Compared to the hundred nations which attained independence with the blessings of the world community since the second world war, the Palestinians are highly educated and skilled, they have a relatively homogeneous society, and their political institutions and processes are highly developed and exhibit more mature democratic characteristics than those of most third world societies.

To justify the denial of self-government to the Palestinians, a novel criteria had to be invented. It is said that an independent Palestinian state would be or might be a menace to its neighbors (meaning Israel). The Palestinians are asked to prove, in advance, that they would not be a danger to their neighbors. If this criterion had been applied to other peoples, none of them would have qualified for self-government, Israel least of all. The system of sovereign nation-states which characterizes our world is inherently dangerous. No country in the world today is more menacing to its neighbors than Israel.

Besides, this criteria for judging a nation's readiness for independence is self-defeating. There is no better way to create problems for a region than to deny a fundamental right to one of its peoples.

The Palestinians have worked very hard to achieve the high level of social development that they have achieved in order to make themselves a productive member of the community of nations. It is unfair to the Palestinians and risky for the Middle East to continue to deny them equal recognition. Excuses may serve an argument, but they subvert things that are more important. □

M. Hallaj

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THE PAST OF YITZHAK SHAMIR

FORUM

By Israel Shahak

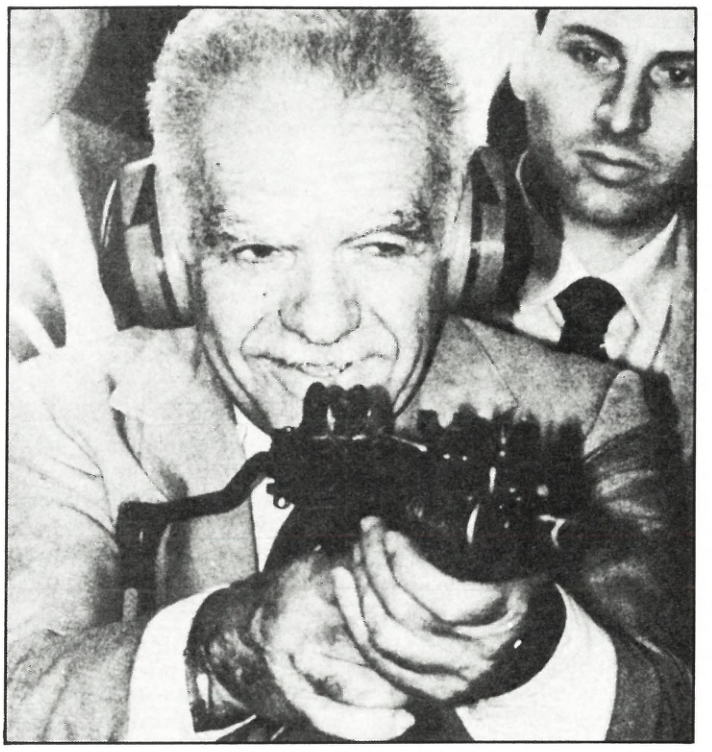
[This article is reprinted from ***Middle East International*** *of 10 October 1986. Its author, a survivor of Nazi concentration camps, is currently a professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and a well-known human rights activist in Israel].*

One of the consequences of the polarization of Israel's Jewish society into two more or less equal halves which are steadily drifting apart is more historical research, quite often of excellent quality. However the use of the past to explain or to justify the present can be ambiguous, since it depends on one's principles; what is solemnly held up by one part of society as praiseworthy and heroic is seen as an abomination by the other.

A very good example of these divergent attitudes is the renewed debate about the first period of the terror organization Lehi (acronym in Hebrew for "Fighters for Israel's Freedom"), better known in English as the Stern Gang after its founder Avraham Stern. The debate has great political significance since the present Israeli minister of foreign affairs [now prime minister], Yitzhak Shamir, who has had one spell as prime minister and begins another on 14 October, was one of the most important Lehi leaders after Avraham Stern was killed by a British policeman on 12 February 1942. The debate arose again after the publication of an adulatory biography of Stern which, because it is so full of admiration, can afford to give the true facts of the rise of Lehi.

Lehi and its founders split from the Revisionist [Zionist] movement and defied the authority of its leader Jabotinsky, primarily because of a deep difference in attitude towards Britain and Germany at the outbreak of the second world war. Whilst Jabotinsky (and his successors) remained basically on the side of Britain (when Britain was hard-pressed by Nazi Germany and its allies they not only suspended all hostile activities but actually volunteered to help the British forces), Avraham Stern and Lehi determined to fight the British and to seek an alliance with the Nazis, addressing warm messages to Hitler himself. Some of those messages became known through Nazi sources, but these reports are now not only confirmed but enlarged by hard evidence coming from Lehi circles.

Avraham Stern not only proposed to the Nazis that he act for them against his own people but actually hoped in 1940-41 to mobilize a Jewish force to fight in North Africa with the Nazis against the British army. After the Nazi victory, which he expected and hoped for, and the Nazi conquest of Palestine, he wanted to form a "Quisling Jewish government" of Palestine. As the second act of his mad plan, he expected this pro-Nazi Jewish force, together with a Jewish underground, to rebel against the Nazis once the conquest of Palestine was assured. However, the Jewish state founded by this means was to be in a close alliance with "the new Germany," with an agreement to expel all the Jews from Europe and all the Arabs from the area between the Nile and the Euphrates. Regretfully, there is no information on the interesting point whether Stern also expected the Nazis to be favorable to his plan to build a Third Temple in place of the Muslim mosques which were to be destroyed.



Shamir practices his old trade.

One has to remember that all these plans (and the terrorist activities which followed) began in the winter of 1940-41 when Britain was completely alone in the fight against the Nazis and in 1941 when the Nazis conquered Yugoslavia and Greece and invaded the USSR. David Rubinstein, the well-known Hebrew journalist, comments that the men of Lehi rejoiced at each Nazi victory and each British defeat, although the great majority of the Jewish community in Palestine had opposite feelings. Even some of Stern's closest friends and members of Lehi's high command left in the autumn of 1941. But Yitzhak Shamir, then known as Yitzhak Yezernicky, was invited to participate in the meetings of Lehi's high command headed by Stern, presumably because he shared Stern's sympathy for Nazi Germany which was the organization's main political line. Shamir was arrested and imprisoned, and while he was in prison Stern was killed. After escaping from prison Shamir rose to a position of leadership in Lehi in 1945 by the following means: he and a more senior Lehi commander, Eliyahu Giladi, went for a walk in the sand hills south of Tel Aviv, from which Shamir returned alone. Shamir then assembled the other 13 commanders of Lehi and asked them to approve post factum what had been done and his part in it. The approval was given, and Lehi continued on its way.

All these facts are well known in Israel and have been mentioned in the Hebrew press (not of course the *Jeru-*

(continued on page 3)



THE UGLY JEW AND I

By Avraham Tal

[Excerpted from an article published by the Israeli daily ***Ha'aretz,*** *of 11 November 1986]:*

Last week (following the first liver transplant ever performed in Israel), Rabbi Eliezer Yehuda Waldenberg, a member of the Rabbinical Supreme Court in Jerusalem, issued a ruling regarding the removal of organs from the human body. He stated: "I have been shocked by the terrible things that have happened—lightly transplanting hearts and livers from one Jew to another. I have already articulated my view that this act constitutes murder of the donor, and in some cases murder of the beneficiary too.... After having prohibited transplants, several great Jewish legal interpreters saw fit to grant permission in another case where the issue was removal of a non-Jewish donor's heart, insofar as this is permissible among non-Jews...."

The implications of the rabbi's views require little elaboration: one may not remove a heart or kidneys from a Jewish donor whose heart is still beating, because that would be murder; but one may remove a heart or kidneys from the body of a non-Jewish donor whose heart is still beating, because he's a goy.

I read and reread the rabbi's ruling, but still my mind balks at the full significance: a man clothed in the garb of spiritual leader—he and the "several great interpreters" on whom he rests his case—draw distinctions in matters of life and death between one life and another, between a Jewish life (pure and holy) and a non-Jewish life (something else). As far as they are concerned, there is nothing to prevent the "murder" (as Waldenberg sees it) of a non-Jew to save the life of a Jew, but this is a one-way street. "Murdering" non-Jews to give life to Jews is fine, but God forbid that the reverse should take place....

Waldenberg and his ilk constitute a special breed of the worst sort of nationalists. They think in terms of nationalist religious superiority (the chosen people, etc.), a superiority which grants the Jews enormous privileges relative to other humans. In my eyes they are ugly Jews, and they inspire me with loathing, as well as with some ultimately heretical thoughts.... For how shall I persuade myself and others (principally those not of the Mosaic persuasion) that I have nothing in common with the Waldenbergs? I can claim to dissociate myself from them, to despise them, to have nothing to do with them. But the facts speak for themselves: Waldenberg is a member of the Rabbinical Supreme Court, a body whose powers derive from the laws of the state, and which in certain spheres issues rulings that are binding on me and my family.... □

SHAMIR *(continued from page 2)*

salem Post) many times, and were repeated recently in connection with the Shin Beth affair [concerning the murder of Palestinian prisoners] and Shamir's part in it. It seems curious, however, that so many authors of books on terrorism or on the history of Zionism and Israel do not find space for these instructive stories, very relevant for present and future Israeli political behavior. The cowardice of so many Western authors is especially blameworthy if one compares it with what is being published on this subject in Hebrew by the best and most respected Israeli-Jewish intellectuals.

In an interview in [Israeli newspaper] *Yediot Aharonot* (18 July 1986) Professor Yeshayahu Leibovitz said: "Within three months we will have a prime minister who was a leader in an organization which offered its services to Hitler. Some say that Yitzhak Shamir was not personally involved in this matter, but Shamir was a member of this organization and one of its leaders. We will not send an ambassador to Austria because a Nazi was chosen there as president, but we will accept as prime minister a person who led an organization which offered services to Hitler. Waldheim was mobilized into Hitler's army and did his duty there and therefore we behave to[ward] him as is his due. But Lehi was not mobilized into Hitler's army, and its members volunteered themselves to serve Hitler."

One can only hope that a few Western writers on the Middle East will be as honest and courageous as Professor Leibovitz, and that until such persons appear the voice of people like him will be heard outside Israel. □

APOLOGY

Palestine Perspectives wishes to acknowledge that the line drawing by Kamal Boullata and the poem by Samih Qasim used on the cover of its last issue (number 26, November/December 1986) were taken from the book *The Palestinian Wedding: A Bilingual Anthology of Contemporary Palestinian Resistance Poetry,* collected and translated by A. M. Elmessiri and published by Three Continents Press. We regret the inadvertent omission of the credit. □

"The Palestinians live without a right to vote or be elected, without any control over the government that determines the conditions of their lives, exposed to restraints and punishments that could not be applied against them if they were Jews, permitted to cross into Israel to work but without permission to sleep overnight. It is a bleak, tense, disgruntled, repressed existence, with spurts of violence always ready to explode. There is no precedent for believing that this condition can long endure without explosion."

Abba Eban
The New York Times
9 November 1986

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PALESTINIANS OBSERVE 22ND ANNIVERSARY

Arafat: We Are Stronger Than the Challenges

In January, Palestinians throughout the world observed the 22nd anniversary of the Palestinian revolution. It was on the first of January 1965 that the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh), the first and largest Palestinian resistance group, commenced armed struggle on behalf of Palestinian national rights. Fateh leader and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat addressed a message to the Palestinian people on their revolution's 22nd anniversary. In it he said: "Our people and their revolution have proven to be stronger than the military and political conspiracies designed to liquidate our cause."

Palestine's enemies, he said, wanted to fragment Lebanon and then Balkanize the region to facilitate their hegemony over it and to bury our cause. But our people in Lebanon and in occupied Palestine stood in their way and reaffirmed the fact that the Palestinian cause is a stubborn reality in the region.

"It is true," Arafat continued, "that the leadership and the institutions of the PLO have left Beirut, but it is equally true that the forces of the Palestinian revolution have achieved a miracle and have been able to defend the camps against Israel and its local proxies. We have managed to wage the longest war of attrition against the Israeli invaders."

Arafat reaffirmed the temporary nature of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. "We refuse resettlement outside our homeland," he said. "We accept no substitute for Palestine." In the meantime, Arafat continued, "we have a legitimate right to defend our people who live in refugee camps in Lebanon, who have experienced three massacres in a year and a half." □

ARAFAT'S DAY OF SOLIDARITY MESSAGE

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat addressed a message to the U.N. Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on the occasion of November 29, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. "Our Palestinian and Arab people," Arafat wrote, "like other peoples who cherish liberty, justice and peace, consider this occasion a part of the world's commitment to our inalienable national rights and to redressing the injustice from which our people have suffered since the partition of our country by the General Assembly in 1947."

Arafat called the attention of the international body to Israel's repressive "iron fist" policy in the occupied territories. "Such practices," he said, "are documented in more than one report and resolution by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. They include arbitrary detention, torture of prisoners, murder, collective punishment, deportation, the demolishing of homes, the confiscation of land and water resources, and the closure of universities. They also include the arming of settlers to terrorize the population and to evict them from their homeland."

In Lebanon, Arafat said, the heroic Palestinian-Lebanese resistance to the Israeli invasion has frustrated

PLO News and Views

Israel's attempt to destroy the Palestinians and their national liberation movement —the PLO. The war against the Palestinians in Lebanon, however, continues. It aims to uproot the Palestinians and to facilitate Israel's design to fragment Lebanon and ensure its hegemony over it. Arafat called on the U.N., which maintains forces in Lebanon, to protect the Palestinian refugees there. Failing that, he said, the PLO is prepared to exercise the Palestinian right to self-defense.

The PLO Chairman continued to say that a just peace in the Middle East is not achievable without Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and the attainment of Palestinian national rights, including the right to self-determination and independent statehood. The Palestinian people, in spite of all their suffering, continue to believe in a just peace and will continue to seek it. □

"The tragedy in Palestine is not just a local one: it is a tragedy for the world, because it is an injustice that is a menace to the world's peace."

Arnold Toynbee
(British historian)
1968



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Life Under Occupation

SLAUGHTER ON A COLLEGE CAMPUS

Two Students Murdered, Campus Closed

Two Palestinian university students were shot dead on 4 December 1986 in what a Birzeit University statement called a barbaric Israeli assault on its campus. Many other students were wounded, six of them critically, and many other students and faculty members were arrested. Two other Palestinian children, one aged 12 and the other 14, were killed during subsequent protests against the murders of the Birzeit University students. The following account, reprinted from *News From Within*, the newsletter of the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center, gives details of the encounter:

The Birzeit Massacre

On Thursday, December 4, two students were killed and at least fifteen injured when Israeli army troops opened fire on students at the old campus of Birzeit University. Since then waves of angry demonstrations have spread throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip leaving two more dead, tens of Palestinians injured and many detained.

In the early morning of Thursday, December 4, the army set up a roadblock just outside Abu Kaash, about two kilometers from the university on the Ramallah-Birzeit road, which prevented students, faculty and employees from reaching the campus. As the line of cars began to build up, faculty member Salah Abdel Jawad got out of his car and asked the soldiers manning the roadblock to let people through. He was pushed and told to "shut his mouth." One soldier placed him under arrest and forced him to sit on the ground. At this point about 600 students and faculty got out of their cars and staged a peaceful sit-in strike at the side of the road. More army troops arrived armed with tear gas canisters and live ammunition. Without warning people to disperse, the soldiers then fired tear gas into the crowd. Abdel Jawad, a known supporter of non-violent resistance, stood up and called on the students to remain calm, but the students panicked and ran off into the hills to escape from the tear gas attack. No stones were thrown by students during this incident. Tens of students and several members of faculty were lined up and detained. At least four were taken to al-Far'a detention center. When the military personnel at the checkpoint declared the road closed, the students returned to their vehicles and drove back to Ramallah. Several people suffered from the effects of tear gas inhalation.

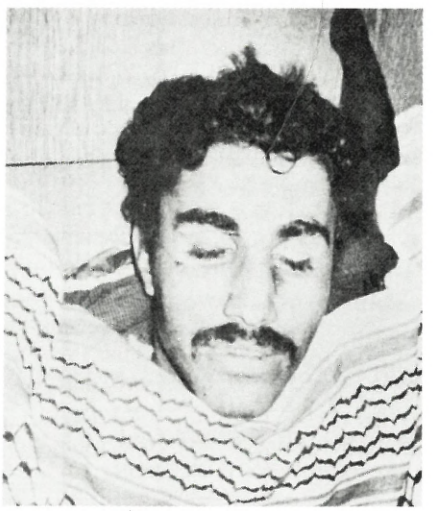
Attorney Lea Tsemel arrived at the checkpoint at 3:00 p.m. "It looked like a battlefield; the soldiers were really crazy, running around and shouting at the tops of their voices. Salah Abdel Jawad was sitting on the ground forbidden to move. He had been there since the morning, furious that he could do nothing while he heard ambulance sirens and rumors about the events at the university and in Ramallah...."

When news of the events at the roadblock reached the old campus in Birzeit village, about two hundred students gathered at the cafeteria and organized an impromptu demonstration. They started to walk out of the old campus in the direction of the roadblock, and after a few minutes were met by army troops who had surrounded the campus. Students erected stone barricades and began to hurl stones at the soldiers. Without prior warning, soldiers began to fire live ammunition, tear gas canisters and rubber bullets into the crowd of students. Bullets were flying at chest and head level. Dr. Albert Aghzarian, Birzeit University spokesperson, described the situation: "During the last ten years I have seen tens of incidents at Birzeit,, but I have never seen anything like it. On various occasions I felt my last hour had come. At one point, while I was in the middle of negotiating with the military authorities, a soldier, whose face I will never forget, shouted at me, 'Don't move!' He loaded his gun and aimed it directly at my chest. I was sure that he would shoot. I spoke to him slowly in Hebrew saying 'Alright, I won't move, I'll go back.' He shouted again 'Don't move back or I'll shoot you.' Luck had it that he did not shoot."

Two students were fatally injured in the attack and died later in Ramallah hospital. At least fifteen students were injured, two critically. Jawad Abu Salmiyyeh, 22, a chemistry student from Khan Yunis died



Sa'eb Dahab (22)



Jawad Abu Salmiyyeh (22)

Two Birzeit students murdered by Israeli troops.

from bullet wounds in his chest. Sa'eb Dahab, 22, from Gaza city died after bullets entered his neck and shoulders. One student, Mustafa Atari, was critically injured by a bullet wound in his chest and another was grazed on the side of his head by a bullet.

Student eyewitnesses claimed that borderguard police used rifle butts to club students who had collapsed after inhaling tear gas or who lay prone after being hit by live or plastic bullets. The confrontation lasted for over one hour. Ambulances attempting to reach the wounded were delayed for one hour outside the campus at the military checkpoints. Some of the students who had sustained slight injuries escaped from the trigger-happy soldiers through the hills and walked for an hour and a half to al-Bireh where they received medical treatment in a local clinic. Seven of the more seriously injured students were rushed to Ramallah government hospital in private cars. Along the way they were harassed by soldiers. Dr. Azmi Shuaibi [sic], a professor of philosophy, stated: "The soldiers behaved like animals; anybody who moved was threatened at gunpoint. Two teachers with Israeli I.D. cards, Dr. Nabil Nahar and Dr. Abdel Salam, came with their cars from the new campus to take the two fatally wounded students to hospital. They were delayed for twenty minutes at three different checkpoints. Even when we came out with the two students, who obviously looked in extremely bad shape, they stopped us and asked to see the students' I.D. cards..." The rest of the injured students were taken to Ramallah hospital when the army finally allowed the ambulances into the campus.

As the wounded and dying students were brought into Ramallah government hospital, groups of students began to arrive to visit their friends and to give blood. Army troops immediately besieged the hospital. Soldiers and Shin Bet [Israeli secret police] officials entered the hospital and prevented journalists from speaking to doctors or phoning out information. Clashes between soldiers and students

(continued on page 10)



Confronting Israeli occupation on the streets of the West Bank.

THEY CANNOT REMAIN POWERFUL FOREVER

Mahmoud Dahab is the father of one of the students murdered by Israeli troops. Said al-Ghazali, a correspondent of the Jerusalem-based Palestinian weekly *Al-Fajr*, talked to him about his son's death. The following are excerpts from Mr. Dahab's statement, which appeared in *Al-Fajr* of 19 December 1986:

"Only 11 people were allowed to attend the funeral, although the cemetery is only 200 meters away from the house. Many armed soldiers prevented us from bidding a final farewell to Sa'eb."

He continued: "One day after the killing I went to Abu Kabir forensic hospital to get the body. They told me it was at Israeli military headquarters in Gaza. There, I was told only that the authorities would contact us. At 8:30 p.m., they sent a message that we could take the corpse but only four cars would be allowed. We went. They refused to give us the corpse, claiming 'there are too many of you'.

"We went home and waited. They brought the corpse after midnight. They told us only 11 people could attend the burial.

"At the cemetery, I fainted. I did not get to see my son one last time. Why did they prevent us from giving our son his last rites and paying him our final respects? We did not incite people;...

"On Saturday December 6," he continued, "an Israeli officer came to our house and wanted to take down names and I.D. numbers of our visitors. I was furious and grabbed him by the collar. People intervened and pushed me back. The officer left.

"I want you to ask the Israeli rulers: Do you abuse the honor of your own dead? Would you ever accept your sons being buried without proper funeral rites? I want you to ask the Israeli rulers why they killed my son, and why do they kill any of us? We are the owners of the land..."

Dahab concluded by saying: "I want you to tell them that they cannot remain powerful forever. They have to accept our national rights, otherwise there will be an explosion." □

ISRAEL DEPORTS JOURNALIST

Haniyyeh Calls Deportation "Political Revenge"

Palestinian journalist and writer Akram Haniyyeh, who had been detained by the Israeli military occupation authorities on 3 November, was sent into exile on 28 December. The editor of the Jerusalem-based Arabic daily newspaper, *al-Shaab*, had not been tried or convicted of any crime and said that his imprisonment and deportation were acts of "political revenge" for his support of Palestinian rights.

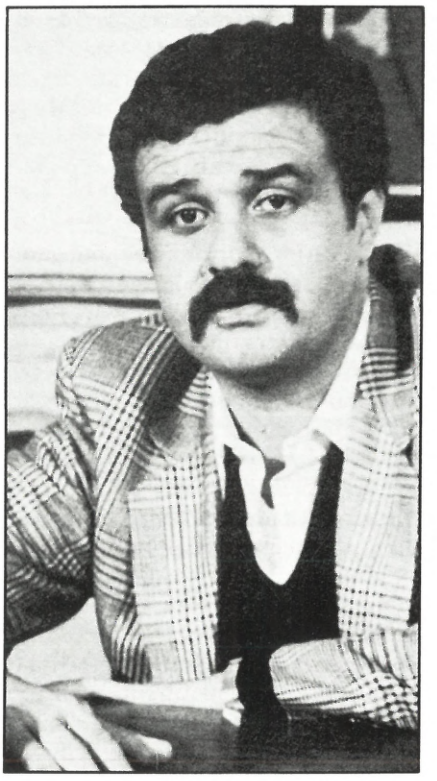
The Israeli authorities had claimed that Haniyyeh was a Fateh political activist and conduit for PLO funds into the occupied territories. He denied the charges and challenged his Israeli captors to try him if they really had evidence against him. As always in such cases, the Israeli authorities refused to release "evidence" to the accused or his attorneys, making it impossible for the victim to defend himself. For that reason Mr. Haniyyeh, who had appealed to the High Court against the expulsion order, withdrew his application because it was impossible for him to get a fair hearing. Haniyyeh said that he withdrew his appeal to the High Court "after the court session in which the judges refused to give me or my lawyers an opportunity to see the secret material brought against me in order to rebut it and defend myself."

According to the English-language Israeli daily *The Jerusalem Post* (3 January 1987), Haniyyeh expressed appreciation for the efforts of his lawyers Felicia Langer and Avigdor Feldman but explained that his attorneys were "actually helpless in their defense of my case," because of the court's refusal to make the "evidence" available to them.

The deported Palestinian journalist and writer said that he was "the victim of political revenge" for his active support of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. He emphasized that "those who think that the policy of deportation will undermine the just struggle of our people for independence and peace are mistaken. My deportation," he added, "as the deportation of others before me, will not change our just and legitimate demands for basic human rights, including the vested right to remain in our land."

Israeli and Palestinian observers feel that Haniyyeh's expulsion from the West Bank is part of the ongoing normalization of relations between Israel and Jordan. Radwan Abu Ayyash, chairman of the Arab Journalists Association in Jerusalem said that Haniyyeh's expulsion was part of an Israeli policy to strengthen Jordan's position by banishing PLO supporters from the occupied territories.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said that Haniyyeh's deportation was a "violation of humanitarian law." An ICRC spokesman said it was a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention on the treatment of civilians, which forbids expulsion from occupied territories.



The arrest of Haniyyeh and the deportation order against him caused a worldwide wave of protest, because it was widely believed that the Palestinian writer was being penalized for his political opinions.

Commenting on Haniyyeh's case, the well-known Israeli journalist Yehuda Litani, wrote the following in the *Jerusalem Post* of 12 November, shortly after Haniyyeh's arrest: "I do not know, nor do I claim to know, what is in Haniyyeh's file. It is entirely possible that its contents bear out the security people's version, then again maybe it doesn't. It is impossible to know, since the file's contents remain undisclosed . . . But if Akram Haniyyeh deserves to be expelled, so then do tens, if not hundreds of thousands of residents in the territories. Legitimizing the expulsion of individuals now (on grounds of 'incitement' or 'aiming to subvert the security of the state,' as the security people's version has it) is liable to provide legitimization in the future for mass deportation, legitimization in fact for the racist policies of [knesset member Rabbi Meir] Kahane." □

A NATIONAL GUILT

During a brief stop in Paris after the Israeli occupation authorities deported him from the occupied West Bank, Palestinian journalist Akram Haniyyeh was interviewed by the weekly news magazine *L'Avant Garde Arabe* [5 January 1987]. The following is an excerpt from the interview, in which Haniyyeh described his encounter with Israeli interrogators:

"I said to them: if you have evidence of my guilt take me to court, convict me, and sentence me to ten years or to life imprisonment. They said they had secret files. I said show me the evidence against me. They said that they could not do that because of state security.

"In the end, I said that I confess to one crime only, and that is that I love my country, that I am proud of being a Palestinian, and that I demand liberty and independence for my people. And if these offenses are sufficiently grave to justify my deportation, then I suggest that Israel's defense minister Yitzhak Rabin issue deportation orders against one and a half million other Palestinians in the occupied territories, because they too are guilty of the same offenses." □

SHARANSKY LEARNS THE DOUBLE STANDARD

"A Great Man Suddenly Turned Small"

Some Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories, deceived by all the media hype about Anatoly Sharansky, decided to approach him in his capacity as a "human rights activist" in the hope that he would express some concern about Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied territories. Faisal Husseini, the director of the Arab Studies Society in Jerusalem and the spokesman for the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist, met with Sharansky last November to ask for his support against the Israeli decision to imprison then deport Palestinian journalist Akram Haniyyeh. Sharansky promised to look into the matter.

The next morning, an article appeared in the Israeli daily *Maariv* written by a fanatical member of the Israeli parliament, Haim Druckman, in which he attacked Sharansky for meeting with Faisal Husseini. By promising to look into Haniyyeh's case, wrote Druckman, Sharansky dealt "a grave blow to the state of Israel" and by casting doubt on the justice of deporting the Palestinian journalist he had aided "our bitterest enemies."

That same evening, Sharansky surrendered to the pressure. He appeared on Israeli television and read a prepared statement in which he disassociated himself from the campaign to free the Palestinian journalist. Moreover, he lashed out viciously at the PLO, calling it an "organization of cutthroats."

Sharansky's retreat was so shocking that a writer in the Israeli daily *Al-Hamishmar* (16 November) said that the performance reminded him of "repenters" trying to save their own skins by recanting real or imagined political sins during trials in communist states in the 1950s. Sharansky was overwhelmed, the writer said, and surrendered to psychological pressure and the fear of being branded as a traitor to Israel.

The man on television, said Faisal Husseini, was "a defeated and frightened Sharansky." The day following Sharansky's appearance on Israel television, the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist held a press conference in Jerusalem, and Faisal Husseini issued a statement describing the relevant events.

The Sharansky Myth

This is Faisal Husseini's full statement, released by the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist during its Jerusalem press conference on 14 November 1986:

"When I met with Anatoly Sharansky earlier this week, I met a free man who had withstood years of pressure against him, a man who had been able to remain strong, to stand up for his beliefs and convictions, to defy every kind of oppressive measure practiced against him. I went to Anatoly Sharansky as a fellow human being, as a symbol of the human struggle against oppression, as a deep believer in moral principles. I put the case of Akram Haniyyeh to him because I was certain that he would recognize in Akram a fellow freedom lover, despite the differences between them, whether religious or political. And indeed, as I sat and exchanged views with Mr. Sharansky that day, I felt I was in the presence of a great man, a man who is prepared to look across political and religious borders and suffering from oppression and injustice.

"But it was a totally different man whom I watched on the television screen reading out a statement from a piece of paper in front of him. It was a different Sharansky, a defeated and frightened Sharansky. What I saw on television was the picture of a man living in a state of fear under occupation. What happened to the hero? What happened to the man who could resist oppression for more than 20 years? Suddenly, and within a few hours, he collapses totally. He is unable to withstand the intellectual terrorism to which he is subjected. He has to bow down to pressure. He has to withdraw quickly from obviously human and moral positions. Why? Because he, the free Jewish hero, has come to live under occupation, in a system which is not free, and which causes harm to the occupiers in the same way it causes it to the occupied. Quickly, within hours, the free Jewish hero is a victim of Israel's occupation and unjust practices.

"It is indeed sad to witness this transformation taking place so quickly. It is sad to see such a great man suddenly turned small. To me, one thing is obvious and clear from this experience: that Israel's occupation of another people is an evil cancer. Not only Akram Haniyyeh is the victim of it, but also Sharansky.

"Perhaps the real conclusion to draw is: Sharansky was never really a freedom fighter in the first place. Perhaps the whole Sharansky story was a fiction and he was used by the occupation authorities as a tool to justify the occupation."

Finally, it remains to be said that Akram Haniyyeh, the Palestinian journalist whose plight helped remove the mask off Sharansky's face, never committed an act of violence against any one, nor was he charged of such an offense. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"Today about 800 former Israeli officers, most of whom hold high rank, have licenses from the defense ministry to sell arms."

Yoram Peri
Washington Jewish Week
11 December 1986

"Actually, if we really want peace, there is only one way out of this dilemma: to grasp the bull by its horns, and come to terms first with the Palestinians. . . ."

Asher Maniv
The Jerusalem Post
10 October 1986

"Instead of encouraging the PLO to seek a political solution that will recognize Israel's right to exist and abandon the use of violence, it seems that every time there is a spark of that sort in the PLO, Israel rushes to stamp it out with declarations of undying loyalty to Hussein."

Dan Margalit
Ha'aretz (Israel)
5 November 1986

LITTLE CHRISTMAS JOY IN BETHLEHEM

[The following story was published in a December 1986 news release by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, UNRWA]:

Palestine refugee Jack Saliba Bassous, age 11, is literally the man of the house for his family living just outside Bethlehem in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Since the death of his father three years ago, Jack has been registered with UNRWA as the head of one of 221 Palestinian refugee families in the Bethlehem area who receive "special hardship" assistance from the Agency. Jack's family consists of his non-refugee mother, Margo, a Bethlehem native; two sisters, 10-year-old Rania and 6-year-old Jane; and a baby brother, Elias, age two.

This will be a rough Christmas for the Bassous family, who are among some 10,000 Christian Palestinian Arabs living in and around Bethlehem.

No Regular Income

The family has no regular income. Mrs. Bassous, who is in her forties, is a qualified teacher of the Arabic language, and until recently worked perhaps four months a year as a part-time or substitute teacher in Bethlehem area schools. Since the sudden death of her husband, however, she has had to concentrate on her own children, especially the two younger ones. The small income she used to earn from teaching—about $120 a month—can no longer be counted on. There are no relatives in the area, apart from her elderly mother, to help them out. The three older children attend schools in Bethlehem and so far this year they have not been able to pay their school fees.

"I have no one to give me anything," says Mrs. Bassous despairingly. "Any money I get goes only to pay the rent and to put food on the table for the children..."

Education First

As a former teacher, Mrs. Bassous places the greatest emphasis on education for her children. She sends them to a school that teaches French, as well as English and Arabic, and she tutors them at home in all three languages. This will give them a better chance to get ahead in the future, she says. One of the sturdiest pieces of furniture in the tiny front room of their house is an old school desk at which the children do their homework.

The assistance provided by UNRWA to the Bassous family and other "special hardship case" families is limited: bimonthly food rations of flour, sugar, cooking oil, corned beef, tomato paste, burghol [cracked wheat] and skim milk powder, plus blankets, used winter and summer clothing and a tiny cash allowance. This assistance goes to individual refugees such as widows, orphans and old people living alone and to needy refugee families without a male breadwinner. Eleven-year-old Jack Bassous qualifies as an orphan and he and his siblings are eligible for UNRWA assistance.

There are some 16,000 registered Palestine refugees in the Bethlehem-Beit Jala area and in nearby Beit Sahour, site of the "Shepherd's Field" of the Bible, where Christ's birth was first proclaimed. Another 6,000 refugees live in Dheisheh camp, south of Bethlehem, which has its own UNRWA schools and health center, while receiving some services from...Bethlehem municipality.... □



UNRWA Photo

Palestinians find shelter in overcrowded classroom.

In Brief

PEACE ACTIVISTS PROSECUTED

Four Israeli peace activists will be prosecuted for violating a recent Israeli law which forbids any Israeli to contact PLO officials. The four, who attended a meeting with PLO representatives in Rumania a few months ago, are Yoel Lotan, Latif Dori, Reuven Kaminer and Eliezer Fieler.

AL-FAJR INDEX

The English-language Palestinian weekly, *Al-Fajr,* is now indexed and available on microfilm. The paper, which is published in Jerusalem, is an excellent source of information on contemporary events in the occupied territories. The microfilm edition (from 1980-1985) sells for $200 with the index. The index alone sells for $20.

HOMES DEMOLISHED

The Israeli authorities demolished two Arab homes in the towns of Sakhnin and Jisr al-Zarqa in the Galilee, leaving 15 people homeless. In 1986, more than 100 Arab homes were demolished on the grounds that their owners violated licensing regulations.

PALESTINIAN REFUGEES VICTIMIZED BY CONTINUED FIGHTING

Thousands Flee Homes, Disease Erupts in Camps

Thousands of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have been forced out of their homes during the recent attacks on the camps by Amal militias. According to UNRWA sources, more than 10,000 refugees have fled heavy fighting around Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh camps in mid-1986, and an additional 10,000 from the Tyre area in south Lebanon have done the same.

Many of the refugees have sought shelter in UNRWA clinics and schools in south Lebanon and the Beirut area, adding to the disruption caused by the fighting in the normal services of the U.N. agency. Several UNRWA facilities have been closed down due to heavy fighting in and around refugee camps, and others have sustained severe damage.

This disruption of the lives of Palestinian refugees represents only the latest wave of displacement. During the past ten years of civil war in Lebanon, there has been a continuous flow of refugees throughout the country. In 1976, Tal el-Zaatar camp was totally destroyed. In 1984-85, according to UNRWA reports, some 70,000 refugees were displaced by outbreaks of fighting around Beirut, Sidon and Tripoli. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 left tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees homeless, and recent resumption of Israeli air raids on the camps continue to inflict human and material damage.

Health Problems

Many of the refugees who are forced to flee their homes are driven to other refugee camps, causing a severe overcrowding problem which has been getting more severe over the years. Sanitation facilities and health care systems have suffered greatly as a result of this overcrowding of some camps. *The Washington Post* (5 January 1987) reported that "a strange wave of sickness infected Palestinian refugees living in poorly ventilated shelters and garages." The report said that many refugees have been hospitalized "suffering from severe dizziness, asthma and suffocation."

Self-Defense

Repeated attempts to end the fighting have so far ended in failure. Intransigent Amal militias continue to attack and besiege several Palestinian camps. The PLO has appealed to the United Nations, which maintains peace-keeping forces in Lebanon, to protect the camps, but since no effective international protection for the camps has been made available, PLO fighters in Lebanon have been assisting the camp residents to defend themselves. Although much damage has been inflicted on the camps (85 percent of Shatila and 50 percent of Burj el-Barajneh camps in the Beirut area have been destroyed by Amal shelling), at least PLO protection has prevented the occurrence of massacres as those suffered by the residents of Sabra and Shatila camps during the Israeli occupation of Beirut in September 1982. □

SLAUGHTER

(continued from page 6)

ensued outside the hospital walls; and soldiers opened fire with live and plastic ammunition and sprayed the crowd with tear gas. Two students were wounded during the confrontation directly outside the hospital. Several eyewitnesses stated that they heard gunfire coming from within the hospital buildings.

Ambulances bringing in more wounded students were delayed at the entrance to the hospital, and one delivering emergency blood supplies from Bethlehem hospital was taken away and held at Ramallah military headquarters, according to one student. Students wishing to give blood were obstructed from entering the hospital. At 4:30 p.m. the military authorities declared Ramallah government hospital a "closed military area."

On the morning of December 8, the head of the "civil" administration Ephraim Sneh, informed the university administration of the decision to close the old campus until January 3. Sneh stated that the



Israeli authorities regarded the events at the university with the utmost seriousness and that the university authorities were responsible for keeping the students "in order." He announced that if riots recurred at the university, the occupation authorities would not hesitate to apply strict measures of control.

In an interview on Israel TV the day after the bloodletting, the central district commander Ehud Barak made the following statement: "This was a grave disturbance, and we are sorry about every murdered or wounded person, also when he is an Arab. But it is important to understand: students must study, lecturers must teach...we will do everything necessary so that roads will be open and order in the area is maintained...."

After the events at Birzeit University, Balata, al-Amari, Kalandia, and Dheisheh refugee camps were transformed into battlefields, with continuous violent confrontations between demonstrating residents and the army. After the camps it hit the cities. On the following Saturday, a women's demonstration was violently dispersed in Jerusalem. Army troops used live ammunition everywhere including in Jerusalem. In addition to the two fatally injured students at Birzeit, two youths, twelve and fourteen years old, were shot to death in Balata refugee camp, one apparently by a settler. Two people were critically wounded by bullets, one from Gaza, the other from Abu Dis, near Jerusalem. The number of those hit by bullets reached at least thirty. Curfews were clamped on many cities and general strikes were called, closing both shops and schools. □

[From ***News From Within,*** *12 December 1986]*

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CARDINAL O'CONNOR SPEAKS OUT

The Palestinians are "ancient, honorable and noble people"

The Israelis have failed to brainwash John Cardinal O'Connor, the Archbishop of New York. Obviously disappointing his Israeli hosts who thought they could talk him out of his concern for the plight of the Palestinians, Cardinal O'Connor ended a 9-day tour of Jordan, Israel and the occupied territories by expressing his anguish for the suffering of the Palestinian people. As he was preparing to leave the Middle East to Rome for a visit to the Vatican, the Cardinal said that his fact-finding trip to the area gave him "a much better understanding of the Palestinians and the Arab world."

Noting that many Americans tend to view the Palestinians as terrorists, he said "we have a stereotype in the U.S. of the Arabs and Palestinians," and described the Palestinians as an "ancient, honorable and noble people."

During the first phase of his Middle East tour, he visited Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan and was moved by the senseless injustice which the Palestinians have been made to endure. In one of these camps near Amman he said: "No one can spend any time out here without suffering with the Palestinian people." After his visit to Baqaa refugee camp, the Cardinal told reporters: "It is incumbent on anyone who feels any degree of human responsibility, it's imperative to see these refugee camps. We can't blind ourselves to this."

Cardinal O'Connor called on his Irish heritage to explain his ability to sympathize with the Palestinians' yearning for their homeland. He said: "If we disperse these people and separate these people, then

(continued on page 12)

COMMENTARY...
THEY DON'T THINK MUCH OF AMERICA

Israel's friends in America are disappointed in the U.S. government. It did not veto a U.N. Security Council resolution, passed on 8 December 1986, which condemned Israel for the murder of Palestinian university students in the occupied West Bank. The U.S. representative abstained on that vote.

By abstaining, the U.S. government was hoping to reconcile its policy with its conscience. It was hoping to compromise between the policy of sheltering Israel and the principle of respect for innocent human life.

But Israel's friends do not understand how Israel's excesses often embarrass its patrons. Every time it happens, they look for contorted explanations. In the case of the recent abstention on the Security Council resolution deploring Israel's murder of unarmed students, they understood the U.S. abstention as "an effort to placate the Arab countries, who were incensed at recent revelations that the United States, in cooperation with Israel, has been selling arms to Iran, a non-Arab country that has been at war with Iraq for the last seven years." [Quotation from the *Washington Jewish Week* of 11 December 1986].

Why is it difficult for Israel's friends to understand that the U.S. "strategic alliance" with Israel does not obligate the U.S. government to condone Israeli state terrorism...not all of its outbursts anyway? Why is it difficult for them to understand that America's political conscience is not infinitely elastic?

One can say that in a way it is America's fault, because American politicians have frequently led Israel to believe that their patience with its outrages in the Middle East is limitless. But there is another explanation. Israel's friends do not think much of America. That is why they are surprised and angry when the United States refuses to be an accomplice to Israel's more blatant crimes.

A day will come when the United States will draw the line on how far it is prepared to go in acquiescing to Israel's relentless war on the Palestinians. And the reason will be the failure of Israel and its friends to recognize the limits of America's sensitivity to boundless injustice. □



CARDINAL

(continued from page 11)

we're sticking at something very deep with a people. I still have my Irish roots, and there's always that sense of clinging when you talk about a homeland, a land of one's birth." He added that "every people has a right to self- determination," and of the denial of that right to the Palestinians he said: "It's blatantly obvious that this is one of the most crucial obstacles to peace in the Middle East." He repeated this view at the conclusion of his visit to the area by telling reporters: "I have felt that there will not be peace with justice in the Middle East until the Palestinian question is addressed."

The Cardinal was particularly distressed by the tragedy of Palestinian refugees in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip. After visiting one of the camps there, he said that he had seen refugee camps in other parts of the world, and what he saw in Gaza was "as bad as I have seen." At the end of his visit to one of the Gaza Strip camps, Cardinal O'Connor held a press conference in which he described his feelings. The people in the camps, he said, "don't have a real identity, they don't have a passport, they don't have a piece of land they can call their own."

The Israelis were disappointed not only because Cardinal O'Connor spoke out about Palestinian suffering, but also because they could not extract political gains from his visit. In line with Vatican policy, which does not recognize Israel and its control of Jerusalem, the Cardinal reaffirmed that policy by refusing to pay official visits to Israeli officials in their Jerusalem offices. The Israelis were hoping that such visits would be interpreted as an abandonment of traditional Vatican policy. Leaders of several American Jewish organizations did their bit on behalf of Israel by criticizing the Cardinal's refusal to accommodate Israel's political design and called for the termination of his visit to the Middle East.

Cardinal O'Connor's 9-day tour, which ended on 5 January, was partly in response to Israeli and American Jewish criticisms of earlier statements by him in support of Palestinian rights, statements made last spring after he had visited Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Israel and its friends thought they could "reeducate" the Cardinal if he went to Israel. They miscalculated the power of conscience when it becomes aware of the existence of injustice. □

MASSACRE SURVIVOR TO SUE ISRAELI OFFICIAL

Israel's Military Attache in Washington to be Named in Suit

The Kuwait News Agency (KUNA) reported from Washington that a Palestinian survivor of the 1982 massacre in the Beirut refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila intends to sue, in a U.S. federal court, the recently-appointed Israeli military attache in Washington, Major General Amos Yaron, for his role in the massacres.

Attorney Francis Boyle, who is working on the case, told KUNA that the Palestinian, whose identity was not revealed for his own protection, will probably demand damages of over a million dollars for himself and members of his family who were murdered in the massacre. The case would be strengthened, Boyle said, if more survivors can be located and would be willing to press charges. He said that a number of American legal experts are helping prepare the case, which is bound to have major impact in the U.S. and Israel. The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) is providing legal assistance and support in this unprecedented court case.

Boyle told KUNA that once this case gets under way in the federal court, the lawyers will "put on notice" that similar court cases will be raised against six other Israeli officials considered "personally criminally responsible" for the camps massacres "if they set foot" on American soil. Among those named are former prime minister Menachem Begin, former defense minister Ariel Sharon, present prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, and former chief of staff Rafael Eitan.

Boyle, who is professor of international law at the University of Illinois at Champaign, said that the decision to file the lawsuit against Yaron was made after an extensive campaign by ADC failed to dissuade the U.S. government from accrediting Yaron's appointment in the Israeli embassy in Washington.

The law professor told KUNA that three major international agreements will be cited to prove that General Yaron is guilty of crimes against humanity. Yaron is a war criminal, he said, as defined by the Nuremberg principles that were used to prosecute Nazi officials at the Nuremberg tribunal in 1945. Boyle said that Yaron is also guilty of the internationally-prohibited crime of genocide, under the Genocide Convention of 1948. In addition, Boyle said, in Yaron's case the lawyers will be citing several cases in which the Reagan administration deprived alleged fascist war criminals of U.S. citizenship and deported them to the countries that wanted to try them.

Boyle explained that the 1949 Geneva Convention calls for the prosecution of anyone who committed grave breaches of the convention by any state that gets hold of such a criminal, or if the state itself does not want to prosecute, it must extradite the accused war criminal to another country willing to prosecute him.

In the case of General Yaron, Boyle said, the Israeli government has refused to prosecute him, which means that it has breached its obligations under the Geneva Convention. He added that the same applies to the U.S. government since Yaron is believed to have been "running around the streets of Washington" since last August, when Tel Aviv proposed him as its military attache there.

General Yaron was one of several high-ranking Israeli officials who were found to bear responsibility in the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in 1982 by an Israeli fact-finding commission, the Kahan Commission, which recommended that he be relieved from his post and not be assigned a field command for at least three years.

[This report is taken from a KUNA dispatch by Margo Makhoul]



ISRAEL'S FRIENDS CONFRONT THE PRESIDENCY

Israel's friends in Washington are said to be poised for a major lobbying effort to shift more power over foreign policy from the presidency to Congress where they enjoy unquestioned influence. The focus of the battle, which is expected to be joined during the current 100th Congress, are two issues which greatly concern Israel's friends in Washington: arms sales and foreign aid.

Arms Sales

In the area of arms sales, Israel's friends want to strengthen their surveillance of U.S. policy by changing existing laws which give congress veto powers over presidential decisions, something that congress is normally reluctant to do. Instead, Israel's supporters want to give the initiative to congress, which means that disapproval of an arms deal by a simple majority in either house would kill it. This way, the Zionist lobby makes it easier to stop the sale of U.S. weapons to Arab countries.

Foreign Aid

In the area of foreign aid, Israel's supporters fear that legal constraints on spending imposed by the Gramm-Rudman bill would make it increasingly difficult to continue annual increases in American largesse to Israel.

Israel's friends are studying ways to save its substantial piece of the pie. One of the ways being considered by the Israeli lobby and its congressional friends is to form an alliance of beggars, presided over by Israel's friends of course. Such alliance would include an assortment of groups which have an interest in a higher level of U.S. foreign aid. If the total of foreign aid is increased or at least protected from cuts, Israel would benefit because it has always been by far the largest recipient of that aid. □

ARAB-BAITING IN 1986 ELECTIONS

Report by AAI

The Arab-American Institute (AAI), a Washington-based group seeking an increased role for Arab-Americans in electoral politics, issued a report charging several political candidates in the 1986 congressional campaign with using anti-Arab tactics to win support and funds from pro-Israel groups. The report, issued on 31 December 1986, also charges that attempts were made to exclude Arab-Americans from participation in several campaigns.

The AAI study, entitled "Arab-Baiting and the Middle East as Issues in the 1986 Elections," is a well-documented survey of 10 senate, house and local campaigns. Copies of the report have been submitted to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and two congressional committees.

The report details several examples of Arab-baiting and other anti-Arab tactics aimed at excluding Arab-Americans from the political process, stifling debate on Middle East issues, and gaining favors from pro-Israel political action committees. The examples include:

- LASPAC, a pro-Israel PAC in Louisiana, launched a smear campaign against congressional candidate Faye Williams for hiring a "Palestinian Arab" to manage her campaign, and for refusing to sign a "loyalty oath" pledging support for Israel. Williams was accused of being a "PLO sympathizer."
- Rep. Larry Smith (D-FL) appealed for additional funds from pro-Israel PACs because, he claimed, Arabs have targeted him for defeat. No such effort by any Arab-American organization was made against Smith. The Florida congressman simply created an Arab "bogeyman" to raise funds from Israel's supporters.
- In South Dakota, Senator James Abdnor was smeared by pro-Israel groups acting in support of his challenger by portraying Abdnor as an anti-Semite and zealous enemy of Israel. Ironically, although Abdnor is of Lebanese origin, he had never championed Arab or Arab-American causes.
- Campaign contributions by Arab-Americans were turned down publicly at least by two congressional candidates in 1986: Robert Neall of Maryland and Joseph Kennedy of Massachusetts.

The report concludes that "at the core of such baiting, smearing, and loyalty oaths is a fundamental fear on the part of some elements of the Jewish establishment that any national exposure to the substance of Middle East issues will weaken the existing Israel-centered U.S. policy towards the region. Thus the intensification of efforts to silence calls for balance on the issue [particularly among Black candidates] and to reduce the debate to false charges of anti-Semitism and support for terrorism."

What is at stake, according to report coauthors, Jim Zogby and Helen Samhan, "is not only the ability of the United States to conduct a balanced foreign policy in the Middle East, more importantly, the right of American citizens to freely participate in the electoral system and to debate, without fear, issues vital to the future of our nation." □

MIDEAST DIRECTORY

The Washington-based Middle East Institute has published a directory of "Middle East Organizations in Washington, DC." The 82-page directory, published in October 1986, includes 119 organizations which deal exclusively or to a significant degree with Middle East affairs.

Under each entry, the directory gives the organization's address and telephone number, its date of establishment, description of its objectives, its publications and other activities, and its principal officers. It is available for $6 a copy from the Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. □

U.N. DEPLORES MURDER

On 8 December 1986, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 592, deploring Israel's murder of students in the occupied West Bank.

Resolution 592

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter dated 4 December 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations, in his capacity as the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, contained in document S/18501,

Recalling the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Seriously concerned about the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

Bearing in mind the specific status of Jerusalem,

1. Reaffirms that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

2. Strongly deplores the opening of fire by the Israeli army resulting in the death and wounding of defenseless students;

3. Calls upon Israel to abide immediately and scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;

4. Further calls upon Israel to release any persons detained as a result of the recent events at Birzeit University in violation of the above-mentioned Geneva Convention;

5. Also calls on all concerned parties to exercise maximum restraint, to avoid violent acts, and to contribute towards the establishment of peace;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution not later than 20 December 1986. □

MAKSOUD DEFENDS ANTI-ZIONIST RESOLUTION

Ambassador Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, has dismissed charges equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism as "nonsense." He was referring to a letter by U.S. ambassador to the U.N., Vernon Walters, addressed to Secretary-General de Cuellar, in which he called the 1975 U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism "the darkest moment in the history of the United Nations."

Attacks against the critics of Zionism, Dr. Maksoud added, are intended to shield Israel and its racist practices. The fact that Israel's practices are racist, he said, are shown by the fact that Jews are automatically entitled to citizenship in Israel, while "non-Jews" have to prove continuous residence prior to the establishment of Israel to qualify. That is institutionalized discrimination, he concluded. □

World View

1987: YEAR OF PALESTINE

The Geneva-based International Coordinating Committee for Non- Governmental Organizations on the Question of Palestine (ICCP) has designated the year 1987 as "Year of the Palestinian People." The year 1987, the organization said, marks four important dates in Palestinian history. It is the 70th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration; the 40th anniversary of the partition of Palestine; the 20th anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the rest of Palestine [West Bank and Gaza Strip]; and the 5th anniversary of the invasion of Lebanon and the massacres of Sabra and Shatila.

Throughout this decisive year, said ICCP in a news release, the Committee will be diligently working to encourage and coordinate the commemorative activities of NGOs worldwide. The aim of these activities is to increase public understanding of these events and their role in denying the Palestinian people their basic human rights.

"We repeat the unanimous sentiment expressed by NGOs at the U.N. NGO meeting held in Vienna in July 1986 in urging global, popular support for the International Conference on Peace in the Middle East as called for by United Nations resolutions.

"The eighteen member organizations of the ICCP join the hundreds of other concerned NGOs around the world in the firm conviction that self-determination for the Palestinian people is a fundamental right guaranteed to all peoples by the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"We call upon all organizations and people to join this global effort to resolve this protracted and dangerous dispute with peace and justice. The path to lasting resolution of the question of Palestine lies in universal awareness that the story of the Palestinians is the saga of a people struggling for human dignity."

ICCP concluded its statement by saying: "A sense of common decency, justice and a deep concern for peace demand that we act to make 1987 known to all as the Year of the Palestinian People." □

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PEOPLE WHO CARE

The Story of UNIPAL

In 1972, an English lady visited the Middle East, discovered the Palestinians and became a life-long friend and supporter. Eleanor Aitken had been active in a Cambridge University group which supports Soviet dissidents. Her 1972 trip to the Middle East was planned for the purpose of meeting some Soviet Jews in Israel.

The limited-purpose trip grew into a wide-ranging tour of the region when Mrs. Aitken ran into Palestinian refugee camps. She was haunted by the sight of the camps, and by the story of the people who had been transformed from nation to refugees. "It was an object lesson in history," she recalled. "I went round the empty camps of Jericho, which were like ghost towns because people were not allowed to come back, and found things left behind like children's [school] exercise books."

When she returned to England, Mrs. Aitken decided to do something. She started UNIPAL (Universities Educational Fund for Palestinian Refugees), an organization which she ran from her home. UNIPAL sponsored volunteer British students who went to live with refugees, to learn about them and to teach. More than 400 such volunteers have already done so. Some of them later wrote books about the Palestinians, like Richard Locke who wrote *Bantustan Gaza* and Clive Robson and Paul Cossali who wrote *Stateless in Gaza*. Richard Locke and another former UNIPAL volunteer, Marcus John, have established the Middle East Resource Center in Britain to help keep the media in touch with developments and to place Palestinian and other Arab speakers on British radio and television.

UNIPAL continues to grow. In 1986, a chapter was established at the University of Kent. At Cambridge University, some UNIPAL volunteers established a Palestine Society.

Also, UNIPAL began to help Palestinians continue their higher education in British universities. It has sponsored several Palestinian nurses for further training. One of these nurses from South Lebanon is now helping train other nurses in the refugee camps in the Beirut area.

After years of operating out of Mrs. Aitken's home, UNIPAL is set to expand into offices of its own. A Palestinian donor has pledged to meet the organization's office expenses for as long as he lives. Aitken's husband, who died in 1985, also bequeathed some funds for the organization. □

[Based on an article published by ***Tanmiya,*** *the newsletter of the Geneva-based Welfare Association, December 1986]*

Books . . . WITHOUT STEREOTYPES

Exiles, by M. Cruz. (Sag Harbor, NY: The Permanent Press, 1986). 294 pages.

An American novel about the Arabs finally appeared which does not exploit Arab-baiting to sell. *Exiles* is a novel about the wife of an American diplomat stationed in Jordan who falls in love with a member of King Hussein's cabinet...who happens to be a Palestinian engineer. The most remarkable thing about the novel is how well it tells a simple story. The portrayal of characters and the style of the narrative combine to produce a highly readable novel.

The author, who is the wife of a career U.S. diplomat writing under an assumed name, is obviously intimately familiar with the Arabs and with the Palestinian issue. Consequently, her novel enlightens as well as entertains. Her heroine's encounters with the Palestinian minister, which culminate in an affair in Washington, also become encounters with the peoples and politics of the Middle East. Without lecturing or preaching, Cruz manages to convey to her readers a profound feeling that has escaped (or that has been deliberately avoided by) other contemporary American novelists who write about the Middle East.

Commenting about her novel, Cruz says that she hopes to show Americans "that the loves, hurts and dreams of Arabs are not all that removed from their own." Misleading stereotypes are "so widespread that it's no wonder Americans see no common ground with Arabs, no common humanity."

Exiles does fulfill its author's worthy educational purpose. Without it, it is an excellent novel; with it, it is a good book. □

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